

BLACK POLITICS

1984

SEPTEMBER — DEC,

Mentoring 11/9/84 (11A)

Attorney who fled 'won't return till Azania is free'

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A DURBAN attorney who has been suspended from his practice has told the Supreme Court he intends to stay out of South Africa until 'a people's republic of Azania has been realised'.

Mr Bhekumndeni Simelane, of Simelane and Simelane, has been suspended pending the outcome of an application by the Natal Law Society to have him struck off the roll of attorneys.

He said in papers before the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg yesterday that he did not intend returning to South Africa until 'the country has become independent and a people's republic of Azania has been realised'.

The proceedings were postponed until September 24 by Mr Justice van Heerden and Mr Justice Broome.

Mr Simelane asked the Court to dismiss the application against him with costs, or alternatively to adjourn the matter indefinitely for a hearing 'by a court of law in a free socialist People's Republic of Azania', or to transfer the matter to the International Court of Justice.

He asked the Court to order the Natal Law Society to deposit R125 million with the registrar concerned to guarantee his costs of the action as well as for work still in progress at his practice.

Refugee

He said that on August 6 this year, the date 'I skipped the country to save my life', there had been work in progress at his practice in excess of R120 million.

Mr Simelane, whose replying affidavit is dated in Lesotho, said he was now living outside South Africa's 'apartheid-colonialism' as a refugee.

'As a stateless person at the moment I have become a ward of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees. In the premises the proper forum in this matter is the International Court of Justice. It will also be necessary that the witnesses I may decide to call for the purpose of the hearing herein be guaranteed immunity from victimisation and harassment.'

'Torture'

Mr Simelane said that having practiced in Durban for the past four years, he had to abandon his practice because of 'orchestrated and unlawful pressure by certain members of the Council of the Natal Law Society who on information at my disposal were either working in conjunction or in concert with the security police in the country'.

He continued: 'I do not wish to burden the record by recounting the incidents of torture and atrocious interrogations I experienced previously in the hands of the gestapo/security police in South Africa.'

'The security police had in fact gone to the extent of trying to run my practice. They had in fact installed devices to tape telephonic conversations

and discussions taking place in the office.

The Natal Law Society was advised of the security police activities and furnished with proof thereof.

'It is recorded further that no concrete assistance was afforded me by the council of the Natal Law Society in enabling me to run a legal practice free of blatant and unwarranted security-police interference.

'To say the least, they turned a blind eye to the matter.'

Mr Simelane said the action against him was 'malicious and abominable' and designed to sabotage his practice.

Books

He denied allegations that he had failed to keep proper books of account and misappropriated trust money.

He denied a claim by a paraplegic, Miss Martha Mkhize, who alleged that she had not received a third-party insurance claim amounting to R50 000 from him after a motor accident in which she had been injured.

Mr Alan Fairleigh, a member of Durban's complaint committee of the Natal Law Society, who was concerned with an investigation into Mr Simelane's practice, said in an affidavit that Mr Simelane had been 'far from frank' about Miss Mkhize.

He said it was 'patently evident from the briefest inspection' of Mr Simelane's books and documents of account that they had been virtually ignored since September last year.

He also said Mr Simelane had misappropriated substantial sums of money from clients.

Letter **11A**
seen as
enmity
to UDF

Staff Reporter

WOMEN within the UDF have dismissed as "the work of enemies" an anonymous letter received by the Cape Times yesterday in which the front is accused of "gross violations of democracy" in its treatment of women members.

The unsigned letter, ostensibly from a group of 22 women who are reportedly of the UDF, claims the organization has "betrayed" the principle of democracy in its dealings with affiliated women's organizations.

"Notwithstanding the momentous role the women of the Western Cape are playing in the activities of the UDF, only two women serve on the regional council," the letter says.

Autonomy

The group also claims women's organizations are being "forced in the most undemocratic way" to give up their autonomy because certain individual leaders in the UDF want them to form a single women's organization.

They threaten to withdraw their support from the front "unless the principle of democracy is restored in good time".

Members of the United Women's Organization (UWO), the biggest women's group affiliated to the UDF, criticized the "people who write anonymous letters to the paper in the name of democracy".

"Everybody in the UDF has access to UDF councils, where we fall over backwards to promote democracy," the women said.

'Fair hearing'

"If anyone has any grievances they will get a fair hearing at the councils. I can't imagine any of the women in the UDF writing such a letter," said one.

The women emphasized that they were not empowered to speak on behalf of the UWO and that these were their personal opinions.

The UDF publicity secretary for the Western Cape, Mr Jonathan de Vries, said he was convinced the letter was another attempt by the system to sow dissension in the organization.

room 10/9/84 (11A)

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau
LONDON. — THE banned African National Congress is planning a major conference, to be held early next year, to review its policy and strategy in the light of recent changes in Southern Africa.

ANC plans talks to review its policy

The conference will be the first assembly of the rank-and-file of the exiled movement since the conference at Morogoro, Tanzania, in 1969 when major policy decisions about the admission of whites, the armed struggle and other matters were taken.

The venue for the conference has not yet been decided on but sources close to the ANC said it was likely to be held in Tanzania — possibly in Morogoro.

Although the ANC has its

headquarters in Lusaka, much of the organisation's operational and developmental activities are based in Angola and Tanzania.

Since the signing of the Nkomati peace pact between Mozambique and South Africa, the ANC has lost its main operational base for its armed struggle and has been forced to review its strategy and priorities.

While there is no question of the ANC dropping its 25-year-old armed struggle against the South African Government, ANC strate-

gists believe that more emphasis should be placed on strengthening contacts inside the country — especially with the trade union movement.

There is a strong feeling inside the movement that while the ANC has kept a high international profile and scored some diplomatic successes it has neglected the situation inside the country.

According to sources close to the movement, members have been asked to begin discussions on the implications of the Nkomati Accord and

how the ANC should adjust its strategy in the post-Nkomati era.

The ANC leadership has been at pains to emphasise that the Nkomati Accord was a serious setback for the organisation but not a fatal blow.

Although there have been several public displays of unity with the Frontline states, relations between the ANC and Mozambique's President Samora Machel have become strained.

Relations with Swaziland hit an all-time low after

some ANC refugees were handed over to the South African Police by the Swazi authorities.

Relations with Zimbabwe have always been strained for historic reasons but have never been acrimonious.

Although the ANC keeps its headquarters in Lusaka, its activities in that country are severely circumscribed and since President Kenneth Kaunda has emerged as a peace broker between Swapo and Pretoria, the ANC has become increasingly wary of the Zambian leader.

Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere has remained the most supportive Frontline state leader and it is considered significant that both the ANC and Swapo were represented by their presidents

— Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Sam Nujoma — at a gathering of leading European and African socialists and heads of state in Arusha, Tanzania, last week.

Next year's ANC conference will also provide the first opportunity in 15 years for elected delegates from the ANC's regions in Africa, Europe and North America to elect a new executive.

A reshuffle of the executive last year diluted the role of the South African Communist Party in the ANC's top decision-making body, but the close alliance with the SACP continues to be a controversial issue.

~~SAP~~ (11A)

Azapo, Black ^{Star} Consciousness ^{10/7/84} member held

Black Consciousness leader, Mr Saths Cooper, a former Robben Island prisoner, was detained yesterday under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Colonel Leon Mellet, secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, confirmed today that Mr Cooper had been detained.

Mr Cooper is a post-graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand, where he is studying for his master's degree in clinical psychology.

Last year Mr Cooper got his honours, and has been studying since his release after six years in jail.

He is also an activist of the Azanian People's Organisation and, according to Colonel Mellet, he was on the original list of people ordered to be detained.

Mr Cooper is being held in the Transvaal with Dr Aubrey Mogape who also served a six-year term with Mr Cooper on Robben Island after being convicted in the SASO-BPC trial.

Both men worked very closely with Mr Steve Biko, who died in police custody a few years ago.

Labour unrest unlikely in tight economy

E. Post 8/9/84



By Louis Beckerling
Business Editor

BLEAK second-half prospects for the motor industry have been dramatically underlined in latest statistics from Pretoria.

Estimates of trading revenue earned by retailers in motor vehicles and accessories show a sharp 17% decline for July (after the GST increase), compared with June.

Whereas countrywide vehicle sales in April (+42,3% on April '83), May (+57,1%), and June (+58,4%), were all strongly up on last year's sales, the growth rate dropped by more than half in July to 23,9%.

Though this arguably remains a considerable improvement in real terms on last year's sales, the decline was precipitated almost exclusively by the compensations for the large increases in sales ahead of the July 1 increase in GST from 7% to 10%.

Effects of the harsher HP demands introduced by the Government's August austerity package and further fiscal measures still expected in a twin-campaign to boost Government revenues and combat inflation (with rumours persisting of a further increase in GST) worse may yet be in store.

Such bleak prospects are perhaps feared most acutely in the Eastern Cape, where:

● A disproportionate contribution to regional

and job-seekers in South Africa's "motor town" on the fortunes of the country's motor trade.

Since the area has also — largely unfairly, argues labour expert Professor Roux van der Merwe of the University of Port Elizabeth — become known as South Africa's strike centre, the latest threat to motor sales is greeted with some anxiety in Port Elizabeth.

However a recent study by Mrs Martheanne Finnmore, lecturer in Prof Van der Merwe's Institute for Industrial Relations at UPE, suggests immediate fears of strikes erupting as a result of threatened labour lay-offs, might be groundless if historical lessons remain relevant.

Recent events at

Volkswagen's Uitenhage plant appear to bear this out.

In a paper presented to a sociology conference at Wits University, Mrs Finnmore argued that a study of the strike record in the Eastern Cape motor industry suggests that during recessionary conditions "management was in a far more powerful position due to the lack of pressure for production".

Under the circumstances of plant shutdowns enforced by management for "economic reasons", Mrs Finnmore's research showed "workers' potential power was severely eroded".

Mrs Finnmore's findings, included in a study for which she was awarded a master's degree, support mobilisation theorists who

have demonstrated that it is not during periods of "absolute deprivation" that a group is likely to mobilise, but rather when conditions are improving".

"This hypothesis is supported by events in the auto industry, as the strikes (of 1980, and again in '82), did not occur during the period of low wages or absolute lack of collective power, but only after the negotiated minimum wage (in 1979) had, for the first time, exceeded the calculated subsistence level."

The perception of such "relative deprivation", according to Mrs Finnmore, is one of several factors which contributed to worker mobilisation in the East Cape auto industry.

The second, of the "structural" factors, and the most important of all,

she says, was the changing composition of the workforce and the growing dependence of the employers on skilled black labour.

At Volkswagen's Uitenhage plant, for example, the number of Africans employed in jobs graded from five to eight (trainee inspectors, artisans, assistant foremen, and technicians), rose from 64 in 1977 (or 1,9% of the 1 002 workers in these grades at the time), to 477 last year (or 8,4%).

At Ford the increase over the same period saw 237 African workers (or 5,4% of the total), employed in these grades in 1980, compared with zero 10 years earlier.

If coloured workers are included, the reliance on non-white workers in

skilled positions rose from 3% in 1971, to 54% in 1980.

"The increasing power on the shop floor was to raise expectations that some change in the material conditions of black workers was possible," Mrs Finnmore argues.

In Port Elizabeth, the emergence of an ethnically-oriented community organisation, Pebco (the Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation), was a further factor promoting worker mobilisation "and also the philosophy of black consciousness".

An exclusively African union, Macwusa (the Motor and Component Workers Union of SA) enjoyed close links with Pebco.

Repression, particularly of the more broadly "poli-

tical cont isati this the s

In BUS Finn denc Eliz

five: been wou. see v furth the year

"v. ent is rece. there worl. worl. the c a rec ties.

Labour unrest unlikely in tight economy



By Louis Beckerling
Business Editor

and job-seekers in South Africa's "motor town" on the fortunes of the country's motor trade.

Since the area has also — largely unfairly, argues labour expert Professor Roux van der Merwe of the University of Port Elizabeth — become known as South Africa's strike centre, the latest threat to motor sales is greeted with some anxiety in Port Elizabeth.

However a recent study by Mrs Martheanne Finnemore, lecturer in Prof Van der Merwe's Institute for Industrial Relations at UPE, suggests immediate fears of strikes erupting as a result of threatened labour lay-offs, might be groundless if historical lessons remain relevant.

Recent events at

Volkswagen's Uitenhage plant appear to bear this out.

In a paper presented to a sociology conference at Wits University, Mrs Finnemore argued that a study of the strike record in the Eastern Cape motor industry suggests that during recessionary conditions "management was in a far more powerful position due to the lack of pressure for production".

Under the circumstances of plant shutdowns enforced by management for "economic reasons", Mrs Finnemore's research showed "workers' potential power was severely eroded".

Mrs Finnemore's findings, included in a study for which she was awarded a master's degree, support mobilisation theorists who

have demonstrated that it is not during periods of "absolute deprivation that a group is likely to mobilise, but rather when conditions are improving".

"This hypothesis is supported by events in the auto industry, as the strikes (of 1980, and again in '82), did not occur during the period of low wages or absolute lack of collective power, but only after the negotiated minimum wage (in 1979) had, for the first time, exceeded the calculated subsistence level."

The perception of such "relative deprivation", according to Mrs Finnemore, is one of several factors which contributed to worker mobilisation in the East Cape auto industry.

The second, of the "structural" factors, and the most important of all,

she says, was the changing composition of the workforce and the growing dependence of the employers on skilled black labour.

At Volkswagen's Uitenhage plant, for example, the number of Africans employed in jobs graded from five to eight (trainee inspectors, artisans, assistant foremen, and technicians), rose from 64 in 1977 (or 1,9% of the 1 002 workers in these grades at the time), to 477 last year (or 8,4%).

At Ford the increase over the same period saw 237 African workers (or 5,4% of the total), employed in these grades in 1980, compared with zero 10 years earlier.

If coloured workers are included, the reliance on non-white workers in

skilled positions rose from 3% in 1971, to 54% in 1980.

"The increasing power on the shop floor was to raise expectations that some change in the material conditions of black workers was possible," Mrs Finnemore argues.

In Port Elizabeth, the emergence of a ethnically-oriented community organisation, Pebco (the Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation), was a further factor promoting worker mobilisation "and also the philosophy of black consciousness".

An exclusively African union, Macwusa (the Motor and Component Workers' Union of SA) enjoyed close links with Pebco.

Repression, particularly of the more broadly "poli-

tical" Macwusa union, also contributed to the mobilisation of workers, though this repression came from the State, not employers.

In an interview with BUSINESS POST, Mrs Finnemore said the incidence of strikes in Port Elizabeth during the first five months of the year had been relatively low and it would be "interesting to see whether there will be a further decrease during the second half of the year".

"What is already apparent is that in the case of the recent Volkswagen events there was pressure from workers to get back to work, and it seems under the circumstances there is a real need from all parties to find solutions."

57 152 176 E. Post 8/9/84
63 139 11A

pros-
ndus-
mati-
latest
ia.
ading
etail-
s and
sharp
after
com-

wide
April
May
June
ngly
the
1 by
ly to

y re-
im-
rms
the
ated
the
sales
y 1
7%

sher
d by
gust
fuf-
still
am-
ent
in-
ber-
her
orse

are
ost
ern

ate
nal

... was found. It had apparently been used as a getaway vehicle.

Overpowered

In the boot of the car they found a third gun and are investigating whether it belonged to a security guard who was overpowered at the Isando branch of Nedbank last week shortly before the massive robbery.

After the initial arrests and the subsequent interrogation of the suspects, the investigation moved to Durban.

The head of Durban's Murder and Robbery Squad, Captain Ivor Human, and the East London Murder and Robbery chief, Lieutenant Charlie Landman, were contacted and informed of certain addresses by the Reef investigators.

The result was two further arrests at an East London beach house. Police seized a total of R203 772 in East London and Johannesburg.

According to police, the rest of the cash — about R30 000 — was used to buy a bakkie and an imported Ford Cougar car. These vehicles, as well as a BMW, have been impounded.

Four men will appear in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court on Monday.

Black Consciousness meetings banned

Black Consciousness meetings scheduled to be held in Soweto and other black townships around the country to commemorate the death of Steve Biko and those who lost their lives during the recent unrest have been banned by the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg.

Notices of the official banning were distributed to the media yesterday afternoon by

the Security Police.

The three meetings mentioned in the banning orders are:

- The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) meeting to be held today and tomorrow in Dube, Soweto.
- The Release Mandela Committee meeting scheduled for Phiri, Soweto, tomorrow.
- A meeting organised by the Federation of South African

Women (Fedsaw) in Diepkloof, Soweto, tomorrow.

According to the Chief Magistrate, Mr Oelof de Meyer, these meetings could seriously endanger the public peace.

The gatherings in Johannesburg have been prohibited everywhere in the city from 8 pm yesterday to 8 pm tomorrow.

Bus set alight in Soweto

A bus was set on fire in Soweto yesterday afternoon by a large crowd which had gathered outside the Methodist Youth Centre. Police said a group of 150 people threw stones and set a bus alight. No one was injured.

Proof of wild murder spree mo

by
Ramsay Milne,
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Police, in search of evidence that they expect will confirm that a Californian drifter, Henry Lee Lucas, as the most brutal killer of all time, have solved 15 Californian murders as a result of a secret 5 000 km tour of the state.

It is the tip of "a murderous iceberg", they say.

Their long journey, say the police, provided them with "clear evidence" that Lucas (48) and a companion, Otis Toole, a fellow drifter whom Lucas

led by Lucas and Toole to the scenes met in a soup kitchen lineup, set out on a "recreational murder" spree across several states that led to the deaths of 360 people.

Lucas, who is already under sentence of death in Texas, has confessed to killing 360 victims in the wild rampage. The police are, however, following up each murder for legal proof of Lucas's confessions.

This week the Californian State Attorney, Mr John K van der Kamp, said investigators had forensic and legal confirmation at this stage of 15 of the murders.

Separate investigating teams were of their confessed crimes.

Lucas took them to the gravesites of 14 women and one male victim. The victims, who ranged in age from four to about 50, were killed between 1976 and 1983. According to Lucas's confessions, most of the women were raped.

At a news conference where Mr van der Kamp displayed videotapes and still pictures of the gravesites, he described Lucas as perhaps "one of the most brutal mass murderers ever".

His victims were stabbed, stran-

gled, shot a

Lucas was glnia at the was sent to 1960 for kill was paroled ties say, the "recreation"

In 1983 he tence for th old widow April he wa Texas for th old compan Powell was who has now

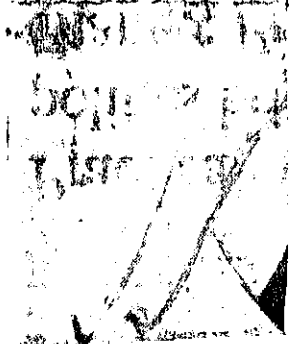
DURBAN — The Metal and Allied Workers' Union has been interdited from instigating or inciting any unlawful strike among the hourly paid workers at Dunlop South Africa Ltd branches in Durban, Ladysmith, Benoni, Fort Elizabeth and East London.

Order prevents unlawful strikes

The manager said they refused to discuss the drivers' grievances. "The manager said they refused to discuss the drivers' grievances until they went back to work," Mr Gwamanda said. The strikers' demands would not be met because of a lack of supporting evidence. — Sapa.

It is vital that any corrective measures should form part of an overall metropolitan transport plan and be made public well before they are implemented. For instance, it would be unacceptable if increased parking facilities. In fact, it is probably quicker to drive through central Johannesburg banned from central Johannesburg without the simultaneous provision of alternative facilities acceptable to commuters," the spokesman welcomed the Department of

of 100 percent in the volume of traffic entering the central business district.



'Sobering' sights for RAU students

Star
A group of Rand Afrikaans University students from the political studies faculty has been given a guided tour of Soweto under the eye of the United Democratic Front who made sure the group saw the worst as well as the best of the townships.

The visit was arranged after the UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, addressed a meeting at the university and challenged the students to see for themselves the conditions in which our people are forced to live."

The challenge was issued in February.

The tricameral elections have come and gone and Mr Lekota has been detained under security legislation... but the students went to look for themselves.

One student summed up the feeling of the group when he described the experience as sobering.

The students were shown the rows of neat homes, the impressive split-level houses and the obvious wealth in areas such as Diepkloof Extension, Beverley Hills in Orlando West and Dube.

However, the UDF representative insisted they be shown White City; squatter conditions at a Meadowlands shanty town where 9 000 people

7/9/74
HA
Visitors saw both sides of the Soweto picture during a tour organised by the UDF, writes our Political Reporter, Gary van Staden.

live in an area the size of three Johannesburg city blocks; and, of course, Klip-town.

The poverty, hardship and unhygienic conditions at Klip-town caused some comment.

Many of the students had never seen living conditions like these in their lives — and said so.

Few, political students or not, were aware that the dusty clump of shacks and overcrowded houses were the home of "Freedom Charter", a document which opponents of the new constitution hold up as an alternative.

The visit may have begun more as a response to a challenge than a real desire to learn anything.

But what the students saw during their tour certainly made at least some sit up and take notice of what Terror Lokota told them were "the reasons for our anger."

Three ordered not to interfere with non-voter

11A Star
7/9/84

By Fiona Macleod

Three Lenasia men were yesterday ordered by a Rand Supreme Court judge not to interfere with a 19-year-old motor mechanic who refused to participate in last week's elections.

Mr Arashad Kajee, of Brahamaputra Street, Lenasia, brought an urgent interdict against the three men, whom he said were threatening his life.

Mr Kajee said in papers that Mr Haas Salojee, Mr Georgie Salojee and Mr Uski Salojee, all of Geranium Avenue, had been engaged by a House of Delegates candidate, Mr D Pillay, to assist him on polling day.

"The three men appeared to be helping the police in subjecting certain people to physical control," Mr Kajee said.

When Mr Kajee asked Mr Georgie Salojee why he was using force Mr Salojee allegedly became angry and aimed a gun at him, but was restrained by the police.

LARGE GROUP

Mr Kajee said the three men and a large group of people arrived at his cousin's home when he was visiting her the following Sunday.

"They chased after me into the house, where they pointed guns at me and threatened in foul language to do me grave physical harm."

The Salojees were temporarily interdicted from using violence against or threatening Mr Kajee. They were given until October 16 to reply to the allegations.

er, most blacks probably do share the Front's vague ideals of a "non-racial, democratic and undivided SA."

So far, the UDF's achievements have been strictly negative. It has functioned well in the politics of rejection where the target was one in which its varying affiliates could agree. It now aims to build and consolidate UDF support through its many affiliates to the point where it can realistically make political demands — such as the release of all political prisoners leading to a national convention.

Whether it will be able to maintain its unity and its growth where specific policies are at issue remains to be seen. In future, it will face competition from parties represented in government who will be able to achieve something for their constituents and to dispense some measure of government patronage.

There are more than 600 organisations affiliated to the UDF. Many, like the dozens of ratepayers' bodies, are small and reflect the UDF's grassroots support. The organisation is broadly based, loosely organised, non-racial, has urban and rural constituencies, and contains older and young members plus workers and professionals. In other words, it is wide open to strains caused by competing policies, approaches, and economic interests.

The detentions of UDF leaders prompted Albertina Sisulu, a UDF vice-president and the wife of imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu, to say: "It is clear that the UDF is playing the tune and the government is dancing to it."

About 25 000 people of all race groups attended what were reported to be highly enthusiastic rallies around the country on August 19 to celebrate the UDF's first anniversary.

"A spirit of defiance against race rule is alive in the land," said Cas Saloojee in his introductory speech.

In the UDF's first year, he said: "Masses have stood up to swell our movement and we speak with one tremendous voice from the Cape Peninsula to the northern Transvaal and from our eastern shores to Kimberley."

The idea of forming the UDF was first mooted by Allen Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at the last congress of the Transvaal Anti-SA Indian Council Committee (Anti-Saic) in January 1983.

A commission was then set up to look into the formation of a broad united front specifically to oppose the new constitution and the so-called Koornhof Bills on legislation affecting influx control and local government of blacks.

Seven months later, the UDF was launched at a 12 000-strong gathering in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town. Boesak and a number of banned people like ANC leader Nelson Mandela were made patrons of the UDF. No comparable political movement had been seen in SA in over 20 years.

UDF executive member Frank Chikane, who is general secretary of the Institute for Contextual Theology, said the UDF was part of the spectrum which includes two previous comparable movements in recent SA history. The first was the 1936 All-African Convention called to resist the removal of Africans from the voters' roll, and the enforcement of the 1936 Land Bill. The second was the 1955 People's Congress, which adopted the Freedom Charter in response to the implementation of government's apartheid laws.

The UDF is not "Charterist" even though some affiliates subscribe to the Freedom Charter, the (not banned) blueprint of the ANC. Indeed, at some of its meetings, supporters of the rival Black Consciousness Forum made their presence evident. The Front's aim is essentially to mobilise as many groups as possible to "openly and peacefully" reject the new deal — provided all endorse certain minimum principles like non-racism and an undivided SA.

According to Cape UDF executive member, Andrew Boraine, a former Nusas President and son of PFP MP Alex Boraine, the recent campaign saw the UDF emerge with many more people willing to become actively involved. The door-to-door campaigns undertaken by workers, housewives, students, and others went beyond simply calling for a boycott. They were important in building UDF organisations, he explained.

Amorphous and effective

Further, people from different political homes found in the course of the campaign that they could work together. The UDF was also concerned to spell out its policy in African areas regarding removals and resettlement. This is likely to be a major part of the Front's continuing work.

An important affiliate of the Cape branch is the predominantly African United Women's Organisation. UDF activist teams, which periodically blitzed the Cape townships, included more than one race group.

As to the road ahead, evaluation and reassessment of the UDF's work is now in progress. Much, including the question of whether the UDF will transform itself into a political party, will be decided at a national conference to be held in December.

For the moment, however, the UDF remains a mass movement focused largely on a particular issue. Its membership has admittedly differing social, political and economic interests and it has yet to test itself against vested political interest in other spheres. Whether it contains the potential to become a cohesive political party is a matter of conjecture. Many observers believe in fact that the UDF's effectiveness may well be due to its seeming amorphousness.

However, if it is ever faced with having to make economic and social policy, that advantage could be a drawback.

THE UDF

A new force



The anti-constitution United Democratic Front (UDF) has proved itself a new political force in the land — primarily by its success in achieving its major objective, a low poll in the coloured and Indian elections. Whether it can now hold its disparate elements together to maintain a permanent political presence is another matter entirely.

It would certainly be overstating the case to say all who did not vote, let alone the voteless majority, are active UDF supporters. Scepticism, apathy and confusion also played a part in the stayaway. Howev-

an estate is properly positioned, and is planted with those cultivars which perform best in its particular micro-climate, the comings and goings of winemakers are not that significant. The discipline of what goes into the production of the right grapes, harvested at the most appropriate time, is all-important.

Estates must operate in the circumscribed environment of their soil and weather conditions, and aim to

do the best they can, given the circumstances with which nature has endowed them. Kanonkop's strength has always been its red wines; recent plantings of Sauvignon Blanc (and the changes in the Kanonkop Bouwland Wit blend) may alter this — but, even then, the decision to work with new cultivars reflects what it is to be an estate winery. If your soils and micro-climate do not lend themselves to delicate light white wines, your estate simply does

not offer such wines in its range.

Hence, Kanonkop's continuing achievement is as much a measure of the planning which went into the farm, and the unique features of the estate itself, as it is a tribute to the winemaker. Wines to look out for include the 1982 Cabernet Sauvignon, the 1982 Paul Sauer Fleur (a Bordeaux-style blend which is still perhaps a little young to judge) and the 1980 Pinotage.

Michael Fridjhon

— the television scene —

The 4% solution

The country took a step into the constitutional unknown this week — and the television coverage of the coloured and Indian elections did little to help it along. The aim was to legitimise the whole operation by providing all the traditional symbols: an authoritative results team, a constituency scoreboard, an earnest panel of analysts.

But things began to fall apart with the very first result in the House of Representatives election. The seat was Bishop Lavis, the percentage poll an embarrassing 4%. The normally comfortable Adrian Steed registered something approaching a shock-horror expression; already the script was off the rails.

The scoreboard looked as if it had last been used at a 4th division rugby match. The panel, under the fumbling direction of Sakkie Burger, wittered on about a Labour Party landslide, and studiously avoided getting to grips with the reasons for the low percentage poll.

Of the panelists, Bhadra Ranchod seemed far more dignified, lucid and honest than Red Metrowich and Law-

rence Schlemmer put together, but he was too abstract and academic. Red just rooted for the system in 10 different ways, and Lawrence was unusually reticent. We desperately needed light entertainment, and it was provided on cue by Freek Swart and his four selected-at-random voters.

Swart looked as if he was in an electric chair, expecting the switch to be pulled at any moment. He grimaced and growled as the envelopes were opened by the panel; all squirmed awkwardly as the letters were read out.

The television competition was bizarre and humiliating in the extreme. If it was a play, it would have closed before the end of the first act; if it was a horse, they would have shot it. The enormity of the disaster penetrated even the recesses of the propaganda engineroom, and the merciful Steed murmured that the Indian competition had been cancelled because of a "lack of time." If the viewers believed that, they'll believe anything. The trouble is they do.

For the SABC to display sensitivity

twice in one week is remarkable. The second instance was the decision to get all the reporters on the House of Delegates election to speak English. I'm sure this was appreciated. A pity, then, that no one ensured that the reporters could express themselves with even elementary fluency. We were told from one constituency that the winner was going to win. It's nice to know that even in politics there are a few certainties.

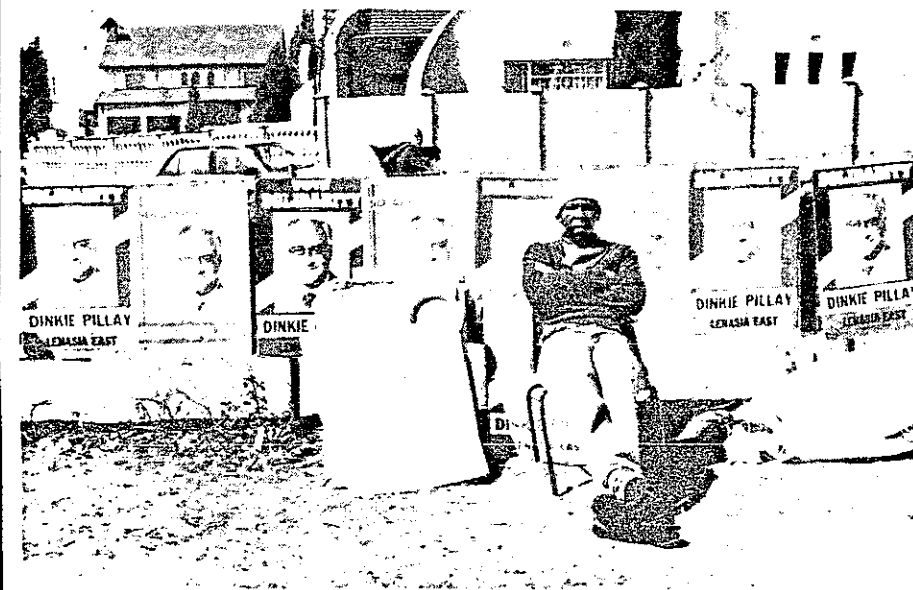
I wanted to describe the coverage as farcical but remembered in time that farce is a respectable form of theatre, requiring slick timing and good lines spoken by competent actors. Farce is amusing and entertaining. Tragi-comedy sounded better, but that would also have bestowed on the election coverage a dignity it did not deserve.

Suffice to say that when I dozed off at midnight, I felt embarrassed and sad. My last thought was about a disturbing trend evident on each election night — the electoral officers seemed to have been persuaded by the SABC reporters to delay announcing until the studio had decided that a result was "imminent." It seemed the SABC was doing more than supporting the election — perhaps it was running it too.

The newsmaker of the week was Ockie Oosthuisen. The rebellion at the Transvaal rugby practice cried out for in-depth treatment, and the newspapers responded. The Afrikaans dailies were vociferous in their criticism. But the SABC decided to play it cool, probably unsure which side to support — or else it was simply too controversial for any chances to be taken. The news coverage of the incident was limited and predictable.

If Ockie was a rebel with a cause, the highlight of the week was James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause*. His performance is not at all dated, and stands comparison with the best on offer in the Eighties. At least they got it right with that one — the week was badly in need of rescue into escapism.

David Williams



Election scene ... more frenetic in the studio

Arusha Socialist plan for SA is not specific

11A

6/9/84

NAIROBI — Little progress had been made in preparing a strategy for the downfall of the South African Government by the end of the Socialist International two-day conference of African leaders in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday, sources said.

They said there had been no agreement on plans for specific commercial, sporting and other boycotts of South Africa.

In addition, calls by leaders of Frontline states, Swapo and the African National Congress for increased financial and other aid against South Africa, while supported fully, had resulted in no specific pledges.

After a closed session yesterday the conference reiterated its condemnations of apartheid, calling for Namibian independence and severance of the linkage between that and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The 80 delegates described apartheid as "a crime against humanity which must be fought on all fronts".

They also condemned South Africa for economic, political and military destabilisation of independent African states and the military occupation of southern Angola.

One of the most militant anti-South Africa speakers was the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr Olaf Palme, who spearheaded a behind-the-scenes bid for more specific boycott proposals.

Claiming that South Africa was a society in permanent violence, he said: "They must know that their system in the long run is doomed. Sooner or later the explosions will come."

● President Julius Nyerere called for an airlift to aid Lesotho which was "under economic blockade" by South Africa.

"South Africa is applying sanctions against Lesotho," he said, adding that it had blocked transit of helicopters to distribute food aid. — The Star's Foreign News Service, Sapa-Reuter.

UDF to aid in riot areas

THE UNITED Democratic Front announced yesterday that it intends sending a team of lawyers and doctors to set up a mobile legal and medical clinic in the riot-torn areas in the Vaal Triangle.

Making the announcement, the Rev Frank Chikane, executive member of the Transvaal UDF, said a delegation sent to the area on Tuesday found that a number of injured people had not received any treatment.

In some cases, families whose relatives had been killed, detained or had disappeared, did not know what to do or where to go to make the necessary inquiries.

Meanwhile, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) will hold a service in Soweto on Saturday evening, in honour of those who were killed during the unrests in

Doctors, lawyers to be sent in

the East Rand and the Vaal Triangle.

The service, to be held at the Dube YWCA at 7 pm, will replace the cultural night which had earlier been planned to mark the beginning of the Black Consciousness Week.

The week will culminate in the commemoration of the death of Black Consciousness exponent, Steve Biko, who died in police cells in 1977.

Soweto residents, members of student, trade union, sport, cultural and political organisations are invited to attend the service.

Mr Chikane said in a statement that the

Vaal town councils and the Vaal Administration Board were to be blamed for the unrests which started on Monday.

"The rent increases come at a time when there is high unemployment and the ever increasing cost of food, clothing and transport while our people are earning meagre wages," Mr Chikane said.

Doctors in a mobile clinic will help those who are injured and lawyers will offer legal counselling.

Mr Chikane went on to say that one of the councillors killed on Monday, Mr Caesar Motjeane, had been asked by residents to join them in a march to the administration board offices to protest against the rent increases.

Mr Motjeane had refused to join the march and had instead, opened fire on the crowd.



REV CHIKANE . . . UDF action.

Sinaba silenced

SUSPENDED Daveyton councillor, Mr Shadrack Sinaba, was this week ordered by a Supreme Court judge not to take part in the monthly meeting of the Daveyton Town Council held on Tuesday.

Mr Sinaba was suspended on August 7, for holding a public meeting in an open veld near Sinaba Stadium. Mr Sinaba, according to the council, had asked for permission to hold the meeting at the stadium but instead he held it in the veld.

Granddad on rape rap

AN elderly Soweto man has been arrested and charged with raping his 12-year-old granddaughter.

The Orlando West man, whose name cannot be published, allegedly raped the girl in his bedroom after dragging her from the dining room on Monday night at about 9 o'clock.

In another rape case reported yesterday, a 25-year-old Emdeni South woman was raped by a man near Protea on Tuesday. No arrest has been made in this case.

Meanwhile, two people have been arrested in connection with the "Wire Gang"-style attack on a White City Jabavu family three weeks ago. A 34-year-old woman, Mrs Maria Polly Mabe, was killed and then bound with a coat hanger. Her husband, Mr Pherson, was hit with a heavy instrument on the head. Money, a TV set and a radio were stolen.

The first suspect was arrested last week. The two others were arrested in Zululand on Monday.

The two appear in court today.



Relief work hampered by security — UDF

6/9/84
By Jo-Anne Collinge

Heavy security measures in the townships of the Vaal Triangle are hampering community groups in their attempts to help the bereaved and injured in the area, the United Democratic Front has claimed.

Despite difficulties efforts were continuing to get doctors into the area, to distribute food where there are no shops left standing, and to make lawyers available, said the Rev Frank Chikane, UDF Transvaal vice-president.

He said after a meeting yesterday with the Vaal Civic Association and the Evaton Ratepayers' Association, that members of these groups were experiencing great difficulty moving around the townships to assist distressed families.

He added that the civic association alleged its leaders were being singled out for police visits and that executive member Mr Edward Motupatsi had been held by police since early yesterday.

The Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria has confirmed that Mr Motupatsi is being held in terms of section 50(1) of the Internal Security Act.

Police allegedly also visited the home of Mr Sam Matlole, treasurer of the Sebokeng Zone 7 committee, where it is said they confiscated his wife's reference book, locked the telephone and removed the key.

INVESTIGATION

It is believed they also visited the home of vice-chairman Mr Esau Raditsela but found the house unoccupied.

Police have said that they cannot comment on every investigation, but have advised that people with grievances should lodge complaints. They say it is unlikely they would visit an empty house.

The civic association — including all neighbourhood sub-committees except Sharpeville, and the ratepayers' group have appealed to residents to help restore peace to the township.

They have asked that people stop destroying property and endangering their fellows. Residents have undertaken to attempt to safeguard remaining shops. Several church organisations have pledged emergency food supplies, the distribution of which will be co-ordinated by the civic organisations, said Mr Chikane.

Swetlan 6/9/84

Council bars Erapo

11A

THE East Rand People's Organisation has been barred by the Daveyton Town Council from using the local community hall, Lionel Keat Centre. The Council took this decision at its monthly meeting held on Tuesday after blaming the organisation of causing damage to the hall during a public meeting they held in June. Mr Sam Ntuli, Erapo's secretary this week said they would defy the council's ruling and continue using the hall.

The council claims that during the public meeting, called to discuss the proposed rent and service increases in the township, windows panes, chairs and a notice board, were allegedly damaged by the people who were at the meeting. The council claimed that the damage caused at the hall, including the booking of the hall, amounted to R203,50 cents. The organisation was also given seven days to settle the debt.

Because of the damage caused during Erapo's meeting held in the hall, the council resolved not to allow the organisation the use of the Lionel Keat Centre in future. Mr Ntuli said the council was denying them the right to use the hall because it was aware that Erapo had a large following in Daveyton. He said: "We have paid the council the booking fee for the hall and the other R163,60 they caused during our claim is for the damage meeting, we are not going to pay because we know nothing about it."

The council should stop painting our names black and using unfounded excuses to deny us the right to continue using the hall."

7
UDF cultural
night cancelled

Staff Reporter

C. J. ...
A UNITED Democratic Front cultural evening at an Oudtshoorn hotel, scheduled for tonight, was cancelled after police warned that the hotel's licence could be "prejudiced" if there was any outbreak of violence.

(S) An Oudtshoorn police spokesman, Major J van Wyk, last night confirmed that he had spoken to the directors of the Protea Hotel yesterday in connection with the meeting.

(11A) Mr Reggie Olifant, a UDF Southern Cape executive member, said the meeting had been arranged in advance and all reservations had been paid for. He said that the UDF was considering taking legal steps against the hotel's management.

(X) 5/9/84 Mr Simon Swiegelaar, a director of the hotel, said last night that he had no comment to make regarding the decision.

Sacrificial

Solly Essop, 57, dies suddenly at home

Staff Reporter

MR SOLLY ESSOP, newly-elected member of the House of Delegates and former chairman of the Karoo Farm Workers' Union, died suddenly at his Beaufort West home early yesterday. He was 57.

Mr Essop was recuperating from a stroke he had two weeks ago and had been discharged from Tygerberg Hospital on Friday. He had a heart attack early yesterday morning.

According to his son Anwar, 25, who conducted most of his father's election campaign, Mr Essop had a long history of heart complaints and had had plastic-valve heart surgery eight years ago.

A former member of the Pan African Congress and an early supporter of the African



Mr Solly Essop

National Congress, Mr Solly Essop won the Karoo's Nuweveld seat for the Labour Party and was due to be sworn in to the House of Delegates today.

A former independent member of the disbanded Coloured Representa-

tive Council who twice defeated Labour Party candidates for a seat, Mr Essop founded Essop Enterprises, a company with numerous restaurant, discotheque and cinema interests in the Western Cape, now run by his son Anwar.

Born in Beaufort West, he left the Karoo Kleurling Hoër Skool as a Standard 8 pupil to matriculate in India, where he later obtained a BA degree from the University of Lahore.

Mr Essop returned to South Africa after marrying his Indian-born wife Amina.

He was a former chairman of the Beaufort West Management Committee.

Mr Essop leaves his wife and five children.

The funeral service will be at the Essop home in Beaufort West at noon today.

line

What race laws have meant to MP's family

By **JOE PODBREY**
in Johannesburg

JAC RABIE, Transvaal leader of the Labour Party and now an MP, has good reason for hating the Group Areas Act.

He was born 46 years ago in Middelburg, Transvaal, where his Indian father was a court interpreter and his coloured mother a domestic worker.

When the family farm was expropriated under the Group Areas Act, they moved to Pretoria.

"In Pretoria," says Mr Rabie, "we were forced to live in backyards and when we found a house in Highlands we were again driven out by the Act. My mother died there, dispossessed."

He attended school in Highlands Primary, then at Ferguson Secondary School, where he wrote the Standard 8 exam.

At the Indian Boys' High he passed matric and then took a teacher's diploma at the Teacher Training College, Johannesburg. He then taught for a while at a secondary school in Potchefstroom, where he married. The couple have four sons.

Mr Rabie recalls: "My first taste of politics was inspired by my maternal grandmother, Aletta Fransman. She used to say to me: 'Albert, our society is full of people who want to be something else. The whites want to be super-white, the coloureds want to be rich like the whites, the blacks, who have to carry passes, would like to be like the coloureds.'

"So what we must work for is an equal society where nobody wants to be like somebody else.

"This is my basic philosophy, too. My granny would have approved of what I am doing today."

Mr Rabie began his political career in 1969 as a member of the Federal Coloured People's Party. He resigned as a teacher ("I was fed up with the inspectors snooping around") and became fulltime organiser for the FCPP. He was elected to serve on the Coloured Representative Council for Reiger Park, where he now lives.

He resigned from the FCPP in 1975 and remained on the CRC as an independent until he joined the Labour Party in 1978. Today he is the Transvaal leader of the LP and won his seat with a massive majority.

Mr Rabie rejects the notion that it was the United Democratic Front which was responsible for the low poll. "It was apathy," he asserts. "Apathy and intimidation, especially in the Peninsula seats. The people there have a tradition of apathy, dating back to 1948, when their boycott of the general elections gave the Nationalists victory.

"Here in the Transvaal we had a good turnout of voters because we worked at it, despite the intimidation.

"No, I don't agree with the police action in arresting the UDF members. Everyone must have the right to be heard."

In a reflective moment, Mr Rabie says: "You know, I was born in 1938 and it was that same number — 1938 — that was tattooed on my great-great grandmother's back when she was a slave in the old Cape days. I regard that as symbolic."

Mr Rabie has strong feel-

ings about the political future of South Africa. This tricameral Parliament isn't going to work, he insists. He believes it will have to change and, for practical reasons, there will have to be one House only.

"Could a Minister presenting a Bill really be expected to go from chamber to chamber repeating the same arguments in each one? Nooit!

"So that's what I'm looking forward to — looking Dr Treurnicht in the eye and saying to him: 'Ja, ou dok, en waar staan jou tuislandjies nou?'"

"I can't wait to hear what he will answer ..."



Mr JAC RABIE ... grandmother would have approved of what he is doing.

d youth,
of 46103,
est, was
h during
at about
rday.
d youth,
Mr Al-
) of 3070
amelodi,
ounded
ck with a
ment on
Police
a 28 year
nnection

d farm la-
dito died
r being
ead dur-
t on the
oort in
ay. A 25
as been

ompany
ge near
s dealt
he four
mported

from California, USA.
was found stacked with
bricks instead of com-
puter components.
Each box, the police
said yesterday, con-
tained material worth
R50 000.

Samaritan

A good samaritan
from Soweto narrowly
escaped death when a
couple he had offered a
lift fired a shot at him
before robbing him of
his car near Soshanguve
at the weekend. Mr Ha-
nison Shongwe was
nearing the township
when the male hitch-
hiker allegedly pro-
duced a firearm and
ordered him to stop. A
shot was fired but he
was not hit. The couple
then sped off in his car.
Police later arrested a
man and a woman driv-
ing Mr Shongwe's car.
Police also took posses-
sion of a 9 mm pistol.

Sawden 419184 *(11A)*
**Eastern Cape
rally banned**

The Chief Magistrate of Queenstown, Mr A C van
Heerden, on Sunday banned all meetings in the dis-
trict organised by the Azanian Peoples' Organisation
and four other student or sport organisations.

The banning order, in terms of Section 46 of the
Internal Security Act, affected a rally to have been
held in Mlungisi township and organised by the local
branch of Azapo.

Prohibited in terms of the order were all meetings
of Azapo, the Congress of South African Students
(Cosas), the Queenstown Youth Organisation, the
Queenstown Sports Board and the Azanian Stu-
dents' Movement.

Public peace

The ban was effective from 7 am to midnight yes-
terday. In the order, served on executive members
of Azapo early this morning, Mr van Heerden said
he had reason to believe "the public peace" would
be seriously endangered by any gathering of the af-
fected organisations.

Members of Azapo from as far afield as Port Eli-
zabeth travelled to Queenstown for the rally.

dy in our hands . . . and wealthiest slim body



our hands.
k!
!

nteed
H CLINIC

BEDFORDVIEW:
4c Hawley Road,
opp. City Council.
Tel. 53-3417,
53-1712



CITY:
Lower Level
Tony Factor Bld.,
cor. Rissik & Kerk.
Tel. 337-1500,
337-1579

CALL FOR RESTRAINT

11A
Soweto 4/9/84

TWO prominent organisations yesterday reacted strongly to the unrest in the Vaal where at least nine people died.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) called for re-

straint and expressed solidarity with the black masses involved.

Said Azapo's Zithulele Cindi and Imram Moosa: "Events in the Vaal complex are not divorced from the countrywide upheavals against rent increases, Local Authorities Act, school boycotts and the attendant demand and the rejection of the sham new deal by the black people. All these represent black dissent and opposition to all forms of legislation that is designed to dispossess them of their inalienable heritage — the land.

Azapo

"This is an indictment against the new deal that the so-called parliamentarians should be meeting today against such a background — East Rand, Lenasia, Crossroads and the Vaal complex — to decide on the

ordering of lives of millions without their consent."

Azapo said people would continue to register their opposition and "rejection of this inhuman and unrepresentative regime and its institutions". "We of Azapo pledge solidarity with black people throughout the country," the statement ended.

Ms Esther Maleka of Fedsaw said her organisation called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to "stop his men from their actions, the harassment of children and the detention of UDF leaders and activists".

"We are still mourning the children killed in Tembisa, Soshanguve, Parys and Dayeyton, and now the spotlight is on the Vaal. We demand a stop to all police action," she said.

Women support boycott pupils

By SIBUSISO MABASO

TWO committees were at the weekend elected by the Black Women' Unite meeting held at Dube YWCA, to look into community problems such as the so-called squatters and the orphans, and bring about propositions of how can the organisation get its members involved in community projects.

An executive member of the Black Women' Unite Mrs Magauta Molefe, said, the organisation has decided to continue with self-help projects. She said the two committees elected will mark their concern about various problems affecting the black community throughout the country.

She said Black Women Unite pledges solidarity with the boycotting students for their legitimate rights of establishing democratic Student Representative Councils throughout the country. A message of condolence has been sent to the families of students who have been killed in the boycott.

Work seminar

The meeting also pledges solidarity and praised the people who stayed away from elections.

The Black Women Unite have also announced a trip to Port Elizabeth where a women's work seminar will be held on September 8 and 9 organised by the Insurance Assurance for Workers Union of South Africa (I A W U S A). She urged all black women in South Africa to attend meetings to be held in various places.



Mrs MAGAUTA MOLEFE, an executive member of the Black Women Unite.

3 killed in Pta

THREE people died violently in Mamelodi and Brits at the weekend.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi addressing the rally

Buthelezi slams 'powerful whites'

*11A S. Times
2/9/84*

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha president, yesterday claimed that "powerful whites" were behind the black-black confrontation in Durban's huge black township of Lamontville.

He also criticised some sections of the media of representing him and Inkatha as "political thugs".

Although he did not name the whites allegedly involved, he made reference to Archbishop Denis Hurley and Bishop Nuttal as being patrons of the church organisation Diakonia, and the support given by Diakonia to Lamontville's Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac).

Jorac, which is opposed to the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu, tried unsuccessfully earlier this week in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, to stop Chief Buthelezi from holding an open-air rally in Lamontville yesterday.

The urgent court application was brought by the Rev Mcebisi Xundu of Jorac.

Chief Buthelezi said in an addendum to his address to the Lamontville rally, which he described as a prayer meeting for black unity:

"Jorac is affiliated to the United Democratic Front. The Staff Association at the University of Natal is affiliated to the the UDF. Archbishop Hurley is prominent in UDF activities.

Sunday Times Reporter

"You will all agree with me that these are very powerful people, whose clout must be a great asset to the Rev Xundu and Jorac when it comes to dealing with the media."

Chief Buthelezi also hit at what he described as an "insolent and insulting" telegram he had received from the Black Sash, which urged him "to use your position to control your members and stop the escalation of violence in Hambanathi and Lamontville".

Warned

Although he had been warned that he would lose his life if he came to Lamontville, he said that as a descendant of warriors and Zulu kings "I cannot be frightened off, to run away like a cur with my tail between my legs".

He said he was "not striving or fighting" for the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu. The South African Government had already taken a decision to incorporate it.

"I have said it before, and I say it again today, that I see nothing wrong with the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu," Chief Buthelezi said.

In the interests of fair reporting and in terms of its own code of standards, *The Star* wishes to retract a detail of an article it published concerning allegations that the KGB murdered Ruth First. The allegation, which remains on record, is that she was murdered on the instructions of communists because she was causing trouble as a Trotskyist ideologist who disagreed with Marxism.

The report stated: "This incredible accusation comes from British and American sources and is based on new information and a thesis."

However there is a moral issue concerning the report which *The Star* wishes to put right. We erred in reporting more than the general allegation and in naming an individual against whom no charges had been formulated, and who had not been given the opportunity to answer allegations which have since been denied on his behalf. (He may not be quoted).

We do not normally name individuals in these circumstances, and we should not have in this case, especially when that individual had no legal redress.

Our error came about because *The Star* ori-

MURDER OF RUTH FIRST

~~Star~~ 11A 327
Star 1/9/84

ginally published the allegations that Ruth First was killed by a bomb planted in Maputo by a South African unit. (Allegations that a letter bomb was sent to Ruth First by "the agents of the apartheid regime" were repeated in Maputo again last week)

We believed it necessary to publish the opposite case: the counter-accusation, internationally sourced, that she was killed — not by South Africans — but by people directed by Moscow.

We regret that in aiming at reporting both sides of the issue in accordance with our code of standards, we nevertheless failed in this peculiar instance to maintain our normal standards for protecting individual rights.

We publish this statement to correct the record.

States for racists and non-racists?

Cape Times 31/12/84 (111)

From ANTHONY
JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

KIMBERLEY. — A federal system in which "racist and non-racist" states could co-exist has been proposed by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse as a way of overcoming fear of reform in South Africa.

Within such a federal structure, the degree of discrimination and the

pace of change would vary from one geographic area to another.

The model would essentially allow for people to live in areas where the political climate suited them. This could, in theory at least, lead to formations like a Conservative Party homeland.

Mr Hendrickse used the LP congress which ended here at the week-

end as an opportunity to talk about his "area approach" to moving away from discrimination.

It would appear that the ideas mooted by Mr Hendrickse could well serve as a "trial balloon" to allow his colleagues in the super-cabinet to gauge public reaction to possibilities the government has itself been considering.

He suggested that the liberalization of certain areas within a federal structure was the only way South Africa could "get away from the fear of numbers" which has bedevilled politics and inhibited reform.

Mr Hendrickse singled out the Western Cape as a prime candidate for the first "one man, one vote non-racial geographic state".

Other regions he mentioned as possibilities were Kwazulu and the Richards Bay area, and the Witwatersrand complex.

At a press conference on Saturday, Mr Hendrickse said a common voters' roll was not a priority and that participation by all races in a single chamber of parliament was more important.

● The congress approved a resolution recommending a special committee be set up to research "the whole question of a federal structure based on one man, one vote in a non-racial geographic state where on a national basis common citizenship is guaranteed and all citizens can form one nation".

'Nationalize mining', says Labour Party

Political Correspondent

KIMBERLEY. — The nationalization of the entire mineral industry was the Labour Party's top priority in its bid to establish a mixed capitalist-socialist economy in South Africa, the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said at the weekend.

Speaking during a press conference, Mr Hendrickse — who is also a cabinet minister — said: "To enable the underprivileged to be part of the redistribution of wealth we must have a happy medium between what is socialistic and capitalistic."

He argued that nationalization was both necessary and justified because minerals taken from the earth ought to belong to the "total community".

Mr Hendrickse said the LP was not looking towards the nationalization of other profitable industries.

Detainees have right to hide - NIC

(11A) (3/11)
Star
12/19/84

DURBAN — The seven detainees who were released from Maritzburg prison on Friday night on an order of the Supreme Court must have had good reason not to make themselves available to the police, Dr Farouk Meer, executive committee member of the Natal Indian Congress, said today.

Dr Meer spoke as the security police search for the men entered its fourth day.

The detainees, who vanished soon after their release on Friday, are leaders of the Natal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front.

"Five of the men are attorneys and are well aware of their legal rights. It is for them to decide when and where they will surface," Dr Meer said.

He denied that the seven men had gone underground, pointing out that they had decided to take a break immediately after their release.

The seven men are Mr George Sewpershad, president of the Natal In-

dian Congress; deputy president, Mr M J Naidoo; former president Mr Mewa Ramgobin; one of three presidents of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede; former Robben Island prisoner Mr Billy Nair; Unity Movement spokesman Mr Kader Hassim and trade unionist Mr Sam Kikine.

New orders for their redetention have since been signed but security policemen have failed to find them.

The Star Bureau reports from Washington that the American Government has expressed concern to Pretoria about the redetention of the seven men.

A State Department spokesman said "The detentions appear to undercut the commitment to reform and represent a violation of human rights."

News of the planned redetention comes at a time when some US Congressmen are trying to force anti-South Africa sanctions attached to foreign trade legislation through the last stages of Congressional procedure before they can become law.

Who are the real provocateurs?

In our previous column, we noted with dismay the crescendo of sabre rattling against the United Democratic Front and predicted that it pre-
saged a clampdown on the organisation. Tragically, our forecast proved correct, and the day before the coloured elections more than 30 leaders of the UDF and its affiliates were detained. Fourteen of the UDF leaders are now being held in "preventive" detention.

The behaviour of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, during this period bears some scrutiny. Before the detentions, he accused the UDF of being involved in acts of violence and intimidation, preparing to disrupt the elections, with the approval of the African National Congress and South African Communist Party Alliance. He warned that the police were aware of what was going on and would take action.

Shortly afterwards, the police detained many of the UDF leadership, some under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, others under section 28 of the Internal Security Act. The use of the former legislation, together with Mr le Grange's allegations, created the impression that some crime had been committed and that the prisoners would soon face charges.

On the contrary, when 48 hours expired, the UDF leaders found themselves sentenced to six months in detention in terms of the notorious section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr le Grange, after detaining these and other individuals, said he was satisfied that the police action was essential "because of the provocative attitude and actions of underminers and intimidators" who were fostering a revolutionary climate. But the question needs to be asked, who are the real provocateurs?

Political commentators have noted that the UDF's boycott campaign was in essence peaceful, whereas the behaviour of the riot police during the recent tricameral elections frequently went far beyond mere crowd control, to the extent that large numbers of people, even journalists, were attacked and injured. Further, the detention of the UDF leaders is an act of provocation against that organisation.

The role of the SABC during this period also deserves examination. It mounted a sustained propaganda campaign against the UDF, incorporating politicians such as Mr Pat Poovalingham, in an attempt to link the UDF and its campaign to banned

OUR VIEW



The Detainees' Parents Support Committee

organisations, such as the ANC. This helped create a climate in which the detentions which followed prepared the public and created no surprise.

The comprehensive boycott of the elections has shown that, far from being an intimidatory force, the UDF was expressing the real sentiments of the majority of the population. The Government sought a mandate; it was refused.

If anyone was in any doubt as to the political nature of the security legislation and its enforcers, the police, these detentions must have removed that. The incarceration of such people as Dr Essop Jassat, Dr R. A. M. Saloojee, Mr George Sewpersadh and Patrick "Terror" Lekota is a most cynical use of the Internal Security Act to remove these political leaders from their communities.

It is also clear that the security police are less concerned with the security of the State than the continued tenure of power of the present unrepresentative and unpopular Government. In short the security police are a *political* police force.

For those victims of the detention laws, there is no comfort in store. Section 28 makes no pretence at due process of law or even police investigation. It is purely a form of preventive detention.

Additionally, these unfortunate detainees are automatically added to the Consolidated List, which means, among other things, that they may not be quoted, a severe punishment for one such as "Terror" Lekota, the publicity secretary of the UDF, for it effectively ends his political career and his employment.

To make someone a Listed person is a pernicious form of banning "through the back door": little is known about Listed people and it does not carry the same opprobrium as banning. The DPSC is forced to conclude that these South Africans are being imprisoned because their opposition to the new constitution was too effective.

Future generations will judge us harshly if we fail to defend the right of organisations such as the UDF to help shape a better future for our children.

(2) 9/18/84 (11A) Sjan

Inkatha members attacked

DURBAN — The home of a leading Inkatha member in Lamontville was struck with petrol bombs early yesterday, and another well-known supporter of the movement was assaulted in a street.

Supporters of the Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac) in Lamontville have been blamed.

Last night Chief Gatscha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, called on Jorac executive member the Rev Mcebisi Xundu and other leaders of the organisation to restrain members from

“extremely dangerous and provocative acts”.

Mr Robert Sikhakhane, chairman of Inkatha in Ward 2, said his home was attacked with petrol bombs at about 2 am.

SHOP SAFETY

He said two were thrown. One, apparently aimed at the bedroom, missed and hit a wall. The second was thrown at the kitchen but did not explode.

Mr Sikhakhane claimed his assailants were Jorac supporters.

In the other incident, Mrs May Ngubane

claimed she was assaulted by young men and women in a street.

She said she ran into a shop for protection and the youths shouted that they would kill all Inkatha members in Lamontville.

Last night Mr Xundu was “completely dismayed” when told of the attacks.

“Jorac has always called for non-violence and peaceful negotiations. It is easy to blame the organisation for violence, but it does not mean that it is the fact.”

— Sapa.

'More than R30m unrest damage'

Ban placed on indoor meetings

MM 12/9/84 (11A)

Mall Reporters

THE MINISTER of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has prohibited a wide range of indoor meetings until the end of the month, with effect from today — the anniversary of the death in detention of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko.

The prohibition follows weeks of unrest in Reef townships which has left a grim toll of more than 40 dead and damage of millions of rands.

In the Vaal Triangle alone, the Rand Daily Mail was yesterday told, damage had been estimated at R30-million, excluding 36 Indian-owned businesses which were plundered and razed to the ground.

Last night the official Opposition's Law and Order spokeswoman, Mrs Helen Suzman, condemned the blanket ban on meetings, saying that it "gave an impression of national emergency".

Unrest erupted again yesterday in Thabong, near Welkom, when 3 000 pupils from three secondary schools boycotted school and disrupted classes at four primary schools in the township.

Other incidents were reported in Turfloop, where a high school was completely destroyed and where the University of the North students staged a mass walkout.

The prohibition of indoor meetings was made by Mr Le Grange in terms of Section 46 (3) of the Internal Security Act, and was issued through police headquarters in Pretoria yesterday afternoon.

Indoor meetings in 22 magisterial districts — mostly in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area — which criticise or discuss the Government "or any actions of the Government" are prohibited.

Outdoor meetings of this nature have been prohibited for some years already by Mr Le Grange.

The only meetings exempt are in effect those held by political parties as defined by the Electoral Act, 1979, or those of "local authorities" as defined in the Black Local Authorities Act, 1982 — unless the Minister or a magistrate of a district concerned authorises otherwise.

SOPHIE TEMA reports that rioting in Vaal Triangle townships has so far resulted in damage of at least R30-million to State-owned buildings and some houses and shops.

This figure could shoot up when the final tally is reached, says the Lekoa Town Council, which controls all townships in the area.

This startling figure was reached by the chief director of the Orange Vaal Development Board, Mr D C Ganz, and does not take into account damage to other private property such as the Indian businesses and homes gutted and damaged during the violence.

The Lekoa Town Council yesterday said Mr Ganz's figure could rise sharply after investigations had been finalised.

Still to be added to the final figure are the estimated 36 Indian businesses and homes in Sharpeville and Evaton which were the target of rioters last week.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) spokeswoman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, yesterday slammed the prohibition, saying the government had become "hysterical".

"Anything more calculated to give an impression of a state of national emergency than this absurd and far-reaching measure I cannot imagine," she said.

"One should remember that a gathering is defined as being more than two people.

"I have no doubt that throughout South Africa there are informal gatherings of irate citizens criticis-

Unrest: 141 in court

Mall Reporter

ONE hundred and forty-one people, including two black journalists, appeared in the Sebokeng Regional Court yesterday on various charges under the Internal Security Act as well as on charges of housebreaking and theft.

The two journalists — Mr Thabo Makaba, a photographer for the Rand Daily Mail, and Mr Leonard Kumalo, a photographer for the Sowetan — appeared before Mr James Stone on charges of public violence.

They were arrested following Sunday's unrest in Sebokeng.

Most of the people arrested under the Internal Security Act have been charged with public violence, arson, attending an illegal meeting, and being in possession of petrol bombs.

No evidence was led and none of the people was asked to plead.

Ban on indoor meetings in PWV

From Page 1

ing Government policy. "Are we to believe that from now until September 30 the Government is above criticism? This is a total denial of democratic rights," she said. SAPA reports that the prohibition will effect a wide range of indoor meetings, among others memorial meetings, protest meetings and meetings critical of the Government.

Today is the anniversary of the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, who died in 1977.

The magisterial districts in which indoor meetings have been banned are the following:

Benoni, Fort Beaufort, Germiston, Heidelberg (Transvaal), Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Lower Umfolozi, Mankweng, Umtintzini, Parys, Pietersburg, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Queenstown, Roodepoort, Sasolburg, Vanderbijlpark, Verening, Welkom and Wonderboom.

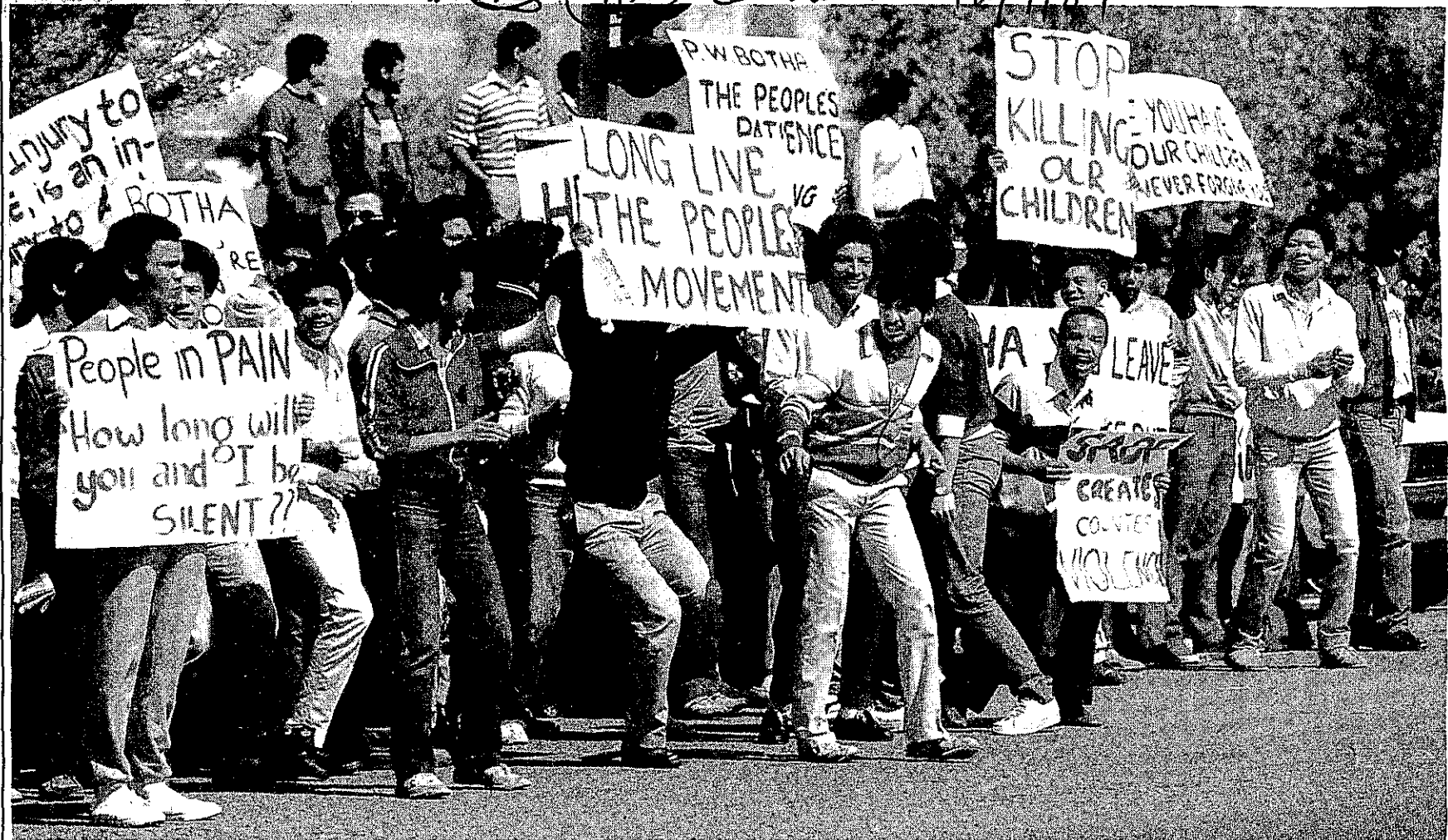
In his statement, the Minister classified the types of indoor meetings prohibited as follows:

"Any gathering held where any Government or any policy principle, or any actions of the Government or any statement, or the application or implementation of any Act is approved (aangeprys), defended, attacked, criticised, or discussed, or which is in protest against or in support or in memoriam of anything."

The statement goes on to say that this is: "Except in the case of any such meeting held or organised by a political party defined in Section 1 of the Electoral Act, 1979, any institution or organisation intended in Section 48 1 (f) of the Constitution Act of the Republic of South Africa, 1961, or any local authority as described in Section 1 of the Black Local Authorities Act, 1982, or which I (Mr Le Grange) or the magistrate of the district concerned specifically authorise at any time."

Mr Le Grange further said he deemed the prohibition "to be in the interests of maintaining public peace".

To Page 2



Students of the University of the Western Cape held a protest march on campus yesterday in solidarity with student action in the Transvaal. ●Boesak: Fight to change SA, page 15

Picture: Alan Taylor

~~SA~~ (UA) C. Times
13/9/84

Ex-detainees stay hidden

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Five of the seven political detainees freed after a Maritzburg Supreme Court order last week are likely to come out of hiding soon, according to a statement purporting to come from them.

The hand-written statement given to the media yesterday said they would remain in hiding until they had concluded their personal affairs and the publication of a Natal Indian Congress newsletter containing some of their articles and photographs.

They feared that if they handed themselves over now the publication would be jeopardized as police would serve them with new notices restricting them from being quoted.

The statement is signed by Mr Mewa Ramgobin, an executive member of the NIC; Mr George Sewpershad, president of the NIC; Mr Billy Nair, Mr M J Naidoo and Mr Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front.

The statement said: "During our detention we realized that two NIC publications for which much effort and time were spent had to be stopped because we could neither be quoted nor our photographs published. The law prohibited this.

"On our release we took the decision to stay away from the police until these publications were brought out.

"We wish to make it known that given our objectives in respect of the NIC publications and personal affairs being concluded, we will resume our normal activities openly. The police will have no difficulty in finding us and can detain us if they so wish."

Police 'have task to fulfil'

Colonel Leon Mellet, press secretary for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday: "The South African Police have a task to fulfil and will do so without being intimidated."

He was not prepared to discuss or comment on the authenticity or origin of the statement.

According to legal experts there is nothing stopping the NIC from publishing the documents.

As the old notices have been declared invalid by the Maritzburg Supreme Court, the names of the detainees have not yet been placed on the consolidated list of restricted persons.

That means that at this stage there is no restriction on the men and they can be quoted without fear of prosecution.

As soon as they have been traced and the new notices served on them, they will automatically be placed on the list.

However, a board of review must first confirm the new notices that have been served by the Minister of Law and Order.

Sawston 25/9/84 (1/1A)

AZAYCO PRESIDENT:
Mr Jacob Ngwane
Mkhalihi.

Youths form body

By SELLO
RABOTHATA

THE absence of an organisation for the youth of Azania who adhere to the principles of black consciousness have prompted the formation of the Azanian Youth Council.

A member of the organisation said: "Throughout the country there are youth and student organisations, some are black consciousness orientated others are not. Before the formation of Azayco, in May last year, there did not exist any youth organisation advocating the black consciousness philosophy, which has become synonymous with the Africans in particular and blacks in general."

The president, Mr Jacob Ngwane Mkhalihi, said: "It must be clearly understood that Azayco is not a result of some extraneous force. It is undoubtedly clear that the participation of the youth in our liberation struggle shall never be deterred by the system, even by fellow travellers, who pay lip service to the people's struggle."

He said many people accused the organisation of being Africanist, but Azayco believes that the present struggle in the country is that of the African because he is the one who feels the oppression.

The aims and objectives of Azayco are:

- to conscientise, politicise and mobilise black people, students and youth;
- to unite black people and fight for liberation and repossession of the land;
- to educate and inform black people on issues affecting their lives;
- to promote African culture in a way relevant and contributory to the liberation struggle; and
- to strive for an education system, free, equal and responsive to the needs of the Azanian people.

Membership will be open to Africans only and no person or organisation shall be granted if they are in conflict with the aims of principles of Azayco.

Evening 25/9/84

ET gets thumbs down

(11A)

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

THE mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, yesterday came under heavy attack for his weekend utterances when addressing a Sofa-sonke Party meeting at Eyethu Cinema.

And at the same time, Mr Tshabalala's proposal that his party's executive committee appoint a delegation to discuss the simmering unrest situation with leading students and political organisations, received a thumbs down.

Mr Tshabalala is reported to have told his supporters that in future victims of police shooting in Soweto will not be allowed burial at Avalon Cemetery. He has also blamed the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Nthato Motlana and Bishop Desmond Tutu for the present unrest.

Oppression

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Transvaal president of the UDF, said Mr Tshabalala and his colleagues were party to the black people's oppression.

"They administer our daily humiliation of pass raids and shack demolition. At this point, it makes it impossible for us to meet him. There is no question of us meeting with the traitors of our people's cause," she said.

In a joint statement, Azapo and the Azanian Students' Movement, said it is unthinkable and time-wasting for the two organisations to respond to the statements from Mr Tshabalala and his colleagues.

r-
t-
i-
is
d
al
o
re
r-
or
i-
h
n-
it
d
e
r-
d
r-
r
r-
er

D. Aspotis
UDF blamed
24/9/84
for Vaal unrest 114

SOWETO — The Mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, yesterday accused the United Democratic Front of being responsible for the recent unrest in black townships in the Vaal Triangle.

Mr Tshabalala was addressing a meeting attended by about 900 people in the Eyethu cinema hall in Mofolo, Soweto, to discuss the recent unrest.

A resolution taken at the meeting by the ruling Sofasonke Party in the Soweto Town Council suggested that a meeting should be called of all political parties — including the UDF, Azapo, Azaso, Cosas and the Committee of Ten — where the "misunderstanding which has caused the riots in the Vaal townships can be thrashed out."

Suggestions put to the audience by Mr Tshabalala on ways in which revenue could be provided so that Sowetans would not have to pay rent, included:

- Asking the West Rand Administration Board and the government to hand over all bottle stores in the township to the council. Mr Tshabalala said he would also hand over his own bottle store to the council, and the combined earnings of all the bottle stores would provide Soweto with approximately R100 million per annum that could be used towards paying rents; and
- The introduction of toll gates in the township. All cars entering Soweto could each pay 20c, taxis R1, trucks R2 or R3 according to their size, and buses R2,50. — SAPA.

Spotlight shifts to New York UN for the Durban Six

~~11A~~ 11A

Star

24/9/84

Own Correspondent
DURBAN — The spotlight on the six refugees at the British Consulate in Durban moves to New York tonight when a two-man delegation, Mr Zac Yacoob and Mr Mafison Mqabe, are due to meet top United Nations officials.

The six men are Mr George Sewpershad, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David, now in their 12th

day at the consulate. India's Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, is also expected to join in the controversy after getting a telephone call from Mrs Ela Ramgobin, wife of Mr Mewa Ramgobin, over the weekend.

Mrs Ramgobin, granddaughter of the late Mahatma Gandhi, said today she had telephoned the Indian Prime Minister for support.

"I did not speak to her perso-

nally, but her secretary took the call and informed me that the Prime Minister was aware of the crisis.

"I was told Mrs Gandhi was expected to respond within the next few days," said Mrs Ramgobin.

She said Mrs Gandhi had been asked to get the British to act between the six men and the South African Government over the arrest orders issued by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr

Louis le Grange.

Mr Zac Yacoob flew to New York on Saturday night for tonight's meeting with UN representatives including the Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Mr Yacoob said before leaving that he also hoped to meet the British Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in New York.

The six refugees attended a special church service in the consulate yesterday.

The Rev Wesley Mabuza, a Methodist minister, conducted the service.

Only two of the six men are Christians, Mr Archie Gumede who is a deacon in the United Congregational Church, and Mr Paul David, who is Catholic. The other four are Hindus.

Special permission for the service to be held was granted by British diplomats in Pretoria and Durban.

Mason *24/9/84*

Yacoob flies out to seek UN aid for six

~~11A~~
11A

Political Reporter

NATAL Indian Congress lawyer Zac Yacoob has flown to New York to seek the aid of United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cueller to end the sit-in by six NIC and UDF members at the British Consulate in Durban.

Mr Yacoob's visit was preceded by a telex urging Dr Perez de Cueller to arrange a visit between representatives of the six and the British Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

UDF executive Mafison Morobe flew to the UN headquarters last week to discuss the men's plight.

Recent efforts by Afri-

can countries to end the sit-in have included an appeal to Dr Perez de Cueller and General Assembly president Paul Lusaka to get Britain to secure the safety and freedom of the six.

The men, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr George Sewpersadh, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Billy Nair, Mr Mewa Ramgobin and Mr Paul David, face detention if they leave the offices.

A retired British Air Force officer has threatened to march with six others on the British Consulate on Wednesday to force the fugitives out.

Mr Peter Smiddy, a former wing commander, who lives at Warner Beach, said he did not

'give a damn' where the fugitives went, but they had no right to be in the consulate.

'A few of us Empire Loyalists are going to turn up and get them ousted,' he said.

● See also Page 9

UDF blamed for trouble in townships

SOWETO—The Mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, accused the United Democratic Front yesterday of being responsible for recent unrest in black townships in the Vaal Triangle.

He was addressing a meeting attended by about 900 people to discuss the unrest.

A resolution taken at the meeting by the ruling Sefasonke Party in the Soweto Town Council suggested there should be a meeting of all political parties — including the UDF, Azapo, Azaso and the Committee of Ten — where the 'misunderstanding which has caused the riots in the Vaal townships can be thrashed out'.

Revenue

The Mayor would call a meeting of the council executive within the next few days, at which a decision would be made on whether to put the resolution to members at the monthly Soweto Council meeting on September 27. Police were in atten-

dance at the meeting and there were no incidents.

Suggestions were put to the audience by Mr Tshabalala on ways in which revenue could be provided so Sowetans would not have to pay rent.

They included:

Asking the West Rand Administration Board and the Government to hand over all bottlestores in the township to the council (Mr Tshabalala said he would hand over his own bottlestore to the council, and the combined earnings of all the bottlestores would give Soweto about R100 million a year that could be used toward rents);

The introduction of tollgates in the township (all cars entering Soweto could each pay 20 c, taxis R1, trucks R2 or R3 according to their size, and buses R2,50);

Asking the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, to ask the Government to give the Soweto Council 2 c for every traffic ticket issued in Soweto. — (Sapa)

**ET
fans
see
tears**



MEETING: Part of the crowd which attended the Sofasonke Party meeting yesterday and saw the Soweto mayor weeping.

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

Azapo under RMC fire

By SAM MABE

THE RELEASE Mandela Committee, Cosas and UDF yesterday reacted angrily to claims that "legitimate" protests and grievances of oppressed people were being blamed on what they called faceless instigators.

In a joint statement, the three organisations also said that it was sad for "misguided" elements like those in Azapo to have seen it fit to criticise them for last week's stay-away call.

The call, on Monday last week, led to thousands of people not going to work and the few who did being released by their employers during mid-day. Positive response to the call also came from businessmen and taxi owners, who suspended their operations for the day.

Last week, Azapo and the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) criticised the Release Mandela Committee for the stayaway call and described their act as "political adventurism."

They accused the RMC of having called the stayaway without consulting other organisations and Soweto residents.

The RMC statement said the blame for the tearsmoking, sjambokking and killing "of our people" should not be placed at the door of those who are struggling for freedom but where it rightfully belongs, at the door of the South African Government.

Azapo, in its effort to gain "easy credibility" among the people, had in fact strengthened those it hoped to discredit and destroy, the statement said.

11A
C.P.R. 23/9/84

Unionist's home burned

THE RELEASE Mandela Campaign's chief co-ordinator in the Eastern Cape, Aubrey Mali, returned early this week from a brief business trip in Johannesburg to find his two-room backyard home burnt down.

Mr Mali, who lives with his parents in Langa near Uitenhage, said the damage cau-

sed by the mysterious fire was estimated at well over R2 500.

Mr Mali is also the president of the Uitenhage Youth Congress, and works as a full-time organiser for the Motor Assemblies and Components Workers' Union of South Africa.

Seme's tombstone

THE TOMBSTONE of ANC founder member Pixley ka Isaka Seme — who died in 1951 — was unveiled at the Croesus Cemetery at the weekend amid a heavy attack on the Government, the Press, tribalists and white analysts of black political history.

Dr Seme's nephew KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi made these criticisms at the Inkatha-organised ceremony.

Chief Buthelezi levelled his criticism at some exiled ANC members, the emergence of "so-called" black consciousness and white authors of South Africa's political history.

He claimed the authors were giving distorted views which he said were also being perpetuated by the white-owned Press.

Chief Buthelezi specifically referred to the four volumes of *From Protest to Challenge* by Prof Gwendolen Carter and Prof Thomas Karis. Their analysis, he claims, credited his uncle for being a moving force behind the founding of the ANC, but accused him of conservatism which hampered the organisation's progress.

Dr Seme was ANC



K E MASINGA: Nephew of the late Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme.



CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI: A Government, the Press, and white

Ex-ANC leader's views being distorted — I

By SINNAH KUNENE

president from 1930 to 1937.

Committee of Ten chairman Nthato Motlana said Dr Seme had played a leading role in assisting to form black societies which strived to buy back land taken over by white people.

Through his efforts, black people were able

to buy land strips like Mogopa, Driefontein and KwaNgema.

But they were frustrated by the promulgation of the Land Act in 1912.

Pickson Mkhize — brother of Saul Mkhize — commended Dr Seme for fighting for

the rights of Driefontein people.

A former employee Dr Seme. S Z Conco, described the ANC leader as a "refined man who, in spite of his educational and cultural attainments, remained an unspoilt Zulu".

He was among the country's first black lawyers and featured prominently in civil and

criminal cases involving black people.

Dr Seme grew up on the Inanda Mission in Natal, where American missionary S Pixley arranged for him to study at Massachusetts' Mount Herman School.

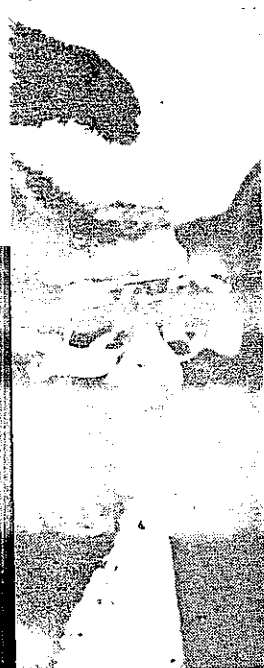
He then gained entry to Columbia University and obtained his BA degree in 1906.

He went to Jesus Col-

107

one unveiled

RIP
Pixley
ka Isaka
Seme



EZI: Attacked the white historians.



RIGHT REV M S NDWANDWE: Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg.



PICKSON MKHIZE: Younger brother of slain Driefontein community leader Saul Mkhize.

views Inkatha

ving lege at Oxford University for his law degree and in 1910 was admitted to the bar at the Middle Temple in London.

The following year, he returned to South Africa.

During 1912 he was appointed treasurer of the ANC and launched an ANC newspaper Abantu-Batho.

He married the el-

dest daughter of King Dinuzulu ka Cetshwayo, Princess Phikisile Harriet, who could not attend the unveiling because of ill-health.

About 350 people — mostly Inkatha members — attended the ceremony, conducted by the Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev M S Ndwandwe.



Camouflaged cops in a hippo guard Putco buses at the main Soweto bus terminus this week.

Stay-away call was misunderstood - RMC

C. Press 11A
23/9/84

YET another youth died in Soweto this week as tension continued to grip the simmering giant township.

A Release Mandela Committee spokesman said the stay-away call last week was for only one day - Monday - but people had misunderstood and continued the boycott.

Police said Walter Makgathu, 14, of 360b

Naledi was killed on Wednesday night and several others injured during clashes with police and stone-throwing youths.

This brings the number of known dead people to three since sporadic unrest started in Soweto about two weeks ago.

Until yesterday, heavily-armed police were escorting delivery vans into Soweto. Government buildings, supermarkets and filling stations were heavily guarded by police.

Most people have now reported for work. But those seen in groups are being dispersed with teargas. By late yesterday police were still in force in the streets.

By **KHULU SIBIYA**

Police spokesman Lt-Col H V Haynes said yesterday it was difficult to say how many people have died since the stay-away call by the Release Mandela Committee on Monday.

About 100 youths stoned a Putco bus just outside Diepkloof yesterday morning.

Police in hippos and vans arrived at the scene and fired teargas and buckshot at the crowd.

Three youths were arrested.

On Monday a motorist was stoned on his way home from work. He lost control of the car and it hit a post.

Two people were seriously injured and they were taken to the hospital.

Meanwhile, taxi-owners have formed a vigilante group to fight against what they call

"thugs who are now taking advantage of the situation."

This follows the stone-throwing and harassing of passengers. Youths were seen forcing people out of the taxis and stoning cars.

A Putco bus driver and a conductor are being treated in hospital for eye injuries caused by broken glass in one of 36 stone-throwing incidents involving the company's buses in the Soweto area between 4pm on Wednesday and 8am yesterday.

Although services were normal, buses were still operating under police protection from the Putco depot and in Dobsonville.

Lt B F van der Walt described the situation in Soweto yesterday as "one of the quietest" he had experienced since unrest flared in the townships nearly three weeks ago.

84
h ~~23/9~~
C. Press
ssim

a "life or death" issue. He not want to give Britain opportunity of appearing to be mpion of South Africa's people.

n is not an ally or friend pressed and exploited peo- or anywhere else. Britain, with the other Western are the technical advisers 'Botha regime."

ys he has committed no d will therefore not consi- g South Africa. Prior to his he was involved in a cam- ling for a boycott of the but there was nothing at that, he said.

me respects hiding is worse ig in prison. However, my hiding is my way of pro- ainst the rape of the rule nd against the high-handed vful action by those who be the custodians of law and

Survey shows massive support for continued foreign investment

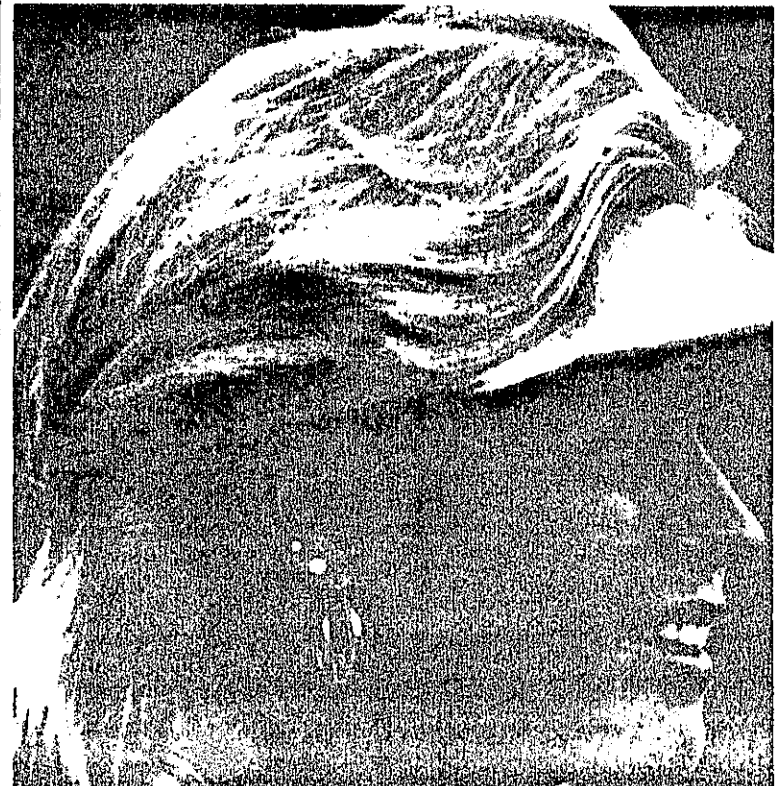
BLACKS SNUB ANTI-SALOON

11A
S. Times
23/9/84

Sunset safari to a tycoon's treetop wedding

By JEREMY BROOKS

THE bundu wedding of the year took place at sunset yesterday in a riverside treehouse
Transport tycoon Desmond Bol-



By IVOR WILKINS
SOUTH Africa's black workers have dealt a massive blow to the growing demand for disinvestment.

Despite a growing sense of political anger, they overwhelmingly reject the withdrawal of foreign capital and trade boycotts as a strategy for their liberation.

In a major survey, black production workers have registered their views on the vital issue, and 75 percent of them were firmly against it.

For the first time, those most closely affected by the question have voiced their feelings on a subject that is widely debated and on which dogmatic positions have been taken here and in Britain, Europe and North America.

The findings come when the disinvestment lobby is redoubling its efforts in the United States.

Already four American states and 20 cities have passed legislation which inhibits or prohibits investment in South Africa.

Political issues

The landmark survey was conducted by Professor Lawrence



Z

Tor. fatk.

ZOLA BUDD career is han
The tiny re-
two men in be-
the love and s-
home and frie-
posed to the c-
ly lonely life a
world-class a-
On the one side
father, British ci-
Budd, who has bo-
in London and in-
ing a business th-
returns this wee-
And on the oth-

Blacks

ANTI-

IS SNUB SALOBB

By IVOR WILKINS
SOUTH Africa's black workers have dealt a massive blow to the growing demand for disinvestment.

Despite a growing sense of political anger, they overwhelmingly reject the withdrawal of foreign capital and trade boycotts as a strategy for their liberation.

In a major survey, black production workers have registered their views on the vital issue, and 75 percent of them were firmly against it.

For the first time, those most closely affected by the question have voiced their feelings on a subject that is widely debated and on which dogmatic positions have been taken here and in Britain, Europe and North America.

The findings come when the disinvestment lobby is redoubling its efforts in the United States.

Already four American states and 20 cities have passed legislation which inhibits or prohibits investment in South Africa.

Political issues

The landmark survey was conducted by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal.

The study, described as an "Indicator South Africa" issue focus, was financed by the American State Department and tested the opinions of 551 black production workers in the industrial areas of the Transvaal, Port Elizabeth and Natal.

Commenting on the findings, Prof Schlemmer remarks: "... (black worker) replies on political issues show clearly they are no dull, apathetic and crushed proletariat who must be saved from a morass of false consciousness by liberated minds abroad."

The survey's major findings of black worker opinion are that:

- 75 percent reject disinvestment.
- Anger has risen dramatically and half the labour force describe themselves as "angry and impatient".
- 60 percent feel their circumstances are deteriorating.
- 61 percent, more than ever before, say they are ready to take political risks.
- They realise the potential power they wield, but at present most are reluctant to involve trade unions in the political struggle.
- Most of them — including trade unionists — prefer free en-



ZOLA

Torn bet father, co

By RUTH GOLEMB
ZOLA BUDD'S dazzling intern career is hanging on a delicate

The tiny reluctant heroine is two men in her life and the love and security of home and friends as opposed to the desperately lonely life of a top world-class athlete.

On the one side there is her father, British citizen Frank Budd, who has bought a house in London and intends starting a business there after he returns this week.

And on the other, her closest friend and confidant, coach Pieter "Lappies" Lauschagne, who recently settled into his new home in Bloemfontein and is chained to South Africa by a contract with the Education Department.

Insiders say there is no love lost between the two men and they have not spoken to one another since before the Olympic Games.

Mr Budd wants Zola to return to England with him and pick up on her road to fame and glory.

But the chances of her leaving without her coach

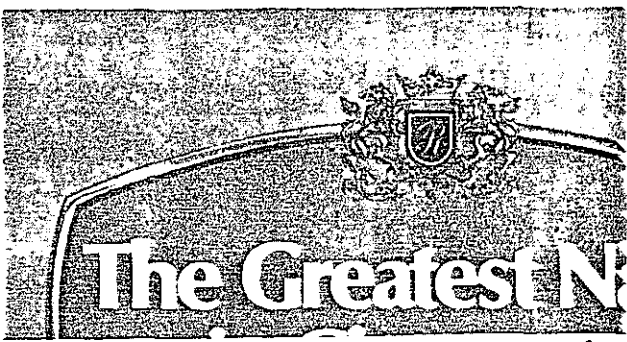
GA

...TH
GRO
THE
THE

and he
Budd,
Said
not wa
nor do
sions f
"Zola
own m
"I w

Audrey's
dodo disc
becomes
big hit

By DOUGLAS GORDON
BLONDE singer Audrey
Landers, the sexy Aston



Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal.

The study, described as an "Indicator South Africa" issue focus, was financed by the American State Department and tested the opinions of 551 black production workers in the industrial areas of the Transvaal, Port Elizabeth and Natal.

Commenting on the findings, Prof Schlemmer remarks: "... (black worker) replies on political issues show clearly they are no dull, apathetic and crushed proletariat who must be saved from a morass of false consciousness by liberated minds abroad."

The survey's major findings of black worker opinion are that:

- 75 percent reject disinvestment.

- Anger has risen dramatically and half the labour force describe themselves as "angry and impatient".

- 60 percent feel their circumstances are deteriorating.

- 61 percent, more than ever before, say they are ready to take political risks.

- They realise the potential power they wield, but at present most are reluctant to involve trade unions in the political struggle.

- Most of them — including trade unionists — prefer free enterprise to socialism.

Benefits

From the survey, it is clear that black workers separate their economic and political agendas to a remarkable degree.

On disinvestment, Professor Schlemmer says black workers "take an unabashedly short-run and material view" and most wished to see the benefits of the industrial system protected, regardless of other aspects of political change.

They were prepared to support banned organisations — in the Transvaal and Port Elizabeth, the African National Congress (ANC) is the most favoured body — and more than a third were prepared to participate in a mass political strike.

But they also wanted their employment and material opportunities protected.

"Disinvestment ... and trade sanctions are a threat to their material and work interests, and therefore they oppose them with firm consistency."

However, there is widespread support for the ANC, which includes economic sanctions in its programme.

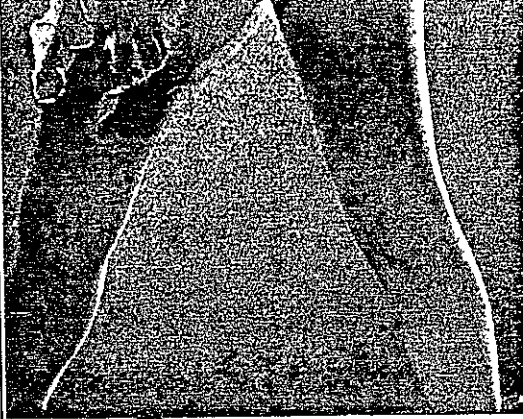
Lesson

Says Professor Schlemmer: "If ever (pro-disinvestment) agencies achieve formal influence in South African policy and affairs, black production workers ... will be among the first supporters of that leadership."

In an interview, he said the major lesson was that if anger grew, black workers would probably bridge the gap between political and economic aspirations and use labour as a weapon.

The minority of hardliners prepared to unleash worker power for political ends is a substantial 30 percent.

- See SA Blacks want Investors to Stay, pages 16 and 17



buschagne, who recently settled into his new home in Bloemfontein and is chained to South Africa by a contract with the Education Department.

Insiders say there is no love lost between the two men and they have not spoken to one another since before the Olympic Games.

Mr Budd wants Zola to return to England with him and pick up on her road to fame and glory.

But the chances of her leaving without her coach

Audrey's dodo disc becomes big hit

By DOUGLAS GORDON

BLONDE singer Audrey Landers, the sexy Afton Cooper in "Dallas", has taken South Africa by storm — with a delayed-action hit.

Her record "Manuel Goodbye", released seven months ago, has suddenly taken off.

Even record company bosses are amazed by the late success of the song.

With sales of 22 000, it last week rose to number four on the Springbok radio national pop charts, and is set to oust supergroup Queen from the top slot.

The record industry and the SABC disc-jockeys call it "a housewives hit".

The single was released in March, when Audrey and her "Vegas" TV-star sister, Judy, supported pop star Andy Gibb at Sun City's superbowl.

"After seven months on the market, a pop single is usually at the dodo level," said Mr Paul Zamek, managing director of RPM records.

"But Audrey is suddenly booming as one of the biggest acts in the pop market at present."

An SABC spokesman said listenership response to "Manuel Goodbye" has been "staggering".

Free State into the semi-finals

FREE STATE romped into the semi-finals of the Currie Cup rugby competition when they thrashed Northern Transvaal, 29-7 in Bloemfontein yesterday.

They meet Natal next Saturday, with the winner playing the winner of the Western Province-Eastern Transvaal semi-final in the final at Newlands on October 6.



f the
g the
nents
Ben
a leg-
ican-
meri-
ge 38.

ve'

y had, in
esterday
king the
stigation
Africans
er people
the sup-
Middle
sers in
2

23/9/84



Black workers going out on strike under watchful police eyes

A volatile mixture of political ideology and material improvement

MOST black workers identify labour as a powerful political weapon, but most see trade unions as instruments for material improvement rather than political advancement.

They separate to a remarkable degree their labour and political agendas, according to Indicator South Africa.

However, the high degree

of industrial and political discontent makes for a volatile mix and, pushed too far, black workers could merge their agendas and unleash trade union power to political ends.

This is the major warning implicit in the findings of the survey, says Professor Schlemmer.

"The lessons are that if blacks become so angered politically that they start running their political and economic agendas together, the ball game could change very rapidly" he said in an interview.

Already the signs are there. In the Pretoria and Vaal Triangle area, where black oppression is most keenly applied, labour and economic militancy is markedly higher.

This applies both on the question of using the labour weapon for political purposes and on disinvestment. "These workers are tentatively showing signs that when pushed too far, they become ideologically estranged from the economic system and start to bridge the split in agendas."

Blacks are in no doubt about the potential of worker power in the political field: 72 percent supported the position that political problems could only be solved by worker action.

But, on whether they would like to see labour "disturbed" as a political weapon, the separation of agendas began to manifest itself.

For example, on the role of trade unions, the majority, 54 percent, said it was to improve wages; way down on the list at 3 percent each were "fight influx control" and "work for political

rights" (See Table 3).

Again, on the question "which will be most valuable for an African like you?", the top response, given by 43 percent, was "skills training for job advancement"; only 3 percent listed strong political organisation.

"Hence," concludes Professor Schlemmer, "it seems quite clear that trade unions are conceived as having an industrial and not a political role."

This is also reinforced by responses to questions about what, would be most likely to spark a mass strike. Top of the list, mentioned by 91 per-

cent, was wage grievances, followed by poor worker-management communication (37 percent), while pass laws and political motivations were ranked fairly low, both being mentioned by 10 percent of the respondents.

Whether blacks would be willing to be mobilised into political strikes or trade boycotts also received a mainly negative response.

Forty-five percent said they were not willing to support a two-week work stoppage to demonstrate black worker strength; 36 percent said they were, while 19 percent would support a shorter strike.

On trade boycotts aimed at specific shops or goods, 41 percent were unwilling to give their support, 32 percent were willing and 22 percent would support such action for a few days.

Professor Schlemmer comments that notwithstanding a high level of discontent, a high and growing political consciousness, and a very poor image of employers and management workers generally do not allow their political feelings to colour workplace strategies.

SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL BODIES

BODY	JVL/PE	DBN
ANC/MANDELA	21%	11%
UDF	11%	23%
AZASO	1%	1%
AZAPO	5%	1%
Inkatha/Buthelezi	14%	54%
Sofosonke	15%	6%
Other	5%	4%
None	22%	-

SIX

A CRUCIAL Supreme Court application will be heard in Maritzburg today in which the 'Durban Six' challenge the detention notices issued against them by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

If their application is successful it could resolve the crisis which has put the British Government in a spot.

If it is not successful, there is still the possibility that the six plan to continue their camp-in.

The six political leaders have been living in the Durban British Consulate for more than a week. They asked for asylum to begin negotiations with the SA Government on their detention orders.

The plight of the six has been given widespread publicity in Europe and other parts of the world including Nigeria, India and America.

One of the members of the UDF team which went to Britain to publicise the situation, returned to Durban this week claiming their trip was proving to be "hugely successful".

He said they had had three aims — to highlight the position of the "Durban six" and draw attention to the South African system of detention; explain the UDF's opposition to the new constitution, and to give publicity to the unrest in the country, especially the school boycotts, strikes and the conflict in the Vaal Triangle.

"In all of these aims we can claim to have done very well," Professor Jerry Coovadia said.

Yesterday, the legal representative of the six, Zac Yacoob, and Murphy Morobe, were in Ireland for talks with the Irish Foreign Minister who spearheaded the detention protest note from the 10 EEC countries only days before the consulate drama began.

Mr Yacoob has an interview arranged with the United Nations secretary-general and is discussing further interviews with officials of other EEC countries.

He has also held successful talks with the Indian High Commissioner in London, Mohammed Saeed, who promised to ask Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to intervene.

Her government will be asked to influence Britain to take a more active role in resolving the situation.

They had talks with officials at the Nigerian Embassy and with Chief Anyaoku of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

C. Press 102
11A
23/9/84

'They told Unitra SRC to revolt'

By STAN MZIMBA

A FURIOUS war of words has broken out at the University of Transkei over a Cabinet Minister's allegations that the African National Congress had prompted the campus SRC to provoke the raging unrest there.

The allegations were made this week by Education Minister H T Bubu, and follow six months of student unrest at Unitra that culminated in the virtual shutdown of the campus and the arrest of almost 250 students.

Mr Bubu claimed this week that members of the SRC went to Lesotho late last year and met members of the ANC who "instructed them to re-activate ANC activities in the Transkei".

He said that since the appointment of the SRC executive "these gentlemen have been bent on adopting a militant attitude".

Mr Bubu's allegations have been firmly rejected by the SRC, who said the Minister was trying to smear not only the SRC, but the entire student body.

Meanwhile the 248 students held in a dawn raid by Transkei cops on August 29 made a surprise appearance in the Umtata Court on Wednesday.

The case was remanded

Cc
Br
Bl

UDF sit-in exposes Britain's vulnerable foreign policy

11A ~~11A~~ C-Times 22/9/84

JOHN BATTERSBY reports from London

THE question uppermost in the minds of Mrs Margaret Thatcher and her Foreign Office advisers this week was not whether the nightmare at the Durban consulate would go away but whether things would ever be the same once it had.

In the second of a prolific exchange of letters with Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock this week Mrs Thatcher described it as "a very difficult situation".

Just how delicate the situation is was driven home to worried Foreign Office officials when the British Prime Minister herself took effective control of her government's response to the bizarre events at the British consulate in the early stages of the drama.

Challenge

But why has the gauntlet thrown down by six fugitives of the United Democratic Front (UDF) presented such a daunting challenge to Britain? And how else could the British government have responded to the challenge?

If judged against Britain's delicately balanced foreign policy on South Africa, few could seriously question the correctness of Mrs Thatcher's response.

To have forcibly evicted the six fugitives at a time when Britain is facing mounting international pressure to match its anti-apartheid rhetoric with action would have made its position in bodies such as the Common Market, the Commonwealth and the United Nations untenable.

It would also have seriously jeopardized Britain's substantial trade interests in Africa and would have alienated a large slice of domestic opinion in Britain.

Disastrous

As Foreign Office Minister Mr Malcolm Rifkind put it: "If we were to throw them out it would be taking sides and that is not appropriate in the circumstances."

For Britain to become a party — even indirectly — to handing over political fugitives, freed by the courts, to the South African security police would have had unpleasant international and domestic consequences for Britain.

The alternative of taking up the case of the men with the South African government in an effort to secure guarantees for their safety would have immediately exposed Britain to accusations of interfering in the internal political and le-



Seven detainees photographed after they were released from the Maritzburg prison. The five men at the back, from the left, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr George Jewpershad and Mr Kader Hassim, have since taken refuge in the British consulate. The two men in the front are Mr Bhkuse Kikine (left) and Mr Billy Nair

gal processes of a host country and thus jeopardized its whole diplomatic operation in South Africa.

Ambivalent

So Mrs Thatcher took the middle course by offering the men temporary sanctuary while their legal representatives negotiated with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, but insisting that the British government would not — and could not — mediate on their behalf.

But the correctness of Mrs Thatcher's response has not averted some very awkward questions being asked about her government's foreign policy on South Africa and the setting of some very dangerous precedents for the future.

Foreign Office officials I spoke to this week could not recall any precedent for a British consulate or embassy providing a refuge for political fugitives with no British connection.

Bending

They conceded it was an unprecedented bending of the sacrosanct Foreign Office rule not to allow British premises to be used for such a purpose.

Right-wing Tory MPs

went further and accused Mrs Thatcher of interfering in the internal affairs of a friendly country by "harbouring" political fugitives.

Left-wing Tory MPs insisted that Britain had a moral obligation not only to offer protection to such people but also to mediate on their behalf.

In the minds of Foreign Office officials the spectre arose of British diplomatic premises in South Africa becoming a refuge for political fugitives of all persuasions wanting to gain international publicity for their cause.

There can be no doubt that the UDF has skilfully exploited Britain's vulnerability.

Obligation

As its articulate representative, Mr Zac Yacoob, pointed out in London this week, Britain had a moral obligation to intervene because it was the former power in South Africa which had to negotiate a deal for the political rights of the oppressed over the apartheid gov-

ernment in 1910.

On the face of it Britain should have no quarrels with the UDF's political objectives and methods.

The UDF shares Britain's abhorrence of apartheid, detention-without-trial, and a constitution which entrenches racism and denies meaningful political participation to 73 percent of the population.

It opposes violence and advocates a democratic, non-racial South Africa based on government by consent.

It is deeply ironic that the UDF had to occupy British diplomatic premises before it was to gain recognition in Britain.

Suddenly the UDF has been thrust on to the front pages of the British media. Its representatives have been received by senior government officials and Mrs Thatcher has had to deal with their cause daily in an exchange with the leader of the opposition and her Foreign Office.

Some would argue that the UDF tactics in causing the British govern-

ment maximum embarrassment and setting deadlines for ministerial meetings have been counter-productive to their cause.

Opposition

But the evidence so far is to the contrary. The UDF has succeeded in putting itself on the international map as the real opposition to the South African government.

As a partner to last week's EEC declaration in Dublin, Britain undertook to seek the release of the detained UDF leaders.

Now the UDF says Mrs Thatcher has the ideal opportunity to demonstrate that her policy of dialogue and contact with South Africa works.

No wonder Mrs Thatcher regards it as a "very difficult situation".

But the real underlying worry of the British government in the aftermath of the Durban sit-in will be whether Britain can protect its economic interests as the situation in South Africa polarizes.

That is the real nightmare that will linger on long after the consular officials at the Durban consulate have returned to their mundane daily duties.

Smuggled diary says refugee 6 are living like prisoners

11A Star 22/9/84

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The six former detainees in the British Consulate in Durban are restricted to an office measuring seven metres by five metres for at least 22 hours a day, according to a secret diary kept by the men.

The six men, who are in their ninth day there, are Mr George Sewpershad, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David.

The office is their bedroom, kitchen, toilet and office, according to the diary, which is made up of scraps of paper. Piece by piece it was smuggled out in spite of stringent security measures.

The measures are so strict, in fact, that the men wrote in their diary: "Security arrangements are such that contact with the outside world, at the behest of the consulate, is prohibited. Only close members of the families are allowed in at a specified time; no different in principle from prison conditions."

They are only allowed out to rush down the corridor to use a toilet and wash basin at the crack of dawn each day.

'22 hours in a confined space'

DURBAN — The day starts at 4.30 in the morning for the six refugees in the British Consulate in Durban, according to their secret diary.

The men get up at dawn to make use of a toilet and wash basin which is situated down the corridor from the British Consulate on the seventh floor of a city office block.

"We shave and wash with cold water which we also use to rub down our bodies. We use a lot of deodorant.

"We have a make-shift toilet in the room. It consists of a brown plastic bucket with an anti-septic solution. The floor is covered with newspapers.

"Our kitchen consists of a small table. We store water in soft drink bottles. Food is in abundance because of the feelings and solidarity of our people outside.

"We stretch our necks to see people walking in the streets below. We look at the Berea and see

the flickering lights and listen to the sounds of motor vehicles.

"To eat, sleep and live in one room with six like-minded people might seem easy, but it's not. Spending at least 22 hours a day in a confined space, we see each other's strengths and weaknesses," says the first entry in the diary.

At about seven each morning the men have breakfast — a cup of tea and what is left over from the previous night's supper.

"We sprawl on the floor for most of the time and look at the walls. There is a picture of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II and another of Prince Charles and Princess Di. It made us think and wonder about the founder of the Natal Indian Congress, Mahatma Gandhi, who was in fact the same man who led the movement which broke up the British Empire." — Own Correspondent.

The men say loneliness is not a problem and they sustain each other, even though the confined space makes them "edgy and nervy".

"In some ways we are kept away from the rat race outside. Then the rat race becomes more appreciated when we hear about our families and the hardships they are undergoing

outside. Yes, we do react and begin to ponder. Then we reassess and re-sustain each other," says an entry in the diary.

One of the brightest moments for the men was when the Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, visited them.

There are many thoughts of

the men that are reflected in the diary, like the one on the Internal Security Act against which they are protesting.

"Going through the several newspapers that we do have access to, we get inspired by the responses from our people outside. We look at each other and smile. Then the seriousness of the Internal Security Act

pre-occupies us all over again.

"And we ask ourselves and debate, why is it that the Government seeks to have us jailed: We who have conducted a campaign in a non-violent manner? The debate goes on and we sometimes arrive at common reasoning and sometimes at different conclusions," say the men in the diary.

They write, too, about their encounters with the British consular staff and point out that while they are firm, they are polite.

The men, five of whom are attorneys, do "their own housework" and according to another entry, they had vacuum-cleaned the carpet, washed their dishes and tidied up the room, dusted the furniture and cleaned out the bucket which was being used as a toilet.

They referred to one prayer meeting in particular and according to the diary: "It was nice to have shared bread and wine in communion conducted by the Rev Dladla. And then to see Dr Allan Boesak was another affirmation that we are on the path that gives the human race credit and as servants of our oppressed people, we will not depart from this path."

RDM 2119/84

Azapo, Azasm slam stayaway

11A

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), and the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), yesterday severely criticised the Release Mandela Committee (RMC) for failing to show a sense of "contrition and humility" over its "bungling" of the Soweto stay-away campaign.

"Recent developments in Soweto reflect badly on the authors of the RMC stay-away," they said in a joint statement.

The RMC originally called on people to stay away on Monday in protest against "Botha, Koornhof and Tshabalala".

But it was later admitted that the message had not been clear and that some people had stayed away for longer (some because of strong pressure, including the stoning of buses and taxis by youths).

"Political adventurism can never be tolerated, especially when people's lives are at stake and loss of life is involved," the statement said.

"Nothing can justify rash responses to our situation. Such actions are characteristic of manipulations by white self-interest.

"We expected the RMC to show a sense of contrition and humility for the recent political bungling of calling an impromptu stay-away in Soweto.

"The RMC call is an insult to the integrity of the legitimate and broadly-canvassed campaign of people in the Vaal Triangle. We regret that Mr (Nelson) Mandela's name has been associated with it.

"Our struggle is neither spontaneous nor impulsive. It is based on realistic goals and tangible objectives, which can only be obtained through sustained and disciplined and democratic struggle."

The Rev Frank Chikane, a vice-president of the United Democratic Front, said earlier: "The UDF wishes to emphasise that the call was made for one day only. There is a need for absolute restraint and discipline on the part of all those who wish to prolong the stay-away."

Azapo, Azasm Slam RMC stayaway call

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE AZANIAN Peoples' Organisation and the Azanian Students Movement yesterday slammed the Release Mandela Committee for the stayaway call this week.

The bitter attack on the RMC comes in the wake of the incident-filled stayaway which has so far claimed the lives of at least four people.

Yesterday the police confirmed the death of 14-year-old Walter Pule Makgato, a Std 4 pupil at Tirisano Combined School in Molapo. He was shot dead on Wednesday afternoon after he allegedly hurled stones at a police vehicle. Mr Bongani Kumalo, secretary of the Soweto branch of the Congress of South African Students, died last week Thursday and two other people died early this week.

An RMC spokesman said they were not prepared to comment at this stage.

The joint attack on the RMC by Azapo and Azasm, says the recent developments in Soweto reflect badly on the authors of the RMC's stayaway calls. The RMC is accused of political adventurism by Azapo and Azasm: "Political adventurism can never be tolerated, especially when people's lives are at stake and loss of life is involved. Such actions, are characteristic of manipulation of white self-interests."

"The RMC stayaway is an insult to the integrity of the legitimate and broadly-canvassed campaigns of our people in the Vaal Triangle. We regret that Mandela's name has been associated with such a fracas.

"Our struggle is neither spontaneous nor impulsive. It is based on realistic goals and tangible objectives which can only be attained through sustained, disciplined and democratic struggle," the statement says.

This attack comes after simmerings within the Black Consciousness movement that no organisation can call a stayaway in Soweto without consulting the residents, other organisations in Soweto, businesses and taxi organisations.

The two organisations
To Page 2

Sowetan 21/9/84 11A

What's in your

SOWETAN SUNDAY

MIRROR

BAG

THIS SUNDAY

THE Sowetan Sunday MIRROR again brings you the best in news, features and pictures:

- Joe Thloloe looks at the anger that has erupted in black townships this year. What does it mean? What are its implications?
- The day the Big Apple, New York, was turned into KwaZulu.
- The marriage bureau with a difference — matching people across continents, across colour and language.
- This, and lots more from the Sowetan Sunday MIRROR. Don't miss it!



RMC call under fire

→ From Page 1

also claim that trade unions, which represent the working population, were not consulted and say the RMC had no right to call the stayaway without consulting the people of Soweto.

Azapo and Azasm also said the stayaway was characteristic of manipulation by whites who did this in self interest.

Lieutenant B F van der Walt of the Police Public Directorate in Pretoria, described the situation in Soweto yesterday as one of the quietest he had experienced since the unrest in black townships flared nearly three weeks ago. So far, the official death toll in Soweto, the Vaal Triangle and the East Rand stands at more than 50.

Fire

In some of the incidents reported to police yesterday, a car was gutted after about 50 youths set fire to it. In another, 10 youths stoning a Putco bus turned on the police when they arrived on the scene. The group was dispersed with rubber bullets and tearsmoke. No one was injured or arrested.

In Diepkloof, police used birdshot to disperse a crowd that stoned them.

Earlier yesterday, about 100 youths were also dispersed by police after they had stoned a bus in Soweto.

Putco added that from Wednesday afternoon until yesterday morning at 8 am, 36 buses had been stoned and 72 windows smashed. Since the start of the Soweto unrest last Wednesday, at least 250 buses were stoned, and 793 windows broken. One bus has been completely damaged and it will cost about R70 000 to re-

place it.

Sowetan 2/19/84 (11A) ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

UDF to blame for Vaal riots - claim

THE UNITED Democratic Front and some church leaders in the Vaal have been blamed for the unrests which left a trail of property destruction and several deaths in the Vaal Triangle early this month.

Mr D C Ganz, Chief Director of the Orange-Vaal Development Board, said in a statement released this week that the unrests were the work of "agitators."

He said most meetings where "this fiasco was planned" took place in houses and churches in the Vaal Triangle with what he called a "wholehearted co-operation and direction of the ministers involved."

Planned

Mr Ganz claims in the statement that the burning of shops and the driving out of community councillors was planned in the meetings held in churches and that UDF speakers promoted the uprising.

Increased rents in the Lekoa Council area were an unfounded grievance used just as a kind of smokescreen by agitators, he said.

He also said that an

By SAM MABE

argument "as old as the hills" was used by agitators that poor people and old people could not afford higher rents. The exemption from rent or extension of the time of payment could be obtained in these cases, he added.

Mr Ganz also cites a research report by Benso, which he said showed that the area under the Lekoa authority had the highest average family income of any black area in 1982.

Don't miss
SOWETAN SUNDAY
MIRROR
The paper you can trust

Six fugitives:

UK, SA set

for collision

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The South African Government is holding to its position that Britain must take action against the fugitives taking refuge at the consulate in Durban.

A spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today the position was not affected by a statement by British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher that her Government would not force the men to leave the consulate.

The Ambassador in London, Dr Dennis Worrall, was scheduled to meet British Foreign

Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe to relay Government demands for action on the matter which has dragged on for more than a week.

Mr Botha's spokesman said there might be further developments in the course of the day.

It is understood from Government sources that colleagues have brought strong pressure to bear on Mr Botha to end the consulate drama.

John D'Oliveira reports from London that there is little chance the six fugitives will be forced to vacate the consulate.

This seems to place the two governments on a collision course over an issue which has already caused considerable embarrassment.

Most observers in London are puzzled by Mr Botha's stance.

Instructions

In a letter last week to Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock, Mrs Thatcher wrote: "I can assure you that from the moment we were first informed of the presence of the group at the consulate, instructions were issued that they should not be required to leave the premises against their will."

Downing Street had no comment last night on Mr Botha's statement that a week was a "reasonable period" for the British to resolve the issue.

However, when asked whether Mrs Thatcher's undertaking remained in force, a spokesman answered: "Yes, it does."

In her letter Mrs Thatcher also made it clear that the British Government would not act as an intermediary between the six men and the South African Government.

She has emphasised that there is "no role" for her government in "this very difficult situation".

Her letter makes it clear that she does not intend any action other than asking the six to leave the consulate voluntarily.

Mandela campaign criticised

11A Staw
21/9/74

By Tembi Mbobo

The Release Mandela Campaign has been criticised for asking Sowetans to stay away from work on Monday.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) said the call was an "unjustifiable rash response" to the troubles in Soweto.

The subsequent events in the township in which vehicles were stoned, were said to reflect badly on "the authors of the RMC's stay-away". Four people died in the unrest.

Azapo and Azasm said: "Political adventurism can never be tolerated especially when people's lives are at stake and loss of life is involved."

The RMC call was described as "an insult to the integrity of the legitimate and broadly canvassed campaigns of our people in the Vaal Triangle".

No RMC people were available for comment.

Lift ban on ANC and PAC, church urges

(NIA)

(S)

(S)

By Michael Tissong

20/9/84

The synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika (NGKA) has called on the Government to lift the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC).

In a statement released after its southern Transvaal regional synod held recently, the NGKA, which is a sister church of the white Ned Geref Kerk, said it was becoming "aware of the rising tide of anger and bitterness within the black community".

Chaos in stay-away blamed on Govt ban

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE stay-away campaign launched in Soweto by the Release Mandela Committee (RMC) should have lasted for one day only but the message had not been properly understood and people had stayed away for longer, an executive member of the RMC, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, said yesterday.

The original campaign was planned for Monday only. However, people also stayed away — or were forced to stay-away by activists and attacks on buses and taxis — on Tuesday and, to a lesser extent, yesterday.

Mr Ngwenya admitted that the RMC message had not been clearly communicated to Sowetans, but blamed the ban on meetings for the confusion.

The call for a stay-away was made in pamphlets distributed by the RMC at the weekend.

The pamphlet read in part: "Let us stay away from work to challenge Botha, Koornhof and Tshabalala. Let us stay away in unity, co-operation and understanding. We demand that the Government issues a public response to our grievances by Tuesday 18th September 1984."

Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, was elected Mayor of Soweto last year after his Sofa-

sonkwe Party won the Soweto Town Council elections on a poll of barely over 10%.

The pamphlet ended with a demand for Mr Tshabalala and his councillors to resign.

Mr Tshabalala, who wooed voters in the Soweto election with promises to reduce rents, was the target of popular anger in Soweto for his failure to prevent increases in rentals and service charges.

If the Government failed to respond to the people's grievances, the RMC would launch an "even heavier campaign," Mr Ngwenya said.

Grievances listed in the pamphlet included the rising cost of living, increasing rentals and electricity costs, low wages, shortage of houses and lack of qualified teachers in black schools.

In a statement released to the Rand Daily Mail last night the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) expressed concern over the black-on-black violence that has prevailed in Soweto since Tuesday.

It called on the people of Soweto to "desist from witching hunting and harassing one another in pursuance of personal, misdirected and sectarian interests."

In another development, Mr Kenny Mosime, president of the Azanian Students' Movement, warned that the situa-

tion in the townships was in a "state of confusion" and vulnerable to exploitation by "agents provocateurs, saboteurs, opportunists and adventurers."

The confusion could only be remedied if people were allowed to consult openly with another, which they were prevented from doing by the ban of meetings, he said.

ANTON HARBUR reports that a United Democratic Front spokesman has called on those who wish to prolong the stay-away from work in Soweto to exercise absolute restraint and discipline.

In a statement yesterday, the Reverend Frank Chikane, vice-president of the UDF in the Transvaal, also said that the Government's ban on all meetings exacerbated a highly volatile situation.

The UDF condemned the ban in the strongest terms because meetings were absolutely necessary to resolve the present state of affairs, he said.

It was clear that the call for a stay-away by the RMC only applied to Monday, he said.

"The UDF notes with concern that people returning from work are facing problems for not having heeded the stay-away call.

"In this regard, the UDF wishes to emphasise that the call was made for only one day. There is a need for absolute restraint and discipline on the part of all those who wish to prolong the stay-away.

ensailing con...

(TIA) ~~SECRET~~
C. Tunes 20/9/84

UDF warns govt on meeting ban

By PETER DENNEHY
THE government was sending organizations underground by banning meetings in 21 magisterial districts in the Transvaal, the Rev Frank Chikane, Transvaal vice-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said at a protest meeting last night.

He was addressing about 400 people in the Claremont Civic Centre at a protest meeting against detentions and the ban on meetings in parts of the Transvaal and Eastern Cape.

"I want to warn the government that the repressive measures they take against us are going to

work against them," Mr Chikane said.

"The Transvaal is in a state of undeclared emergency.

"The government knows we have to address the situation in Soweto as it develops."

Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the UDF, said that an orchestrated campaign to destroy the forces of democracy in South Africa was becoming increasingly visible.

"We expect repression to intensify," he added.

The UDF represented the will of the people, and the National Party and its "lackeys" were losing the battle for their hearts and minds.

Stayaway causes confusion in Soweto

Star
20/9/84
11A

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Leaders of the "Release Mandela" campaign have stressed that the call to Soweto residents to stay away from work was for a one-day protest only and the United Democratic Front has appealed for an end to reprisals against commuters.

The campaign leaders were reacting to reports of confusion about whether to continue the stay-at-home.

Campaign executive committee member Mr Jabu Ngwenya said the pamphlet had asked people to stay off work on Monday only but, as it had omitted to state an end date, confusion had arisen.

The Rev Frank Chikane, Transvaal vice-president of the UDF, commented: "It was clear that the stayaway call applied to Monday September 17 only. The UDF notes with concern that people returning from work are still facing problems.

"There is a need for absolute restraint and discipline on the part of all those who wish to prolong the stayaway."

Mr Chikane said an unorganised extension of the stayaway would lead to "unnecessary loss of life and destruction of property".

He strongly condemned the Government's blanket ban on meetings, saying: "The Government's action has exacerbated a highly volatile situation."

India may step in for Durban 'Consulate Six'

LONDON — The two remaining members of the delegation representing the six men who have sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban are expected to stay in London in the hope that the Indian Government will step in and ask Britain to arrange a meeting between the delegation and a high-ranking British Minister.

In Durban, Professor Jerry Coovadia, one of the three delegates who travelled to London over the weekend but who had to return due to prior commitments, said that the Indian High Commissioner in London had promised to try to get his Government interested in the campaign.

Also in Durban, Mr Yunus Mohammed, a spokesman for the legal team representing the six men, said that the United Nations High Commission in Geneva had offered to act as mediator between the British Gov-

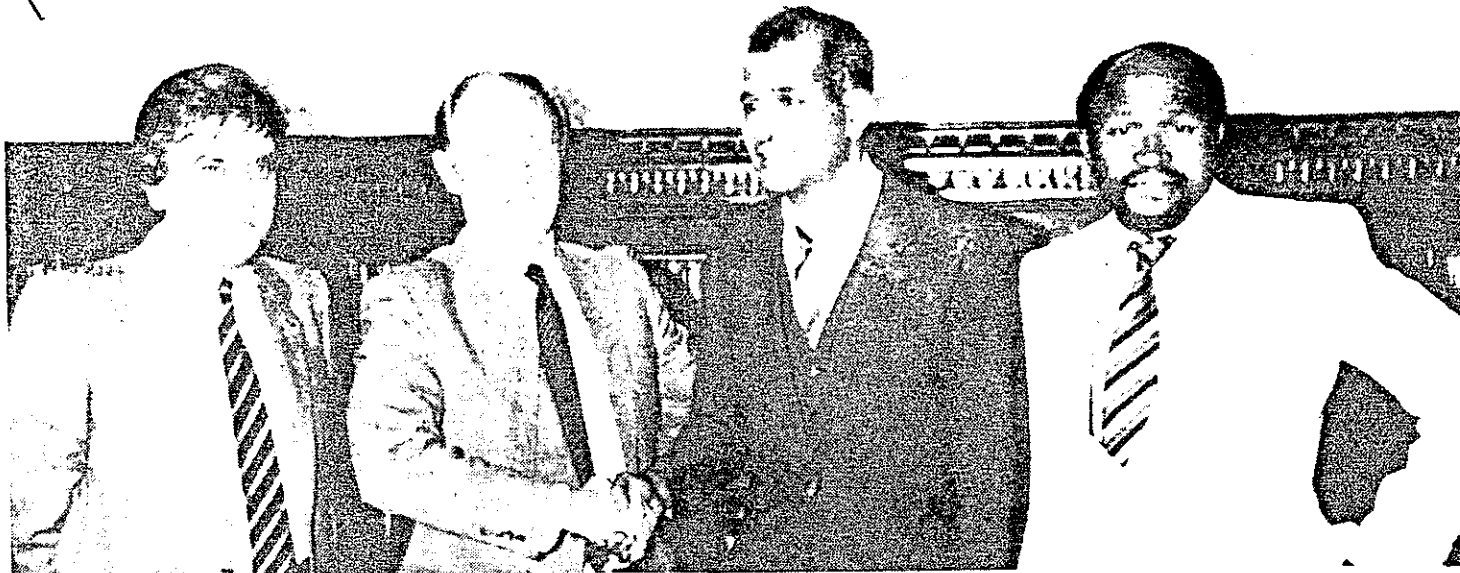
ernment, the South African Government and the six men in the consulate.

It was now up to the six to decide whether they wanted refugee status in accordance with the UN charter.

The World Council of Churches had also offered assistance and support, Mr Mohammed said.

Should the meeting with a British Minister not materialise, the delegation intends to put the case to European governments and the United Nations in the hope that pressure will force the British to negotiate on behalf of the six who face arrest under detention orders if they leave the consulate.

But the British Government appears determined to maintain its policy that it will not intervene directly although it will not force the men to leave the consulate. — Sapa, Own Correspondent.



The representatives of the six men in Durban's British Consulate pictured during yesterday's discussions in London with Mr Neil Kinnock, Leader of the Opposition. (Left to right) Mr Jerry Coovadia, Mr Neil Kinnock, Mr Zac Jacob and Mr Murphy Morobe.

Full Bench to decide on six fugitives

Star 18/19/87
(11A)

DURBAN — Action on behalf of six men camped in the British Consulate in Durban, in which they ask for arrest orders issued by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to be scrapped, is to begin in the Supreme Court on Friday.

Two legal teams, one for the six men and the other for the Minister, were meeting today to work out details.

Yesterday the application came before Mr Justice Wilson in Durban, who said that for various reasons the matter

should be heard by a full Bench.

Thousands of Durban residents have pledged themselves to a candlelight vigil tonight to protest South Africa's security laws and show support for Mr George Sewpersadh, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, showed reporters documentary evidence in Cape Town to prove he had been in touch with legal representatives of the group by telex

and telephone on a number of occasions, the SABC reported today.

The Star's London Bureau reports that lawyers for the six warned today they might have to broaden their campaign to take in both the European Economic Community and the United Nations.

On Friday at Maritzburg Mr Ismail Mohamed SC is to argue that Mr le Grange could not reasonably have come to the conclusion that the six were trying to create a revolutionary situa-

tion or endangering order.

For the State Mr Jan Combrink, assisted by Mr R C Hiemstra, will argue that the Minister did all that was required of him to effect proper redetention.

In London opposition pressure is mounting on the Government.

After a meeting yesterday with a three-man delegation in London, Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock wrote a second letter to Mrs Thatcher urging her to intercede. — Own Correspondents, Sapa.

UDF AND AZAPO MAKE CALL:

'Step up resistance'

THE United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday called on the black community to step up their resistance against the Government in view of the recent events in the country. *Soweto 18/9/84 (1A)*

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

The Rev Frank Chikane, Transvaal UDF vice-president, said the stayaway in Soweto, the events of the past week in the Vaal and elsewhere, the continued detention of the UDF leadership and the harassment of those who have taken refuge in the British Consulate in Durban, all point to a deepening crisis in South Africa and the unworkability of the new apartheid constitution.

The banning of indoor meetings in the Transvaal and the sending of all schoolchildren on an early holiday, further indicates that the apartheid regime has just fallen short of declaring

a state of emergency.

"We call on all South Africans to respond accordingly to the situation by stepping up resistance and opposition to the apartheid Government and its new constitution," he said.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's Soweto branch chairman, said the stayaway and strikes in the black community reflect the crisis in which the racist and the capitalist system of the country finds itself.

He also said it shows that no equitable system can be established by the privileged minority

with complete contempt for the genuine aspirations of the people.

"We call upon people's organisations and leadership to close their ranks against the common enemy and their common exploitation.

"To minimise instinctive and opportunist responses, enough consultation should be engaged in order to make maximum gains in each assault we make against the system.

"We urge the black masses to stand united and vigilant against all strategies aimed at dividing us."

RDM 19/9/84 11A

Mandela campaign's move

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE stay-at-home call by the Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) to Sowetans represents a new political initiative by the campaigners, who until now have concentrated on pressing for the release of the jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

The new thrust, signified by the distribution of pamphlets calling on Sowetans to "stay-away in unity, cooperation and understanding", comes at a time when many of the campaign's leaders are in prison or fugitives from the police.

In the Transvaal the campaign is spearheaded by a special committee under the chairmanship of Mr Curtis Nkondo.

Both Mr Nkondo and the publicity secretary, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, were detained

late last month on the eve of elections for the coloured House of Representatives.

In Natal, campaign leaders include the chairman of the local committee, Mr Paul David, and Mr Archie Gumede, a president of the United Democratic Front.

Both have sought refuge from the police in the British Consulate in Durban.

But the bid by the campaign to mobilise overt resistance to the "new deal" is hardly surprising in view of the strong overlap between the RMC and the UDF, on the one hand, and the internment of key UDF leaders last month, on the other.

Members of the RMC include:

● Mrs Albertina Sisulu, one of three presidents of the UDF and a leader of the Federation of South African Women, another UDF affiliate;

● Mr Tiego Moseneke, former president of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), which is also affiliated to the UDF; and

● Mr "Oupa" Monareng, chairman of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco).

Apart from the inter-locking connections between the RMC and the UDF and its member organisations, there are further reasons for the RMC's decision not to confine itself to seeking the release of Mandela.

There is a logical connection between the UDF's campaign against the new tri-racial constitution for whites, coloureds and Indians and the RMC campaign for the release of Mandela and men jailed with him for "political crimes".

The UDF rejection of the new constitution is associated with a call for a new national convention of all

South African leaders, including those now in prison, in exile or under restriction orders.

Thus the call for the national convention is based on the belief that all imprisoned political leaders should be released, that all those in exile should be allowed to return, and that all those under restriction orders should be freed from them.

Further, as a member of the RMC pointed out yesterday, the campaign for the release of political prisoners should not be seen in isolation.

It is closely linked to a wider campaign against the apartheid system, aimed at destroying all existing "apartheid structures" — from "Bantu Education" to special separate political institutions designed for blacks — as a surrogate for full representation in the central Government.

Star 11A
19/9/84

No action on voting abuses

By Eugene Saldanha

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has decided not to take legal action against candidates and parties who allegedly abused the special votes system in last month's elections.

A spokesman for the TIC said that the vast majority of Indians did not vote in the elections. This had denied legitimacy to the new deal and discredited "collaborators" who participated in the tricameral Parliament.

"What makes the election more laughable is that, of the total number of people who voted, one-third cast special votes. In some constituencies 60 percent of those who voted cast special votes. The TIC has collected 70 affidavits from people who cast votes in circumstances which did not entitle them to do so," said the spokesman.

He said the TIC had decided not to take action mainly because people who signed false declarations in their applications for special votes could be prosecuted.

Seme's 17/9/84 (11A)

Tribute to ANC leader Dr Seme

ONE of the principal founders of the African National Congress, Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, was showered with glowing tributes at the unveiling of his tombstone at the Croesus Cemetery in Johannesburg at the weekend.

He was hailed as one of the early pioneers in the struggle for the liberation of blacks in their fight against a racist regime.

Among the speakers were Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, who delivered the main address, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr S Z Conco, who worked for Dr Seme, Mr K E Masinga, nephew of Dr Seme, and a representative of the people of KwaNgema, a community established through the efforts of Dr Seme.

Mr G M Pitje, an attorney and former president of the African National Congress Youth League, was listed as one of the speakers, but did not attend.

A crowd of about 500 people — mostly members of Inkatha — gathered around the grave in solemn dignity and sang church hymns and songs of liberation, amid the symbolic black, green and gold colours of the

flags.

Chief Buthelezi, who was accompanied by members of the Zulu Royal Family, told the crowd that Dr Seme was a principal founder of the now-banned ANC.

Wisdom

He said: "We are deeply aware of the extent to which Dr Seme's wisdom was not there to help guide the African National Congress through the fateful decade before it was crushed by the full might of the State. We today hail Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme as one of the outstanding heroes of our nation, and we take this opportunity of re-affirming our commitment to his great values and deep wisdom which black South Africa has made its own."

Dr Motlana said in some parts of his speech "Divided as we are, Dr Seme would have found a way to unify us and enable us to face the enemy."

He said the Government was "using our different languages to keep us apart in our struggle for liberation, but we are one and our common enemy is racist oppression." He scoffed at talks that he was Chief Buthelezi's enemy because of their different political ideology.

Mr Conco said the Venda people would not have accepted their so-called independence if Dr Seme was alive. He said the influential Dr Seme was popular with the Venda people and he would have discouraged them.

The representative of the KwaNgema people said Driefontein's Mr Sol Mkhize was shot dead after he had told the Government officials the truth about their refusal to move.

Azapo top man held

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation (Azapo) West Rand representative, Mr Nicodemus Thoriso Phake, is being held by the police in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Lieutenant T F Jefferson of the Police Directorate for Public Relations in Pretoria, has confirmed his detention. According to a relative Mr Phake of Mohlakeng was picked up by Security Police from his home.

His detention brings to seven the number of people held a week ago under Section 29 — which provides for detention for purposes of interrogation.

Also detained is Mr Vincent Mogane, a member of Tladi Civic Association and an active supporter of the United Democratic Front (UDF) while visiting in Diepkloof, Soweto.

According to reports police also detained five Johannesburg people. They are, Mrs Monica Dube of Soweto, Miss Terry Sacco of Bellevue, Miss Maxine Hart of Yeoville, Mr Isaac Isaacs of Klipspruit and Mr Clyde Jacobs of Eldorado Park.

Soweto
17/9/84
IIA

UK cool to UDF lawyer

17/9/74
IIA
C. Turner

From MARGARET SMITH

LONDON. — Mr Zac Yacoob, a lawyer representing the six ex-detainees holed up in the British Consulate in Durban, arrived here yesterday to plead their case with the British Government.

They want Britain to apply diplomatic pressure on the South African Government to ensure that the fugitives are not detained once they leave the sanctuary of the consulate.

Speaking at Heathrow Airport, Mr Yacoob said he believed Britain had a duty to help. Britain had expressed its opposition to apartheid and to detention without trial and he hoped the British Government would act in accordance with these views.

Mr Yacoob, who is blind, was accompanied by Professor Jerry Koovadia of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and Mr Mafison Morobe of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Mr Yacoob hopes to negotiate at the highest possible level for help in securing the safe release of his clients.

However, he has been officially informed by the British Government that there is no question of him meeting the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, or any other top minister.

A Foreign Office spokesman said last night that Mr Yacoob had been told that if he wished to visit the Foreign Office, an appropriate senior official would see him and "listen to his views".

'A purely internal matter'

The spokesman said: "We want to make it clear that we are not taking sides in this matter. Nor are we harbouring anyone. We hope that a sensible arrangement between the men and the South African authorities can be arrived at to enable them to leave the consulate as quickly as possible."

He said the British Government was not going to get involved in the merits of the dispute, nor was it their responsibility to mediate.

"We can't be expected to get involved in what is a purely internal matter."

According to informed sources, the senior official assigned to meet Mr Yacoob would be Mr John Johnson, a former British high commissioner in Lusaka.

Mr Yacoob said last night he had not yet decided whether he would see Mr Johnson because if Mr Johnson were merely to listen to his views, the exercise seemed pointless. He hoped the British Government would change its mind.

Threats - so workers quit jobs early

Staff 17/9/84

Staff Reporters

Hundreds of Soweto workers who defied the stayaway call this morning, left work early and streamed home in the face of a warning from youths that no car would be allowed to enter the city later today.

Workers fearing for their safety returned home early, a large number of nurses and other staffers from clinics among them.

Putco has suspended its Soweto service after several buses were stoned by youths. Putco spokesman Mr Pat Rogers said about half the normal number of passengers had been transported from Soweto this morning.

Earlier today police confirmed that another three deaths occurred at the weekend in East Rand townships, bringing the known death toll after almost three weeks of unrest to 35.

Brigadier Jan Coetzee, Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, confirmed there had been numerous incidents of stone-throwing in Soweto.

At least one man was seriously injured this morning when he and a group of co-workers were attacked by a group of youths, according to the

man's employer.

In another incident, police fired a teargas grenade and a rubber bullet when about 40 youths stoned their vehicle.

Several clinics which serve Soweto were not operating this morning and many businesses were closed.

Several delivery vans made what appeared to be their normal rounds, but others were seen parked on the outskirts of Soweto.

Brigadier Coetzee said the planned stayaway campaign had been a total failure.

"People have been warned there will be trouble when they return from work today — but I can assure them they will receive maximum protection," he said.

East Rand townships, after a violent weekend, were reported "quiet" today.

Still no revolution around the corner

11A C. Times 17/9/84



London Dateline

By STANLEY UYS

THE death of Dr Julius Lewin in London last Saturday reminded me of a famous article he wrote in Ronald Segal's admirable magazine, *Africa South*, in 1958, entitled "No revolution round the corner". The article was reprinted in South African newspapers and caused quite a stir.

Dr Lewin was Professor of Native Law and Administration at the University of the Witwatersrand when he emigrated to Britain in 1967. He had been a long-time critic of apartheid, and before that a champion of black rights, and it came as something of a surprise to his colleagues and friends that he should believe so emphatically that there was "No revolution round the corner" in South Africa.

The article is still remarkably topical. The opening sentence about people asking "How long can it go on?" ("it" meaning the situation in the country) could have been written today, as possibly could Dr Lewin's reply that "there is no reason why 'it' should not go on almost indefinitely and certainly for a good many years".

Dr Lewin's article was a necessary antidote to a prevailing widespread belief, in and outside South Africa, that apartheid could not last. I must confess that, as a political journalist at the time, I contributed to this expectation. Many of us nurtured the belief that because apartheid was so abhorrent, in theory and practice, its necessary collapse was imminent.

Revolutions

Our mistake was to allow our sense of moral outrage to confuse our political judgment. For years we helped to sustain the illusion that deliverance was at hand.

Dr Lewin drew substantially in his article on "The anatomy of revolution", written in 1957 by Professor Crane Brinton, a Harvard historian, who studied four famous revolutions — the English one in the 17th century, the American and French in the 18th, and the Russian in the 20th.

Prof Brinton's pioneering study is a little dated now, because the contemporary focus has shifted more to examining a state's inherent strengths and weaknesses. For updating, I commend to you Professor Lawrence Schlemmer's "Conflict in South Africa: Build-up to revolution or impasse?" in the March 1983 issue of *Indicator*.

Professor Schlemmer

makes the point that, in the early 1960s (after Sharpeville) and again in the disturbances in 1976 (Soweto), black political protest in South Africa "was no match for the controlling power of the state. Indeed, the police were able to cope relatively easily and the army did not have to become involved in any significant way."

Another point he makes is that after 1976 "the much feared escalation of mass black political action did not occur, white lives and property were never in danger, and the loss of life, although substantial and tragic, never looked like becoming a bloodbath."

Rebellion

"Furthermore, serious divisions in black political responses were revealed once again, since in Soweto, Cape Town and Durban there were instances of violent migrant worker action against the more radical youth."

Professor Schlemmer draws the following conclusion: "It is clear from virtually all analyses that rebellion or instability is virtually never the result of simple deprivation, poverty or inequality... discontent is not the result of the difference between what men want and what they have, but between what they want and what they believe they will be able to get within the system."

This week, with the help of an academic friend (and longtime guru), I tried to assess how well Dr Lewin's article (reprinted in his "Politics and Law in South Africa," 1963) stands up to re-examination 26 years later.

One of the points Dr Lewin made was that while the machinery of government in all four countries studied by Prof Brinton was inefficient, it was not on the whole inefficient in South Africa. This proposition is still generally true. South Africa might have a swollen bureaucracy, but it remains the critical grid holding everything together, and as Dr Lewin noted: "It is manned almost exclusively by Afrikaners in sympathy with the government."

Dr Lewin quoted



Dr Julius Lewin

Brinton's conclusion that "no government has ever fallen before revolutionists until it has lost control over its armed forces or lost the ability to use them effectively. And, conversely, no revolutionists have ever succeeded until they have got a predominance of effective armed force on their side. This holds true from spears and arrows to machine guns and gas."

Again this proposition stands up. There has been no example of a successful modern revolution where this condition has not been fulfilled.

Dr Lewin stated another proposition: "Race riots that occur periodically are inevitably localized and therefore subdued without much difficulty. Least of all in so large a country with such poor communications as South Africa can rioting spread and grow into revolution."

The disturbances in the 1960s and again after Soweto in 1976 fit this theory. At no stage did the disturbances dent state power. Dr Lewin was careful "to distinguish revolution from disorder". Prof Brinton had seen disorder as being endemic in all societies, and certainly in Western society. Signs of discontent in South Africa, according to Dr Lewin, did not amount to a prelude to revolution.

cotts can lead to significant change.

Dr Lewin, finally, asked "whether strikes in particular industries can become general enough and last long enough to wring major concessions from any South African government" and concluded that even if black trade unions became much stronger, "it is difficult to see what vital industries or essential services could be brought to a standstill".

Ransom

Probably, Dr Lewin underestimated the extent to which the South African economy would become dependent on black labour, but even today only about 10 percent of black labour is unionized. The bargaining power of black labour, admittedly, is increasing, but the economic difficulties of the black man are a drag on his power to strike.

Even if black economic muscle is strengthened, it is nowhere near a point where black workers, by a massive, combined and sustained withholding of their labour, can hold the state to ransom.

Also the capacity of the state to disorganize opposition is so profound that blacks are a long way from being able to bring it down by a campaign of labour withdrawal.

In a replying article in *Africa South*, Professor H J Simon disagreed with Dr Lewin. He argued that the strike weapon was the ultimate — and ultimately successful — one. But would that be a revolution?

Dr Lewin's last words in his article were: "The view that change will not come does not imply that no changes at all are possible in the status and condition of Africans. How and when they will eventually come, no one can foretell."

11A (107) C. Press

Talk to me, Oliver

16/9/84
CP Correspondent



ONLY days after launching a scathing attack on the ANC, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has called for talks with its president, Oliver Tambo.

His message was conveyed in a telex to the ANC president, who had made a dramatic appeal to the KwaZulu Chief Minister on the eve of his recent visit to Lamontville.

During his visit, Chief Buthelezi lashed the ANC's Mission in Exile, saying it was "committed to doing everything in its power to break me and destroy Inkatha".

He said the problems in Lamontville — which is to be incorporated into KwaZulu — "revolve around these divisive tactics of the Mission in Exile working in cahoots with their surrogates here amongst you".

"They will use your children as cannon-fod-

der in the destruction of black unity, simply because they themselves have lost touch with the people and resent anybody who is in such close touch with them as I am," he said.

Chief Buthelezi also said he was forced to talk about the ANC like this "with a deep sadness and pain in my heart which few can understand".

"I do so as my duty, because the youth must know the truth."

He added that he had met the ANC on a number of occasions and had received its support for his strategies.

His latest message to Mr Tambo calls on the ANC president to accept the principle of talks to discuss the "problem" of Lamontville.

UDF member

16/9/87

~~3/7~~

11A C. Press

quizzed

THE treasurer of the UDF's Border branch Rev MA Stofile is the latest victim of harassment by Ciskei security cops.

The Fort Hare theology lecturers' home was searched this week by cops.

After finding a copy of a South African Student Press Union publication, they bought it from him for 20c.

The cops then proceeded to his office. After making a thorough search, they took a UDF calendar away and promised

By BENITO PHILLIPS

to return it.

Mr Stofile was then taken to the 'security cops' office in Alice where he was quizzed about leaflets which were supposed to have been distributed on Wednesday.

They also questioned him about the UDF's activities. He was later released.

Soweto work stayaway is urged

~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~
A call has gone out to the people of Soweto to stay away from work on Monday.

It is contained in a leaflet released to the Press by the Release Mandela Campaign, which urges: "Let us stay away from work to challenge Botha, Koornhof and Tshabalala. Let us stay away in unity and co-operation."

The leaflet demands that the Government make a public response to the

Stair 1599/84
grievances of Sowetans — regarding housing, rents, wages, unemployment, education, costs of basic commodities and services — before Tuesday.

It also demands the immediate resignation of Soweto mayor Mr E T Tshabalala and his council.

The RMC has appealed to people to simply stay in their homes on Monday, emphasising that there will be no protest march or similar demonstration.

Star 11A ~~2/2~~ Hint that Swapo govt would provide the ANC with bases

15/9/84 by
John D'Oliveira, The Star Bureau

LONDON — An independent Namibia might provide the African National Congress with the bases it is denied in other Southern African states.

This is implicit in a statement made by Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo, the Swapo Secretary-General, in an interview printed in *The Guardian* yesterday.

The article said none of the front-line states had criticised Mozambique openly for the Nkomati Accord because the desperation of Mozambique's situation was well understood.

However, an independent Namibia under Swapo would not be born on the same terms.

Mr Toivo ja Toivo is then quoted as saying: "It is our duty and our responsibility to help the ANC in every way — I have repeated this time and again to the South Africans.

"And, as for the idea that we might go to them cap in hand for economic aid, it is out of the question. We are economically tied to them now, but in the future we will work with them only on an equal basis.

"There are many other friends who want to assist us, some are already assisting us."

Mr Toivo ja Toivo said every multinational company operating in Namibia — especially if "exploitative" — would have to enter into new agreements with a Swapo government.

Mr Toivo ja Toivo has been in London for the past week attending a conference set up to mark the centenary of the foreign occupation of Namibia.

11A
Hal 84
sm



Hendrickse ... "We have been deprived of our inheritance."

Hendrickse. In the days ahead, these two politicians will be the leading actors in what promises to be an exciting drama.

Awaiting Trial is, however, not a true biography. The author explains: "This book does not claim to be a complete biography in the true sense of the term, precisely because one senses that his greatest contribution has yet to come. It could also not be a complete portrait of the man, for the time needed for further research was not available. This book was approached more as a case study of that community which has been legally classified in SA as coloured ..."

The author has been a political journalist and confidante of the NP government for many years and became a good friend of Hendrickse when he joined a political consultancy company employed by the LP. The tone of the book is unashamedly adulatory and it is clear that Coetzer planned the book as a boost for Hendrickse, his party and the new constitutional dispensation.

Hendrickse's detention without trial for two months in late 1976 forms the basis of the book and is dealt with in great detail — even the letters he sent to his family while in detention are reproduced.

That is also where the title of the book comes from: "In 1984 Hendrickse is again 'awaiting trial' but not behind bars; this time he will be judged in the harsh spotlight of the political arena. And yet the situations are not without parallel. Just as in those days in 1976, when he was condemned to imprisonment without being given the chance to defend himself, so today self-appointed political judges have condemned him without affording him the opportunity

to defend himself. They are not prepared to listen to his evidence, to his reasons to confer rather than to confront, for electing to hope rather than to despair. They want to deprive him of the chance to prove what he can achieve on his chosen path ..."

Hendrickse's childhood was a happy one. He was born in Uitenhage — the constituency he now represents in Parliament — on October 22 1927. Both his parents were teachers, and his father was ordained as a minister of the Congregational Church shortly after he was born. Hendrickse's career closely followed that of his father, Reverend "WC", as he was called. Like his father, he became a teacher, played an active role in community service, and then became a joint minister of religion with his father. He eventually took over his father's parish, the by now well-known Dale Street Congregation, and, like him, became moderator of the church. His father was also active in politics.

The Hendrickses' forebears sailed to the Cape as sick comforters on Dutch ships. In the Cape they intermingled with Hottentots. Lord De Villiers, who appears in the family tree of many prominent South Africans, like Sir De Villiers Graaff, also features in the Hendrickses' ancestry. Hendrickse's father studied at Victoria College which later became Stellenbosch University.

The cruel effects of the Group Areas Act run like a thread through the history of the Hendrickse family and several examples are given. Hendrickse is quoted as saying: "Since under this law we were deprived of our land we cannot at this stage sing that verse in the national anthem in which we pray: 'Dat die erwe van ons vaad're vir ons kinders erwe bly.' We have been deprived of our inheritance. Our history is one of dispossession."

Opposed to one-man-one-vote

Only towards the end of the book does the author ask the question that the reader asks almost right from the beginning. How is it possible that this man is not bitter after all his experiences? Hendrickse answers like this: "It would be human to feel bitter. No one could reproach us if we felt totally embittered and remained so. But bitterness and hate poison, and ultimately destroy. My Christian faith does not allow me to hate ..."

"I have been hurt. I have never been able to forget that my father died a broken man — because he was deprived of his home; that my uncle never dared acknowledge me as his nephew — because of race classification. I cannot forget that we were deprived of our property — because of the Group Areas Act. But I believe I should pay heed to the words of the Apostle Paul who wrote: 'Be grateful in all things.'"

The book gives a lot of near-intimate information on Hendrickse's family life and about his wife, Terry, and his children.

The Labour Party's decision at the his-

toric congress at Eshowe — to take part in the new constitutional dispensation — is dealt with in great detail and the author interviewed Hendrickse extensively on his political beliefs. It is interesting to see that Hendrickse was prepared to say that he does not believe that one-man-one-vote is the solution for SA.

In the last chapter, Coetzer becomes the journalist and political analyst in a "personal view" of Hendrickse the politician. He is in fact giving other politicians tips on how to deal with Hendrickse. For example: "He is an authentic man. Hendrickse is not an opportunist. When he makes a statement, he is not saying it to create an effect but because he means it. Those who negotiate with him or will be negotiating in the future, would do well to remember that one cannot entice him away from his chosen path by offering face-saving devices. This would be a basic error. When he adopts a stance, it is taken with full conviction; he cannot be swayed from it. He negotiates with complete self-confidence ... He is not, however, an inflexible ideologist and has long since learned to adapt, temporarily, to his immediate circumstances." *Max du Preez*

Island of conflict

CYPRUS, by Christopher Hitchens (*Quartet*, 200pp, R24,75)

This is a fascinating case study in "powerbroking" and the art of *coup* making.

A decade ago, the Republic of Cyprus was attacked by one member of Nato and partitioned by another. The intervention of four foreign powers — Britain, Turkey, Greece and the US — galvanised a local dispute into an international disaster.

The role of Henry Kissinger, as peacemaker designate, is examined in detail. In

Political PR boost

AWAITING TRIAL: Allan Hendrickse, by Piet Coetzer (*Librarian*, 208pp, R6,95)

On the heels of a biography of State President P W Botha comes this short biography of the new strongman in Parliament, Labour Party leader Helenard Joe

FM 14/9/84 87

into a union or *enosis* with the motherland. Prior to 1945, the *enosis* solution gained some coinage but little momentum under British stewardship. On three separate occasions the idea was ensnared in FO indecisiveness. Turkish leadership in Cyprus and Ankara had always opposed majority rule, advocating the partition of the two communities.

Until independence in 1960, British rule deliberately created the anomalous situa-

NA ~~_____~~

The Star Bureau

ANC to help sponsor British talks concentrating on his 20 years in jail

Kitson for lecture tour

LONDON — Mr David Kitson, former member of the Umkonto we Sizwe high command who served a 20-year jail term in South Africa, is to start a lecture tour of Britain soon.

The tour is being sponsored by his union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Technical Administrative and Supervisory Section, by the African National Congress and by an organisation called South Africa the Imprisoned Society.

He will speak about his experiences in South Africa, concentrating on his 20 years

as a prisoner of the government he had tried to overthrow.

Not all his comments will necessarily be negative.

This week the left-wing *New Statesman* carried a lengthy interview with Mr Kitson as a prelude to his lecture tour.

At one point Mr Kitson said South African prisoners had more rights in relation to their civil society than did

British prisoners.

"This is because international opinion looks at South African prisons as a measure of the state of civil liberties."

However, there was a sharp contrast between the privileges of the country's white and non-white prisoners.

Through their degree courses, the white political prisoners with him obtained the most unlikely books.

"If it wasn't written by Marx, then they didn't know it was no good ... they didn't react to names like Krautsky or Althusser or Perry Anderson."

Mr Kitson said that, somewhat surprisingly, he was allowed to start an arts course in Russian and English. However, after the first year the Russian was stopped.

By the end of their sen-

tences, the prisoners were not suffering "exceptional physical discomfort".

Towards the end of his term, Mr Kitson found many young Afrikaners decided they could avoid military training (and be well paid in the process) by becoming prison warders.

"There was a flood of young men who did not give a damn. We used to make tea for them

and share our food.

"Sometimes, after a night out, one of them would stagger into jail, open an empty cell and sleep all night and we would have to wake him up."

The day before his release Mr Kitson went shopping for clothes, accompanied by prison warders.

He found black shop assistants, black traffic police and he found that they were all treated politely by whites.

"I know a lot of dreadful things go on out of sight in Soweto and the bantustans but I was surprised by the courteous way my warders treated them."

"Monday I grabbed a quick lunch at the office and, flipping through my Star, noticed that water restrictions were here to stay. I hoped that Susan wouldn't notice. It would only encourage her well-meant efforts to turn our garden into a conglomeration of desert cacti."

"Tuesday, thanks to the previous day's Star article, Jonathan and I were off to buy cactuses at lunch time. I was sure he'd grow to love them. Anyway, they reminded me of that trip to Arizona he'd been promising me."

"Wednesday, while still picking cactus thorns from my fingers, I received an unexpected call from Susan. She'd just read in The Star that the Rand may

Bl:
to

By
Black
for the
mines.

The
Nation
eight
Trans
through
week (

If th
40 000
day —

In a
settled
the se.
Cham

Mr
the u
lieries
the fir

He
not be
in hou
the r

(NA) ~~_____~~

The Star Bureau

ANC to help sponsor British talks concentrating on his 20 years in jail

Kitson for lecture tour

LONDON — Mr David Kitson, former member of the Umkonto we Sizwe high command who served a 20-year jail term in South Africa, is to start a lecture tour of Britain soon.

The tour is being sponsored by his union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Technical Administrative and Supervisory Section, by the African National Congress and by an organisation called South Africa the Imprisoned Society.

He will speak about his experiences in South Africa, concentrating on his 20 years

as a prisoner of the government he had tried to overthrow.

Not all his comments will necessarily be negative.

This week the left-wing *New Statesman* carried a lengthy interview with Mr Kitson as a prelude to his lecture tour.

At one point Mr Kitson said South African prisoners had more rights in relation to their civil society than did

British prisoners.

"This is because international opinion looks at South African prisons as a measure of the state of civil liberties."

However, there was a sharp contrast between the privileges of the country's white and non-white prisoners.

Through their degree courses, the white political prisoners with him obtained the most unlikely books.

"If it wasn't written by Marx, then they didn't know it was no good ... they didn't react to names like Krautsky or Althusser or Perry Anderson."

Mr Kitson said that, somewhat surprisingly, he was allowed to start an arts course in Russian and English. However, after the first year the Russian was stopped.

By the end of their sen-

tences, the prisoners were not suffering "exceptional physical discomfort".

Towards the end of his term, Mr Kitson found many young Afrikaners decided they could avoid military training (and be well paid in the process) by becoming prison warders.

"There was a flood of young men who did not give a damn. We used to make tea for them

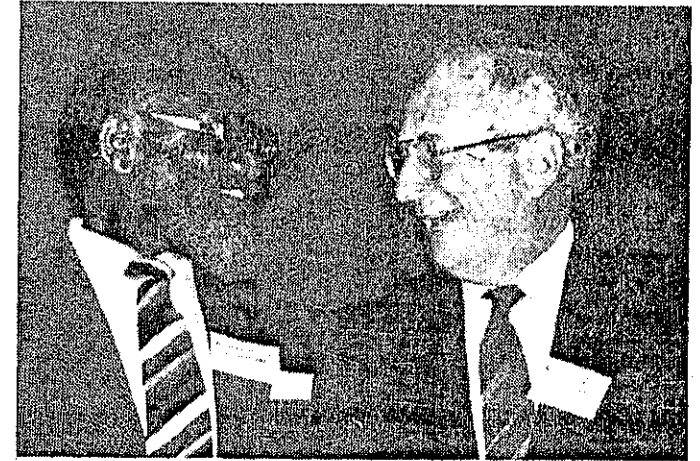
and share our food.

"Sometimes, after a wild night out, one of them would stagger into jail, open an empty cell and sleep all day and we would have to wake him up."

The day before his release, Mr Kitson went shopping for clothes, accompanied by two warders.

He found black shop assistants, black traffic police — and he found that they were all treated politely by whites.

"I know a lot of dreadful things go on out of sight in Soweto and the bantustans, but I was surprised by the courteous way my warders treated them."



David Kitson (right) with Herman Toivo ja Toivo, founder of Swapo, at an Anti-Apartheid Movement meeting in London recently.

Mass funerals for riot victims

14/9/84 By Revelation Ntola

Two mass funerals of the thirty victims of last week's Vaal riots will take place in Sharpeville and Evaton tomorrow.

A spokesman for the committee of clergymen arranging the funerals said the Evaton service would include the Sebokeng victims. The Sharpeville service would be held only for those who died in Sharpeville.

Both services will commence at 10 am and processions to the cemetery will leave at 1 pm.

The Sharpeville service, which will be conducted by several churchmen, will be held at Saint Luke's Methodist Church in the township. The Evaton-Sebokeng service will take place at Lord MacCarmel Church in Wilberforce, Evaton.

● The funeral of slain Lekoa Deputy Mayor, Mr S Dlamini, was held in Sharpeville yesterday.

He was the second Vaal town councillor to be buried in the last three days. On Wednesday, Evaton councillor Mr Phillemon Diphoko was buried in the township's cemetery.

Two other Vaal councillors who died in the unrest — Mr C Motjeane and Mr J Chakane — are still to be buried.

It is not yet known when their funerals will be held.

11A D. Dispatch

Prof: ANC sees UDF support as important

13/9/84

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

CAPE TOWN — The ANC saw the support of the United Democratic Front as a very important development since the Nkomati Accord, Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, said here.

Professor Hough said the accord, had forced the ANC to look for alternative routes to enter the Republic. A direct result was that terrorists remained in the Republic longer after an act of terror.

"It is a known fact that since the Nkomati Accord more terrorists have been shot dead in the Republic," he said.

Professor Hough discussed the role of trade unions as part of the ANC strategy and said unions caused worker awareness and served as ground for recruiting new members.

The extension of political rights under the new constitutional dispensation left a wider section of the population of the Republic open to attack, he said.

"They will attempt to estrange and to prevent people from joining the new system," Professor Hough said.

He said the ANC saw the support of the UDF as very important. — DDC.



11A

Youths stone a delivery van in Soweto yesterday.

D. Rusputch 13/9/84

Unrest marks Biko Day

PORT ELIZABETH — The seventh anniversary of the death of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, was marked by widespread unrest yesterday.

Members of the police fired tearsmoke at boycotting school pupils in a Grahamstown township after about 500 youths held a commemorative march singing freedom songs and giving clenched fist salutes.

About 50 policemen armed with sjamboks and shotguns confronted the marching youths in Fingo Village. As police approached, the youths scattered but some regrouped further up the road and police fired tearsmoke in their direction. The pupils then dispersed.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, confirmed the incident.

The pupils march followed meetings held earlier yesterday at the two township high schools and at a junior Secondary School.

Shops in the township closed yesterday morning in anticipation of the march and teachers were sent home from the three boycotted schools. Primary schools, however, functioned normally.

The marking of the anniversary of Mr Biko's death, on 12 September 1977, began in Grahamstown on Tuesday night when youths marched singing and chanting through township streets.

There were scattered school boycotts elsewhere in the Eastern Cape yesterday. At Forbes Grant Junior Secondary School, in King William's Town, pupils held a meeting at 10 am to mark the Biko anniversary and then went home.

In Queenstown, two lower primary schools joined the boycott started last week by about 2 000 pupils at three other schools.

More than 100 000 people were stranded on the outskirts of Soweto last night when bus services to the city ground to a halt following a day of sporadic unrest.

Armed police patrolled the township's streets at dusk and air force helicopters circled overhead as an uneasy calm settled.

At Regina Mundi Church, riot police used tearsmoke to disperse a crowd of people who gathered to attend a commemorative service.

Earlier, buses and cars were set on fire and a councillor's home was petrol bombed.

A group of children were reported to have been caught in crossfire

between stone-throwers and police using tearsmoke and rubber bullets.

Police guards were placed around all administration board buildings and the businesses and homes of community councillors in the township.

As the trouble spread, bus services were suspended, creating chaos at terminals in central Johannesburg.

A crowd of youths burnt down buildings in Pietermaritzburg before being dispersed and police fired rubber bullets and tearsmoke at youths marching towards the police station in Kaitshong.

In Molofo a fierce clash broke out between the youths and police. Policemen, armed with sjamboks, forced the crowd to disperse. — DDC.

Refugees
Star
relatives
25/9/84
keep watch
on building
11A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Relatives of the six men camped in the British Consulate in Durban have mounted a 24-hour watch on the building which houses the diplomatic offices.

Their vigil was launched after radio news said the South African Government had decided to act against the refugees by way of a sharp reprisal against the British Government.

They said they feared the South African Police would enter the consulate and remove the six men. They are Mr George Sewpershad, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David.

VIGIL

A spokesman for the men, Dr Farouk Meer, said last night the families had begun the vigil when it was discovered that members of the Security Police had mounted a 24-hour watch on the building in Field Street, Durban.

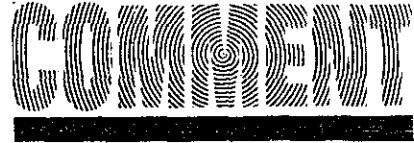
"The relatives felt that they should also keep an eye on the place, just in case the six men vanished," said Dr Meer.

At 11 pm last night, relatives met outside and remained on guard throughout the night, changing shifts with other relatives.

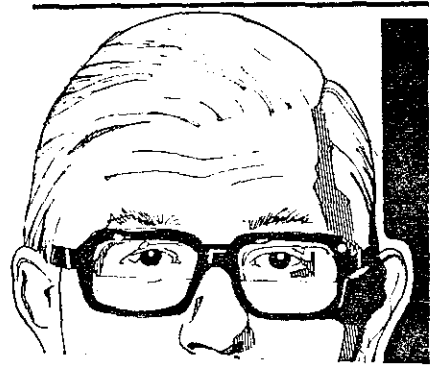
There was no police action, but the men's families insisted on continuing the guard outside the building.

asy
er
w
ie

Press



OCTOBER 7, 1984



Sobantu living in fear of violence

~~S.A.~~ (11A) C. Press 1/10/84

THE HOME of Sobantu's Inkatha branch chairman Elijah Ndlovu was petrol-bombed twice in the last two weeks.

Mr Ndhlovu, whose family of eight escaped the two attacks unharmed, received a threatening letter before the incidents.

The letter read: "You are dogs of Gatsha (Buthlezi), which implies that you work with Botha. You suppress the

CP Reporter

UDF. You Dogs. Get out!"

After the second attack, a placard threatening Mr Ndhlovu's life was found lying on the premises of his home by a group of Inkatha members, who had come to the township in car loads.

When Inkatha members arrived, Jorac leader Ian Mkhize - whose

house was burnt down recently - fled Sobantu.

Local Inkatha constituency chairman Ber Jele denied the claim that his comrades had been armed. "We have merely visited Mr Ndhlovu to provide moral support for him and his family."

The placard, which was discovered on Sunday, warned Mr Ndhlovu that he should be out of the township by midnight on Wednesday this week.

Nende tells

new con-
- which

Will they bury the hatchet?

U.A.
7/10/89
C. Pen

PEACE talks were held in Hambanathi this week — a day after fresh violence erupted in the township.

In clashes — apparently between supporters and opponents of Inkatha — on Monday night, more homes were attacked and cars set alight.

There has been violence and unrest in the township for several months. Three people have died, and several homes destroyed. Dozens of people have taken refuge at a nearby convent.

The second round of peace talks on Wednesday was jointly chaired by Inkatha's Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Jorac's Rev Mcebisi Xundu. Residents from both groups attended.

A Jorac official said the meeting had been useful and that an agenda had been drawn up for a third set of talks. "After these talks — for which no date had been set yet

CP Correspondent

— there is a possibility that the refugees will return," he said.

Wednesday's meeting aimed to "bring about peace and the safe return of the refugees", he said.

One of the crucial

points discussed was the fate of school children in the refugee group — who have been absent from school since the violence began.

They say that they feel it is unsafe to go back to school. Both groups discussed how harassment of the children could be prevented.

Pe wi

THE riva
the S J
Hostel
Mereban
montville
is to cor
spotlight
morning
Joint
Commit
six-men
gation
Smith
council
Sibiya



gan
tion
ough
AS A
OVER
adon
Bani
AIR W
1963
n. Isl



UCT lecturer Jeremy Cronin: "A racist convention won't solve our problems."

Mandela will never meet PW — Cronin

ICA
C. Press
7/10/84

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is unlikely to meet President P W Botha at a national convention, a prominent academic and poet predicted this week.

UCT political studies lecturer Jeremy Cronin — who this week shared the platform with Beyers Naude at Wits University's Richard Feetham memorial lecture — spoke to City Press on numerous political issues facing South Africa.

To call a national convention would be to distort the history of our peoples' struggle, he said.

"It must be remembered that such a convention is not sitting down with President Botha and talking," said Mr Cronin, who served seven years as a political prisoner for ANC activities.

By ZB MOLEFE

He continued: "Such a meeting would have to be a democratic gathering — not under the shadow of a racist army.

"But then if Botha met Mandela it would be a partial victory for black liberation — just like when Namibia's Herman Toivo ja Toivo was released.

"But meetings between leaders won't solve our problems. It is a question of the balance of power. I even doubt



★ A JAZZ festival featuring several of the country's top m will be staged by Art Communications and the Durban sociation at Umlazi Cinema tomorrow from 4 pm. The ensemble will comprise the Dave Brubeck Quintet Mimited, (with Ronnie Madonsela) Amampondo, Nu Jazz Ense Dalton Khanyile's Keynotes (with Japan Phohlwana) and g Alan Kwela.

Meanwhile singer Papa Makhene — admitted to Umtata Hc after a car accident on his way to perform in the Transkei la — is "out of danger" according to hospital officials.

whether Mandela would ever wish to meet Botha."

Mr Cronin also warned of hardening white attitudes in the country. "As a result of this, they're becoming paranoid militarists. But then again South Africa is not a free country. People who oppress others are also not free themselves," he said.

"But from the oppressors have emerged dedicated white people who have given themselves in body and soul to the total liberation of South Africa.

"We had, for instance, Denis Goldberg, Beyers Naude and Neil Aggett — whites who have given themselves to the struggle. Some have even gone to jail."

He also praised this country's black working class, saying it was the most advanced class in SA, with the potential to bring about change and lead the struggle for national liberation.

"This is the class all freedom-loving South Africans and democrats must look to for guidance and leadership," he said.

There was a sombre, almost disturbing note, when Mr Cronin looked at the South Africa of today.

"There is a crisis — most blacks are on the march. Everybody is telling us and the outside world about change. They have even put up dummy parliaments, and the majority of coloured and Indian people have shown that they reject them.

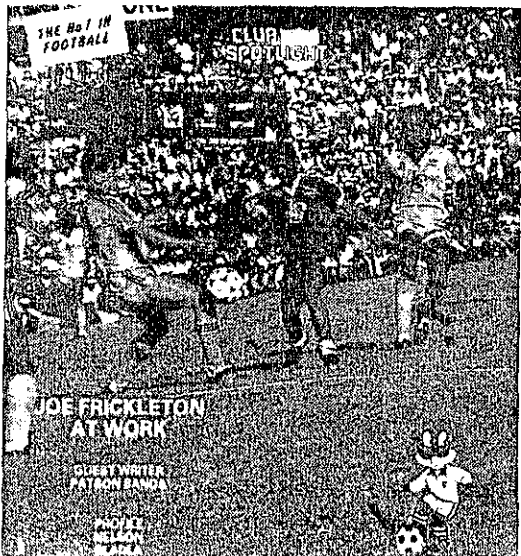
"They are not prepared to participate in them. These are not the solutions," said Mr Cronin.

CI

THE of the Church took a week w Elizabeth Court o decision a Port E gregation it with a aside a congrega instated.

The ju ed an a

OCTOBER ISSUE NOW ON SALE



Double

Get ahead with the p

(11A) S. Wise
7/10/84

SA Reds will choose chief

By STEPHAN
TERBLANCHE

THE exiled South African Communist Party — faced with a major tactical policy rethink after recent peace initiatives in Southern Africa — is expected soon to announce its new leader after the death of its chairman, Mr Yusuf Dadoo, earlier this year.

The man tipped to lead the SACP into a post-Nkomati era of trying to establish itself as a force in the South African "liberation struggle"

is Mr Moses Mabhida, SACP general secretary.

Mr Mabhida, who fled South Africa and is now London-based, is also a high-ranking official in the banned African National Congress and was the ANC representative in Swaziland.

Mr Mabhida was given the post of general secretary when another member of the SACP central committee, Mr Mac Maharaj, turned the job down because he did not believe two Indians should fill the two top posts.

Marais cracks

whip

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

MEMBERS of the Peoples' Congress Party (PCP), who were expelled this week, are after party leader Mr Peter Marais' blood.

His sin, they claim, is that he was the bearer of "bad tidings" in the form of an alleged "bribe" offer, in which he had no willing part.

In a statement after a meeting in Cape Town this week, a spokesman for the anti-Marais faction, Mr Yussuf Deers, called for his immediate resignation as leader of the PCP and as their nominee on the President's Council (PC).

Expelled

In retaliation, Mr Marais has expelled all those present at the Cape Town meeting, with the exception of Mr Dennis de la Cruz, the only elected member of the PCP to the House of Representatives.

"I did not expel Mr De la Cruz because, the day after the meeting, he gave me a satisfactory explanation of his presence at the meeting of the disgruntled group," said Mr Marais.

Those expelled included Mr Deers, Mr John

Delpont, Mr John Kennedy, Mr Chris Cupido and Mr Karriem Khan.

At the meeting this week at Mr Deers's home, the group of PCP dissidents, all rejected PCP candidates, decided to ask for Mr Marais head unless he names the man.

Shout

"I won't tell. They can shout till they are blue in the face. I have sought legal advice and been assured that what in this case appears to the layman as a *prima facie* case of bribery, could legally amount to only a 'deal'.

"To name the man would be accusing him, by implication, of a criminal deed, and could result in a lawsuit against my party," Mr Marais said.

Those against whom Mr Marais said he was contemplating the same action, are Mr Dawood Adams, Mr Anwar Adams and Mr Les du Preez, former member of the old PC.

Mr Deers said the resignation call was because Mr Marais was not prepared to name the "anonymous" man behind the "bribe offer" in a public toilet on the day nominations for the President's Council were made.

He claimed this cast a shadow over the party's public image.

Mr Marais said yesterday: "I am not prepared to name the man in public."

Two weeks ago, the Sunday Times revealed how an unnamed man had asked Mr Marais to take an envelope and the offer of a "bribe" of R3 000 and R500 a month to a PCP man, Mr Joe Pinetown of Kimberley, to withdraw from the list of nominees for the President's Council.

The report was based on a joint interview with Mr Marais, Mr Pinetown and Mr De La Cruz.

(11A) 5-7 June

7/10/84

Parallels of African political protest over the last century

OVER the past 100 years, the constitutional developments which have given rise to the modern South African state have consistently entrenched white power and racial discrimination at the expense of blacks.

For blacks this has not been a process of development, but rather a period of systematic political and structural subjugation.

A comparative look at the constitutional dispensations of 1909-1910 (when South Africa came into existence) and 1983-84 (when the first major departure from the constitution adopted then occurred) reveals some interesting parallels which emphasise the continuity, as well as the similarities, that exist between past and present politics.

Both constitutions had the same basic aim: the entrenchment and protection of white rule in South Africa.

Loopholes

The 1984 constitution widens the present parliamentary base by incorporating so-called coloureds and Indians in separate chambers, but it ensures that they are junior partners and that power remains firmly in the hands of whites.

It makes no provision at all for the participation of the African majority in the central decision-making process.

The 1910 constitution did, however, make provision to a limited extent; it countenanced the continuation of the franchise rights enjoyed since 1853 by black people in the Cape Colony. But it took away their

BLACK opposition to the constitutional changes taking place in South Africa today has much in common with earlier resistance to the implementation of the 1910 Constitution.

DR ANDRE ODENDAAL of the History Department at the University of South Africa takes a look at some of the parallels in almost a century of political protest in South Africa.

This is an extract from a paper he will present at the Conference on Racial Domination and Economic Development to be held at the University of the Western Cape this month.

right to sit in Parliament and it contained loopholes for their future disenfranchisement. It also endorsed the continuation of the colour bar in the northern colonies where blacks had traditionally been denied franchise rights.

Secondly, both constitutions had the effect of stimulating African politics. We have seen that the United Democratic Front, which has been regarded by some as the most significant development in the politics of peaceful resistance to white power since the mass mobilisation of the '50s, was launched in direct response to the Government's new constitutional plans.

Also, Africans all along the political spectrum have been galvanised into protesting against the new constitution on a mass scale.

The 1909 constitution had a similar effect on African politics. Africans mobilised on a hitherto unprecedented scale to demonstrate their opposition to the proposed colour-bar constitution.

Strong protests were made at a local and regional level in all four colonies, as well as the protectorates

— present day Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

Within six weeks of the release of the draft constitution in February 1909, the fledgling political organisations and newspapers in the various colonies convened a South African Native Convention — the response of Africans to the white National Convention — to co-ordinate African opinion and protests.

Opposition

This was the first time that the African political leaders and organisations co-operated formally on an inter-colonial level.

The convention voiced opposition of Africans to the clauses of Union that discriminated against blacks, and stipulated the conditions that would have to be met to make the Union acceptable.

It also decided to send delegates to Britain to protest to the Imperial authorities about the terms of Union, and made tentative moves to form itself into a national umbrella organisation to protect African interests. Again, these moves

were new departures in African politics.

The so-called "coloured and native" delegation went to London in mid-1909 accompanied by an ex-Prime Minister, W P Schreiner, but it failed to persuade the Imperial government to make amendments to the proposed constitution, which Britain had to ratify before the Union could come into being.

Faced with the reality of Union, the convention leaders now set out to form a permanent national body to represent African interests and to open up channels of communication with the State.

Within two years the South African Native National Congress was formed. It later changed its name to the African National Congress, which is still in existence 70 years later.

This makes it the oldest nationalist organisation in Africa, older than the National Party, formed in 1914.

Thus exclusive white union in 1910 consolidated African politics and provided the thrust for African unity and the launching of the national movement in much the same way that the new 1984 constitution has led to the significant regrouping and consolidation of democratic forces in the country.

The response of the Government to criticism about the exclusion of blacks and the separate racial chambers in the new constitutional dispensation is that it is a step in the right direction; the beginning of an enlightened new era. This argument was also used in 1909 by colonial politicians.

The Cape delegates to the National Convention defended their decision to

agree to the exclusion of Africans from Parliament (although this contradicted their original policy and the non-racial Cape tradition) on the grounds that a compromise with the northern colonies was necessary to effect Union, and that in any case Cape liberal ideas would permeate through to the north like "light into darkness".

Union would benefit, not harm, blacks. The "liberal" Cape would influence the other colonies leading to a better dispensation for all.

Moreover, the stipulation in the constitution that the black voters could be removed from the common voters' roll only by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Parliament sitting together protected rather than endangered the black vote in the Cape.

Heaven

How South Africa's post-Union policies really evolved and how Africans were disenfranchised in 1936, followed by the coloured people in 1953, is now history. These liberal platitudes had very little relevance in the light of structural realities. The question now arises, do they today?

The answer would not appear to be encouraging. As a black spokesman remarked at an anti-constitution meeting in Pretoria this year, "if all the 'steps in the right direction' had been put next to each other we'd have been in heaven by now".

And clearly that is not the case. The reality is that in the South Africa of today even many of the rights enjoyed one hundred years ago by blacks are circumscribed or have been taken away completely.

UDF is set to become No 1 State target

(11A) e. Times 7/10/84
By BRIAN POTTINGER and NORMAN WEST

THE escalating row between the Government and the United Democratic Front could be entering a new phase of conflict and possible further State action against dissidents in the country.

The Minister's claims have meanwhile been rejected outright by UDF spokesmen.

And, the South Africa "Security Family" — the army and police — are to be drawn even closer in State efforts to combat internal unrest.

This emerges from this week's Transvaal National Party Congress, addressed by Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Police, and General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence.

Tough statements

In hard-line statements on both internal and external threats, the two Ministers charged directly with security emphasised what they see as growing attempts to create an "atmosphere" of revolution.

Mr Le Grange delivered what is seen as a "State of the Nation" assessment of the UDF in which he clearly linked them to the ANC.

During the last two years, said Mr le Grange, the intensity of the revolutionary climate had increased through the establishment of the United Democratic Front.

The Minister's attack — the strongest yet — has immediately sparked fears that the State will be taking further action against UDF leadership figures — a number of whom are already in detention or sheltering in the British Consulate in an attempt to escape it.

Mr Le Grange meanwhile also has indicated that in the interests of "rationalisation" the military will be working closer with the police in combating unrest.

Denial

The UDF denied yesterday it was a front for the banned African National Congress (ANC), as claimed by Mr Le Grange.

Mr Jonathan De Vries, UDF publicity secretary in the Western Cape, said yesterday they were aware the Government was preparing for another "major crackdown" on them as the remembrance day approached for the crackdown on black-consciousness movements on October 19, 1977.

He said the government's mobilising of the SADF as part of a new internal security measure was "a basis for violent conflict and civil war in South Africa".

Mr De Vries said the Government had made similar accusations about the UDF before, claiming they had ANC links and were the congress's front.

He said it was possible some members of the 500 organisations that formed the UDF "may have ANC leanings", but that did not make them an ANC front.

"It is impossible to unite a representative gathering of community-based organisations without incorporating some elder statesmen, who belonged to organisations in the past.

Mr De Vries said Mr Le Grange's "tirade" against the UDF was "a shallow attempt" at preparing the South African public for "yet another total onslaught against the democratic forces in the county".

UDF hits (11A) back at slow Le Grange 3/2

— by —
Don Holliday 6/10/82

The Minister of Law and Order's attack on the United Democratic Front was last night called "ferocious and unwarranted" by the Natal UDF's chairman, Professor Hoosen Coovadia.

Professor Coovadia said: "Mr Louis le Grange's ferocious and unwarranted attack on the UDF and its allies is in line with the National Party's belligerent attitude towards all peaceful and democratic opposition to its plans to entrench apartheid.

"There is not a strand of truth in the allegation of Mr le Grange.

"The UDF is committed to peaceful change and total rejection of apartheid and the new constitution. We will not be deterred by the NP's vicious campaign, by the detention, jailing, banning, shooting and repression of our people.

"We make no apology to Mr le Grange or to any other manager of apartheid."

● See Page 5.

SA ready to fight terrorism across borders — Malan

174
Star
6/10/84

Political Correspondent

South Africa must remain prepared to act against terrorists — even within some of its neighbouring states, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told the National Party's Transvaal congress at Alberton yesterday.

"This holds true even if we should conclude defence accords with all our neighbouring states, for it is not impossible that some of them may seek our assistance in helping to protect their sovereignty," he said.

South Africa's security situation in relation to countries such as Lesotho and Botswana, General Malan said, left much to be desired.

It was common knowledge that Botswana was being used to an increasing extent as a transit route for ANC terrorists under way to South Africa, he added.

"We will also have to take note of the fact that the Soviet Union is expanding its diplomatic representation both in Lesotho and Botswana and, furthermore, is making an active effort to establish its influence in the military sphere.

"The obvious conclusion is that agreements to promote detente do not suit Russia and that the Red Bear will do everything in its power to further destabilise the subcontinent," he said.

General Malan produced figures to demonstrate how the Soviet Union had stepped up its military hardware support for Angola this year. He said the Russian contingent of military personnel in Angola was nearly 1 000, while Russia's military expenditure in the region now amounted to about R2,8 million a day.

The minister said the total military aircraft strength of the Frontline states had increased over the past six years from 375 to nearly 700.

In 1978 the Frontline states jointly had about 380 armoured vehicles. Now the number exceeded 1 400.

'Army to give more aid to police'

Le Grange blames UDF for unrest

Rogm 6/10/84 (11A) ~~11A~~

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday accused the United Democratic Front and some of its affiliates of being directly or indirectly responsible for the wave of unrest sweeping black townships.

Bonus Bonds to be axed

Political Correspondent
THE GOVERNMENT has decided to scrap Bonus Bonds, the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced last night.

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal Congress in Alberton, Mr Botha indicated that one of the main reasons for the decision was representations from church groups. "Congress-goers will recall that the question of Defence Bonus Bonds was discussed in depth at last year's congress and that I undertook on that occasion to go into all aspects of the matter. Very strong representations have also frequently been made to me by church organisations."

Mr Botha added he had carefully weighed the "potential implications and unavoidable financial risks" that would accompany any change in the scheme.

"The public presently has more than R500-million invested in Bonus Bonds which, particularly in the present tight economic conditions, constitutes a relatively cheap source of finance.

"We have nevertheless decid-

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal Congress in Alberton, he also announced that in future the Defence Force would play a greater role in supporting the police in various areas, including unrest situations.

A wide-ranging attack on the UDF by Mr Le Grange was interpreted in some quarters as a clear indication that the Government planned to take action to further neutralise the organisation.

This could affect some of the UDF's affiliates, including the South African Allied Workers' Union, the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses, the Release Mandela Committee and the Congress of South African Students.

Mr Le Grange linked the UDF directly to the African National Congress and said: "When the UDF's activities in South Africa are judged, there can be no conclusion other than that the UDF has the same revolutionary aims as the banned ANC and South African Communist Party and is actively preparing a revolutionary climate."

In an interview later Mr Le Grange quoted extensively from banned ANC and SACP publications which, he said, showed the close ties the two organisations had with the UDF.

He said in his speech that more than 90% of the UDF's office bearers had previously been linked to organisations such as the ANC, the SACP, the banned Congress of Democrats, the "revolutionary" SA Council of Trade Unions, the "communist" Congress Alliance, and the old Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses.

Mr Le Grange gave a number of examples of unrest situations which he said had occurred because of the "climate" created by the UDF.

These included:

- School unrest in Cradock and Pretoria initiated by three UDF affiliates, including Cosas;
- Unrest in the Vaal Triangle initiated by the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association.

Mr Le Grange also listed damage to buildings and vehicles, and deaths and injuries caused in unrest between August 1 and September 20, and blamed them on direct or indirect action by the UDF and some of its affiliates.

The details he gave included 65 people killed and 126 wounded or injured by the police, 15 killed and 59 injured by "other people", and 40 policemen injured. There

to be axed

Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT has decided to scrap Bonus Bonds, the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced last night.

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal Congress in Alberton, Mr Botha indicated that one of the main reasons for the decision was representations from church groups. "Congress-goers will recall that the question of Defence Bonus Bonds was discussed in depth at last year's congress and that I undertook on that occasion to go into all aspects of the matter. Very strong representations have also frequently been made to me by church organisations."

Mr Botha added he had carefully weighed the "potential implications and unavoidable financial risks" that would accompany any change in the scheme.

"The public presently has more than R500-million invested in Bonus Bonds which, particularly in the present tight economic conditions, constitutes a relatively cheap source of finance.

"We have nevertheless decided that as from November 1 marketing of Bonus Bonds shall cease," Mr Botha said.

Certain obligations by the State towards bondholders would still be met and the final prize-draw under the scheme would be in February next year, he said.

In a statement last night the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the redemption date for Bonus Bonds would be set at January 31 next year.

The fixing of this date was necessary solely to comply with statutory requirements and it would not be compulsory for bondholders to cash their bonds on that date.

"They will be able to draw the money or leave it in an alternative facility," he said.

Bondholders who did not want to withdraw their investments would be offered an alternative facility by the Government.

Mr Du Plessis said it had been decided to market a new issue as from February 1 next year which would automatically give a tax-free return of 10% a year compounded.

"A compounded tax-free return of 5% per annum in respect of the period between the original date of purchase of the bond and January 31, 1985, will also be paid to the holder upon eventual encashment," he added.

Bonus Bond holders who made use of the new facility would therefore not have to exchange their old bonds for new ones, he said.

A wide-ranging attack on the UDF by Mr Le Grange was interpreted in some quarters as a clear indication that the Government planned to take action to further neutralise the organisation.

This could affect some of the UDF's affiliates, including the South African Allied Workers' Union, the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses, the Release Mandela Committee and the Congress of South African Students.

Mr Le Grange linked the UDF directly to the African National Congress and said: "When the UDF's activities in South Africa are judged, there can be no conclusion other than that the UDF has the same revolutionary aims as the banned ANC and South African Communist Party and is actively preparing a revolutionary climate."

In an interview later Mr Le Grange quoted extensively from banned ANC and SACP publications which, he said, showed the close ties the two organisations had with the UDF.

He said in his speech that more than 90% of the UDF's office bearers had previously been linked to organisations such as the ANC, the SACP, the banned Congress of Democrats, the "revolutionary" SA Council of Trade Unions, the "communist" Congress Alliance, and the old Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses.

Mr Le Grange gave a number of examples of unrest situations which he said had occurred because of the "climate" created by the UDF.

These included:

- School unrest in Cradock and Pretoria initiated by three UDF affiliates, including Cosas;
- Unrest in the Vaal Triangle initiated by the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association.

Mr Le Grange also listed damage to buildings and vehicles, and deaths and injuries caused in unrest between August 1 and September 20, and blamed them on direct or indirect action by the UDF and some of its affiliates.

The details he gave included 65 people killed and 126 wounded or injured by the police, 15 killed and 59 injured by "other people", and 49 policemen injured. There were 793 arrests during the period.

Mr Le Grange said the forces threatening South Africa aimed not only to overthrow the white Government, but also to destroy "all democratic systems in the RSA" and replace them with a Marxist-socialist system.

"The great majority of our total population is opposed to this and supports the Government in its struggle against the militant threat," Mr Le Grange said.

He said the SAP, the SADF and "other members of the security family" would fight every threat against the country with all the means at their disposal.

The decision to extend the SADF's support role in police activity would enable more policemen to be available for law enforcement and "other specialised police functions" which would lead to a better service to the public, he said.

Mr Le Grange also announced that the SAP would be increased from the present 47 000 to about 68 000 men as part of the new security plan.

- Mr Le Grange yesterday also accused the ANC and the SACP of being involved in organised crime in Southern Africa, including motor car theft and Mandrax drug smuggling.

New security plan for SA

C. Times
6/10/84

254
11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday announced a plan to increase co-operation between the South African Police and the Defence Force, and launched a strong attack on the United Democratic Front.

Speaking at the National Party congress in Alberton, Mr Le Grange equated the goals and activities of the UDF and its affiliates with those of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the

South African Communist Party (SACP).

Political observers saw the announcement of the beefed-up security plan and the simultaneous attack on the UDF as having a twofold purpose:

● To justify measures taken during the security crackdown in recent weeks which have come under increasing criticism both at home and abroad.

● To prepare public opinion for yet another wide-scale crackdown on non-parliamentary political bodies in view of escalating political violence.

Mr Le Grange said closer co-operation between the SAP and the SADF was part of a rationaliza-



Mr Louis le Grange

tion programme aimed at optimal use of manpower in the security field.

He noted that in the past the SADF had successfully lent limited support to the police in setting up roadblocks

and providing helicopter support.

He said top officials in the SAP and SADF were already working on details of how the two departments could be made to work more effectively as a security team.

Mr Le Grange also announced that the SAP would be increased from the present 47 000 to about 68 000 men as part of the new security plan.

In his wide-ranging attack on the UDF, during which he quoted freely from banned ANC and SACP publications, Mr Le Grange said:

"When examining the goals, connections, public actions and statements of the UDF, one could come to no other conclusion but that the

UDF is striving towards the same revolutionary goals of the banned ANC/SACP and that they are busy whipping up a revolutionary climate."

He claimed that during the past two years a revolutionary climate had been engendered particularly by the formation of the UDF.

He said the activities of the UDF and some of its affiliates had made a direct and indirect contribution to widespread loss of property and both police and private vehicles between August and September this year.

Mr Le Grange said that amid this unrest, three points should always be

To page 2

Short cut to fortune — Western-style

LONDON. — Donald Rowland writes books — hundreds of them. He has also written the same book twice, to the embarrassment of his publishers.

An avid reader of Westerns borrowed two books from his local library — Gun Trail by Lewis Brant and Short Cut to Hell by Neil Webb — only to discover that they were identical, only the names had been

changed to protect the guilty.

An investigation initiated by Mr John Chapman, the local librarian who reported the incident in a letter to the latest issue of the Bookseller magazine, discovered that Brant and Webb, as well as almost 100 other pen names like Clinton Spurr, Freda Frinton, Minerva Rossetti and even John Dryden, were all used by Rowland.

A 56-year-old former cinema projectionist, Rowland writes books — all sorts of books — at a rate of 6 000 words a day.

In the past 20 years he has produced more than 400 Westerns, romances and science fiction thrillers, "so it is not perhaps surprising that Mr Rowland occasionally plagiarises himself," Mr Chapman wrote.

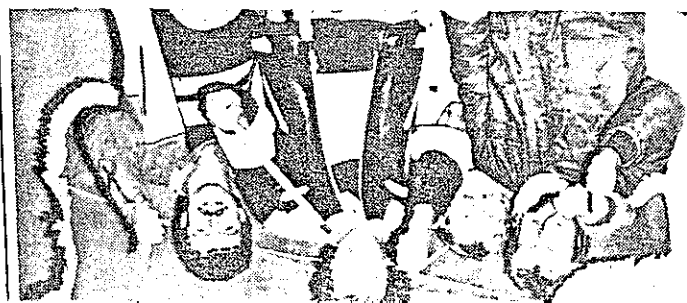
Robert Hale the publishers, who turn Rowland's output into books, were less cheerful about the situation, however.

"We have not had a satisfactory explanation ... and will not be bringing out any more of his books until we get one," a director of the company said, adding that the publishers were trying to withdraw all copies of "Short Cut to Hell". — UPI

INSIDE

Aircraft	6	Burger	7	Comics	13	Harbour Log	6
Amusement	6	Business	10-11	Crossword	8	Horoscope	6
Births, etc	12	Cinema	4	Editorials	8	Racing in Formfinder	
Bridge	6	Classified	12-19	Focus	4	Radio	6

12.57: Programrooster
1.00: Nuus
1.08: Blouboessies Vir Sal, Sal and her mother go blueberry picking.
1.16: Skoonliet En Die Oudler. Skoonliet's father promises each of his daughters a gift when he goes on a long journey. Her father picks a red rose for her, but he does so in the garden of the



'Revolutionary' UDF is doing work of ANC — Le Grange

The Government yesterday accused the United Democratic Front of pursuing revolutionary goals and of contributing directly or indirectly to 80 violent deaths in the past two months.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the UDF, which has not been outlawed, was doing the work of the banned African National Congress, the main guerilla group fighting white rule in South Africa.

"The UDF is pursuing the same revolutionary goals as the banned ANC ... and is actively promoting a climate of revolution," Mr le Grange said in a speech prepared for the National Party's Transvaal congress in Alberton.

The UDF, which claims two

million members, led a boycott of elections in August for a new Parliament which continues to exclude South Africa's 73 per cent black majority.

More than 200 UDF supporters were arrested during the campaign. One UDF leader and five leaders of an affiliated group are now holed up in the British Consulate in Durban.

Mr le Grange said the UDF had contributed directly or indirectly to the deaths of 80 people he said had been killed by the police and others in the wave of violence that has swept black townships and erupted

among black mineworkers in recent months.

The UDF was politicising the masses, a task the ANC could not carry out because it was banned.

"Since its founding meeting, the UDF showed its colours immediately," Mr le Grange said. More than 90 percent of its office-bearers had been members of either the ANC or the outlawed South African Communist Party, he added.

He accused the UDF of using affiliated groups to pick out socio-economic issues to create a climate of civil disobedience.

He called on the Progressive Federal Party, which he described as the "friends of the UDF", to say where it stood with regard to the UDF and its affiliates, reports Reuter.

The Minister also announced that the South African Police force was to be expanded from 47 000 to 68 000 men over the next 10 to 15 years and would have more formal support from the South African Defence Force, writes David Braun.

Mr le Grange warned that the SAP, SADF and other members of the security "family" would fight every form of threat

against South Africa with every means at their disposal.

More than 100 organisations throughout the world were currently involved in operations against South Africa at every possible level.

Mr le Grange said that despite propaganda claims about avoiding civilian casualties, the ANC/SACP alliance was becoming more prone to indiscriminate bombing.

The involvement of trained terrorists in armed robberies, theft and assault was also increasing. Intelligence showed that "the alliance is involved in motor car theft and Mandrax drug smuggling", he said.

● See Page 7.

PORT ELIZABETH

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, spoke here this week on Eastern Cape labour issues.

He said his recently released report on a worker opinion poll conducted throughout South Africa revealed that African workers in the Eastern Cape were more likely to join the banned African National Congress than workers elsewhere in the country.

He said the Eastern

E Cape ANC ties explained

Cape had the longest association with the ANC. In addition there was little African political representation in the Eastern Cape by such organisations as Inkatha, and the absence of a genuine black university with strong representation by such groups as the Azanian People's Organisation made the ANC a natural target for membership.

In his survey, Prof Schlemmer also concluded that "life satisfaction" of the working black was lowest in the Eastern Cape. People in the region were described as angry and impatient as a result of "joblessness, frustration over influx control, frustrated opportunity, poverty and constant movement in having to sell labour."

Commenting on recent township unrest in Port Elizabeth, Prof Schlemmer said: "Those involved, usually youths and young adults, form the greatest contrast with white society. They have nothing to make them conforming citizens or anything to bind them to the system."

Asked if there was not a conflict between allegiance to the ANC and an acceptance of capitalism, Prof Schlemmer said: "An acceptance of the entire policy package of the ANC does not necessarily have to occur." — DDC.



Rina Venter ... NP link with the powerful Transvaal heartland

VF, I had considerable experience in management and programming. I feel SA welfare organisations are not professional or knowledgeable enough in planning and budgeting their programmes. They need the financial expertise to get the most out of the rand."

Venter knows what she's talking about. As VF president, she represented 116 Transvaal branches and served on 13 committees overseeing projects. Among these were 54 nursery schools, 37 schemes for the aged, two children's homes, 26 day schools, 16 creches, 32 full-day schools, two youth hostels, a home for unmarried mothers and an adoption service.

Welfare system

SA's welfare system must develop along more community-oriented lines, Venter believes. "At present, a lot of money and time is being spent on individual therapeutic work. But it's possible to determine cases' intellectual capabilities and flexibility, and there's no point spending money on people with no capacity to change.

"We need new types of programmes, increased use of voluntary workers — the VF was successful here. We should aim for social upgrading of living conditions, using

community resources, black and white."

With her NHC experience, housing is also a field that concerns her: "It's by no means only a technical and financial problem. You can build as many houses as you like, but if people are too poor to occupy and maintain them, nothing has been achieved. Housing programmes must take account of maintenance of standard of living, education and ability to cope."

Venter's family — her doctor husband and two sons — won't move to Cape Town with her for the parliamentary session. "I'll commute, and try to be home in Pretoria each weekend. A mother can't leave her family for half the year."

In a sense, her parliamentary appointment is something of a relief, she says. "In the last four years I've lost touch with any outside interests and hobbies. Now at least I'll be concentrating on one job, instead of spreading my attention across so many undertakings."

How would she describe her strengths? "Well, as a social worker, I'm trained to work with people. One must have an open mind, hear what's being said to you. Oh, I'm idealistic, but I had to learn that you don't get anywhere without being firmly down-to-earth. You must set attainable goals, and

work out the steps to get you there." Sounds like the recipe for a practical politician, especially one concerned with welfare.

SATHS COOPER

Radical sleek



Released from yet another spell in detention. Saths Cooper — deputy president of the Black Consciousness (BC) Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), trainee clinical psychologist at Wits University and former "right-hand man" of BC founder Steve Biko — is in some ways the epitome of SA's "young, gifted and black," as the Seventies hit song put it.

Sleek and articulate, Cooper (34) is considered by some to be a future leader of SA. But "that will be dictated in part by the government's actions and in part by the wishes of the people we claim to represent," he says. Last year he took the lead in convening the National Forum, a socialistic BC-led grouping which claims to rival the United Democratic Front (UDF) as the leading anti-government organisation inside the country.

Could the forum and UDF join forces?

"On specific issues we will work together — as the (August election) campaign showed we can — and if certain individuals get off their personal, hegemonic hobby-horses and seriously give credit to others and to different political approaches," explains Cooper.

Born in Durban in 1950, Cooper is the eldest of three sons. His father is retired and his mother is a school teacher who is closely involved in Hindu religious bodies. Cooper's names are an anglicised version of the Tamil originals. Remarks about an Indian being a BC leading light are a "traditional red herring," says the 1975 Amnesty International prisoner of the year.

"People are also shocked to find that you have white friends but are supposed to be BC," says Cooper. BC, he explains, has no racial definition. "The term black is anti-racist and is based purely on the socio-economic realities of SA ... We don't say whites are excluded from the struggle" — but their role lies outside the black ranks, explains Cooper, who describes himself as an eligible bachelor and "definitely not an MCP."

He has been politically committed for more than half his life, having become active at 16 while still at Sashtri College High in Durban. Cooper first met Biko — the most impressive personality he has known — while Biko was at medical school in Durban in 1968. Among Cooper's contemporaries at the university for Indians at Salis-

bury Island was Zac Yacoob, the lawyer now representing the six fugitives in the British consulate.

In what he calls his "ethnic" political days as a member of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Cooper was ironically elected NIC first vice-president in 1972 — handsomely beating Farouk Meer, who has been in the news lately as spokesman for the consulate six in Durban.

Lower standards

Before these events, Cooper had been expelled in his second university year while leading the not-quite-official SRC. He'd been agitating against autonomy for the Indian (ethnic) university which would, it was felt, lower standards. His application for a passport to take up a scholarship in Bombay, and later at Exeter University, was refused — the first of nine refusals since. So Cooper has not travelled abroad.

For a while, Cooper taught at schools in Chatsworth and Tongaat. The SA Students' Organisation (Saso) had already been formed (in 1968), and together with Biko, Barney Pityana and Strini Moodley, Cooper was closely involved in developing Saso and in seeing BC become a phenomenon of the early Seventies. They led the formation of the Black People's Convention (BPC), of which Cooper was publicity secretary until its banning in 1977.

In 1973 Cooper was banned for five years — the ban being lifted while he was in pris-

on as undaunted. Cooper had continued his political work, notably in the Durban-Pinetown strikes of 1973. He has been variously charged with incitement to strike, promoting racial hostility and assaulting a security policeman.

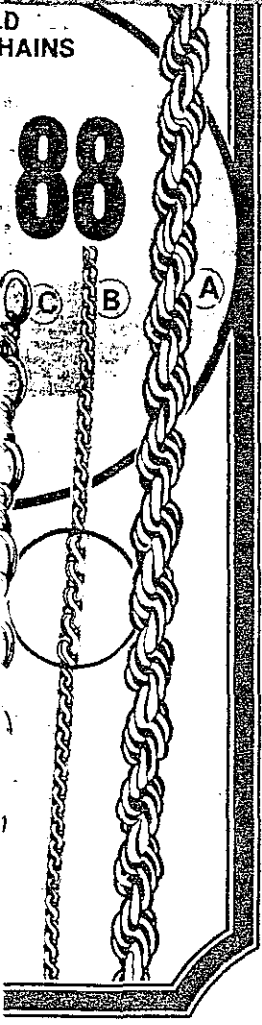
In 1974, he was arrested at a rally in support of Frelimo. In the same year, Cooper was accused No 1 in the mammoth, two-year Saso-BPC trial in which he was convicted under the Terrorism Act for subversive "thoughts and writings," not deeds. This he calls a unique judgment, like the case of Sir Thomas Moore. He was released in December 1982, having served an effective six years in prison, mainly on Robben Island, where he managed to be charged and acquitted under the Prisons Act.

In his last two years in prison, Cooper was given permission to study. He was awarded a merit bursary by Unisa and graduated with distinction a month before his release.

Not surprisingly, Cooper is inspired by Frans Fanon, the radical Algerian psychiatrist. He also admires black power authors Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael, and has "a strange fascination for the decrepit bourgeois novel," Dostoyevsky and the French classics. His MA thesis concerns the effects of private schools on adolescent blacks, and he is currently also "grappling with an interface between the environmentalists and intra-psychic (Freudian) research," he says.



Saths Cooper ... politically committed more than half of his life



Labour votes to cut all
links with SA and back
the ANC and Swapo

From John D'Oliveira

BLACKPOOL — The Labour Party Conference decided by an overwhelming majority today to cut all diplomatic, economic and military links with South Africa and to support the ANC and Swapo.

Delegates also condemned the visit by Mr P W Botha to Mrs Margaret Thatcher earlier this year, and instructed the Party's National Executive Committee (NEC) to determine details of future Labour policy in consultation with the ANC and Swapo.

They rejected a call from the NEC to allow retention of diplomatic links with South Africa. The resolution on South Africa was introduced by Ms Barbara Switzer, an official of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to which Mr David Kitson belongs. He served almost 20 years in South African prisons for security offences before his release earlier this year.

Ms Switzer told delegates there had been no change for the better in South Africa, that the country was in revolt in response to the Government's moves to impose a new apartheid constitution and that police had once again responded to unrest with "indiscriminate violence and terror".

Speaking for the NEC, Mrs Gwyneth Dunwoodie MP, committed a future Labour Government to support "by every moral, financial and practical means" the ANC, Swapo and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council. However she urged the retention of diplomatic links as Britain needed a "listening post" in South Africa and could provide help in cases like the Durban Six.

But Ms Switzer refused to amend the motion, and when it was put to the vote her stand was supported overwhelmingly.

11A

£

1

Star

5/10/84

Western Province rugby captain Divan Sefonstein and hi

in

11A Star 5/10/54

Indian leader is acquitted

The chairman of the Western Transvaal Cultural Society was yesterday acquitted of assaulting three political rivals, including the secretaries of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal United Democratic Front.

Mr Henry Padayachee (35) was also acquitted on a charge of *crimen injuria*.

The charges followed an incident on April 1, when Mr Padayachee visited the home of Mr Ismail Momoniat, the secretary of the TIC.

The visit was in connection with posters distributed by the TIC urging a boycott of a meeting organised by the

National People's Party. Mr Padayachee was the leader of the NPP at the time.

SLAPPED

Mr Padayachee allegedly slapped Mr Momoniat, Mr Feizel Mamdoo, a journalist, and Mr Mohammed Valli, the secretary of the Transvaal UDF. He also allegedly swore at Mr Momoniat's sister Miss Yasmin Momoniat.

Mr M J F Coetzee said aspects of the evidence "cast a shadow" on the credibility of the three state witnesses.

Mr Coetzee said he could not convict Mr Padayachee on the evidence available.

Soweto men on arms charge in Botswana

IIA
Star

5/10/88
The Star's Foreign News Service

FRANCISTOWN — Three Soweto members of the African National Congress (ANC) were remanded yesterday on a charge of illegally possessing three AK-47 rifles and 180 rounds of ammunition.

Mr Lucky Setlhare, Mr Christopher Machaba and Mr Alfred Chabalala, all aged 25, will appear on October 12 for their trial date to be fixed.

The charge-sheet says they were found near Moko-beng village on August 6 with arms of war. They were arrested shortly after the South African Minister of Law and Order announced a shoot-out between the South African Police and suspected ANC guerillas in the Northern Transvaal.

Pretoria is pressing Gaborone for an Nkomati Accord-style pact. Botswana is resisting, but says it will not allow ANC infiltration of its territory.

THE UNREST

Currents of violence

There are two powerful political currents flowing parallel in SA. One, with all its hesitations, imperfections, and injustices, is the current of reform. This, it is hoped, will eventually lead to a peaceful and more just society.

The second current is that of confrontation and revolution. The motives of its proponents — though not their methods — are understandable to any who recall the history of injustice of the last 30 years. Since

The continued violence in the townships is a serious matter. Opposing views on its causes and possible outcome are emerging. While events seem far from adding up to a climate of revolution, reformist intentions need to be swiftly translated into action if the unrest is not to become endemic.

the army is now being used to deal with turbulent situations, it is worth looking at what the army itself thinks of the issues.

Conventional military wisdom is that revolutionaries can cause a great deal of turmoil, bloodshed and suffering. But they cannot launch a successful revolution against security forces whose loyalties are not subject to subversion.

Conventional military wisdom is almost certainly right. If, over a large number of

IS THE VIOLENCE RANDOM?

The violence in SA's townships and mines differs from that of 1976 in that it seems to lack a common focus. In 1976 the flashpoint was government's attempt to enforce Afrikaans-medium education in secondary schools. This time there is no single grievance — in fact there appear to be too many for any simple solution.

The fighting and killings on the mines were related to the strike called by the National Union of Mineworkers, and do not appear to have had any wider political connotation.

In the Vaal Triangle, where the community violence began, the spark was provided by resentment at rent increases. This quickly translated into hostility towards the new town council — several councillors were attacked and one killed.

Lenasia election

Lenasia's violence was directly against the Indian election under the new constitution. It was obviously designed to signify Indian rejection of the new deal — and to scare off voters.

On the East Rand, scene of some of the worst incidents, the school boycotts played a major part — with 93 000 students staying away. How far the violence was politically motivated, and

how far it was due to thousands of boycotting students simply going on the rampage, is another question.

As far as can be judged the Grahams-town and Port Elizabeth incidents were largely motiveless — unless they are regarded as the sudden release of frustration due to falling economic expectations and poor housing.

Soweto backlash

In Soweto, where Mayor Ephraim Tshabalala blames the United Democratic Front for the unrest, trouble seems to have been precipitated by a combination of rent and housing grievances, and school boycotts. It is interesting that Soweto is the one area to show any sort of significant counter-movement — with Tshabalala mustering 4 000 people to protest against the violence.

The Pretoria townships seem to have mainly been hit by student violence following a boycott of most local schools.

The situation is confusing enough to justify government suspicions that trouble is being deliberately orchestrated using whatever grievances lie to hand. The SA Catholic Bishops Conference, no friend of government's, has called for an investigation into the causes of "this outbreak of social rage."

years, the revolutionaries succeeded in doing enough physical and economic damage (killing or maiming a sufficiently large number of people) they *might* succeed in bringing government to the conference table. This is a remote contingency. Government's most likely response would be to fight to the end — with the worst scenario a war that would almost certainly engulf the whole sub-continent if there was foreign intervention.

We are still very far from that. But it is pertinent to ask how relevant the current unrest — including as it does school boycotts and sporadic waves of violence — is to the plans of both the reformers and the revolutionaries.

There are two theories about the unrest. One, naturally held strongly by government, is that it is being orchestrated. Either the ANC is directly involved, it is argued; or front organisations are doing the running. It is often strongly hinted that bodies like the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), and the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) are active in this field.

The other theory is that the unrest is almost entirely spontaneous. It therefore springs from grievances about inadequate schooling, poor and insufficient housing, increasing rents, corrupt and inefficient local government, poor and overcrowded transport facilities, the enforcement of influx control, and from falling living standards as a result of the recession.

We are inclined to believe that both theories contain truth and that unrest springing from genuine grievances is seized upon



Students' gathering ... not yet a fullscale revolt

by those with ideological axes to grind and in whose interest it is to keep the witch's cauldron bubbling.

It is always difficult for white South Africans, safely encapsulated from the realities of township life, to know precisely what is happening at any one time. They judge the state of play from the announced body counts, from ministerial and police statements and by whatever is said by blacks they happen to know.

Thus when Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange told the Transvaal National Party Congress last week that the army would be "utilised to a greater extent in a support role for the SAP" he raised a predictable row — particularly as army units were promptly deployed in Soweto and Grahamstown, only to be as promptly withdrawn due to the "situation easing."

After all, a state only uses troops against its own citizens in a declared emergency, rebellion or civil war — right? In the South African context, as it happens, wrong. Although government avoided using troops during the 1976 riots — when the police were stretched in dealing with the situation — the attitude has changed since then.

It has become policy to use the SADF wherever necessary — and it is the legally prescribed duty of the troops to render such assistance.

Among its other duties the Defence Act lays down the following tasks for the SADF: "The prevention or suppression of terrorism; the prevention or suppression of internal disorder" and "such police duties as may be prescribed."

In fact the SADF has become more and more valuable to the police. Government's 1982 White Paper on Defence says aid to the police included "22 cordon operations, 10 sweep and search operations and 633 road blocks." The 1984 White Paper avoids giving figures while making it plain that aid to the police continues.

But if military aid to the police is not a new departure, the new high-profile role of the troops carries its own dangers. It indicates to the country, and to the world as a whole, that the situation in the black townships is more serious than government has cared to admit. That cannot be good for either political or investor confidence.

That trouble should break out in the black townships just as the new constitution

was coming into force is hardly surprising. From a revolutionary viewpoint outbreaks of mass unrest, violence and school boycotts signal to the world that the new constitution is not acceptable to the bulk of the people.

Grievances that could be exploited lay ready to hand; and to be fair to government most of them are not matters that can be easily remedied. Many are the result of 36 years of apartheid and they will take many years to put right.

How long the unrest will last is a moot point. The 1976 disturbances went on for many months and lasted longer in some areas than in others — particularly in the eastern Cape.

Revolt distant

In most people's judgment, however, the country is not ripe for any full-scale revolt. In due course the urban areas will probably subside into the same sullen calm that followed 1976 — until next time.

The FM fully appreciates the genuine grievances of black South Africans. It also believes government is following a disastrous policy in attempting to press ahead with "separate development" — however

much that policy might be brought up to date and explained away as something different.

Indeed it is of interest that some of government's proclaimed intentions are the antithesis of separate development — like Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's statement last week that government aimed at the orderly "urbanisation" of blacks.

Whatever its flaws, this is a far cry from the old "blacks are temporary sojourners" attitude. It implies not only recognition that blacks are in the cities permanently, but that their numbers will grow both by natural means and by migration from the homelands and rural areas.

Even a government as given to belief in policy as a *deus ex machina* as Pretoria can hardly hope to keep such black masses politically powerless. Municipal votes and a theoretical say in distant and poverty-stricken homelands are not enough.

No doubt Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis's Cabinet committee on urban blacks will agonise over the problem and will come up with many weird and wonderful ideas like city states or federal and confederal systems.

Some of these ideas may actually be tried before the realisation penetrates that all South Africans are entitled to equal rights — given some mechanism to protect minority interests.

No one, except the ANC, is demanding equal rights tomorrow. Obviously it will take time and will involve many traumatic political events before some satisfactory system emerges.

But it is unlikely to emerge in circumstances of growing violence where situations harden and hatreds become more intense. That is why we place our trust in reform, believing that, whatever the difficulties and pressures, each reform measure must lead logically and inevitably to the next.


Thus government, under the new constitution, must show itself capable of reformist action such as the repeal of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts; the amendment, for the better, of the Group Areas Act; and the softening of the worst aspects of influx control and population removal.

If it does start to move in the right directions it might find that it does not, after all, need the army to hold down restless townships.

COSAS

EACH ONE

STUDENTS



SUPPORT


TEACH ONE

DEMANDS

SOLIDARITY

'AFTER MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS OF APARTHEID EDUCATION THEY EXPECTED TO SEE TOTALLY BRAINWASHED, PERFECT LITTLE 'HOTNOTJIES' AND 'KAFFIRTJIES' WHO KNEW THEIR PLACE IN THE

WORLD. INSTEAD THEY FIND THE MOST POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE DETERMINED TO STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER FUTURE' — REV ALLAN BOESAK.



Therefore the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) calls upon all students, parents, and all members of the community to support the demands which are:

DEMANDS

- Formation of and recognition of democratic SRC's
- The application of corporal punishment as laid down by the DET regulations
- Free supply of textbooks to all students/pupils
- Age limit regulation to be scrapped in all schools
- End to sexual abuse of female students/pupils, be it by a teachers or another student/pupil
- The DET should work to end the continual presence of unqualified teachers in our schools
- Release all detained students and teachers

REASONS

- Representation in the interest of improving relationship between student/pupils and teachers
- Punishment for correcting and not assaulting students/pupils. A democratic SRC would help to build and maintain discipline among students/pupils
- All students/pupils should be able to study
- Education for all regardless of age
- Female pupils (girls) must be treated as human beings and not as sexual objects. A democratic SRC would promote and improve understanding and a better relationship between staff and students.
- For the improvement of matric results and the standard of black education, 73% of black teachers are underqualified as compared to 3% in white schools.

Cosas's education demand

Financial Mail October 12 1984

35

SATHS COOPER

Radical sleek

Released from yet another spell in detention, Saths Cooper — deputy president of the Black Consciousness (BC) Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), trainee clinical psychologist at Wits University and former "right-hand man" of BC founder Steve Biko — is in some ways the epitome of SA's "young, gifted and black," as the Seventies hit song put it.

Sleek and articulate, Cooper (34) is considered by some to be a future leader of SA. But "that will be dictated in part by the government's actions and in part by the wishes of the people we claim to represent," he says. Last year he took the lead in convening the National Forum, a socialistic BC-led grouping which claims to rival the United Democratic Front (UDF) as the leading anti-government organisation inside the country.

Could the forum and UDF join forces?

Financial Mail October 5 1984

“On specific issues we will work together — as the (August election) campaign showed we can — and if certain individuals get off their personal, hegemonic hobby-horses and seriously give credit to others and to different political approaches,” explains Cooper.

Born in Durban in 1950, Cooper is the eldest of three sons. His father is retired and his mother is a school teacher who is closely involved in Hindu religious bodies. Cooper's names are an anglicised version of the Tamil originals. Remarks about an Indian being a BC leading light are a “traditional red herring,” says the 1975 Amnesty International prisoner of the year.

“People are also shocked to find that you have white friends but are supposed to be BC,” says Cooper. BC, he explains, has no racial definition. “The term black is anti-racist and is based purely on the socio-economic realities of SA . . . We don't say whites are excluded from the struggle” — but their role lies outside the black ranks, explains Cooper, who describes himself as an eligible bachelor and “definitely not an MCP.”

He has been politically committed for more than half his life, having become active at 16 while still at Sashtri College High in Durban. Cooper first met Biko — the most impressive personality he has known — while Biko was at medical school in Durban in 1968. Among Cooper's contemporaries at the university for Indians at Salis-

bury Island was Zac Yacoob, the lawyer now representing the six fugitives in the British consulate.

In what he calls his “ethnic” political days as a member of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Cooper was ironically elected NIC first vice-president in 1972 — hand-somely beating Farouk Meer, who has been in the news lately as spokesman for the consulate six in Durban.

Lower standards

Before these events, Cooper had been expelled in his second university year while leading the not-quite-official SRC. He'd been agitating against autonomy for the Indian (ethnic) university which would, it was felt, lower standards. His application for a passport to take up a scholarship in Bombay, and later at Exeter University, was refused — the first of nine refusals since. So Cooper has not travelled abroad.

For a while, Cooper taught at schools in Chatsworth and Tongaat. The SA Students' Organisation (Saso) had already been formed (in 1968), and together with Biko, Barney Pityana and Strini Moodley, Cooper was closely involved in developing Saso and in seeing BC become a phenomenon of the early Seventies. They led the formation of the Black People's Convention (BPC), of which Cooper was publicity secretary until its banning in 1977.

In 1973 Cooper was banned for five years — the ban being lifted while he was in pris-

on as, undaunted, Cooper had continued his political work, notably in the Durban-Pinetown strikes of 1973. He has been variously charged with incitement to strike, promoting racial hostility and assaulting a security policeman.

In 1974, he was arrested at a rally in support of Frelimo. In the same year, Cooper was accused No 1 in the mammoth, two-year Saso-BPC trial in which he was convicted under the Terrorism Act for subversive “thoughts and writings,” not deeds. This he calls a unique judgment, like the case of Sir Thomas Moore. He was released in December 1982, having served an effective six years in prison, mainly on Robben Island, where he managed to be charged and acquitted under the Prisons Act.

In his last two years in prison, Cooper was given permission to study. He was awarded a merit bursary by Unisa and graduated with distinction a month before his release.

Not surprisingly, Cooper is inspired by Frans Fanon, the radical Algerian psychiatrist. He also admires black power authors Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael, and has “a strange fascination for the decrepit bourgeois novel,” Dostoyevsky and the French classics. His MA thesis concerns the effects of private schools on adolescent blacks, and he is currently also “grappling with an interface between the environmentalists and intra-psyche (Freudian) research,” he says.



Saths Cooper . . . politically committed more than half of his life

BEYERS NAUDÉ

Return of the native

SEE
TIA

In Johannesburg this week there was a re-incarnation of sorts.

The conscience of Nationalist Afrikanerdom was returned to public display — Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naudé, anathema to establishment church and state, but elsewhere heralded as a prophet, is free once again to preach his message of reconciliation. Seven years of enforced silence have neither mellowed nor embittered this cheerfully determined cleric. What divorced him from his fellow white South Africans, and from the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in particular, remains constant. The black sheep of the DRC, now 69 but as energetic as ever, is back in town.

Dominee Beyers Naudé's background gave little clue to what lay ahead. Born in Roodepoort, son of the local NG Kerk predikant (Naudé remembers growing up in "a very staunch Nationalist home"), he spent his childhood in Graaff Reinet and went on to Stellenbosch to study theology.

Naudé acknowledges that as a young dominee serving white congregations in the Cape, "social and political issues never formed part of my interests or concerns," although in 1940 he was considered politically mature enough to be ritually inducted into the Broederbond.

His conversion to a more radical bent dates from his time as a student chaplain at the University of Pretoria in the late Forties. Here Naudé remembers, a "self-study of church, race, justice and the understanding of human dignity brought me to the conclusion that I could no longer support the policy of separate development as being justified on Biblical grounds."

While Naudé was battling internally with this heretical realisation, his career in the DRC was beginning to take off. He was elected to the executive committee of the Transvaal synod in 1958, but events at Sharpeville in 1960 forced him into a situation where, he says, "I had to come out into the open and make a stand." (Archbishop

Denis Hurley said of Naudé's *volte face*: "Out of that tragedy at Sharpeville God spoke to Beyers Naudé")

Naudé refused to recant the statements he made at Cottesloe in December 1960, and although he remained a minister in the DRC until 1963, when he accepted the directorship of the Christian Institute, there was to be no going back. In October 1977 Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger declared the Christian Institute an unlawful organisation and banned its director and four of its staff.

Sitting in the study of his Greenside home gently expounding his vision of the future, Beyers Naudé seems more saint than public enemy. His view of the role of the church in society is not alarmingly militant — he calls for a greater social and political role for the church, and for a clear, consistent and challenging attitude from clergymen. He underlines the importance of the church's primary and basic loyalty to Christ and the gospel, and not to



Beyers Naudé ... more saint than public enemy

Fm 5/10/84 (LIA)

any specific political philosophy or ideology.

Similarly his views of current South African developments are humanistic and compassionate, not revolutionary. In the current township unrest, Naudé says he hears "a cry for justice, a cry for recognition, an increasingly impatient cry on the part of the young black people saying if you don't want to listen we are going to do it on our own." And if we do not heed this cry, says Naudé, "it can only be to the deep and serious detriment and the suffering of both white and black, but in the long run the whites will suffer more because they have got so much more to lose. The time has come not to talk about gaining and losing; we should be talking now in terms of meaningful sharing."

Naudé believes that there is greater support for disinvestment in the black community "than we realise or we are willing to admit." He argues that if there is a strong and growing call for disinvestment on the part of the black community it is not "because they want to harm SA, but because they are desperately trying to seek radical peaceful measures in order to bring about fundamental change instead of waiting for a situation of conflict which will erupt into violence."

Naudé's plans for the future are vague — he says the last week has been so overwhelming "I haven't even had time to discuss things with my wife." He says he will continue with the ministry, and attempt to find an ecumenical platform. His passport was withdrawn in 1973, so a trip abroad must await the pleasure of the Minister of Internal Affairs. He already has made a trip to Durban, to boost the morale of the six sojourners at the British consulate, but his next trip will probably be to Onrus (near Hermanus) in November, where he and his wife have promised themselves "a holiday with a difference."

A mob of journalists lays siege to the Naudé's home. Few of them, however cynical, will leave it unimpressed by the pixie-like Dominee's courage, humility and compassion. Even an hour's talk with Rev Beyers Naudé underlines the utter folly of banning such a man for seven years in times like these.

HUGH HERMAN

Heir designate

At the age of 43 Hugh Herman might well be the man in line to inherit the Raymond Ackerman throne. But that certainly does not mean that the new joint MD of the Pick 'n Pay chain is an Ackerman clone.

The tall, trim, greying Herman makes no bones about the fact that he wholeheartedly supports the Ackerman business philosophy which has built the chain into a R2 billion operation with the 80th store opening this week. "There would be little point in my



Hugh Herman ... was not very interested in retailing

even taking the job if I was diametrically opposed to everything he does. We are not carbon copies; we are not identical in our approach, and although we don't agree on every issue, I certainly agree with the way he runs the business," says Herman.

He smiles when pressed to identify areas of potential disagreement. "It is a question of our orientation being slightly different on certain things," is the diplomatic answer. Seeing the two together, however, is evidence of a very close working relationship.

Herman agrees that they relate well in business terms. "Look, we are not bosom buddies or intimate friends, but we do have a social relationship. We play the odd game of golf. I have known Raymond a long time, and we were on social terms even before I came here."

Their relationship goes back more than 12 years, when Herman was a partner in a Cape Town law firm specialising in commercial law. Pick 'n Pay was one of his clients. "I had had many offers to go into business before Raymond approached me," he says. "Knowing Raymond, knowing Pick 'n Pay, and knowing the tremendously exciting potential the job had, this was the one I thought over very carefully and accepted. It was a very exciting opportunity — anyone who spends his whole life in a single career tends to get into a rut, I believe."

So in 1976 the Queenstown-born and Port Elizabeth-educated boy with a BA LLB from Rhodes found himself property director of Pick 'n Pay. "The job title was a bit of a misnomer," he says. This firm has never been tightly compartmentalised; there is great interplay between the various roles. My job was more related to

the strategy of where the company should go, what format our trading should take and so forth."

Herman frankly admits he was not particularly interested in retailing before he joined Pick 'n Pay. Yet sources in the trade say that his grasp of retailing is undoubtedly one of the major factors that make him Ackerman's choice as joint-MD. Ackerman himself tells the FM that "Hugh took to retailing like a duck to water."

And he is under no illusions about the task that lies ahead. "I have landed a difficult job," he says with great earnestness, as he lights for the 10th time the fat cigar in his ashtray (like Ackerman, his cigars tend to go out as he gets involved in the conversation). "Raymond will still be there — apart from being joint-MD he remains chief executive and chairman — but one of the tough things about my job is that it is very difficult to grow from a successful base. It is easy to recover from enormous losses, but we have been growing for 16 years."

A private person

But there are compensations, says Herman with a grin. "One of the big disadvantages of joint-MDs is the usual jockeying for position against each other, which means the staff divides into camps. That does not apply in this case. We may be joint-MDs, but there is no doubt who is the boss!"

Herman is outwardly friendly and easy-going — the quick interview in his office turns into a lengthy discussion — but is undoubtedly more of a private person than his high-profile colleague. Ackerman's strength is his assiduous sense of public relations. What does Herman see as his

New detentions net UDF man

IN a fresh wave of detentions, the General Secretary of the United Democratic Front has been taken into "preventive" detention and two Vaal men are being held in solitary confinement for interrogation.

Colonel Leon Mellett of the Police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria confirmed that UDF secretary, Mr Popo Molefe (29), was being held in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, having been detained at Khotso House in Central Johannesburg on Tuesday afternoon.

The United Democratic Front has condemned Mr Molefe's detention describing it as arbitrary.

Mr Molefe was arrested under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act that provides for peoples' detention to prevent commission of certain offences, or the endangering of State security or the maintenance of law and order.

"The previous detention of our leaders has shown that this action cannot intimidate our people," a UDF statement said. "Their grievances are real and the struggle against injustice will not in any way be deterred.

"We must warn the Government that the

detention and harassment only serves to fuel the anger of our people.

"The UDF calls for the unconditional release of all detainees in the interest of peace in our country," the statement said.

Intimidate

Police have also confirmed that Mr Gcinumuzi Malindi and Mr Simon Nkodi of the Vaal area have been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for indefinite, incommunicado detention.

The UDF, which has been hard hit by Section 28 detentions in the last six weeks, has reacted to the latest detentions with a warning that they "will only serve to fuel the anger of our people."

National executive member Mr Trevor Manuel last night called for the unconditional release of all detainees. "The previous detentions of leaders have shown this action on the part of the State cannot in any way intimidate our people.

"Their grievances are real and their struggles against injustice will not in any way be deterred."

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee has voiced special concern about Mr Malindi

and Mr Nkodi.

"Mr Malindi, a member of the Vaal Civic Association, was seen by witnesses in police custody and had reportedly been shot in or near the eye by a rubber bullet," a DPSC statement released yesterday read.

Police have not confirmed the injury, but said: "Any person in police custody who requires medical care will receive all the attention that is needed.

The DPSC statement described the Security Police record in relation to medical care of detainees as "abysmal" and expressed concern about Mr Malindi's access to treatment.

It added that Mr Nkodi, a DPSC member and worker for the South African Institute of Race Relations, had been previously detained "for lengthy periods and has repeatedly been the object of unwanted attention by the Security Police."

The DPSC fears several more of the hundreds arrested in the Vaal area ten days ago might now be in security detention.

"Because of the blanket of secrecy it has been impossible despite extensive investigations to ascertain how many of these people are being held by the Security Police and under what section (of the law)."



Mr George Sewpersadh, president of the Natal Indian Congress, looking out the window of the British Consulate yesterday.

Mercury 4/10/84 (IIA)

NIC urges minister to break stalemate

Mercury Reporter

THE ball was in the court of Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, to break the impasse over the sit-in by the six fugitives in the British Consulate in Durban, a spokesman for the Natal Indian Congress said yesterday.

Dr Farouk Meer, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress — five of its leaders are sheltering in the consulate — said: 'We are keen to overcome

the impasse so that they may leave the consulate.'

He said the NIC had sent a telex to Mr le Grange on Monday asking for reasons for the revised detention orders against the six.

'We told the minister that if he cannot provide any reasons then the orders should be scrapped.

'We are still awaiting his response. We have been very reasonable, but it now appears that the

minister has become intransigent. He should be held solely responsible for the delay in finding a speedy resolution to the problem,' he added.

Mr Yunus Mahomed, one of the lawyers for the six, sent another telex to Mr le Grange yesterday in which he stated: 'We await your response to our telex of September 29 urgently requesting information and reasons for our clients' detention

orders.

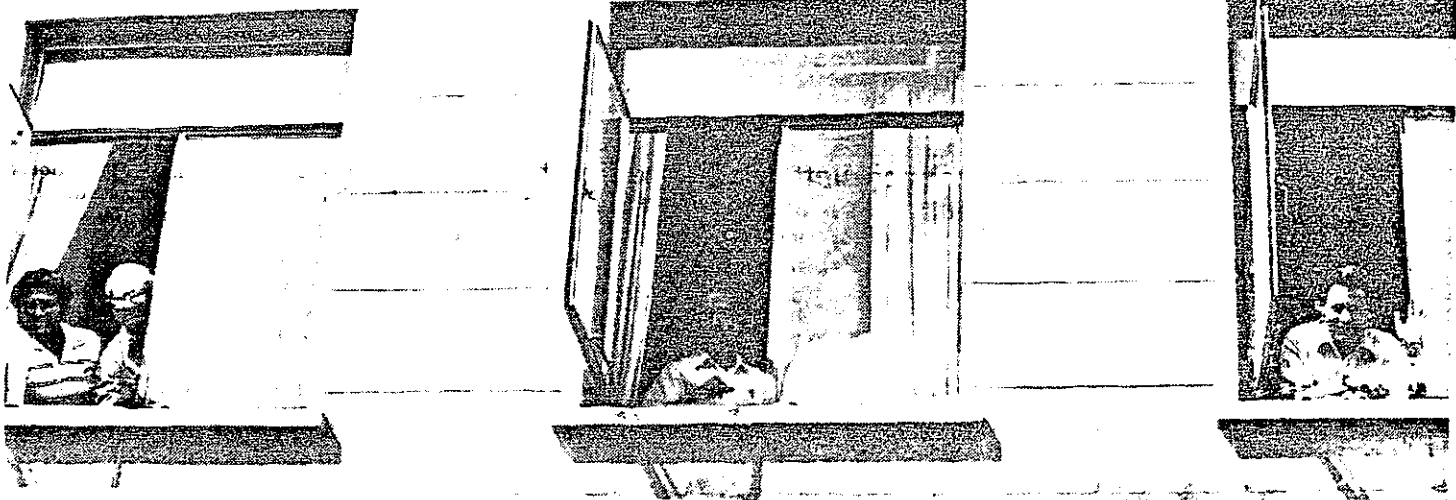
'We place on record that this issue is being drawn out by your failure to respond with sufficient expedition to our clients' request. We trust you will do so urgently.'

The sit-in entered its 21st day yesterday with access to the seventh floor of the Field Street building housing the consulate still restricted. Uniformed and security policemen continued

their vigil outside the building.

The six UDF and NIC leaders, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr George Sewpersadh, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Paul David and Mr Billy Nair, appeared to be in good health as they peered through a side window of the building.

They smiled and waved as a Mercury photographer took pictures of them from the rooftop of another building.



Five of the six fugitives peer through the windows. From left are Mr Paul David, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Billy Nair, Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Mewa Ramgobin. This photograph was taken from a building in Parry Road.

UN efforts to aid Durban Six fail

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Efforts at the United Nations to help the six men hiding in the British consulate in Durban have met with no success.

The cause of the six men has been championed by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid.

Spurred to action by a visit to the UN by representatives of the Durban Six, the anti-apartheid body sought help from the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, and Britain's ambassador to the UN, Sir John Thompson.

Appeals made by committee chairman Major-General Joseph Garba have produced no results. Mr Perez de Cuellar has kept out of the row.

And in reply to his request for assurances from Britain that it would support and help the six, Sir John said Britain would not act as an intermediary.

Sapa reports that Bar Council and the Association of Law Societies representatives yesterday met the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, to express their concern about the Government's reprisal against Britain for sheltering the six dissidents.

SA said it would renege on an undertaking it gave Britain that four South Africans facing illegal arms dealing charges in England would appear for trial.

Mr Botha said his meeting with the representatives had taken place in a "good spirit and both sides understood the other's viewpoint".

US refuses to grant refuge to fugitives

The United States has refused to grant refuge to the six former detainees sheltering from detention orders in the British Consulate in Durban.

The US ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, today made known the contents of a telegram to lawyers representing the six.

"With respect to your request that the US 'provide sanctuary' to your clients, you should be advised that our policy is to grant temporary refuge (we don't provide sanctuary) only in exceptional cases of imminent bodily harm for the visitor based on humanitarian considerations, such as when a person is being pursued by a mob.

"This is not, in our judgment, the position in

which your clients find themselves.

"The position of the US Government on detention without trial is well known to your clients and to the South African Government. It is our view that due process of law requires that those detained should either be charged and tried or released."

Mr Nickel said the US had persistently raised the issue of recent detentions with the South African Government publicly and privately at a high level.

"We note that the detention of six persons has been lifted and are urging the South African Government to do likewise in the case of the remaining cases."

X

3/10/84 (11A)

Police detain UDF secretary, two in 'solitary'

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a fresh wave of detentions the general secretary of the United Democratic Front has been taken into "preventive" detention and two Vaal men are being held in solitary confinement for interrogation.

Colonel Leon Mellett of the police public relations department in Pretoria confirmed that UDF secretary Mr Popo Molefe, 29, was being held in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act. He was detained in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon.

Police also confirmed that Mr Geinumuzi Malindi and Mr Simon Nkodi of the Vaal area were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for indefinite, incommunicado detention.

HARD-HIT IN SIX WEEKS

The UDF, which has been hard-hit by Section 28 detentions in the past six weeks, said the latest detentions "will only serve to fuel the anger of our people".

A member of the national executive, Mr Trevor Manuel, last night called for the unconditional release of all detainees.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee has voiced special concern about Mr Malindi and Mr Nkodi.

"Mr Malindi, a member of the Vaal Civic Association, was seen by witnesses in police custody and had reportedly been shot in or near the eye by a rubber bullet," said a DPSC statement.

Police did not confirm the injury, but said: "Any person in custody who requires medical care will receive all the attention that is needed.

The DPSC statement said Mr Nkodi, a DPSC member and worker for the South African Institute of Race Relations, had been detained before "for lengthy periods".

Cronin: (11A)

SA should
reassess

political
traditions

South Africans must take a fresh look at democratic political traditions outside of Parliament, said poet-academic and former political prisoner Mr Jeremy Cronin last night.

Mr Cronin delivered the 18th annual Richard Feetham Memorial Lecture on academic freedom to about 1 200 people in the University of the Witwatersrand's Great Hall.

Imprisoned for seven years under the Terrorism Act and released in May 1983, Mr Cronin said politics in South Africa should not be equated with parliamentary party politics.

Mr Cronin pointed out that majority political traditions had been codified in their most accessible and popular form in the Freedom Charter 30 years ago.

He said: "The Freedom Charter sees South Africa as a society belonging to all who live in it."

EQUAL EDUCATION

"It is not a document produced by barbarians lurking in the night; it is not born in the traditions of some blind primeval force, some seismic terror soon to hit our suburbs."

He added that the Freedom Charter was important for academic freedom as it called for free, compulsory, and equal education for all children.

Mr Cronin stressed: "It calls for the ending of illiteracy and for the abolition of apartheid in all its forms within the education system."

He said the demand for peace and friendship between nations was essential if the question of academic freedom was to be meaningfully addressed.

Mr Cronin added: "While we sit in our universities we cannot forget the acts of destabilisation, military occupation and armed intervention in the neighbouring sovereign countries by the apartheid army and surrogates."

"Since 1976, armed bandits, backed, armed and trained by the apartheid army have destroyed no fewer than 840 schools, 16 health centres and 24 maternity centres in Mozambique."

"In Southern Angola hundreds of schools have been destroyed by South African bombs."

HYPOCRISY

"While our regime is destroying schools elsewhere, it would be sheer hypocrisy for us to confine the issue of academic freedom to a limited, negative freedom from interference for a handful of campuses here in South Africa."

Mr Cronin said South Africans lived in a country with mind-boggling contradictions.

He went on: "It is a country with vast capacity, a highly developed economic infrastructure, and yet there is grinding poverty."

"The sad truth is that what gets produced is less a matter of social needs and all too often a matter of private profits."

"Our major factories, banks, farms and mines are in the hands of a small minority."

Mr Cronin pointed out that the needs of a vast socio-economic system for a housed, mobile and educated workforce clashed continuously with the drive for the majority of people in South Africa to be disorganised, fragmented and excluded, lest racial privilege and private profit be threatened.

ANC man
arrested
3/10/84
arms seized

By Trevor Jones

Security Police have arrested an African National Congress insurgent in the Western Transvaal and seized a quantity of handgrenades, AK-47 rifles and other weapons of Russian origin.

The arrest follows a grenade attack on two policemen in the Khuma township near Stilfontein last Thursday in which five people were injured.

Major-General Stan Schutte, chief of the Security Police and Senior Deputy Commissioner of Police, announced the arrest in Pretoria today.

He said the "trained ANC terrorist" had allegedly entered South Africa from Botswana.

General Schutte said the policeman was following two suspicious men in the Khuma township when the men threw a handgrenade at him.

The grenade exploded, injuring five black civilians. The policeman was not hurt.

^{RAB}
3/10/89

Molefe detained — UDF

By **ANTON HARBER**
Political Reporter

11A

ANOTHER leading official of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Popo Molefe, 29, has been detained by the Security Police, according to a UDF spokesman.

But a police spokesman last night said that "as far as can be ascertained", Mr Molefe was not in custody.

UDF officials said police picked up Mr Molefe, the UDF general secretary, outside its offices in Khotso House, central Johannesburg, yesterday afternoon.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said: "Mr Popo Molefe is not being detained in terms of security legislation.

"As far as it can be ascertained, he is not in custody."

Boycott a threat to chip business

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
IF THE boycott of Simba chips gained widespread support, the company's business would be affected, Mr J C du Toit, managing director of Simba-Quix, said yesterday.

He was responding to the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union's (SFAWU) claims of massive support for the boycott which was launched last week to win back the jobs of more than 400 workers fired at the company's Isando plant in August.

The boycott now has the backing of about 30 trade unions as well as numerous political and community groups such as the United Democratic Front, the Transvaal and the Natal Indian Congress, the Azanian Students Organisation, the Congress of South African Students, Nusas and Sacos.

The union has also said it will be notifying the International Union of Food and Allied Workers Associations, to which the SFAWU is affiliated, of the dispute.

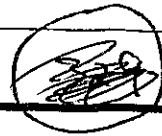
Mr Du Toit said the company did substantial business in the black areas and that the degree to which the business would be affected depended on how much support the boycott received.

He said the company might reconsider if new facts were presented by the union, but he had had nine meetings with shop stewards and union officials since the strike and was satisfied the workers had been fairly dismissed.

The workers were fired after taking part in a work stoppage in sympathy with three dismissed workers.

Mr Du Toit denied SFAWU's charges that the company was racist to rehire coloured workers after firing black workers. "When we had to re-engage new staff, there were coloureds at the gate."

Mr Jay Naidoo, SFAWU's general secretary said yesterday: "We urge Simba management to reconsider their decision and to negotiate with the union an amicable solution to the present dispute."



UDF secretary held in fresh police swoop

By Jo-Anne Collinge

In a fresh wave of detentions, the general secretary of the United Democratic Front has been taken into "preventive" detention and two Vaal men are being held in solitary confinement for interrogation.

Colonel Leon Mellett of the Police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria confirmed that UDF secretary Mr Popo Molefe (29) was being held in terms of section 28 of the Internal Security Act, having been detained at Khotso House in central Johannesburg yesterday afternoon.

'FUELS ANGER'

Police have also confirmed that Mr Gcinumuzi Malindi and Mr Simon Nkodi of the Vaal area have been detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for indefinite, incommunicado detention.

The UDF, which has been hard hit by section 28 detentions in the last six weeks, has react-

ed to the latest detentions with a warning that they "will only serve to fuel the anger of our people".

National executive member Mr Trevor Manuel last night called for the unconditional release of all detainees. "The previous detentions of leaders have shown this action on the part of the State cannot in any way intimidate our people.

"Their grievances are real and their struggles against injustice will not in any way be deterred."

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee has voiced special concern about Mr Malindi and Mr Nkodi.

"Mr Malindi, a member of the Vaal Civic Association, was seen by witnesses in police custody and had reportedly been shot in or near the eye by a rubber bullet," a DPSC statement released yesterday read.

Police have not confirmed the injury, but said: "Any person in

police custody who requires medical care will receive all the attention that is needed."

The DPSC statement described the Security Police record in relation to medical care of detainees as "abysmal" and expressed concern about Mr Malindi's access to treatment.

LENGTHY PERIODS

It added that Mr Nkodi, a DPSC member and worker for the South African Institute of Race Relations, had been previously detained "for lengthy periods and has repeatedly been the object of unwanted attention by the Security Police".

The DPSC fears several more of the hundreds arrested in the Vaal area 10 days ago might now be in security detention. "Because of the blanket of secrecy it has been impossible, despite extensive investigations, to ascertain how many of these people are being held by the Security Police and under what section (of the law)."

(11A) (11A) Star
2/10/84

ANC 3 who fled SA charged in Botswana

The Star's Foreign
News Service

GABORONE — Three ANC guerillas who fled into Botswana after clashing with South African security forces in the Northern Transvaal last month have been charged with the illegal possession of arms of war.

The trial of the three men, Mr Roney Mahlan-gu, Mr Christopher Machaba and Mr Lucky Setlhare, all aged 25, will begin tomorrow in the

Francistown Magistrate's Court.

The *Botswana Guardian* newspaper reported that the charge carries a minimum penalty of five years' jail with no option of a fine.

All have pleaded not guilty.

According to the charge sheet the men were arrested on August 5 at a cattle post near the South Africa-Botswana border. They were allegedly armed.

Foreign embassies convey 6's plea to govts

ROM 2/10/84

119

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United States, Dutch, German and French embassies in Pretoria yesterday conveyed pleas from the six men involved in the Durban consulate drama to their respective governments, and indicated that the first reply could be given today.

A spokesman for the Dutch Embassy said the telexed plea from the six had asked his government to persuade the South African authorities to meet the men's demands, to provide sanctuary for them and to give them every possible assistance.

Spokesmen for the other embassies said they had conveyed the plea from the six, but could not say when answers were expected.

Meanwhile, the six former detainees were tensely awaiting the judgment of the Natal Supreme Court on their appeal against their new detention orders, expected within a day or two.

And yesterday, charges under the Internal Security Act were dropped against 46 men, including three of the six consulate refugees.

This means they would not have to leave the consulate to face the charges as originally expected

Mr Zac Yacoob, their legal representative, yesterday returned from his mission abroad on their behalf in order to hold further consultations with them and to appear in court as one of the 46 people facing charges.

Addressing the Press at Jan

Smuts Airport, the blind Durban advocate first said the consulate drama was likely to be brought to a head within a few hours.

However, when journalists told him that he and three of his clients were no longer required to appear in court after the Natal Attorney-General, Mr M W C Imber, dropped charges under the Internal Security Act, he said this "changed matters somewhat".

Earlier yesterday, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, warned that any indication that the US intended giving favourable consideration to the request from the six would be tantamount to encouraging the commission of an unlawful act in South Africa.

● Picture — Page 2

US won't get involved with sit-in six

WASHINGTON — The United States has indicated it does not intend to get involved in the case of the South African political fugitives in the British Consulate in Durban.

It was made clear by the State Department yesterday that it considers the fugitives do not meet either its criteria for being given refuge or those for political asylum.

A State Department spokesman said: "We do not encourage people to believe that they can force their own authorities to grant them exit permits by staging their protests in a US embassy."

POLICY MATTER

The spokesman refused to say whether the US had received a communication from the South African Government about the case.

But he implied that its decision on the fugitives' appeal for sanctuary was being decided strictly on the basis of prevailing policy.

This is basically that refuge

11A 227 Star
By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star Bureau

is granted by American diplomatic offices abroad only to those whose life or safety is in immediate danger, for instance from a mob, and that political asylum cannot be granted by embassies abroad.

The fugitives' appeal to the American, French, West German and Dutch governments for sanctuary is believed by observers here to have put the US in an awkward situation. Intervening in the matter would antagonise the South African Government when Washington is seeking Pretoria's co-operation in getting an early settlement in Namibia and when the Reagan Administration wants to get a positive response from South Africa to its constructive engagement policy.

The US would especially like to see Pretoria move quickly to deal with the issue of political representation for blacks. On the other hand, failure to

2/10/84
heed the pleas of the Durban consulate fugitives could give the Democrats ammunition to use against President Reagan in the presidential election campaign.

In these circumstances the administration appears to be taking its own refuge in a strict interpretation of standing policy.

SANCTUARY REQUESTED

Spelling out the policy, the State Department spokesman said the US Embassy in Pretoria had received a telex on Saturday from a lawyer representing the six refugees in the British Consulate asking that the US give them sanctuary.

The telex was being studied by the US Government, said the spokesman, Mr Alan Romberg. "Our policy basically in answer to questions of this sort," he said, "is that while a decision on refugee status must be made by an officer on the scene, it now appears that at this time there is no imminent

or immediate threat to life or safety of the six at the British Consulate in Durban.

"Protection is normally terminated when the period of active danger is ended."

In the case of asylum, said Mr Romberg, US law provided that it could be offered only within the United States and not by embassies abroad.

"So we do not encourage people to believe that they that they can force their own authorities to grant them exit permits by staging their protests in a US embassy," he added. "On the other hand, we deplore the restrictions on free travel which give rise to this type of case."

Was there any difference between the case of the Durban fugitives and that of Cardinal Mindszenty, who was sheltered in the US Embassy in Budapest for years?

Mr Romberg said: "I think it's a question of refuge, not asylum."

11/10/84 (11A) ~~(11A)~~ D. Dispatch

Worrall: SA may talk to ANC

LONDON — The South African ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, said here last night the South African Government might consider talks with the African National Congress.

Dr Worrall said, in his first TV interview since taking up his appointment here that the ANC would first have to drop "its commitment to violence".

The ambassador was speaking during a hard-hitting interview in the programme Face the Press. Conducting the interview were the editor of The Observer, Mr Donald Treford, and the political editor of The Economist, Mr Simon Jenkins.

Dr Worrall, who has made himself more available for interviews with the media generally here than is customary with South African diplomats, faced a barrage of tough questions regarding the "Coventry four", as well as South Africa's policy of apartheid.

Discussing the "Coventry four", Dr Worrall said the South African Government's refusal to send back the four men on arms charges relied on the doctrine of reprisals.

This doctrine said that an illegal act by one

state might be responded to with an illegal action by the other state.

"While it is a regrettable thing to resort to in international relations it is recognised as a fairly general response," he said.

Asked if he was happy with this and if it did not make his job as ambassador in London more difficult, Dr Worrall said it had to be seen in context.

The six men had been in the consulate in Durban since September 13 and the South African Government faced tremendous domestic political pressure on the issue. In addition, the British Government had said it was not prepared to remove them forcibly.

"The South African Government has presumably considered the possibility of going in and arresting them but has decided not to take that course because that would be contrary to the Vienna Convention on consular relations."

Asked for his reaction to a statement from the six that they would come out if they were to be charged in a court of law, Dr Worrall said they had also said they would emerge if all detainees were released.

That was a case of

blackmailing the South African and British Governments, Dr Worrall said.

He added that the six were being held in an "over-heated" situation in much the same way as people could be held under the 1984 Prevention of Terrorism Act in the United Kingdom.

It was put to Dr Worrall that the Coventry four, had "jumped bail". The British court had agreed to grant bail only because it trusted the South African Government.

"I don't think that anyone should conclude that the South African Government is never again going to honour its undertakings," he said.

In the South African Government's view the continuance of the six in the British consulate in Durban was contrary to international customary law.

"It is contrary to the convention on consular relations in that this is an obstruction to law enforcement in South Africa."

With reference again to the case of the Coventry four, it was put to Dr Worrall that not only did it involve the intention to "jump bail", but the South African Government then had "the



DR WORRALL

the decision to estreat bail had been taken at the highest level, it was suggested to the ambassador that it had been taken at the highest "security" level.

Since the arrests, the South African Government had acted in a most "unusually agitated" manner which led to the suspicion that South Africa had merely dragged the Durban six into the affair because the government was afraid of what was to come out of it in court, it was suggested.

Dr Worrall said it was obviously a decision which was not taken lightly because it would have an impact on South Africa's bilateral relations with Britain.

cheek" to propose to go into court and demand the bail money back.

Dr Worrall said the technical legal aspects would have to be discussed. What the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had made plain was that the South African representatives would be in court on October 22.

"As a matter of fact the first secretary (who stood bail) returned to London this weekend," he said.

When Dr Worrall said

four) was the South African Government's way of expressing its displeasure."

The interviewers said that when displeasure was expressed in this way, there was almost united condemnation from the English language press.

Dr Worrall said the English language press did not govern South Africa.

It was put to Dr Worrall that the Soviet Government had seemed able to "take" the Pentacostalists going into the American embassy in Moscow.

He replied that the Soviet Union was not a democracy, it did not have a free press or independent newspapers and generally was not faced with the situation that South Africa was.

It was put to Dr Worrall that an Afrikaans editor had said the time had come for the South African Government to talk to the ANC.

Dr Worrall said the position of the government took was that when the ANC dropped "its commitment to violence" and to the formation of a socialist state in South Africa, that would be another matter. — DDC.

'Enemy' officials called on to resign

IA
Stew
1/10/87

By Michael Tissong

People "manning enemy institutions such as the House of Delegates, the House of Representatives, community councils and bantustan governments" were called upon by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) "to resign or face the wrath of the people".

This resolution was taken at the organisation's national council meeting in Kimberley at the weekend.

The meeting condemned the manner in which police handled recent crises in the black community, including the unrest in the Vaal Triangle, in schools and during the elections.

'GOVT ARROGANCE'

In another resolution, the meeting also condemned "the arrogance" with which Government officials and people involved in Government-created institutions continued to evade the issues which led to these crises.

In one resolution, Azapo "repeated its commitment to the creation of a new, anti-racist, socialist Republic of Azania where the aspirations of the majority of the people shall be paramount".

The health secretariat of the organisation was commended for its voluntary work in areas where there were inadequate health facilities.

Doctors and nurses attached to the secretariat have treated patients in Brandfort, Bekkersdal, Mzimhlope and Sharpeville.

RSM 1/10/84

11A

Sit-in Six are 'deeply inspired' by support

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN. — The six fugitives who have taken refuge in the British consulate in Durban have described their experience in being confined to a small office, as their sit-in entered its 16th day.

The plight of the men, who face instant arrest under revised detention orders, unfolded in a reply to a series of written questions sent to them through a source who has easy access to the heavily-guarded consulate.

Requests by foreign and local reporters for interviews with them have been turned down by Mr John Hedley, British embassy spokesman in Pretoria. The United Democratic Front and Natal Indian Congress leaders — Mr Archie Gumede, Mr George Sewpersadh, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David — said they were sleeping on the floor of an office which had become their kitchen, bedroom and toilet.

But they feel it is all worthwhile.

"We are very grateful and

deeply inspired by the support we received from all over the world and have no regrets for the path we have chosen to show South Africa and the world the evil of preventive detention; to expose this Government's intention to detain us and silence us for life," they said.

Their day begins at 5am, when they awake, tidy up the room and make their way to the gent's toilet in another part of the building before the building opens at 7am.

From 7am to 7pm they are precluded from leaving the consular premises — not even to go to the toilet in another part of the building — for fear of being arrested.

Most of their day is spent reading, discussing matters with their legal representatives or responding to the many messages of support they receive each day.

"We look forward to the evenings when our families visit us, bringing along with them our eagerly-awaited meals. But when they leave its back to normal for the six of us crammed into one room, which has been our home for the past two weeks," they wrote.

Youth dies after police van shooting, UDF is told

11/10/84
By Jo-Anne Collinge

Star
A Vaal youth who was about to go home when released without charge after a week in jail, has been shot dead.

Witnesses have told the United Democratic Front the shooting occurred in a police van outside the Sebokeng Police Station in the early hours of Saturday morning.

The Police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria has confirmed that Jacob Moleleke (16) of Zone 13, Sebokeng, was fatally wounded on Saturday. A spokesman said an investigation had been launched and the docket would be forwarded to the Attorney-General.

Witnesses told the UDF that Jacob was fatally wounded in the head during an exchange between a policeman and the group of young people waiting to be driven home.

The youths were among hundreds held by police at a funeral 10 days ago. Those aged 16 or younger had already been released unconditionally on the instructions of the Attorney-General. Jacob and his companions were due to be transported home in the early hours of Saturday.

The story related to the UDF by the other youngsters is that a policeman had demanded that they produce his jacket. When they failed to do so, he allegedly threatened them but did not harm anyone.

They said he later threatened them again and a shot went off, hitting Jacob.

The children told the UDF they watched Jacob being taken to Sebokeng Hospital and that when the policemen returned they

● To Page 3, Col 8

lay October 1 1984

3

Row over coat ends in death

Star
From Page 1. 11A

overheard the comment: "Hy is dood (He is dead)."

By late yesterday Mr Johannes Moleleke and his wife, Elizabeth, had not been officially informed of their son's death.

The UDF's Transvaal vice-president, the Rev Frank Chikane, warned that his organisation would do all in its power to bring the man responsible to book. "We shall not tolerate a situation where people are empowered to take the law into their own hands."

The young people who said they witnessed the shooting alleged they had made false statements to the police because they were assaulted after making frank statements about what they saw.

The police spokesman in Pretoria advised that they should lodge affidavits at the nearest police station so the allegation that they were forced to alter their original statements could be investigated.

Mr Chikane said legal action would be taken to expose anyone who interfered with the witnesses in any way.

A legal representative for the witnesses, Mr Ismail Ayob, said immediate steps were being taken to contact and protect them.

Pik gets tough on sanctuary for six

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

5/20
1/10/84

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, today warned foreign governments that, if any embassy gave refuge to the six fugitives now holed up in the British Consulate in Durban, South Africa would regard it as the continuation of an illegal act.

If any country said that it was even considering favourably a request for sanctuary, the South African Government would consider that to be an encouragement to commit an illegal act, Mr Botha said in response to an inquiry by The Star.

Mr Botha was reacting to reports that the Natal Indian Congress had sent urgent telexes to several embassies requesting sanctuary and assistance for the six men who are avoiding detention orders.

He said that, so far, only the US ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, had confirmed to him that such a request had been received.

"The ambassador said that any request of this nature must be routinely referred to head office," said Mr Botha.

He added that he could understand that such a request had to be routinely referred but that he had pointed out to the ambassador what South Africa's interpretation of the granting — or even the favourable consideration — of the request would be.

Mr Botha said he hoped that the representatives of other countries in South Africa would take note of the Government's position.

Hot potato

Four foreign governments have now been handed a diplomatic hot potato.

Mindful of the dilemma in which the British have been over the drama, the four embassies involved (the US, Germany, France, Holland) have referred the request back to their Governments for a decision.

The embassies received the telexes requesting sanctuary for the six yesterday.

The telexes are believed to have expressed the fear that Britain might expel the fugitives from the consulate.

The drama of the six men has caused a rift in relations between South Africa and Britain.

South Africa has shown its displeasure at what it terms Britain's "persistent obstruction" by reneging on its undertaking to return to Britain four men for trial on charges of illegal arms dealing.

● The US ambassador today described as "totally misleading" news reports that his government was "seriously" or "carefully" considering a request for refuge by the six former detainees.

● Earlier report
Page 7, World section.

Consulate Six reach crisis point today, says lawyer

LONDON — The six fugitives who touched off a diplomatic crisis between South Africa and Britain will decide today on their next steps.

At an informal Press conference at London's Heathrow Airport on his return from New York yesterday, their lawyer, Mr Zac Yacoob, said there was a small chance of a compromise being reached. "I would exclude nothing at this stage," he added. Mr Yacoob spoke on

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

the final leg of an international trip that has brought massive publicity to the men sheltering from the South African Police in the British Consulate in Durban and has focused international attention on the issue of detention without trial in South Africa.

Decisions

Mr Yacoob said it was now "urgently necessary" to consult his clients and he

would be back in South Africa today.

He said the six would have to review their position in the light of:

- The responses they receive to their letters to various embassies in South Africa asking for sanctuary should they have to leave the British Consulate.
- The fact that three of them, together with Mr Yacoob, are due to appear in court in Durban on Tuesday.
- The British Government's continued view that the six men are

unwelcome guests, coupled with its apparent refusal to put pressure on the South African Government to prevent their further detention.

Crisis

"We have reached a kind of crisis point," said Mr Yacoob.

"The whole situation has to be reviewed very quickly."

He said today was the day they would have to make definite decisions.

Mr Yacoob said the six men would also

have to work out the consequences of the international contacts he had made on their behalf.

He said the highlight of his trip was his meeting with the United Nations' Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, in New York on Friday.

Mr Perez de Cuellar had undertaken to interene with both the British and the South African governments.

Communication

Mr Yacoob said he believed this interven-

tion would have fairly significant results, although he could not say what action the Secretary-General might take.

"We have now set up a channel of communication with the Secretary-General so that we can be informed of the steps he is taking and what might result from these steps," he added.

Asked about the results of his trip, Mr Yacoob said it had brought considerable support from most countries.



Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar

Free Mandela - P W told

ZAMBIA'S President Kenneth Kaunda has called on President P W Botha to free Nelson Mandela to clear the air for serious dialogue with South Africa's black majority.

"That is the only way we can avoid the explosion we all know is coming," the Zambian leader warned in a Sunday Tribune interview at State House, Lusaka.

"Mr Botha is on trial and must choose the path of right and justice," Dr Kaunda said.

"In my opinion he should release Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and all the others who are in prison for political reasons, as he released Torvo Ja Torvo. The future of your otherwise great country depends on the black and the white nationalists coming together.

"That is how Mr Botha is going to pass this test in which he is now embroiled," Dr Kaunda said.

"I believe Mr Botha is a sincere man. I have been impressed by what I have heard him say from time to time but actions speak louder than words. History will judge me harshly if I made a mistake in my assessment.

Power

"But Mr Botha is not the master of events in

SOWETAN Correspondent

African attempts to force them to sign a non-aggression pact, then Zambia will support them strongly."

Referring to an independent Namibia, he said South Africa would have nothing to fear.

"Even if Swapo wanted to provide the ANC with bases, and I am sure as a matter of principle they would want to do so, it would just not be possible.

"Economically any government of Namibia, Swapo included, will be dependent on South Africa and will be tied to her apron strings for years.

"To suggest otherwise is a false excuse for delaying Namibian independence.

"What is more, Swapo would not be so stupid as to invite in South African troops. The SADF was able to occupy a large part of Angola which is a much stronger country than Namibia will ever be.

"Long after apartheid is gone Namibia will still depend on South Africa.

"When the Americans mooted the idea of link-

the dispute. The South Africans picked on this idea and made it their own stand.

"This whole thing now hinges on how the Reagan Administration sees it in relation to their President's re-election."

On the Lusaka settlement talks, Dr Kuanda said:

"My impression was that the Administrator-General of Namibia, Dr van Niekerk, did not have the authority to modify the South African Government's stance.

"You might recall that that conference was held in response to encouraging remarks that Mr Botha had made in Parliament. We thought that we should pin our hopes on that one.

"But it turned out that when it came down to actual implementation there were obstacles put in the way of the conference.

"We are quite clear in our minds that if the South African Government had taken a decision to let Namibia go, then the conference would have overcome



Dr KENNETH KAUNDA: Zambia's President.



PRESIDENT P W BOTHA: Asked to release Mandela.

on the black and the white nationalists coming together.

"That is how Mr Botha is going to pass this test in which he is now embroiled," Dr Kaunda said.

"I believe Mr Botha is a sincere man. I have been impressed by what I have heard him say from time to time but actions speak louder than words. History will judge me harshly if I made a mistake in my assessment.

Power

"But Mr Botha is not the master of events in South Africa. In political terms yes, he is in power. He controls the defence and security forces and the economy but there is a force over which he has no control.

"That is the black people who are going to tell us whether change will be peaceful or otherwise."

"History has proven that oppressed people have always risen, be they black oppressed by black or white by white.

"There is a push on to give the black man a share of economic power but that is not enough," Dr Kaunda said.

He would continue to play the role of the region's honest broker and would host meetings if he thought the participants seriously sought solutions. He said he supported the Nkomati Accord though he considered it "a very unequal treaty."

He said Mozambique had had to sign the accord to end South African support for the Renamo which would otherwise have turned the country into a "bantustan".

The president accepted that Swaziland, too, had had to sign its secret agreement with Pretoria but he urged the Botha Government to stop putting pressure on Lesotho and Botswana to do likewise.

"I would not be averse to Lesotho and Botswana signing such a treaty. They are too close to South Africa to do otherwise. But if they continue to resist South

government of Namibia, Swapo included, will be dependent on South Africa and will be tied to her apron strings for years.

"To suggest otherwise is a false excuse for delaying Namibian independence.

"What is more, Swapo would not be so stupid as to invite in South African troops. The SADF was able to occupy a large part of Angola which is a much stronger country than Namibia will ever be.

"Long after apartheid is gone Namibia will still depend on South Africa.

"When the Americans mooted the idea of linkage between the presence of the Cubans in Angola and the independence of Namibia, they brought the East-West confrontation into

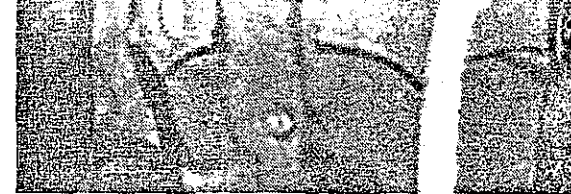
have the authority to modify the South African Government's stance.

"You might recall that that conference was held in response to encouraging remarks that Mr Botha had made in Parliament. We thought that we should pin our hopes on that one.

"But it turned out that when it came down to actual implementation there were obstacles put in the way of the conference.

"We are quite clear in our minds that if the South African Government had taken a decision to let Namibia go, then the conference would have overcome the obstacles which confronted (UN Resolution) 435.

"Still we do not regret calling the meeting. I think it was justified."



Dr KENNETH KAUNDA: Zambia's President.

Gumede's wife gets new KwaZulu position

By BERYS BEHR GILLINGHAM

THE wife of the vehemently anti-Inkatha leader of the United Democratic Front has received permission from Chief Gathsa Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, to work as a teacher for KwaZulu.

Mrs Edith Gumede of Claremont, Durban, whose husband Archie is at present encamped in the British consulate with five others in a bid to escape detention, will work at the Christianenbug Lower Primary school in Claremont, Durban, next year.

Mrs Gumede, though "officially retired", has been working this year and applied to work for a further year.

Mr Gumede has made no secret of his distaste for Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government, both of which are headed by Chief Buthelezi.

In November last year the Chief invited Mr Gumede and the National Executive Committee of the UDF to Ulundi to address the Legislative Assembly.

Suicidal

In April, Mr Gumede wrote to Chief Buthelezi declining the invitation on grounds that "association with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has the potential of compromising the democratic projection and character of this front".

He indicated that to associate in any way with the Assembly would be to place the UDF in jeopardy.

Mr Gumede added: "For members of an oppressed and coerced community to voluntarily man and daily keep institutions of oppression to grind the defenceless masses under the yoke of oppression is suicidal and untenable."

In announcing the Cabinet's decision to allow Mrs Gumede to teach in KwaZulu this year Chief Buthelezi said: "Although her family had made no secret of its total rejection of what the Government was trying to do in KwaZulu, Mrs Gumede was a valued teacher who was extremely welcome to pursue her profession in KwaZulu."

Invitations

He explained that his invitation to Mrs Gumede's husband to hold talks in Ulundi soon after the formation of the UDF had been on the basis that Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government were one and the same thing.

The Cabinet, consisting of the Inkatha Executive and all 65 elected Assembly members, had "won their seats on the Inkatha ticket of opposition to the SA Government and total rejection of offers of 'independence' for the homeland."

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha was committed to the spirit of black unity, and for this reason felt it "vital" that black organisations should get together.

Although the Department of Education and Culture could have taken a decision on Mrs Gumede's application themselves, the Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo — who is also Secretary-General of Inkatha — decided to refer the matter to the full Cabinet.

This, he explained, was because of the UDF's attitude to KwaZulu.

"Mrs Gumede's service to KwaZulu has been beyond reproach and I am very pleased that her application was approved without hesitation.

"We have no problems at all with those who are ideologically opposed to Inkatha and we welcome their contributions towards social services such as education in the region.

"However, we do feel that they should not use their positions to promote their private viewpoints," he said.

When asked what her husband thought about her assignment in KwaZulu Mrs Gumede said: "My husband has said nothing to me. I do not know."

WHEN the newly appointed British ambassador, Mr Patrick Moberly, arrives in South Africa two weeks hence, he will be stepping from the warm Israeli sunshine into a diplomatic freeze.

Anglo-South African relations — a mercurial affair at the best of times — are now their chilliest since South Africa took herself out of the Commonwealth 23 years ago.

And what makes the situation even more remarkable is that the new low-point has been reached only months after relations had taken an upward swing following the face-to-face encounter between Mr P W Botha and Margaret Thatcher at Chequers.

A thumbnail sketch of Anglo-South African relations over the last 20 years shows that frosty exchanges and huffy silences between London and Pretoria are not new — indeed they seem part of the traditional argot of two countries closely bound by history but often sharply divided in perceptions.

In February 1960 British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made his famous "Winds of Change" speech to the South African Parliament. Just over a year later, the South African Government moved to withdraw its application for continued membership of the Commonwealth.

The rupture of the bonds of Commonwealth inevitably resulted in progressively cooling relations between London and Pretoria which were both busy addressing different concerns — the South African Government its domestic constituency and the British safeguarding their flank in the emerging Third World.

Contention

From 1963 onwards the points of contention between South Africa and Britain grew in intensity. Harold Wilson's Labour Government endorsed the UN's voluntary arms embargo against South Africa.

A year later — with Rhodesian UDI — the South African Government made it clear to the Wilson administration that it could expect little help from South Africa in its embargo tactics against the Smith regime although it would remain rigorously "neutral" in the dispute.

It led to a further curdling in relations.

The election of Prime Minister B J Vorster gave both a push — and some set-backs — to the bumpy course of Anglo-South African relations. Whitehall welcomed his international pragmatism and domestic flexibility, rejected his iron-handed methods internally but were encouraged by his efforts at negotiating an end to the Rhodesian dispute.

Not cricket

One of the first major set-backs was the decision of the South African Government — despite a new sports policy — to refuse permission to an MCC team because it had a black member. For the British it was definitely not cricket.

But much was forgiven when Mr Vorster threw his weight behind efforts by US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger to force Ian Smith to accept the inevitability of black rule in Rhodesia. The withdrawal of South African para-military police from Rhodesia was part of that process.

Relations, however, soon returned to the frosty. In 1977 the Commonwealth accepted the Gleneagles Agreement. British gov-

Whatever happens in the consulate now, the harm has been done

By BRIAN POTTINGER



ernments were committed to discouraging sporting links with South Africa.

Attempts by successive British governments — even Conservative ones — to keep to the terms of the agreement have become an enduring source of friction between London and Pretoria.

Ambiguous

The 1980s — the advent of the Conservative Government in Britain and the style of P W Botha — led to a remarkably ambiguous set of relationships with Britain.

On the one hand trade links stood as firm as ever. On the other sports isolation remained a tenet of the Thatcher Government. South African cross-border military escapades were condemned — through endorsement of UN resolutions as well — but the British Government remained loyal to the United States efforts at resolving the Namibian debacle through "constructive engagement".

Occasionally, however, the ambiguities overflowed. It happened during the Falklands War. Britain believed South Africa was continuing to supply Argentina with munitions and brought its massive pressure to bear.

Pretoria — forced to abandon a long tradition of never commenting on its foreign arms dealings — denied the main charges. And has never forgiven London for embarrassing it.

But if one year in the continuum from 1961 until the present were to be nominated as "The Year Which

Says It All", it would have to be 1984.

It started last year with a cluster of events that riled Pretoria.

There was the "Lloyd Letter". A Conservative backbencher wrote to Mrs Thatcher asking for a review of UK sports policy. In a reply — made public by Lloyd — Mrs Thatcher said the South African Government's domestic policies were the underlying cause of tension in the region and presented opportunities for Soviet meddling.

An outraged response from Foreign Minister P W Botha — on the referendum trail at the time — helped turn the diplomatic thermostat nearer to freezing point.

Then London proved most uncooperative about an international attempt by South African missions to get host countries to close the doors on the African National Congress, a situation not helped by the British ambassador, Ewan Fergusson's bluff handling of an intensely delicate issue.

Indecent

He left South Africa shortly afterwards and it is his position that Mr Moberly is coming to fill.

Soon after there was the BBC-Marais fight; nothing really new except that the then-South African ambassador said recent BBC programmes on South Africa had been "beyond the pale".

And finally, running beneath the surface, there was the Zola Budd story. Strictly speaking, the diminutive South African's decision to

become British — and the almost indecent haste with which the British accomplished it — had nothing to do with foreign relations. But it rankled.

By early this year, relations between South Africa and Britain had moved from the merely chilly to the icy.

The announcement that Mr Botha would be seeing Mrs Thatcher on his Prime Ministerial European diplo-safari in May astonished — not least of all because the indications had been that he was to be pointedly ignored on the trip.

But take place it did — at Chequers on a June day where the Prime Minister arrived for lunch, stayed for tea and was afterwards personally escorted to his helicopter by Mrs Thatcher, despite warnings by husband Denis that she would catch a chill outside in her light summer frock.

It was all very heartening and in public and private statements afterwards the then Prime Minister Botha and Foreign Minister Botha were almost — but not quite — effusive about the benefits of the talk and the warmth of their reception. The British Foreign Office obviously had a slightly different slant but the basic elements remained the same — it had been a worthwhile visit contributing to "better understanding".

Embarrassment

The fragility of that "understanding" was to be revealed dramatically four months later in the consulate sit-in in Durban.

It became an impasse which was more an embarrassment to Britain than to South Africa — after the low election polls, pre-election detentions and violence at the polling stations there was hardly anything which could have embarrassed Pretoria further.

At first, Foreign Affairs sources were remarkably sanguine about the dilemma. The British had promised not to act as intermediaries and were thus acting "impeccably".

Besides, as one senior Foreign Affairs source said, the would-be detainees were still being detained; inside the British consulate.

Meanwhile, the detainees' representatives in Britain were reportedly irritating the Foreign Office to death with their "ultimatums". The mere fact that they had such freedom of movement seemed to imply a contradiction of the very image of domestic repression associated with South Africa.

Impatient

The sanguinity was dramatically broken later in the week. Some Cabinet members, reportedly including President Botha, became impatient with the impasse and demanded quick action.

The astonishingly ill-judged response — breaking a solemn commitment to a British court by refusing to return four bailed alleged arms dealers — has now brought relations to the lowest point since 1961 and in a single sweep blown the gains of Chequers out of the window.

It has also brought into question something infinitely more valuable — South Africa's generally untarnished reputation in the international community that its word is indeed its bond.

Whatever resolution awaits — voluntary surrender by the six, closing down of the consulate, withdrawal of detention orders — the damage to always-sensitive Anglo-South African relations has been enormous. Perhaps permanent.

Motlana gets the boot

IIA C. Pres 30/9/84



COMMITTEE of Ten chairman Nthato Motlana was kicked out of the funeral of Cosas secretary Bongani Khumalo at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church on Wednesday.

Dr Motlana — who usually gets a standing ovation at such occasions — was called outside by funeral organisers and told that the majority of the 5 000 mourners in the hall did not like his presence there.

One of the organisers — a leading member of the Soweto Youth Congress — told City Press later that Dr Motlana's role in the Soweto Civic Association was in "conflict with the people".

"We find it hard to co-ordinate our work with him. He is forever coming to big occasions like this and trying to steal the limelight. We don't know what he does most of the time," the organiser said.

He said the people were particularly angry with Dr Motlana for sharing a platform with Inkatha president Chief Buthelezi at the unveiling of former ANC president Pixleyka-Seme's tombstone two weeks ago.

In an exclusive interview later, Dr Motlana said Cosas

By KHULU SIBIYA

members told him that they had "problems" with the Soweto Civic Association and advised him not to speak.

"I don't think they have anything personal against me. They believe the SCA is a black consciousness organisation. I have nothing against BC philosophy. In fact, it appeals to me. I have never had conflict with it," said Dr Motlana.

"But," he said, "my allegiance is with the congress movement. And people know this. I have always tried to bring the two together."

Black consciousness groups were also "banned" from attending Mr Khumalo's funeral.

Dr Motlana — before he was kicked out of Bongani Khumalo's funeral.

UN chief set to hear case for Durban six

by
Jo-Anne Collinge

United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar is to meet a two-man team representing the six political leaders who have taken refuge in the British Consulate in Durban, says the United Democratic Front.

UDF organiser Mr Murphy Morobe and Natal Indian Congress advocate Mr Zac Yacoob would go to Washington to see US Senator Jesse Jackson after their UN interview which was scheduled to begin at about 4 pm yesterday (10 pm South African time) in New York, said UDF treasurer Mr Cassim Saloojee.

NEW CRISIS

The latest crisis faced by the six in Durban is that three of them are among a group of 46 due to appear in court on Tuesday on charges of demonstrating outside the Durban City Hall last November.

An NIC spokesman pointed out that, where an accused committed contempt of court by failing to appear, the practice was to suspend the warrant of arrest where good cause for his absence could be shown.

The three fugitives due to appear in court are NIC publicity secretary Mr Mewa Ramgobin, NIC president Mr George Sewpersadh and NIC vice-president Mr M J Naidoo.

The other three in the consulate are UDF president Mr Archie Gumede and NIC executive members Mr Paul David and Mr Billy Nair.

DEVELOPMENTS

Other developments in the consulate sit-in are:

● Lawyers for the six have sent a telex to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, challenging him to arrest the men if they have committed any offence suggested in their detention notices.

The men repeat their demand that all detention orders in terms of section 28 of the Internal Security Act be dropped.

● British Conservative MP Mr John Carlisle has drawn an angry demand from the UDF that he state whether he is in South Africa as a representative of his Government.

Mr Carlisle, who is known for his pro-South Africa stance in the sporting field, has criticised Britain's failure to act against the six.

"We would like to highlight the blatant contradiction between the position of Mr Carlisle and that of his Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher," Mr Saloojee said.

Mrs Thatcher has guaranteed that the six will not be forced to leave the consulate but has refused to mediate or intervene on their behalf.

CAN
TAT

six and four be made to add up



11A
29

Staw 29/9/84

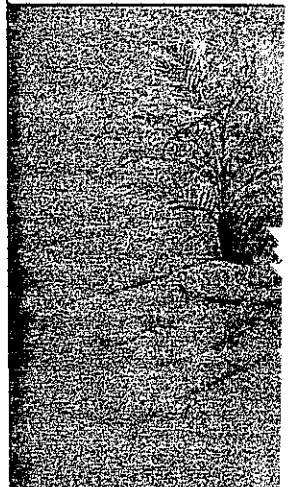
Maddock
Those aren't autumn leaves, dear — that's the falling pound

Now turn to Page 3 and see what John van Ahle-veidt says about our Randi

ARRANGE GERALD SHO

See the largest
Exe
Ov
Let your selec
choose y

SOLE SC



Available through

Gerald Yosh
Corner 5th
3rd Avenue
Telephone:
or 786-4678

Relations between South Africa and Britain plummeted this week in a series of acrimonious exchanges over the deepening consulate crisis.

It is a dispute in which both sides appear to have been wrong, yet each was probably forced to move in the direction it did because of different complicating factors.

In the middle of the controversy is the United Democratic Front which started the incident in a bid to put the international spotlight on South Africa's detention laws.

This it managed to do probably beyond its wildest dreams and, in the process, has made Britain look soft on South Africa's detention laws and South Africa appear untrustworthy in international undertakings.

The saga started just over two weeks ago when six members of the UDF, on the run from the security police who were looking for them with fresh detention orders, walked into the British Consulate in Durban. Their intention was to ask the British to intervene on their behalf with the SA Government to have the orders withdrawn.

The six had previously been held under "pre-

ventive detention" in connection with their activities in the boycott of the Indian and coloured general elections; but the courts had declared the detention orders to be invalid and had instructed that they be released.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange had issued new orders, which were designed to comply with the terms of security legislation, but the men went into hiding.

The men, after walking into the Consulate on September 13 and requesting the British Government intervene on their behalf, were told Britain could not be involved in a matter involving foreign nationals and their Government.

The men then assured the Consulate officials they would leave the premises before the end of the day, but said they needed a few hours for their lawyers to negotiate the terms of their surrender to the police.

When Government refused to negotiate with the men, the fugitives, in the words of one British diplomat, "renege on their undertaking to leave the Consulate" and decided to stay the night, then the weekend.

The effect was to focus SA and foreign media
TURN TO NEXT PAGE.

Six and Four are not exactly the same but the SA Government believes the principle is. DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent, reports...



The South African "four" in the arms case. Standing: Mr Koos le Grange and Mr Henrie Botha. Seated: Mr Randy Metelkamp and Mr Fanie de Jager.



Mr Mew Ramgobin, one of the six detainees holding out in the British Consulate, shows his defiance. How much longer will they hold out?

DIPLOMACY .

11A B
Behind the consulate saga

Relations between SA and the UK, at the lowest point in five years, may well deteriorate from exasperation and frustration to outright hostility. For as long as the six UDF dissidents cling to the refuge of the British consulate in Durban the potential for government-to-government conflict is rich.

To complicate matters, experts on international law are divided on three questions: whether the consulate has granted sanctuary to the six, whether it is entitled to do so and whether SA has the legal right to enter the consulate and detain the fugitives.

For the present, however, this is legalistic conjecture. What is real is the harm SA's international image may be suffering.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha says relations with Whitehall are "more serious than just delicate." In an unusual display of pugnacity he declared on TV that he "couldn't care less" what the British government thought of SA's reprisal — the refusal to deliver four South Africans to face charges of illicit arms dealing in a British court.

Initially Botha's handling of the situation was archly correct. But as the saga wore on the strain began to tell. Pretoria's *kragdadige* response was as unexpected as it was inexplicable. Seen from Nationalist Afrikanerdom's right wing, though, it was faultless.

Botha's statement was "deplored" and found "totally unacceptable" by London and was strongly condemned by legal experts, newspapers and opposition spokesmen in SA.

Foreign Office Minister Baroness Young says: "We continue to believe that the best way to resolve this difficult problem is through negotiations between the six and the SA government so that conditions can be created whereby the six can leave the consulate voluntarily."

No charges

Government's stand is weakened by the fact that none of the six has been convicted of, or charged with, an offence. Moreover, their detention orders were declared unlawful by the Natal Supreme Court. New detention orders were issued, but before they could be served the fugitives were safely in the consulate.

As far as international law is concerned, Britain's position may be untenable. The indications are that London is extremely uneasy about it. Consulates are not inviolable. Technically the authorities would probably not be breaking international law if they forced their way into the consulate and arrested the six.

Ironically, the provision in the Vienna

Convention on Consular Relations that "consular premises shall not be used to afford asylum to fugitives from justice," was drafted by the British. London is, however, in a position to argue that a fugitive from politically ordered detention is not "a fugitive from justice." To the British the humanitarian aspect of the case may prove of overriding importance.



UDF's Ramgobin ... statement from the consulate door

The attitude, and doubts, were typified by a *Times* editorial which said of the six: "Their cause is manifestly just, and if they are forced to walk out into the waiting arms of the SAP, Britain will have aided and abetted an injustice. Yet for Britain formally to take up their case with the SA authorities would be tantamount to inviting innumerable other victims, or potential victims, of injustice in SA, and indeed throughout the world, to seek refuge in British embassies and consulates — a role for which those missions are not and cannot be equipped."

The incident brings to the fore the whole question of diplomatic immunity, the inviolability of embassies and consulates and the practice of granting political asylum.

Anthea Jeffery of Natal University's Law Department says diplomatic privileges and immunities are regarded as being based on "functional necessity" — that is, as being necessary to enable the efficient performance of diplomatic functions.

She adds: "The functions of consulates

are the protection of the interests of nationals, the issuing of passports and visas and the registration of births, deaths and marriages of nationals.

"Given the limited nature of the functions of diplomatic missions, and the even more restricted functions of consulates, it is apparent that the 'functional necessity' argument cannot alone justify the granting of asylum in diplomatic or consular premises. The rationale for the grant of asylum, which is frequently accorded in practice, lies in humanitarian concern.

No law yet

"State practice supports the grant of asylum, but has not yet generated a rule of customary international law, as confirmed by the International Court of Justice."

The 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations that accords consulates a measure of inviolability is binding on states that have ratified its provisions — which SA has not. It seems, in strict principle, that a state which is not party to the Convention is not bound to respect the inviolability of consular premises.

Says Jeffery: "In strict international law, it may be that the government has the right forcibly to remove the six from the consulate. But the reality — leaving aside humanitarian considerations — is that such a step would be the worst of folly."

John Dugard, director of Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, believes that there is a school of international law in favour of embassies and consulates granting asylum where humanitarian considerations weigh heavily.

"None of these six has been convicted of an offence. They haven't even violated detention orders as they were freed on the orders of the Supreme Court. That emphasises the humanitarian point of view."

Dugard does not believe that the British actions so far amount to a formal granting of asylum, because the six have not asked for it and the British never indicated that they would grant it.

George Barrie of the Law Faculty of the Rand Afrikaans University says it is irrelevant whether SA has signed the Vienna Conventions or not: Pretoria has stated that it is acting in accordance with the conventions.

But he points out there is a big difference between the status of a consulate and that of an embassy. The only privileges a consulate enjoys, are that its archives are inviolable, communication between the consul and his state may not be interfered with, and the host state may not interfere with the staff in the scope of their duty.

11A(16)

In contrast, the premises of an embassy are inviolable. The host authorities are not allowed to enter and thus cannot serve legal documents or arrest people who seek refuge there. But there is an accepted legal obligation on the ambassador to surrender most fugitives at the front door.

On the argument that humanitarianism must override the law in a case like this, Barrie only says: "That is a moot point."

Meanwhile, UDF president Archie Gumede and his five colleagues, Paul David, Billy Nair, Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpershad and M J Naidoo, are stuck in their small room on the seventh floor of the Barclays Bank building. Even if the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court declares the new detention orders unlawful, there will almost certainly be an appeal — and that could take a long time.

As *The Times* says: "Whatever the outcome, we should not expect it to be glorious."

THE GO-BETWEEN

Zakeria Mohamed Yacoob, a 36-year-old Durban advocate, has suddenly found himself at the centre of the diplomatic wrangle that is placing severe strain on SA's relations with Britain. As legal representative of the six dissidents who have sought political refuge in the British Consulate in Durban, Yacoob has been instrumental in focusing world attention on the iniquities of SA's detention laws.

Just before leaving for the United Nations (UN) this week, Yacoob told the *FM* he was determined to pressure the British Government into intervening on behalf of the six fugitives.

"The British dealt with SA's problems by wishing the majority away. Britain now has a moral responsibility towards that oppressed majority. My strategy is to give them every opportunity to pay more than just lip service to the political situation in this country.

"By the time this exercise is over, we'll know exactly where Britain stands: in other words, we shall see whether Britain has a genuine commitment to democracy which she is prepared to back up with meaningful action.

"The six in the consulate were in a very difficult position. The notices served on them in terms of Section 28 had been declared invalid by the Supreme Court. Further notices, which they thought might also be invalid, were in the offing. It would have been almost impossible to contest the issue on the run."

Yacoob says that the six sought sanctuary in the consulate because they believed Britain would be sympathetic to their plight.

"The British government had indicat-



ed it thought the new constitution to be seriously flawed. It had also indicated it was against detention without trial and joined in the EEC call for all political detainees to be freed. Refusing to intervene now would imply that Britain supported apartheid."

If Britain takes a strong stand on the issue, Yacoob believes: "It could make for a pattern of growing intervention that would be a major contribution to liberation."

But he has not had much success so far. As he puts it: "The British Government flatly refused to see us at Ministerial level."

Yacoob's ploy now is to whip up a storm at the UN and get the internation-

11A(16)

al community to put pressure on Britain. He admits the most that may be gained is publicity. "But the struggle is long and with the uncertainty about how government will act, we're prepared for the worst."

On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt his tenacity. The son of a priest he was born in Verulam, on the Natal north coast. He contracted meningitis as a child and by 16 months he was blind.

He studied at the Arthur Blaxall School for the Blind and went on to study law at the University College for Indians on Salisbury Island in Durban harbour.

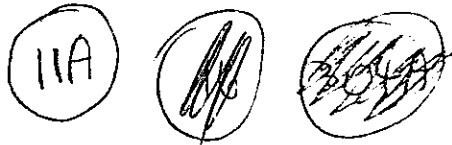
Life was not easy. He had to take a ferry across the bay, and walk unassisted through some of the busiest sections of the city. Yet, despite the fact that he had to try much harder than the average student, he played a significant role in student politics. He graduated in 1972 and was admitted to the bar the following year.

Married with two children, Yacoob serves on the executive of the National Council for the Blind and has represented the council internationally. An executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, he was elected to the Committee of Ten during the student boycotts in 1980. He is a leading member of the Durban Housing Action Committee and a key figure in the United Democratic Front.

Yacoob is undeterred by the fact that his mission might fail. He believes "the exercise will still have been worth it. It's a question of morality and the six men in the consulate are symbolic of SA's political detainees. I offer no apologies for my actions."

DIPLOMATIC SANCTUARY

The real winners



The only ones who have anything to gain from the present diplomatic crisis are the six fugitives holed up in the British consulate in Durban. They have focused the eyes of the world not only on their personal plight, which is substantial, but also on the laws of this country which allow detention without trial. It is manifestly in their interests to stay where they are as long as possible.

Neither of the unhappy governments involved in this tussle have much to gain. If the British force the fugitives out or allow the SA police in, they will stand condemned not only in the eyes of the far Left but all democratically-minded people, regardless of the legalities of the situation.

If the SA government were to give in, a precedent would be set that could turn the consulates of many countries here into permanent refugee camps, given the government's penchant for arrest without trial and the record of deaths in our prisons.

The heart of the matter appears to be the reason for SA's detention of these men. As they have not been charged with any offence it is a matter for some speculation. Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange has not been helpful in his explanation: "No other information can, in my opinion, be discussed without detriment to public interest and the maintenance of law."

If SA's motives were simply to get troublemakers out of the way while the elections were on, or to remove them from spreading dissension in general, then perhaps a way out for all would be to offer the six exit permits allowing them to leave the country and not return.

If, on the other hand, there are much more serious matters that can be put at their door, then the public deserves to know more about them. Clear charges would then need to be formulated and a fair trial guaranteed.

The lack of cool shown by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, his petulant outbursts and schoolboy analogies, do tend to suggest that the SA government has more at stake in this matter than appears to be the case. There was really no need to bring in the South Africans accused by the British of arms smuggling. For really all that the SA police have to do is sit and wait. At some stage the fugitives will have to come out. Ostensibly time should be on SA's side.

Moreover, with all government's talk of consensus rather than confrontation, a more sanguine stance might have won for the country a slight measure of understanding abroad.

The British deserve some sympathy. They have been drawn into a domestic quarrel in such a way that capitulation will appear to be flying in the face of all their own traditions. Indeed in this matter they have become victims of their own tolerance.

It is certainly difficult to do anything but admire the diabolical skill with which the six fugitives and their legal representatives have handled their plight. But they are going to get only one chance at this, so they must make the most of it.

Last chap to pull off a similar trick was Donald Woods, the East London newspaperman who swam the "crocodile infested" Caledon River into Lesotho and the open arms of organised dissension. Ever since then the amount of public attention given to him and his views has been on the decline.

If it were not for the fact that the threat of any SA prison term is a serious and dangerous matter, the incident could almost be funny. Certainly Pik Botha indignantly explaining himself on television was worth a giggle.

DIRECT CONTROLS

Lead us not into temptation

The strength of the US economy, the number of new jobs created there in recent years and the reduction of unemployment stand as testimony to the success of what has come to be known as "Reaganomics." The SA economy is manifestly not in that happy position.

Those who heard Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in his first international performance at the International Monetary Fund meeting will be glad to know that he too supports these policies, as did his predecessor Owen Horwood. Whether he implements them sufficiently has yet to be seen.

Perhaps it is worth reflecting where we have come unstuck, especially in view of the fact that such an impor-

tant businessman and economist as Fred Du Plessis, chairman of Sanlam, is calling for the imposition of import controls to supplement present policies. That certainly flies in the face of those few policies here that can be reasonably reconciled to Reaganomics.

Fred du Plessis argues that the SA economy is too subject to volatile income swings to be sufficiently responsive to the depreciation of the rand to correct a balance of payments deficit. A greater use of the market mechanism has not brought about less pronounced business cycles or more stable exchange and interest rates, he claims.

There are three points that have to be kept in mind. One is that the volatility of the economy would most likely

Britain will eject Durban 6 — MP

Star
28/9/84
11A

By Harvey Thomas

The diplomatic impasse between South Africa and Britain would most likely end with Britain ejecting the fugitive six from the Durban consulate, British Conservative Party MP Mr John Carlisle said in Johannesburg last night.

He was speaking at a function to honour Zola Budd as "Newsmaker of the Year".

"This alleged deterioration in relationships (between South Africa and Britain) is no more than a hiccup," he said. "It is a minor incident that in no way will damage our long-lasting relationship."

Mr Carlisle added that he believed Britain had made a very serious error of judgment over the Durban six and said that the diplomatic impasse was of Britain's own making.

"It is not the business of the British Government to meddle in the domestic affairs of another country," he said.

"What would have happened if the fugitives had been in Britain, had been members of the IRA and had sought refuge at Trafalgar Square (where South Africa House is located)?"

Mr Carlisle said that, in spite of indications to the contrary, he believed that there was a definite improvement in relations between South Africa and Britain.

"Proof of this is the warmth and friendship that exists between Mrs Thatcher and your Mr P W Botha," he noted. "This is so much so that when Mr Botha recently visited England the length of his meeting with Mrs Thatcher was extended."

PRAISE

Mr Carlisle praised efforts made to desegregate sport in South Africa but warned that it would most probably be of little consequence for as long as the apartheid system existed.

He said that a greater effort had to be made to publicise the sports desegregation moves and suggested the Progressive Federal Party as a catalyst.

"The PFP is linked to the (British) Labour Party. They will listen to the PFP in Britain whereas they will not listen to me as I am too linked to the cause."

● See Page 2, Metro section.



Mr John Carlisle ... crisis will not harm relations between Britain and South Africa.

UDF man told (71A)

no visa no entry

28/9/84 Owa Correspondent

The publicity secretary of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front, Mr Charles Nqakula, may not enter South Africa without a visa.

An order served on Mr Nqakula yesterday stated he may not leave Ciskei and enter South Africa without a visa.

Mr Nqakula, a former acting president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, was declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa in 1982.

Yesterday he made a brief court appearance in East London on charges of entering South Africa illegally.

Freed political detainees vow to continue their struggle

27/9/84 (11A)

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Political detainees released yesterday after weeks in detention said they would be prepared to go back to jail again and again if that was the price demanded for a "true democracy" in South Africa.

At a gathering to celebrate their release in Johannesburg yesterday, three former detainees spoke to *The Star* of their determination to continue the "peaceful struggle against apartheid".

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had released them only hours earlier.

He had also lifted the banning order on Dr Beyers Naude, former head of the Christian Institute, after seven years.

The ex-detainees proposed a silent toast to the men still in detention, including the president, and vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Dr Essop Jassat and Dr Ram Saljee.

"If the Government tomorrow held another round of elections like those for the so-called Indians and so-called coloureds, I and my organisation would campaign for the poll to be rejected," said Mr Moss Chikane, Transvaal secretary of the United Democratic Front.

SOLUTION

Mr Chikane was detained on August 26.

"I must stay with the path I have chosen — it is the only way a peaceful solution to the massive problems of this country can be found," he said.

Mr Chikane said the alternative to the struggle for freedom by peaceful means was the recent widespread unrest.

This had already cost too many lives, he said.

"We cannot afford to let the peaceful struggle come to an end and must never accept the alternative," he added.

The view was seconded by Azapo vice-president Mr Saths Cooper, who had spent 16 days in detention.

RACIST

He said that to lay the blame for the popular rejection of the new constitution at the doorstep of the detainees was "to give us an honour we do not deserve."

"The people of this country are not mindless sheep. They decided for themselves that the new system was racist and no solution to our problems.

"If credit is due to anyone for the failure of the elections, it must go to the people who did not vote," Mr Cooper said.

The Azapo leader added that if he had to go to jail again so that true democracy could become a reality, "then so be it".

A leading member of the Council of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Moruti Andries Mapetla, said that his four weeks in detention could have been better spent preparing for exams.

"The police accused me of contributing to a state of unrest in this country. I never have and never will become involved in violence," Mr Mapetla said.

"We are striving for a peaceful solution and will continue to do so."

Other detainees released yesterday were the Cape vice-president of Azapo, Mr Peter Jones, Azapo member Mr Moke Cekisane and Cosas member Mr Jerry Thlopane.

The released men said those still in detention were "fit and well" and in high spirits.



Empton Park clothing store yesterday after a "smash-and-grab" gang

Smash-and-grab gang 0 in clothing

society nearby
they heard a tree-
explosion and
was a bomb," Mr
idents in nearby
ard the thunder-

"Undeterrred the thieves
stayed inside the shop for
seven to eight minutes, loot-
ing it of at least 25 Pierre
Cardin mens' suits, leather
goods and footwear, before
roaring off.
"Residents called the po-

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

lice, who managed to spot the
bakkie and chase it. The
gang, however, eluded police
in Tembisa and got away, I
was later told.
"The place looked as
though a tornado had hit it
when we got here. The goods
taken are worth about
R10 000. Damage to the shop
is immense. Workers have
been banging away all day to
repair everything."
The gang is still at large
and Kempton Park detec-
tives are investigating.

approved the master plan
submitted by the develop-
ers, Tract Property Com-
WDM 27/9/84

Day of fasting called in the Vaal Triangle

By RICH MKHONDO

THE Vaal Civic Association
(VCA) yesterday declared
Sunday September 30 "a day
of mourning, prayer and fast-
ing" in the Vaal Triangle, in
honour of those who died during
the unrest which swept
through the area for the past
weeks.

A spokesman for the asso-
ciation did not disclose how
they would observe the day
except to say "it will be a day
of mourning, fasting and
prayer for those who died
during the unrest and we
urge everybody to join us".

The VCA last week con-
demned the scrapping of the
tariff rise in the area, called
on the Government to ap-
point a Commission of Inqui-
ry into the causes of the un-
rest, and urged all
councillors to resign as soon
as possible "for the sake of
peace in the area".

The VCA said it wanted all
councillors to resign "be-
cause they have done nothing

to uplift the standard of liv-
ing in the area".

The association accused
"forgetting about the ordi-
nary man in the street".
Asked to comment on an
earlier statement by the
mayor of Lekoa, Mr E Mah-
latsi, that the scrapping of
the new tariffs would mean
"no progress or improve-
ments in the area", one mem-
ber said they had been paying
high rents for a long timebut
there had been no improve-
ment or progress.

The VCA said it would seek
legal advice about the ha-
rassment of its members and
the burning of the house of
vice-chairman, Mr Esau Ra-
ditsela.

After the house was petrol-
bombed, pamphlets were dis-
tributed in the area blaming
the association for loss of
jobs, scarcity of food, the un-
wanted deaths of children,
the burning of houses and the
looting of shops.

to act on water controls

councillors — Mr
dson (PFP,
id Mr Don Wal-
nsington) — an-
y would press
at a meeting on
introduce a mo-
or the hosepipe
axed.
as requested to
ents' petition to
ent committee
sday evening,
iew water re-
attacked Sand-
apping of re-
aid Johannes-
ars were be-
singly dissatis-
resent water
ices being

asked of gardeners might be
worthwhile if they contribut-
ed significantly to the overall
position. There is good evi-
dence that this is in fact not
the case.
"Instead, the environment
is being damaged and the
major investment in the
city's gardens is being de-
stroyed."
It was understood yester-
day that the Southern Johan-
nesburg Ratepayers' Associ-
ation also verbally supported
the petition, but did not sign
it.
Mr Ken Giese, chairman of
the federation, told the Rand
Daily Mail that residents as-
sociations in his area wanted
the ban relaxed because it
was a "bad law".

In addition, the Montgom-
ery Park and Roosevelt Park
Ratepayers' Association on
Tuesday night handed a peti-
tion to the council requesting
the ban be relaxed.
Meanwhile, Johannesburg
management committee
chief Mr Francois Ober-
holzer stood by his attack on
the Sandton council for eas-
ing up on water restrictions.
In Pretoria, residents who
use up to 60 kl a month pay
R1 a kilolitre and if that
mark is exceeded they pay
R2 a kilolitre, he said.
Pretoria allowed residents
to water their gardens for
one hour a week. This mea-
sure works because Pretor-
ia's water is very expensive.

But in Sandton, consumers
who use more water would in
some cases be paying less
than Johannesburg residents
who were restricted to 20 kl a
month, he said.
Mr Oberholzer also point-
ed out that water consump-
tion in the Rand Water Board
was on target in July, before
Sandton relaxed its hosepipe
ban.
In August, consumption in
the area increased by more
than 8%.
"Sandton's people started
the thing," Mr Oberholzer in-
sisted, dismissing claims by
Sandton's management chief
Mr Rick Valente that Sand-
ton's decision to introduce
punitive tariffs would work.

No early end to water curbs

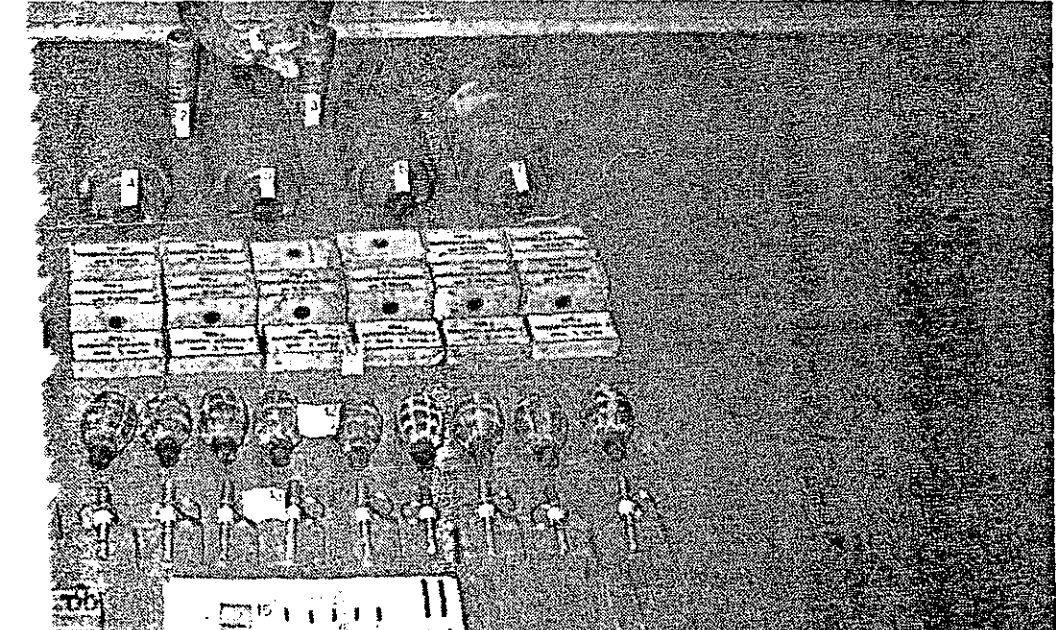
By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

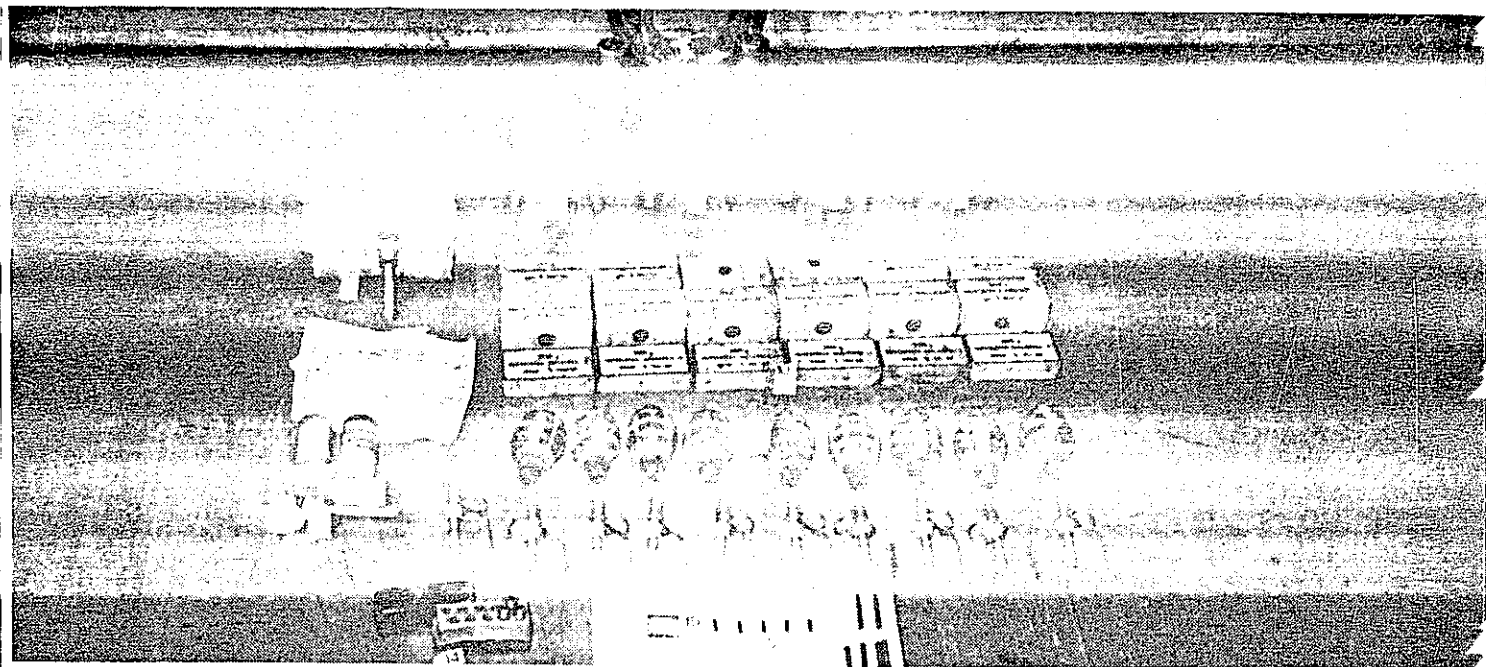
THE country cannot afford
to have irresponsible munici-
palities ignoring water res-
trictions and jeopardising con-
servation programmes, a
spokesman for the Depart-
ment of the Environment, Mr
Anton Steyn, said in Pretoria
yesterday.
He was reacting to a deci-
sion of the Sandton Town
Council to drop water re-
strictions and instead charge
punitive rates of up to R2 a
kilolitre for households ex-
ceeding quarterly quotas.

Mr Steyn said: "This coun-
try is never far from water
crisis and we cannot afford to
have local authorities like
Sandton flaunt the conserva-
tion restrictions."
Sandton was an affluent
area where most household-
ers could afford to pay stiff
penalties for overuse of wa-
ter.

"The Sandton decision was
damn-fool irresponsible ac-
tion and it should be firmly
taken to task," he said.
Mr Steyn said there was
not the slightest chance that
water restrictions would be
lifted or even eased before
the end of the year and if the
first three or four months of
summer were dry, the res-
trictions would stretch into
next year.

"We are not a million miles
away from another crisis.
The authorities tell us we are
in the middle of a dry cycle so
the chances of..."





Part of the munitions seized after the arrest of the four men: four limpet mines with boosters and detonators, 12 400g blocks of TNT, six 200g blocks of TNT, nine type F-1 handgrenades, 10 grenade detonators, safety fuse, 10 copper detonators and six delay strips.

Four Soweto men admit working for ANC

By NICOLA BEKKER
AFTER a trial lasting less than 45 minutes, two young Soweto men were yesterday convicted of high treason and two others found guilty of furthering the aims of the African National Congress by a Rand Supreme Court judge.

There were no black power salutes or defiant cries after the verdict was passed and the men turned calmly as policemen stepped forward to lead them to the cells.

Norman Mhlanzi, 26, Enoch Nthombeni, 22, Samuel Myeni, 28, and 27-year-old Jabulani Makhubu all ad-

mitted being actively involved in the ANC between 1977 and 1983.

The men were accused of several acts of sabotage, including the blasting of an electricity plant in Ennerdale, Vereeniging, on December 15 1982, the blowing up of an electricity plant in Lenasia on Christmas Day of the same year, and bombing the offices of the City Centre Building in Roodepoort on June 28 last year.

Mhlanzi and Nthombeni pleaded guilty to high treason, while Myeni and Makhubu pleaded guilty to contravening Section 13 (1) (4)

and (5) of the Internal Security Act — or furthering the aims of the ANC.

Mhlanzi and Nthombeni admitted responsibility for the Ennerdale blast and admitted attempting to sabotage an electricity plant in Princess, Roodepoort.

However, both Mhlanzi and Nthombeni denied knowledge of the Lenasia explosion. Mhlanzi also pleaded not guilty to bombing the offices of the Roodepoort City Centre Building.

Mr Acting Justice F S Steyn convicted all four men according to their plea.

Sentence will be passed

next Wednesday after an application for a postponement was heard by Mr David Sogget, who is leading the defence.

Mr Sogget asked for the postponement because, he said, he needed time to prepare evidence on mitigation.

Statements from all four men were submitted to court and admitted by the accused.

In the statements, it was said that Mhlanzi and Nthombeni fled to Swaziland in 1977 to "further their education", following the closure of schools in Soweto after the 1976 uprisings.

The two men came into contact with the ANC, who sent them to Mozambique for military training.

In September 1982, they were instructed to carry out sabotage missions on the West Rand and to look for "dead letter boxes" which apparently contained explosives.

Myeni, according to the statement, was contacted by Nthombeni, his cousin, who asked him to organise transport for himself and Mhlanzi.

Myeni and Makhubu transported their two co-accused on their various sabotage missions.

Services' cooks vie for top trophy and holiday prize

By CLARE HARPER
EXERCISE Thundersun is a military manoeuvre with a difference. This time the South African Defence Force intends to improve catering by running a chefs' competition involving the Army, Navy, Air Force and Medical Services.

Yesterday five judges and members of the Press reported for special duty at the Chefs Brigade Unit at the Elandsfontein Catering School.

After a prompt briefing by the mission leader, Southern Sun's market-

ing director, Mr Jurgen Burmeister, an inspection of the catering school and sampling of SADF bush cooking took place.

Judges sampling the SADF's wares were two television personalities — Dorianne Berry and Rita Van Der Heever — a radio presenter, Wendy Gilmore, deputy-editor and food tester of the Sunday Times, Leslie Sellers, Colonel P Moolman, senior staff officer Funds and Institutions, and Billy Gallagher Southern Sun's executive chef.

Later next month the Army, Air Force, Navy and Medical Services will compete for the Best Chef of the Year award in Cape Town.

Each of the finalists will cook for 50 guests on a field kitchen.

The menus will include three courses — mixed hors d'oeuvres, a beef main course with vegetables and a baked dessert.

The winner will receive the Southern Sun Floating Trophy and a week's holiday at a hotel for two and a cheque of R1 000.

All four will win individual trophies for being the best chef in their arm of the service and runners up will receive a weekend for two and a cheque for R500.

"Exercise Thundersun" was a gesture on behalf of the SADF to show the Press and guests just how meals are prepared in the bush, from baking bread in ant hills to creating refrigeration facilities.

At the moment competitions are going on to choose the best chefs in units throughout the country to select eight contestants for the semi-final.



With a directive from the DET to dismiss pupils at 10am due to the "climate" in the township.
There was an attendance ranging from 60% to 90% at Soweto schools yesterday, and the decision to dismiss pupils early "was not taken lightly", a DET regional director, Mr Philo Engelbrecht, said.

stayaway as schools reopen

MORE than 110 000 pupils in the Vaal Education Reporter
By THELMA TUCH
schools re-opened after the extended school holidays used to boycott classes yesterday when the decision to dismiss pupils early "was not taken lightly", a DET regional director, Mr Philo Engelbrecht, said.

s in the
IES
AT
P
SIZES

Ban order on Beyers Naude lifted

5 boycott leaders released

ROM 27/9/84

11A

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

IN a series of unexpected and dramatic moves, Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, yesterday simultaneously released five opposition leaders from "preventative detention" in different parts of the country and lifted the banning order of Dr Beyers Naude.

At 4pm police at John Vorster Square released Mr Saths Cooper, deputy-president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Moss Chikane, the Transvaal general secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Jerry Thlopane of Azapo and Mr Moruti Mapetla of the Congress of SA Students.

In Cape Town, they released Mr Peter Jones, the Cape vice-president of Azapo.

And, at roughly the same time, police served notice on Dr Beyers Naude, a well-known cleric and former director of the now-banned Christian Institute, that all restrictions on him had been lifted.

Immediately after their release in Johannesburg, the four men spoke at length to the Press, but they are automatically "listed" because of their detention and may not be quoted.

Dr Naude, however, was served with an order saying he was no longer "listed".

According to the lawyers of the four freed men, they were only told of their release at 1pm yesterday and police telephoned the lawyers at 3.30pm saying they were about to be freed at John Vorster Square.

The four — who were among 22 people detained under Section 28 on the eve of last month's tricameral elections — appeared healthy and eager to get back to normal life.

Their release meant that there were 11 people left in "preventative detention", of whom seven were also held last month.

They are Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Mr Muntu Myeza, Dr Essop Jassat, Dr Rachid Saloojee, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Mr Curtis Nkondo and Mr Haroon Patel, all of whom are still held at the New Johannesburg Prison.

All of them were involved in the campaign for a boycott of last month's elections and their detention brought protests from a number of foreign countries.

Yesterday's releases led immediately to speculation that the other seven may soon be freed as well and this could be the first step in ending the impasse at the British Consulate in Durban, where six men have taken refuge to avoid being detained.

However, Colonel Leon Mellet, spokesman for Mr Le Grange, said the release of the other seven had not even been discussed.

He would not comment on why the men were released, why the others had not also been released or why Dr Naude had been suddenly unbanned.

Dr Naude has been banned since the October 1977 police clampdown, when the Christian Institute was banned.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on law and order, said both the release of the detainees and Dr Naude's unbanning were excellent pieces of news.

"Of course, Dr Naude should never have been banned in the first instance, but I am glad now that he can lead a normal life as a full citizen.

"How good it would be if the other banned people were released from their crippling restrictions, in particular Winnie Mandela, who has been doomed to a miserable, lonely existence in the one-horse town of Brandfort," she said.

11A C. Times
1950s charter
27/9/84
'still relevant'

Education Reporter

THE ideals of the Freedom Charter had to be integrated into the daily struggles of every aspect of South African life, Mr Raymond Suttner, senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Delivering the 26th annual TB Davie Memorial Lecture marking UCT's commitment to academic freedom, Mr Suttner said the Freedom Charter, the "leading human-rights document in South Africa", was enjoying a revival of support because it was as relevant now as it had been when it was formulated in the 1950s.

Mr Suttner, who served a 7½-year prison sentence after being convicted of conducting underground work for the banned African National Congress, told the audience that until the fundamental demands of the Freedom Charter were met, academic freedom

in South Africa would never be realized.

"One thing is certain," he said. "No matter how many democrats are jailed or killed, ultimately the patriotic struggle, the struggle to make South Africa belong to its people, will be won."

"No matter how long it takes, I am confident we will rid the world of this international crime of apartheid and that there will be peace and friendship in a democratic South Africa."

Mr Suttner called for people to "resist racist repression with democratic non-racial unity".

He said a danger in the renewed support for the charter lay in the fact that many of its supporters appeared to expect all people to accept it "as an act of faith". Constructive discussion around the document was needed so people understood why it deserved support and so they understood what problems it presented.

it
st
A
g
ol
ad
ng
of
n.
il
a-
1,
d

'Callous' Vaal cops slammed

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Evaton Ratepayers Association has criticised the weekend's police attack in which 500 mourners were arrested and many injured when rubber bullets and tear-smoke were fired at the burial of an unrest victim.

Mr Petros Mokoena, the Era's secretary who was master of ceremonies at the funeral service for Mr Joseph Sithole on Sunday, said the action of the police "was ill-thought, callous and inhuman".

Mr Sithole, of Zone 13, Sebokeng, died after being shot during the anti-high rent violence which flared up on September 3.

"The police took position at the cemetery before burial rites were finished and as soon as people moved to the cars and buses they fired rubber bullets and tear-smoke at the mourners without warning.

"They never warned people that they would be arrested or that they were contravening the law," Mr Mokoena said yesterday.

Mr Mokoena said the only funeral which was banned from taking place during a weekend was that of Mr Bongani Khumalo, the secretary of the Congress of South African Students' Soweto branch. He was shot dead by police when he allegedly hurled a petrol bomb at a police bus.

"The funeral in Evaton was peaceful and mourners did not behave in a manner that would invite police attacks on them. They only chanted slogans and sang freedom

songs," Mr Mokoena said.

A total of 900 people were arrested in all five Vaal townships during the weekend. They are expected to face charges

of attending an illegal gathering or public violence and will appear in the Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark and Sebokeng magistrate's courts this week.



DISPERSED: Mourners flee for safety

The struggle continues, say released four

"A LUTA CONTINUA . . . the struggle continues." These were the words of four ex-Robben Island prisoners who were released from the Diepkloof Prison yesterday after serving five-year terms.

The four are Martin Tebogo "Spencer" Mohau of Mofolo Village, Bontshi Lebeloane (24) of Dube Village, Johannes "Shuffle" Maruomo (24) of Zone 13, Sebokeng and Terrence "Tallman" Phiri (23) of Meadowlands.

There were scenes of jubilation at the homes of the four as they were reunited with their families, whom they last saw when they were about 16 and 17 years old. All four expressed joy at being released, although they were still concerned about those still left behind in prison.

The three ex-Soweto Student League (SSL) leaders, who were convicted of sabotage by a Vereeniging regional magistrate in 1979, said they are still dedicated to the struggle of the people in South Africa. The jail terms they

By **SELLO RABOTHATA** and **SIBUSISO MABASO**

served would not deter them from continuing with the struggle for a total change of the status quo in the country. And they vowed to join forces with the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

They all had high praise for the progress made by trade unions, black organisations and others who are involved in the struggle for liberation. All four said they would carry on where they left off, even if it means detention or re-arrest.

Puppet

Martin Mohau said: "We are happy that people who have been outside, have put more zeal

in the struggle."

Bontshi Lebeloane said: "The stayaway that took place during the recent puppet elections must be commended."

All of them said although they are not as yet acclimatised to their "new" environment, nothing seems to have changed much in the five years that they have been in prison.

The four said they had no definite plans for their future as they still had to consult their parents and relatives. Marumo said he would have to seek a job because his brother, Petros, who was the breadwinner at home died while he was in prison.

A P P L E A FOR CALM

Khumalo funeral

Swelter 26/9/84

11A
[Signature]

BLACK leaders yesterday appealed for calm and restraint on the part of the police and mourners at today's funeral of student leader, Mr Bongani Khumalo.

The leaders asked that police keep a low profile or stay away from the funeral, as their presence would be "provocative."

Mr Kabelo Lengane, of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), said in-

By SAM MABE

terracine clashes and bloodshed could be avoided if police were to stay away from the funeral.

Mr Lengane said: "The ruthless clampdown on mourners in Sebokeng and other similar arbitrary police actions elsewhere are in themselves enough evidence that the police are prepared to go to any lengths to create a pretext to harass people in the townships."

Restraint

He said that the conditions laid down by the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg on how the funeral service is to be con-

ducted implied an indirect ban on the holding of the funeral.

Mr Lengane called for calm on the part of mourners and a demonstration of restraint "in the face of all forms of provocation."

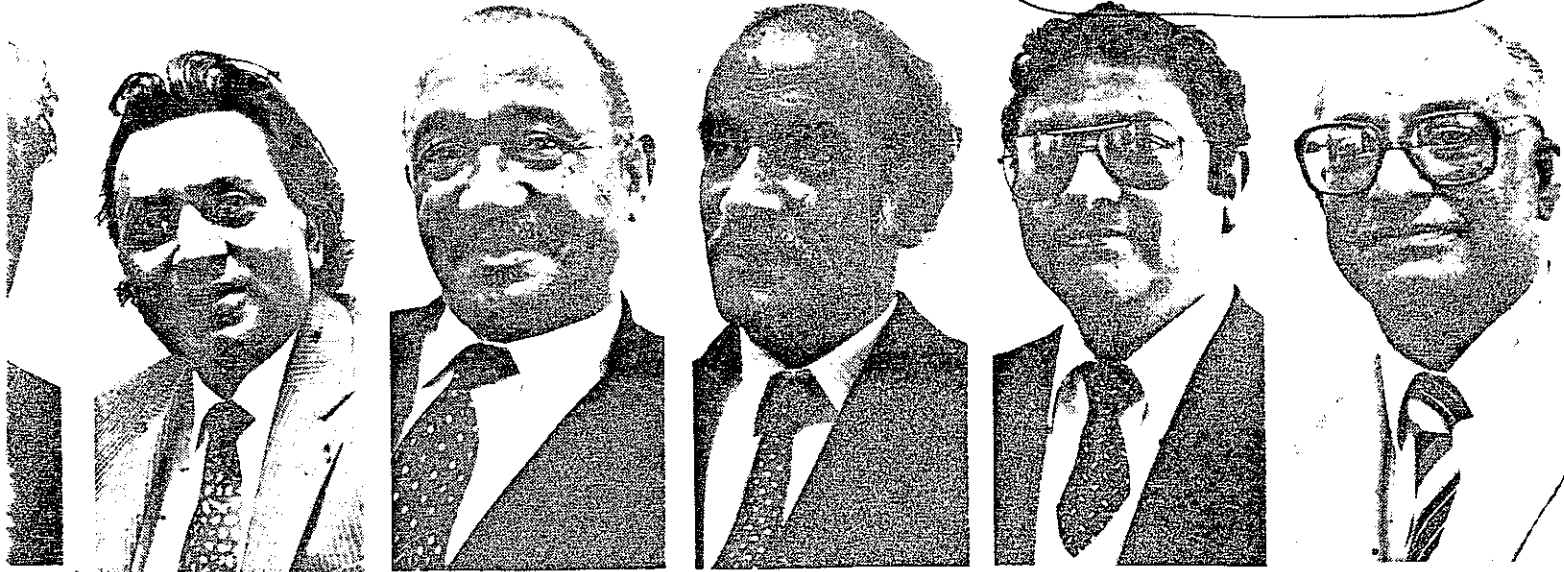
The Reverend Cecil Begbie, executive member of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC) said: "I firmly believe that without police presence, the people will exercise self-discipline, as I have witnessed at a funeral in Sharpeville."

The Rev Molefe Tsele, speaking on behalf of the Ministers United for Christian Co-responsibility (Muccor), said a slight over-reaction on the part of the police could lead to a situa-

From Page 1
tion similar to what had happened in the Vaal.
Mr Hlaku Rachidi, Transvaal vice-president of Azapo, said Bongani should be buried in a dignified manner and that this could only be possible if police kept a low profile.
"We hope that everybody, the police and the mourners themselves, will not do anything that will push emotions high, as this is what normally leads to regrettable behaviour," he said.
The South African Council of Churches appealed to boycotting students to return to school today and called on police to use restraint.
Mr Dan Vaughan, the acting General-Secretary of the SACC, said

in a statement that the Council deplored the unrest and loss of life in Vaal and Reef townships. The statement added that the violence "must be understood as a response by the people to the current political developments in South Africa."
• The Department of Education and Training in Pretoria has urged the 93 000 black pupils in the Vaal Triangle to return peacefully to their schools today.

To Page 3



MEWA RAMGOBIN

ARCHIE GUMEDE

BILLY NAIR

PAUL DAVID

M J NAIDOO

rt of truggle'

g his-
olved
ected
NIC
1950,
xecu-
NIC

Defiance Campaign, although his main task was union work. In 1955, he was among the main movers behind the formation of the SA Congress of Trade Unions.

J ac-
gress
the

Banned in 1961, Mr Nair was arrested again in 1963 and sent to Robben Island, where he was

held in the same block as Nelson Mandela. Herman Toivo ja Toivo and Walter Sisulu.

NIC vice-president M J Naidoo is another man with a long history of political involvement, and comes from a political family — one of his brothers, MD Naidoo, is

living in exile in London after a term on Robben Island.

Mr Naidoo was involved in student politics and, while studying law at Natal University, was elected SRC president.

Closely involved with reviving the NIC, Mr

Naidoo's main test of leadership was in 1981 when he formed and led the Anti-SA Indian Council campaign.

Another student activist was Mewa Ramgobin. This NIC executive member was president of Natal University's SRC in the late 50s and be-

came an executive member of the National Union of SA Students.

Mr Ramgobin has been banned longer than any of his colleagues — for a total of 17 years. His first restriction was in 1964, then again in 1972, 1976 and 1981.

He is married to Ella, Mahatma Gandhi's granddaughter, and has five children.

The youngest of the sit-in six is another former student activist, Paul David.

Mr David was on the Natal University SRC at the same time as black consciousness leader Steve Biko, and took an active part in reviving the NIC in 1971.

A keen community worker, he was elected to the Durban Housing Action Committee and became first secretary of the RMC when it was formed in 1980.

He was detained for 49 days for supporting the Durban school boycotts.

Who are they, the six who've taken over the British consulate in Durban?

THEY'RE South Africa's most wanted men — and Britain's least wanted men.

But who are they, the six Natal political leaders wanted by the South African Police and the South African people, even if it is for different reasons?

The six holed up in the Durban British consulate have a long history of political involvement which culminated in their participation in the massive anti-election campaign in August.

Three of the six were charged for demonstrating against the elections — only to have the charges withdrawn against them in the Durban Magistrates' Court this week.

Apart from unionist Billy Nair — who served 20 years on Robben Island for belonging to Umkhonto weSizwe — none of the six has been convicted for a political offence. And this is despite their involvement in politics going back to the 1940s, in a state well-known for its clampdowns on political opposition.

Eldest of the six is United Democratic Front president Archie Gumede, 71, whose father James was once president of the African National Congress.

Mr Gumede was greatly influenced by his father, and joined the ANC Youth League while it was involved in pressuring for a more militant approach to the Defiance Campaign in the 50s.

By
**PINDA
KUZWAYO**

Mr Gumede was later charged in the mammoth 1956 treason trial, but was acquitted along with the 155 others.

He was detained during the 1963 state of emergency. But after his release, he continued to play a supportive role in politics.

In 1980, Mr Gumede was a key member in the formation of the Release Mandela Committee.

A central figure in the anti-election campaign, Mr Gumede also played a leading role in community politics, working for the Claremont Residents' Association and the Joint Commuters' Association.

He is married and has five children.

Second oldest of the six is Natal UDF executive member George Sewpersadh, who has been actively involved in politics since the mid-50s, when he worked for the Congress Alliance.

A member of the Cato Manor branch of the Natal Indian Congress in the early 60s, he was in-

'It's

all par

our stu



GEORGE SEWPERSADH

ME

involved in reviving the organisation in 1971 — but was barred from total involvement by a banning order from 1973 to 1978. A second ban was imposed from 1981 to 1983.

The NIC flourished under his leadership, however, and Mr Sewpersadh was boosted

back in as president when his banning order expired — with consul compatriot M J Naidoo stepping down to let him back in office.

Billy Nair was released from Robben Island last September — and fell straight into a job as organiser for the NIC.

Mr Nair has a long history of political involvement. He was elected secretary of the NIC Youth Congress in 1950, and was made an executive member of the NIC two years later.

Mr Nair worked actively for the congress movement during the

Def. thou. unic was mov mat. gres.

B. Nair in 19 ben

Sjamboks used to disperse 15 000 chanting mourners

By Themba Khumalo

About 15 000 Sharpeville mourners, mostly youths, were scattered yesterday by sjambok-wielding police after the funeral of Godfrey Mpondo (7), who was allegedly shot by police from the Orange Vaal Administration Board.

After the funeral service the mourners marched 5 km to the Sharpeville cemetery, shouting political slogans which praised Godfrey as a hero. They also chanted freedom songs praising the banned African National Congress.

During the march mourners hijacked cars and forced them to join the procession. All local shops were closed and other businesses came to a virtual standstill.

Godfrey was killed by a bullet last week after an incident in which a municipal refuse truck was hijacked. With him was a friend, whose name is not known, who was also shot and wounded. He is in a critical condition at the Sebokeng Hospital.

Police travelling in about 15 armoured vehicles watched the events from a distance until after the funeral.

They then charged the mourners and a few people were sjambokked.

An unnamed youth whom police said pelted them with

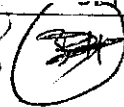
stones was arrested by the riot squad.

A photographer from a BBC television crew was questioned and later escorted out of the township by the police.

At the Methodist service stickers on the walls blamed the Government for the continuing unrest in black townships.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said that a group of about 600 people had stoned the police outside the cemetery.

CIA
Cosas



declines
Σ Post
to meet
8/10/84
Moorcroft

Post Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has declined to meet the PFP Member of Parliament for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft.

Mr Moorcroft offered to meet Cosas after unrest began in the Grahamstown townships last Sunday.

A spokesman for the organisation said that Cosas was a "non-negotiable organisation" and would not meet the PFP.

"We call for a national convention to discuss the problems facing this country.

"But before this can take place, all true leaders have to be released from jail and detention and those in exile have to return," he said.

The spokesman said the Government had to resolve the Durban consulate crisis, before attempting anything else.

'The doors shall open'



The charter campaigners: Simphiwe Mgoduso (Azaso), Kate Phillips (Nusas), Mzukisi Meyane (Cosas), Steve Tshwete (UDF) and Monde Tabata (Black Students' Movement).

South Africa is a big colonial prison — Gawu

SOUTH Africa is a capitalist society and a big colonial prison, said General and Allied Workers' Union secretary Sidney Mufamadi in Grahamstown last weekend.

He was speaking at the official launching of the Education Charter in the Eastern Cape, at Rhodes University.

Mr Mufamadi said that the most appropriate form of struggle to wage under present condi-

tions was one which took into account that South Africa was a capitalist society and a colonial prison.

"Those who have been denied the right to vote in the country of their birth are in prisons, and those who are toiling to produce the wealth of this country are exploited," he said.

"South Africa should be freed from national oppression and economic exploitation.

"The interests of those who

want to create a fundamentally alternative society are enshrined in the Freedom Charter — the wealth of the country must be shared by all who created it.

"The interests of those who want to whittle away national oppression are also enshrined in the Freedom Charter — we envisage a South Africa based on the will of the people."

He urged workers to participate in the struggle and assume leadership positions.

THEY CAME in buses, trucks, vans launch South Africa's education charter Cape.

There were more than 1 500 students and academics to launch the demand for a free education from the L L Sebe Training College in 2 Teacher's College in Mdantsane, the University of Port Elizabeth.

There were also representatives from high schools throughout the region, and delegates from Cradock and Queenstown youth organisations.

As Azanian Students' Organisation national president Simphiwe Mgoduso told the cheering crowd: "This is a very impressive reflection of



what our activists have been doing since the structure was formed last year for our official launch."



Gawu general secretary Sidney Mufamadi; S A is a prison

...s of learn

n C. Press
7/10/84

...s, vans and on foot to
...tion charter in the East-

...nts and activists at Rhodes Uni-
...ee education system — students
...lege in Zwelitsha, the Cape
... University of Fort Hare . . .



Some of the 1 500 students who pledged support for the Education Charter at Rhodes University at the weekend.

By MONO BADELA

...vists have
...since the
...formed last
... official

Mr Mgoduso said Azaso and the Congress of SA Students — joint organisers of the launch — were assured of victory.

“We shall try to reach the campuses, the communities, schools and all communities,” he said. “We shall also organise parents around this issue.”

The Azaso president said the struggle for a free education system went hand in hand with broader community struggles.

“We can’t have a free education system in an oppressive South Africa,” he said. “The struggle around educa-

tion is linked to the demand for a government based on popular will.”

Other speakers at the launch backed Mr Mgoduso, comparing the event to other significant dates in South Africa’s history.

Border United Democratic Front president Steve Tshwete said the launch was similar to the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955.

Cosas organiser Mzukisi Meyane said the

campaign would spell out one of the demands of the Freedom Charter — that “the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all”.

And, he said, once the charter was drafted and adopted it would be non-negotiable.

“We want an education system that will be in the hands of the people — not in the hands of a minority clique,” he declared.

“The charter will be a blueprint setting out our demands. It will be

drafted jointly by our organisations and communities — and it will enshrine all the demands our brothers and sisters have died for.”

National Union of SA Students president Kate Phillips praised Cosas and Azaso for their courage in the face of severe harassment.

She also appealed to students not to be “co-opted into the system”.

“The backlog in education is too great, and the crisis far too large for us to be co-opted,” she said.

Secretary Sid-
A is a pri-

ing



'Students' fight is for all'

THE student movement is part of the struggle for democracy and its victories are victories for the entire non-racial democratic movement, says the UDF's Border chief Steve Tshwete.

Mr Tshwete — a former Robben Island prisoner who was dismissed last year from his teaching post by the Ciskei Education Department — said so in his address at the launching of the campaign at Rhodes University for an Education Charter.

He said the present education system was designed to develop "a sense of dependence and subservience" and, in this way, to perpetuate oppression and exploitation.

Mr Tshwete said an attack on the education system was a



STEVE TSHWETE: "Get involved in the struggle."

direct attack on apartheid. Because of this, he said, the campaign was relevant to the broader struggle for national liberation.

Mr Tshwete urged students to be part and parcel of the national democratic struggle.

(S) (Y) (278) fm 9/11/84

DESERTED CITY

Soweto looked deserted on Monday and Tuesday as many residents kept off the streets in response to the call by activist groups and trade unions to stay away from work.

The usual heavy crowds at railway stations and bus and taxi ranks were absent, even at peak periods. Police stood by at railway stations and at bus-stops, but there was little violence. Even traffic officers were nowhere to be seen.

Shops, including banks and most garages, were closed. Most schools were also closed, although a few opened on Monday morning, but later the pupils were sent home.

In neighbouring Kliptown, all shops and garages were open and traders did a roaring business. By 10 am on Monday, the entire Kliptown shopping complex had run out of bread.

Many hostel residents in Soweto heed-

ed the stayaway call. At Jabulani, one of several hostels in Soweto, many workers spent Monday drinking and playing games under the trees.

The response to the call to stay away appeared to have increased on Tuesday. From 5.30 am to 7.30 am, only a sprinkling of passengers waited at bus-stops throughout the townships, and many buses were empty when they left the terminal.

A Soweto trader who had apparently stocked bread for the two days but decided not to open his shop loaded his bread in a van and tried to sell it outside Dobsonville Police Station on Tuesday.

A Barclays Bank branch in Mahalefele Street, Dube Village, was petrol-bombed at about 4 am on Monday. By Tuesday morning, someone had scrawled on the wall: "Next time we kill."

al relations consultants were unanimous that great sensitivity should be shown.

But some employers had already adopted a hard line. Sasol, for example, dismissed the entire morning shift which forms the bulk of its 6 500-strong workforce at Sasol II and III on Tuesday morning and had issued an ultimatum to the remainder of the workers to return to work in the course of the day.

The long-term implications of the stayaway still have to be evaluated. But according to industrial relations consultant Gavin Brown, it may well mark the beginning of higher-level union involvement in political affairs. He argues that given the heated political feelings in the current climate among union members, unions had no choice but to get involved.

Despite the sporadic violence during the two days he believes that union involvement may well have provided for more control and discipline in the communities.

Court dismisses bid by Durban six

Star 8/10/84
Own Correspondent

Maritzburg

The urgent application by the six men who took refuge in the British Consulate in Durban for their detention orders to be set aside was dismissed with costs by the full bench of the Natal Supreme Court here today.

Mr Justice van Heerden gave the judgment refusing the application. Mr Justice Kriek and Mr Justice Broome concurred.

A packed court heard Mr Justice Kriek announce the judgment of the court and the proceedings were over in less than two minutes.

Mr Leonard Gering, for the six, said the applicants wished to appeal against the judgment.

Mr Justice Kriek noted the application for leave to appeal and said the application would be set down at a date to be arranged.

Today's judgment followed the application by Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr George Sewpershad, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Billy Nair, Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Paul David to have their re-detention orders set aside. It was heard on September 21.

To remain

The three refugees still in the consulate will stay in their seventh-floor sanctuary, according to their spokesman, Mr Praveen Gordham.

Mr Gordham called on the three — Mr Gumede, Mr Nair and Mr David — soon after it became known that they had lost their court battle and broke the news to them.

Before entering the consulate, Mr Gordham said the men would remain there indefinitely unless there were a dramatic change in circumstances.

UK stand

The Star Bureau reports from London that Britain will take no hasty action in the wake of the court's decision.

A spokesman at the Foreign Office, who had not yet received official notification of the judgment, said questions about the future of the men should be directed to them at this stage.

But he added: "We will, obviously, also want to speak to them and ask them what they want to do now. We would not expect them to stay indefinitely in the consulate.

"The main thing is that the British Government is not going to do anything precipitately."

Earlier a spokeswoman at the Foreign Office said the British position on the affair had not changed: the British Government would not act as an intermediary between the men in the consulate and the South African Government and the men would not be required to leave against their will.

She added that the three men who were arrested had left the consulate voluntarily.

A report from Sapa says that another ex-detainee, Mr Kader Hassim, gave himself up to the Security Police in Maritzburg yesterday.

Mr Hassim disappeared in early September together with the six who later occupied the consulate. He chose not to join the six and remained in hiding independently.

● See Page 3, World section.

Consulate 3 defy Britain to kick them out

(R/A) S far
9/10/84

DURBAN — Britain has stepped up pressure on the three South African dissidents encamped inside its Durban consulate, saying their presence is causing London increasing difficulty.

But Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David say the British will have to kick them out because they do not intend to leave of their own free will.

They last night said they had broken no law and that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, did not have any reasons for wanting them detained.

The South African Supreme Court yesterday dismissed an appeal against orders for their detention without trial.

"We strongly advise the three to leave voluntarily," a British statement said later. "We believe that no useful purpose will

be served by their continued presence in the consulate, which is causing us increasing and very serious difficulty."

Mr Farouk Meer of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), representing the three men in the Durban consulate and three others arrested as they left the building on Saturday, said the new British stance was increasing the pressure on the three.

Diplomatic sources in London said Britain was uncomfortable with the situation, which had seriously strained relations with South Africa, and confirmed that the British Government was now exerting pressure.

In protest at Britain's decision not to force the men out, South Africa has refused to return to Britain four South Africans due to face arms smuggling charges in an English court this month.

11A D. P. Smith
10/10/84
UDF banning hoax

JOHANNESBURG — An attempt was made yesterday to hoax newspapers and political organisations by a rumour claiming that the United Democratic Front had been banned. The hoax was exposed by Col Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, who issued an official denial of the banning.

The source of the rumour could not be identified but a number of newspapers and political parties telephoned the minister's office seeking confirmation. — SAPA.

Yacoob not charged over poll posters

11A
11/10/84
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Charges against Durban advocate Mr Zac Yacoob and 13 United Democratic Front and Natal Indian Congress activists, relating to their allegedly sticking up posters in the streets of the city, were withdrawn in the Magistrate's Court today.

Mr Yacoob is also spokesman for the legal team representing the three men sheltering in the British Consulate in Durban: Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David.

He was arrested on June 22 with 13 others and charged with putting up posters without the permission of the owners of the property (in this case the city council).

The posters called on people to keep away from the polls for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates elections.

After the charges were withdrawn today, Mr Yacoob disclosed that 29 other UDF and NIC activists were still facing charges of distributing leaflets in the city centre.

No reasons were given for the withdrawal of the charges against him and 13 others.

The court was informed that the charges against them had been withdrawn when they appeared in court.

This is the second time the State has withdrawn charges against people who were arrested during demonstrations against the recent elections.

Two weeks ago, charges against 46 people who took part in a placard carrying demonstration outside the Durban City Hall were withdrawn.

(11A) O.K. '84

Clenching the Fist

PW Botha's reform strategy has often been likened to the velvet glove which hides the iron fist of repression. Now that the New Deal is so obviously failing to placate resistance to apartheid is South Africa being prepared for a clampdown on extra-parliamentary opposition?

Twenty four years ago, after 67 people had been massacred by police in Sharpsville, the ANC was declared a banned organisation. It is eight years since the Soweto uprisings and seven years since Steve Biko died in detention and black consciousness organisations were banned in October 1977.

Now in October 1984, unrest has erupted in the Vaal Triangle, school pupils are still boycotting classes and the new constitution has been clearly rejected by the people of South Africa.

At the same time we are being prepared for a systematic clampdown on resistance to apartheid.

On TV Le Grange has claimed the UDF is linked to the ANC, a banned organisation and at the Transvaal National Party conference much of his speech was devoted to slandering the UDF. UDF leaders have been detained and the 3 remaining UDF leaders in the consulate are receiving international attention.

On our own campus NSF pamphlets continue to draw links between the UDF and violent revolutionary activity. The UDF has been blamed for the present revolutionary climate in the Vaal Triangle and the unrest is portrayed as the work of a few UDF agitators stirring up the residents.

The UDF is being presented as both violent and subversive - in preparation for what could be a sudden and brutal clampdown on the front and its constituent organisations. Either by banning its structures or by detaining and banning its leaders.

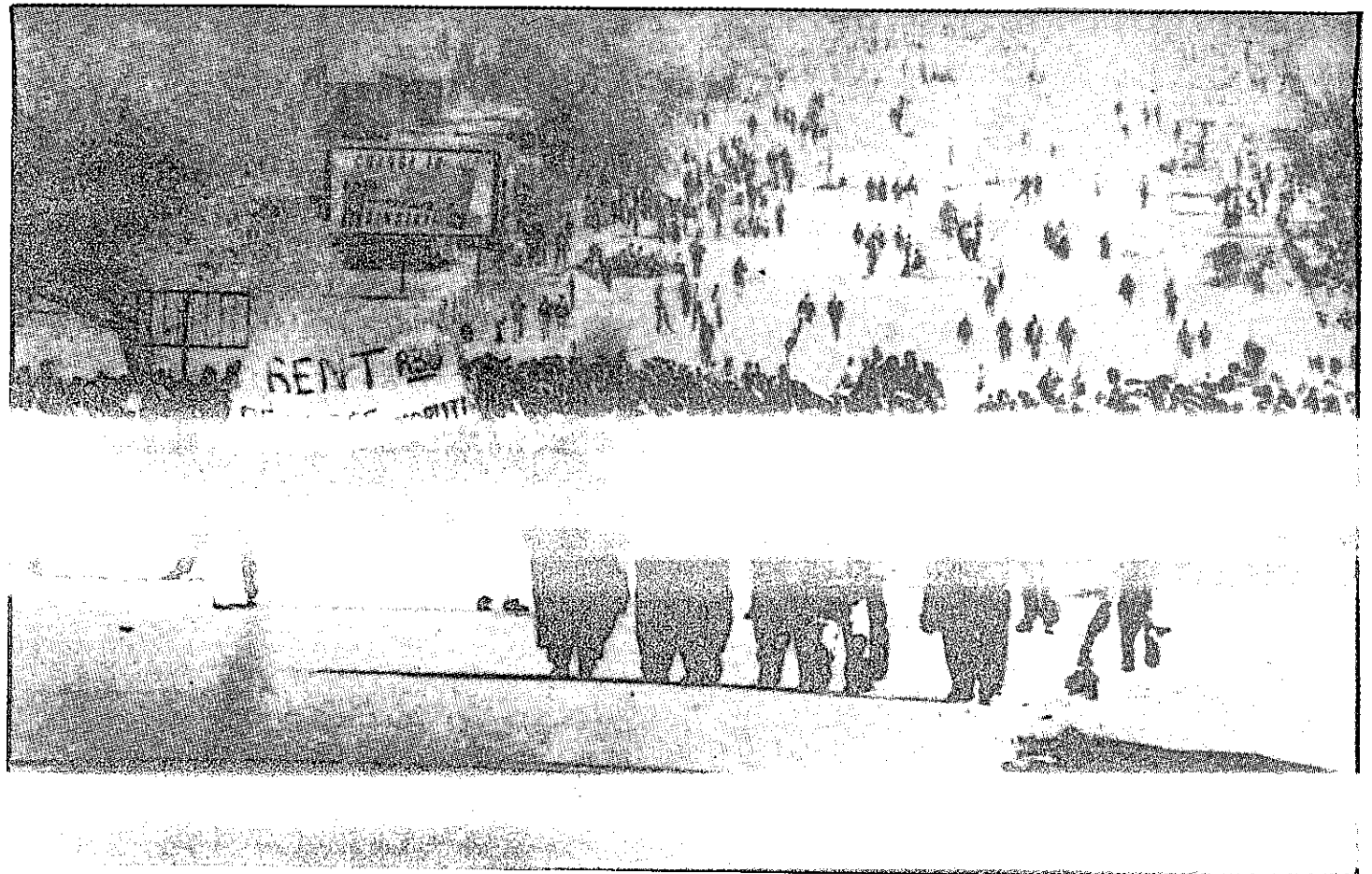
Why is the state making these noises at a time when its propaganda has claimed that it is prepared to change South Africa for the better.

SALDRU
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

And why has resistance continued in the face of the 'New Deal'?

Botha's reform strategies have been rejected at every level. The low polls in the recent tri-cameral elections have been an obvious demonstration of this.

The 'New Deal' for black people living in urban areas is the 'local government' system that would see



People gather outside the Lekoa Administration Board demanding a drop in rents.

RAM

11A

Govt is setting us up to act — UDF

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front yesterday accused Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, of using "veiled threats, innuendo, false conclusions and misinformation" ... "to create a climate in which it would be able to take repressive action against the UDF".

UDF leaders expect some repressive Government action against it in the near future — but they "are not afraid of the UDF being declared an unlawful organisation".

They announced that the UDF will be taking many initiatives during the next month to demonstrate that its support has grown despite the Government's attempts to vilify it.

This was said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday after a two-day meeting of the UDF national executive council, called to consider the remarks made about the UDF by Mr Le Grange last week.

Government suggestions that the UDF was responsible for the current turmoil in South Africa were attempts to divert attention from its own bankruptcy and inability to govern, it said in a statement issued at the conference.

"The Government's undemocratic constitution has been rejected, international isolation is unparalleled, the economic crisis looms large in the face of the falling rand.

"The Government has lost control. South Africa faces a bleak future in the hands of the present Government," it said.

Banning the UDF would contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis but would exacerbate it.

"The UDF merely articulates the aspirations of the majority of the people and these aspirations cannot be

wished away by a ban," it said.

Mr Trevor Manuel, acting general secretary, added: "In a word, we have come here to say: 'Long live the UDF. Ban apartheid'.

"Mr Le Grange's ill-advised statements during the past week represent the pinnacle of a sustained and vicious propaganda campaign against the UDF and its affiliates."

Allegations of a link between the UDF and the ANC were totally without foundation and could not be substantiated even on the basis of Mr Le Grange's "flimsy evidence".

Mr Manuel said it would be impossible to give details about the initiatives planned by the UDF at this stage.

The UDF was operating under extremely trying circumstances at the moment, but was committed to keep on operating, he said.

The UDF has collected just under 400 000 signatures in its Million Signature Campaign.

At the Press conference yesterday Mr Zac Yacoob, a UDF executive member, said they had failed to reach the million signature mark largely because of police harassment of UDF activists collecting the signatures.

The campaign had also been overtaken by the campaign against the new constitution and the tricameral elections.

Asked for details of the harassment, Mr Yacoob said that in Natal a total of 42 people were now awaiting trial on charges related to the campaign.

Mr Steve Tshetwe, president of the Border region of the UDF, said an attempt had recently been made on the life of a UDF activist, Andrew Hendrickse.

Mr Manuel said that there were now 645 organisations affiliated to the UDF nationally and these represented about two-million people.



Mr Trevor Manuel, acting general secretary of the UDF, second from right, addresses Johannesburg yesterday. With him were, from left, Mr Steve Tshetwe, president of the UDF, Johnathan de Vries of the Western Cape UDF, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a UDF president, and Mr P. ... ern Cape UDF.

Banning us would not stifle voice of the people — UDF

The United Democratic Front does not fear being banned, it declared yesterday.

"There are indications that the Government intends to declare the UDF an unlawful organisation," it said in a Press statement.

"We place on record that this action will contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis and will in fact exacerbate it."

The statement was read in Johannesburg by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the UDF and wife of imprisoned former African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu.

"Any banning of the UDF will show the Government's

determination to stifle all legitimate and peaceful opposition," she told about 50 reporters, mainly from the foreign media.

The statement said the UDF was committed to struggle peacefully for a non-racial, democratic, unitary South Africa in the belief that this was the only means of achieving long-term justice, peace and security.

The UDF's acting general secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, was asked whether the organisation was issuing a challenge to the Government.

He said: "Let them ban the UDF. What they are facing is the

voice of the people and that can't be banned."

Mr Zac Jacob, a UDF legal representative, who recently visited Britain, Europe and the United Nations to seek support for the UDF and the Durban sit-in six, stressed that the UDF had no link with the ANC.

The UDF, he said, was committed to achieving change by lawful, peaceful means, while the ANC was committed to the achievement of democracy and made it quite clear this could only be brought about by violent methods.

Mr Jacob said he believed the indications were there that the

UDF was about to be banned. A UDF executive member told the reporters that while the UDF had been formed to contest implementation of the country's new constitution, its role now that the constitution was in effect would be to fight its implications.

The statement read at the meeting said the UDF made no apology for the fact that some of its leadership had been members of the ANC.

These leaders, it added, commanded the respect and support of a majority of their people and had been democratically elected. — Sapa.

Monday 11/10/84

Let them ban us, says UDF

11A

JOHANNESBURG—The United Democratic Front did not fear being banned, the anti-apartheid organisation said in a Press statement yesterday.

‘There are indications that the Government intends to declare the UDF an unlawful organisation.

‘We place on record that this action will contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis and will, in fact, exacerbate it,’ said the statement.

It was read at a Press conference here by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the UDF and wife of imprisoned former African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu.

‘Any banning of the UDF will show the Government’s determination to stifle all legitimate and peaceful opposition,’ she told a gathering of about 50 reporters, mainly from foreign media.

‘We are not afraid of the UDF being declared an unlawful organisation.’

‘Committed’

The statement said the UDF was ‘committed to struggle peacefully for a non-racial, democratic, unitary South Africa in the belief that this is the only means of achieving long-term justice, peace and security’.

The acting general secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, asked whether the organisation was issuing a challenge to the Government, said: ‘Let them ban the UDF. What they are facing is the voice of the people and that can’t be banned.’

Mr Zac Jacob, a legal representative of the UDF, emphasised that the UDF had no link with the ANC.

The UDF was committed to achieving change by lawful, peaceful means, he said.

‘Repression’

Yesterday’s Press conference was after an emergency meeting of the UDF’s national executive committee, called in the light of recent statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, linking the UDF with the banned ANC.

‘Mr Jacob said he believed the ‘indications are there’ that the UDF was about to be banned.

‘I think it will happen, but I’m not sure when,’ he said.

The UDF expected ‘some form of repression’, such as banning or detention and harassment of leaders, an executive member said, but was not sure whether the organisation itself would be banned.

One of the executive members, answering questions, said that although the UDF had been formed to contest implementation of the new constitution, its role now that the constitution was in effect would be to ‘fight its implications’.

Guidance

It would concern itself with such issues as military conscription, forced removals, rent increases and education — ‘issues directly affecting the people and therefore directly connected with the UDF’.

The organisation expected the ‘worst excesses’ of the ‘new deal’ to be manifested in the months to come and, assuming the UDF was not banned, it would continue to give guidance to affiliated organisations in the ‘fight’ against the new dispensation.

Mr Manuel said the UDF did not expect the Government to scrap the new constitution or to include blacks in the governing process, but it believed the Government knew the new constitution could not solve the country’s problems.

Pressure from organisations such as the UDF and ‘anger by the people’ in the Vaal triangle townships were forcing the Government to review its policy on ‘urban blacks’.

Further opposition would continue to wear down apartheid. — (Sapa)

Argus 11/10/84 118

UDF plans campaign to show its popularity

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front plans a campaign, locally and abroad, to show the extent of its popular support and to discredit attempts to portray it as "some wild radical organisation".

The move is a counter-measure to a series of strongly worded statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in which he has held the UDF responsible for recent unrest and has suggested it has links with the African National Congress.

This follows widespread speculation that the Government is preparing the ground for action against the UDF.

"We are not afraid of the UDF being declared an unlawful organisation," said a statement released yesterday. "The UDF merely articulates the aspirations of the majority of the people and these aspirations cannot be wished away by a ban."

It was said to be "impossible at this stage to provide any details" of the UDF's strategy to demonstrate its support. But it was made clear that the UDF, which claims 645 affiliates, will continue to organise against the implementation of the Botha Government's new deal.

Addressing Mr le Grange's observation that many patrons and other key figures in the front were once ANC members, the national executive committee said: "We make no apologies that parts of our leadership have been members of the ANC.

"Even the minister cannot deny that they have a proud history of struggle against this evil system and that they command the respect and support of the majority of our people. For this reason these leaders were democratically elected."

UDF doesn't fear being banned

THE UNITED Democratic Front does not fear being banned, the anti-apartheid organisation declared in a Press statement yesterday.

"There are indications that the Government intends to declare the UDF an unlawful organisation. We place on record that this action will contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis and will in fact exacerbate it," said the statement, read at a Johannesburg Press conference by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the UDF and wife of imprisoned former African National Congress leader, Walter Sisulu.

"Any banning of the UDF will show the Government's determination to stifle all legitimate and peaceful opposition," she told the gathering of about 50 reporters, mainly from foreign media.

"We are not afraid of the UDF being declared an unlawful organisation."

Peaceful struggle

The statement said the UDF is "committed to struggle peacefully for a non-racial, democratic, unitary South Africa in the belief that this is the only means of achieving long-term justice, peace and security."

The acting general-secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, asked whether the organisation was issuing a challenge to the Government, said: "Let them ban the UDF. What they are facing is the voice of the people and that can't be banned."

Mr Zac Jacob, a legal representative of the UDF, who recently returned from visits to Britain, Europe and the United Nations to seek support for the UDF and Natal Indian Congress members who sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban last month, stressed that the UDF had no link with the ANC.

The UDF was committed to achieving change by lawful, peaceful means and while the ANC was committed to the achievement of democracy, it made it quite clear it felt this could be brought about only by violent methods, he said.

Repression

Yesterday's Press conference followed an emergency meeting of the UDF's National Executive Committee, called in the light of recent statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, linking the UDF with the banned ANC "and subsequent TV programmes" which the organisation believes "have grave implications for the progressive movement in South Africa and in particular for the UDF."

Mr Jacob said he believed the "indications are there" that the UDF was about to be banned. "I think it will happen but I'm not sure when," he said, adding it was "impossible to predict" South African Government actions.



BAN: Mrs Sisulu, does not fear the banning of the UDF.

The UDF expected "some form of repression," such as banning or detention and harassment of leaders, an executive member said, but was not sure whether the organisation itself would be banned.

One of the executive members answering questions said that while the UDF had been formed to contest implementation of the country's new constitution, its role now that the constitution was in effect would be to "fight its implications."

It would concern itself with such issues as military conscription, forced removals, rent increases and education — "issues directly affecting the people and therefore directly connected with the UDF."

The organisation expected the "worst excesses" of the "new deal" to be manifested in the months to come and, assuming the UDF was not banned, he said, it would continue to give guidance to affiliated organisations in the "fight" against the new dispensation — Sapa.

special preparatory classes.

Aim

Dr Viljoen also stressed that their aim was to see the students back at school and appealed to students, teachers and members of the community to co-operate for the success of the pupils whose schools have been closed down since May this year be-

Sowetan 11/11/84 *114*

Azapo, Cosas under fire

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

THE Azanian People's Organisation and the Congress of South African Students came under heavy attacks for using pupils to further their

aims at a parents meeting in Alexandra township yesterday.

A former teacher at the trouble-torn Minerva High School in the township, Mr Jabu Sithole, spearheaded the attack on the organisations. He got a rousing

ovation from parents and the chairman of the Schools' Governing Council (SGC) Mr MKM Motshela, referred to him as an "eye-opener."

Several students were barred from entering the hall and the president of the Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco), Mr Paul Mashatile, was refused admission when he failed to produce his reference book. The West Rand Development Board police, who were later reinforced by SAP units, manned the main entrance gate and the hall door.

Six councillors, in-

cluding deputy mayor, Mr J Makhubire and town clerk, Mr Arthur Magerman, attended the meeting.

Addressing the highly charged meeting Mr Sithole said: "Pupils, claiming to represent the interests of their fellow-pupils have no other pupils' interests at school but are being used by groups such as Azapo, Cosas and other political organisations to further their aims". He was seconded by councillor Thomas Molepo, who said that "some politicians are using pupils as shields in their quest for political power".

Children

Parents unanimously voiced their rejection of Bantu Education which they said was inferior and determined to enslave their children.

They agreed to form a body composed of the governing council and parents to petition the Government to scrap the age limit in black schools. It was also agreed that the body will meet with representatives of Minerva High School pupils to work out a solution so that they can go back to school and write their final examinations.

11/10/84

Plan to aid jobless Sowetans

Diepkloof, and participants will be assessed for placement in various big companies. At present, the company will be training males with a junior certificate or matric pass.

Mrs Doris Thinane, of the Relevance Management Services, which will be running the scheme, said the programme will enable the participants to pursue various careers in the job market.

starts this Thursday, and those interested in participating are requested to contact the company as soon as possible. The session starts at 10 am.

For more details contact Mrs Thinane or Mr Arthur Umlaw at 933-2092, 933-1837.

The first workshop

RECORDS AND TAPES BIGGEST SELECTION

GET UP AND PARTY BY AFUBI R7,99	AFRICAN QUEEN BY BILLY OCEAN R7,99	MIRROR MIRROR BY BRENDA & THE BIG DUDES R7,99
TSATSAWANE BY DAVID MASEKO AND TEMBUS R7,99	AFRICAN DANCE BY RICHIE'S R7,99	BURN OUT BY SIPHO MABUSE R12,99
SAVE MONEY AT MALET'S MUSIC MART 84 COMMISSIONER STREET	LOVE RIP OFF BY STREET KIDS	DISC - OPEN 8 AM - 6 PM

There's BIG money in ICE CREAM

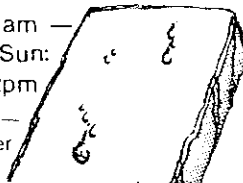
Buy at low, low factory prices and sell at a big, big profit!

We sell wholesale.

Tasty suckers in cartons of 50
Delicious ice-cream in 5 and 10 litre containers
Cones in boxes of 1000
Cash and carry only

Open: Mon - Fri: 7.30 am - 5 pm
Sat & Sun: 7.30am - 12pm

Collect at factory - 10 Hospital St. (Corner Queen St.) Cleveland



UDF: Climate being created to act against us

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front accused Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, of using "veiled threats, innuendo, false conclusions and misinformation" to create a climate in which it would be able to take repressive action against the UDF.

This was said at a press conference here yesterday after a two-day meeting of the UDF national executive council called to consider remarks made by Mr Le Grange last week about the UDF.

The UDF said its leaders expected some repressive government action against it in the near future, but were "not afraid of the

UDF being declared an unlawful organization".

They announced that the UDF would be taking numerous initiatives during the next month to show that its support had grown despite the government's attempts to vilify it.

Mr Trevor Manuel, the UDF's acting general secretary, said it would be impossible to give details about the initiatives planned by the UDF at this stage.

Government suggestions that the UDF was responsible for the current turmoil in South Africa were attempts to divert attention from its own bankruptcy and inability to govern, the UDF said in a statement issued at the conference.

"The government's undemocratic confinement has been rejected, international isolation is unparalleled and the economic crisis looms large in the face of the falling rand."

Banning the UDF would contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis and would in fact exacerbate it.

"The UDF merely articulates the aspirations of the majority of the people, and these aspirations cannot be wished away by a ban," the statement said.

Mr Manuel said there were now 645 organizations affiliated to the UDF nationally. These represented about two million people.

"Mr Le Grange's ill-advised statements during the past week represent the pinnacle of a sustained and vicious propaganda campaign against the UDF and its affiliates," said Mr Manuel. Allegations of a link between the UDF and the ANC were totally without foundation, he said.

• The UDF has collected just under 400 000 signatures in its Million Signature Campaign.

At yesterday's press conference Mr Zac Yacobb, a UDF executive member, said they had failed to reach the million-signature mark largely because of police harassment of UDF activists collecting the signatures.

The campaign had also been overtaken by the campaign against the new constitution and the tricameral elections, but it was hoped that it would now be taken further, he said.

Asked for details of the harassment, Mr Yacobb said that in Natal a total of 42 people were now awaiting trial on charges related to the campaign.

Mr Steve Tshetwe, president of the Border region of the UDF, said an attempt had recently been made on the life of a UDF activist, Mr Andrew Hendrickse.

His house had been shot at in such a way that there could be no doubt it was an attempt to kill Mr Hendrickse, he said.

11A

UDF plans campaign to show popularity

By Jo-Anne Collinge
The United Democratic Front (UDF) plans an all-out campaign, locally and overseas, to show the extent of its popular support and to discredit attempts to portray it as "some wild radical organisation".

The move, announced at a Press conference yesterday, is a counter-measure to a series of strongly worded statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

In them Mr le Grange held the UDF responsible

for recent unrest and suggested that it had links with the African National Congress.

There has been widespread speculation that the Government is preparing the ground for action against the UDF.

Acknowledging this as an ever-present possibility, UDF spokesmen emphasised that they would continue their opposition to implementation of the Mr P W Botha's new deal.

It was said to be "impossible at this stage to provide any details" of the campaign to make its

support visible but the mobilising slogan will be: "Long live the UDF. Ban apartheid".

The Press conference also covered:

● Township unrest. It was stated that the UDF would regard government recognition of, and negotiation with, groups "which they presently call agitators" as a credible first step to restoring peace.

● Harassment of UDF leaders. The UDF was being "forced to operate under extremely difficult conditions".

These included attacks on its leaders by unknown people — for instance, the attempted shooting of the Border Region's Mr Andrew Hendricks some months ago.

The close surveillance was exemplified by national secretary Mr Popo Molefe, who was detained outside national headquarters on the day following his return to work after an absence of several weeks, said Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the national executive.

● See Page 11, World section.

Australia to kill 200 000 buffalo

MELBOURNE — The Northern Territory's great herds of wild water buffalo are to be wiped out completely within eight years.

More than 200 000 buffalo are to be killed in one of the greatest mass animal slaughters in Australia.

The extermination is part of a plan to eradicate brucellosis and tuberculosis from the national cattle herd by 1992.

The plan will cost about R275 million and is the most extensive and expensive disease eradication ever undertaken in Australia.

Professional hunters have already begun. Some buffalo are left where they are shot, others are processed for pet food and a few are exported for human consumption.

The Government claims the plan is necessary to ensure the future of beef exports.

Conservationists maintain that despite their ec-

UK takes serious view of interview with fugitives

The Star Bureau

LONDON - The British Consul in Durban, Mr Simon Davey, has told the three Natal Indian Congress men taking refuge there that his country takes a "very serious view" of the interview one of them gave a British television journalist via a smuggled radio transmitter.

A Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday that the interview, broadcast on commercial television on Sunday, was given without the permission or knowledge of the consulate staff.

"It is a clear breach of assurances given to us earlier by the Durban Six that equipment such as cameras, radio equipment and tape recorders would not be taken into the consulate," he said.

Asked what happened to the radio transmitter, the spokesman said he assumed it was a "one-off thing".

A spokesman for Independent Television News said the interview was a perfectly good example of enterprising journalism. "It was, after all, an important news story," he said.

Sapa reports that families of the fugitives were allowed to visit the men yesterday afternoon — after being told earlier that visits had been suspended.

Dr Farook Meer of the NIC said they had been told by consular officials that family visits had been suspended.

"This was until the legal representatives of the three men gave reassurances in respect of photographers and radio equipment entering the premises," he said.

Commenting on the reaction by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to the coming visit of British Labour MP Mr Donald Anderson, he said that if Mr Botha had nothing to hide he would have no problems.

Migrants rebuke Holland

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

De Nederlandsche Vereniging, which claims to be the largest organisation representing Dutch nationals living abroad, has written to The Hague Government and accused it of "embarrassing" the 200 000-strong community in South Africa.

The letter, signed by the chairman and secretary of the Vereniging, says the recent row involving alleged Dutch "interference" in South Africa's internal affairs and The Hague's support for the ANC is harming Dutch nationals living in South Africa.

"Is the (Dutch) Government aware of the seriousness of its responsibility (to its nationals living in South Africa) and that its 'notice' regarding peaceful change cannot be reconciled with the violent aims of the ANC?" the letter asks.

It said the Dutch Government should send "objective observers" to South Africa to see the situation for themselves.

Star

Azapo (WA)
man's home
is bombed

11/10/84
The home of Mr Saths Cooper, vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) was firebombed early yesterday morning, causing "a few hundred rands' damage".

Mr Cooper said he returned to his home at Frankenwald Estate (University of the Witwatersrand) at about 3 am yesterday to find his rooms filled with smoke.

"Three petrol bombs had been thrown in through the windows. One failed to explode.

"One of the others set the bedroom door alight. I'm thankful I wasn't home. I might not have been able to get out."

Mr Cooper, released recently from preventive detention, added that few people knew where he lived.

11/10/84 (11A)

TIC protest rally against detentions

Political Reporter

IN what will be its first public meeting since the tri-cameral elections, the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) is holding a rally to protest against the detention of its leaders and others under the Internal Security Act.

The rally, to be held tonight in Lenasia, will be addressed by the recently unbanned Dr Beyers Naude, Mr Zac Yacoob of the Natal

Indian Congress and Mr Tiego Moseneke, former president of the Azanian Students Organisation.

The TIC president, Dr Esop Jassat, and the vice-president, Dr Rashid Saloojee, are among the opposition leaders in detention.

The meeting will also protest against the shooting of people during the township unrest and the "unjust police brutality" in the elections.

12/10/84

Azapo in call for improved pay-out

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called on asbestos mine managements in South Africa to increase the compensation paid to black workers suffering from asbestosis from R1 500 to R15 000.

In a statement, the health secretary of Azapo, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, also suggested that the total banning of the mining of "this magical mineral" should be considered in view of the serious health hazard posed.

Although we may be classified as Third World, our citizens deserve first world treatment," Dr Asvat said.

Knowing fully well that the banning of the mining of the mineral could not be achieved overnight, Dr Asvat said, Azapo called on the managements of asbestos mines to immedi-

ately institute the following recommendations:

- to provide better protection for their workers from the hazards of the fibre;
- to reduce the size of permissible fibre from four fibres per cubic millimetre to one per cubic millimetre;
- to dispose of the dumps so that they no longer pose a danger to those living in the surrounding areas, and;
- to improve the living conditions and facilities of those employed by the mines.

Besides calling for a large increase in the compensation paid, Dr Asvat said black workers who suffered from "this irreversable and permanently disabling disease" should get a permanent monthly pension to bring them in line with white workers. — Sapa.

ATTENCL

Petrol bomb razes Saths Cooper's home

By ELLIOT TSHINGWALA

THE home of the Azanian People's Organisation's president, Mr Saths Cooper, was petrol-bombed on Wednesday morning.

Three petrol bombs were hurled at the Kramerville flat of Mr Cooper on Wednesday

morning. Two of the bombs exploded, causing slight damage to the window panes and the walls.

Meanwhile Soweto police are investigating a fire that gutted two classrooms at a Dobsonville school this week.

A spokesman of the Police Directorate of In-

formation in Pretoria told The SOWETAN that the school was set alight by unknown people on Wednesday morning.

The school caretaker found the classrooms ablaze and put the fire out with the help of sympathisers. The damage was slight, he said.

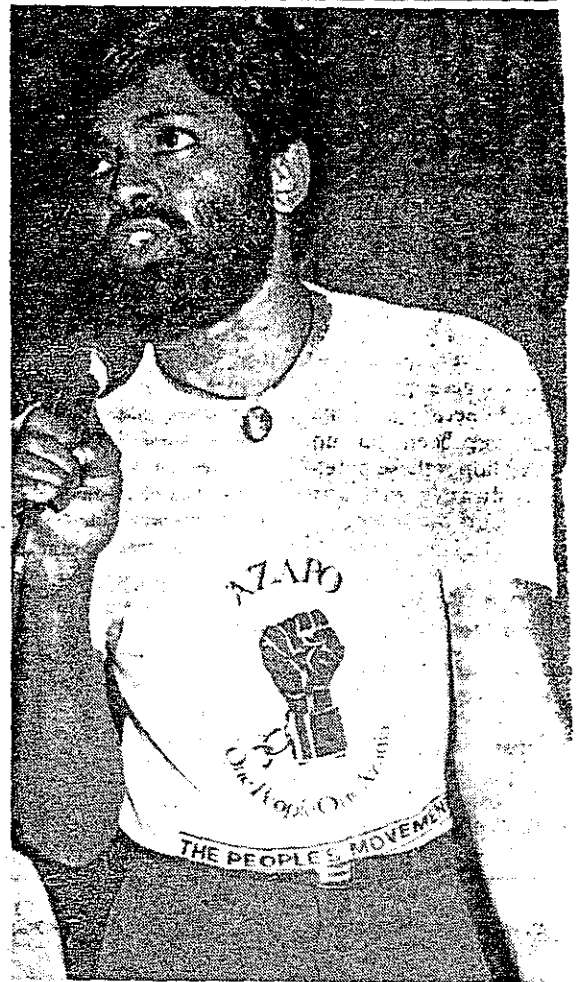
Mr Cooper (34), who lives in a block of flats owned by Wits University in Kelvin, said he arrived home at about 2.45 am to find his ground floor apartment "full of smoke and petrol fumes."

Three petrol bombs had been thrown at his flat. Two exploded in the apartment and the third bomb, which landed in the garden, failed to explode.

Mr Cooper said he was puzzled by the incident, as the only people who knew his address were "very close friends and family, and the police," according to Sapa.

He estimated the damage at "only a few hundred rands," but said he might have been injured if he had returned home earlier.

Mr Cooper recently spent seventeen days in detention, in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.



SATHS COOPER: House petrol bombed.

Municipal 11A Star police plan dismaying, 12/10/84 says UDF

The United Democratic Front today reacted with dismay to the proposed plan to "curb intimidation" in the Vaal Triangle.

Officials of the Oranje Vaal Development Board recently announced that black municipalities were planning to end the intimidation of local residents by establishing their own para-military police forces.

Lekoa Town councillors said fewer than five percent of Lekoa's 300 000 residents were responsible for the present "reign of terror" in the area.

A UDF spokesman said the plan would only deepen the crisis.

POWER ABUSE

"The homelands have provided many examples of what happens when puppet leaders are given powers way beyond what is necessary.

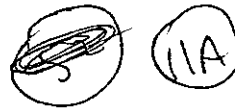
"There are numerous cases of these powers being abused. Examples include mass detentions in Venda, the arrest of 253 people in the Transkei and the many deaths in the Ciskei last September," the spokesman said.

Businessmen and journalists toured the riot-torn black townships of the Vaal Triangle yesterday and surveyed damage estimated at about R15 million.

They were told that where a council's average monthly income amounted to R3 million from rent and levy charges before the unrest, only about R300 000 was received because tenants were being told not to pay their debts.

Pupil dimension

FM
12/10/84



Says an East Rand Development board official: "If you look carefully at the people who are involved (in the township protests) it's always the same names, the people of Cosas. And Cosas is affiliated to the UDF ... It's a political issue by people who reject the new constitution ... Because if there's success in black local government this will give government time to spell out its new dispensation for blacks."

This view is echoed by an official of the Orange-Vaal Development Board. Both areas have seen the worst of the rioting, of which the widespread black school boycotts have been an element.

But what is Cosas and what are its aims? Cosas stands for: The Congress of South African Students and is basically a pupil organisation which claims to have 45 branches around the country.

One would not have thought that an organisation composed of schoolchildren could take the lead in organising a national protest. The unrest indeed threatens the basis of government's initiatives for urban black local government (see *Current Affairs*) and has played havoc with black education.

Cosas, explains Mpho Lekgato, its 19-year-old vice-president who is a matric student at one of the six Atteridgeville schools shut down by the authorities, "is a student movement formed in 1979 and made up of senior and junior-secondary school students." It was formed to "co-ordinate student grievances and to organise students around the real cause of their problems."

Before its formation, says Mpho, "the anger of the students against the whole set-up of education in our country was frustrated and turned on the teachers and principals." He explains in language not normally used by high school pupils: "Our education system is not for developing people or for the betterment of society, but for apartheid and the capitalist social order."

The advent of Cosas, a non-racial body which has coloured and Indian pupils as members, was notable at the time, says the student leader, since it was a time when Black Consciousness (BC) was strong. Cosas's BC counterpart, the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) was formed only two years ago.

Is there a link between the classroom boycotts, in which Cosas plays a leading role, and the township riots? "Before they are students," explain Mpho and full-time Cosas national organiser, Tlhabane Mogashoa, "the students are members of their community. Students are affected by rent hikes because it affects the amount of money their families have for their schooling."

Cosas president, Lulu Johnson, a 20-year-old matric pupil at New Brighton in Port Elizabeth, reiterates what their constitution sets down — that "before we are students we are members of our community." Is Cosas therefore a political body? The schools and the community are inseparable, he says.

Referring to the student deaths in the recent riots, Lulu (who is male) says: "Martyrs are inseparable — be they student or

community martyrs." The reason for Cosas joining the UDF, he says, is that they share the same principles. "The UDF was formed to fight the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills which could mean our fellow students will be evicted to the rural areas ... We felt it wise not to fight a separate battle against the new constitution. It became clear our task was to go to the students as the specific terrain of our operations," says Lulu.

Cosas believes the cause of the riots springs from the people's rejection of the black local authorities. "This year it became clear our people are tired of talking — not Cosas, but the broader community. It is clear these community councils have no role to play except to go along with separate development," he says.

"Some of our problems are the result of the social order," says Mpho "although, granted, not all the students realise it. If the life of a society doesn't change, the education system won't change. It is the duty of organisations to make students aware of it ... This is not a Soweto issue but a national issue. As our slogan says: An injury to one is an injury to all."

According to Lulu, Cosas "did not at any stage organise anything like stone-throwing. The students themselves, not Cosas, stoned buses, businesses and the houses of community council leaders. But not only the students — others in the community were involved in the full rampage against (those targets) ... There is no point in saying this was Cosas activity."

RDM 12/10/84

IIA

10-2-114

Britain considers UDF bid to meet ambassador

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE British Government was yesterday considering a formal request from the lawyers of the three United Democratic Front leaders in the Durban consulate to meet the British Ambassador urgently.

The lawyers yesterday telephoned the British Embassy in Pretoria asking for an urgent meeting with Ambassador Patrick Moberly, preferably in Durban.

They also gave a formal response to the request from the British earlier this week for the three to leave the consulate and to the British criticism of their television interview with ITN.

The men confirmed they had granted the interview, but denied that it conflicted with their earlier undertaking not to conduct a political

campaign from the consulate.

"Their only motivation for this action was a strong feeling of a moral obligation to explain to the British people their reasons for remaining.

"This act is not in conflict with their previous undertaking that they will not conduct a political campaign from the consulate," Mr Zac Yacoob, one of their lawyers, said.

A spokesman for the embassy, Mr Graham Archer, said this request was being considered in London because of the two responses given by the men yesterday.

The three — Mr Billy Nair, Mr Paul David and Mr Archie Gumede — ended their fourth week in the sanctuary of the consulate yesterday.

Meanwhile, there was a brief altercation outside the consulate at lunchtime when

a woman, claiming to be British, snatched two posters from a crowd demonstrating in solidarity with the three men.

About 30 people — including representatives of the Natal Indian Congress, the United Democratic Front and the Black Sash — held a brief demonstration outside the building.

A crowd gathered and, according to eyewitnesses, a middle-aged woman started shouting and snatched two placards from demonstrators.

The woman tore up the placards and shouted: "Why have these men taken refuge in our consulate. They have no right to be there".

Father Smangaliso Mkathswa, general secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops

□ To Page 2

UK looks at UDF request

□ From Page 1

Conference, who has been banned and detained himself, visited the consulate yesterday.

Mr Donald Anderson, the British Labour MP who will visit the three fugitives in the Durban consulate at the weekend, has applied to see three detainees who are being held in Maritzburg, reports JOHN BATTERSBY from London.

In an interview outside the British Foreign Office where anti-apartheid demonstrators held a picket yesterday, Mr Anderson said he hoped to see the three re-detained fugitives, who were being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, since leaving the consulate at the weekend.

"I understand that this section allows limited access to detainees and accordingly an application to see them has been made on my behalf," he said.

"I do not expect to hear whether my application has been successful until I arrive in South Africa on Sunday," he said.

However, Mr Carel Wessels, spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said yesterday that his department knew of no such request from Mr Anderson.

Asked if the Government was likely to entertain any request to visit detainees in prison, Mr Wessels said he could not speculate on the matter.

It will be Mr Anderson's first visit to South Africa and the first visit by a Labour MP since Mr Neil Kinnock became leader of the Labour Party a year ago.

Mr Anderson indicated that he would be ready to meet a member of the South African Government if he received an invitation to do so.

But a spokesman for the South African Embassy in London indicated that Mr Anderson would have to request a meeting if he wanted to see a representative of the South African Government.

Mr Anderson said he was visiting South Africa at the request of Mr Kinnock and was not acting as an intermediary for the British Government.

He disclosed, however, that he had met with British Foreign Office officials to brief them on his trip and would report to the Foreign Office on his return "if matters arise which are of interest to them".

"My primary purpose is to report back to Mr Kinnock, but if the three give me any new formula or message to pass to the Foreign Office I would regard it as my duty to do so," Mr Anderson said.

He did not expect any problems on his visit as the South African Government had made it clear "they will not raise any obstacles to my visit" and the British Government had said they would not put any obstacle in the way of a British MP wanting to visit a British consulate.

Mr Anderson yesterday joined Mr Bob Hughes, MP and chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), and Labour MP, Mr Max Madden, in handing in a protest letter addressed to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, at 10 Downing Street.

KAM 12/10/84

Petrol bomb attack on Saths Cooper's flat

Political Editor

PETROL bombers have attacked the flat of Mr Saths Cooper, deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation and convenor of the National Forum.

Three petrol bombs were thrown at his flat on Wednesday night. Two exploded as they hit the wall and window, causing slight damage inside. A third penetrated the flat but did not explode.

Mr Cooper said yesterday: "I was not at home at the time. But if I were in, and if the petrol bomb had ex-

ploded, I would have been a goner."

Mr Cooper, who served six years on Robben Island and was detained for nearly a fortnight in the recent wave of "preventive detentions", is working on a masters' degree in clinical psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"Besides two close friends and my brothers, the only people who know where I am staying are the police," he added yesterday.

He has reported the attack to the police.

Threats and mailed fist

Minister Le Grange's performance at the Transvaal National Party Congress and on television on October 7 is a prime example of the despicable use of smear tactics. It would seem that the Minister, having studied certain evidence, the nature and source of which are undisclosed, has taken it upon himself to condemn the UDF and find it guilty of being a front for the ANC and responsible for all the unrest in the country.

There is no way that the validity or otherwise of these accusations can ever be tested, unless the Minister himself so chooses. The UDF is given no opportunity to defend itself, no time on TV, no specific charges to refute.

It has publicly and frequently stated that it seeks change through peaceful means, that it is opposed to violence, that it wants to achieve a democratic South Africa.

It conducted a perfectly legitimate campaign for a boycott of the coloured and Indian elections. It held public meetings where it stated its case whenever it was able, whenever such meetings were not specifically banned or banned under a general order. It has never sought to conceal its principles and objectives.

Yet its leaders have been detained, its offices raided, and now the Minister utters scarcely veiled threats and publicly states his findings — that the UDF is guilty though not charged and that the sword of Damocles hangs over its head.

There may even be some truth in his accusations. It is possible and even probable that, among its affiliates and members there are ex-

solve nothing

11A S for 12/10/84

Joyce Harris, national vice-president of the Black Sash, urges the Government to talk to the UDF instead of accusing it and using smear tactics.

members of the ANC. What are such people to do, which avenues may they explore, if their once peaceful organisation is banned, if it turns in desperation to violence, and if they still seek peaceful means of change?

In addition to giving a home to some ex-members of the ANC, some of its affiliates might have been involved in some of the violence occurring in so many places. Not even the Government, with all its might, is able to control totally the behaviour of all its minions. How much less can the UDF be expected to do so with all the restraints placed upon it and with its leadership immobilised by detentions?

But to use this as an excuse mercilessly to attack the entire organisation makes a mockery of justice. It merely serves to demonstrate that the Government is determined to scotch any opposition to its policies with whatever weapons it has at its disposal, irrespective of whether they are reasonable or just or democratic.

It is still using the arbitrary powers with which it armed itself throughout the years of its pursuit

of apartheid because of the need to suppress and contain all the opposition which it generated. Nor is this surprising, because the new constitution continues to generate opposition through its exclusion of the majority of the people.

The Government seems incapable of understanding that banning opposition does not destroy it, that it does not simply disappear, and that its only alternative is to surface wherever else it can — either in violent eruptions or through new and different constituencies such as the UDF.

Nothing indicates more clearly than the smear attack on the UDF and the detention of its leaders the fact that there is no change, apart from the co-option of some members of the coloured and Indian communities. As a demonstration of reason, tolerance and understanding, the Minister's performance was shameful. As a pointer to the shape of things to come it hit home unerringly.

How incredible it is that the Government talks in self-righteous fashion of the widespread violence and unrest, but apportions the blame for this anywhere and everywhere but in its own court. If it had had any regard for the rights and liberties and hopes of all the people of our country and had behaved accordingly there would have been no violence. If it could only acquire that regard now and act accordingly the violence would stop.

Ruling with threats and mailed fists accomplishes only the growth of discontent and seething opposition which, if it is banned, will simply surface elsewhere. For goodness sake let the Government talk to the UDF and stop accusing and smearing it. Let all the recognised leaders of all the people get together to solve our problems, instead of aggravating them by closing minds, drawing swords and seeking scapegoats.

UDF not like IRA, says MP Anderson

11A

~~11A~~

Star

12/10/87

By Michael Chester

British Labour MP Mr Donald Anderson said today that it was "absurd and extremely worrying" that Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had compared the UDF with the IRA.

He was replying to a public challenge issued by Mr Botha to answer two "elementary questions":

- Why did the previous Labour Party government in Britain maintain the same sort of law as the Internal Security Act in dealing with the IRA?
- Which black-ruled African country would have allowed him to visit detainees and make condemnatory remarks about its government?

Mr Anderson replied through *The Star*: "Firstly, the IRA is a terrorist organisation. By contrast, those (UDF people) swept up by the security authorities as detainees in South Africa did no more than urge a non-violent boycott of elections. Therefore, there can be no serious comparison between the IRA and the United Democratic Front."

He added that there had been no detentions without trial in the UK since 1975.

"The laws have lapsed despite constant outrages by the IRA. Britain has still not yielded to the obvious temptation to abandon traditional safeguards.

"It is not only absurd but extremely worrying that Mr Botha seeks to claim that there is any real comparison which can objectively be made between the IRA, a terrorist organisation, and the UDF, which urges citizens to peacefully boycott an election."

Answering the second question posed by the Minister, he said: "I would need adequate notice to prepare a list of which black countries would allow visits to detainees — but I imagine Zimbabwe might be willing, as one example.

"Anyway, I always thought that Pretoria considered its system superior to the systems run by neighbouring countries."

Mr Anderson, who visited the three refugees in the British Consulate in Durban last night, was preparing to travel to Maritzburg later today to visit the detainees held there.

● See Page 7, World section.

Man probed on Anderson threat

DURBAN — Police last night questioned a white motorist near the British Consulate here after allegations that a shooting threat was made while British Labour MP Mr Donald Anderson visited the three fugitives there.

The man was, however, found to be unarmed. He was parked opposite the consulate where journalists and supporters of the Natal Indian Congress and UDF crowded around Mr Anderson as he entered and left the building.

Banning UDF could be disastrous for reform

IN THEORY, reform and repression are polar opposites. In practice they are often linked much too close for liberal comfort.

The confusing picture of South African politics in recent weeks suggests that once again we are poised ambiguously somewhere between reform and repression.

On the one hand we have the official celebrations of the inauguration of the new constitutional dispensation promising an end to exclusive white rule. On the other there is the renewed spiral of protest and violence in the black townships with the Minister of Law and Order talking of a "revolutionary climate" and bringing in the army to back up the security forces.

Repression

At the same historic moment that coloured and Indian politicians were taking their places in parliament for the first time there were ominous signs that the government may be preparing to ban the United Democratic Front.

It is this latter threat of repression which could spell disaster for the possibility of reform.

There are those who sincerely believe that UDF agitators are at the bottom of the current black political unrest and that our constitutional processes must be secured against the dangers of such extra-parliamentary forces. There are also cynics only too ready to say that a security clampdown on the UDF proves that the new constitution is a farce.

Misunderstood

In fact, what reformist potential the new parliamentary system has may well depend on whether our political processes can accommodate extra-parliamentary movements such as the UDF.

The politics of reform is easily misunderstood, especially by those in power. The government may be quite sincere in its wish to bring about necessary reforms. A determined verligte lead-

ership may be prepared to face up to the political costs of conservative reaction among the National Party's own traditional constituency but, politically, reform is no longer merely a policy debate *within* white politics and *about* blacks.

Reformists are mistaken in assuming that because even limited concessions have real costs in losing white support, such reforms will therefore be able to transform black resistance into compliance and co-operation.

Illustration

The black response is not a function of white political intentions and has its own dynamic. The unspoken assumption of reformists remains that the new, liberalized policy will be directed and imposed from above — and they cannot understand that for just this reason it will continue to be rejected and resisted despite its merits and good intentions.

For a telling illustration of this counter-productive reformist dynamic we need only look to the most recent developments in official policy towards blacks in the Western Cape on the critical issues of squatter settlements and influx control.

Traditionally, official policy has been to prevent a black influx in this part of the country by all means possible. The region was declared a coloured labour preference area, blacks were supposed to work there strictly as temporary migrants, black housing was frozen for many years, the 99-year leasehold system was not extended to the Western Cape, illegal squatter settlements were regularly demolished. All to little avail.

Determination

At the beginning of 1983 the government embarked on a bold reformist move. All blacks in the Western Cape would be accommodated and resettled in the vast new black townships of



Crossroads squatter camp. The government wants to clear it by moving more than 50 000 people to Khayelitsha by next March.

Khayelitsha on the False Bay coast. However, as far as the black communities were concerned, whatever positive aspects the new scheme held were undone by the threat of resettlement.

By June, 1984 it seemed the government's determination to clear up the squatter settlement of Crossroads as a first step in this ambitious plan would result in a major confrontation. Urgent action was needed to defuse the situation.

Since then the government has indeed taken a number of major steps towards this. The administration board has called a moratorium on further raids and demolitions in Crossroads itself (though not in other areas such as KTC).

Acknowledged

At the Cape congress of the National Party, President Botha announced that the contro-

versial coloured labour preference policy for the Western Cape would be scrapped as well.

Earlier, following his European tour, Mr Botha had acknowledged that the involuntary resettlement of communities was a practice morally and politically unacceptable to our major Western allies and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the new Minister of Co-operation and Development, has indicted that it may be time to substitute a policy of orderly urbanization for the rigidities of "influx control".

Short order

Taken together, one might well feel that the government had done more than enough to make its reformist intentions clear. Surely in this context the looming confrontation over Crossroads might be avoided and the orderly progress of the Khayelitsha scheme ensured?



POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE By ANDRÉ DU TOIT

the Crossroads situation is insoluble or that the squatter community is wholly unreasonable. From their own point of view they are responding quite rationally to the evident threats to the political survival of the community. And there are obvious ways in which the government could accommodate them, if it chose to do so.

Benefits

First, the government should desist from its attempts to divide the "illegals" from the "legals" and so split the community. Second, the government should couple the Khayelitsha project to a scheme allowing Crossroads to be upgraded for those determined to remain.

Essentially, this boils down to allowing the community itself some say in its fate. On this basis it is possible to see how blacks will be able to appreciate the benefits and merits of the Khayelitsha scheme but without such measure it must be only too clear to them that the move to Khayelitsha is above all aimed at the removal of Crossroads.

All the undoubted reforms and concessions do not detract from the basic political struggle in which the inexorable might of state power and the government's ideological will confronts the indomitable resistance of a community forged in a battle for basic survival. The governments may be aiming at reform, but this community cannot accept being merely an object of policy. The result is confrontation.

Intransigent

On the national level much the same principle holds. In a sense it is not just symbolic but real political reform for the government to co-opt coloured and Indian or even black leaders into government structures but the critical question is whether there is also room for communities to produce their own leaderships and to defend and

pursue their own priorities on their own terms.

From the government's point of view such "extra-parliamentary" leaderships and organizations may be intransigent, obstructive and militant.

They may even have considerable success in mobilizing (or "intimidating") people to boycott government structures and to oppose official policies. That is the price of any democratization of the political system. The gain is that the struggle can take a political form, not that of coercive confrontation.

In the short run it may be a relatively easy option for the government to ban the UDF but what will the long term consequences and significance be?

Prospects

In retrospect it is clear that the major clampdown on black consciousness organizations in October, 1977 indeed dealt a severe blow to that militant ideology in black politics but it also played a major role in the resurgence of internal support for the ANC in the following years — while the harsh security actions in Soweto and elsewhere resulted in a wave of recruits for the external ANC.

The prospects for constitutional and evolutionary reform will be much more viable if there is a place for extra-parliamentary forces as well, as long as they are committed to non-violence. If they should develop into a kind of internal and legitimate wing of the ANC, this should be welcomed by all who believe in political negotiation rather than military confrontation.

The real danger of repression and bannings is that they can be only too successful in stifling genuine political processes until only the soldier and the terrorist are left in the arena.

□ Professor André du Toit is professor of political philosophy at the university of Stellenbosch.

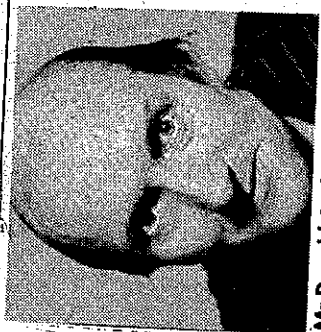
Reform could end in a repressive confrontation.

The point is not that

Labour MP heads for confrontation

11A Staw

14/10/84
David Breier



Mr Donald Anderson... wants to visit detainees

The British Labour Party spokesman on Southern Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, hopes to visit a number of United Democratic Front detainees in Johannesburg.

This could precipitate a new confrontation with the South African authorities.

Mr Anderson, who arrives in South Africa today, has been given permission to visit the three UDF detainees being held in Maritzburg after they left the British consulate in Durban last week.

But a UDF source says that Mr Anderson also hopes to visit a number of UDF leaders in preventive detention at the Diepkloof prison near Johannesburg. The attempt to visit these detainees in addition to the Maritzburg three is likely to be seen by security authorities as blatant interference in South African security matters.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that permission had been given for Mr Anderson to visit the three Maritzburg detainees, but could not comment on any application to visit detainees in Johannesburg. The reason was that the Maritzburg three had become involved in an international incident and were therefor a matter for the Department of Foreign Affairs. The Johannesburg detainees had been involved in no such incident.

Courtesy visit

Mr Anderson intends to see the families of the Johannesburg detainees soon after landing today. He will also pay a courtesy visit to the new British Ambassador to South Africa in Pretoria, Mr Patrick Moberly, before flying to Durban to visit the three fugitives still in the British consulate.

He will later visit the three detainees in Maritzburg and will attend a UDF rally in Durban.

A UDF spokesman said Mr Anderson hoped to receive permission to visit the Johannesburg detainees on Tuesday.

Asked in London if he hoped to see any members of the South African Government during his visit Mr Anderson replied: "That is an open question. I've had no invitation. I will wait to see what happens when I am there."

Mr Anderson, a 44-year-old Welshman, has often spoken out against South Africa since his appointment to Labour's front bench foreign affairs team last November.

He has also taken part in protests organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Mr Anderson is a barrister and was a member of the Foreign Service from 1960 to 1964. He has been Labour MP for Swansea East since October 1974 and is a Methodist local preacher.

Always too late for peace

THE ever increasing tendency of the Government to always react belatedly — and after prolonged tragedy — boggles the mind, to say the very least.

Early this year, students at Pretoria high schools demanded the establishment of students' representative councils. Now one would have thought this was a very good idea.

It would improve the flow of information — while at the same time establishing good lines of communication between students, their elected representatives and school authorities.

The Government's response was negative. The bureaucrats were adamant that it should not be done. They saw the hand of the unholy showing itself in the whole scheme — baseless and stupid fears.

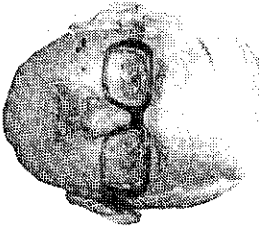
The students, having come across this solid cold wall of hostility to their demands, took to the streets. The rest is history. Like any veld fire, the whole problem escalated until it reached national proportions. Schools were disrupted. Universities were disrupted.

Bullets started flying all over and other issues began to somewhat confuse the whole problem — ending up in massive disas-

Press

HOME

OCTOBER 14, 1984



GERRIT VILJOEN

ters, such as that in the Vaal complex.

After all this, Co-operation, Development and Training Minister Gerrit Viljoen now says they can have their SRCs — although he seems to have endangered the whole exercise by imposing conditions.

Did we really need to have this terrible disruption of life and destruction of property before the Government came to its senses?

It's the same sort of pattern that emerged in 1976 — it took nearly 600 lives before the Government reacted to a protest that had been dragging on for a long time.

State President P W Botha, it would seem, has a great task of motivating his Cabinet and making his Government officials more sensitive, particularly those who come into daily contact with black people.

Their officious and arrogant attitudes can be dangerous.

TRY US FOR SIZES — UDF

AFTER enduring a daring challenge: weeks of Government harassment, the United Democratic Front has banished back with a daring challenge: "Ban us — but you won't be able to ban the will of the people."

The challenge was is-

sued at a Press conference this week attended by those UDF executive members not detained in the recent Security Police swoops.

"Let them ban us," said

acting general secretary Trevor Manuel. "What the Government faces is the voice of the people — and that can't be banned."

He was backed by president Albertina Sisulu, who said the organisation did not fear being banned.

"A ban would contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis — in fact, it will exacerbate it," she said.

"Banning the UDF will also show the Government's determination to stifle all legitimate and peaceful opposition."

This week's Press conference came after numerous veiled threats by Government spokesmen that action was being planned against the UDF.

These include attempts to link the UDF with the banned African National Congress — an attempt which was rejected at the Press conference by legal representative Zac Yacoob, who has been involved in attempts to free the "sit-in six".

Looking ahead, the UDF executive said its role would now be to fight the implications of the new multi-colour parliaments.

11A
C Press
14/10/84

Ban on UDF is unlikely in near future

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) is in no immediate danger of being banned or declared an affected organisation, according to security sources in Pretoria.

The high-placed sources have confirmed this as the war of words between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the UDF leadership continues.

In a hard-hitting speech last week Mr le Grange told the Transvaal congress of the National Party that the UDF and some of its affiliates had been directly responsible for recent unrest in black townships and for the intensification of the revolutionary climate in South Africa.

The UDF national executive committee called an emergency meeting this week in Johannesburg to discuss Mr le Grange's remarks.

Denial

After the meeting the UDF held a Press conference attended by about 25 journalists, mostly foreign correspondents, at which it said there were indications that the Government wanted to ban the organisation.

The acting general-secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, also emphatically denied that the UDF was connected to the African National Congress (ANC) on an organisational level, but said individual members of the UDF may have private contacts with the banned organisation.

When asked whether the UDF would be banned, Mr le Grange replied: "If they are panicking, do they have a guilty conscience?"

"I cannot say whether they will be banned or not. We will have to wait and see."

However, security sources point out that, despite circumstantial evidence pointing to ANC/UDF collaboration, there seems to be little or no concrete evidence of such activities to serve as a basis for outlawing the organisation.

11/A
14/10/86

ANC at war with SA, trial hears

~~B~~ 11A E. Port 15/10/84

By SHIRLEY PRESSLY

GRAHAMSTOWN — The African National Congress was at war with South Africa, the Supreme Court was told today when argument began in the case in which 11 men are appearing on several charges, including treason.

Mr P J Strauss, SC, said the accused were the only ones who could have given the court a full explanation of their actions, but they had chosen not to do so.

The 11 are Mr Rufus Nzo, 54, Mr Douglas Tyutyu, 48, Mr Siphon Hina, 44, Mr James Nqondela, 54, Mr Mzayifani Kame, 57, Mr Mzimkulu Kame, 22, Mr Siphon Nodlewu, 35, Mr Vukile Tshiwula, 43, Mr Lindile Mbelekana, 27, Mr Wellington Gumenge, 29, and Mr Ncepa Faku, 27.

They are charged with high treason (alternatively participation in acts of terrorism), sabotage, undergoing military training, possession of military explosives, harbouring persons, participating in the activities of unlawful organisations, possession of unlawful literature, possession of machine guns, hand grenades and ammunition and leaving the country without a passport.

There is also a charge of murder, four counts of attempted murder, nine counts of malicious damage to property and a charge of fraud.

Mr Strauss submitted that all the accused saw the ANC as an alternative form of Government and that the Government must be overthrown on different levels, for example, strikes to cripple the economy.

He said the ANC was known for its public exhortation to arms, bloodshed and revolution and the systematic demolition of the State and overthrowing of the State.

The ANC was at war with South Africa, he said.

Anyone who was aware of high treason was obliged to report it or also be guilty of it.

In treason there were no accessories — whether as leaders or followers all were guilty of treason — as long as a conspiracy remained constant in regard to its aims.

Mr Strauss said allegiance was required of a resident alien where his departure from the country was of a temporary nature with the intent to return.

While residing in South Africa one owed South Africa allegiance.

Mr Strauss admitted that Mr Nzo should be regarded as someone who owed an allegiance to South Africa.

Mr Strauss said the motives for treason were irrelevant.

Treason might be committed with a view to some other purpose — it might be the advancement of some political theory.

None of this was relevant to an inquiry of whether treason had been committed or not.

It did not mean that an accused had to have been animated by feelings of hostility and hatred towards the State.

Mr W Kingsley, who is assisting Mr Strauss, submitted that a common purpose linked all the accused.

There was a common design which made the act of a principal offender the act of all.

An accused did not have to be physically present, but could still be held responsible.

Mr Strauss said that a State witness, Mr X, had clandestinely brought letters, goods, money and even people from Lesotho to Port Elizabeth.

He had acted as a courier and smuggled in weapons and explosives.

Mr X had dealings with Mr Nzo, Mr Douglas Tyutyu, Mr Siphon Hina and Mr Wellington Gumenge and with terrorists Joe and Kingdom, whom he had brought to South Africa as well as Mr Nzo.

(Proceeding)

Mr Justice Howie was on the Bench, with two assessors. Mr E A Logie and Mr R P Barnes. Mr P J Strauss, SC, the Deputy Attorney-General, assisted by Mr W Kingsley, appeared for the State. Mr P N Langa and Mr A Jappie, instructed by T Majodina and Co. of Port Elizabeth, appeared for the defence.

UK MP: Durban 3 to decide 'in days'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Britain's Labour Party frontbencher, Mr Donald Anderson, had a 90-minute meeting with the three fugitives in the British Consulate here last night and later hinted that the men would decide on their next move within days.

Earlier he had been given a rousing reception by more than 200 people at Durban's Louis Botha Airport.

Police wearing camouflage uniforms took up positions in side-streets near the building but there were no incidents.

After meeting the consulate three — Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David — Mr Anderson told more than 100 local and foreign newsmen and supporters of the Natal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front that he supported the men's actions.

'Good cause'

They were fighting a good cause, he said, adding that he expected the men to consider their next step within a few days after consulting their lawyers and families.

He said he and the Rev W Mabus had conducted a religious service with the men and he was impressed by their "excellent spirit".

Following rumours of a possible demonstration against Mr Anderson's visit, more than 50 NIC and UDF supporters formed a barricade around his white Mercedes while he was ushered into the car.

NIC supporters had allegedly spotted two white men standing opposite the building housing the consulate carrying a packet of tomatoes and eggs.

At a news conference at Louis Botha Airport, Mr Anderson issued a veiled warning to the South African Government that any action to outlaw the UDF would be seen by the outside world as an end to



Mr Anderson

change by peaceful means in South Africa. He challenged the government to withdraw "any acts of harassment" against the UDF and "open dialogue with the peoples of South Africa".

Assessment

Mr Anderson, representing his party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, said he was here to obtain a better assessment of the consulate situation and to meet a number of detainees and their families and legal representatives.

Today he will visit NIC leaders Mr George Sepersadh, Mr Mewa Ramgobin and Mr M J Naidoo in the Maritzburg prison. The men, who are being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, were detained by security police as they left the Durban consulate last weekend.

Tonight Mr Anderson will be guest of honour at a public rally at St Anthony's Church Hall in Durban.

Commenting on South Africa's refusal to send back the Coventry Four

who face charges of arms-smuggling, he said there was no link between the four and the men in the Durban consulate.

"South Africa made a solemn undertaking to a British judge that it would ensure that the four will be returned for trial. We now have to wait and see whether it is going to honour that undertaking or not."

'Underside'

He told reporters he did not believe that visiting the three fugitives in the consulate was "an interference in South Africa's internal affairs".

"I believe I have a paramount right to look at what has been a breach of the rights of the men who are being sought for detention for reasons unknown to them."

He said he hoped the government would reconsider the redetention orders, which were considered an abuse of human rights in any civilized country.

The hasty over-reaction of the government on the consulate crisis had shown the world the "underside and oppressive nature of South African Government policy".

● Mr Anderson should ask himself which other African state would allow him to visit people it was detaining and then make critical remarks about the country's government in public, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria last night, Sapa reports.

The second question was why the former Labour Party government in Britain had retained exactly the same sort of laws to deal with the Irish Republican Army.

11A (11A) Star 16/10/84
Swazis plan ANC talks

The Star's Foreign
News Service

MBABANE — Top Swazi officials may hold more talks with African National Congress leaders soon, according to Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Mhambi Mnisi.

Mr Mnisi told an airport Press conference on his return from the United Nations that the talks would cover several points which were not settled at high-level talks earlier this year.

He would not give a date or venue but said that agreement to hold the talks was reached when he met ANC representatives in New York where he was attending the UN General Assembly.

Mr Mnisi said that, at the General Assembly, he had reaffirmed Swaziland's stand against allowing the kingdom to be used as a springboard for attacks against neighbouring countries.

Earlier this year, relations between Swaziland and the ANC became strained when police began rounding up ANC activists who were arriving in the country from Mozambique in the wake of the Nkomati Accord.

There were several armed clashes between police and the ANC members.

All members of the ANC have now been sent out of Swaziland for asylum in other African countries.

Anderson pledges Labour's support for peaceful UDF

11A
~~11A~~

Jan By Gary van Staden, 17/10/84
Political Reporter

The struggle to win freedom for all the people of South Africa would be aided by the bonds formed between the British Labour Party and the United Democratic Front, visiting Labour MP Mr Donald Anderson told UDF officials and supporters in Johannesburg last night.

He warmly praised the UDF for its work towards peaceful change in South Africa and launched a bitter attack against the South African Government in general and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in particular.

"I have been accused by Mr Botha of interfering in the internal affairs of another country. I plead guilty to the charge, Mr Botha, and I say that I have never believed that concern for human rights stops at a particular frontier."

Mr Anderson said that the South

African Foreign Minister was the best publicity agent any touring politician in South Africa could ever hope to have.

"The man is marvellous. He has highlighted and publicised my visit here in a most glorious fashion.

"I have this mental picture of Pik standing at the open door of the State President's office with a big hole in his foot, a smoking gun in his hand and a look of total confusion on his face."

He said the UDF was a signal to the world that democratic people in South Africa were striving for human rights and freedom for all.

"But the South African Government has done all in its power to convince people that the UDF is dangerous.

"I have deep fears that the UDF will be banned."

● See Page 5, World section.



Mr Pik Botha ... "he should reconsider".



Mr Donald Anderson ... bitter attack.

Request to see other detainees is refused

The request by British Labour Party MP Mr Donald Anderson to see other political detainees, besides the three he visited in the Pietermaritzburg Prison yesterday, had been refused, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria last night.

And in the latest round in his war of words with Mr Anderson and PFP leader, Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, on the Durban Consulate situation, Mr Botha said: "Their latest statements ... do not address the underlying legal principles".

If Dr Slabbert accepted "the tenet of international retaliatory action, it is clear he neither properly understands international public law on this matter nor its implications. He could not otherwise have taken the standpoints he did".

Earlier yesterday, Dr Slabbert described the Government's refusal to send four men back to Britain to face arms smuggling charges as "diplomatically inept, morally indefensible and politically stupid".

Mr Botha said Mr Anderson "ought to reconsider his statement that since 1975 no one in Britain had been detained without trial in terms of a law similar to the Republic's Internal Security Act.

"According to reliable information at my disposal, literally hundreds of people have been detained without trial in Northern Ireland since 1975". — Sapa.

Soweto 18/10/84 11A

Azapo shuns ET

By SIBUSISO MABASO

THE invitation to the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) by the mayor of Soweto, Mr E T Tshabalala for a meeting, was yesterday rejected by the two organisations, who instead called for his unconditional resignation.

Both organisations viewed with concern and disgust, the invitation by the mayor of Soweto, Mr Tshabalala, to attend a meeting at Naledi

Hall where discussion of the present education crisis will take place.

A spokesman for Azapo said: "We wish to advise Mr Tshabalala that he is no representative of the people of Soweto, or even Mofolo where he comes from, and therefore he has no right to attempt to speak for the people."

Fraud

He said the community councils have been shown by the people to be a fraud and have been continually

rejected as dummy bodies which help the minority exploit the majority. He added that Azapo will only attend a meeting when Mr Tshabalala will be announcing his resignation from such bodies. He said: "His utterances have clearly shown that he neither appreciates, nor understands what the problem of the day is all about".

The United Democratic Front spokesman said the UDF does not think a meeting with Mr Tshabalala would be of any use. He said: "The fact that there are the sort of problems we have, is because of the existence of institutions, such as the community councils which we have always said, had no mandate from the people, and had no ability to run the affairs of the township."

"Our call is that Mr Tshabalala and his councillors should resign with immediate effect," the spokesman added.

Stalemate in diplomatic crisis

Political Staff

Staw
19/10/84

There is no sign of a breakthrough in the bitter diplomatic squabble between South Africa and Britain over the consulate fugitives.

Both governments are now contemplating further action, following rebukes to the ambassadors in both countries yesterday from their host countries.

A three-pronged "ultimatum" laid down by the Durban three has drawn no reaction from the South African Government.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said today: "I have no comment to make."

In a memorandum released to the Press simultaneously in Durban, Johannesburg, New York and London yesterday, the three said they would leave the consulate voluntarily — and make themselves liable for detention — if the South African Government granted any one of three requests:

- All Section 28 notices of the Internal Security Act are withdrawn.
- Mr Le Grange removes all names placed on the consolidated list in terms of Section 16 of the Internal Security Act and agrees not to invoke Section 34 of the Act.
- The Government guarantees that the trio will receive passports to be allowed to go to the United Nations in New York to speak to the Special Committee on Apartheid.

Britain's Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Patrick Moberly, was yesterday called to the offices of Mr Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, for discussions, Mr Botha said in a statement last night.

Issues

Their meeting followed an hour-long talk in London yesterday between South Africa's Ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, and the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Malcolm Rifkind. They discussed the issues of the four South Africans charged with illegally exporting strategic equipment from Britain, and the continuing sit-in at Britain's Durban Consulate.

Mr Moberly was asked to convey to his Government certain important standpoints of the South African Government on these matters.

Mr Botha said he was not prepared to release any further particulars concerning the discussions.

Britain has said it would like the three men in the consulate to leave voluntarily but that it would not force them out.

South Africa contends this is a breach of diplomatic convention and that its retaliation is justified.

Mr Rifkind is reported to have told Dr Worrall yesterday that Britain hoped the Coventry four would be in court next Monday.

In response to a demand by the British Labour Party that Dr Worrall should be expelled if the accused did not appear, Mr Rifkind has said his Government would consider the situation very carefully in that event.

Consider asking Pik to resign — Slabbert

Political Staff

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert said today that the State President should consider asking for the resignation of Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

This comes at the end of a week of unprecedented public rows involving the Minister.

Dr Slabbert said: "I am really for the first time seriously beginning to doubt whether Minis-

ter Pik Botha is any longer competent to deal with South Africa's foreign affairs."

The latest broadside from Dr Slabbert follows a challenge to him from Mr Botha involving the families of the four men supposed to stand trial on Monday in Britain.

The challenge is to look the families in the eye and tell them that their husbands and fathers will be sent to prison for years in Britain in that miserable climate.

The week has seen Mr Botha locked in verbal battles with Dr Slabbert, with visiting British Labour Party MP Mr Donald Anderson and even with the British Government over his allegations that South Africa's system of detentions was no worse than that applying in Britain.

HARDSHIP

Dr Slabbert said he doubted Mr Botha's competence when he was prepared to descend to this level.

He added: "I have no wish to condemn the men to years in prison or their families to any hardship."

This, said Dr Slabbert, had nothing to do with the fact that the Government itself was prepared to accept and solemnly give its word to let these men stand trial.

"Either Mr Botha knew at the time that they would serve years of misery in British jails and was prepared to accept or he and his Government were simply lying," Dr Slabbert went on.

"He is now using sentimental and emotive cheap political tricks to disguise the fact that in his capacity as Foreign Minister he has brought dishonour on our country.

"In the past I have been able to defend the Government on two points ... one, that it keeps its word, and the other that it pays its debts.

"No longer will I be able to say it keeps its word."

Consulate's forgotten prisoner

19/10/84
E.P.OST
By JEAN LE MAY

11A
THE real prisoner in the British consulate in Durban is the fourth man — the consul himself, a suave 37-year-old diplomat, Mr Simon Davey.

For the past five weeks, since the six UDF and Natal Indian Congress leaders first walked into the consulate, Mr Davey has worked, eaten and slept in his office. (The Consulate Six became the Consulate Three when half the men walked out and were re-detained.)

Mr Davey has left the consulate — on the corner of Smith and Field streets — a few times, for a quick shower at his club and a brisk walk on the Esplanade.

Then he rushes back to resume the watch over his uninvited guests.

Other diplomats from the British Embassy in Pretoria have shared the watch-keeping with him.

Mr Tony Gooch, first secretary, and Mr Gerry McCrudden, an administrative officer, have each spent a fortnight in the consulate. Last Friday Mr Davey was joined in his vigil by Mr David Ball, first

secretary in the Pretoria chancellery.

Mr Davey, whose previous postings were in Havana and Katmandu, is not married.

He is not talking to the Press, but this week I spoke to Mr McCrudden, who had just completed his share of the roster.

"It was a pretty rough fortnight," he said. "Mr Davey slept on the floor, on cushions taken from the office chairs. I made do on the carpet. We had no sleeping-bags.

"We tried to get out, occasionally, one at a time, for a shower and a brisk 10-minute walk just to get a breath of fresh-air. But even that was not possible sometimes — I went two days without a shower.

"But we had clean clothes — the consular staff sent out our laundry. Lovely to have clean clothes. There is a lavatory and a washbasin in the consulate, but no hot water. Shaving in cold water every day is pretty grim."

Food was ordered from a nearby restaurants and cafes, he said.

"We tried to vary the menu, but it got rather monotonous. We ordered a drink with our meals occasionally, but no liquor stocks are kept in the consulate."

There was frequent liaison with the consulate's uninvited guests, said Mr McCrudden. They had been assigned the biggest office and were confined to it.

"They had frequent visitors, from their families and legal representatives, but we did not have any visitors. We were on duty and it was thought that visitors would be inappropriate."

Although the consulate was officially closed, there was still a great deal of work to be done on passport or trade inquiries, said Mr McCrudden.

"It made a long day — we started at 7am and were rarely in bed, if that is the correct expression, before midnight.

"The biggest problems were boredom and lack of exercise," he said. "It is a policy that there will be no broadcasting equipment in a consulate. We got the newspapers and read everything else we could lay our hands on, avidly."

The Durban consulate does not have a library but books were sent down from the embassy.

"I read V S Naipaul — pretty appropriate, under the circumstances — and Mr Davey did The Times crossword puzzles daily.

"Weekends were the worst, when the consular staff did not come in. We got pretty fed up staring at four walls. And the lack of exercise is beginning to tell.

"I noticed I put on weight and deteriorated physically because of the confinement. Mr Davey is having weight problems, too."

He said his stint — "especially the bit about no baths, showers or sport" — required, perhaps, more than just an ordinary share of the stiff upper lip.

2011A



NTHATO MOTLANA: Detained.



Mrs ELLEN KHUZWAYO . . .
detained.



LEONARD MOSALA: Detained.



FANYANA MAZIBUKO . . .
detained.



PERCY QOBOZA: Detained.

Today in 1977 . . .

This day seven years ago I was on my rounds in Soweto when The World news editor — now present SOWETAN Editor — Joe Latakomo, told me to return to the office. Our newspapers had been banned.

then news editor of Weekend World and now assistant editor on The SOWETAN. The papers' referred to were The Weekend World and The World, banned on October 19, 1977.

At Aggrey's home it was "house to let." Instead I found his hysterical wife in the office being comforted by Manana Ndulula, and several other staffers.

The scene at the office was one of bewilderment.

Percy Qoboza, editor of both newspapers was inscrutable. He looked either stunned, thunderstruck or just de-

The Aggrey referred to was Aggrey Klaaste,

feated. I do not know which applies. But angry he was.

Around midday I watched as three, if not four, Security Cops, one a mean looking no-nonsense type character take him away. I remember the tiniest of the lot taking Percy's arm and saying: "Kom, monna."

Dan Tlekettle, photographer on Weekend World, lifted his camera and was immediately told by the hefty cop: "I warn you, no pictures."

But Dan had long taken his picture.

Percy was the Nth person to be carted away to detention. Earlier, when phoning Joe and getting his abrupt

The SOWETAN news editor, THAMI MAZWAI, was a senior reporter when The World and Weekend World were banned in 1977. In this article he recalls the day when several organisations and people were banned, the two newspapers closed, and over 40 people detained. MAZWAI reports . . .



Kruger had used the mailed fist with a ferocity that left opponents reeling. He had singled out black consciousness organisations as the target of his fury. And any organisations that merely smacked of BC got the full treatment.

mayhem in Soweto. The system was at sixes and sevens.

When Biko died the world was stunned into reality as to the real situation in the country — contrary to Prime Minister John Vorster's assertions that there was no crisis in the country.

banned and a publication of the Christian Institute also banned.

In township parlance "u Kruger ebefikile" — Jimmy Kruger had arrived.

When people like Ellen Khuzwayo, dubbed the mother of Soweto, Douglas Lotwane, Leonard Mosala, Vela Kraai, by no means revolutionaries, were made to join the likes of Hlaku Rachidi, Mashwabada Mayathula, Thandisizwe Mazibuko, and other Saso hardliners then things were really bad.

Just ask anybody why an organisation like Assecca had to be clubbed with the SSRC, the Black Peoples Conven-

(PAC) activism after former PAC leader, Potlako Leballo had issued a warning of a major campaign in South African from his Lesotho offices.

After this hundreds of people found themselves behind bars, with scores getting long stretches of imprisonment. It was this Vorster backing Kruger. A heavyweight who had dealt with a heavyweight problem in 1963 and knew what black nationalism, which is what black consciousness is about, could do.

Thus the Kruger action and Vorster backing was a massive crackdown on a situation that threatened the very

to were
World
banned
1977.
home it
let." In-
s hysteri-
office be-
by Man-
nd seve-
s.
he office
bewil-

Around midday I watched as three, if not four, Security Cops, one a mean looking no-nonsense type character take him away. I remember the tiniest of the lot taking Percy's arm and saying: "Kom, monna."

Dan Tiekettle, photographer on Weekend World, lifted his camera and was immediately told by the hefty cop: "I warn you, no pictures."

But Dan had long taken his picture.

Percy was the Nth person to be carted away to detention. Earlier, when phoning Joe and getting his abrupt command to return to the home I had gone past the homes of Dr Nthato Motlana, Legau Mathabathe, Hlaku Rachidi, Thandisizwe Mazibuko and Fanyana Mazibuko where families or neighbours told me: "The system has struck." The men had been detained.

Nightmarish

This was October 19, 1977. What was a blissful morning in which I would again go about my reporting turned out to be a nightmarish day that left several organisations banned, two major newspapers and white churchmen banned, and leading figures in the black community detained.

Justice and Police Minister Jimmy

was a senior reporter when The World and Weekend World were banned in 1977. In this article he recalls the day when several organisations and people were banned, the two newspapers closed, and over 40 people detained. MAZWAI reports



... Kruger had used the mailed fist with a ferocity that left opponents reeling. He had singled out black consciousness organisations as the target of his fury. And any organisations that merely smacked of BC got the full treatment.

And it was the death of the father of black consciousness, Steve Bantu Biko on September 12 that marked the countdown.

Before and after this day black areas were in turmoil and Soweto had come to a virtual standstill with the banned Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) cracking the whip.

What respective SSRC presidents said was law.

The Soweto Urban Bantu Council had been forced to resign, as were various school committees and boards.

Curtis Nkondo and Fanyana Mazibuko had led over 300 teachers to resign and it was just

mayhem in Soweto. The system was at sixes and sevens.

When Biko died the world was stunned into reality as to the real situation in the country — contrary to Prime Minister John Vorster's assertions that there was no crisis in the country.

It was when multitudes turned up, including representatives of overseas organisations and foreign governments, for the burial of Biko in Kingwilliamstown that the Government realised the magnitude of the force sweeping the country.

Black consciousness was the order of the day. White liberals had been relegated to the back seat. Resistance to the system was waged by blacks and for blacks, with the usual white guidance absent.

Black simply walked tall. And Kruger knew he had to act, and swiftly at that.

With the ruthlessness that can only come from the Nationalists and authoritarian governments, 16 organisations were banned, 40 people detained, a number of whites banned, two national newspapers

In township parlance "u Kruger ebefikile" — Jimmy Kruger had arrived.

When people like Ellen Khuzwayo, dubbed the mother of Soweto, Douglas Lotwane, Leonard Mosala, Vela Kraai, by no means revolutionaries, were made to join the likes of Hlaku Rachidi, Mashwabada Mayathula, Thandisizwe Mazibuko, and other Saso hardliners then things were really bad.

Just ask anybody why an organisation like Assecca had to be clubbed with the SSRC, the Black Peoples Convention, the South African Students Organisation, South African Students Movement and you will simply get a stare of incredulity.

Furious

Assecca was an organisation that my four-year-old Ntsiki would have been very much at home with and here it was being linked with no-nonsense organisations like the SSRC, BPC and Sasm. Nobody could understand Kruger that day. He was at his furious best.

As the world watched, shocked and protesting, P M Vorster came out in solid defence of Kruger. Said Vorster: "I would have done it too."

For Vorster to say this is no small talk. It was Vorster in 1963 who launched a vicious crackdown on the Pan Africanist Congress

... a warning of a major campaign in South African from his Lesotho offices.

After this hundreds of people found themselves behind bars, with scores getting long stretches of imprisonment. It was this Vorster backing Kruger. A heavyweight who had dealt with a heavyweight problem in 1963 and knew what black nationalism, which is what black consciousness is about, could do.

Thus the Kruger action and Vorster backing was a massive crackdown on a situation that threatened the very foundations of apartheid. BC had to be smashed or the system collapsed.

The Vorster backing of Kruger negated his earlier statement that there was no crisis in the country.

October 19 is thus another milestone in South Africa's history, and a day that cannot be forgotten.

Later that day I drove with colleague Phil Mtimkulu to town. Phil was amazed at the ranting and ravings of the Government. They were virtually challenging the world at large.

"Vorster is really daring the world," Phil said. And Phil was right.

In the afternoon the names of people detained read like a Who's Who of black politics at the time. Two stalwarts in the profession, Qoboza and Klaaste, from the black media, and names like Motlana, Diliza Mji, Rachidi, Makhapela, Sedupe Ramokgopa, Mosala, Aubrey Mokoena, Nkondo, Mazibuko (Tizzah), Fanyana Mazibuko, Mosala and others graced Modderbee.

Come to think of it, if ever there was a think tank for South Africa's future needed, then the people in detention from October 19 could have been a valuable core.

It was the political heavyweights of the time, and some are still the heavyweights of today.

FM - 19/10/84

face to face

11A

TREVOR MANUEL

A mood of defiance



Trevor Manuel became acting general-secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF) after the detention of Popo Mofe last month. He is from Cape Town and served on the consultative committee that led to the UDF's formation 14 months ago.

FM: Do you fear being banned?

Manuel: The possibility of being detained and subsequently listed (as someone who cannot then be quoted) seems more likely in the prevailing climate. It is also possible that the conditions of listing will be applied more stringently. But the organisation has become the be-all and end-all of my life. The possibility of banning is one of those occupational hazards.

What happens if the UDF leadership is silenced?

The setback would be temporary — our administrative structure would be harmed. But at the same time there has been a concerted attempt in the UDF to make everybody in leadership roles dispensable. So, for example, relieving me of responsibilities in the western Cape shows that I am not indispensable there.

What if the UDF is banned?

If we look at the history of the democratic movement here, we see that the ban on the ANC had so constrained options for peaceful change that its armed wing, Umkonto we Sizwe, was formed. There has been no greater contributor to the armed struggle than police repression which, in Soweto in 1976 and elsewhere, served to swell the ranks of armed insurgents.

And if that happens it won't be as a result of a decision made by any organisation: they will have been banned. But it is highly likely that our people would respond in that way as the only avenue left for the attainment of democracy in SA.

Government accuses the UDF of being behind the township riots?

It's a spurious charge. As we see it the UDF represents the aspirations of the people of SA. We are witnessing the people's voice being expressed in different ways in different circumstances in different parts of the country. The support for the men in the British consulate is one example of this support for the

UDF.

What started as a peaceful protest in the Vaal triangle against rent rises was met by heavy-handed police action. One cannot see the situation in the Vaal triangle as being separate from the successful campaign waged against the August elections. But it is the harshness of the State and its complete lack of sensitivity in dealing with genuine grievances that are behind the violence. It is not the UDF that used police against the people, nor does the UDF force people to carry passes or put up their rents. Government says the UDF is promoting a climate of revolution. Whether or not it is in fact, would the UDF not like to see such a climate in SA?

The UDF is committed to the achievement of a non-racial democracy by peaceful means. We believe that the strongest weapon in this is the organised voice of our people. The "revolutionary climate" is in fact being generated by the heavy-handed manner in which the State at all times responds to very reasonable demands.

There are none so blind as those who will not see. A feature of the government's handling of this crisis is to couch things in terminology which would tend to instil fear in people's minds. Talk of the "revolutionary climate" is an example.

What is ignored is the fact that the situation in SA is unique and grossly unsatisfactory. It is unparalleled for a government to retain power for as long a period as the Nats have been in power without consent or legitimacy and buttressed by the gun.

We must move away from the premise that white rule in SA is God-given or normal. The basic demand for all in SA to be included in processes of decision-making in a unitary state is perfectly reasonable. If it is then being suggested that anything which questions minority rule and the legitimacy of the government is creating a revolutionary climate — and that we must take whatever government metes out unquestioningly — then we will not apologise for this (demand).

Would you agree the UDF has now got all the political capital it could get out of the consulate affair?

The UDF has made tremendous gains locally and abroad and has brought the question of detention without trial in SA into sharp, effective focus. The support for the men has been phenomenal.

The consulate saga has at times taken

off something of the character of a chess game: errors are being forced on the government. (Law and Order) Minister Le Grange's overcoming of the initial Natal Supreme Court decision and his flouting of the provisions of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, after all gave rise to the consulate saga. The decision by (Foreign) Minister Pik Botha not to return for trial the four arms smugglers was a similar error.

Up to now we've generally seen a pattern of detentions, arrests, police brutality and ministerial threats which are devoid of all rationale. Often their attempts at a solution are so hasty and short-term that they are merely led into a *cul-de-sac*. And when one is dealing with people who govern by caprice there is no telling whether their next move might create more publicity for the UDF.

At the same time, I am informed that the position of the three in the consulate is being reviewed daily and sometimes hourly by themselves.

Is there a mood of growing defiance?

Without reservation and at all levels, yes. We see it in the actions of people in the communities where it can basically be said that the plans by which the government hopes to rule are in no way being observed. The scurrying about of P W Botha with talk of a fourth chamber (for blacks) is indicative of the fact that their so-called urban black policy has collapsed entirely.

Government says the UDF is a front for the (banned) ANC?

For the UDF to be an ANC front it would have had to be initiated by the ANC and they would in some way have had to be involved in the UDF's organisation and direction. That would throw overboard the democratic processes at work in the UDF and the extent of our affiliates' involvement in decision-making. For example, it is common knowledge that there was a big debate in the UDF about whether to call for a referendum before the coloured and Indian elections. I understand that the ANC supported the idea of a referendum. (The UDF did not.) So, it is difficult to be both a front for the ANC and have democracy at the same time. The notion of an ANC link is a red-herring to deviate the essence of people's demands. Although we distance ourselves from the ANC there is no question of its contribution to the democratic struggle. It decided on armed struggle only after it was banned.

'Ban UDF at your peril'

Weekend Argus
Reporter

IF the UDF was banned the last opportunity for a non-violent solution to South Africa's problems would be lost, Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday.

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, was addressing a meeting at the University of Stellenbosch organised by the Studele Aangeleentheids-Kring (Saak).

His speech was punctuated by applause from more than 500 students in a packed lecture hall.

He said the UDF had led a non-violent campaign against the Government's new constitution.

"The UDF represents a broad, peaceful front for change in this country, but we are finding it increasingly difficult to keep on the path of non-violence."

A government was legitimate only if it was based on justice. South African society is based on discrimination in which there is detention without trial, where it is criminal for a couple to live as man and wife, where shelters are torn down in the Cape winter, and where property is taken from people and they are dumped to starve in arid dustbowls.

"South African society dishonours the word of God," he said.

"When unarmed schoolchildren are shot in the streets it is a difficult task to keep to the path of non-violence, but it is the only honourable way.

"If the UDF is banned, South Africa will have to face the consequences.



Dr Allan Boesak

Worrying questions about why our word of honour was broken

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has reaffirmed yet again that the four South Africans charged with arms smuggling in Britain will not appear in court in Coventry on Monday.

From that day on, South Africa's word will be suspect internationally.

South African governments have broken many domestic pledges, as the Fingoes, the coloured voters of the 1950s or the people of Port St Johns can testify. But successive governments since 1910 have built up a reputation for scrupulously honest international dealings.

We have always honoured our word abroad and finance ministers are justifiably proud of the fact that we have never defaulted on a debt.

This has all been undermined by the decision to break the government's solemn pledge to a British court. It will take years, if not decades, to rebuild the country's reputation, because South Africa's word will not be taken so readily again for a long time to come.

And the fact that our word is no longer our bond is a matter which affects not just the government, but every South African. There is something demeaning and distasteful in knowing that your country's word is no longer accepted without question.

There are two very disquieting aspects to the unedifying wrangle of the past few weeks.

The first is the fact that the government decided to break an international promise in the first place.

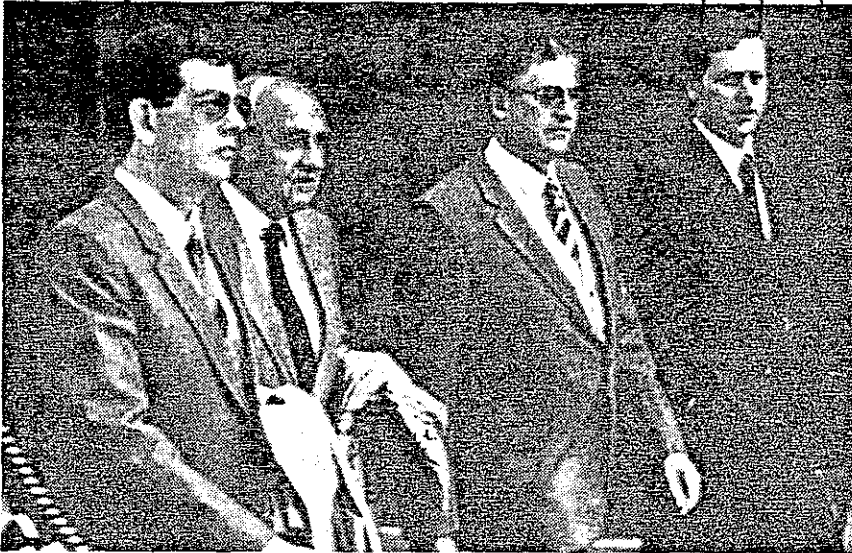
The second is that Mr Pik Botha's voluminous explanations and justifications have only increased the concern that the government might have given its word knowing — or at least suspecting — that it would break it.

There are those who believe that the government never had the slightest intention of sending the four men back to Britain. They would probably not believe otherwise, whatever the government said. But, in attempting to remove these suspicions, Mr Botha has only managed to increase

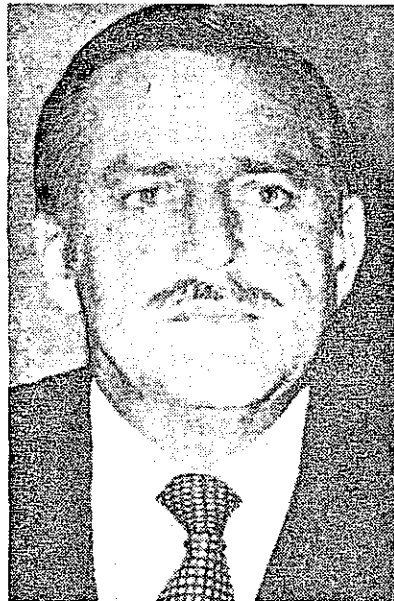
11A

By MICHAEL ACOTT

C. Times
20/10/84



Two of the four South Africans who appeared in a Coventry court on illegal arms-dealing charges, Mr Koos le Grange (left) and Mr Hennie Botha (third from the left). An unidentified man walks between them and Mr Andre Pelsler, first secretary at the South African embassy in London, is on the right. The photograph was taken at the time of the preliminary hearing.



Mr Pik Botha



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

against the British government, the visiting Labour opposition spokesman, Mr Donald Anderson, the PFP opposition leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and anyone else who questioned the decision.

He has been loyally backed by the ever-compliant SABC and by Nationalist newspapers who have questioned the patriotism of South Africans taking what they describe as Britain's side in the argument.

men were granted bail in Coventry.

But what has emerged in between the numerous red-herrings strewn across the path, from Mr Anderson's *bona fides* to British detention laws, have been statements by Mr Botha pointing to a deliberately broken promise.

He has specifically denied this on more than one occasion, stating that the undertaking to return the men to face trial was "painful", but that the government had

spend a few years in a British prison.

This line of argument can only suggest to thinking South Africans and observant foreign governments that the four alleged arms dealers would not have been returned to Britain whatever had transpired.

It suggests that, before or after the men were freed on bail and returned to South Africa, a high-level decision was taken to break the government's promise to the British court.

It suggests that the government has spent the past four months looking for any pretext to renege on its undertaking and that the consulate drama came as a gift from the gods.

Unhappy

If Mr Botha has been given the uncomfortable job of justifying the unjustifiable, he has certainly done his best by dragging in a host of issues and side-issues to obfuscate the central argument.

Ordinary South Africans, including probably a number of concerned Nationalists, remain uneasy and unhappy at what has happened.

They know their country's word will never mean the same again. They cannot be convinced that the government has given them an adequate explanation for what it has done.

Emotional arguments about the fate of four men working for their country abroad are side-issues, however much sympathy there will be for their plight.

If the government did not mean to expose them to the risk of British jail terms, it should not have promised to do so. And, having done so, it should have kept its word.

South Africans have not so far been given acceptable reasons for their government's breach of faith. They have been given explanations for what amounts to a government-sanctioned jail-break in a foreign country.

The decision obviously came as a great relief to the men involved and, as Mr Botha points out, to their families. It will probably make Mr Botha more of a hero with some sections of the National

The assurance that the South Africans would eventually stand trial once the consulate issue was settled would have kept some right on South Africa's side and put the onus on an already uncomfortable British government to resolve the dispute.

This is not what has happened. Mr Botha has said that, whatever happens in the consulate drama, the four alleged arms smugglers will never be returned to face trial in Britain.

debt. This has all been undermined by the decision to break the government's solemn pledge to a British court. It will take years, if not decades, to rebuild the country's reputation, because South Africa's word will not be taken so readily again for a long time to come.

And the fact that our word is no longer our bond is a matter which affects not just the government, but every South African. There is something demeaning and distasteful in knowing that your country's word is no longer accepted without question.

There are two very disquieting aspects to the unedifying wrangle of the past few weeks.

The first is the fact that the government decided to break an international promise in the first place.

The second is that Mr Pik Botha's voluminous explanations and justifications have only increased the concern that the government might have given its word knowing — or at least suspecting — that it would break it.

There are those who believe that the government never had the slightest intention of sending the four men back to Britain. They would probably not believe otherwise, whatever the government said. But, in attempting to remove these suspicions, Mr Botha has only managed to increase them.

Ordinary South Africans, angered on September 24 by the announcement that the pledge to the British court would be broken, looked for the government's reasons for a step with such far-reaching consequences.

They have been treated to one broadside after the other from Mr Botha as he railed

against the British government, the visiting Labour opposition spokesman, Mr Donald Anderson, the PFP opposition leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and anyone else who questioned the decision.



Mr Pik Botha



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

against the British government, the visiting Labour opposition spokesman, Mr Donald Anderson, the PFP opposition leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and anyone else who questioned the decision.

He has been loyally backed by the ever-compliant SABC and by Nationalist newspapers who have questioned the patriotism of South Africans taking what they describe as Britain's side in the argument.

All of which has conveniently obscured the original issue, which is whether the government was justified in breaking a promise given not on behalf of Britain but of every South African.

The government seems to be trying to bluster and bludgeon South Africans into accepting the argument that it was legally and morally justified in dishonouring its undertaking when the

men were granted bail in Coventry.

But what has emerged in between the numerous red-herrings strewn across the path, from Mr Anderson's *bona fides* to British detention laws, have been statements by Mr Botha pointing to a deliberately broken promise.

He has specifically denied this on more than one occasion, stating that the undertaking to return the men to face trial was "painful", but that the government had every intention of honouring it until Britain gave illegal sanctuary to South Africans in the Durban consulate.

We have had lengthy explanations about the right of reprisal to explain the link between the Durban consulate and the Coventry court.

Sympathy

Britain, Mr Botha said, was hampering the legal process in South Africa by preventing the detention of those in the Durban consulate. South Africa was therefore justified in hampering the legal process in Britain by refusing to return the four men to stand trial there.

There is some logic in this. There would have been a lot more sympathy for the government's move had Mr Botha said the four South Africans would not be returned to Coventry *only for as long* as the South African fugitives remained in the British consulate.

The assurance that the South Africans would eventually stand trial once the consulate issue was settled would have kept some right on South Africa's side and put the onus on an already uncomfortable British government to resolve the dispute.

This is not what has happened. Mr Botha has said that, whatever happens in the consulate drama, the four alleged arms smugglers will never be returned to face trial in Britain.

And he has done so in terms which cast doubt on the official tit-for-tat explanation for the reprisal.

Mr Botha said it suited South Africa not to return the four men to Britain. He said they had broken no South African law and they were working in South Africa's interests to evade the 1977 international arms embargo against South Africa, an embargo to which Britain subscribes.

He said he had no intention of returning the men to Britain when they risked spending years in British jails for trying to procure armaments South Africa needed to fight terrorism and communism.

Earlier this week he criticized Dr Slabbert's insistence that the government should honour its word. He asked how Dr Slabbert could look the accused men's families in the eye and tell them the men should

If Mr Botha has been given the uncomfortable job of justifying the unjustifiable, he has certainly done his best by dragging in a host of issues and side-issues to obfuscate the central argument.

Ordinary South Africans, including probably a number of concerned Nationalists, remain uneasy and unhappy at what has happened.

They know their country's word will never mean the same again. They cannot be convinced that the government has given them an adequate explanation for what it has done.

Emotional arguments about the fate of four men working for their country abroad are side-issues, however much sympathy there will be for their plight.

If the government did not mean to expose them to the risk of British jail terms, it should not have promised to do so. And, having done so, it should have kept its word.

South Africans have not so far been given acceptable reasons for their government's breach of faith. They have been given explanations for what amounts to a government-sanctioned jail-break in a foreign country.

The decision obviously came as a great relief to the men involved and, as Mr Botha points out, to their families. It will probably make Mr Botha more of a hero with some sections of the National Party.

It explains politically the destruction of the country's international repute. But it does not justify it, either legally or morally.

★

400 Maties ^{11A} ^{3A} 20/10/84 C-Times applaud Boesak

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

IF the government banned the "non-violent UDF" then it should know that "someone will have to pay for this recklessness somewhere along the line", UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak told University of Stellenbosch students yesterday.

"South Africa will live with this regret, which may be bloody," he said at a lunch-time meeting of more than 400 students, organized by the Stellenbosch Aktuele Aangeleenthede Kring (SAAK), a student society.

Dr Boesak was applauded enthusiastically throughout his address which was the UDF's first appearance on the university's campus.

He confirmed that he had called on all Christian South Africans to pray for the downfall of the Nationalist government, because there were only two alternatives to peaceful change in South Africa — civil disobedience and prayer.

'Liberation'

In December, an appeal would be made to all churches in the country, as well as overseas, to join in this call. "The word of God is a powerful word of liberation."

He challenged the government's claim that it was a legitimate Christian state. President P W Botha's claim that the legitimacy of the state was in the exercise of law and order was incorrect, he said.

Quoting extensively from the fifth-century Christian thinker Augustine, and the 16th century reformer Calvin, Dr Boesak said the "legitimacy of a government was measured by the level of justice it applied".

The South African Government was violating "the honour of God" through its apartheid policies and its unjust laws of detentions, banings and mass removals, he said. "Christians have twisted and maimed the Gospel to horrific proportions."

Asked how he justified his participation in the UDF as a Christian while it also included non-Christians, he said: "My participation in the UDF is on the basis of my Christian convictions. Christians should set an example as the Gospel demands."

Violence

"We cannot Christianise the struggle, but we can make our presence felt. In South Africa there are more Christians than non-Christians."

Referring to the government he said: "My problem is not with non-Christians who espouse violence but with 'Christians' who will not stop practising violence."

'WE'LL

ONLY

LEAVE IF ...'



11A

C. Press

21/10/84

THE THREE UDF leaders still in the British Consulate in Durban this week gave a written undertaking to leave the consulate immediately and voluntarily if one of three conditions were met.

The conditions are:

- The withdrawal of all Section 28 notices.
- The removal of Section 28 detainees from the "silencing provisions" of Section 16; the word of Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange that he won't ban lawyers among the Section 28 detainees from practising, and providing reasons for imposing orders so that the detainees could make "substantial and meaningful representations aimed at persuading the Government to withdraw the notices".

● The third condition is that the South African Government should give a guarantee that the three in the consulate receive their passports and be allowed to go to the United Nations to address the Special Committee on Apartheid.

The head of this committee, General Joseph Garba, invited them to the UN headquarters earlier this week.

The three ask for a guarantee that they would not be prevented from returning to South Africa "to continue the struggle for peace, justice and freedom for all South Africans".

In return for allowing them to travel to the UN, the NIC offers to give "any reasonable surety" to guarantee their return — even going as far as to offer to surrender three



Durban leaders Paul David, Archie Gumede and Billy Nair: Making three demands.

other NIC members to go to detention until the three come back from the UN.

Copies of a detailed memorandum setting out these demands were sent yesterday to Mr Le Grange and to the British, American, West German, French

and Dutch embassies.

The three ask Mr Le Grange and the Government to give their request careful consideration and to reply urgently.

They also ask the British Government to stop "exerting any pressure on them to leave the consulate until"

circumstances existing at the time the refusal was announced.

"Obviously, a reasonable amount of time will have to be given to the Government to consider our request — I would think a week would be reasonable under the cir-

Leah Sund

W. lo' rie ca.

LEAVE IT

THE THREE UDF leaders still in the British Consulate in Durban this week gave a written undertaking to leave the consulate immediately and voluntarily if one of three conditions were met.

The conditions are:

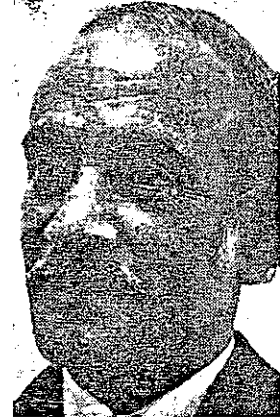
- The withdrawal of all Section 28 notices.
- The removal of Section 28 detainees from the "silencing provisions" of Section 16; the word of Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange that he won't ban lawyers among the Section 28 detainees from practising, and providing reasons for imposing orders so that the detainees could make "substantial and meaningful representations aimed at persuading the Government to withdraw the notices".

● The third condition is that the South African Government should give a guarantee that the three in the consulate receive their passports and be allowed to go to the United Nations to address the Special Committee on Apartheid.

The head of this committee, General Joseph Garba, invited them to the UN headquarters earlier this week.

The three ask for a guarantee that they would not be prevented from returning to South Africa "to continue the struggle for peace, justice and freedom for all South Africans".

In return for allowing them to travel to the UN, the NIC offers to give "any reasonable surety" to guarantee their return — even going as far as to offer to surrender three



Durban leaders Paul David, Archie Gumede and Billy Nair: Making three demands.

other NIC members to go to detention until the three come back from the UN.

Copies of a detailed memorandum setting out these demands were sent yesterday to Mr Le Grange and to the British, American, West German, French

and Dutch embassies.

The three ask Mr Le Grange and the Government to give their request careful consideration and to reply urgently.

They also ask the British Government to stop "exerting any pressure on them to leave the consulate until the South African Government meets any one of the demands".

Asked what would happen if the Government turned down these three conditions, the three's legal representative, Zac Yacoob, said it would depend on the cir-

cumstances existing at the time the refusal was announced.

"Obviously, a reasonable amount of time will have to be given to the Government to consider our request — I would think a week would be reasonable under the circumstances."

He said he thought there was a chance that these demands would be met.

"I have no doubt that if Britain and the US in particular apply as much pressure as they can, some concession will come from the SA Government."

Anderson's night in the dogbox

VISITING British parliamentarian Donald Anderson spent "the night of his life" in Soweto this week — fast asleep in a four-room house in Diepkloof.

Only a day earlier, the Labour Party expert on Southern Africa had compared the four-room houses to dog kennels — but that didn't stop him enjoying a restful night with the head of the Diepkloof Civic Association.

On Page 4 you can read how he felt.

'We will never forget 1977 bannin

BLACK Consciousness organisations throughout the country will hold services this weekend to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the bannings of several organisations in 1977.

The then Justice Minister

Jimmy Kruger banned 17 organisations and two newspapers, The World and The Weekend World.

The Azanian People's Organisation, which is organising all the meetings, will hold a joint service

with the Media Commission of SA at 6pm today.

Dates, venues and other meetings Today — 8 7pm

The day the Government went mad — Pag

Leah Sund

W
le
ri
sa
T
k
N
sb
"I
th
to
sh

INKATHA GOES INTO COUNCILS

21/10/84
IIA
C.P. Press

TWO SENIOR Inkatha men have been chosen to fill mayoral positions in Umlazi — ending doubts about the organisation's stand on participation in the Government-created community councils.

The selection of former KwaZulu education secretary J E Ndlovu as mayor, and Umlazi

By PHINDA KUZWAYO

Teachers' Training Centre head G E Moumakwa as his deputy, indicates that Inkatha is fully participating in community councils — contrary to statements made by Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi during debates on last year's referendum for the new constitution.

What is significant about the selection of the new mayor and his deputy is that they didn't stand for election in the recent

Umlazi council elections — they were appointed to Umlazi's town council by the KwaZulu Government.

The appointment of councillors by the KwaZulu Government also indicates that KwaZulu is fully participating in the council system under the Black Local Authorities Act.

This contradicts Inkatha policy as spelt out by Chief Buthelezi last year — he said his organisation would discontinue participation in community councils, which he described as "retrogressive".

When he spoke to the Press on September 27 last year, Chief Buthelezi said: "Inkatha will not take part in community councils if they are regarded as a substitute for democratic involvement in Government."

'Remove your men'

UMLAZI community leader and Iso-loMlazi Residents' Association chairman Ndoda Mvuyana this week called on the KwaZulu Government to immediately withdraw all its councillors because the residents didn't want them.

Mr Mvuyana demanded that the KwaZulu Govern-

ment allow the residents the democratic right to elect their own leader.

The call followed Ulundi's designation of two council members to represent the Government in Umlazi.

Umlazi is the only township in the country which has appointed councillors.

These councillors are responsible for watching all township activities

Ndlovu elected mayor

FORMER KwaZulu Education and Culture Secretary J E Ndlovu this week bounced back into active community work — he was elected mayor of Umlazi Town Council.

Mr Ndlovu, 66, a former Natal schools inspector, won the elections with 13 votes to 6 against ex-mayor Solomon Ngobese.

"Anybody who represents the community must first try to improve the quality of life for the people — and that is



J NDLOVU: New Umlazi mayor.

where I intend to start," Mr Ndlovu told City Press.

He said there were a number of community affairs to attend to

2/11/84 (11A)

BLACK UNITY

is not the issue

(11A) C. Pers 2/11/84



... it will never be



... and it never was



By Dr Mokgethi Motlhabi

THE QUESTION of black unity is causing a lot of tension and confusion among black people countrywide.

An increasing number of people are attributing the shortcomings of the black struggle in this country to a lack of unity.

The point is continually stressed at commemoration services, where strong appeals are often made for black unity.

At this year's June 16 commemoration service, Dr Nthato Motlana,

among others, once again made this appeal very strongly.

Last year there were great divisions among various groups at the service because of ideological standpoints. Such divisions are not new.

We can retrace these divisions — which have supposedly militated against the quest for socio-political change — to way back in this country's history of black resistance.

Within the ANC, rivalry existed in its Youth League between the so-called charterists and the Africanists. Even before the ANCPAC rivalry, there were differences between the ANC and the Non-European Unity Movement.

However, the main question is: Is lack of unity among blacks the main obstacle blocking progress towards achieving political change?

The divisions among blacks are often contrasted with the supposed unity of whites. But are whites strong or successful in keeping black people down because of their unity?

The English, Afrikaners, Italians and Greeks can share a common homeland, which they defend against the common "swart gevaar".

On the other hand, it is hoped that the Basotho, the Xhosas, the Batswana, the Zulus and others will forget their dream of a united South Africa with majority black participation in a common citizenship.

The crucial question remains: Is unity essential in the achievement of certain political goals? It seems that whites have been divided — just like blacks — throughout South African history.

Why, therefore, is there so much concern about what some white commentators have said on the subject of white unity may help us answer the question. One of the first SA Prime Ministers, General Jan Smuts, said: "There are certain things about which all (white) South Africans are agreed, all accept those who are quite mad."

"The first is that it is a fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa."

From this statement it is obvious that whites are not necessarily united in all political issues.

At the same time, the majority are inclined to ignore even these differences in approach when seriously threatened by a third force.

On the other hand, black ideological unity, while desirable in black resistance to apartheid, is not the main issue nor is it possible. In fact, it is a myth.

Nor is a common strategy necessary or possible.

Strategies of change may differ and may complement one another. However, the viability of a strategy is determined by its effectiveness.

The problem with the black approach so far is that it involves more action (often for action's sake), than reflection.

11A C. Press 2/10/84

THE COLD hard-line militancy of the South African Council on Sport is beginning to thaw.

Last weekend SACOS agreed to work with the broad-based United Democratic Front, paving the way for joint action against the new constitution.

Although SACOS has long professed a non-racial stance, it has often been labelled a black consciousness organisation.

Its closer links with the UDF will put it firmly back on the non-racial platform.

In a joint statement this week, the two groups declared that

Sacos joins forces with the UDF

By MONO BADELA

they held a very constructive and fruitful meeting in Durban on Sunday.

"Wide-ranging discussions on current

problems confronting all democratic organisations in South Africa took place," they said in a statement.

The UDF's acting secretary general Trevor Manuel said: "We

regard the occasion as momentous. It is an indication of the growing unity of our people and the need expressed to find each other.

"This growing unity in the face of direct at-

tacks from the State, particularly threats from Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, makes the strength of our masses untouchable by repressive action."



Sacos president Frank van der Horst.



Trevor Manuel: "A momentous occasion."

1 000 call for scrapping of apartheid

MORE THAN 1 000 Soweto residents yesterday called on the Government to abolish all apartheid laws to avoid further bloodshed in the country.

At Regina Mundi an emotion-charged meeting called by the United Democratic Front resolved to:

- Boycott all businesses and other concerns owned by councillors;
- Form a parents-students committee with the aim of approaching the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on the educational crisis in the country;
- Intensify the boycott of Simba Quix products which has been called by the Sweet Food and Allied Workers' Union until the 420 sacked workers have been reinstated;
- Call on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to release all detained students; and
- Call on the Government to scrap apartheid. During a separate meeting at the Dobsonville Lutheran Church, the secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Con-

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

struction Workers' Union, Mr Phandelani Nefolovhodwe, called on all workers and professional people to conscientise the community and make them realise their problems.

"Time demands of us black people that on the basis of principled understanding we unite," he said.

Unite

At Regina Mundi an executive member of the Federation of South African Women, Ms Amanda Kwadi, appealed to parents to involve themselves in the education of their children.

Meanwhile a petrol bomb was thrown at three parked buses in Soweto early yesterday, the public relations officer of the SAP, Lieutenant J L Barnard said. All three vehicles were destroyed.

Sowetan 22/10/84 IIA

UDF accuses SA and Britain of conspiracy

DURBAN — The United Democratic Front today accused the British and South African governments of conspiracy to put pressure on three of its leaders to leave their hideout in the British Consulate in Durban.

Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David were told by Britain today that they

would no longer be allowed visits from families and legal representatives because they had made political statements from the consulate.

Dr Farouk Meer, a senior vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, an affiliate of the UDF, said the move was a clear indication that there was a con-

spiracy between the South African and British governments to close the Durban consulate in the next 48 hours and to facilitate the immediate arrest of the men.

"The British Government is now apartheid's new over-zealous policeman," he said.

The three entered the consulate five weeks ago to escape detention without trial.

The British Government also said it was cutting the work of the consulate. Only consular staff would be allowed in to conduct day-to-day affairs.

Many functions would be temporarily transferred to Johannesburg.

"We have also made it clear that any disturbance caused by the activities of, or arising from the presence of, the three inside the consulate, or by others outside it, will cause us to review our position immediately."

In Pretoria the South African Foreign Ministry said the South African Government had taken note of the British Government's statement. — Sapa, Own Correspondents.



Bea
Bo

Isyc exh bef

11A Star
22/10/84

Le Grange refuses to meet demands of Durban Three

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has refused to meet the demands of the three men holed up in the British Consulate in Durban, saying he would be ultra vires if he did so.

In a memorandum to the Minister last week, the three said they would leave the consulate voluntarily if the Minister withdrew all banning notices issued under section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Alternatively, they demanded that the Minister withdraw from the consolidated list all names placed there in terms of section 16 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr le Grange was also given the option of allowing the three to obtain passports so they could travel overseas to put their case.

He said today the Government had considered these demands over the weekend. However, it had been concluded that if he met the demands he would be exercising his powers for a purpose not contemplated in the Internal Security Act.

He said the issue of passports could not be considered until applications were received through the normal channels. A decision to grant passports was based on the merits of each case.

"The existence of a detention notice in terms of the Internal Security Act would be relevant to the consideration of such an application."

● See Page 3, World section.

Britain restricts access to Durban 3

11A

C-Times
22/10/84

DURBAN. — The United Democratic Front yesterday accused the British and South African governments of conspiracy to put pressure on three of its leaders to leave their sanctuary in the British Consulate here.

The men — Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David — were told by Britain yesterday that they would no longer be allowed visits from their families and legal representatives because they had made political statements from the consulate.

The Foreign Office in London issued two ultimatums yesterday:

● Pretoria was given a final warning against dishonouring an undertaking to return four South Africans to stand trial on arms-smuggling charges in Coventry today.

No access

● The three fugitives were stripped of all access rights, including contact with their lawyers, with an implicit threat that further political abuse of their sanctuary, even by their supporters outside, could lead to the Durban consulate being shut down.

Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Office Minister responsible for Southern African affairs, last night confirmed that the three would be allowed medical aid and family food parcels — but no other communication, including legal contact.

He said that because of the situation it was impossible for the consulate to carry out its daily business and most had been transferred to Johannesburg.

"It really is intolerable for a consulate to be used as a political platform, and as a consequence we have indicated that access of the kind we have permitted up till now will not be able to continue," said Mr Rifkind.

Britain has not yet spelt out the steps it will

take after the Coventry Magistrates' Court hearing today.

"doctrine of retaliation" to link the trial with the three as unacceptable.

Speculation last night remained that Britain's immediate reaction after the action of the court was known would be to declare Mr Andre Pelsler, first secretary at the South African Embassy, persona non grata.

Reacting to the British clampdown, Dr Farouk Meer, a senior vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, said the move was a clear indication that the two governments were conspiring against the consulate three.

'Conspiracy'

"It is a clear signal that there is a conspiracy between the South African and British governments to close the Durban consulate in the next 48 hours and to facilitate the immediate arrest by the South African Police of the leaders," said Dr Meer in a statement.

"The British Government is now apartheid's new over-zealous policeman," he said.

● The legal representative for the three, Mr Zac Yacoob, said at the national conference of the Detainees' Support Committee at the weekend that in some ways Britain had taken the place of the security police.

He said the three men were confined to a small room furnished with a table and mattresses.

They were not permitted to have radios or a TV and were allowed only one hour a day to leave their room and walk to a wash-room.

● In London, an oppo-

sition Labour Party MP, Mr David Winnick, described the Foreign Office move as an attempt by the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to harass the three men.

Mr Winnick said he and other Labour legislators planned to protest to the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in Parliament this week.

Mr Donald Anderson, who visited South Africa last week, is leading demands by Labour MPs for Dr Denis Worrall, the South African Ambassador, to be expelled — but this is regarded as unlikely.

And the chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Bob Hughes, Labour MP, said: "We are absolutely horrified. The three men who properly sought refuge in the British consular offices are now worse off than Pretoria's political prisoners."

"Even the South African authorities permit visits by the lawyers and families of those detained without trial."

● In Pretoria, the Department of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying the South African Government had taken note of the British Government's statement concerning the "continued abuse" of its consular premises in Durban.

However, it involved important issues which had a bearing on the court proceedings in Coventry today and the government was "accordingly constrained to withhold comment at this stage". — Sapa and Own Correspondents

● History of arms case, picture, page 9

Storey's talk-not-fight call is welcomed

By Eugene Saldanha,
Religion Reporter

11A

Star

22/10/84

The two biggest Afrikaans-speaking churches have welcomed a call by the Methodist Church of Southern Africa's new leader, the Rev Peter Storey, for liberation movements to lay down their arms and negotiate with the Government.

Mr Storey also called on

the Government to unban the movements and release their jailed leaders.

Spokesmen for the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Hervormde Kerk said any peace call was welcome.

The Scribe of the NGK General Synod, the Rev Dirk Viljoen, said he was glad parts of Mr Storey's speech tried to enhance peace prospects.

"His pronouncements touch on politics," added Mr Viljoen, "and if the Methodist Church wants to approach the Government, it is welcome.

"We also want peace, justice and order but our method is that the way to approach the Government is via commissions and not to dictate."

The Nederduitse Her-

vormde Kerk Scribe, the Rev JC de Lange, said: "In many quarters there is talk of peace and we hope it is sincere.

"The history of these movements shows they will not be prepared to talk peace."

The Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Right Rev Dr D A Makér, endorsed Mr Storey's call.

Buthlezi: ANC at war with KwaZulu

DURBAN — Chief Gathsha Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister, has told Mr Oliver Tambo president of the banned African National Congress, that by its actions the ANC had declared war on KwaZulu and on Inkatha.

He also said it was now clear that there were links between the ANC and the United Democratic Front as the ANC had publicly and internationally acclaimed the UDF and elements of the organisation which now continued to perpetrate acts of violence against fellow blacks and Inkatha.

At the Inkatha Women's Brigade conference at Ulundi at the weekend, Chief Buthelezi referred to a telegram which he recently received from Mr Tambo regarding the chief's visit to Lamontville. The telegram cannot not be quoted as Mr Tambo is a banned person.

In reply to Mr Tambo, chief Buthelezi said his meeting at Lamontville

had been attended by more than 15 000, was peaceful and he knew of no single act of violence which occurred during that day. He pointed out that Inkatha did not get involved in fratricidal violence against black fellow South Africans.

"It is perhaps symptomatic of the ANC in exile that you have reacted to distorted press reports about my intended visit to Lamontville. You cannot run a liberation struggle on newspaper reports. I urge you to re-think you approach to me and Inkatha."

Chief Buthelezi said it was those elements which had tried to engineer a black vs black confrontation in Lamontville last month.

Referring to his statement that the ANC had declared war on KwaZulu and Inkatha, he reminded Mr Tambo that Zulus came from warrior stock and there was resilient determination in KwaZulu and Inkatha which even the full might of the state would

never be able to flatten.

Chief Buthelezi said he was prepared to meet Mr Tambo any time and any where to thrash out the matter.

Earlier, the chief said: When the UDF is directed against us, we have to be man enough to stand our ground and adopt an eye for eye and a tooth for a tooth approach."

He said UDF had created chaos at the University of Zululand which was forced to close three times within a couple of months.

It had issued a scurrilous pamphlet in which it tried to present him as a villain of the deepest dye and Inkatha as an organisation of political thugs. — DDC.

22/10/84 PIA

Buthelezi hits out at UDF for 'media politics'

By ANTON HARBERT
Political Reporter

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, strongly criticised the United Democratic Front at the weekend, but added that he hoped the Government would not take action against it.

Delivering the keynote speech at the annual general conference of the Inkatha Women's Brigade in Ulundi on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi also:

- Revealed he had written to Mr Oliver Tambo, the exiled president of the African National Congress, giving "a clear and unambiguous statement that Inkatha wishes to co-operate with" the ANC.

- Described the recent unrest in the Vaal as "understandable but misdirected".

- Said that although the Durban consulate sit-in had positive elements, it was "indicative of the extent to which its (the UDF's) leaders are more concerned with high profile media politics than with actually mobilising black political rank and file



CHIEF BUTHELEZI warned against banning forces".

Chief Buthelezi said it was cowardly and foolish of the UDF to try and hide its working relationship with the ANC when everyone knew the two bodies had the same purpose.

He blamed the recent closure of the University of Zululand on "chaos created by UDF elements" and said the UDF was using "down-right lies and provocation" to try and isolate Inkatha.

He added, however, that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was mistaken in blaming the UDF for the recent unrest.

"The UDF most certainly

does not deserve his statement, as an accolade to what they say they want to do but cannot in fact do.

"I sincerely hope that Mr Le Grange's statement is not a prelude to Government action against the UDF.

"Again and again the Government has reacted to make inconsequential people and organisations martyrs of fame," he said.

Discussing the ANC, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Tambo had sent him a telex expressing concern about the potential for violent conflict in Lamontville.

Chief Buthelezi had replied, urging Mr Tambo to rethink his approach to Inkatha and saying: "We should be talking face to face.

"For the sake of South Africa, I am prepared to forget the past and to bring some of my people with me to meet you and your people," he told him.

On the Vaal unrest, Chief Buthelezi said that while the anger was understandable, it was a curse and a danger if misdirected and uncontrolled.

10-

Journal 23/10/54

Pamphlets not ours — Azapo

By SIBUSISO MABASO

THE East Rand branch of the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday denied any knowledge of pamphlets distributed in the East Rand townships over the weekend calling on students to return to their classrooms.

The pamphlets, which criticised the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and other organisations, were purportedly issued by Azapo. They state: "The Azanian People's Organisation, the movement that represents all the oppressed and exploited people of Azania, hereby urges all students of the East Rand to break the chains of mental poverty and return to the classrooms."

Mr France Pali, chairman of the East Rand branch of Azapo, said his branch refutes and condemns the document. He said the pamphlets were not issued by Azapo.

"Azapo believes in maximum democratic participation by all accepted communities." He added that Azapo does not believe in backdoor and secret strategy such as reflected by the author and distributor of the mischievous document.

Mr Pali said: "We repeat our support for students' struggle and demands." He added: "Our stand is one of principle and we shall not allow faceless forces to undermine the organisation's principles."

Rumours
(11A) (15)
consulate
Star
will close
23/10/84

DURBAN — The British consulate in Durban virtually ground to a halt yesterday, amid renewed speculation that a shut-down would enable police to move in and detain the three men taking refuge there.

And in another development, the fugitives' wives began a 48-hour fast yesterday in protest against the British Government's refusal to allow them to visit their husbands.

Mr John Hedley, a British diplomat in Pretoria, confirmed yesterday that more of the consulate's public services had been transferred to Johannesburg.

He said no visitors were being allowed into the Durban consulate, but declined to comment on speculation of a total shut-down.

● Reports of the impending closure of the Durban consulate appeared to take the Foreign Office in London by surprise, reports *The Star's* London Bureau.

UDF and Azapo reject Storey's bid for peace

11A Star 23/10/84

By Eugene Saldanha,
Religion Reporter

The United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have commended the Rev Peter Storey's attempt to find a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

But both organisations said they had "serious difficulties" with Mr Storey's approach which

included a call on the liberation movements to lay down arms and negotiate with the South African Government.

UDF acting general secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said: "Mr Storey tends to ignore the extent of structural violence which exists in the South African society. The violence which confronts our people daily is not limit-

ed to the military in the townships.

"The pass laws, forced removals, security legislation and the racist constitution are all manifestations of this violence," he said.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela of Azapo said Mr Storey's call was undoubtedly made with good intentions but it failed to "accept the real nature and dynamic of the liberation struggle in South Africa".

Mr Mkhabela said the liberation movements had resorted to the armed struggle only after many years of failing to persuade the Government to accept the genuine aspirations of the oppressed.

"Recent developments in the country have shown that the rulers believe strongly in the use of force. They will talk only when they think their system is not threatened."

No to 'armed struggle'

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, said today that he was now more deeply committed to bringing about change through non-violent democratic means than ever before.

Speaking at an international leadership conference, he said that the other choice for black South Africa was to believe that democratic opposition would fail and that it was necessary to work for the destruction of apartheid through revolution and armed struggle.

Many had made this choice, but it was not yet the choice of the majority of blacks in South Africa.

He said an armed struggle had no prospect of succeeding in the future. As black anger increased, so did the need for cool heads, said Chief Buthelezi.

Civil war declared, say UDF and Azapo

Staff Reporters

Black political organisations have slated the huge deployment of troops in Sebokeng, describing it as an act of aggression equivalent to declaring civil war.

Their criticism has been echoed by the South African Council of Churches, while opposition white parties have differed on the issue.

The Progressive Federal Party repeated its opposition to troops in the township and New Republic Party leader Mr Vause Raw regarded the action as "acceptable in principle but inopportune" in view of United Nations focus on South Africa.

● To Page 3, Col 1

'It's civil war' say the UDF and Azapo

From Page 1

The United Democratic Front's spokesman, Mr Trevor Manuel, said the UDF's warnings weeks ago that South Africa was entering a state of civil war with the threatened use of troops had proved real.

He predicted: "It is unlikely the people of Sebokeng will be beaten into submission. On the contrary their anger will make way for bitterness and further black/white polarisation."

The UDF has appealed for people to "rally in defence of the people of Sebokeng" to "show contempt for these actions".

UNDER BEDS

He added that the kinds of offences on which people had been arrested showed "the authorities were looking for something they could not find under beds or in wardrobes. The anger of the people over rentals and lack of participation in Government doesn't hide in those places."

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) also said the move was a declaration of war.

"The revolutionary threat of which the Government talks has its roots in unrepresentative minority rule."

The president of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, expressed shock at "what amounts to the siege of Sebokeng".

He added: "We all know that what the people of Sebokeng and other areas want are basic human rights including the right to elect and participate in a government of their choice."

The SACC, in a statement issued through Sapa condemning the Government for handling the current township unrest with "its customary methods."

"The situation is serious and the SACC again pleads with the government to meet with the people around the conference table," the statement said.

The PFP's chief spokesman on Defence, Mr Philip Myburgh, said he was deeply worried about the apparently deteriorating situation which made it necessary for the Government to use the military to back up the police in what were obviously police functions.

"This action by the Government in using national servicemen in this manner will increase the resistance to conscription sevenfold," he said.

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) expressed outrage at the actions of the police.

Fosatu said it believed the unrest in the Vaal Triangle had been caused by the appalling conditions people were forced to live under in South Africa's dormitory townships.



Leaders flay Rev Storey

THE United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation have commended the Reverend Peter Storey's attempt to find a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

However both organisations said they had "serious difficulties" with Mr Storey's approach, which includes a call on the liberation movements to lay down

arms and negotiate with the South African Government.

UDF Acting General Secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said the organisation had two important differences with Mr Storey's approach.

"Mr Storey tends to ignore the extent of structural violence which exists in the South African society. The violence which confronts our people daily is not limited to the mil-

itary in the townships — the pass laws, forced removals, security legislation and the racist constitution are all manifestations of this violence," he said.

Mr Manuel said one could not talk of "peaceful solutions" as long as the Government maintained its unjust laws and constitution.

The second important difference with Mr Storey was that he was asking organisations which were precluded

from conducting a legal struggle by peaceful means to abandon their aspirations, which were arrived at after years of painful decisions.

"The UDF does not engage in those methods of struggle. However, Mr Storey is asking too much of the liberation movements and too little of the Government. How can there be meaningful negotiations from a position of inequality?" he asked.

Mr Storey's call on the liberation movements to lay down arms and talk to the Government was labelled "unrealistic" by an Azapo spokesman.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela of Azapo said the

President of the Methodist Church's call was undoubtedly made with good intentions, but it failed to "accept the real nature and dynamic of the liberation struggle in South Africa."

Mr Mkhabela said the liberation movements only resorted to the armed struggle after many years of failing to persuade the Government to accept the genuine aspirations of the oppressed.

"Recent developments in the country have shown that the rulers believe strongly in the use of force. They will only resort to talking when they think their system is not threatened.

Swetlin 24/10/84

Stop these feuds, women urge

~~11A~~
11A

THE Inkatha Women's Brigade has condemned black on black violence which it says promotes black disunity and the wanton destruction of property.

The eighth Women's Brigade conference at Ulundi over the weekend, urged all black political organisations to stop feuding among blacks.

The conference noted that while conscious of the rising black anger resulting from the effects of apartheid, it was also concerned about the escalation of ill-directed anger and violence.

It called on Inkatha to do all in their power, within the present circumstances, to appeal to all black people to preserve their dignity and humanity.

Closure

The conference expressed concern about the untimely closure of the University of Zululand and said it was the culmination of a campaign by the United Democratic Front and its cohorts.

It said the decision to close the university should be condemned on both educational and humanitarian grounds.

It asked the education committee of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly to arrange for a meeting of parents, guardians and students in order to resolve the stalemate.

While appreciating the concern and contribution of the Black Sash towards the alleviation of black people's problems, the conference also attacked it for its "arrogant attitude".

Black Sash

"We condemn Black Sash for its extraordinary attempt to smear the name of Inkatha and its president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, by linking them with the Joint Rent Action Committee inspired violence in Lamontville.

"We warn the Black Sash to desist from attempting to prescribe to us as oppressed people how we should struggle to win our liberation from white oppression of which members of Black Sash are an integral part."

Anger at use of troops in unrest

24/10/84 (11A) ~~11A~~ C. T. T. T.

THE government's action in sending troops into the Transvaal townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Boipatong has met with widespread condemnation from black organizations and opposition political leaders.

The United Democratic Front yesterday described the move as a "Gestapo-type" action and said the government had pushed many parts of the country into a state of civil war.

In reaction to yesterday's mass arrests, the UDF Western Cape secretary, Mr Jonathan de Vries, said that "instead of heeding the demands of residents for rents they can afford and recognizing the democratic voice of the people in civic and student organizations, the govern-

ment has responded with naked violence.

"The humiliation of being fingerprinted, stripped, searched and painted will not be lost in the silence and submission that the government seeks," he said.

The Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman on Defence, Mr Philip Myburgh, said in a statement that he was "deeply worried about the apparent deteriorating situation which makes it necessary for the government to use the military to back up the police in functions which are obviously police functions".

"The use of the military to beleaguer black townships creates the impression amongst whites that they (blacks) are our enemies.

"Conversely the blacks

must necessarily see the military as having become part of the agencies that apply government policy."

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) expressed "outrage" at the police and Defence Force occupation of the black townships.

In a statement released by the organization's general secretary, Mr Joe Foster, Fosatu said the occupation of the area was "clearly an attempt to intimidate township residents who have merely been trying to have their living conditions improved".

'Armed wing'

A spokesman for the End Conscription Campaign reiterated the call that young men should not be forcibly conscripted to fight in "the armed wing of apartheid, the SADF, and be forced to go into townships to fight fellow-South-Africans".

A statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday by the SA Council of Churches said that suppressing the "longings of people" by these harsh tactics was not a solution.

● The Mayor of Vereeniging, Mr Mauritz Meyer, said he had learnt of the invasion early yesterday morning. He came out in support of the operation and said it was necessary.

"The current lack of law and order is disrupting the lives of law-abiding citizens in the township and should be curbed as soon as possible," he said. — Staff Reporter and Sapa

Negotiations with ANC must come eventually

11A Stan 29/10/89

In this country we have so many people who want change so long as things remain the same. — Bishop Desmond Tutu

It is more than two months since the new constitution was implemented and the townships are still seething with unrest. Nearly every day there are reports of more demonstrations, more clashes, more people killed, more injured and more arrested.

The trouble in the urban areas has become endemic and last week there was an ominous sign that it might spread to the rural dumping grounds when 400 unemployed men went on the rampage in Qwa Qwa. Now the army has been called in for the massive crackdown on Sebokeng, which puts us on the verge of civil war.

So much for the step in the right direction! As some people warned it would, the new constitution has made racial tensions worse by its selective exclusion of the black majority.

That observation by Bishop Tutu, made during his brief return home after being named the Nobel Peace Prize winner, goes to the heart of the matter. "Change" in this country is merely a political catchword, a cliché. People who use it mean only that they want South Africa's image as an international pariah to change; they want to be accepted again in the community of nations and to feel more comfortable in their own consciences with the thought that things are changing.

But they don't want white rule and white privileges to change. They are looking for a magic formula that will give the impression of change without the substance.

It is a vain hope. We may be able to capture the interest of the world for a time with our reformist claims, but in the end the world will always judge us not by our expressions of good intentions but by the reaction of the black population to what we do.

The road back into the community of nations runs through Soweto and Sebokeng. Only when the inhab-

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

itants of those disadvantaged places visibly accept a new dispensation will the attitude of the rest of the world towards us change.

That will not happen as long as it is clear to them that we whites want the essentials of power and privilege to remain the same. It will not happen as long as we conclude agreements with puppet leaders whom the white Government chooses to recognise. And it certainly will not happen as a result of massive police raids to try to crush dissent in the townships.

It will happen only when we sit down to thrash out a new constitution with leaders the blacks themselves recognise.

How do we know who those leaders are? Again there is only one way. Let them choose for themselves in free and fair elections. And the white Government cannot exclude any groups or individuals from such a choice, for what is required are not representatives acceptable to the whites but those acknowledged by the blacks.

We might as well face it now: the overwhelming choice in such an election would be the ANC. I suspect that in his heart every white South African knows this. An Afrikaans newspaper editor revealed as much a few years ago when he acknowledged that the ANC was "the National Party of the black man" and that the Government would have to talk to it one day.

It is a hard reality to face because for a generation we have created for ourselves a mythology of fear and hatred of the ANC. We do not know from their own spokesmen what they think and stand for because they have been silenced for a quarter of a century. We know only what Mr le Grange and his predecessors have told us they think and stand for — and I know that I would not trust them to be the interpreters of my views.

Yet it is not impossible. Already we have spoken with some people we were brought up to believe were unspeakable marxist monsters, such as Samora Machel and Sam Nujoma. Can Nelson Mandela be worse? The few people left who remember him testify otherwise.

Already we are negotiating with the "terrorists" of Swapo. We have even made friends with a terrorist leader in Jonas Savimbi and invited him to the State President's inauguration.

It is time now to start de-mythologising the ANC and to start preparing white South Africans for the inevitability that one day we will have to negotiate with it. That would be a real step in the right direction.

● Allister Sparks, a former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, writes this regular column and reports for several overseas newspapers.

R 24/10/84 11A

UDF and Cosas banned by Transkei

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE Transkei Government yesterday banned the United Democratic Front and two of its affiliates, the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso).

In a special gazette issued yesterday, the Transkei banned these organisations under their 1977 Public Security Act. No reasons were given.

Transkei spokesmen could not be reached for comment last night.

11A D. Despatch 24/10/82
Ex-ANC man dies

EAST LONDON — A former member of the banned African National Congress, Mr Elijah Victor Motsoeneng, 48, has died in a car accident in Qwaqwa.

Mr Motsoeneng was born in Alicedale in 1936 and settled in Port Elizabeth in 1959.

He joined the ANC while he was studying

matric at Lovedale.

In 1968 he was arrested and sentenced to four years imprisonment for his involvement with the ANC. He served his sentence on Robben Island. He was released in 1972 and banished to Qwaqwa.

Mr Motsoeneng is survived by his wife and five children. — DDR.

FIRST TIME IN SOUTH AFRICA
GUARANTEED FRESHNESS
 DOUBLE YOUR MONEY BACK
 GROUP OF PURCHASE IN OUR FRESH PRODUCT DEPARTMENTS



.75 Sea Harvest Kingklip Fillets 400 g **2,19**



na rusks 0g **1,69**
 Koffiehuls Instant Full Roast 250 g

simple tricks, said Mr of magicians, he said

Monday 25/10/84
UDF man released

after four months solitary detention

JOHANNESBURG— Trade unionist Amos Masondo has been released without charge after spending four months in solitary confinement.

Mr Masondo, an executive member of the General and Allied Workers' Union and a council member of the United Democratic Front Transvaal region, was detained in June under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

His release has raised hopes in the UDF and some of its affiliates that another member of its Transvaal executive, Mrs Rita Ndzanga, may be released shortly.

Mrs Ndzanga, also a colleague of Mr Masondo at Gawu, was held on the same day. She has served several terms of detention — the last one being

in 1981 — but no charges have resulted from any of the previous detentions.

The latest person known to have been taken into detention is University of the Witwatersrand post-graduate student Miss Barbara Creecy.

Police confirm that Miss Creecy is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act — that is incommunicado, for purposes of interrogation.

A close friend said she had become aware Security Police were seeking her last week and had gone to John Vorster Square yesterday expecting a relatively short questioning session. But she had been taken into custody immediately.

Police have not commented on the circumstances of the detention. — (Sapa)

Last chance

High lead

Secretary 25/10/84 (11A)

UDF to hold protest meeting

THE UNITED Democratic Front is to hold a protest meeting against

the South African Defence Force and police invasion of the Vaal

townships at Khotso House at 1 pm today.

In a statement re-

leased yesterday the UDF called on all people to unite and observe the weekend of October 27 and 28 as "The People's Weekend" in sympathy with residents of the Vaal townships of Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Boipatong.

Residents in these townships were this week detained and their houses searched by a force of 7 000 SADF and SAP units in Operation Palmiet (Bullrush).

~~Star~~ ~~1/11~~ ~~1984~~
SAP finds ANC arms

25/11/84

The capture last week of a military-trained member of the African National Congress (ANC) had led to the discovery of a cache of arms and the arrest of a woman member, the Commissioner of Police, General P J Coetzee, announced yesterday.

He said that a Swazi national was caught heading for the border last week. The follow-up investigation led to the discovery of arms of Russian origin and the arrest of a military-trained woman ANC member.

The cache included explosives, limpet mines, hand-grenades, AK-47 weapons and ammunition. ANC and communist literature was also found. — Sapa.

(11/A) ~~10/84~~ 25/10/84
3 groups expected Transkei ban

By Jo-Anne Collinge *Star*

The Transkei's ban on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and two student organisations has been greeted without surprise by the three bodies.

"There were earlier indications that we would be banned," the UDF, the Azanian Students' Organisation and the Congress of South African Students commented.

Their joint statement declared: "If

the provisions of the ban were not so extreme, the move would actually be quite funny.

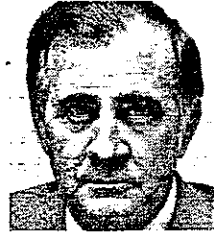
"Cosas, for instance, is being banned for a second time. The previous ban became meaningless as a result of continuing students' grievances.

"And none of our organisations is officially constituted in the Transkei."

The ban was published in the latest Gazette and signed by the President, Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima.

WILLEM DE KLERK

Don't denigrate Tutu



is reprinted by arrangement with *Rapport*.

Willem de Klerk is editor of *Rapport*. In his column *Kortom* last Sunday he wrote about the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Bishop Desmond Tutu. The column

I want to write something good about Bishop Tutu and his Nobel Prize. I also have a critical word for the SABC and others and I want to grumble about our style.

To eliminate all misunderstanding — because there are many malicious people about — I want to make the following statements:

I question the bishop's theology in some respects. His SA Council of Churches plays with fire too often. Some of his statements are shocking and contrary to peace and reconciliation. The bishop's politics have an ideology that I reject and I want to express myself strongly — as in the past — against some of his attitudes and methods. The award of the Nobel Prize is clearly not free of ulterior motives.

Having said that, I want to complain about three things in the handling of the Tutu news.

One: The *Nuusfokus* programme on the SABC used many unflattering film clips of the bishop — screaming and fanatic images. Yet most of the time we

know him as a controlled and civilised speaker.

Two: By way of negative suggestion, this programme stated that Bishop Tutu is wrong and that his motives are not pure when he links church, religion and politics.

The bishop is quite right to link the Bible, religion and the church to politics. We Afrikaners do it too, also quite rightly.

One's religion can either withstand the test of purity or it cannot. Bishop Tutu's theology of liberation is as dubious (*bedenklik*) as the theology of apartheid that many of us have been propagating so sacredly in the past.

The programme also contained the innuendo that resistance against authority, even organised resistance, cannot be reconciled with Christian peace. Now, our own Afrikaans theological tradition acknowledges that such resistance (in certain circumstances and within limits) as being an "order" (*opdrag*) and as justified, especially if it can be based on Biblical principles.

In the *Nuusfokus* programme, what was supposed to be subtlety came over as deliberate one-sidedness; misrepresentation (*skeeftrekking*); hypocrisy and propaganda. It was counter-productive and unprofessional.

Three: The whole style in which Bishop Tutu's prize was treated in white, especially Afrikaner, circles was rude and childish. To mock, insult or ignore the Tutu Nobel Prize or to be spiteful about it is so unnecessary.

Bishop Tutu should have been addressed like this:

Congratulations on your Nobel Prize. It is an honour and not without merit, because you are a symbol of hope for those who feel as you do.

You are held in high esteem, even by those who do not agree with your style and points of view.

As the world's man-of-peace you carry a heavy responsibility. You will have to create trust from all people.

Your peace agenda should consist of:

Talking strongly against violence and terror and trying to convince men of violence to use dialogue instead;

Reconsidering your views on disinvestment, because social upliftment and the improvement of education and quality of life is essential for peace;

Clear support for the Accord of Nkomati and talks with Angola and others;

That you take cognisance of the stated intention of government to organise meaningful political rights for blacks and that you make a contribution to the Cabinet committee investigating it; and

That you keep your distance — and make it obvious that you do — from obstinate radicals so that you can give your best in a responsible way as the foremost fighter for a dispensation of black human rights.

It will not make you popular with groups who are not looking for peace. But it will give you a clear conscience.

Rapport will follow your road ahead with hope.

22/01/84 (11A)

'The siege of Sebokeng'

Political Reporter

ABOUT 50 people attended a brief lunchtime meeting yesterday in central Johannesburg called by the United Democratic Front to show solidarity with the people of the Vaal Triangle.

Mr Sipiwe Mogodosa, president of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), said the "siege of Sebokeng" by the police and army should be seen in terms of an undeclared civil war in South Africa.

It — and other recent acts of repression — should be seen as acts of desperation by the Government, he said.

11A
DONALD ANDERSON

Labouring a point

For four days in October, a British MP of whom few South Africans had heard was suddenly thrust into the limelight, not only here but internationally.

Donald Anderson (43), the Labour Party's frontbench spokesman on foreign affairs with special responsibility for southern Africa, achieved publicity for his party — and a fillip to his career prospects — he hardly expected when he winged his way to SA on a "fact-finding mission" centred on detention without trial.

Anderson's visit was prompted by the sit-in in the British consulate in Durban of six, now three, United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders, and the diplomatic furore caused by SA's tit-for-tat refusal to return to Coventry the four South Africans charged with arms smuggling by a British court.

As a guest of the anti-government United Democratic Front (UDF) and special emissary of Labour leader Neil Kinnock, the MP for Swansea East did not, of course, endear himself to government and its supporters.

Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, described him as "not only a miserable fellow, he's underhand, mean and cunning." To Anderson, Botha was "Marvellous... He has highlighted my visit in a most glorious fashion," said the Labourite who was called to the Bar, Inner Temple in 1969.

"Pale Donald Anderson," is how the editor of an Afrikaans newspaper dourly saw him. Another disparaged this "hitherto obscure and irritatingly unctuous Labour windbag."

Anderson is a former lecturer in political theory and government at Swansea University where he took First Class Honours in Modern History and Politics in 1960. From 1960-64 he was a member of the Foreign Service and served as third secretary at the British embassy in Budapest. He was MP for Monmouth (1966-70) and served as PPS to the Minister of Defence (1969-70) and the Attorney General (1974-79). He has been a councillor for London's Kensington and Chelsea.

Most of Anderson's visit was spent in Durban. He said before leaving that he had "done so much in the (past) few days, met so many people and found such fantastic solidarity."

The huge rally he addressed in Durban was "like a Welsh revivalist meeting with a large amount of Africa and India stirred in," said Anderson who spent a night in Soweto (illegally).

He had three separate sessions with the consul dissidents. They toasted to the future of SA, he says, and he found them in excellent spirits. He tells the story of his meeting with the three who walked out of the consulate — and into Pietermaritzburg prison. The prison warden, says Anderson, very politely inquired of the three prisoners in his company, saying: "Gentlemen, would you

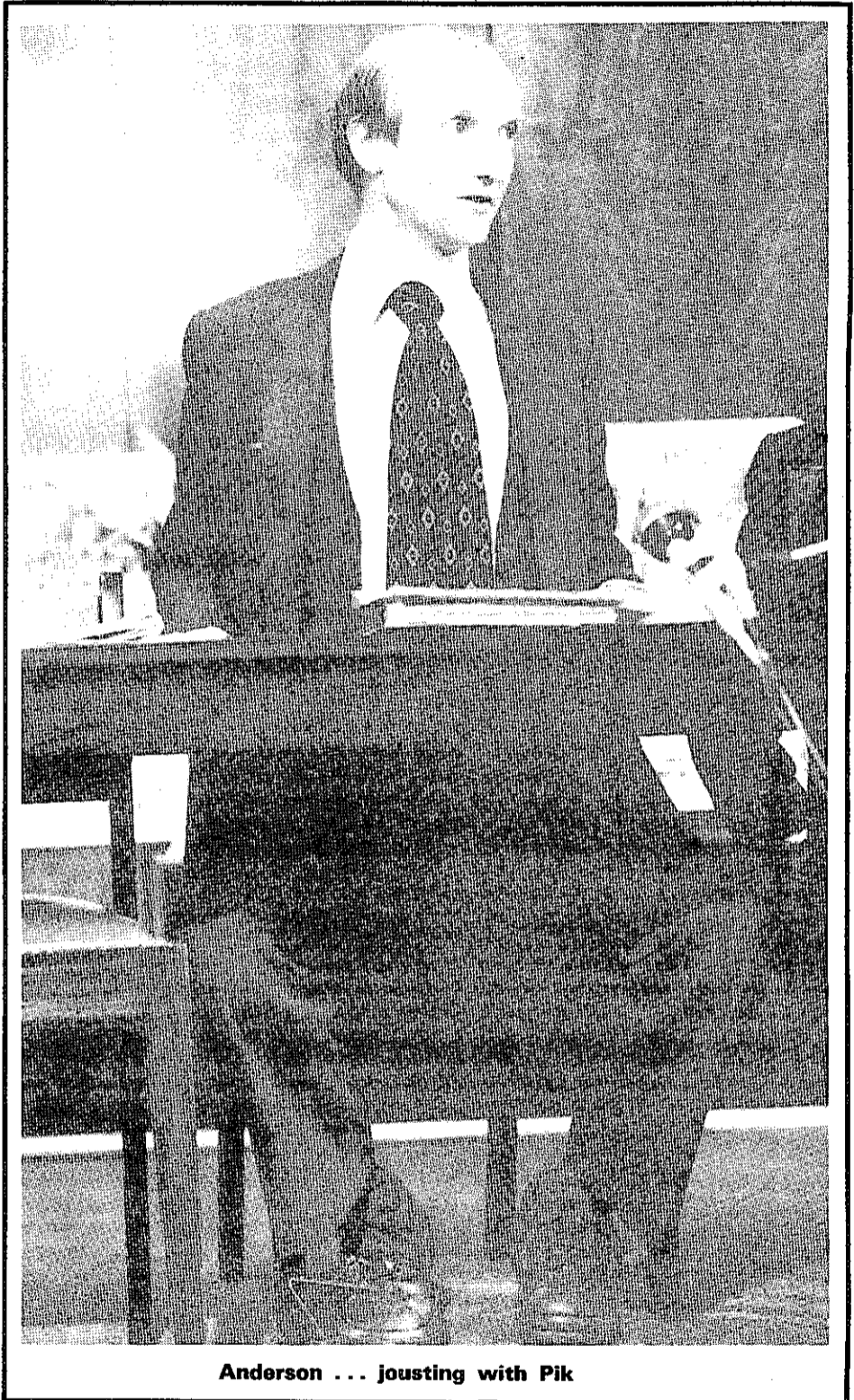
26/10/84

like tea or coffee?" Says Anderson pointedly: "I had the privilege of entering Pietermaritzburg prison and the privilege of leaving it."

Black South Africans, at least, took Methodist lay preacher Anderson to their hearts. "He's the classic nice guy," said one observer after Anderson's final press conference at which he levelled another challenge at Foreign Minister Pik Botha in their remarkable verbal jousting. Botha

should account for the 32 allegedly missing youngsters following the Vaal Triangle upheavals recently, and say whether the police, who shot dead three youths in the area, would be brought to trial, said Anderson whose recreations include church work, walking and talking.

At a farewell reception hosted by UDF and the Indian Congress movement, Anderson said SA is at a crossroads: "It will reap a whirlwind," he predicted, if SA did not



Anderson ... jousting with Pik

Financial Mail October 26 1984

70

work towards accommodating the black majority.

"And if my short stay has added a breath to that whirlwind my visit will have been worthwhile."

Privately, Anderson, who is a father of three sons from his doctor wife, has deep reservations about the call for disinvestment in SA, although this was the least publicised aspect of his views. It was all very well for exiles in relative comfort to make such a call, but he was not convinced that the black working man stood to benefit from sanctions.

Some think Anderson is being groomed for high office in the Foreign Office if and when Labour under Kinnock forms the government in Britain. In that event it will be interesting to see just how tough a stance is taken on SA. For the rest, Anderson said he was "happy to have left behind a memory of solidarity and a large salute for those in detention on behalf of the rest of us."

26/10/84

UNREST

IIA ~~ZZZ~~ ~~ZZZ~~ ~~ZZZ~~

The army and the law

Government's use of thousands of troops during the crackdown on "revolutionary forces" in Sebokeng is being widely seen as changing the parameters of law enforcement in SA.

Predictably, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) say the use of the army signals the start of civil war in SA. More realistically, the Progressive Federal Party's defence spokesman, Philip Myburgh, called attention to the "knock-on" aspects of the situation.

Proclaiming himself "deeply worried," Myburgh pointed out that the use of troops in an operation in a black township would create the impression among soldiers that blacks were "the enemy."

Conversely, blacks would conclude that the SADF was now one of the agencies that enforced government policy. Myburgh added that he feared the use of national servicemen in operations against black South Africans would increase resistance to military service "sevenfold."

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange explained the operation as being due to "revolutionary forces" creating unrest in several black urban areas — particularly on the West Rand and East Rand and in the eastern Cape.

Many deaths

Said Le Grange: "This has resulted in the loss of many lives, extensive damage to property, disruption of essential community services and intimidation of thousands of schoolchildren to boycott schools. In the Vaal Triangle alone, damage runs to millions of rands.

"Government has therefore decided that this lawlessness must be curbed with all available means and that law and order must be restored effectively."

There was a time in SA when the military did not intervene in civil affairs other than in a declared emergency — or when the police had lost control of a situation. Following British practice, the army would be asked to restore order only after the police had been forced to admit they could not do so.

The Defence Act has long since been amended to enable the military to carry out such police duties as might be assigned to them. Their use, therefore, no longer necessarily carries the implication of a total breakdown in order.

Nonetheless, past practice has been to avoid using troops wherever possible — although in the last three years they have increasingly been used to man roadblocks and carry out cordon searches.

Nothing the size of Operation Palmiet at Sebokeng has been attempted since the 1922 Rand Rebellion, although thousands of troops were called up on standby during the emergency that followed Sharpeville in 1961.

At the very least, Operation Palmiet must indicate that the situation in the Vaal Triangle, and possibly elsewhere, is far more serious than government has previously admitted.

It will certainly be interpreted overseas as showing that SA now has to use military muscle to hold down the urban black masses.

That is an interpretation that is bound to be promoted by the African National Congress, which will claim it as evidence that its "revolution" is making progress.

No doubt these are factors that were considered by government before the decision was taken to use the military. There are indications that the SADF is less than happy with its role and hopes to be out of

share — just as they will hope that government will think seriously before again ordering troops to support the civil power. As Myburgh says, the use of troops should not become "the norm."



Le Grange ... 'law and order must be restored'

Sebokeng, and any other township into which it may be ordered, as soon as possible.

It is a hope that most South Africans will

Prize fighter

SA's second Nobel Prize-winner is well suited to the role. A churchman by vocation, he's also a charismatic spokesman. Chunky, exuberant and charming, 52-year-old Bishop Desmond Tutu was clearly in his element as he jetted into SA to receive tribute and adulation.

The proud and emotional response to Tutu's award by blacks was not reflected among whites, he points out, a manifestation of the deep divisions in SA. Certainly, representatives across the spectrum, from the Committee of 10 to the United Democratic Front (UDF),

were there to meet him at the airport, eager to be associated with him, perceiving his prize as recognition of the legitimacy of their objectives.

Tutu supports the declared aims of the ANC — but, he stresses, not its violent methods. He has condemned bombing attacks.

His answer is a national convention, at which government would deliberate with recognised black leaders. But he does not say how the real leaders would be identified. More radical youth, not to mention the ANC, see such notions as

wishy-washy truckling, a naive and futile moderation to be expected from one who is too close to, and too soft on, whites.

Tutu's most contentious stand, in support of disinvestment, is to him perfectly logical — he believes that international pressure is an essential element of peaceful settlement. Money is a potent lever, he believes. Suffering and unemployment among blacks is a price worth paying if Armageddon is the alternative.

Last year he was on a short-list to head the World Council of Churches, but he faded.

Tutu was Bishop of Lesotho before becoming head of the SA Council of Churches in 1976, a year of unprecedented township upheaval. He attracted immediate attention with forceful criticism of government methods of suppressing the riots and with his support for the marching schoolchildren. Born in Klerksdorp, he became a high school teacher while studying for a BA from Unisa. He went on to study divinity at King's College, London, and obtained an MA on Islam.

His tenure at the SACC was marred by alleged financial irregularities, which led to the appointment of the Eloff commission of inquiry.

Resilience

Throughout these difficulties, and the subsequent trial of John Rees of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Tutu displayed a remarkable degree of resilience. This is as well, in the high-profile, high-risk role he has adopted.

Married, with four grown children, he talks wistfully sometimes of returning to simple pastoral work — a prospect even less likely now than before. The laureate's jetset trail stretches before him.

There are many who would reject Tutu's assertion that he is not a political animal. But the time is passing when government, and white SA, dismissed men like Tutu as communists and troublemakers.

There is much scepticism about Tutu's award. There is also unease. For, at the end of the day, after discounting the lobbying and the horse-trading that is so much a part of selecting the peace prize-winner, the award is tangible evidence of the opprobrium in which the West holds SA race policies. Tutu's award places SA alongside the countries whose policies helped to secure peace prizes for Andrei Sakharov and Lech Walesa.



UDF placard protest in city centre

By JOHN CLARK

TWO placard-bearing members of the United Democratic Front staged a peaceful protest at the Queen Victoria statue in Market Square, Port Elizabeth, today.

The men, in their twenties, had a placard reading: "Democratic change. Don't crush it. UDF."

There was no police action against them.

One told me the protest was because "the people are so worried about what is happening".

The protest followed a weekend ban on gatherings by eight organisations, including the UDF.

Meetings of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, the Congress of South African students, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa, the General Workers Union, and the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation, are also banned.

"People are not pleased with the ban because this amounts to harrassment of the UDF and other progressive organisations," the protestor said.

He asked who the Government was going to talk to if they "harrassed leaders" all the time.

"The Government has accepted the need for change. Now they must do something about it."

Change could come about only if the Government came to the people. There was a need to unify people.

The Reverend George Irvine of the Methodist Church said today he was "appalled" at the meetings ban.

"To prohibit peaceful protest is to drive the oppressed to despair. Such despair is intensely dangerous," he said

Weather

Anatomy of the unrest

28/10/84

S-Star

I/A

Several questions on the unrest in the townships and the Government's method of dealing with it were raised in The Sunrise Star's Review section yesterday. Today The Sunday Star shows the extent of the unrest and publishes a series of interviews with the people of Sebokeng.

AT LEAST 131 South Africans have died violently in the present township unrest, according to figures compiled by the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg.

Most have died within kilometres of Johannesburg in townships that are, to most whites, little more than vague names in Press reports and on news bulletins.

Though the number killed has not yet reached the proportions of 1976 when 575 people died between June 16 and the following February 22, the toll continues to climb steadily and the bloodshed shows no sign of ending.

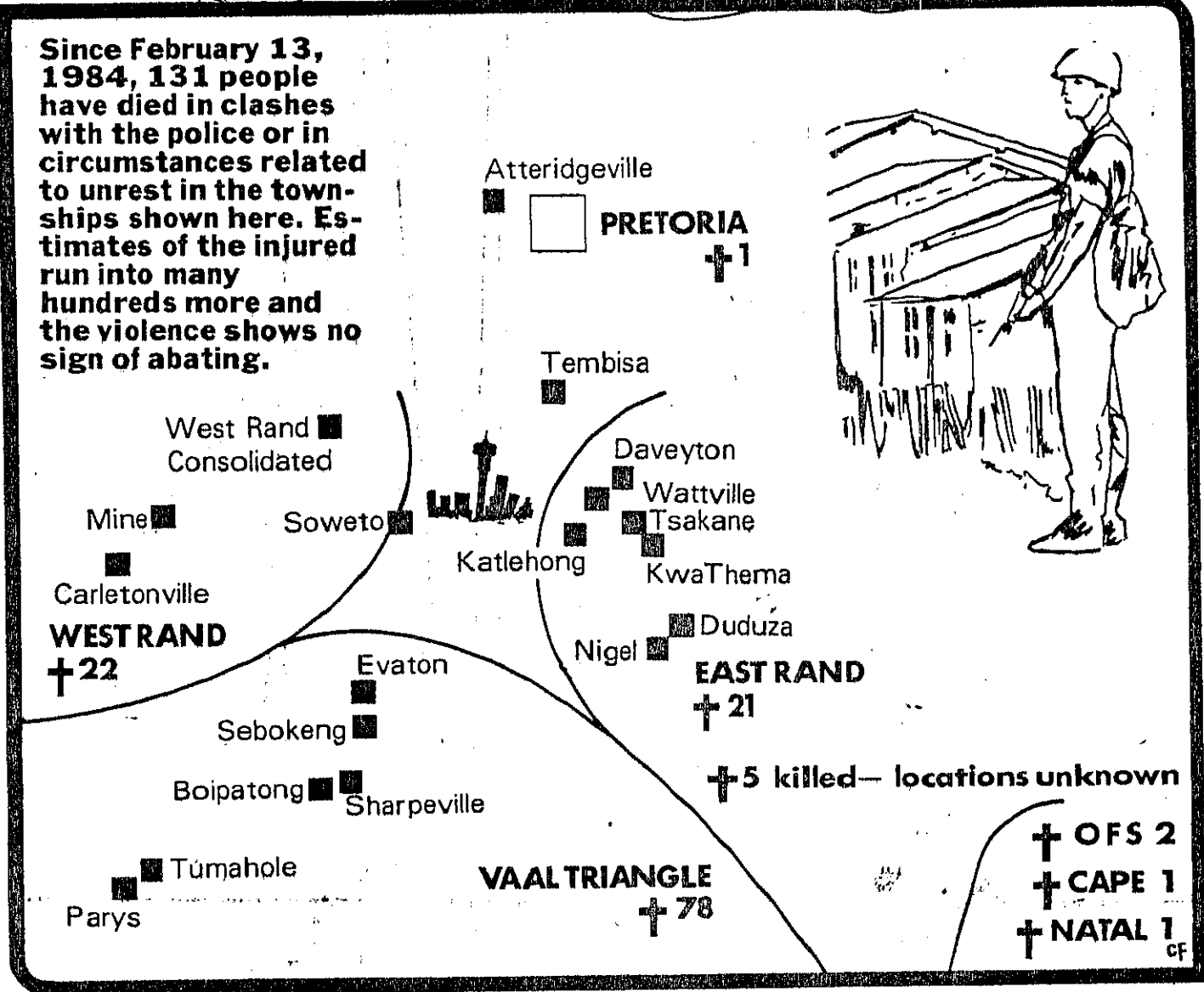
The grim record, compiled largely from Press reports because of the difficulty of obtaining accurate official statistics, begins with the death of Emma Satheke (15) under the wheels of a police vehicle in an Atteridgeville school grounds on February 13. It continued to grow over the past week with the slaying of kwaThema businessman Mr Jerry Khumbuza (25) and does not include hundreds of injured.

The youngest to die so far were three-week-old Gordon Blair, killed when youths stoned his mother's car in Sebokeng, Nonhlanhla Mzungu (seven months), killed in his home by tearsmoke and Thabo Sibeko (6) shot dead in Wattville.

Combined with a lack of knowledge on the part of most whites about the township's geographical location is a distressingly vague knowledge of the appalling socio-economic conditions that have sparked the boycotts, riots and killings there.

The oft-repeated official talk of intimidation and "criminal elements" has largely obscured the fact that many black parents who have for years watched their children's attempts to study by candlelight genuinely support the school boycotts.

Since February 13, 1984, 131 people have died in clashes with the police or in circumstances related to unrest in the townships shown here. Estimates of the injured run into many hundreds more and the violence shows no sign of abating.



...the 'invasion' what Sebokeng is saying

watched their children's attempts to study by candlelight genuinely support the school boycotts.

After the 'invasion' — what Sebokeng is saying

IN SPITE of the outcry that accompanied Operation Palmiet — which involved 7 000 policemen and servicemen systematically combing every house in Sebokeng — some people in the area saw the raid as being necessary.

But finding one of them this week was like looking for a needle in a haystack.

A middle-aged Sebokeng man to whom I spoke refused to divulge his name but was glad to give his opinion.

He said: "Sebokeng was sliding dangerously close to anarchy. We found bands of youths being a law unto themselves. They snapped into action at the whim of the moment.

"Everyone here is angry with the way our affairs are administered. Our rents are among the highest for four-roomed units. But I do not like the way the whole thing

has been taken over by our children.

"Young people are very brave and not afraid to face the police. Some do it for adventure, others just join in for the fun of it.

"Some of them did not know what the fighting was all about."

He said that when the youths ran out of acceptable targets they attacked the innocent residents.

"Some residents were accused of being high-income earners and would not play a meaningful role in the fight against high rents because they could afford them.

"Some youngsters also damaged the homes of people related to town councillors. The question is: What did these people do? Just because they happen to be relatives of a councillor do they get the same treatment?"

IN HOMES, buses and trains urban blacks are discussing the merits or otherwise of the 7 000-strong police and army "invasion" of Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Boipatong. The Sunday Star sent reporter SOL MAKGABUTLANE to identify both sides of the debate.

"We also saw youngsters burning shops belonging to people who had nothing to do with the Lekoa Town Council, let alone the rent increase in Sebokeng."

"But have people thought for a moment what these children do during the day? I have seen young boys, some no older than 10 years, sniffing glue because there was nothing else for them to do. Girls are also roaming the township streets — and the consequences are well known."

The "clean up" operation had been necessary to help restore order.

SHE DECLINED to reveal her identity and insisted she would speak only after total anonymity had been guaranteed.

"I am scared — everyone is scared. We don't know what the real motive of the raid was. We feel even more scared for our children. The police gave us pamphlets and urged the children to go back to school.

"But our children have good reasons to refuse to go back to school. Some people are saying most kids are not going to school because they are being intimidated by 'tsotsis'. But I haven't seen

anyone preventing the children from going to school.

"The pupils have grievances which they have made known to education authorities many times. Newspapers say children in East Rand townships are also staying away from school until their demands are met. Will the same people now say 'tsotsis' are stopping the East Rand children from going to school? I don't think so.

"These children in the Vaal are also boycotting classes to stand with their parents in the fight against high rents.

"We in the Vaal are tired. Very tired," she said, gesturing with her hands to drive her point home.

"We have been pleading for a long time that we have no money for high rents. Our children are also tired.

"Now, instead of talking to those we appointed to

handle the rent issue for us, the authorities are sending in troops.

"It's a good thing for them to say 'tsotsis' have hijacked the true grievances of the residents by going around robbing people and destroying property. But have the authorities attended to our original complaints?"

Does she think this week's huge police swoop on Vaal townships has helped to restore orderly life.

"There were some people who threatened orderly life by imposing a reign of terror. They went around in kombis at night demanding money from some families. These things needed to be stopped. I think that's where this week's raid helped because people were starting to live in fear of their safety.

A conservative backlash is building up in Soweto

WHILE Soweto is in the grip of student unrest, there are officials in the Soweto Council who — for greed and selfish ambition — are doing things which could plunge the township into labour unrest which will result in loss of life and destruction of amenities worse than anything it has seen yet.

Long before student unrest exploded over Soweto, labour unrest was already simmering.

It is only the fact that most labourers, male and female, employed by the Soweto Council are mature and conservative people

This is an edited interview with a Soweto resident whose views are by no means representative, but who is angry about what is happening in the townships. He has asked not to be identified because he is scared of intimidation from all sides.

They have to endure insults, beatings and stonings at the hands of schoolchildren.

One woman nearly lost her left eye early in the unrest. A 65-year-old man was seized by three youths, who lacerated his face slowly and deliberately with broken bot-

The backlash is fast building up, and the United Democratic Front will soon find itself in hot water, as will its friends, Azapo and Cosas.

Already Soweto taximen are angry at the destruction of their vehicles and disruption of their businesses, and already many hostel

not the men in the Soweto Council nor the people in the Department of Education and Training.

No one seems to care that our country is drifting slowly towards the rocks of no return like a storm-ravaged sailing ship.

surely as it happened to Iran, the Lebanon and Vietnam.

It will happen to South Africa unless all of us, black and white, stand up and stop the nonsense.

I am sick of living in terror, I am sick of burying murdered friends and cradling wounded fellow-workers with bloody faces.

I want to demand of the new "tricameral" government just what kind of country it expects the new South Africa to be if the larger part of the population — the blacks — is

ruseo to divulge his name but was glad to give his opinion.

He said: "Sebokeng was sliding dangerously close to anarchy. We found bands of youths being a law unto themselves. They snapped into action at the whim of the moment.

"Everyone here is angry with the way our affairs are administered. Our rents are among the highest for four-roomed units. But I do not like the way the whole thing

"Some residents were accused of being high-income earners and would not play a meaningful role in the fight against high rents because they could afford them.

"Some youngsters also damaged the homes of people related to town councillors. The question is: What did these people do? Just because they happen to be relatives of a councillor do they get the same treatment?

Council, let alone the rent increase in Sebokeng."

"But have people thought for a moment what these children do during the day? I have seen young boys, some no older than 10 years, sniffing glue because there was nothing else for them to do. Girls are also roaming the township streets — and the consequences are well known."

The "clean up" operation had been necessary to help restore order.

total anonymity had been guaranteed.

"I am scared — everyone is scared. We don't know what the real motive of the raid was. We feel even more scared for our children. The police gave us pamphlets and urged the children to go back to school.

"But our children have good reasons to refuse to go back to school. Some people are saying most kids are not going to school because they are being intimidated by 'tsotsis'. But I haven't seen

going to school. I don't think so.

"These children in the Vaal are also boycotting classes to stand with their parents in the fight against high rents.

"We in the Vaal are tired. Very tired," she said, gesturing with her hands to drive her point home.

"We have been pleading for a long time that we have no money for high rents. Our children are also tired.

"Now, instead of talking to those we appointed to

Does she think this week's huge police swoop on Vaal townships has helped to restore orderly life.

"There were some people who threatened orderly life by imposing a reign of terror. They went around in kombis at night demanding money from some families. These things needed to be stopped. I think that's where this week's raid helped because people were starting to live in fear of their safety.

A conservative backlash is building up in Soweto

WHILE Soweto is in the grip of student unrest, there are officials in the Soweto Council who — for greed and selfish ambition — are doing things which could plunge the township into labour unrest which will result in loss of life and destruction of amenities worse than anything it has seen yet.

Long before student unrest exploded over Soweto, labour unrest was already simmering.

It is only the fact that most labourers, male and female, employed by the Soweto Council are mature and conservative people that we have so far been spared further tragedy.

Another very important thing about these workers: their courage has kept Soweto's essential services functioning in the teeth of savage efforts by riotous students to disrupt vital amenities.

These hardworking men and women go out on trucks and trailers each day to remove rubbish, repair sabotaged sewerage pipes and drains and sweep streets.

This is an edited interview with a Soweto resident whose views are by no means representative, but who is angry about what is happening in the townships. He has asked not to be identified because he is scared of intimidation from all sides.

They have to endure insults, beatings and stonings at the hands of schoolchildren.

One woman nearly lost her left eye early in the unrest. A 65-year-old man was seized by three youths, who lacerated his face slowly and deliberately with broken bottles until he was semi-conscious.

These assaults are filling us with cold rage. We cannot understand why these students, who claim to be fighting for black liberation, intimidate and torture their own people.

If the unrest goes on for much longer, South Africa will see a bloody phenomenon ... a headlong clash between the conservative and the radical blacks, which could turn Soweto into another Beirut or Belfast.

The backlash is fast building up, and the United Democratic Front will soon find itself in hot water, as will its friends, Azapo and Cosas.

Already Soweto taximen are angry at the destruction of their vehicles and disruption of their businesses, and already many hostel migrant workers are threatening to retaliate the next time students beat them up when they leave trains and buses.

Conservative black people take a long time to get angry, but when they do their anger outlasts that of the radical intellectuals ... ask any faction fighter.

It is blatantly obvious that no one in authority ever bothered to learn anything from the riots of 1976 —

not the men in the Soweto Council nor the people in the Department of Education and Training.

No one seems to care that our country is drifting slowly towards the rocks of no return like a storm-ravaged sailing ship.

The death of a country as great as ours does not come with the suddenness of Armageddon. It comes slowly and insidiously through a long series of seemingly minor events which happen sporadically over years ... until in the end you find it reduced to an angry armed camp where everyone fights everyone else and no one has the courage left to cry: "Shwele! Let there be peace!"

This is what is going to happen to South Africa, and it will happen as

surely as it happened to Iran, the Lebanon and Vietnam.

It will happen to South Africa unless all of us, black and white, stand up and stop the nonsense.

I am sick of living in terror, I am sick of burying murdered friends and cradling wounded fellow-workers with bloody faces.

I want to demand of the new "tricameral" government just what kind of country it expects the new South Africa to be if the larger part of the population — the blacks — is torn apart by violence, official corruption and crime.

The government should know that no matter how militarily powerful a country may be, it cannot survive a class or race upheaval.

I can no longer sit on a fence and watch indifferently as great ugliness happens to those I love; I can no longer bear to see my people in agony through the stupidity and selfishness of politicians. I feel I must do something.



Denis Herbstein of The Times charts the struggle in Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement and big changes likely after today's leadership election

Extremist Kitson is bidding to hijack AAM powerbase

LONDON — Former South African political prisoner Mr David Kitson is at the head of a bid to grab control of Britain's tough Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

The AAM's annual meeting takes place today, and standing for election to the committee of 30 are 13 unorthodox candidates from the ultra-left City of London group — including four members of the Kitson family.

The meeting at the Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre could well be the best-attended in its 25-year existence.

The Kitson family and friends constitute an embarrassing challenge to the movement's authority in the persons of its president, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, and its chairman, Mr Bob Hughes, Labour MP for

Aberdeen North.

Known as the "City 13", the group is a strange mix. The four Kitsons are mother Norma, father David (released recently after almost 20 years in prison), and children Steven and Amandla (Zulu for "freedom").

There are three London Labour MPs — Mr Stuart Holland, Mr Jeremy Corbyn and Mr Tony Banks — and several members of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), whose newspaper — Fight Racism, Fight Imperialism — consistently denigrates Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and Mr Hughes.

The election of all 13 would not of itself give them control of the national committee, but would certainly indicate wide-

spread dissatisfaction with the AAM's present strategy.

Headquarters staff in Mandela Street, Camden Town — formerly Selous Street — favour the conventional method of lobbying government, parliament and the unions, with public meetings and occasional marches as the most visible external manifestations.

The City group practises "direct action".

Two years ago the Kitson family and City members laid siege to South Africa House, seeking the release of David Kitson and other political prisoners, black and white.

Mr Kitson was freed in May, six months before the expiry of his sentence and just before South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha visited Britain.

It was seen as a sop to the protesters, though Pretoria, like the Kremlin, invariably hardens its heart to prisoners with too vocal an external following.

Flushed with success, the City group organised the "South African Embassy Picket Campaign", aiming to have the building in Trafalgar Square closed down.

In what was seen by the left as interference in freedom to demonstrate, Scotland Yard banned the embassy pickets.

The ban was defied, leading to jail for some and the arrest of the three Labour MPs.

The pickets were acquitted at the Old Bailey and "City" was seen to have notched up another victory.

The nub of this acrimonious

argument is: Who should AAM be trying to influence?

The City group's high-profile campaign is intended to attract the support of minorities — women's lib, homosexuals, youth, blacks, and now the miners.

Mr Hughes says: "We are a single-issue organisation seeking to make the general public aware of the real story in South Africa and to expose Britain's role, especially in business, in bolstering apartheid.

"We are a broad coalition. If we tried to woo all those other movements we would become indistinguishable from any other political party on the left."

AAM has Liberal Party leader Mr David Steel as one of its vice-presidents, and Mr

Jeremy Thorpe, Sir Huw, and prominent Ms Pauline Webb are sponsors.

And, as one official says, "We have Tories and even businessmen as members."

But the City group's has highlighted what many ordinary members see as the quarters' staid and bureaucratic attitude.

Today the AAM leadership will try to regain control of its hyperactive members, will they be expelled or not, will they be expelled, Hughes said: "I hope it will come to that. I don't want to stop all their activities are keen. But it needs a serious discipline to operate a single-issue campaign with you normally wouldn't be dead with."

The Sunday Star October 28 1984

HA 16

Extremist Kitson is bidding to hijack AAM powerbase

LONDON — Former South African political prisoner Mr David Kitson is at the head of a bid to grab control of Britain's highest Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). The AAM's annual meeting takes place today, and standing for election to the committee are 13 unorthodox candidates from the ultra-left City of London group — including four members of the Kitson family. The meeting at the Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre could well be the best-attended in its 25-year existence. The Kitson family and friends constitute an embarrassing challenge to the movement's authority in the persons of its president, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, and its chairman, Mr Bob Hughes, Labour MP for

Aberdeen North.

Known as the "City 13", the group is a strange mix. The four Kitsons are mother Norma, father David (released recently after almost 20 years in prison), and children Steven and Amanda (Zulu for "freedom").

There are three London Labour MPs — Mr Stuart Holland, Mr Jeremy Corbyn and Mr Tony Banks — and several members of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), whose newspaper — *Fight Racism, Fight Imperialism* — consistently denigrates Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and Mr Hughes.

The election of all 13 would not of itself give them control of the national committee, but would certainly indicate wide-

spread dissatisfaction with the AAM's present strategy.

Headquarters staff in Mandela Street, Camden Town — formerly Selous Street — favour the conventional method of lobbying government, parliament and the unions, with public meetings and occasional marches as the most visible external manifestations.

The City group practises "direct action".

Two years ago the Kitson family and City members laid siege to South Africa House, seeking the release of David Kitson and other political prisoners, black and white.

Mr Kitson was freed in May, six months before the expiry of his sentence and just before South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha visited Britain.

It was seen as a sop to the protesters, though Pretoria, like the Kremlin, invariably hardens its heart to prisoners with too vocal an external following.

Flushed with success, the City group organised the "South African Embassy Picket Campaign", aiming to have the building in Trafalgar Square closed down.

In what was seen by the left as interference in freedom to demonstrate, Scotland Yard banned the embassy pickets.

The ban was defied, leading to jail for some and the arrest of the three Labour MPs.

The pickets were acquitted at the Old Bailey and "City" was seen to have notched up another victory.

The nub of this acrimonious

argument is: Who should AAM be trying to influence?

The City group's high-profile campaign is intended to attract the support of minorities — women's lib, homosexuals, youth, blacks, and now the miners.

Mr Hughes says: "We are a single-issue organisation seeking to make the general public aware of the real story in South Africa and to expose Britain's role, especially in business, in bolstering apartheid.

"We are a broad coalition. If we tried to woo all those other movements we would become indistinguishable from any other political party on the left."

AAM has Liberal Party leader Mr David Steel as one of its vice-presidents, and Mr

Jeremy Thorpe, Sir Hugh Casson, and prominent Methodist Pauline Webb are sponsors.

And, as one official said: "We have Tories and even businessmen as members."

But the City group's success has highlighted what many ordinary members see as headquarters' staid and bureaucratic attitude.

Today the AAM leadership will try to regain control over members of its hyper group. If not, will they be expelled? Mr Hughes said: "I hope it won't come to that. I don't want to stop all their activities, they are keen. But it needs tremendous discipline to operate a single-issue campaign with people you normally wouldn't be seen dead with."

ST
MS
RLD

Sisulu and ANC men may go free

28/10/82

W. S. Steyn
11A
Carolyn Dempster

LEADERS of the "old-guard" ANC — including Walter Sisulu — may soon be freed.

This is revealed, in an interview published in the latest issue of the quarterly publication Leadership SA, by Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr Le Grange says that attention is presently being given to the position of some of these men — sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963 — primarily because of their advanced age.

"We are having a good look at the whole spectrum: what their health is like; what the influence is that they may still exert, in what sense are they still regarded as leaders by their own people.

"I think of men like Mr Walter Sisulu or Mr Govan Mbeki who are already about 70 or over 70.

"Some of these people may today be a spent force. In that sense we must ask ourselves seriously if they should still be kept in prison."

The Minister cautions that his comments should not be seen as the basis for hope of imminent release.

"If you ask me if there are still any good reasons to imprison some of the old guard then I say 'yes'. On the other hand, I can assure you that we consider their position from time to time."

However, the situation regarding imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela would have to be regarded in a different light, says Mr le Grange.

"He is a person of about 64 who is enjoying good health... and he is regarded by many blacks in South Africa — blacks who favour the viewpoints expressed by the old ANC and other organisations — as their leader.

"I think he is a man of influence. So one can't discuss the position of Nelson Mandela simultaneously with the position of some of the other men who are already elderly and who are definitely not in the same leader category as Mandela himself."

He adds in the interview that the government is still as determined as ever to wipe out any form of militant operation in South Africa.

"As long as the ANC operates as a militant organisation, we will hit them as hard as we can."

girls
thin gi

SO
becor
flesh.

re
Di
an
fo

ed relea
be Ran
ative
infor
becam
ed and
mplai
ant Pa
me for
Ms Sue
n to th
hey we
ed we
nt as
id rel
d the
midn
re pla
the ga
id Sic
a gre
eople
son
for
olin
he
m
app
st p
g in
om
bl
we
fric
de
re e a
d se u
nin
ed
ae Sa u
thino
recho
ar
uppl
n th
n th
opea
thre
sout
nent
anday
offi
e
i

'ANC AT WAR WITH INKATHA'

(11A)

C. Press

28/10/84

THE outlawed African National Congress and the United Democratic Front came under heavy attack from KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi in his address to the Women's Brigade conference at Ulundi last weekend.

In a letter to ANC president Oliver Tambo which he read at the conference, Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC of declaring war on KwaZulu and Inkatha.

The letter was in reply to a telegram sent by Mr Tambo to Chief Buthelezi on the eve of his Lamontville visit.

The letter read: "In this part of South Africa we came from warrior stock and there is a resilient determination in KwaZulu

**Story and pix by
JABULANI SIKHAKHANE**

tion in this country, it has encouraged the escalation of violence.

He said it was unconcerned about the extent to which black people have

ronment where ordinary people of all races die at your hands," he wrote in the letter.

"Black South Africa has



was "silly" to try to hide the extent to which there was a working relationship between it and the ANC's Mission in Exile.

He said there was no way one could indulge in clandestine politics either

'UDF closed down Ngoye'

KWAZULU Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi has

tion "of whether in fact the behaviour of some

INWAHNA

THE outlawed African National Congress and the United Democratic Front came under heavy attack from KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi in his address to the Women's Brigade conference at Ulundi last weekend.

In a letter to ANC president Oliver Tambo which he read at the conference, Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC of declaring war on KwaZulu and Inkatha.

The letter was in reply to a telegram sent by Mr Tambo to Chief Buthelezi on the eve of his Lamontville visit.

The letter read: "In this part of South Africa we came from warrior stock and there is a resilient determination in KwaZulu and in Inkatha which even the full might of the State will never flatten.

"Do your colleagues really think they can flatten us on the way to their envisaged victory?"

Chief Buthelezi said ever since the ANC's Mission in Exile adopted the armed struggle as the primary means of libera-

Story and pix by JABULANI SIKHAKHANE

tion in this country, it has encouraged the escalation of violence.

He said it was unconcerned about the extent to which black people have been victims of black violence.

Chief Buthelezi challenged the ANC to "publicly and internationally" condemn the Vaal Triangle violence which claimed the lives of at least 70 people.

"Your own cadres have now taken to planting bombs in the civilian envi-

ronment where ordinary people of all races die at your hands," he wrote in the letter.

"Black South Africa has never been unified. You know this as well as I do.

"The myths that the ANC is still alive and well in the hearts and minds of the people and that the ANC has achieved the unification of the people, are myths of potent danger," the letter said.

In his address Chief Buthelezi said the UDF



was "silly" to try to hide the extent to which there was a working relationship between it and the ANC's Mission in Exile.

He said there was no way one could indulge in clandestine politics either alone or in conjunction with any banned organisation and hope that the SA Security Police would never know.

He accused the UDF of not "espousing tactics and strategies that can stand the test of time".

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha was here to stay.

'UDF closed down Ngoye'

KWAZULU Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi has blamed the United Democratic Front for "creating chaos", which led to the University of Zululand being closed down.

Addressing the Women's Brigade conference at Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said the violence instigated by the UDF raised the whole ques-

tion "of whether in fact the behaviour of some blacks does not justify racists calling us kaffirs".

He said that blacks fed white racism when they behaved like "inferior creatures" and when "we use our anger to inflict hurt on each other".

Chief Buthelezi said that he was deeply alarmed by this behaviour

'You can never win without us!'

NO armed struggle can be waged successfully without Inkatha, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha was becoming part of the fabric of change. It was doing this in such a way that the worst draconian laws could do nothing to stop it, he said.

He also said Inkatha represented black people in urban as well as rural areas.

It was the first national movement to achieve this, he said.

Inkatha has already notched up a lot of gains. It would not dare to lose them by asking its leaders to detain themselves vol-

untarily, said Chief Buthelezi.

"Until black leaders realise that they can either leave this country and wage an armed struggle, or set about institutionalising black political forces so that they can participate in and hasten the process of change, the status quo will remain," he said.

"The South African Govern-

ment knows that no Western country would dare to enter South Africa with armed forces in an attempt to bolster the black cause. The Government can therefore go as far as it likes in the direction of developing a police state.

"It can use whatever forces are available to crush foolhardy militancy."

Far left loses bid to take over AAM

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — After a series of heated clashes at the annual general meeting yesterday, the far left lost its bid for control of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The battle provoked extraordinary scenes at the meeting which had attracted an unprecedented crowd of almost 700 members as each side brought in extra supporters.

The takeover bid was made by the movement's City of London group, backed by the Revolutionary Communist Group and the South African Embassy Picket Campaign.

The dissidents supported a resolution censuring the movement's executive and put forward 13 candidates for election to the national council.

They hoped that some would make their way to the national executive committee and that at least part of the present leadership would be displaced.

Prominent among the dissidents were members of the Kitson family, including Mr David Kitson who was released

recently after 20 years in South African jails.

But the censure motion was defeated by a considerable majority and the present leadership remains intact.

As far as could be determined yesterday, hardly any of the dissidents made it to the national council.

CREDIBILITY

Central to the present dispute are tactics and credibility.

Despite the battle, the two groups had little trouble in passing unanimously a series of resolutions attacking the South African Government and its policies.

These included a resolution calling for a major campaign aimed at the expulsion of the South African ambassador in London in the wake of the Durban Six and Coventry Four affairs.

Basically the dissidents want

less involvement with the political establishment, more direct action and a much higher street profile which will attract militant women's liberation organisations, homosexuals, youth groups and now the striking coal miners.

But this would destroy the considerable credibility the Anti-Apartheid Movement has always enjoyed with the British establishment.

For instance Mr Neil Kinnoch, leader of the Labour Party, was once a member of the movement's executive.

Mr David Steel, Leader of the Liberal Party, is one of the movement's vice-presidents.

After the AGM the dissidents held an impromptu meeting in the square outside with speakers accusing the leadership of using Red scare tactics.

They congratulated themselves on having given a big scare to people who had never fought for democracy in their lives.

There were loud cheers when a speaker said: "But we will be

back next year and then the Red scare tactics will not work."

But there was complete unanimity when the meeting considered a resolution from the executive calling for a major campaign to demand as a minimum and immediately:

EXPULSION

● The expulsion of the South African ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall.

● The recall of the British ambassador to South Africa, Mr Patrick Moberley, and a review of Britain's entire diplomatic relationship with South Africa.

● British Government support for the convening of the United Nations Security Council to secure mandatory action to strengthen the arms embargo and isolate the apartheid regime.

The resolution appealed for maximum support for a torchlight march and national rally planned for November 17.



Mrs Glensy Kinnoch



Mr Neil Kinnoch

Durban 3: NIC is working on new initiatives

11A

29/10/84 Sken

DURBAN — As the sit-in of the Durban 3 fugitives in the British Consulate here nears the end of the seventh week, the acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Farook Meer, disclosed the NIC was working on a number of new initiatives to end the stalemate.

But he did not want to give details yesterday.

Since a British Government directive seven days ago forbidding the three men — Mr Billy Nair, Mr Paul David and Mr Archie Gumede — access to their lawyers and families, Dr Meer has been the only person to have regular access to them in his capacity as their personal doctor.

He has written to the new British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Pa-

trick Moberley, objecting to a British provision that he can see his patients only in the company of a consulate official.

"I pointed out this was a gross infringement of the medical code requiring complete confidentiality between doctors and patients," said Dr Meer.

Meanwhile, all senior diplomats have been withdrawn from the consulate which is now staffed by junior officials.

"There is not a pleasant atmosphere although the three are in good shape and spirit," Dr Meer said.

He added that the men were not allowed to receive incoming mail, and outgoing letters were vetted by consulate officials before being posted.

— Sapa.

29/10/54 (7-10) (11A) Stan
**Meer slates Rajbansi
over passport refusal**

DURBAN — Dr Farook Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, has been refused a passport to travel to Dublin by the Administration for Indian Own Affairs. He applied several months ago for a passport to attend the celebrations of the Royal College of Surgeons, where he studied.

Last week, he received a single sentence letter, dated October 12 and signed on behalf of the director-general of the administration, Dr James Gilliland, telling him his passport had been refused.

The letter read: "I regret to inform you that your travel application has been unsuccessful."

On receipt of the letter, he had challenged Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, on the decision and had asked for reasons. Mr Rajbansi's reply had been that it was not his decision.

"This is hardly a reply one expects from a Cabinet Minister. It means he is quite happy with the decision," Dr Meer said. — Sapa.

Meer 29/10/84 (11A)

NIC 'has plans to end stalemate'

Political Reporter

AS THE sit-in by three fugitives in the British consulate in Durban nears the end of the seventh week, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress Farouk Meer disclosed that the NIC was working on a number of new initiatives to end the stalemate.

But he did not want to give details yesterday.

Since a British Government directive seven days ago forbidding the three men — Mr Billy Nair, Mr Paul David and Mr Archie Gumede — access to their lawyers and families, Dr Meer has been the only person to have regular access to them in his capacity as their personal doctor.

He has written to the new British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Patrick Moberley, objecting to a British provision that he can only see his patients in the company of a consulate official.

'I pointed out this was a gross infringement of the medical code requiring complete confidentiality between doctors and patients,' said Dr Meer.

Meanwhile, all senior diplomats have been withdrawn from the consulate which is now staffed by junior officials.

'There is not a pleasant atmosphere although the three are in good shape and spirit,' Dr Meer said.

The men were not allowed to receive incoming mail and their outgoing letters were vetted by consulate officials before being posted, he said.

Meanwhile, the other three men originally involved in the sit-in who were detained earlier this month when they left the consulate — Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr M J Naidoo — were being visited twice weekly by their wives, said Dr Meer.



Umtata 'must be consulted' on Mandela

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

NO DECISION will be made on the future of the imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, without first consulting President Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, according to the Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis Le Grange.

"If we make any move in respect of Nelson Mandela we will definitely consider the President of the Transkei beforehand," Mr Le Grange says in the latest issue of Leadership SA.

Outlining official reaction to demands for Mandela's release, Mr Le Grange says:

"He is regarded by many blacks in South Africa, blacks who favour the viewpoints of the old ANC and other organisations, as their leader. I think he is a man of influence."

For that reason Mr Mandela is seen in a different light from some of the "elderly men" who are in jail with him, Mr Le Grange adds.

Of the "elderly men" — Mr Le Grange cites Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki — he says:

"I can give you my assurance that we are presently considering the position of some of them because of their old age."

Regarding Mr Mandela, Mr Le Grange observes: "He is, of course, a Transkei citizen: he is a Xhosa from Transkei."

"He is also a member of one of the well-known Transkei families, so in his case there is also the government of the Transkei to consider in any developments or any decision we would like to take."

Of the ANC, Mr Le Grange says:

"As long as the ANC operates as a militant organisation we will hit them as hard as we can."

"As far as we are concerned it is war, plain and simple."

Mr Le Grange repeats a fear already expressed by his colleagues, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence Mr Magnus Malan: that Botswana has become a new area of

ANC operations.

There is, he says "a buildup of an ANC presence in Botswana" which is a source of concern to Pretoria.

"We have told the Botswana government about this."

"We have told them that we are worried about the situation. We are discussing it with them and negotiating in this regard."

Mr Le Grange goes on to express the hope that Pretoria will be able to negotiate the same "open-door arrangement" with Botswana that it enjoys with Swaziland.

He does not define what he means by an "open-door arrangement".

On the current unrest in the townships, Mr Le Grange stresses that the long-term

answer depends largely on finding a political solution.

He does not offer an opinion on what political formulae might help to defuse black unrest.

In an article in the same SA Leadership, Professor Anthony Mathews of the University of Natal warns of the danger of applying security measures too widely and too harshly.

"Many of the non-subversive victims of sweeping security programmes have been driven into real subversion, thereby giving these programmes a self-fulfilling justification," he writes.

"The greater number of the thousands of young Sowetans who fled from the security crackdown in 1976 probably had no intention of becoming foreign-trained guerrillas who would return to bomb and shoot their own countrymen."

● In response to Mr Le Grange's statement that Mr Sisulu and Mr Mbeki might be released, Dr Farouk Meer of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) called yesterday for the release of all political prisoners as the only way to avoid violence.

● According to information culled from newspapers by the researchers at the Institute of Race Relations, 131 people have died because of violence in the townships since the death in February of a black schoolgirl.



MR LE GRANGE
Quoted on Mandela.

50/10/84 (LIA)
S. Han

Durban Three breaking law?

DURBAN — The Durban Corporation is investigating a complaint that the three fugitives in the British Consulate are breaking city building by-laws by living in the office block.

The mayor, Mr Neil MacLennan, said yesterday that he had asked city engineer Mr Don MacLeod to investigate the validity of the complaint.

"If the regulations are being contravened, the council will have to consider the issue and take a decision," said Mr MacLennan.

Mr MacLeod said: "I have asked the legal department for advice on the matter. Normally when a complaint is received, building inspectors inspect the site and report back. But I do not know if the law could be applied in these circumstances, or whether a consulate is protected by diplomatic immunity."

Building by-laws state that one cannot occupy premises for purposes other than those approved.

The city's legal adviser said he felt that if the Government considered itself precluded from taking action, the local government could scarcely consider itself as having greater powers.

The Acting Administrator of Natal, Mr Frank Martin, has declined to comment on reports that he discussed the situation with the council's management committee last week.

"I meet the committee on a regular and confidential basis," he said, but added: "If Durban investigates a complaint and has to take action in terms of its by-laws, the provincial administration would have to uphold its position." — Sapa.

Pen is weapon in township propaganda

E. Post
30/10/84
IIA

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

WHEN the Defence Force distributed pamphlets in Sebokeng and other townships last week it joined the pamphlet war — a battle that is intensifying in the townships.

The pamphlets said: "We are here to promote normal social life, continued education, safe travel, stability, a healthy community, and the delivery of food."

Once cars and houses had been searched, stickers saying "Co-operation for peace and security" and "I am your friend, trust me" were affixed to them.

Whether the pen that accompanied the sword succeeded in winning friends and influencing the residents is debatable. But the issuing of pamphlets highlighted a different type of war in the townships: the paper war.

Government and anti-government organisations are turning increasingly to pamphleteering to get their views across to township dwellers.

As a result, the situation is often chaotic as residents struggle to decide to whom to listen, or whether to listen to anybody.

"Disinformation" pamphlets, purporting to come from one or other anti-government organisation, add to the confusion. And to make things even more difficult for residents, ver-

bal and sometimes physical skirmishes take place between anti-government organisations over strategy in calling for stay-aways and boycotts of educational institutions and consumer products.

But why are the organisations turning increasingly to pamphlets? The Azanian People's Organisation has regularly attacked the established Press for refusing to publish its views at length, if at all, and thus relies on meetings and newsletters to get its views across.

But meetings are also risky. Open-air political gatherings are banned. Last month, Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange banned all meetings in 21 areas — except those held by registered political parties — at which politics are discussed.

Then again, magistrates in various districts sometimes ban meetings at the last minute — as happened in Port Elizabeth last weekend.

Says Mr Trevor Manuel, acting general secretary of the United Democratic Front: "Any organisation serious about reaching its people needs control of media of one type or another.

"We don't have access to the most powerful me-

dium, television, which is very biased against democratic organisations. We are also not in control of newspapers, so we are not in control of how our statements are used.

"Oral communication," says Mr Manuel, "would be ideal, but it is not always possible. So we hand out pamphlets as well."

Pamphlet distribution also enables the organisations to politicise people. "When we distribute pamphlets, we talk to the people, telling them why we are seeking their support. In that way, we establish trust and confidence," says Mr Manuel.

Of course, pamphlets and posters also open the way for "disinformation".

For example, during the coloured and Indian election campaign, posters put out by the Transvaal Indian Congress urging a poll boycott were countered by similar posters purporting to be the work of the congress, urging people to vote.

But Mr Manuel believes people quickly recognise "disinformation".

"These pamphlets are dropped in the dead of night by unknown people, so nobody knows who distributed them. As a result, such pamphlets are rejected by the people."

Pamphleteering in black areas is not a new phenomenon. The ANC and later the PAC used pamphlets widely during their campaigns of the fifties. In fact, after these organisations were banned in 1960, pamphlets became their major means of communicating with the black public.

But now there are many organisations in the political, trade union and educational arena, and with the Government intent on countering their influence the battle for the hearts and minds of township residents is on in earnest.

Rather the pen than the sword.

Govt: Mandela case is different

Political Staff

NELSON Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress, is not a South African citizen — he is a Transkeian.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said this in an interview in which he discussed the possibility of the releasing of ANC prisoners serving life sentences.

Mr Le Grange told Leadership SA that Mandela "is, of course, a Transkei citizen — he is a Xhosa from Transkei".

"He is also a member of one of the well-known Transkeian families."

He said the position of Mandela was different from some of the other prisoners, who were already elderly and "who are definitely not in the same leadership category as Mandela himself".

"But that does not mean that the government does not also consider his position."

"It has been done in the past, and his position will be considered on a regular basis in the future," he said.

In Mandela's case, the government of Transkei would have to be considered "in any developments or any decision that we would like to take".

When it was suggested that Mandela's relative, President Kaiser Matanzima, might not be happy to see him in Transkei, Mr Le Grange replied: "I wouldn't really say that."

"But we will definitely consider him. If we want to make any move in respect of Nelson Mandela, we will definitely consider the President of Transkei beforehand."

(Report by B Streek, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

Govt to release ANC old guard?

By BARRY STREEK

THE possible release of "old guard" African National Congress leaders from prison was being considered by the government, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has said in an interview.

But who are the "old guard"?

The most famous is undoubtedly the ANC's leader, Nelson Mandela, who turned 66 in July.

Rivonia

Mandela was already in jail — for leaving South Africa without a passport and inciting people to strike — when his other colleagues in Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing, were arrested at Rivonia in July 1963.

Mr Le Grange mentioned Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC, who is now 72, and Govan Mbeki, former Eastern Cape organizer of the banned organization, who is now 74.

Other members of the "old guard" who are serving life sentences are: Raymond Mhlaba, now 64; Denis Goldberg, 51; Ahmed Kathrada, 55; Elias Motsoaledi, 60; and Andrew Mlangeni, 58.

Life sentences

At present, five of them — Mandela, Sisulu, Mlangeni, Mhlaba and Kathrada — who were sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1964, are in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town.

Denis Goldberg is held in Pretoria Central Prison and the others are on Robben Island.

Nelson Mandela has been widely honoured outside South Africa — he has had a street named after him in London, a bust of him has been erected in Dublin, a square has been named after him in Amsterdam, he has been given honorary citizenship of Rome and he has been granted numerous honorary doctorates and awards.

'Influence'

In the interview in Leadership SA, Mr Le Grange admitted that Mandela was regarded by many black people as their leader and "he is a man of influence".

When the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in August

Tambo — after a protest.

From then on Mandela was actively involved in the ANC, which he joined in 1944, and became a key figure in the ANC Youth League, which urged greater militancy in the organization.

During the Defiance Campaign of 1952, in which 8 500 people deliberately broke apartheid laws, he had his first brush with the law, receiving a nine-month sentence.

Banned

During that year, he was elected Transvaal leader of the ANC and was promptly banned and ordered by the government to resign from the organization.

But he continued to be active and played a role in the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955. A year later, he was among the 156 people charged with treason. They were acquitted five years later.

When his banning order expired in 1961, a year after the ANC was banned, Mandela again became active and was the leading speaker at the All-in Africa Conference held in Maritzburg to oppose the "whites only" republic which was formed in that year.

After this he went underground, travelled extensively throughout South Africa and the rest of the world.

'Black Pimpernel'

He also became known as the "Black Pimpernel" as he eluded capture by the security police.

During this period he organized and was appointed commander of Umkonto we Sizwe, but after 18 months of underground activity he was arrested in Natal and received a prison sentence of five years.

In 1963, the ANC hide-out in Rivonia was discovered and along with seven other people he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Today, Mandela is studying for a doctorate by correspondence.

One visit

He is allowed one outside visit a month, often by his wife, Winnie, a political figure in her right, who is banished to the Free State town of

Nieman scholarship, is a former president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

Govan Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki was born in Transkei in 1910, the son of a relatively prosperous cattle owner.

Fort Hare

With a scholarship from the Transkei Bunga, he went to Fort Hare, obtaining a BA and a diploma in education.

He then earned a B. Econ in Social Studies in 1940 through Unisa.

He has written two books, Transkei in the Making (1939) and South Africa: the Peasants' Revolt (1964).

He taught after leaving university, but was dismissed for engaging in politics. He then opened a store in Idutywa and was elected for a four-year term to the Bunga.

He eventually became editor of New Age and was active in the ANC in Port Elizabeth.

Detained

He was banned and then detained during the 1960 Emergency.

He was detained in solitary confinement in 1962, charged under the Explosives Act, but was acquitted.

He immediately went underground and was rearrested at Rivonia.

His son Thabo is a key figure in the exiled ANC movement.

Raymond M Mhlaba, who was born in Fort Beaufort in 1920, was an active trade unionist in Port Elizabeth where he joined the Communist Party in 1943 and the ANC a year later.

'Europeans only'

He was arrested during the Defiance Campaign for leading a group of people through a "Europeans only" entrance to the New Brighton station. He was rearrested at Rivonia.

Dennis Goldberg, who was born in 1933, was active in the Congress of Democrats in Cape Town. He was convicted at the Rivonia trial.

Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada, who was born in 1929 in the Western Transvaal, received his first jail sentence at the age of 17 for civil disobedience.

He was involved in the Defiance Campaign and

prisoners, who were already elderly and "who are definitely not in the same leadership category as Mandela himself".

"But that does not mean that the government does not also consider his position."

"It has been done in the past, and his position will be considered on a regular basis in the future," he said.

In Mandela's case, the government of Transkei would have to be considered "in any developments or any decision that we would like to take".

When it was suggested that Mandela's relative, President Kaiser Matanzima, might not be happy to see him in Transkei, Mr Le Grange replied: "I wouldn't really say that."

"But we will definitely consider him. If we want to make any move in respect of Nelson Mandela, we will definitely consider the President of Transkei beforehand."

(Report by B Streek, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

prisoners, who were arrested at Rivonia in July 1963.

Mr Le Grange mentioned Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC, who is now 72, and Govan Mbeki, former Eastern Cape organizer of the banned organization, who is now 74.

Other members of the "old guard" who are serving life sentences are: Raymond Mhlaba, now 64; Denis Goldberg, 51; Ahmed Kathrada, 55; Elias Motsoaledi, 60; and Andrew Mlangeni, 58.

Life sentences

At present, five of them — Mandela, Sisulu, Mlangeni, Mhlaba and Kathrada — who were sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1964, are in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town.

Denis Goldberg is held in Pretoria Central Prison and the others are on Robben Island.

Nelson Mandela has been widely honoured outside South Africa — he has had a street named after him in London, a bust of him has been erected in Dublin, a square has been named after him in Amsterdam, he has been given honorary citizenship of Rome and he has been granted numerous honorary doctorates and awards.

'Influence'

In the interview in Leadership SA, Mr Le Grange admitted that Mandela was regarded by many black people as their leader and "he is a man of influence".

When the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in August last year, Mandela was the first person to be nominated as an honorary patron.

But the government has been unmoved by this status at home or abroad.

Mr P W Botha made it clear last year that he would ignore the campaign calling for Mandela's release and Mr Le Grange said Mandela's position could not be considered in the same category as the other men "who are already elderly".

Royal family

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born into the Tembu royal family on July 18, 1918, and is, according to custom, the uncle of Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, president of Transkei.

But at Fort Hare University Mandela renounced his tribal link, and was suspended in his third year in 1940 — along with the president of the exiled ANC, Oliver

But he continued to be active and played a role in the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955. A year later, he was among the 156 people charged with treason. They were acquitted five years later.

When his banning order expired in 1961, a year after the ANC was banned, Mandela again became active and was the leading speaker at the All-in Africa Conference held in Maritzburg to oppose the "whites only" republic which was formed in that year.

After this he went underground, travelled extensively throughout South Africa and the rest of the world.

'Black Pimpernel'

He also became known as the "Black Pimpernel" as he eluded capture by the security police.

During this period he organized and was appointed commander of Umkonto we Sizwe, but after 18 months of underground activity he was arrested in Natal and received a prison sentence of five years.

In 1963, the ANC hide-out in Rivonia was discovered and along with seven other people he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Today, Mandela is studying for a doctorate by correspondence.

One visit

He is allowed one outside visit a month, often by his wife, Winnie, a political figure in her right, who is banished to the Free State town of Brandfort.

Walter Max Ulyate Sisulu was a founder of the Youth League and secretary-general of the ANC from 1949 to 1954.

He was born in 1912 at Engcobo in Transkei, which he left in 1929 to work as a labourer in the Transvaal. He joined the ANC in 1940.

He was one of the planners of the Defiance Campaign and was tried twice for his involvement, receiving a nine-month suspended sentence in 1952.

Two years later, he was banned and ordered to resign from the ANC.

Like Mandela, Sisulu was charged in the 1956 treason trial.

Sisulu was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC in 1963, but was released from jail, pending appeal. He disappeared and was rearrested at Rivonia.

His wife Albertina is one of the three presidents of the UDF, and his son Zwelake, who is in the United States on a

missed for engaging in politics. He then opened a store in Idutywa and was elected for a four-year term to the Bunga.

He eventually became editor of New Age and was active in the ANC in Port Elizabeth.

Detained

He was banned and then detained during the 1960 Emergency.

He was detained in solitary confinement in 1962, charged under the Explosives Act, but was acquitted.

He immediately went underground and was rearrested at Rivonia.

His son Thabo is a key figure in the exiled ANC movement.

Raymond M Mhlaba, who was born in Fort Beaufort in 1920, was an active trade unionist in Port Elizabeth where he joined the Communist Party in 1943 and the ANC a year later.

'Europeans only'

He was arrested during the Defiance Campaign for leading a group of people through a "Europeans only" entrance to the New Brighton station. He was rearrested at Rivonia.

Dennis Goldberg, who was born in 1933, was active in the Congress of Democrats in Cape Town. He was convicted at the Rivonia trial.

Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada, who was born in 1929 in the Western Transvaal, received his first jail sentence at the age of 17 for civil disobedience.

He was involved in the Defiance Campaign and was charged with treason in 1956.

House arrest

After being placed under house arrest in 1962, he disappeared and was rearrested at Rivonia.

Elias Mathope Motsoaledi, who was born in 1924 near Middelburg in the Transvaal, was an active trade unionist, becoming a key figure in the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and a member of the Communist Party as well as the ANC.

He was first banned in 1952 and later detained for three months during the 1960 emergency and then in 1963 under the 90-day law, and was jailed at the Rivonia trial.

Andrew Mokete Mlangeni, who was born in Johannesburg in 1926, joined the Youth League in 1951 and was ANC regional secretary in the Johannesburg area between 1958 and 1960.

Mlangeni was arrested in the Rivonia raid in 1963.

Protesters ^{38/10/46} fail to halt ^{11A} Lenasia poll

By Yussuf Nazeer

Tomorrow Lenasia will hold another election in the face of strong protests from the United Democratic Front-affiliated Transvaal Indian Congress.

The voting is for the Lenasia Management Committee to which seven members must be elected. There has been no vigorous campaigning and, in six of the seven wards, candidates — including, for the first time, a woman — have been elected unopposed.

One member, the former chairman of the LMC, has resigned. Two others have withdrawn on the eve of the elections leaving only Ward 7 with a poll. The candidates are Mr Y Mia and Mr S M Chetty.

The Transvaal Indian Congress has urged residents not to vote.

Mr Mia said: "I am going through with this election because I believe I owe it to my voters, come what may. Let them reject me or accept me."

Earlier some candidates had called on the Administrator and the Minister of Home Affairs to postpone the elections as the political climate was not right and, last month, the LMC submitted a memorandum to this effect.

DECIDED TO GO AHEAD

An LMC member, Mr Ebrahim Minty, who has withdrawn from the elections, said: "The Administrator and the Minister agreed with us that the elections should not be held. But the city council and election officer have decided to go ahead with it against our wishes. So I have decided to pull out."

Mr Minty claimed that the city council's management committee, which has been pressing for Lenasia to become an autonomous municipality in the face of continuous opposition from the LMC, wanted new, agreeable recruits who would accept autonomy in the LMC.

A House of Delegates member in the LMC, Mr Faiz Khan, who was told the elections would not be held and failed to register his nomination, agreed with Mr Minty. He called the elections a farce.

"For a long time the council's management committee chairman, Mr Francois Oberholzer, has been pressing for an autonomous Lenasia cut off from the city council," said Mr Khan.

"We believe the council has gone for this election to get unopposed persons, inexperienced in civic matters, on to the new committee. They would accept autonomy without opposition," Mr Khan charged.

Neither Mr Oberholzer nor council spokesmen could be reached for comment.

NIC to intensify its 'end conscription campaign'

AN End Conscription Campaign had to be taken to every household in the land, Natal Indian Congress lawyer Mr Zac Yacoob, said in Durban at the launching of the movement in Natal yesterday.

"It must be linked to the total struggle for democracy," he said.

One could not look at conscription in isolation as it was used to maintain the status quo in the country, he said. The use of the Defence Force in townships and in road blocks was proof of this.

"The End Conscription Campaign cannot be a matter of conscience only. In the same way the State uses propaganda to win the hearts and minds of the people so we must win them at the expense of the State," he said.

By making it possible to conscript Indians and coloureds, the new constitution had broadened the campaign and had given it the chance to become a mass issue.

The campaign's declaration claims South Africa is an unjust society and in a state of civil war, and that young men are conscripted to occupy Namibia and assist in the implementation and defence of apartheid. "It is the moral right of South Africans to exercise freedom of conscience and to choose to serve in the SADF," it reads. — Sapa.

South Africa

30/10/84

(11A)

(11B)

11A C. Zhines
31/10/84

AAM crushes take-over bid

From JOHN
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) has crushed a take-over bid by the ultra-left Revolutionary Communist Group. The bid took place at the AAM's annual conference at the weekend.

Intervention by the African National Congress, which helped found the AAM 25 years ago, played a decisive role in thwarting the attempt.

All 13 candidates proposed for the AAM executive by the communists were defeated and a resolution attacking the AAM leadership over its handling of the South African Embassy picket campaign was defeated by 416 votes to 210.

The internal feud in the AAM — which reached new levels of bitterness in recent weeks — involves a rift

between the AAM's City of London group and the movement's leadership over picketing at South Africa House.

The city group is dominated by the Kitson family — Mrs Norma Kitson, her son and daughter, Steven and Amandla Kitson, and, more recently, Mr David Kitson, who was released from a 20-year South African prison sentence earlier this year.

The AAM leadership tried to halt all picketing at South Africa House earlier this year after an internal police ruling that picketing directly in front of the embassy was no longer acceptable.

The city group defied the AAM request and continued its weekly pickets. It also later won a test case contesting that they were breaking the law by picketing the embassy directly in front of the building.

11A

ONE of the three Durban British Consulate hideaway, Mr Archie Gumede, has been given a top appointment in a communist international front organisation.

It is the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), established by the Soviets along with a host of other front groups, after World War II.

When told about the organisation's background, Mr Yunus Ma-

Gumede gets top Red position

hommed, a member of the Natal Indian Congress, said: "I don't believe it. It's rubbish."

But later he said he would examine information he could gather about the body, its origins and objectives and consider it.

Mr Gumede was appointed vice-president at the IADL's world conference in Athens last week. In the meantime he is still holed up in the consulate in Durban with two colleagues.

Their objective was

and remains the accomplishment of precisely defined tasks set by world communism without the Communist Party or government of a given country having to show its hand, directly or indirectly.

Information about the IADL and other front organisations is readily available from most bookshops. Much has been written about them.

When told more of the organisation and its background, Mr Ma-

hommed said he and his colleagues were concerned about human rights and that was what the IADL was about — regardless of the country.

Danger

He said the main legal body in the Western world — the International Bar Association — held its last meeting in Vienna and the main topic of discussion was computer law.

"I have colleagues being detained under

various laws in South Africa. I have to fight for them. The IADL fights for them. That's why our legal organisations, the Democratic Lawyers' Association is affiliated to the IADL.

"But we will not be dictated to on political or ideological grounds. To say the IADL is communist is just as easy as saying all Western organisations have been inspired by the CIA (United States Central Intelligence Agency)."

He agreed there was a

danger in people belonging to organisations inspired and directed for ideological reasons, when they did not realise it.

The IADL was founded on October 26,

1946 in Paris by the Communist French Lawyers' Movement. Many non-communists attended but by 1958 the one-sided nature of the body had driven them out.

French Govt will not aid three fugitives

IIA
E.P.
31/10/84

Post Correspondent

DURBAN — The French Government has declined to grant sanctuary to the three men in the British Consulate offices in Durban should they be evicted from the Barclays Bank building in Field Street.

The statement by the French Government released by the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) today says: "As far as the right of granting sanctuary to the men in South Africa is concerned, neither the international law principle nor the local situation permits this to be considered."

The statement condemns apartheid and points out that the French Government is "fiercely anti-apartheid".

The statement, signed by Mr J Aussiel, thought to be a senior official in the French Foreign Department, expresses "both sympathy and concern" with the plight of the men in the consulate's offices.

Dr Farouk Meer, acting president of the NIC, said in Durban today the French Government's attitude was "disappointing". He felt that they could have given some kind of "assurance of sanctuary" if the three men were forced out of the British Consulate's offices.

The French Government's reply is similar to the West German Federal Republic's reply which the NIC received this week, except that the West German reply skirted the question of providing refuge for the men completely.

Dr Meer said that at this stage the men had no intention of leaving the consulate's offices.

Mr Yunus Mahomed, a legal representative for the three men in the consulate, said he would send a telex today to Britain's Deputy Foreign Minister responsible for Africa, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, asking him to reverse the decision to bar legal representatives from visiting their clients.

The wives of the three fugitives yesterday also sent a telegram to the Nobel peace prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, asking him to persuade the British Government to reverse a decision refusing the men visitors.

Meanwhile, after lengthy deliberations with the legal advisors of the Durban City Council, the council has decided not to take any action to attempt to eject the trio.

Mrs Sybil Hotz, chairman of the council's Management Committee, said today the committee had decided after lengthy deliberation not to prosecute any of the parties concerned for breaking the city's by-laws.

She said that although the council had received a written complaint about the men becoming a health hazard by living in an office block, it was felt that the city by-laws could not be used to solve an international crisis.

From London it is reported that the consulate in Durban could become one of the first victims of a proposed R40 million cut in British Foreign Office expenditure.

The proposed cuts are expected to lead to the closing of a number of British diplomatic missions in the South Pacific, Latin America, French West Africa and other places.

Foreign Office sources said the Durban Consulate, which employs only one fairly junior British diplomat, would be the most likely target in South Africa of cuts.

The Durban Consulate, which was downgraded from Consul-General status about five years ago, would face closure before staff cuts were made at the embassy or either of the other two consulates, the sources suggested.

RAM 3/10/84

Group 11A plans stayaway action

Political Reporter

A NUMBER of trade unions, political and youth organisations have come together to form the Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee and to investigate the possibility of organising a stay-away or other protest action.

The committee is to be launched at a Press conference in Johannesburg today.

According to a spokesman for the committee, its members include the Federation of South African Trade Unions, the Council of Unions of South Africa, the SA Allied Workers Union, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union, the Release Mandela Committee and youth organisations from Soweto, Tembiso, Alexandra and elsewhere.

This represents an unusual combination of trade unions, members of the United Democratic Front and members of the National Forum.

The protest will be directed against the crisis in education, the current unrest in the townships, retrenchments and similiar issues, the spokesman said.



ON PARADE
by
WILLEM STEENKAMP

Army-backed raids make ANC credible

LONG experience has taught me that when it comes to the construction or destruction of images, it is not the facts which matter so much as the *perception* of those facts.

I mention this because an expert reader has made the point that the employment of troops in the recent township sweeps has conferred on the African National Congress a military credibility which it has not earned and which it has not possessed up to now.

It is a fact that the ANC has not made much of an impact as far as its insurrectionist activities are concerned. Some acts of sabotage and violence have taken place, but the ANC has not been able to mount a concerted campaign or co-ordinate it with non-military activities; and in most cases those who did act were then scooped up by the police, usually sooner rather than later.

This led, in the opinion of one of my (non-official) sources, to a certain lack of active popular support for the organization because of doubts about whether such acts could or would achieve anything other than create martyrs.

What the employment of troops will do to this perception is a question that must be considered and I trust the authorities have done so.

Another reader said: "A combined police-military raid on Sharpeville, of all places, must be the public relations debacle of the decade! Don't the authorities realize the connotations Sharpeville has for people overseas?"

Here I agree fully. The Sharpeville shootings have been projected overseas as a modern equivalent of the Babi Yar, Amritsar and Katyn Forest massacres. That is the perception abroad and there is no arguing against it.

Who called...

MILITARY cooking is a field of endeavour which has been a source of ill-considered (but, alas, sometimes justified) jokes since at least the time of Julius Caesar, but there won't be much laughing at the Burgers Park Hotel in Pretoria on Saturday.

The reason: The four best cooks in the entire Defence Force will be crossing spoons in a sudden-death clash officially known as the Southern Sun Hotels SADF Chef of the Year Competition.

What it amounts to is that Southern Sun Hotels has coughed up a five-star sponsorship for an attempt to improve standards of cooking in the SADF and the country as a whole (and, I am sure, to encourage undeveloped talent which might some day end up in a Southern Sun hotel kitchen).

In practical terms this meant that a couple of weeks ago a number of military 50-man field cookers were deployed on the President Hotel's lawn and 12 chefs from bases all over the country got to work preparing a standard three-course meal from raw materials supplied by Southern Sun.

The result of their labours — in the course of which much ingenuity was shown — were then given the hawkeye by a blue-ribbon panel of judges consisting of Wendy Gilmore of the SABC's Women's World programme, Mr Erick Springer, executive chef of the President Hotel, and the senior catering officers of the four armed services.

The food was then consumed by a large group of guests congregated under a nearby marquee and presided over by Southern Sun marketing director Jurgen Burmeister. I can report that both guests and judges were satisfied.

Each of the four winners received a cup, a certificate, a cheque and a weekend for two at a Southern Sun hotel and the runners-up cheques and certificates; and then it was a case of girding loins for November 3.

For the four finalists — WO1 E C Rabey (SA Medical Service), Petty-Officer D Nayager (SA Navy), Flight-Sergeant G J Muller (SAAF) and Corporal G J Buijs (SA Army) — the rewards are tempting. Apart from the prestige, the top dog will receive a big silver floating trophy donated by the hotel group, a R1 000 cheque and a week's holiday for two at one of the group's hotels.

And it didn't cost the SADF anything. That's cost-effectiveness for you.

Who's doing it?

READER Mr B G Kraak of Pinelands recently inquired in the Teleletters column: "Nobody in the public debate on the involvement of conscripts in quelling civilian unrest has queried the role played by the Permanent Defence Force, who are state employees. Are they involved, or do they leave the task of 'being friends with all blacks' to the troopies?"

● Good question, Mr Kraak! According to an SADF spokesman the troops used at Sebokeng and elsewhere were national servicemen with a sprinkling of Permanent Force leader group.

Believe it or not, the South African Army (Permanent Force), which numbers about 16 000 men and women of all races, does not have a single all-regular operational unit, although some of its men serve in the highly specialized reconnaissance commandos, who are SADF rather than Army troops.

Just Nuisance

NO DOUBT many readers saw last week's letter to the editor from one D Silberbauer about the alleged darker side of that renowned sea-dog, Just Nuisance.

I have no doubt that the signatory to this hilarious missive is none other than Commodore Dicken Silberbauer; it has his unmistakable touch.

Would that we received more such letters! However virtuous a character the late Nuisance was, the public adulation of him was beginning to verge on the mawkish. It is about time someone administered a dash of cold water.

One of the three men hiding in the Durban British Consulate, Mr Archie Gumede, has been given a top appointment in a communist international front organisation.

It is the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), established by the Soviets with other front groups after World War 2.

When told about the organisation's background, Mr Yunus Mahommed, of the Natal Indian Congress, said: "I don't believe it. It's rubbish."

But later he said he would examine information he could gather about the body, its origins and objectives.

Mr Gumede was appointed vice-president at the IADL's world conference in Athens last week.

Its objective was and remains today the accomplishment of precisely defined tasks set by world communism without the communist party or government of a given country having to show its hand.

AVAILABLE

Information about the IADL and other front organisations is readily available from most bookshops.

When told more of the group and its background, Mr Mahommed said he and his colleagues were concerned about human rights and that was what the IADL was about regardless of the country.

He said the main legal body in the West — the International Bar Association — held its last meeting in Vienna and the main topic of discussion was computer law.

"I have colleagues being detained under various laws in South Africa. I have to fight for them. The IADL fights for them. That's why our legal organisations, the Democratic Lawyers' Association is affiliated to the IADL.

"But we will not be dictated to on political or ideological grounds. To say the IADL is communist is just as easy as saying all western groups have been inspired by the CIA (United States Cen-

Soviet front organisations were established to allow the Soviets to push communism unobtrusively and to allow them a number of different professional-oriented platforms to attack the West. Over the years the fronts have been avoided by most Western left-wing groups because of their lack of credibility but they have picked up members in the Third World.

The fronts trade on ignorance and naivete and control remains strongly in Soviet-dominated hands. They evolved from Lenin's plan to further communism through the manipulation of often well-meaning but generally naive people — "useful idiots" he called them.

tral Intelligence Agency.)"

He agreed there was a danger in people belonging to groups inspired and directed for ideological reasons, when they did not realise it.

The IADL was founded on October 26 1946 in Paris by the communist French Lawyers' Movement. Many non-communists attended but by 1958 the one-sided nature of the body had driven them out.

Professor Mike Hough, head of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Pretoria University, said the nature of the IADL and its sister front organisations was well known although many people were unaware of their true background.

One of his staff, Mr D Booyse, said the Soviet writer and dissenter, Vladimir Bukovsky, who spent years in prisons and labour camps for his beliefs, was traded in the 1970s for an imprisoned Chilean communist.

Bukovsky wrote in his book "The Peace Movement" and in the Soviet Union of the way in which innocent, and well-meaning people were manipulated by activists to carry out the aims of the Soviet Union and become what Lenin called "useful idiots".

The 1983 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, published by Stamford University in the United States, says evidence shows the front groups to be controlled by the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It says in addition to Soviet control of each

front through the ID and headquarters personnel, co-ordination of front activity appears to be effected by the WPC. This makes sense because the Soviets consider the "peace movement" the most important joint action by the "anti-imperialist" forces.

The front groups include the World Peace Council (WPC), World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ), Christian Peace Conference (CPC), International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), International Union of Students (IUS), World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW).

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) is affiliated to the IUS.

Mr Booyse said the fronts worked in such a way little if any criticism of the Soviet Union and its allies surfaced and criticism was directed at Western nations.

● In a telex to *The Star* Mr C J Albertyn, secretary of the Democratic Lawyers' Association, has vigorously denied that the international organisation of which his body has been an affiliate for the past six years, is a communist front. However, it is listed as a communist front organisation in the 1983 edition of the authoritative Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, edited by Robert Wesson.

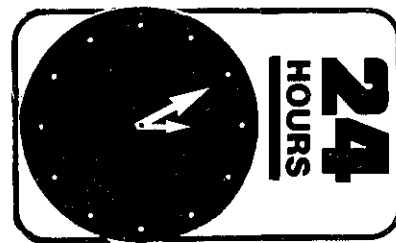
Gumede gets a top 'front' post

Communism

and its

SA links

span
11/11/84
11/11/84



2-day work stayaway planned in Transvaal

A two-day work stayaway has been planned for all major industrial areas of the Transvaal next week.

Leading trade union groupings — representing about 300 000 workers — have thrown their weight behind the call, in protest against Government response to student, civic and worker grievances.

It will be the first time since the nationwide


stoppage over the death of trade unionist Neil Aggett that a wide range of unions and civic organisations have combined forces in protest action.

The intention of the stay-home will be to make an impact on the Government and shake it into answering student and worker demands, says the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee.

The Federation of South African Trade Unions, the Council of Unions of South Africa, the South African Allied Workers' Union, township civic associations, youth groups and student bodies are involved.

The Release Mandela Committee, Federation of South African Women and United Democratic Front Soweto Committee are also key participants.

Solidarity calls for ANC leaders' release

 ICA Own Correspondent *sfw 1/11/84*
DURBAN — Solidarity, the official opposition in the House of Delegates, has called on the Government to release the jailed ANC leaders — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki.

Solidarity law and order spokesman Mr Maoo Rajab was responding today to an interview in the magazine *Leadership SA* in which the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said

there was a possibility that some of the jailed leaders may be released.

Mr Rajab said the ANC leaders had been imprisoned for more than 20 years.

"Whatever their offences, they have paid a penalty far more than South African law usually exacts from a prisoner," he said.

The release of the men would have a great effect on public opinion throughout the world.

"They could also help bring about peace in South Africa," he said.

Black groups call for 2-day stay-at-home

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

MORE than 30 organisations — including some of the largest black trade unions, the United Democratic Front and student and youth organisations — have launched a joint campaign for a two-day stay-at-home next week.

They have formed the Transvaal Stay-Away Committee and are distributing 400 000 pamphlets and 5 000 posters calling on people all over the province to stay in their homes on Monday and Tuesday.

They have called for shops to close, for taxi drivers not to operate and for buses to stay out of the townships on the two days.

They have also sent telexes to the Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange, and the Minister of Co-operation and Education Dr Gerrit Viljoen, asking them to heed the demands of the people in the townships.

According to the committee, which held a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the stay-away call emerged from a meeting of 37 organisations called by the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) last Saturday.

They have demanded:

- The resignation of community councillors;
- The withdrawal of the police and army from the townships.

The nine trade unions involved met on Wednesday night and added demands for:

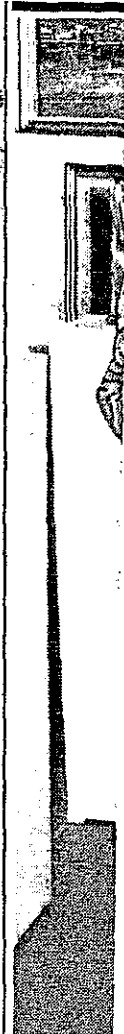
- The stopping of rent and bus fare increases;
- The release of all detainees and political prisoners;
- The reinstatement of dismissed workers, particularly the Simba Quix workers;
- The withdrawal of "unfair GST and tax-ation".

They have recommended that their members stay indoors, but that health workers be allowed to provide medical services.

They also decided to send copies of their statement to managements, church ministers and to Putco. Members of Cosas were visiting hostels in the townships yesterday, asking migrant workers to support the stay-away.

The trade unions involved are the Federation of SA Trade Unions, the Council of Unions of SA, the SA Allied Workers' Union, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA, the United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers of SA, the General and Allied Workers' Union, the Municipal and General Workers' Union, the Scooter Drivers' Association of SA and the National Union of Print and Allied Workers.

Other organisations taking part include the Release Mandela Committee, the Federation of SA Women, the Vaal Civic Association, and the Soweto Civic Association.



Karen Motswagole
at the Ar

RDM 2/11/84

11A

~~2/11/84~~

Low Lenasia poll hailed as a victory for TIC

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has hailed the result of this week's Lenasia Management Committee elections as a "massive victory", and yesterday called on those elected to resign immediately.

In a statement, the TIC said only 0,28% of the more than 45 000 eligible voters had shown support for those elected.

The results showed the massive rejection of the management committee and the Government's local government system as a whole, it said.

Only two of the seven seats on the management committee were contested after two candidates pulled out on the eve of the elections.

Those who were elected unopposed included a num-

ber of people who were recently defeated in the parliamentary elections. These include Mrs Rashida Ebrahim, who polled 35 votes in the parliamentary election, and Mr Ram Pillay.

In the contested seats Mr Ram Mohabeer won Ward Two with 34 of the 35 votes cast and Mr Y Mia won Ward Five with 87 of the 97 votes cast.

A TIC spokesman said yesterday that the TIC had been campaigning door-to-door, calling on people to stay away from the polls.

It was clear that those elected had won only because their immediate families had voted for them, he said.

The new management committee will consist of Mr Harry Behare, Mr Ram Mohabeer, Mr J Jhina, Mr Ram Pillay, Mr Y Mia, Mr M Khan and Mrs Rashida Ebrahim.

2/11/84
C. Times
11A

SA needs long-term solutions, says Le Grange

By BARRY STREEK

CONTROL of violence in the black townships depended on finding the correct political solutions, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has said in an interview.

"Future political solutions will be of the utmost importance insofar as the situation regarding violence in South Africa is concerned. But that is in the long term," Mr Le Grange said.

"For the short term it can be contained because we have a powerful security system.

"But that is short term, and one wouldn't like to emphasize this.

"I would rather like to stress long-term prospects. Long-term solutions must be found, especially at a political level," he said in an interview in the latest issue of the quarterly magazine Leadership SA.

He believed the recent outbreaks of violence in the townships were sporadic.

However, some of the causes of

the violence "are serious, with very deep-lying reasons — reasons that must be very seriously considered".

"But although this may be the situation, it does not mean we must admit we are involved in long-term violence.

"I would rather see it as sporadic, happening from time to time, depending on particular circumstances."

Mr Le Grange also said the recent violence arose basically because of the new constitutional system being applied.

"Certain people wanted to cause a situation of unrest, they wanted to show the world the constitution is very unpopular with sections of the population.

"They wanted to get across a message of uncertainty within South Africa.

"That was the main purpose, I would say, behind the recent unrest that we had."

Schoolchildren had been used, but at most less than one percent

of all black schoolchildren had been involved.

"So it was not a country-wide success. In that sense I think their efforts were a complete failure.

"I firmly believe there will be a decrease in violence as the new constitution develops," he said.

Mr Le Grange also said the United Democratic Front (UDF) and some of its affiliated organizations, such as the Release Mandela Committee, were being watched "very, very closely".

"I am of the opinion that some elements in the UDF, some of the leader core in the UDF, and some of its affiliates, definitely propagate or encourage a revolutionary climate within South Africa.

"There is no doubt in my mind about that. How far they are prepared to go, the future will have to show us.

"But we, the government, are taking a very serious look at these matters," Mr Le Grange said.

(Report by B Streek, 77 Burg St, Cape Town.)

UDF arrest at Jan Smuts

Own Correspondent

2/11/84

DURBAN - United Democratic Front executive member Mr Mafison Morobe, who recently flew to Britain and the United Nations to put the case of the six Durban consulate refugees, has been detained by the police.

Mr Morobe, who is on the national secretariat of the UDF, was reported to have been detained in Johannesburg at about 10 am today under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

UDF is ^{11A}
backing ^{Star}
work ^{2/11/84}

stayaway

The United Democratic Front (UDF) has declared support for the planned two-day stayaway spear-headed by students, trade unionists, civic activists and youth groups.

e
t
f
e
:
:
The UDF predicts that the protest planned for Monday and Tuesday in Transvaal industrial areas will be a positive display of unity by all sections of the population, and a measure of people's resistance to Government policies.

DISTRIBUTION

- If there are distribution problems in home deliveries and corner sales on the stayaway days, *The Star* will try to ensure that all cafes are well supplied with all editions of the newspaper.

Petrol-bombing causes damage to homes in PE

By JIMMY MATYU

THE Port Elizabeth homes of four prominent black critics of the Government were petrol-bombed early today.

The homes belong to:

● Mr Lulu Johnson, national president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), who lives in New Brighton.

● Mr Mono Badela, detained journalist and former chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), who lives in New Brighton.

● Mrs Ivy Gcina, president of the Port Elizabeth Black Women's Organisation, who lives in Kwazakele.

● Mr Vuyani Vena, executive member of the Port Elizabeth branch of Cosas, who lives in Kwazakele.

Mrs Gcina was badly burnt on the arm, but no one else was hurt. Damage amounting to more than R8 000 was caused to her home. More than R500's worth of damage was caused to the home of Mr Badela. No serious damage was caused at the other two homes.

Mr Badela and his daughter, Brenda, a full-time organiser of Cosas, were among people detained this week under Section 29 (1) of



Mrs IVY GCINA shows her neighbour, Mrs NANCY NGONO, the burns on her right arm.

the Internal Security Act.

A shaken Mrs Nomaindiya Badela said today that she and her children were awoken at 2.30am by the explosion and the part of the children's bedroom facing the street caught alight.

Mrs Badela said it was the work of God that at the last minute she decided to sleep with her two children, Zwelethu, five, and Piko, 14, in her bedroom at the back.

The family managed to beat out the flames.

Mrs Ivy Gcina said the attack on her home hap-

pened at about 2am while the family were sleeping.

"We were awoken by loud explosions and rushed to find out what was happening. We found the back bedroom on fire and while we were busy with that we heard two other explosions coming from the front bedroom. When we rushed out to get water, we felt the choking fumes of what appeared to be tearsmoke," she said.

Mrs Gcina said her neighbours, who came to her assistance to fight the fire, saw a minibus with

strange men parked not far from her home and while they were fighting the flames, she said she heard a car drive away in a back street.

Mrs Gcina showed Weekend Post one of the petrol bombs which did not ignite.

She said two previous unsuccessful attempts had been made on her house — on October 27, 1977, and on February 8, 1978.

At the home of Mr Vena, pieces of a broken petrol bomb were lying outside below the window of a bedroom. The bomb appeared to have hit a window frame and broken, blackening some of the panes.

At Mrs Johnson's home a fire bomb hurled through a window failed to ignite and caused no damage.

● A South African Police spokesman in Pretoria said about 50 youths stoned police vehicles in Jozi, Grahamstown, and dispersed after rubber bullets were fired.

Nobody was arrested. Police arrested five men in two other incidents.

● A Standard 9 pupil at Trinity High School, Port Elizabeth, has been arrested on a charge of public violence and will appear in court on Monday. He was arrested in connection with stone-throwing incidents in the township.

Chances of talks between SA and ANC

(11A) C-tries
3/11/84

By **ANDREW PRIOR**
of the Department of Political Studies at UCT

THE Nkomati accord early in 1984 forced Mozambique to expel ANC insurgents from the country and the ANC military operation had to move to Angola, Tanzania and Zambia.

None of these countries borders directly on South Africa. This generated a serious internal crisis for the ANC for it now meant that the guerilla war strategy, which has underlain ANC planning since 1969, was now in serious jeopardy.

Even more serious for the ANC was the simultaneous destruction of the carefully nurtured myth that the ANC would bring about black liberation through armed intervention from outside South Africa.

For many years the ANC had carefully orchestrated its international campaign to deny legitimacy to the South African government. The picture which appeared in the world press of Samora Machel, the leader of a Marxist-ruled black African state, and P W Botha, the head of the minority white South African government, benignly shaking hands undid in a day what the ANC had worked for years to achieve.

Today the ANC and the South African government face each other as hostile protagonists. The government, which scored a significant victory over the ANC with the Nkomati accord, still acknowledges that the ANC is an organization with the potential to cause economic and social disruption through its campaign of violence: and the ANC sees the South African government standing in the way of black liberation.

In spite of its rhetoric the ANC simply does not have the capacity to overthrow the South African government, or even seriously to threaten it; and while the government is able to restrict the activity of the ANC in South Africa, it is not able to destroy its international presence or the idea of liberation that many South African blacks associate with the ANC.

Negotiation between parties

In the absence of an agreement between the ANC and the South African government their future will be one of mutual antagonism: each wounds the other without either being able to plant a mortal blow. The ANC will infiltrate armed insurgents into South Africa, where they will have a mixed success in reaching their targets; the South African police and military will have to keep plugging the holes, sometimes they will do so on time, at other times they will be too late.

Is there any possibility of negotiation between the two parties?

Parties start negotiating only when they believe they will have something to gain from doing so. Should the South African government come to an agreement with the ANC there is little doubt that the gains would be dramatic: it would obtain increased legitimacy in the eyes of black South Africans, internal tension will lessen, and there would be a wider international acceptance of South Africa.

But what would the ANC gain? The first gain would be the right to operate openly and legally within South Africa, the release of political prisoners, and the possibility of determining South African government policies through the inclusion of the ANC into government bodies.

The announcement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, which could lead to the release of a few elderly ANC prisoners seems based on humanitarian considerations. It has not been cast as anything which could be the precursor to negotiations with the ANC.

The obstacle in the way of negotiation is clearly the losses that each party will incur in the process. The South African government will negotiate only if the ANC gives up its programme of violence, and its policy of majority rule; the ANC will negotiate only if the demise of apartheid is the first item on the agenda.

Secondary obstacles

The test for each party will be a simple one before such a process can begin: can each still obtain support from its constituency if it makes these concessions? Will the ANC continue to receive massive black support if it forgoes its claims to majority rule? And, how much support would the National Party receive from its constituency if it agrees to dismantle apartheid?

Secondary obstacles to an accord are the links that the ANC has formed with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Soviet Union.

At an early stage in the negotiation, the South African government will demand that these ties be cut. This would pose a problem for the ANC. At the moment the ANC is dependent upon the Soviet Union for diplomatic recognition and military assistance, and an unwritten condition of this is that the ANC continues its ties with the SACP. However, should the United States take over the role played by the Soviet Union this is likely to be agreed to by both the South African government and the ANC.

Traditionally, the ANC has been a coalition political group, which welcomed people of different ideological persuasions — liberals, nationalists, and communists alike. For all of these reasons the cutting of ties with the communists is likely to cause a severe haemorrhage in the body of the ANC.

The list of organizational obstacles to negotiation is formidable. Both the ANC and the National Party government have spawned bureaucracies which have a vested interest in keeping the conflict going between the two parties.

Since 1969 the ANC military has developed a military bureaucracy which derives status and prestige from the military struggle; and since 1948 the South African government has formed a huge bureaucracy which needs apartheid to give it a function and purpose. It is reasonable to expect that both these groups will be a serious obstacle to discussion.

Important to communicate

It is an unpalatable fact that the present situation for both the ANC and the South African government is not conducive to negotiation. While both parties may admit that there are some gains through the negotiation process, the potential losses loom much larger.

In spite of this, there is little doubt that negotiations between the two parties will have to begin some time and there are probably senior members of both groups who recognize this fact. Given that this is so, it becomes important for communication links to be set up and maintained between the parties.

The first step in such a process would be the making of an approach through a negotiation broker, whose function it would be to preside over the proceedings. A politically uncommitted third party who enjoys the confidence of the both the ANC and the South African government could fill this position. There is no shortage of countries who would fit the bill, and who would be willing to provide the service.

Sub rosa discussions could start on issues which are negotiable and concessions could be agreed upon on a quid pro quo basis. These could include the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the toning down of the ANC's boycott and military campaign; and the lifting of restrictions on certain ANC publications and personnel in South Africa.

While many issues will remain non-negotiable in South Africa for a long time, and some form of endemic conflict may be unavoidable, there are still steps parties can take to control the violence in the society.

The tentative steps towards negotiation suggested above could identify parties for negotiation, and generate a climate for continued discussion. Politicians and party thinkers should start preparing the way for the time when what is non-negotiable today will have to be negotiated tomorrow.

Why the ANC

is being hit for six

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

THE African National Congress is "on the downgrade," Mr Louis Le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, declared in his 14th floor office in the heart of Pretoria.

"They've had a lot of problems. One of their problems is a question of morale. They've been hit for sixes all the time. They know it very well."

But, Mr Le Grange added, apart from the ANC's recent setbacks and its adverse impact on its morale, South Africa's blacks were turning away from the ANC because of contemporary political, social and economic developments.

"The blacks appreciate what is happening. They see there is earnestness and seriousness in the Government's willingness to talk to them, to consider the future with them in the interests of all."

Mr Le Grange's statements ring strangely in the ears of South Africans who do not share his political perspective.

They are difficult to reconcile with continuing attacks by the ANC in the wake of the March 16 Nkomati Accord with Mozambique and, even more, with the on-going unrest which has turned many townships into battlegrounds between police and black youths.

Mr Le Grange, however, did not have the same problems.

"We didn't expect a drop in ANC attacks after Nkomati," he told me in a wide-ranging interview.

"We expected an increase and there was a slight increase ... because the ANC wanted to emphasise its supposed strength to the world. We expected an increase and we were geared for it. But (the attacks) are levelling off now."

The township unrest was cited by Mr Le Grange as evidence of his view that blacks are appreciative of President P W Botha's "reforms" policies.

He had no doubt that the ANC had a hand in instigating the unrest, largely in a bid to thwart the implementation of the new Constitution and sabotage the process of political reform which was threatening to make it redundant.

"The more we succeed in talking about these matters (of reform), the more the ANC will become obsolete on the South African scene," he said.

"Its main purpose in the last three months in South Africa was to try and create a picture of discontented people ... to give the impression to the rest of the world that the constitutional developments are (totally) unacceptable to the people of South Africa."

"That is certainly one of the main reasons behind the present unrest in South Africa."

Mr Le Grange was sanguine about the unrest itself, which, according to figures culled from newspaper reports by the Institute of Race Relations, has claimed the lives of at least 134 people since the death of a school-

girl in Atteridgeville in February.

"I am confident that it is calming down progressively," Mr Le Grange said.

"One really can't say, but with the (completion of) school examinations and the closing of the schools it may calm down completely."

Mr Le Grange, a member of the Cabinet committee investigating ways of politically accommodating blacks living outside their designated "homelands," recognised the need for a political solution in any long-term answer to the unrest.

"We are talking to leaders of these black communities, to leaders in the urban areas, to leaders from the national states ... to their own traditional leaders ... and to leaders from the independent states."

"We are not negotiating, but we are talking to them. We are asking their views. We will eventually consider all the views that we listened to."

"We will eventually consider all the information we have at our disposal to try and come to our final recommendations to the Government for its final decision."

Some observers believe that the Government has complicated its own task by detaining leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and, to a lesser extent, the National Forum.

They contend that these leaders should be included in any discussions, as they have a genuine following and an equivalent legitimacy.

Mr Le Grange did not agree.

"I don't think they are so important that there is nobody else left to talk with to find solutions to the future. They are not that important. Definitely not."

"I don't say that they are not regarded by some of their people as leaders. I am not saying that. All I am saying is that considerations for the future have definitely not come to a standstill because they have been detained."

Mr Le Grange has accused the UDF with creating a "revolutionary climate" and promoting the same aims as the ANC.

Asked why the UDF had not been charged in court with fomenting revolution and promoting the aims of a banned organisation, he replied:

"These matters are involved. It takes time to investigate. It may take a few years ... We are monitoring the UDF and some of its affiliates on

a very close basis."

He did not exclude the possibility of charges being brought against the UDF in court eventually, and justified the detention of several of its leaders as the course of action demanded by "the information available to us."

On possible action against the UDF in the future, Mr Le Grange said:

"It all depends on the circumstances ... We will have to see what the UDF does, how they go about (their business) and what they intend doing."

Judging from unrest casualty figures given by Mr Le Grange in a speech to the Transvaal National Party congress on October 5, police action has caused more than three-quarters of the deaths.

Of the 80 people killed between August 1 and September 20, 65 were killed by police. Mr Le Grange disclosed in his speech.

Some observers have interpreted these figures as evidence of the inability of the police to control riot situations except by the crudest methods.

Mr Le Grange, however, was adamant in his defence of police methods and their concern to keep casualties to a minimum.

"Our view is that we must operate with the absolute minimum loss of life ... I can't emphasise that enough."

"That is the approach of the SAP. We must operate with the absolute minimum loss of life, but without losing effectiveness, of course, and without endangering the lives of the police force ..."

"We have adopted new methods by using rubber bullets, by using those little stamboks instead of the heavy riot truncheons that were used on kids and youngsters (in the past). We have our sneeze machines. We have tear-gas."

"All these kinds of methods are used to try to ensure that there will be a minimum loss of life."

"We don't use live ammunition unless we are in danger and unless the situation is very, very serious."

"And then it is only in the final instance that a senior officer will give an instruction for live ammunition to be used."

"I don't mind if it takes a little longer to get the situation under control if we can save lives by doing it that way."



LE GRANGE ... "The more we succeed in talking about reform, the more the ANC will become obsolete."

British ^{(11A) D. Dispatch} ambassador ^{3/11/84} calls for calmer mood

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Patrick Moberly, the new British ambassador in Pretoria, said yesterday that "for the moment" the three men involved in the Durban consulate sit-in would not be forced out.

He declined, however, to give a categorical answer on whether his government might close down the consulate.

He also said the "difficulties" in the relationship between the British and South African governments were not of his government's making.

"We would like to see a calmer mood. We have no wish to make matters worse," he said.

Mr Moberly, who presented his credentials to the State President earlier this week, was

speaking to the press at an embassy function.

A solution to the sit-in was largely in the hands of the three men involved and the South African Government, he said.

He was optimistic that the three men would soon leave the consulate of their own volition.

Stricter regulations had been introduced by the consulate because the three had not given assurances that they would not conduct a political campaign from the consulate offices, he said.

Asked about the suggestion that the British might close the consulate, thus forcing the men out, he said: "Our work in the consulate is substantially limited. As time goes on, we find the

situation increasingly burdensome.

"But, for the moment, our standpoint remains that the men should not be forced out against their will," he said. He declined to elaborate on this.

Mr Moberly said the case of the "Coventry four" had brought a difficult moment in the relationship between Britain and South Africa, but "we would like to feel we can overcome these difficulties.

British links with South Africa were very much valued in London, he said.

He did not agree that the British court ruling on the failure of the Coventry four to appear was a victory for South Africa, as the South African Government had claimed. — DDC.

Police
detain
UDF man

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

POLICE yesterday detained Mr Murphy Morobe, an area co-ordinator for the United Democratic Front who recently travelled to Britain and the United Nations on their behalf.

Mr Morobe, 26, of Soweto, was picked up by the police at the UDF offices in central Johannesburg.

Other UDF officials were told he was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention without trial.

Mr Morobe recently travelled to London and New York with Mr Zac Yacoob, lawyer for the three men involved in the Durban Consulate sit-in, to speak to international leaders about the sit-in.

He held discussions with Mr Neil Kinnock, leader of the British Labour Party, and Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations.

He also recently travelled to Sweden to receive a Freedom Prize on behalf of the UDF.

Mr Morobe, a former Robben Island prisoner, was one of the accused in the Kempton Park treason trial of students who led the 1976 uprising and was sentenced to three years imprisonment.

The UDF issued a statement condemning the detention and saying "intimidating the oppressed ... would never help the minority regime.

"The regime should have realised long ago that whatever repressive methods it uses will only serve to fuel the fire. No amount of detention and harassment will stop our march to freedom," it said.

The Police Directorate of Public Relations last night confirmed that Mr Morobe had been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Police
quizzed
on ANC
route

JOHANNESBURG —
The South African
Police have acknow-
ledged that African
National Congress fight-
ers who use Botswana as
an infiltration route to
South Africa do so with-
out the sanction of the
Botswana Government.

The acknowledgement
is contained in telexed
replies from the SAP
public relations division
to a series of questions
submitted to the Com-
missioner of Police,
General P. J. Coetzee, by
a Johannesburg news-
paper.

One of the questions
noted that two cabinet
ministers — the Minister
of Foreign Affairs, Mr
Pik Botha, and the
Minister of Defence,
General Magnus Malan
— have identified Bot-
swana in recent weeks as
a new ANC infiltration
route since the signing
of the Nkomati Accord
with Mozambique on
March 16.

General Coetzee was
asked how seriously he
rated the threat from the
Botswana route and
whether the Botswana
police co-operated with
the SAP in checking it.

The SAP reply read:

"Since the signing of
the Nkomati Accord, the
ANC have been forced to
re-appraise their infil-
tration route to South
Africa and the 'Bots-
wana route' is the logical
alternative.

"The ANC have in the
past used the Botswana
route and evidence has
been gained that this
route is now being used
again.

"It must be stressed
that the ANC uses this
route without the sanc-
tion of the Botswana
Government and that the
Botswana Police have in
the past arrested ANC
members who had fled
to Botswana after com-
mitting acts of terror in
the RSA." — DDC.

Ban
served
on
7 PE
bodies

~~EST~~
11A
EST
Post
5/11/64

Post Reporter

THE Chief Magistrate of Port Elizabeth, Mr J A Coetzee, today issued an order in terms of the Internal Security Act banning meetings in the Port Elizabeth magisterial district by seven organisations from 8am tomorrow until 8am on Thursday.

In terms of the order, no meetings may be held in the Port Elizabeth magisterial district by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Motor Assemblers and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa), the PE Youth Congress (Peyco), the PE Women's Organisation (Pewo), the PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) and the General Workers' Union (GWU).

A spokesman for the SA Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said stones were thrown at a bakery van in New Brighton today. There was no damage and no arrests.

Attempts were made by youths to set fire to the Newell High School in New Brighton. Police dispersed the group by firing birdshot.

In Uitenhage last night the offices of school principals were set alight at three schools in Kwanobuhle in an attempt to destroy examination papers.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said damage was slight.

The schools affected were the Stephen Mkombo Higher Primary, Mthonjeni Higher Primary and Tanduio Secondary School.

Late on Saturday a classroom at Tamaba Primary School in Grahamstown was set alight.

Police used birdshot to disperse youths who stoned police vehicles in Port Elizabeth's black townships on Saturday evening.

An uneasy calm has returned to Grahamstown.

The M Street arterial route running through Tany into Joza is being used again.

● See Page 3

11A
D. Dispatch
6/11/84

No negotiations to release Mandela says Chief George

EAST LONDON — Transkei was not negotiating with South Africa for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the Prime Minister of Transkei, Chief George Matanzima, said yesterday.

"The matter was discussed some time ago, but there are no talks at the moment," he said.

The question of Mandela's release was raised in a recent interview with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, who said the

government was considering the continued detention of the ANC "old guard".

In the interview in the magazine, Leadership SA, the minister said Mandela was still "a man of influence" and that he was a Transkeian citizen.

Mr Le Grange said Mandela was a member of "a well-known" Transkeian family and Transkei would be consulted if the government made a decision about his continued imprisonment.

Asked if Mandela was a Transkeian citizen, Chief Matanzima said: "He was born here in Transkei, but citizenship is a restrictive term."

Chief Matanzima said Mandela was his uncle according to tribal custom.

Asked if Mandela would be restricted should he be released and sent to Transkei, the prime minister said he would not answer "hypothetical questions". — DDR

UDF welcomes success of the campaign

The United Democratic Front (UDF) said it was "overwhelmed by the success" of the first day of the stayaway and appealed to township residents to stand firm in observing the second day as peacefully as possible.

The UDF Soweto Committee is one of 37 organisations that launched the Transvaal Stayaway Committee a week ago.

UDF Transvaal vice-president, the Rev Frank Chikane, yesterday called attention to the demands "that gave rise to this drastic action by our people".

He said the demands included better education and reasonable rents.

"But the real issue is that people are no longer prepared to be ruled by other people.

"The underlying demand is that the Government should listen to the voice of the people and get rid of apartheid."

He said the stayaway was a determined attempt to make those in power listen.

Tembisa Unisa students stranded in township

10/11/84

Stow 11A

By Abel Mabelane

Several Unisa students from Tembisa were stranded and could not write examinations at Kempton Park after a group of youths sealed off the township yesterday.

Trouble started early on the first day of the stayaway when hundreds of workers on their way to work were turned back in different parts of the township by armed youths.

Unisa authorities said they

were aware of the problem and have asked the students to write to the university explaining the situation.

In other incidents in the township, police opened fire on a group of people who stoned the house of the Mayor, Mr Lucas Mothiba, in Mashimong section.

Attempts were also made to set alight the house of the principal of the Tembisa High School, Mr Ralph Mothiba, on Sunday night.

Beer halls at Makhulong, Tsepo and Sedibeng section

were set alight.

Unconfirmed reports said that three people were shot dead when they looted liquor from the Sedibeng Bottle Store owned by the East Rand Development Board (Eradebo).

A shop in Mashimong section extension belonging to Mr Jerry Morakile was stoned and looted by a group of youths.

The main road going to Olifansfontein was barricaded with rocks, cars and huge rubbish containers.

Soweto calm during stayaway

By Phil Mtinkulu

Yesterday, the first of the two-day stayaway, went without incident in Soweto as the residents of the sprawling township stayed behind doors and left the streets deserted.

There were no clashes between youths and the police.

The few workers who had gone to work were not molested. Not a shot was fired in anger. Police drove round and some escorted empty buses.

The usual prediction: "it is going to be bad in the evening when the workers return home" was proved wrong.

Buses offloaded passengers at the Baragwanath rank where they got taxis to take them home. But taxis were hard to find. The few operating were overloaded.

Workers who used trains warily walked in groups. But nothing happened to them.

By 6.30 pm the streets of Soweto were deserted. All was quiet, except for the distant sound of approaching thunder.

Water as usual but residents did not pay bills

Reports by Vaal Triangle residents that water supplies were being cut by Lekoa Town Council were untrue, the chief director of the Orange-Vaal Development Board, Mr D Ganz, said.

Residents began stocking up water because of the rumours that the council would cut water supplies yesterday.

Electricity to some areas was, however, cut at the weekend. Mr Ganz said 20 distribution boxes had been damaged in unrest since September.

"We cut off electricity supplies to safeguard people against being shocked. In other cases we cut supplies because people did not pay accounts."

Residents of Evaton, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong and Sebokeng have not been paying rent and rates since the demonstration began on September 3.

They have demanded that rents be lowered to R30 a month or else they will not pay what they say are exorbitant rentals.

300 at ~~300~~ lively CP meeting 7/11/84

Political Correspondent
NOBODY has given the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress more steam than the government's new constitutional dispensation, the chairman of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said last night.

Speaking to a lively audience of about 300 people at by-election meeting in the Parow Civic Centre, Dr Hartzenberg said the National Party's new deal had created widespread instability in South Africa.

He said the government had promised whites that if they voted "yes" in last November's referendum, they would

be rewarded with peace and prosperity.

However, the CP had warned that the new deal was a recipe for division and conflict in South Africa and they had now been proved right.

Dr Hartzenberg reminded the audience that the Rev Allan Hendrickse had warned that if he did not get his way within five years he would opt out of the new deal, leaving it in chaos.

Dr Hartzenberg said that almost one third of coloured people gave unconditional or qualified support to the CP plan for a separate coloured homeland.

The CP's parliamentary candidate for the November 29 by-election,

Mrs Eleanor Lombard, said it was an illusion to think that South Africa would gain the approval of the outside world with its new constitution.

"Only one thing will satisfy the outside world and that is one man, one vote," she said to loud cries of "nooit, nooit" from the audience.

The CP's candidate for the provincial council, Mr Reyno Louw, said that the government complained about a lack of a clear blueprint for the coloured homeland idea, but the NP had governed for 36 years and still could not specify the final boundaries for the black homelands.

(Report by A Johnson, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

... later try-

APR 7 11/84

Reef stayaway 'may be only the beginning'

By ANTON HARBER
and JEANNETTE MINNIE

THE Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee (TRSC) has raised the possibility of further stay-at-home protests in the wake of what it described as the "overwhelming success" of this week's action.

Mr Thami Mali, chairman of the TRSC, said yesterday that such stay-at-home calls could be repeated — and possibly on a larger scale — if the Government continued to ignore the demands set out when the stayaway was called.

The TRSC will hold a "post-mortem" meeting in Johannesburg on Saturday to discuss the effects and consequences of this week's stayaway.

All the organisations who joined the stayaway call — including the two large black trade union federations, Fosatu and Cusa — have been invited. The meeting is likely to consider how to take the protest further.

Mr Mali said in a statement yesterday that the protest had proved to the Government "that we now have power in our hands and can use it in any way we like."

"We cannot go back any more now. Our duty is to step up resistance and create an ungovernable situation and actually force the State to declare some of the area as liberated zones," he said.

The TRSC said all the areas in which posters and pamphlets had been distributed achieved a stay-at-home total of not less than 75%, with some as high as 95%.

Mr Mali said the

stayaway had proved that trade unions and student and community organisations, rather than Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha, enjoyed the support of the people.

Chief Buthelezi criticised the call for a stay-at-home.

A spokesman for Fosatu (the Federation of South African Trade Unions) said the trade union movement regarded the stayaway as having been "a very effective and major protest" against the "totally unacceptable" situation which had developed in Transvaal townships.

The Fosatu spokesman described worker involvement in the stayaway as a "significant" development.

The Release Mandela Committee (RMC) yesterday also warned of more effective protest action in the near future if the Government continued to ignore "popular demands".

It described the stayaway call as an "overwhelming success, despite underhand tactics by the Government and agents of reaction to break the call."

"In the eyes of the majority of our people the stayaway was the only effective action (by which) to draw the attention of the world and shake the South African Government to its senses about the grievances and demands of the oppressed and exploited South Africans," it said.

Mr Mali said yesterday that he had received dozens of death threats at his Soweto home since the stayaway call had been issued.

The company that printed the TRSC pamphlets had also received many threats, he said.

Pay becomes his

Vertical text on the left margin, including "N 21" and various illegible characters.

Vertical text on the right margin, including "10" and various illegible characters.

Argus 8/11/84

UDF to blame
for boycotts
— Le Grange

114

Argus Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The United Democratic Front was much to blame for the present revolutionary climate in the country, according to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange.

"The boycott situation in the Republic over the last few months can only be blamed on the UDF and their affiliated organisations," Mr Le Grange said to members of ORDES (Organisasie vir Denkende Studente) at the University of the Orange Free State last night.

The UDF had taken up the revolutionary banner from the African National Congress, and this was emphasised by the number of leading UDF members who also belonged to an affiliated communistic organisations.

"UNREST SERIOUS"

He said the recent urban unrest was the most serious since the 1976 school riots, but he emphasised that the present riots were more serious as they involved more adults.

Religion had also been brought into recent revolutionary activity and church halls were now being used for political meetings, he added.

Our political correspondent reports that a warning against attempts to use the trade union movement to gain political power has been sounded by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk.

Speaking at the congress of the Motor Industry Employees' Union in Cape Town he said there were powers at work which would like to steer trade unionism along dangerous roads.

The important principle of keeping politics out of the employer-employee relationship was under pressure.

Mr de Klerk said trade unions were seen by some as launching pads to political power, bypassing the normal democratic process, but this was a trend that should be resisted.

The Government was not prepared to allow destabilising action in any field, including that of labour relations, he said.

Political rights would come to all through evolutionary development, and South Africa could not afford to have the field of labour and the economy turned into a political battlefield. Mr de Klerk warned strong action would be taken against radical elements.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1984

Price 23c plus 2c tax

Le Grange blames UDF for unrest

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, says the United Democratic Front is much to blame for the present revolutionary climate in the country.

"The boycott situation within the Republic over the last few months can only be blamed on the UDF and their affiliated organisations," Mr Le Grange said to members of the Organisasie vir Denkende Studente at the University of the Free State last night.

The UDF had taken up the revolutionary banner from the African National Congress, he said.

This was emphasised by the number of leading UDF members who also be-

longed to "affiliated communistic organisations".

He said the recent urban unrest was the most serious since the 1976 school riots, but he emphasised that the present riots were even more serious as they involved more adults.

Religion had also been brought into recent revolutionary activity and church halls were now being used for political meetings.

The Evening Post Crime Reporter writes that two youths were arrested in New Brighton last night after police opened fire with rubber bullets on a group of about 30 youths who had thrown stones.

In Port Alfred, police ar-

rested a man on a charge of public violence after he had allegedly helped to put up a blockade across the street and had thrown stones.

Sapa reported police as saying the situation in the Transvaal's black townships seemed to be quietening down. The death toll in townships in the Transvaal had risen to 23.

Apart from Sasol, which has sacked thousands of workers at Secunda for breaking their contracts, employers appear to have adopted a "no work, no pay" attitude during this week's stayaway and have not fired workers.

Major US newspapers took a sombre view yester-

day of the situation in South Africa and one — the Wall Street Journal — said widening black protests and strikes "have welded a potent force that could pose a significant challenge to the country's white Government".

The Christian Science Monitor's reporter, Paul van Slambrouck, writing from Johannesburg, described this week's stayaway as "a development that must send shivers down the spine of the South African Government".

Allister Sparks said in a front page report in the Washington Post: "No one here can recall a previous

occasion when there was such a big response by black workers to a call for a general strike to make a political point.

"There have been many attempts. The idea that the white Government might one day be brought down by blacks withholding their labour has acquired an almost mystical place in the political philosophy of the black working class."

In the New York Daily News, black columnist Earl Caldwell wrote of the violence thus far in South Africa, adding: "It was nothing. The figures that measure the killing are going to be much bigger."

● Editorial — Page 8

Game park's rhinos go walkabout



POLITICAL ACTION

Union role was crucial

A major factor in the success of the politically motivated stayaway from work by urban blacks this week was the involvement of trade unions — including some that have previously fought shy of political issues.

United action on this scale has seldom occurred before. When it did it usually resulted in something close to a national emergency. School and university boycotts, the introduction of the new constitution, appalling economic conditions and continuing unrest in the townships all contribute to the high level of black dissatisfaction.

This week's stayaway was the fourth, the most widespread and effective action called this year. A stayaway in the Vaal Triangle on September 3 had fair support and resulted in the worst rioting since 1976. A Soweto stayaway on September 17, called by the Release Mandela Committee, got a poor response. On a local level, the October 22 stayaway, called in the Springs township of Kwa Thema, had 90% support.

There was also strong union involvement in the Kwa Thema stayaway and there is little doubt that union participation added to the clout of this week's action, which was initiated by the Congress of SA Students (Cosas).

Unions which responded to Cosas's plea for united action were: the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu); the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa); the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union; the United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers' of SA; and several United Democratic Front affiliates such as the SA Allied Workers'

Union, the General and Allied Workers' Union and the Municipal and General Workers' Union.

The stayaway was called to support demands for:

- The withdrawal of the army and police from the townships;
- The resignation of community councillors;
- A stop to rent and bus fare increases;
- The release of detainees and political prisoners;
- The reinstatement of all dismissed workers;
- The withdrawal of "unfair" gst and other taxes; and
- Democratically elected Student Representative Councils at black schools and the abolition of educational age restrictions.

The stayaway was preceded by a massive pamphlet campaign exhorting people to stay in the townships. This was countered by other pamphlets, widely assumed to be the work of security agencies, which questioned the value of the action.

It is impossible to gauge the full extent of the stayaway. Most accounts agree that the greatest response came from the Vaal Triangle area, where it is estimated that more than 90% of the township residents stayed at home, and on the East Rand, where the boycott was 80% to 90% effective.

It was in these areas that most of the violence occurred. According to police, 15 people had been killed by the time the *FM* went to press. Reports were received of



Police act ... but workers stayed away

Financial Mail November 9 1984



STAY AWAY!!!

MONDAY AND TUESDAY THE 5TH AND 6TH
NOVEMBER 1984

Your sweat and toil has brought guns and hippos. It has invited the police and the army to be in our houses, hostels and compounds. It has made masters to be proud and arrogant. It has made the Government undermine our integrity, dignity and respect as People of South Africa.

Your sweat, toil and energy has been abused for ages and centuries. For the blood of our children has been shed in vain.

STAY AWAY???

MONDAY AND TUESDAY THE 5TH AND 6TH
NOVEMBER 1984

The UDF and the RMC have brought guns and hippos. They have "invited" the police and the army to our townships. Where were the UDF and the RMC then? Where were they when the mobs attacked us, stoned us and burned our houses?

Maybe our sweat, toil and energy have been abused? Yes and our children's blood has been shed in vain. When? When? When? and RMC encourage them to riot.

Let us ...

Competing pamphlets ... the
State involved?

buses being stoned and set alight, while several homes were petrol-bombed.

The stayaway was less effective in the Johannesburg area. Bus windows were shattered by stonethrowers in Soweto on Tuesday morning, but in general there was a low level of violence. The West Rand was hardly affected at all. In Pretoria, companies drawing their labour from townships in Bophuthatswana were barely affected, although most residents of Atteridgeville stayed home.

Some employers reported greater attendance on Tuesday, although substantial increases were mainly confined to Johannesburg. Union sources, however, claim more people stayed away on Tuesday.

No doubt intimidation played a role, but it would be short-sighted to view the result as anything but highly significant. A Fosatu spokesman hailed the stayaway as "massively successful." He said workers had shown remarkable restraint and discipline and blamed the violence on the police presence.

At the time the *FM* went to press the big question from the union side was how employers were going to respond when their workers returned. Fosatu's line is unequivocal. A spokesman says: "This was a protest against State policies and employers should keep out of it. If they involve themselves in disciplinary action the implications now and in the long run will be serious for them."

Most employers canvassed by the *FM* said they had no intention of taking action other than withholding payment for the two days. Employer organisations and industri-

(S) (Y) (278) fm 9/11/84

DESERTED CITY

Soweto looked deserted on Monday and Tuesday as many residents kept off the streets in response to the call by activist groups and trade unions to stay away from work.

The usual heavy crowds at railway stations and bus and taxi ranks were absent, even at peak periods. Police stood by at railway stations and at bus-stops, but there was little violence. Even traffic officers were nowhere to be seen.

Shops, including banks and most garages, were closed. Most schools were also closed, although a few opened on Monday morning, but later the pupils were sent home.

In neighbouring Kliptown, all shops and garages were open and traders did a roaring business. By 10 am on Monday, the entire Kliptown shopping complex had run out of bread.

Many hostel residents in Soweto heed-

ed the stayaway call. At Jabulani, one of several hostels in Soweto, many workers spent Monday drinking and playing games under the trees.

The response to the call to stay away appeared to have increased on Tuesday. From 5.30 am to 7.30 am, only a sprinkling of passengers waited at bus-stops throughout the townships, and many buses were empty when they left the terminal.

A Soweto trader who had apparently stocked bread for the two days but decided not to open his shop loaded his bread in a van and tried to sell it outside Dobsonville Police Station on Tuesday.

A Barclays Bank branch in Mahalefele Street, Dube Village, was petrol-bombed at about 4 am on Monday. By Tuesday morning, someone had scrawled on the wall: "Next time we kill."

al relations consultants were unanimous that great sensitivity should be shown.

But some employers had already adopted a hard line. Sasol, for example, dismissed the entire morning shift which forms the bulk of its 6 500-strong workforce at Sasol II and III on Tuesday morning and had issued an ultimatum to the remainder of the workers to return to work in the course of the day.

The long-term implications of the stayaway still have to be evaluated. But according to industrial relations consultant Gavin Brown, it may well mark the beginning of higher-level union involvement in political affairs. He argues that given the heated political feelings in the current climate among union members, unions had no choice but to get involved.

Despite the sporadic violence during the two days he believes that union involvement may well have provided for more control and discipline in the communities.

Sensetan 9/11/84 (11A)

10 councillors quit

TEN MEMBERS of town councils in the East Rand yesterday resigned from their seats because of a call made by residents and the lack of protection from the Government.

Three councillors resigned from the Tembisa Town Council: Mr J S Pitse, Mr S D Letsoalo and Mr S M Songo; seven councillors resigned from the Duduza Town Council, in Nigel: the mayor, Mr Kebane Moloji; his deputy, Mr Elliot Phahlane; Mr Aggripa Mithethwa, Mr Samuel Makopo, Mr Khulu

Thwala, Mr Peace Maronga and Mr de Wet Monakali.

Mr Moloji, speaking on behalf of his colleagues, said this followed a call made by residents at a funeral of unrest victim, Mr Buyilo Mchunu, last week. He also said that after the lack of progress in implementing resolutions of the council the council decided it would be in their interest to resign. Letters of resignation were being forwarded to the area director, Mr S Miller.

Announcing the resignations in Tembisa, Mr Pitse said they would like to inform the public that they were no longer councillors with effect from yesterday "for the sake of our families' safety and the lack of protection from the Government. Another reason is that residents have been calling for the resignation of councillors, which shows they have no faith in them."

The mass resignation follows other such moves in Ratanda and the Vaal Triangle. The entire council in Ratanda has resigned.

★

(Boys) 9/11/84 *(11A)* ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ *C-7 times*

An estimated 1/2m stayed away

Political Staff

ABOUT half-a-million workers stayed away from work in the Transvaal this week, Professor Edward Webster, of the University of the Witwatersrand said yesterday.

"My preliminary estimate is that 500 000 workers stayed away

"In terms of man-hours lost, this is the biggest strike we have had in South Africa," Professor Webster said in an interview.

The two-day stay-away strike on Monday and Tuesday was

also the most successful stay-away strike in the 35 years that it has been used as a political weapon, he said.

Professor Webster, who has made a detailed study of 18 stay-away strikes since the launching of the first one in May 1950, said of the most recent: "It was highly successful."

It was difficult to compare national with regional stay-aways — the 1961 stay-away initiated by Nelson Mandela was national whereas the one launched on Monday was confined to the Transvaal — but,

in terms of the numbers involved, the latest was also the most successful, he said.

Professor Webster highlighted a key difference between the six stay-aways of 1976-77 and the one launched on Monday by the Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee: Trade unions remained uncommitted in 1976-77 but gave their support to the latest.

He offered two reasons for the involvement of unions in the latest stay-away strike:

● In 1976-77 the unions were still concentrating on securing

their position on the factory floor, whereas they now felt that their organizational base in the factories was more substantial.

● There was greater polarization in South African society and therefore greater pressure on the unions to choose sides rather than stand aloof.

Professor Webster cited the condemnation of this week's stay-away by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of Kwazulu and Inkatha, as a sign of the sharper division of South Africa into two camps.

Another difference between the stay-aways of 1976-77 and this week's is that those of 1976-77 were concentrated in Soweto whereas the latest drew most support from townships on the East Rand and in the Vaal Triangle.

Referring to the stay-aways launched by the now outlawed Soweto Student Representative Council in the 1970s, Professor Webster said: "Ultimately the SSRC failed because its organizational base was too narrow and it failed to link up with the interests of the workers."

6 detained in 3 raids

By ANTON HARBER

IN AN apparent clampdown on the organisers of this week's stayaway, Security Police yesterday raided three offices and detained six people, including four members of the committee that organised the protest.

Police raided and searched the offices of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Khotso House; Media and Research Services (MARS), a non-profit organisation that is closely tied to the UDF and its affiliates, in Braamfontein; and the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) in Germiston.

They had a warrant issued by the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg which said they were investigating terrorism and subversion in terms of the Internal Security Act.

In all three raids police appeared to be looking for members of the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee (TRSC), which organised the stayaway, and related pamphlets and documents.

They detained Mr Thami Mali, the TRSC chairman and leader of the UDF Soweto area committee, and TRSC members Mr Moses Mayegiso of Fosatu and Mr Themba Nontlantane of the Municipal and General Workers Union of SA.

They also held Mr Peter Makgoba, a regional chairman of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), and Mr Obed Bapela, an employee of MARS and member of the Alexandra Youth Congress.

Cosas played a key role in drawing to-

□ To Page 2

Police swoop on stayaway men

gether the organisations that participated in the stayaway.

Police also confirmed that they had detained Mr Oupa Monareng, a TRSC member and president of the Soweto Youth Congress, under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

This means that only one member of the committee, Mr Zola Skele, who was co-opted after Mr Monareng's disappearance, has not been detained.

The police swoop began with a raid on Mr Mayegiso's house at 4.30am. They searched it for two hours before taking Mr Mayegiso

to union offices in Germiston and searching there for three hours.

Later in the morning plainclothed police raided and searched MARS offices and confiscated a small number of documents and pamphlets.

At about 12.30pm about 10 policemen raided the UDF offices. They told two UDF officials who were in the offices that they were looking for pamphlets on the stayaway, and asked for two of the stayaway organisers.

They took about 50 documents with them, including UDF pamphlets, minutes, files, telephone books and lists of resolutions and names of people who had attended UDF meetings and seminars.

UDF officials said they found only one stayaway pamphlet lying on the floor of the office.

Police returned to the MARS office at about 2pm and surrounded the building before entering to arrest Mr Mali and Mr Nontlantane.

A UDF spokesman issued a statement condemning the raid as "blatant intimi-

dation geared towards disrupting the UDF machinery.

"The raid is both a deprivation of our privacy and an insult to the millions of freedom-loving South Africans whose aspirations we represent," he said.

The International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF) is believed to be taking up the detention of Mr Mayegiso at both a local and international level.

By late last night the police public relations office had not replied to a telex asking for confirmation and details of the detentions.

Sweeten 9/11/84 (1A) ~~307~~ ~~18~~

ER councils slam UDF

AN East Rand town councillors meeting in Zithobeni township near Bronkhorstspuit has levelled a scathing attack on the United Democratic Front and the organisers of this week's two-day stayaway which resulted in the death of at least 23 people.

Most of the deaths occurred in the East Rand townships during clashes with the police on Monday and Tuesday.

At least seven houses belonging to councillors on the East Rand were attacked by rioters while two shops were gutted. Another belonging to the mayor of Katlehong, Mr A P Khumalo, was looted.

Several people were injured while others were arrested at the height of the rioting during the stayaway.

Leading the attack on the UDF and "intimidators" at the monthly meeting of the East Rand Urban Councils' Association (Eruca), was the association's chairman and mayor of Daveyton, Mr Tom Boya, who called upon the councillors to take a firm stand against the violence which was being perpetrated in the townships.

Mr Boya blamed organisations such as the UDF and the Committee of Ten for the staging of the stayaway and the ensuing violence,

stating that it was obvious that a large number of people had been intimidated and forced not to go to work.

"We know that our people were threatened with violence and that they were told that their houses were going to be destroyed if they went to work," said Mr Boya.

"Organisations like the UDF and the Committee of Ten cannot claim to represent the black people. After all, who elected them?" inquired Mr Boya.

Violence

Mr Boya said the East Rand councillors had been turned into targets of violence and destruction because of what they had achieved compared to other councils elsewhere in the country.

"Those against us now realise how much we have achieved since being elected into power and now want to destroy us," he said. He cited as examples of the successes, the fact that an Eruca delegation had recently held talks with the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on the question of land, education and unrest in the country.

"This is clear proof that we are in the midst of the struggle," said Mr Boya.

The answer to SA problems?

It's so simple!

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS
BY HARVEY TYSON



This week may provide a footnote in history; one that can be assessed accurately only after years of hindsight.

It was the week in which black labour deliberately tested its strength as a racial political force.

The test was limited, for it involved mainly semi-skilled, exclusively black (ie African) workers; mostly in organised unions, and was confined to the Witwatersrand, with emphasis on the East Rand.

The efficacy of the stayaway, in terms of organisation, control, political protest or pressure on production will be argued, but the result hardly matters. History will remember only that it happened.

And history will probably condense events to the point where it will be remembered (wrongly) that "troops were used by the white regime for the first time in an attempt to contain the pressure". (I paraphrase more than parody the style of historians).

What matters today is that political theory about the strength of the masses became, momentarily, a reality.

What matters is that the white population, instead of learning any lessons, shrugged them off. In general, whites suppressed their irritation and looked the other way. Or, as history changed gear before their eyes, they rationalised the situation to avoid reality, and so managed to ignore some significant omens.

Conversely, black organisers of the campaign lost touch with reality to the point where one was quoted as saying: "We now have power in our hands and we can use it any way we like... Our duty is to create an ungovernable situa-

tion and actually force the State to declare some of the area as liberated zones."

Good grief! The European revolutionaries of 1848 demonstrated by default that timing was the essence of success for revolution. If you lose your grip on reality, you may miss out — not just by a decade but, as in the case of Russia, by as much as 69 years. (And even then, in 1917, revolution came almost by accident to Petrograd — and certainly as a surprise to the Marxists and bolsheviks.)

No, the South African issue of the 1980s is not revolution, despite the impression given in news bulletins to the rest of the world. The issue, as I said in this column last week, is whether South Africans will sit down and talk to each other, or whether they will blindly follow the usual route through decades of destruction and bloody feuding, before they sit among the ruins to talk to each other.

The priorities lie as much in economics as in politics. The two are interdependent, though an eminent banker suggested to me this week that inflation — and the threat of its rampant growth — was the sin-

gle most important priority facing all interests in the country.

Well, if you cannot solve the nation's other problems, how do you solve inflation?

Sadly, there is no simple answer to this single problem.

To beat inflation (and so bring benefits to everyone, particularly the poor) ALL people have to make willing sacrifices. A whole series of measures has to be applied by government, private enterprise, organised labour and individuals.

As a first step it is necessary to make the entire population understand that they have a common interest in the economy. It is necessary to educate all people, and provide them with jobs. It is necessary to ensure equal opportunity at every level.

Thus, even to combat inflation we have to get back onto the old political treadmill.

★ ★ ★

This week happened to be one in which I was present at discussions with military generals; politicians white and black; businessmen at various functions; some bankers and some economists. All seem to have the same yearning. "Why

doesn't some-one spell out clearly the priorities?" they ask.

Yet all seem to come to the same conclusion: There are no simple answers.

Indeed there are no answers at all until the nation sits down together and agrees on what the problems are.

So the first priority is that South Africans must talk to each other (not at each other). That is blindingly obvious — yet everyone shies away from it.

Another obvious priority is to ensure that the black population is allowed to understand the capitalist system — let alone have a share in it — if the system is to survive. Yet nothing is done in this regard.

The Government itself never even talks to the black communities about its budget proposals. Official explanations are reserved exclusively for white voters.

It is no wonder so many black citizens believe that they can own a mansion in Houghton tomorrow if only they can take over the Government.

Another priority, then is for the Government to start treating black citizens as people — even if they are not voters.

The "reformists" have their priorities wrong. There is no need for them to give anything away. For whatever they dispense will be rejected by the unconsulted blacks. Instead of soft give-aways, there needs to be real, hard bargaining.

Thus there remains just one, basic, simple answer: sit down and talk.

Any concessions arising out of talks between representative groups of voters and of blacks will have reality.

Argus 16/11/84

11A

CITY/NATIONAL

Opposition groups could face clampdown, warns professor

Political Correspondent

OMINOUS signs of further Government action against extra-parliamentary movements like the United Democratic Front and trade unions were mentioned at a symposium on the future of oppositional politics in Southern Africa at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

Professor Andre du Toit, professor of political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, warned of this and said that one of the prospects is the possible banning of the UDF.

He added, however, that he does not think this is imminent.

Public statements by Ministers such as Mr Louis le Grange and Mr F W de Klerk, along with detentions and raids on the premises of some extra-parliamentary movements, indicated that the Government could be planning further action against them.

Necessary

While in the 60s it took a decade for the renewal of extra-parliamentary movements after banning, such movements emerged far more quickly after the 1977 clampdown.

He said extra-parliamentary bodies were necessary and the Government's credibility in the reform process would suffer if they are banned.

Dealing with the recent parading of black townships in the Transvaal by the Defence Force, Professor Michael Savage of the department of sociology at the University of Cape Town said the non-democratic nature of South African society was the central issue.

Best defence

He said that most of South Africa's current problems had arisen from the dissatisfaction of a broad majority of citizens who are shut out of political power and who experience racial discrimination in their daily lives.

No amount of military power could alter the reality that the best defence of any country was a satisfied citizenry, he said.

In the debate on the military the fact that South Africa was at war with itself because it was an undemocratic society should not be obscured, Professor Savage said.

(News by T. Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Front ^{IIA}
^{Times}
supports
call for

a 'Black Yuletide'

By SARAH SUSSENS

THE United Democratic Front has come out in full support of the call for a Black Christmas.

Earlier this week the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) called on all member unions and affiliates not to buy anything other than essentials this Christmas.

The call was a response to the detention by police of Fosatu president Mr Chris Dlamini and Transvaal organiser Mr Moses Mayekiso and the sacking of 6 500 Sasol workers.

In a statement issued yesterday, the president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisula, said it was impossible for any South African of conscience to celebrate Christmas as a joyous occasion.

"Brutal"

"Events throughout the Transvaal and other parts of the country have reached tragic proportions," she said.

"More than 1 000 oppressed people have been killed by the brutal forces of apartheid.

"More than 200 people are currently in detention without trial, 6 500 workers have been dismissed and the educational structure has collapsed with tens of thousands of black scholars facing a bleak and uncertain future.

"The full might of the SADF has been mobilised in order to intimidate and frighten residents into submission.

"The root cause of the suffering is the evil system of apartheid which our people have decided to challenge and destroy.

"In this context it becomes impossible for any South African of conscience to celebrate Christmas as a joyous occasion."

Unions slam meeting ban

11/11/84

C. Press

CP Correspondent

A PROMINENT trade union leader this week criticised the banning of a service on November 16 to commemorate the death of an SA Congress of Trade Unions member and two African National Congress members.

In a statement after the 48-hour ban on meetings under the Internal Security Act, Motor Assemblers' and Components Workers' Union

of SA organiser Fikile Kobese said workers were unhappy with the order.

The service was organised by Macwusa and the General Workers' Union of SA to mark the death of Sactu member Vuyisile Mnini and ANC men Zinakile Mkhabela and Wilson Khayinga of Port Elizabeth.

The three were hanged in Pretoria Central prison on November 6.

Mr Kobese said the unions had planned discussions with Inter-Denomination of SA executives and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress in the afternoon.

The unions said the banning of the service was another form of harassment by security laws.

"The workers feel this is irritating and unfair as they had also planned to discuss union matters and the latest retrenchments," said Mr Kobese.

Shhhh

No singing at funeral

THE FUNERAL services of two unrest victims in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown have been severely restricted - no placards may be displayed and no "revolutionary" songs sung.

The funeral of Patrick Mdyongolo, 16, of Grahamstown and Xola Mqungu, 15, of Veeplaas in Port Elizabeth may only be held during the week.

These strict conditions are contained in prohibition orders issued under the Internal Security Act by Grahamstown Magistrate Ivan Melvin and Port Elizabeth Chief Magis-

trate J E Coetzee. The two may only be buried between 8 am and 2pm during the week, provided it is not on a public holiday.

Other conditions are:

- Corpses and mourners must travel in motor vehicles from the undertakers to the cemetery along the shortest route.

- No procession may proceed or follow the funeral procession.

- No placards may be displayed during the funeral procession, at the church or at the cemetery.

- The funeral services

and other proceedings should not take the form of a political gathering.

Mr Coetzee ordered that the orders be delivered personally to the families of the two unrest victims.

Mr Mdyongolo's family had planned to hold the funeral at the weekend.

Mrs Mdyongolo said: "I am going to bury my son on a day when the rest of the family will be able to attend."

Mr Mdyokolo died on October 29 after apparently being hit on the back of his head by a rubber bullet.

Detainee missing

By BENITO PHILLIPS

MYSTERY surrounds the whereabouts of Ciskei detainee Priscilla Maxongo, a Committee of Ten executive member.

Ms Maxongo, a former secretary of the committee, was involved in negotiations with the Ciskei Transport Corporation during the bus boycott in Mdantsane and Duncan Village.

After committee members were detained on July 24 this year, she was admitted to Cecilia Makwane Hospital twice in a serious condition, and spent two months there.

Now she is missing. Efforts to find out

about her condition at the hospital have been fruitless.

Police are also unable to say where she is.

Although five other committee members - chairman Mzwandile Mampumbe, secretary Newell Fakude and executive members Phillip Slokile, Norman Sibewu and Shepherd Dumezweni - were charged and released on bail, nothing has been heard from them.

It could not be established whether Ms Maxongo would be charged.

Ciskei police spokesman Col Avery Ngaki said he would investigate.

ING ON THE GO

No smiles from freed Bulgarians

Unita
'no' to
ANC

Political Staff

JAMBA. — Three Bulgarians taken prisoner by Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces eight months ago registered no emotion when they were brought before 3 000 Angolans on Friday and told they were to be freed.

The announcement by Dr Savimbi at an elaborate military parade was one of the highlights of Unita's latest propaganda exercise held at his sprawling reed-hut capital and military headquarters.

Another was the announcement that a priest and three nuns — brought back to Jamba after Unita troops overran the central Angolan MPLA Government-held towns of Ganda and Vila Nova do Seles in August — had volunteered to remain in Jamba and minister to the local population.

They are Sister Maria Engelbert Eibl, a German national who had ministered at Ganda for the Missionary Congregation, Father Jose da Silva Mendes of the Portuguese Mis-

sionary Society, Sister Maria del Carmen Lopez Mateo from Saragoza, Spain, and Sister Maria Lourdes Coelho, from Cuembra, Portugal, who both ministered with the Missionary Congregation of the Love of God.

Addressing about 1 000 regular troops and about 2 000 civilians, Dr Savimbi called the three Bulgarians, Mr Manuel Milanov Constantinov, Miss Lazarina Saprinova Gimitrova and Mrs Catarina Constantinova Stoianova, to the dais.

"From this moment on they

are free people again. They can go back home," he said.

The announcement was greeted with prolonged cheering. The Bulgarians themselves, who in broken English later said they had not been forewarned of the announcement, remained impassive.

In stark contrast the four missionaries told journalists at a press conference that they had voluntarily signed a declaration stating their wish to remain in Unita's liberated south-eastern zone and continue their missionary work.

After the parade, at an informal biltong-and-beer reception, the Bulgarians and the four missionaries mingled freely with journalists and senior Unita officers.

Asked why they had decided to stay in Jamba, Father Mendes said: "If we returned to Ganda and Nova do Seles now the authorities, I think, would send us home. He added that they had "had time to ponder on the war in Angola and the religious needs of the people on the Unita side".

Political Correspondent

JAMBA. — Unita would deny training bases to the African National Congress in Angola if it became part of a government of national unity, according to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Dr Savimbi said in an interview on Friday that if his movement became part of a negotiated settlement in the territory, Unita would be unwilling to continue the sanctuary offered the ANC by the ruling MPLA government.

He said that since the Angolan people had already been at war for 24 years, "it would not be unreasonable in the interests of peace to look after our own affairs" once a settlement had been reached.

"We don't want to support anybody — we want to support ourselves."

Earlier, the chief of Unita's military intelligence staff, Colonel Perigrino Chindondo, said during a briefing that the ANC had two battalions of 400 to 500 men each based near Malange, 400km west of Luanda.

He said Unita forces had had contact with ANC guerillas protecting a bridge along the Benguela railway line in January but none of them had been captured.

'MPLA forces 're-educated'

Political Correspondent

JAMBA. — Unita has had a 100 percent success rate in "re-educating" prisoners from Angolan government forces, according to Unita's chief of military intelligence, Colonel Perigrino Chindondo.

Colonel Chindondo said Unita had already taken 800 prisoners in its war with the ruling MPLA's Fapla forces and more than 200 had already been "successfully integrated" with the Unita forces — some as officers.

Asked what was done with captured soldiers not wanting to join Unita, he replied: "There is not a single case of Fapla soldiers not wanting to be re-educated."



Jonas Savimbi in Jamba, Angola, on Friday.

Sapa

13/11/84

Sick detainee is 'improving'

Political Reporter

THE condition of Mr Mewa Ramgobin, the Natal detainee who has been admitted to hospital with severe abdominal pains, appeared to be improving yesterday.

A spokesman for the Natal Indian Congress said that Mr Ramgobin's pain had subsided.

Mr Ramgobin was ad-

mitted to hospital on Friday with severe abdominal pains that could possibly indicate an ulcer or an infection, the spokesman said.

Mr Ramgobin, a vice-president of the NIC, is being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

He was among six men who took refuge in the British Consulate in Durban

when new detention orders were issued, and was re-detained when he left the consulate last month.

The NIC spokesman said the condition of the three men still in the British Consulate was "reasonable".

Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Paul David and Mr Billy Nair have now spent more than 60 days in the consulate offices.

SA would accept
non-violent ANC
11A. ~~SA.~~ ~~SA.~~ C-7 mins

Own Correspondent 13/11/84

LONDON. — If the African National Congress (ANC) was prepared to cease its "violent objectives" there was no reason why its members could not return and participate in the constitutional political process in South Africa, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in Munich at the weekend.

Speaking at a press conference after his return from a meeting on Saturday with the West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Mr Botha said the South African Government had no objection in principle to the ANC becoming a legitimate organization in South Africa in participating in the constitutional process.

Mr Botha had been asked whether he had not set a precedent for the return of the ANC by mediating between the Frelimo government in Mozambique and the leadership of the armed guerilla movement, the MNR, to negotiate the safe return of MNR members.

Mr Botha said the difference in Mozambique was that there was a "lack of amnesty" for MNR members.

(11A) D. Asithh
Youth year: UDF
groups to take part

JOHANNESBURG — Youth organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front will participate in the United Nations International Youth Year in 1985, regional representatives decided at a meeting in Lenasia at the weekend.

“Taking into account that the youth face problems like unemployment, inferior education and racism, it was agreed upon that the IYY was an opportunity to highlight the conditions and struggles of the people, particularly the youth in our country,” a statement released by the UDF yesterday said.

“We see the IYY as an opportunity to educate our youth and to mobilise them to take up issues like unemployment, education and conscription.

“At the same time, the IYY is also an opportunity to reach out to the masses of youth and to popularise our organisations.

“Our first step in regard to taking up the IYY is to popularise it among the youth and to set up local and regional committees with the vision of a national launch early in 1985.

“A national interim committee has been established to facilitate the process of taking up the IYY,” the statement said. — SAPA.

Post 14/11/84 (11A) (11)

Delegation seeks lifting of halls ban

By JIMMY MATYU

A DELEGATION of five from organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front today met Mr R J Scholtz, the Town Clerk of Kayamnandi Town Council, to discuss a ban on their use of community halls.

It comprised Mr Fikile Kobese, vice-president of UDF (East Cape) and national organiser of the

Motor Assemblers' and Components Workers' Union of South Africa, Mr Denis Neer, secretary of Macwusa and the General Workers' Union of South Africa, Mr Siphon Hashe, secretary of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Bonisile Mbikanye, executive member of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, and Mrs Virginia Ngalo, a member of the

Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation.

The Press was barred from the meeting held in Mr Scholtz's office.

The meeting stemmed from statements made last week by Mr Tamsanqa Linda, Deputy Mayor of Kayamnandi Town Council, that he would not hire out halls to the Crisis in Education Committee and other organisations he termed

"irrelevant", or to individuals who intimidated children when they were writing examinations.

After the meeting, Mr Kobese, who headed the delegation, said Mr Scholtz told them the ban was not permanent.

"We told him that if Mr Linda was not reported correctly, he has had enough time to complain to the

newspapers. But since last week he had remained quiet, which meant he was correctly quoted by the two newspapers," he said.

Mr Kobese said Mr Scholtz told the delegation he was not in a position to reply to the delegation before meeting the executive committee of Kayamnandi Town Council tomorrow afternoon.

Post 4/11/84

Uyco says seven held by police

Post Reporter

THE Uitenhage Youth Congress (Uyco) issued a statement today saying 10 of its members were picked up this week by security police. Three were released after questioning.

The three are Mr Patrick Stali, the organising secretary, Mr Lulamile Johnson and Mr Boy Skwati.

Those who had not been released and are believed to be in detention are Mr Whitey Dondashe, Miss Lindiwe Dastile, Mr Norman Kona, Miss Nombuyiselo Nompondo, Miss Thoko Nompondo, Mr Andile Blouw and Lindiwe (surname unknown).

Colonel H Snyman, head of the security police in the Eastern Cape, said today it was probable these people had been picked up during investigations into the burning of schools.

Mr Wonga Nkala, president of Uyco, said his organisation saw this as suppressing the aspirations of the youth of Uitenhage.

The black who could have helped reshape S A ^{Times} 1/4/11/84

Sol Plaatje, South African Nationalist 1876-1932. By Brian Willan (Ravan).

THIS monumental study of the life of Sol Plaatje, the black writer and politician, has shown how a rare opportunity for black and white South Africans to come to terms with one another was tragically lost in the period before and after Union in 1910.

The biography is the first definitive study of the man who played a major role in African political life in the early part of this century.

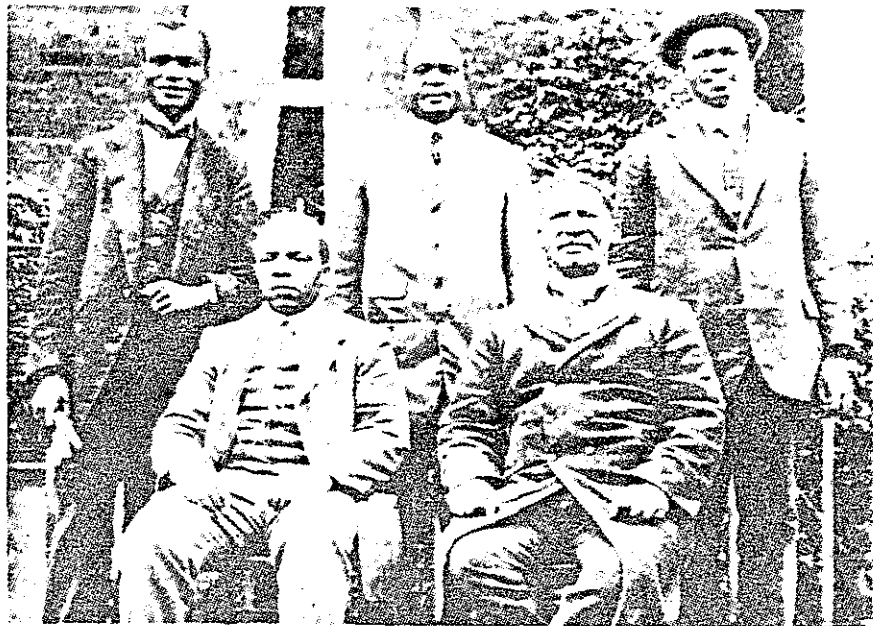
It is a moving account of a talented leader who devoted his life to fighting for justice for African people and of their struggle against dispossession of their land at a time when South Africa was being transformed from a colonial backwater into an industrial state.

But the book is far more than a biography of one individual: it is the story of how the African leadership of the time placed misguided faith in Britain and invested hope in "the friends of the native" to satisfy their political aspirations and demands for justice.

Betrays

It examines their response to one betrayal after another, leading to the formation in 1912 of the South African Native National Congress, which later became the African National Congress, with Plaatje as its first secretary. It also shows how their pleas to the government over even minor issues were ignored and how the total opposition of black people to the 1913 Land Act, the first major move towards racial separation after Union, was simply brushed aside.

The Congress leaders then went to London to plead with the British Government in the hope that it would listen to them, but the political bosses of the time ignored their representations and refused to get involved although, remarkably, on their second visit to Britain in 1919, they did see Prime Minister Lloyd George, who was appalled by what he heard and wrote two private letters to Jan Smuts, then South African Prime Minister. The letters had little effect



The South African National Congress deputation to England in 1919. Standing are (from left) R V Selope Thema, J T Gumede and L T Mvabaza; seated are Sol Plaatje and the Rev H R Ngcayiya. They saw Prime Minister Lloyd George, who wrote two letters on their behalf to General Smuts, to no avail.

University of London, the book, although long, is very readable and mercifully free of academic jargon.

Sadly, after its completion Brian Willan was refused a work permit to take up an appointment at the University of the Witwatersrand, but his study of Plaatje should make a major impact on our understanding of how some of the disaffection between black and white South Africans developed.

It shows, for instance, how African voters in the Cape were able to influence the outcome of elections in key seats in partnership with white politicians: he campaigned actively on behalf of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, who stood for the South African Party which later formed a major part of the United Party, in Kimberley in the 1924 general election and they spoke on the same platform.

Lost vote

Shortly after Plaatje died, African men in the Cape lost that precious vote, with the active collaboration of the South African Party. Again black opinion was ignored, and the all-white parliament set South Africa on a course of racial separation.

Plaatje and many other leaders of the early ANC were not radicals — indeed he criticised the "radicals" and "Bolsheviks" in the Transvaal

Willan shows, too, just how important black people were to the defence of Mafeking during the Anglo-Boer War. Plaatje as the local court interpreter played a significant role during that

uses of settlement of land issues, which were ignored once the siege had ended, and their hopes for justice under British rule were shattered once the peace settlement was negotiated.

This book also contains details of Plaatje's struggles to produce newspapers for black people, his books — in particular "Native Life in South Africa" and "Mhudi", the first novel in English by a black South African — and his continual financial problems.

But in the end it is a tragic, if important, story, which helps explain some of the factors which have shaped South Africa. Anyone who wants to understand the development of alienation between black and white South Africans should read this book.

Indeed, one can only wonder how South Africa would have looked in 1984 if the policy of co-option of people such as Plaatje had been the strategy of the government after Union.

Barry Streek

on the bookshelf

siege in ensuring the loyalty and co-operation of black people to the British in the area. In part, that role is recorded in Plaatje's diary of the siege, itself a remarkable document which was only published in 1973.

At the end of the siege, the local magistrate wrote: "Although we have suffered many hardships and troubles, we nevertheless all feel proud to think that each individual, both European and Native, has done his utmost to maintain the honour of the British Empire."

Yet, for black people in the area, that "honour" did not extend to prom-

can Nationalist...
1932. By Brian Willan
(Ravan).

THIS monumental study of the life of Sol Plaatje, the black writer and politician, has shown how a rare opportunity for black and white South Africans to come to terms with one another was tragically lost in the period before and after Union in 1910.

The biography is the first definitive study of the man who played a major role in African political life in the early part of this century.

It is a moving account of a talented leader who devoted his life to fighting for justice for African people and of their struggle against dispossession of their land at a time when South Africa was being transformed from a colonial backwater into an industrial state.

But the book is far more than a biography of one individual: it is the story of how the African leadership of the time placed misguided faith in Britain and invested hope in "the friends of the native" to satisfy their political aspirations and demands for justice.

Betrayals

It examines their response to one betrayal after another, leading to the formation in 1912 of the South African Native National Congress, which later became the African National Congress, with Plaatje as its first secretary. It also shows how their pleas to the government over even minor issues were ignored and how the total opposition of black people to the 1913 Land Act, the first major move towards racial separation after Union, was simply brushed aside.

The Congress leaders then went to London to plead with the British Government in the hope that it would listen them, but the political bosses of the time ignored their representations and refused to get involved although, remarkably, on their second visit to Britain in 1919, they did see Prime Minister Lloyd George, who was appalled by what he heard and wrote two private letters to Jan Smuts, then South African Prime Minister. The letters had little effect.

The book is the result of nearly 10 years' research by Brian Willan in Southern Africa, Britain and the United States. Although it enabled the author to obtain a doctorate from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the



The South African National Congress deputation to England in 1919. Standing are (from left) R V Selope Thema, J T Gumede and L T Mvabaza; seated are Sol Plaatje and the Rev H R Ngcayiya. They saw Prime Minister Lloyd George, who wrote two letters on their behalf to General Smuts, to no avail.

University of London. the book, although long, is very readable and mercifully free of academic jargon.

Sadly, after its completion Brian Willan was refused a work permit to take up an appointment at the University of the Witwatersrand, but his study of Plaatje should make a major impact on our understanding of how some of the disaffection between black and white South Africans developed.

It shows, for instance, how African voters in the Cape were able to influence the outcome of elections in key seats in partnership with white politicians: he campaigned actively on behalf of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, who stood for the South African Party which later formed a major part of the United Party, in Kimberley in the 1924 general election and they spoke on the same platform.

Lost vote

Shortly after Plaatje died, African men in the Cape lost that precious vote, with the active collaboration of the South African Party. Again black opinion was ignored, and the all-white parliament set South Africa on a course of racial separation.

Plaatje and many other leaders of the early ANC were not radicals — indeed he criticised the "radicals" and "Bolsheviks" in the Transvaal who were calling for strikes in 1920s — but that made little difference on the governments of the time who were more concerned about limiting black political power than extending their participation in parliament.

Willan shows, too, just how important black people were to the defence of Mafeking during the Anglo-Boer War. Plaatje as the local court interpreter played a significant role during that

on the bookshelf

siege in ensuring the loyalty and co-operation of black people to the British in the area. In part, that role is recorded in Plaatje's diary of the siege, itself a remarkable document which was only published in 1973.

At the end of the siege, the local magistrate wrote: "Although we have suffered many hardships and troubles, we nevertheless all feel proud to think that each individual, both European and Native, has done his utmost to maintain the honour of the British Empire."

Yet, for black people in the area, that "honour" did not extend to prom-

ises of settlement of land issues, which were ignored once the siege had ended, and their hopes for justice under British rule were shattered once the peace settlement was negotiated.

This book also contains details of Plaatje's struggles to produce newspapers for black people, his books — in particular "Native Life in South Africa" and "Mhudi", the first novel in English by a black South African — and his continual financial problems.

But in the end it is a tragic, if important, story, which helps explain some of the factors which have shaped South Africa. Anyone who wants to understand the development of alienation between black and white South Africans should read this book.

Indeed, one can only wonder how South Africa would have looked in 1984 if the policy of co-option of people such as Plaatje had been the strategy of the government after Union.

Barry Streek

ROOM 14/11/84
More whites may join UDF

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

GETTING as many "democratically-minded" whites as possible into the United Democratic Front (UDF) is a primary aim of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) in the following year.

This is one of the resolutions which emerged from the first annual general meeting of Jodac this week.

In a statement released yesterday, the Jodac executive said it aimed to demonstrate the importance and viability of extra-parliamentary opposition as a result of growing disillusionment with parliamentary politics.

"With this in mind, Jodac hopes to incorporate as many democratically-minded whites into the UDF (as possible)," it said.

Jodac is a UDF affiliate aimed primarily to "organise, mobilise and educate the 'white' community".

It also resolved to promote the involvement of its members in organisations such as the End Conscription Campaign and the Detainees' Support Committee (Descom), and to improve co-operation with organisations including the Black Sash, the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) and "other progressive organisations".

Court told ANC and UDF have same aims

STAR 14/11/84 (19) ~~19~~
By Dirk Nel,
Northern
Transvaal Bureau

TZANEEN — The banned African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) had the same goals, a State witness told Regional Magistrate Mr W N van Zyl here yesterday.

Mr Isaac Makelane (27), who said he had been detained under the Terrorism Act since April this year, was testifying during the trial of Mrs Regan Ntombi Shope who is facing numerous charges under the Act.

Mr Makelane, a former student at the University of the North, said he met Mrs Shope at a Sharpeville memorial service.

She had spoken about the "liberation struggle" and said her father, who had left South Africa, was a member of the ANC.

Mr Makelane said the accused mentioned the ANC, UDF and the General Allied Workers' Union, Congress of South African Students and Azanian Students' Organisation "in the same breath" when describing the so-called liberation struggle.

When asked whether Mrs Shope had mentioned any direct link between the ANC and UDF, Mr Makelane replied: "From my conversations with her, I gained the impression that they had the same aims."

He said Mrs Shope instructed him to deliver a message to an ANC contact in Swaziland in December 1983.

An ANC leader, Mr Archie Abrahams, allegedly asked him to urge Mrs Shope to promote various women's organisations in South Africa.

Mr Makelane said the

accused advised him to undergo training outside South Africa.

A poster honouring the late Mr Yusuf Dadoo, printed by the Transvaal Indian Congress, and a publication relating to "the reconstruction of Zimbabwe" which Mr Makelane allegedly received from the accused, were handed in as court exhibits.

The witness added that Mrs Shope had described the function of a "dead letter box" to him as a place where books, leaflets and explosives could be secretly hidden.

When cross-examining the witness, defence advocate Mr E D Moseneke contested the allegation that Mrs Shope had mentioned the ANC and UDF in the same breath.

He said she would deny promoting the ANC in any way.

The case continues.

Buthelezi-Tambo talks in offing?

D: Disputat

14/11/84

11A
~~11A~~

DURBAN — Talks between the President of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, may be in the offing.

Chief Buthelezi confirmed yesterday that he had received a telegramme from the ANC president at the time of his visit to Lamontville in September, which had indicated a willingness to talk about differences of opinion.

He had replied, stressing the importance that they did meet, but has yet to receive a reply from Mr Tambo.

The last formal meeting between the two was in 1979 when a top Kwa-Zulu delegation met with senior ANC officials and leaders in London under a shroud of secrecy.

At those talks the real-



CHIEF BUTHELEZI



MR TAMBO

ity of applying different strategies for change in South Africa was acknowledged as well as the role Inkatha was playing through non-violent methods.

Chief Buthelezi has often been criticised by the banned liberation movement for "working within the system."

There have been re-

cent calls for the ANC to abandon its military campaign and to enter into formal negotiations with other South African leaders.

Last month at the annual conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa, its president, the Rev Peter Storey, called on the ANC and the Pan African Congress to halt

their liberation war and, reciprocally, on the government to unban the exiled movements as a prelude to peace talks.

At the weekend, after talks with his West German counterpart, the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said there was no reason why members of the ANC could not return to South Africa and participate in the constitutional political process in the country if the ANC was prepared to cease its "violent objectives."

He said the government had no objection in principle to the ANC becoming a legitimate organisation in South Africa. Chief Buthelezi said an amnesty for all exiles before they began returning would be welcome. "This is not new. I have said this to the prime ministers of South Africa over the years." — DDC.

Inkatha youths slam stayaway

THE WEST Rand region of the Inkatha Youth Brigade has levelled a scathing attack against the organisers of last week's stayaway "which was imposed on thousands of people, some of whom have lost their jobs".

In a statement issued after its general meeting held at the Vulamazi-buko Higher Primary School, Diepkloof at the weekend, the Brigade singled out the United Democratic Front (UDF) and condemned it for "going it alone" without consulting other organisations.

Referring to the stayaway as a "dismal failure" the Brigade said:

"It was very unwise for the UDF to try to go it alone without consulting us and the people at large. We are tired of these people who claim to be fighting for unity while they depend on borrowed strategies they cannot bring to fruition.

"We wish to warn our brothers and sisters in trade unions that they must not allow themselves to be the playthings of political nobodies like the UDF," the statement said.

Reacting to the Youth Brigade's attack, the UDF said it found it a complete waste of time to respond to the statement as it was devoid of any facts.

"Even the most reactionary of analysts acknowledged the success of the stayaway," the acting secretary general of the front, Mr Trevor Manuel, said.

11A
15/11/84
S. M. M.

Traders in Tembisa to confront UDF

TEMBISA businessmen are planning to confront the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) for compensation of lost property sustained during last week's two-day stayaway.

But businessmen in the township declined to confirm or deny the reports yesterday morning. The businessmen refused to have their names printed and promised to give details of the allegations after they have consulted as a group.

The township was tense yesterday morning as police backed by the army continued their operation to root out suspects involved in crimes allegedly related to last week's stayaway.

Residents said that the raids were based on information given to police by local businessmen who were victimised during the stayaway.

Hunted

The residents said the businessmen had grouped together and hunted people suspected of looting their shops which were damaged during the stayaway.

It is believed that most of the looted property was found in houses near the shops.

A resident who did not want to be named said: "Most of the goods were dug in the backyards of houses in the neighbourhood of the shops. But the businessmen had accurate information of the big culprits. They gave their names to the police."

Sactu a front for the ANC witness says

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

TZANEEN — A senior Security Police officer alleged in the Tzaneen Regional Court yesterday that the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) was a front organisation for the banned African National Congress (ANC).

Colonel J Buchner was testifying during the trial of Mrs Regan Ntombi Shope who is charged with furthering the aims of the ANC, threatening the security of the State and distributing banned literature.

Colonel Buchner traced the history and strategy of the ANC since 1912 and claimed some of the present leaders of Sactu were militarily trained members of the ANC.

WINGS OF THE ANC

He told the magistrate, Mr WN van Zyl, that the ANC had military, political and trade union wings. Literature smuggled into South Africa was printed in Dar es Salaam.

But he agreed, under cross-examination by the defence, that membership of organisations such as the Congress of South African Students and the Azanian Students' Organisation did not imply automatic membership of the ANC.

Drama spreads outside the court

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal
Bureau

TZANEEN — This week's terrorism trial has also resulted in drama outside the Tzaneen courtroom.

On Tuesday the prosecutor, Mr Frans Roets, alleged the mother of the accused had intimidated State witnesses, and magistrate Mr WN van Zyl warned that police would not hesitate to take action.

Then defence advocate Mr Ernest Moseneke was allegedly punched at his hotel by a man who apparently told him: "Kaffirs are not allowed here." Witnesses said a man was arrested, but no confirmation could be obtained.

answers Minister's 'raving'

● From Page 1.

the public may make "calculating or deliberate" statements about the police.

"The South African Government have made the police and the army an instrument of maintaining apartheid and a servant of the Government rather than a servant of the South African people," Dr Boesak added.

"No amount of ranting and raving by the Minister is going to alter the fact that thousands of people have seen pictures on their television screens of police and army actions in the townships."

Dr Boesak added that the blackout on news imposed by the police in certain circumstances removed the check of accountability for their actions.

"This amounts to giving the police a blank cheque to do whatever they deem necessary and no chance for the Press to monitor what those actions are," Dr Boesak added.

"The one question which the Minister does not address is why was it necessary for the police and the army to move into the townships in the first place," he said.

Dr Boesak said that on the whole he stood by the statements reported in the Australian newspaper. There were, however, things not reported as he had said them.

An example was that he said the Government tolerated the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging while banning Christian organisations working for change. He was quoted as saying the Government supported the AWB.

He could also not recall saying the SADF was a "sophisticated murder machine".

● It may not be possible for the Commissioner of Police to have Dr Boesak charged for statements he is said to have made in Australia, said the Opposition spokesman on Justice matters, Mr Dave Dalling, today.

Boesak answers Minister's 'raving'

By Gary van Staden
Political Reporter

What South Africa — and the rest of the world — had seen of police and defence force actions in townships recently could only be described as "legalised terror" and no amount of ranting and raving by the Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange would alter that fact, Dr Allan Boesak said today.

Dr Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, was reacting to a statement by Mr le Grange last night in which he accused Dr Boesak of "lies and slander" and advised the police to charge him under Section 27 of the Police Act.

"He can call me what he likes, I only repeat in public the testimony of those who have suffered the police and the army in the townships," Dr Boesak said.

Mr le Grange told a public meeting in Virginia, in the Free State, that Dr Boesak would be charged under Section 27 of the Police Act after "a proper investigation" was conducted into the allegations of police brutality he made during an interview with an Australian newspaper recently.

Under this section of the Act no member of

● To Page 3, Col 1

Boesak must be charged — Le Grange

STAR
16/1/84

11A

VIRGINIA — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has advised the Commissioner of Police to charge Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, under a section of the Police Act.

Mr le Grange last night told a public meeting in Virginia that a dossier would be opened on Dr Boesak and, after a "proper investigation" of charges under Section 27 of the Police Act, would be handed to the Attorney-General.

Section 27 states that members of the public may not be calculating or deliberate in what they say about the police.

Dr Boesak, who is also head of the World Council of Reformed Churches, was referred to by Mr le Grange as a "liar and slanderer".

The basis of the Minister's attack on Dr Boesak was an article in Australia's *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper.

In the article, said Mr le Grange, Dr Boesak had said the South African Police were committing "the most unbelievable atrocities" and gave the example of a 12-year-old black youth who, although innocent, had been shot in both legs by a policeman.

'MURDER MACHINE'

The article had referred to the South African Defence Force as "one of the most sophisticated murder machines in history," Mr le Grange said.

He added that Dr Boesak had referred to "civil war in South Africa with more than 7 000 African troops surrounding Soweto a month ago".

Dr Boesak was also quoted as saying that South African whites had been a violent people ever since they first came to the Cape hundreds of years ago. Dr Boesak had also alleged that the Afrikaanse Weerstandbeweging, "Which is supported by the government," had made regular threats on his life.

"All these allegations are lies, calculated lies," Mr le Grange said.

Only Dr Boesak could say whether he had actually given the interview and whether he was quoted correctly, Mr le Grange said.

"But unless and until he publicly disputes this article he will be known as a liar and a slanderer of his country, while at the same time being a minister and head of the World Council of Reformed Churches."

The minister said Dr Boesak would have the opportunity to accept or deny responsibility for the article once a charge was laid under Section 27 of the Police Act and a dossier opened, which would be passed onto the attorney-general. — Sapa.

Terrorism trial witness: I will not testify

STAR 16/11/84 (11)

By Dirk Nel,
Northern
Transvaal Bureau

TZANEEN — A State witness, Miss Emma Ntimbana, refused to testify in the Tzaneen terrorism trial yesterday, saying she was committed to the black liberation struggle in South Africa and had no intention of betraying others who are involved.

She said she is a cousin of the accused, Mrs Regan Ntombi Shope, and could not testify "against a blood relative". Her children's schooling was sponsored by a liberation fund and she feared they could be victimised.

Miss Ntimbana alleged that police had forced her to make statements and any evidence to the contrary in court would expose her to a possible charge of perjury.

"The police said if I didn't speak the truth they would murder me as

they did with Steve Biko," she claimed.

The defence advocate, Mr ED Moseneke, objected to some of the prosecution's questions, claiming these were aimed at eliciting evidence from the witness. One of his objections was upheld by the magistrate, Mr WN van Zyl.

The prosecutor, Mr Frans Roets, contended that none of the reasons given by the witness for her refusal to testify was valid. The magistrate is to give his judgment on this later.

Mrs Shope is accused of promoting the aims of the African National Congress (ANC), threatening State security by enlisting new members for the ANC and unlawfully distributing banned literature. She pleaded not guilty.

The court adjourned until January 28 1985. Mrs Shope will remain in custody.

THAMI MALI

'We have the power'

11A

Thami Mali was chairman of the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee (TRSC) which organised last week's two-day stayaway. Although the TRSC is not affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), the 37 TRSC organisations, including one of the major emerging labour federations, are. Mali spoke to the *FM* a day before he was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. According to prison regulations, Mali's picture cannot be published.

FM: You say the aim of the TRSC is to make the country ungovernable so as to make government sit down and talk. Assuming government agrees, what will you call for?

Mali: The minimum demands of the people are contained in the Freedom Charter. Of course, the people will have to come forward and lay these out. But even if such a call is made, it cannot be to the TRSC. There are leaders of the people of SA and there are leaders of the workers of this country.

Who?

The leaders of the people have been jailed for life: Nelson Mandela and others, and there are leaders of the people in exile. Those are the people government should talk to, not us. We want those people back and we are standing for the same ideals: we want change in this country, we want to live normal lives in a free non-racial country that will accommodate anybody — nobody will be driven into the sea. You have said there will be further and more effective stayaways in future.

Exactly, because the demands that led to the call for a stayaway have not been met. In fact, the situation has worsened because of the reaction of Sasol management in dismissing 6 500 workers. One of the demands that came particularly from the trade unions (in the stayaway campaign) was for the reinstatement of all dismissed workers, including the 464 Simba workers who, subsequently, were reinstated. But the fact remains workers are being re-trenched daily.

(Education and Training Minister) Gerrit Viljoen has said nothing to solve the education crisis, which is part of the reason for us calling the stayaway. Back in the townships the problems of rents,

electricity, fake water meters, still remain unresolved. Moreover, there is the coming Putco fare hike.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has warned that stayaways are ill-advised until there is black unity. Are you worried about a backlash by workers since the stayaway resulted in the dismissal of workers at Sasol?

Our people have actually proved that they are not going to listen to Gatsha Buthelezi's reactionary advice. Anything that he advises is treated with suspicion. What he said was not different from the pamphlets distributed by the police over the weekend (before the stayaway). The unity he talks about is not genuine. We will never at any stage think of forming a unitary force with Inkatha. The unity he talks about is forming an alliance with him. He must get out of the system first, then we can consider such an alliance.

As to a backlash, because of the reaction of the State to whatever we do we know that every step we take in our liberation struggle has some boomerang effects. We know that in calling for a stayaway we might suffer here and there, but if this suffering will shorten our sorrow then sacrifice is the price we are willing to pay.

Are you sure that Fosatu will support further stayaway action?

Yes, because we are fighting for a just society that will be ruled by the working class and this is what Fosatu is fighting for. It wants a government that will take care of the needs of the working class and the unions. More than ever before people have realised that their struggle at the factory floor will never be solved until the whole system of government has been changed. And student organisations have also realised that their problems in education will never be solved until the problem of the workers have been solved and until the problems of the community have been solved. All these problems will be solved if we change the system of government. **Is that realistic? For one thing it is not clear the stayaway was an overwhelming success.**

The stayaway was a tremendous success taking into account that we are operating under very trying circumstances and with the State having the advantage

of TV and the media on its side. Despite that propaganda thousands stayed away. **What about the charges of intimidation?**

Aside from a few reported cases which were isolated, thousands decided to stay away without any intimidation. Where people were met on their way to and from work we as political activists at all times tried to educate our people and discuss the issues with them. Take, for example, the hostel dwellers. In previous stayaways there were problems (convincing them) and we realised we had not done our work there. This time we did a lot of groundwork there before we produced the stayaway pamphlets. The first meeting convened by Cosas was on October 10. We decided to go to the communities and assess our strength there. We sat down and spoke to people and got their views because some people have a very low level of politicisation. We got a very good response.

Can you say categorically that nobody was threatened, that anyone was free not to stayaway? How much control do you have, since there seems to be a criminal element?

The feeling of ordinary people in the townships is that we will not tolerate people who allow themselves to be bought for the perpetuation of their own exploitation. Why, after being spoken to and after they understand, do these people decide to go against their people and be fellow travellers with the enemy? People just can't understand this because we believe that we the oppressed people have more than ever before to stand together. We should not at any stage allow ourselves to be bought for the perpetuation of our own exploitation. That is why people are angry with the councillors.

Sometimes it is not easy to go against the people. For instance, it becomes difficult on my part to convince people not to loot a Putco bus. The reason is Putco is seen as an ally of the government. It receives a government subsidy and the government is always siding with it. They see Putco as part of the system, as with the railways.

What did the stayaway achieve?

It has actually shown that we have power in our hands. It showed that we can bring the machinery of this country to a standstill.

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

UNIONS AND POLITICS

Behind the stayaway



Nothing that has happened in this highly traumatic year did as much to jolt white South Africa as last week's stayaway by the Transvaal's urban black community. And so it should have.

According to labour analysts, between 300 000 and 800 000 workers participated in the mass protest — making it the biggest in SA history.

It was not the violence which accompanied it that shocked. Sadly, most people have become accustomed to almost daily reports of death, mayhem and destruction. Nor was it the effective re-statement of how dependent this country is on the contribution of black workers — and how vulnerable commerce and industry are to the withdrawal of their labour. That is keenly recognised. The impact came from the realisation of exactly how deep the level of black discontent has become.

It was this factor which led union groupings like the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) and the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) as well as the independent Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa) to support the call for *azikhwehwa* ("we don't ride"). As the Labour Monitoring Group (see box) has pointed out, the stayaway marks a new phase in the history of protest against apartheid — the beginning of united and concerted action by organised labour, students and community groups. And the unions are playing a key role.

The prospect of a stayaway arose when the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which has been in the thick of the education protests, called on student, community and worker organisations to get together to discuss the education crisis and civic and labour problems.

Unrealistic demands

When it became apparent that a stayaway was on the cards it became certain that other UDF-affiliated trade unions and organisations would support it. Hence the participation of the SA Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) and the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu), both of which have long been associated with black community political issues; the Vaal Civic Association; the Federation of SA Women; the East Rand People's Organisation; the Release Mandela Committee — and other UDF organisations, although the UDF itself as a collective body was not involved. The United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers of SA (Ummawosa), which split from Fosatu's Metal and Allied Workers' Union in mid-

The effectiveness of last week's stayaway was largely attributable to the involvement of the black unions. This was the first large-scale involvement of organised labour in politics since the Wiehahn reforms — and presages new directions in black politics as a whole.

year (and is widely expected to join the UDF), also joined in.

The umbrella Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee — which organised the protest — made demands which included the withdrawal of the army and police from the townships, and a halt to rent increases. In addition, all detainees and political prisoners were to be released, and all dismissed workers reinstated. "Unfair" gst and taxation were to be withdrawn, and there were some educational demands, too

— that student representative councils be democratically elected in black schools, and the age restrictions on black pupils be abolished, along with corporal punishment.

It was obviously unrealistic to expect that all these demands would be met. Yet, given the disparate aims of the organisations involved, it is natural that they should have been articulated.

There is no doubt that without the contribution of Cusa, which is a UDF affiliate, Ccawusa and particularly of Fosatu, the stayaway would not have been as effective as it was. It has given rise to a perception that unions have crossed the Rubicon which divides purely union interests from political issues.

Why did Fosatu — whose almost exclusive concentration on shop-floor issues has accounted for its strength and success — become embroiled in the stayaway? Since its formation in 1979 the federation has avoided direct political action. The two notable exceptions were the one-hour nation-

WHERE IT HIT						
Stayaway Participation Rates by Sector						
% Participation	Metal	Chemical	Food	Auto, Building & Transport	Retail	Total
90-100	12	8	14	3	5	42
80-89	1	2	—	2	3	8
70-79	1	1	—	—	—	2
60-69	1	1	1	1	—	4
50-59	2	—	—	1	—	3
Below 50	7	—	5	—	—	12
Totals	24	12	20	7	8	71

Source: Labour Monitoring Group



Fosatu's Erwin ... articulating a need for 'clear protest action'

11A 152 1FOA 143 145A 139 138

wide work stoppage after the death in detention of trade unionist Neil Aggett in 1982; and the campaign this year against the coloured and Indian elections. Therein lies the answer.

Says Fosatu's education secretary Alec

Erwin: "Our attitude is clear. If something affects our organisation and our members we will respond. This action was undertaken because the situation in the Transvaal is very serious — in our view close to civil war — and needed clear protest action.

Cosas came up with the initial student demands. We chose to back them and added other issues like getting the army out of the townships. However, we will only undertake such action in serious situations and when our members feel it is appropriate."

Some labour observers have drawn attention to other factors. They point out that one of the issues underlying the Ummawosa/Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) split was a deep-rooted dissatisfaction with Fosatu's reticence about political involvement. This is hotly denied by Erwin, who told the FM: "There was division in the Mawu leadership, and corruption. But we are perfectly happy that the Ummawosa split did not relate to political issues. That was a rationalisation in hindsight on their part." Nonetheless, Erwin does acknowledge that there are tensions within Fosatu, although he says the federation does not regard these as being unhealthy.

What of the response of employers? Unions report that, barring Sasol, which in one of the biggest mass dismissals sacked 6 500 workers — decimating Fosatu's Chemical Workers' Industrial Union in the Transvaal — very few employers took action against their employees for participating in the stayaway.

According to Tony Ewer, chairman of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries' Labour Affairs Committee: "A lot of soul-searching was done among employers. I think there was a lot of sympathy for the situation many of their employees found themselves in, in view of the intimidation that took place preventing them from getting to work." Ewer stated unequivocally, however, that employer response would harden if there are any more stayaways, as has been rumoured.

In general, white reaction has been to blame it all on agitators. Then, in evaluat-

STAYAWAY PATTERNS

Last Monday's and Tuesday's stayaway elicited an average 60% response in the PWV area — with anything up to 800 000, and not less than 300 000 people participating. It was most successful where strong trade union organisation and community and student organisation coincided. The numbers involved in the stayaway are considerably higher if the approximately 400 000 students who boycotted school on those two days are included.

These are the findings of the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG), an academic body which has produced a preliminary analysis of the stayaway. The group used the SA Labour and Development Research Unit's directory of trade unions as its data base and attempted to contact all firms in the PWV area which have a recognition agreement with an independent union. Responses were received from 71 firms. Six firms refused to divulge information.

Other findings of the group are:

- Unionised factories gave overwhelming support to the stayaway with some 70% of the companies in their sample reporting a stayaway rate of over 80%;
- The unionised factories were concentrated in the East Rand and the Vaal — the areas where the stayaway rates were highest.

The LMG points out that even though it could not canvass the Pretoria area, because of the limitations of its sample group, it is known that the stayaway in Atteridgeville township was almost total. However, commuters from Bophuthatswana went to work as usual. The pattern was similar in Brits with township dwellers supporting the stayaway and commuters working normally.

In the areas where the stayaway was most intense — the Vaal, East Rand and Atteridgeville — school attendance was also negligible. It seems, the LMG says, that workers readily identified the demands of the students for democratically elected student representative councils with their own struggle for independent representation in the factories;

□ All sectors where unions were present were equally affected. Mining was an exception, with lack of participation being attributed to isolation from the townships and the aftermath of the recent strike;

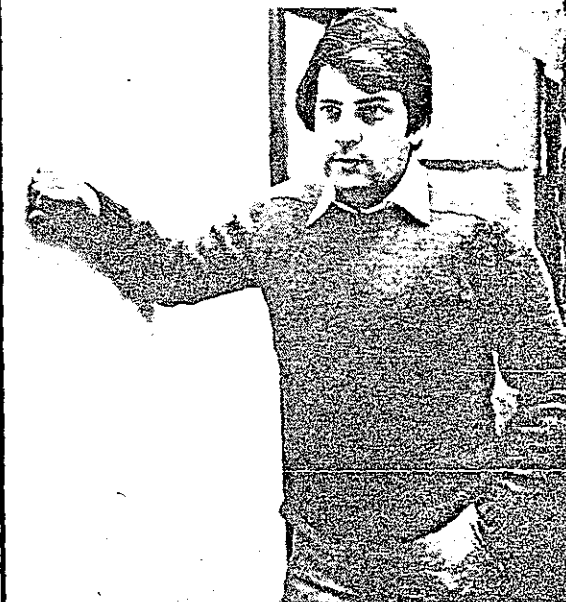
□ The stayaway did not weaken on the second day: 56% of establishments

maintained the same level of stayaway on both days; 20% weakened; and 24% actually intensified on Tuesday. This is seen as significant, as in the past extended stayaways have failed — such as the call for a five-day stayaway in November 1976 which simply petered out; □ There was no significant difference in the response of migrants and township dwellers to the stayaway. The LMG says that migrants formed a significant proportion of the workforce in nine of 71 establishments surveyed. In five of these there was more than 90% participation. The high level of migrant worker involvement, the LMG comments, suggests a critical weakening of the influence of Inkatha on the Rand. Forced to choose between loyalty to Inkatha and to their unions, many supported the stayaway. Inkatha chief Gatsha Buthelezi's vocal opposition to the stayaway call distances him even further from the mainstream of opposition in SA, the LMG claims;

□ None of the employers interviewed envisaged disciplinary action. The most common response was to deduct wages for the two days' absence. Some employers treated it as paid leave; others, more sympathetic, accepted employees' accounts of intimidation and paid wages in full.

The LMG states that Sasol's hardline approach revealed the vulnerability of workers during a stayaway. "Most employers were taken by surprise by the success of the stayaway and were unsympathetic to what they saw as a political strike, unrelated to the workplace. Any future stayaways are likely to be met by a harsher management response. Already some employers are calling for a trimming down of the workforce, and could well use stayaways as a pretext for retrenchment."

The LMG concludes that the decision to resort to a stayaway reflects the absence of political rights for blacks; and that as long as blacks are refused access to political power the stayaway will re-emerge as a weapon. In the past the State has responded to such demonstrations of power in a repressive manner with the result that legitimate protest has been forced underground or into exile. A similar response in the present situation would have far-reaching international repercussions and further deepen the internal crisis.



Cusa's Camay ... stayaways highly selective

152 11A 1165

PIETIE DU PLESSIS

The view from Pretoria



Pietie du Plessis is the Minister of Manpower. He spoke to the *FM* about the stayaway.

FM: What is government's view of the role of unions in politics?

Du Plessis: The legislator's intentions are clearly outlined. In this regard, the Act stipulates that no trade union shall affiliate with any political party nor shall it grant financial or other assistance or endeavour to influence its members with the object of assisting any political party. From the foregoing, it is clear that the obligation rests with trade unions to further the interests of their members as far as conditions of employment, safety at work and related matters are concerned.

Given that blacks have no representation in central government, is it not inevitable that unions will become involved in politics and that stayaways become a legitimate form of protest?

As you are aware, the political dispensation of urban blacks is presently the subject of an investigation by a special Cabinet committee which is giving priority attention to the matter and

which is hearing evidence from black leaders and other interested parties. In these circumstances, it is desirable to allow the committee full opportunity to consider the matter with due regard to all relevant factors.

For the present, blacks have the opportunity, through the governments of national states and black local authorities, to participate in the decision-making process in so far as it relates to matters affecting their interests. I should like to emphasise that, apart from the legal position as already outlined, I do not regard it desirable for trade unions to involve themselves in political matters. To encourage and participate in stayaways could in the long run only serve to destabilise labour relations, with all its concomitant effects for the workers and the community at large.

Does the Department of Manpower approve of the restraint most employers have displayed in not taking action against workers who failed to report for duty during the stayaway?

The department has always maintained the principle of non-interference in the private relationships of employers and employees. This attitude is emphasised by the impartial role the department is often called upon to play in cases where the utilisation of the dis-

pute-settling machinery of our labour legislation becomes an issue. In this regard, for example, I may mention that the department has already had more than 200 applications for the establishment of conciliation boards for the settlement of labour disputes this year where, in almost all instances, officials of the department preside as impartial chairmen.

If unions continue to involve themselves in political affairs, would government consider taking action against them, such as bannings or other measures? If so, please specify. The *FM* notes that several people involved in organising the stayaway have been detained by the security police. Could you comment?

The government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and although trade union personalities are not singled out in terms of the security legislation of our country, there should be no doubt that trade union personalities who become involved in actions where the security of the State is threatened would equally be dealt with in terms of the relevant legislation.

There should be no illusion in this regard, as the government has made it clear on a number of occasions that it would not tolerate destabilising activity in any sphere, including that of labour relations.

ing what it means, to question why the black masses indulged in an action obviously against their economic interests at a time of high unemployment. And there was alarm at revolutionary statements and threats of a general strike from the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee's Thami Mali (see page 56).

There was intimidation. But to focus on only that is to miss the point. Industrial sociologist Professor Eddie Webster of Wits has defined a stayaway as "a general withdrawal of labour which does not (usually) arise out of a specific work-place dispute but articulates broader political and sometimes economic demands."

Erwin states: "This was action against certain government policies rather than against employers. Sasol? We expected to pay some costs. To have stood back and done nothing would have created serious problems between our members and their children."

In such a situation the fact that blacks cannot exercise their political rights in the central Parliament means that unions with black members inevitably come to articulate their grievances. This is a reality



Wits' Webster ... broad political issues involved

which no statute like the Labour Relations Act's prohibition on union affiliation to political parties can hope to quash. A basic problem is that the liberalism which has been so marked in the labour field since the Wiehahn Commission has not been matched in other spheres. "Unions everywhere in the world — but in SA in particular — are obliged to take up political issues," says Erwin.

The massive response to the stayaway has raised fears that emotions will run so high that someone will call for a general strike. But it does not follow that the large black union federations will indulge in stayaways at the drop of a hat. Says Erwin: "We don't entertain any illusions as to how difficult it is to pull off a stayaway — unlike other organisations which don't have membership on the factory floor." However, not all unions share Fosatu's sentiments. Ummawosa, for instance, told the *FM* that it would support any future stayaways.

What is pertinent is that union groupings like Fosatu and Cusa understand the limitations of stayaways. As Webster has stated, stayaways "remain demonstrations, not organised challenges ... Clearly the danger

145A 11A 140A 152 143 139 138

PM 16/11/84

(11A) (140A) (138) (139) (145A) (152) (143)

of dismissal is considerably greater in periods of high unemployment. Finally, lacking co-ordinated organisation and the financial resources for a long strike, workers cannot stay out for long."

Cusa general secretary Phiroshaw Camay has stated: "Right now another stayaway would just weaken our position. We would just lose effect if we did that. Employer attitudes would be much tougher. We cannot pursue all our demands in a stayaway. We can only use it in some instances. One uses stayaways for issues of principle and core issues. Workers have been battered for a whole year: retrench-

ments, unemployment, bad pay, gst, township rents increases — it's all cumulative. There are irretrievable forces acting in our community and we needed to react to them."

Unfortunately, while there has to be law enforcement, the police do not seem to have helped matters — and the presence of the army in townships is regarded as provocative. Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange would do well to reconsider the handling of the unrest. For example, the detention of the stayaway organisers and especially of Fosatu president Chris Dlamini has only added to an inflammatory

situation.

"The stayaway was a very clear show of mass discontent with specific government policies. It was the clearest and most substantial message that has got across for many decades," says Erwin.

If government ignores what happened last week it threatens the future of all South Africans. It is clearly folly to believe that homeland leaders and community councillors are the real black leaders. Like it or not, it is organisations like the African National Congress and black trade unions that really count. It is to them that government should be talking.

FOSCHINI

First-names and efficiency

That Foschini deserves its blue-chip status is undeniable. After all, how does one argue with a compounded earnings growth of 22% over five years? Edgars managed only 6% growth in the same period, and blue-chip Woolworths 18%. In addition, over the past two years, while the retailing recession was at its worst, Foschini has had the edge on both of these larger competitors.

As always, the reasons for the group's success are many. But among the most important must be its rare corporate culture, that combines the involvement of family ownership with the efficiency of professional, decentralised leadership in a diversified group. That chairman Stanley Lewis has been able to merge these seemingly incompatible styles is undoubtedly to his credit.

If there is one managerial quality that the clothing industry has always respected it's "gut-feel." The term describes an ability to predict — months in advance of a new season — what the fickle female public is likely to buy. But with the industry becoming more competitive, and the consumer more sophisticated, gut-feel alone can no longer ensure a successful season. The recessionary years have concentrated managements' attention on other skills.

Good marketing techniques, tight asset management and strict control over productivity have become essential adjuncts to the gut-feel quality — that, nevertheless, remains important. For companies like Foschini the computer has become an indispensable ally. The fashion world is risky, but by providing retailers with a constant flow of data, the computer has reduced some of the margin for error.

The hundreds of cashiers that staff the group's stores are, in effect, also computer operators. Each time they enter a sale, details of the garment's size, colour and style are recorded on a computer disc locked inside the cash register. At the end of each day, Foschini's central computer in Cape Town dials into the hundreds

of cash registers located throughout the country, and transfers their recorded information into its own memory bank. The data is then collated, and a printed summary of the day's sales is produced, in time to be presented the next day to Lewis, with his morning coffee, so to speak.

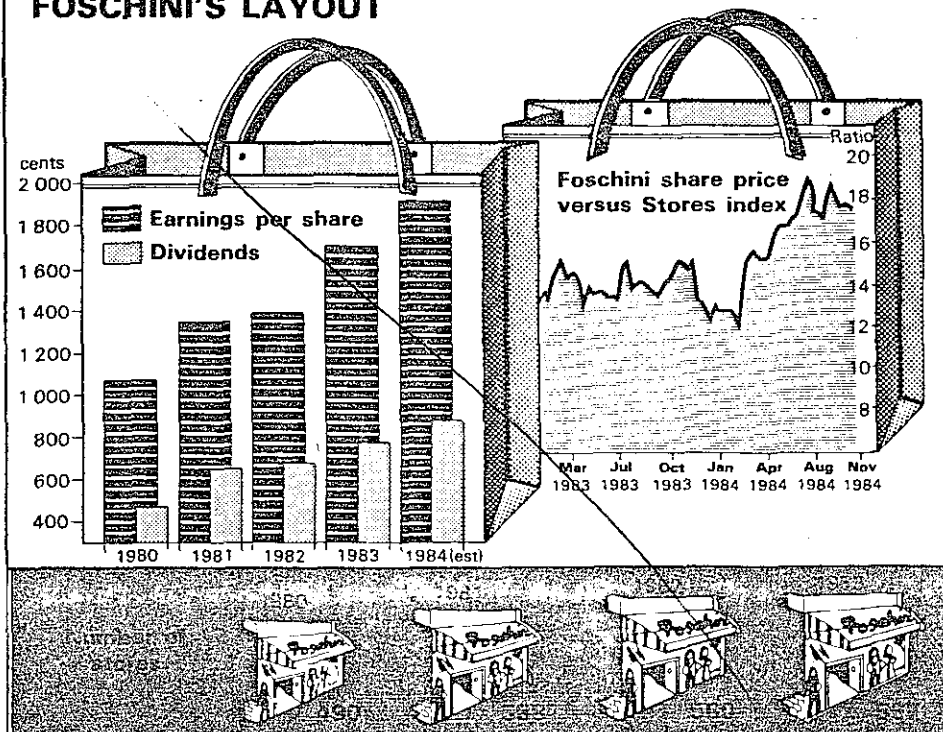
"We have tried to remove some of the

guesswork from fashion retailing, and to replace it with effective market information," he says.

For Lewis and his executives, the daily report is an essential barometer of market taste. A style which is popular in the chain's Rosebank store may be a loser in Messina, and management must react quickly to this information. The unpopular styles in Messina may be removed or allocated elsewhere, while stocks of popular styles in Messina may be increased.

As the season advances, the merchandise mix in each store changes in response to local demand, and every store assumes its own identity. The system also enables each store to run at minimum stock levels, since styles which are about to run out can be

FOSCHINI'S LAYOUT



D. Dispatch

Tshwete not a prohibited immigrant

16/11/84

11A

[Signature]

EAST LONDON — The chairman of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front, Mr Steve Tshwete, has not been declared a prohibited immigrant.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, Mr Wessels Marais, said yesterday that Mr Tshwete's visa exemption had been withdrawn.

"His exemption from obtaining a visa to enter South Africa and his exemption from the requirement to be in possession of a temporary resident permit have been withdrawn."

Mr Marais said the effect of this would be that Mr Tshwete would have to obtain the prior approval of the department before he could enter the Republic.

"Mr Tshwete can make an application through the embassy at Bisho if he wishes to enter South Africa."

Asked if Mr Tshwete would be prevented from working in the Republic, Mr Marais said that "any application would be considered on merit and in the light of the motivation for it".

Mr Tshwete is employed by a firm of attorneys in King William's Town. He commutes from his home at Peelton in Ciskei.

A spokesman for the firm of attorneys said Mr Tshwete had been deprived of his livelihood.

"As matters are now Mr Tshwete must languish at Peelton — far from his place of work."

He said he would try everything in his power to "get Mr Tshwete back to work".

The spokesman, who may not be identified for professional reasons, said Mr Tshwete was diligent and always prepared to work. The vacancy would be difficult to fill, he said.

He added that Mr Tshwete was still employed by his firm, but was unable to go to work.

Mr Tshwete is the third person in the area to be prohibited from entering South Africa without a visa. The others are Mr Charles Nqakula, of Mount Coke, and Mr Malusi Mpumlwana, of Zwelitsha. —
DDR

(11A) D. Dispatch
16/11/84

Committee chairman denies UDF connection

EAST LONDON — The Committee of 20 has rejected a claim by the deputy chairman of the Coloured Management Committee, Mr Corrie Alexander, that it was being used in the housing issue by the United Democratic Front.

Mr Alexander issued a statement after this week's CMC meeting linking the committee with the UDF.

In a statement, the chairman of the Committee of 20, Mr Boy Fritz, said: "We find it strange that after spending three hours at the CMC meeting, no such allegation was made. We find it a blow below the belt for Mr Alexander to telephone the newspaper hours after our meeting with them to make such a baseless allegation.

"We are indeed suspicious about his actions and would like to know if somebody else is thinking for him and whether he is in fact being used.

"Does he think we will let the UDF think for us? It is indeed a slap in the face for the 500 people who elected us at our public meeting. Mr Alexander is certainly belittling them.

"We wish to tell Mr Alexander that his red herring won't work. We are determined to carry the mandate given to us by the people and we will say what they want us to say irrespective of how uncomfortable it may make anybody feel.

"What we have to say will not be clouded by the interests of the city

council, the CMC or the UDF."

Mr Fritz said his committee's representativeness was confirmed at the meeting by the CMC chairman, Mr Johannes Temmers, and he found it strange that Mr Alexander concurred with that assessment at the meeting but later issued a scurrilous statement.

"This ought to show the five per cent of the coloured people who elected Mr Alexander of the inconsistency and calibre of the people they elect. It is time these people woke up to reality." — DDR

I
v
y
e
t

Post 17/11/84

11A

Gatsha to meet ANC chief soon

Political Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the president of the external mission of the banned ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, are expected to meet soon for talks.

Chief Buthelezi last held formal talks with the ANC in London in 1979.

According to a report in the latest edition of the official Kwazulu government magazine, Clarion Call, Mr Tambo recently indicated in a telegram to Chief Buthelezi that the two men should have talks "as soon as possible".

The contents of the telegram cannot be quoted because of South African Government legislation.

n
e
s
d
d,
it
d
d
s-
it
ll
n
i,
y
r
y

Chief Buthelezi told the magazine he appreciated the contact with Mr Tambo and his "recognition of the fact that even though the two differed in their strategy for the liberation of South Africa they had to keep in touch as leaders".

He added that some black organisations adopted a "holier than thou" attitude towards those who did not agree with them.

This, Chief Buthelezi told Clarion Call, was a new element in black politics which had not existed at the time of the founding of the now-banned ANC.

Mr Tambo had shown a willingness in his telegram to talk about differences of opinion.

Chief Buthelezi has responded in a telegram, saying he welcomed the "elaboration of message as promised".

He said he would like them to meet "as soon as possible".

C. Herald 17/11/84 (11A)

Campaign to show UDF's popularity

By Jo-Anne Collinge

THE United Democratic Front plans an all-out campaign, locally and abroad, to show the extent of its popular support and to discredit attempts to portray it as "some wild radical organisation".

The move is a counter-measure to a series of strongly worded statements by Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange, in which he has held the UDF responsible for recent unrest and suggested it has links with the African National Congress.

And the UDF makes

"no apologies that parts of our leadership have been members of the ANC.

"Even the Minister cannot deny that they have a proud history of struggle against this evil system and that they command the respect and support of the majority of our people."

"We are not afraid of

the UDF being declared an unlawful organisation," the UDF said in a statement released recently

ASPIRATIONS

"The UDF merely articulates the aspirations of the majority of the people and these aspirations cannot be wished away by a ban."

It was said to be "im-

possible at this stage to provide any details" of the UDF's strategy to demonstrate its support. But it was made clear that the UDF, which presently claims 645 affiliates, will continue to organise against the implementation of the Botha government's new deal.

Executive member Mr Zac Yacoob stressed that the UDF was committed to achieving a non-racial democracy by "lawful peaceful means". It differed in this respect from the ANC "which is also committed to democracy but which makes it clear that the only choice for it is to employ violence".

The UDF states it believes "the ANC was forced to choose its present tactics as a direct result of the repressive measures taken against legitimate dissent".

Other matters dealt with were:

Township unrest. It was stated that the UDF would regard Government recognition of and negotiation with groups "which they presently call agitators" as a credible first step to restoring peace.

Harassment of UDF leaders. The Front was being "forced to operate under extremely difficult conditions". These included attacks on its leaders by unknown people, for instance the attempted shooting of the Border Region's Andrew Hendricks some months ago. The close surveillance under which some people operated was exemplified by national secretary Mr Popo Molefe, who was detained outside national headquarters a day after returning to work after an absence of several weeks, said Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the national executive.

PEACEFUL

The UDF was committed to achieving change by lawful, peaceful means and while the ANC was committed to the achievement of democracy, it made it quite clear it felt this could be brought about only by violent methods, he said.

One of the executive members, answering questions, said that while the UDF had been formed to contest implementation of the country's new constitution, its role now that the constitution was in effect would be to "fight its implications."

It would concern itself with such issues as military conscription, forced removals, rent increases and education "issues directly affecting the people and therefore directly connected with the UDF."

The organisation expected the "worst excesses" of the "New deal" to be manifested in the months to come and assuming the UDF was not banned, he said, it would continue to give guidance to affiliated organisations in the "fight" against the new dispensation.

(News by Jo-Anne Collinge of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

TSHWETE

BANISHMENT WILL NOT BREAK HIM!

11A C. Perez
18/11/84

FORMER Robben Island prisoner and UDF Border chairperson Steve Tshwete has been banished to the Ciskei and declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa.

Mr Tshwete, from Peelton near King William's Town, received a registered letter on his 46th birthday telling him about his banishment.

The letter, signed by Director-General M J Green, stated that Mr Tshwete needed a visa before he could enter South Africa.

"I have to inform you that your exemption from the visa requirements as laid down in Section 40 (1) (E) of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulations Act of 1972 has been withdrawn," the letter said.

Speaking from his home soon after receiving the letter, Mr Tshwete said nothing — even the order — would stop him from his commitment to liberation.

He said: "The order itself is a clear indication that the so-called new deal is a farce.

"South Africa is my country. I cannot be declared an immigrant in the country of my birth."

Mr Tshwete was jailed for 15 years on Robben Island in 1964

CP Reporter

for his political activities. When he was released in 1979, he was elected Border Rugby Union secretary.

He was a teacher from 1980 to 1983 and was detained for four months by Ciskei cops.

Last week, security cops searched his house for more than an hour before they took him away for questioning.

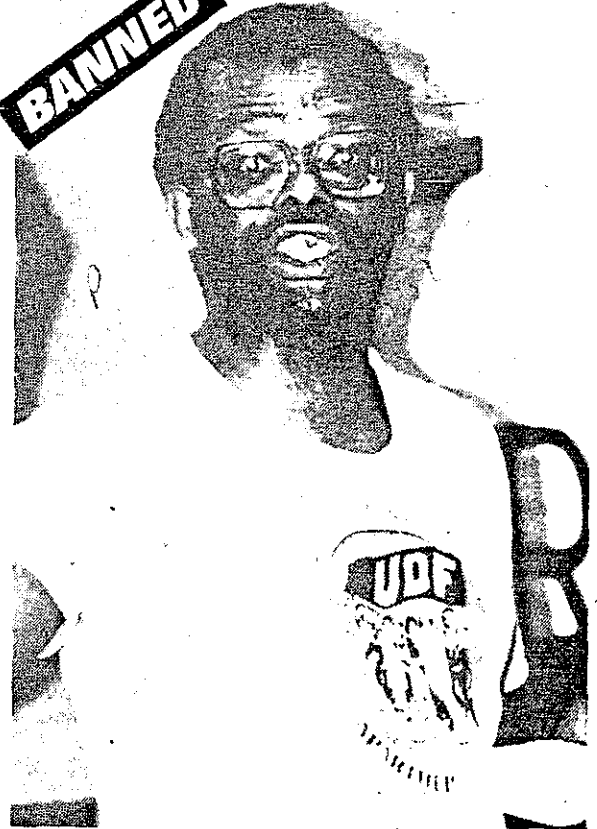
UDF publicity secretary Trevor Manuel said he was deeply disturbed by Mr Tshwete's banishment because it would deny him the right to earn a livelihood and would place him at the "mercy of the Sebes".

"Steve is a person of indomitable worth. His banishment will not break him, nor will it deter the Border region from fighting the injustices of the South African Government," he said.

He said banishment, detentions and bannings would not bring peace to the country.

"These acts only serve to anger our people and take South Africa on a collision course," said Mr Manuel.

BANNED



STEVE TSHWETE: "I can't be an immigrant in the country of my birth."

UDF to ^{11A}
celebrate ^{C. Press}
Year of ^{(8/11) 1984}
the Youth

By SIBUSISO
MNGADI

YOUTH organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front and religious youth groups have thrown their weight behind the United Nations call to observe 1985 as the International Year of the Youth.

In a pamphlet released earlier this year, the UN said the themes for the year would be participation, development and peace.

The aim is to make young people aware of their problems and aspirations.

"Youths can and must be involved in the process of economic, social and political development according to each country's conditions and experiences," it said.

At a meeting in Lenasia last weekend, regional youth representatives decided that the IYY would be an opportunity to highlight the conditions and struggles of the people — particularly the youth

(HA) C. head
10/11/84

'DURBAN LEADERS



YACOOB

AREN'T WELL'

BLIND Durban lawyer Zac Yacoob, legal representative of the Durban Three, arrived in Zurich yesterday to begin a new campaign aimed at breaking the deadlock over the consulate sit-in.

The United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress have decided to launch the new initiatives because of a British Foreign Office ban on any visits to the three leaders.

Only doctors may see them when necessary.

The three still in the consulate are UDF president Archie Gumede and Natal Indian Congress executive members Billy Nair and Paul David.

They originally sought asylum in the consulate together with three other UDF leaders in response to detention notices issued by Law and Order Mi-

nister Louis le Grange.

The UDF said Mr Yacoob's trip was the result of the British action, "which has made it impossible to have any contact with them or make any progress in resolving the situation"

He will consult lawyers in England who, it is believed, have already begun investigating possible legal action to challenge the conditions under which the three are being held.

He will also investigate the possibility of taking further action through the International Court of Justice at The Hague in Holland and the International Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland.

"We have made these appointments because we believe that the conditions imposed by the British Government might represent a violation of internationally accepted standards of health and well-being," a UDF official said.

Chief Buthelezi to speak in Soweto

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, has announced that he will hold a rally at Soweto's Jabulani Stadium next Sunday.

Speaking at KwaMashu, near Durban, Chief Buthelezi — Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the 985 000 member-strong Inkatha movement — said the rally would pray for black unity, especially following the recent unrest. Blacks in the Transvaal should unite and work out ways to direct their anger, he said.

He said: "Expressions of black anger now sweeping the country will not lead to constructive ends being achieved unless black South Africans stopped to think.

"This is what I hope that tens of thousands of my fellow blacks will do when they join me in Soweto next Sunday. We have to employ black anger, but that anger should be rooted in wisdom and foresight."

Chief Buthelezi said anger in the townships was leading to increased hardship for ordinary people, which eased the "job of the oppressor."
— Sapa.



victims in Tembisa at the weekend.

mourner 'critical'

who were stoning cars in Esselen Street. They were returning from the funeral of Miss Gladys Kubheka (29) who died two days ago during the work stayaway.

In Tembisa, seven victims of unrest were buried side by side after an emotion-charged service attended by about

Those buried were Joseph Motsisi (26), Khehla Tsotetsi (20), Ditiro Papo (16), Susan Mazibuko (26), Thomas Matsubane (14), Jabulani Nyathi (21), and Frans Sikwambane.



Job 'reservation' by Rajbansi is apartheid, says NIC

Mercury Reporter
THE Natal Indian Congress has warned the Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, against purging whites from State departments

dealing with Indian affairs.

Senior NIC spokesman Dr Farouk Meer said Indians and other blacks had always objected to whites practising apartheid when employing people, and now Mr Rajbansi was doing the same thing by embarking on a policy of Indianisation, he said.

Mr Rajbansi, who is also the leader of the National People's Party, at present the ruling group in the House of Delegates, chairman of his Council of Ministers and the only Indian member of President Botha's national Cabinet, announced recently that more than 1 000 jobs were being created in the Indian 'own affairs' department.

Expansion

He had said preference would be given to Indian applicants.

But the NIC yesterday warned against a purging of the civil service of whites merely for the sake of 'Indianisation' of State departments dealing with Indian affairs.

Dr Meer said merit and not race must be the only criterion in employment selection.

He said respected economists had warned against further expansion of the civil service which, according to them, was

overstaffed already and was considerably less productive than the private sector.

'It is no use further destroying the economy by enlarging the bureaucracy and pouring more money into it,' said Dr Meer.

Mr Rajbansi has denied this.

He said he was all for 'merit' selections, but one had to take into account the prevailing abnormal jobs situation in which the 'proverbial dice' were heavily loaded in favour of whites with an abundance of work opportunities.

'We will be failing in our duty to our community if we do not pave the way for our own educated youth to fill positions at least in those avenues presently open to them,' he said.

Mr Rajbansi said many Indians had telephoned to congratulate his party on its initiatives.

'Surely they can't all be wrong,' he said.

Soweto 1911/184

Azapo to look after detainees

11A

A FIVE-MAN committee was yesterday elected by the Soweto branch of Azapo to look after the welfare of all detainees in Soweto, irrespective of affiliation.

The committee was elected at a report-back meeting held at the St Andrews Anglican Church in Pimville, which was attended by about 150 people.

This committee will report directly to the Soweto branch on latest developments concerning the detainees and their families.

Mr Hlaku Rachidi, the Transvaal vice-president of Azapo also announced that the organi-

sation's education charter will be launched at the fifth congress of the organisation to be held in Cape Town next month.

He said the charter calls for a free anti-racist Azania.

The meeting also supported the call for a "Black Christmas." The community was urged not to support the white businessmen during the festive season.

Members of the committee are: Messrs Khehla Mthembu, Crosby Molefe, Sammy Tloubatla, Mojalefa Shole and Kelelo Lengene.

Soweto 20/11/84

(S) (11A)

Education must be socialist - Azapo

AN education policy to instil socialist principles in students was presented by the Transvaal region vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Hlaku Rachidi, at the weekend.

Mr Rachidi said at the Soweto branch meeting on Sunday that other branches should critically study the lengthy policy document to suggest ways and means of implementing its recommendations.

The policy for schools to turn out socialist-minded students was adopted by the organisation at its national congress in Pietersburg in 1981. The organisation has been working on its new education principles which were revised by the central committee this year.

The policy criticises the present system of education which is capitalist oriented and promotes individualism. The alternative model it suggests is socialist in content to suit the needs of a future socialist republic.

A three-man co-ordinating committee was elected comprising of Natal region vice-president Mr Imraan Moosa, trade unionist Mr Pandelani Nefholo-vodwe as chairman and Soweto branch chairman Mr Ishmael Mkhabela.

The meeting warned against abusing the work stayaway strategy by rash actions and by inadequate canvassing of the stayaway in the communities.

Mr Mkhabela said this was to "safeguard against division which weakens the community's resolve." During one of the stayaways there was almost a clash between demonstrators and taxi owners whose vehicles were damaged. Township traders who have heeded the call to close their shops during the stayaways, have been dismayed by the indiscriminate damage to their properties.

The meeting also called for people to refrain from buying excessively during the festive season.

A five-man committee was appointed to co-ordinate practical ways of helping detainees and their families. Mr Kehla Mthembu, Mr Sammy Tlou-batla, Mr Kelelo Lengane, Mr Mojalefa Shole and Mr Crosby Molefe were asked to look into the welfare of detainees irrespective of their political affiliations.

Letters to the Editor

Inkatha hits back



Dr OD DHLOMO: Inkatha's Secretary-General.

Sir, I am writing in response to the letter written by Felix T Kubheka, which you published on Friday, September 28, 1984. I am not doing so on my own behalf. I am doing so on behalf of black South Africa.

We as blacks in this country object most vigorously to many of the attitudes which are evidenced in this letter. Mr Kubheka writes as though Soweto was a liberated place which is contaminated by hostel dwellers. He writes as though it was not created by apartheid and as though Sowetans are a special breed of blacks above those of their fellow countrymen whom apartheid has forced to live elsewhere.

When Chief Buthelezi goes to Soweto, he does so to meet blacks. It is to him irrelevant where they come from, but it is nevertheless true that in the meetings which he has, which attract something like 30 000 people, the majority of them are Sowetans — Sowetans both from houses and hostels. From our point of view, a black from a hostel is a black and a black from a hostel in Soweto is still a black Sowetan. Having made this point and having identified with the workers and the peasants of this country who constitute the majority of blacks, I vigorously dis-

pute Mr Kubheka's assertion that Chief Buthelezi's meetings in Soweto do not attract many thousands of people living there in houses in the comfort of family life.

History

That point aside, Mr Kubheka does not realise that KwaZulu was not created by apartheid. KwaZulu was created by history itself as the people of that region were defeated by the full might of the British army. It was the British who created what was then Zululand.

KwaZulu was involved in the struggle for liberation long before Soweto ever existed. Thousands of people from KwaZulu, forced by white administrative measures and economic need, migrated elsewhere in the country to find work. They ended up in Soweto and other places. There is a tradition in Soweto which has nothing to do with the apartheid-erected boundaries around the area. There is a brand of South Africanism among blacks in Soweto which Mr Kubheka knows nothing about. It is black South Africans there who respond to Chief Buthelezi and who attend his meetings in their tens of thousands.

Mr Kubheka says facetiously: "I dearly hope

you and Chief Buthelezi are not entertaining thoughts of incorporating Soweto to KwaZulu because of the overwhelming 30 000 followers." Only somebody who is politically illiterate could make this facetious remark. Soweto is as much a construct alien to blacks as is the area demarcated by what Pretoria regards as KwaZulu.

The black spirit seeking freedom, the indomitable power of the black drive for liberation is not compartmentalised by Soweto's boundaries or by boundaries which the South African Government draws around what they regard as KwaZulu.

Visions

Chief Buthelezi moves through South Africa and is acclaimed by people with spirit and visions and Mr Kubheka shows himself to be alien to ordinary people, alien to those who strive for liberation, alien to those who reject apartheid for what it is, alien to the recognition that every black, whoever he or she may be, and wherever the Government forces them to reside, belongs together with every other black as brothers and sisters in the struggle. Mr Kubheka is grievously in error as he tries to drive wedges between one black and another.

Mr Kubheka raises the question of what happened at the University of Zululand last year. The tragic events there have been the subject of an official inquiry and is also the subject of a number of pending court cases for the very reason that the allegations of the kind Mr Kubheka makes in his letter against Inkatha are untrue.

The publication of this accusation yet again by The SOWETAN before the commission has reported, and before court cases have been settled, defies understanding.

When it comes to looking at black/black conflicts, Mr Kubheka should remember that it was Chief Buthelezi alone out of all the leaders in South Africa who had the guts to go to Soweto to calm the conflict that had developed between some elements in the township and the Mzimhlope hostel dwellers. Mr Kubheka should also remember that it was Chief Buthelezi who

in 1978 again went to Soweto to stop black/black conflicts and it was he who successfully appealed to students to return to school, and to end black/black feuding.

When he did these things, people stopped killing themselves in Soweto and the students heeded his plea and returned to school. The dominance of his leadership is shown again and again, and insults and snide remarks by people like Mr Kubheka are resented by black South Africa, and it is time that he and his ilk were told this plainly.

Yours faithfully,
DR O D DHLOMO
(Secretary-general, Inkatha)



Worship the Lord!
Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name: bring an offering, and come before him: worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.

Tutu gets standing ovations in St Paul's

1117
By Dirk de Villiers, ^{STAR}
The Star Bureau 20/11/84

LONDON — Dwarfed by the giant carved pulpit of St Paul's Cathedral, Bishop Tutu looked almost gnomish, suggesting a small boy who was wearing his father's overcoat.

His glassed blinked in the sepulchral light as his eyes might well have done, too, with columns and domes seemingly soaring to Heaven all round him.

At times his accented voice sounded almost eerie as echoes nudged words in the uncertain acoustics.

Applause started even before the Bishop mounted the pulpit. In a moment it had developed into a standing ovation.

Bolstered by his recent Nobel Peace Prize and his appointment as Bishop of Johannesburg, he was clearly a star.

And with a star's following, The enormous cathedral was filled to overflowing, with many hundreds of people forced to sit in the aisles on tiles that were, appropriately for the theme of the Bishop's lecture, black and white.

Even before he started the audience was reminded that Martin Luther King had once spoken on a similar occasion and that, in 1983, the Bishop had been prevented from giving the address. But it wasn't all serious stuff.

Bishop Tutu larded his speech — on

Christian witness in South Africa — with jokes, even a Van der Merwe story.

More caustic was his suggestion that nose size should be substituted for skin colour to demonstrate how ridiculous apartheid was, with "large noses only" universities and so on.

And in the days of plural affairs in South Africa, blacks from the countryside were probably "rural plural".

That brought the cathedral down.

The Bishop struck a topical note with strictures that could now apply equally to the British and South African Governments when he talked of accusations that the Church should not meddle in politics.

God, these politicians would have

you believe, said the Bishop scornfully, was divinely aloof and unconcerned about the plight of his creatures below.

"Such a God is utterly useless to us and such a God I would not worship," he declared ringingly.

Towards the end of his lecture of nearly 45 minutes he quoted extensively from the Bible, quiet after the previous passion, and ended almost in a whisper.

Again there was a deafening ovation with everyone on his feet.

It continued for several minutes with the Bishop raising his hands in acknowledgement and blinking in the cathedral light.

● See Page 7, World section.

Durban Three's lawyer to make new plea on visitors

STAR 20/11/84
By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

in the affair.

When he was in Britain in September, Mr Yacoob tried to see a Minister in the hope that he could persuade the Thatcher Government to intercede with the South African Government on behalf of the men in the consulate — then numbering six.

LONDON — The blind lawyer representing the three fugitives still in the British Consulate in Durban has again been refused access to a British Minister.

Today Mr Zac Yacoob is to see Mr John Johnston, the official in charge of the Foreign Office's Southern African Department, to ask for a change of policy on the visitors the three men are allowed to receive.

Mr Yacoob had originally asked for an interview with one of the Foreign Office Ministers, but this was refused on the grounds that the British Government as such has no role to play

He was refused — and responded with vigorous statements criticising the British Government.

Since then the British Government has accused the men still in the consulate of "abusing" the consular premises by indulging in political activities. On October 21 it announced that they would be denied visitors except doctors.

The two-day regional stayaway mounted by trade unions, civic associations and student groups on November 5 and 6 in the Transvaal ushered in a new era in protest politics. The Labour Monitoring Group, comprising six top Johannesburg academics, compiled an analysis of the stayaway, its impact and implications. This is the first of a two-part series on the analysis.

The stayaway . . . a ne

The successful two-day stayaway of black workers in the Transvaal is not simply the re-emergence of past forms of opposition.

It marks a new phase in the history of protest against apartheid; the beginnings of united action among organised labour, students and community groups ... with unions taking a leading role.

In comparison with

past stayaways this was by far the largest.

Precise calculations are extremely difficult.

Adopting the figure of an average 60 percent stayaway in the PWV area (this being the consensus figure of employers and the media), then anything up to 800 000 and certainly not fewer than 300 000 took part.

The numbers are considerably more when one

includes about 400 000 students who stayed away from school.

The significance of this stayaway in comparison with the student-led stayaways of 1976 was the active involvement and leading role of organised labour.

Most unions over the last 10 years have been preoccupied with building organisation on the shop floor and have es-

chewed overt involvement in issues beyond the factory.

It is a measure of the extent of the crisis in the townships that these unions responded so rapidly to the students' call for support.

Three localised stayaways have already taken place in the Transvaal since September.

During this period the beginnings of a working

relationship between community and student organisations and the trade unions were formed in the Vaal and East Rand townships.

The elements of this relationship first came together during the Simba Quix boycott campaign launched from Tembisa in August.

On September 3 a successful one-day stayaway took place in the Vaal to protest against rent increases.

By contrast the stayaway called by the Release Mandela Committee in Soweto for September 17 ended in confusion.

As unrest spread and the education crisis intensified, the Congress of South African Students initiated a series of parent-student meetings on October 10 to elicit support from workers and the wider community.

★ ★ ★
This was followed on October 14 by a meeting of 4 000 people in kwaThema to establish the kwaThema Parent-Student Committee.

This consisted of 10 students and 10 parents.

Many of the parents are active trade unionists, including Chris Dlamini, President of the Federation of South African Trade Unions ... now

7 . . . a new phase

showed overt involvement in issues beyond the factory.

It is a measure of the extent of the crisis in the townships that these unions responded so rapidly to the students' call for support.

Three localised stayaways have already taken place in the Transvaal since September.

During this period the beginnings of a working

relationship between community and student organisations and the trade unions were formed in the Vaal and East Rand townships.

The elements of this relationship first came together during the Simba Quix boycott campaign launched from Tembisa in August.

On September 3 a successful one-day stayaway took place in the Vaal to protest against rent increases.

By contrast the stayaway called by the Release Mandela Committee in Soweto for September 17 ended in confusion.

As unrest spread and the education crisis intensified, the Congress of South African Students initiated a series of parent-student meetings on October 10 to elicit support from workers and the wider community.

★ ★ ★

This was followed on October 14 by a meeting of 4 000 people in kwaThema to establish the kwaThema Parent-Student Committee.

This consisted of 10 students and 10 parents.

Many of the parents are active trade unionists, including Chris Dlamini, President of the Federation of South African Trade Unions . . . now in detention.

It was this committee which organised the highly successful stayaway in kwaThema on October 22.

A further local stayaway was envisaged for October 29 if student demands were not met.

This action, however, was to be overtaken by events.

The momentum built up in the kwaThema stayaway prepared the

way for a larger regional action.

The Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee was formed on October 27 following approaches made by the Congress of South African Students to the trade unions.

The committee included members from political, community and youth organisations and from the trade unions.

It was this committee which called for a two-day stayaway in support of the following demands:

● Democratically-elected Student Representative Committees.

● No age limit on secondary education.

● Abolition of corporal punishment.

● An end to sexual harassment of female students.

● Security forces to be withdrawn from the townships.

● Release of all detainees.

● No increases in rents, service charges and bus fares.

● Reinstatement of sacked workers from Simba Quix.

The last demand, a work-place demand, shows the continuity with the previous period.

In the event the Simba workers achieved their goal before the two-day stayaway began.

★ ★ ★

In our attempts to monitor the the stayaway we sought to investigate the relationship of trade union organisation to the size of the stayaway.

Using the Saldru Directory of Trade Unions as our data base, we phoned every firm in the PWV area which had a recognition agreement

with an independent union.

We spoke to 71 of these, with only six refusing to talk to us.

Our findings were:

● Unionised factories gave overwhelming support to the stayaway; 70 percent of our sample had a stayaway rate of over 80 percent.

● These unionised factories were concentrated on the East Rand and the Vaal, the areas where the stayaway rates (as indicated by management groups) were highest.

The poor showing in Pretoria reflects the limitations of our sample group.

★ ★ ★

We know from other sources that the stayaway in Atteridgeville was almost total.

However, commuters from the neighbouring homeland came to work in Pretoria as normal.

A similar situation occurred in Brits with location dwellers supporting the stayaway and commuters working normally.

● All sectors where unions were present were equally affected.

Mining was an exception where lack of participation was probably due to their isolation from the townships and the aftermath of the recent strike.

● There was no weakening of the stayaway on day two as had been anticipated by some observers: 56 percent of establishments maintained the same level of stayaway for two days, 20 percent weakened and 24 percent actually intensified on day two.

In the past, extended stayaways have failed,

such as the call for a five-day stayaway in November 1976 which simply petered out.

● There seems to have been no significant difference in the participation of migrants and township dwellers.

In nine of the 71 establishments surveyed, migrants were a significant proportion of the workforce.

In five of these there was a 90 percent-plus participation in the stayaway.

Secondary evidence and interviews later confirmed these findings.

● None of the employers interviewed envisaged disciplinary action.

The most common response was to deduct wages for the two days' absence.

Some employers treated it as paid leave.

Others, more sympathetic, accepted employees' accounts of intimidation and paid wages in full.

There is later evidence of dismissals in smaller unorganised factories.

● *Labour Monitoring Group;*

Dr Bill Freund, African Studies Institute, Wits University;

Stephen Gelb, African Studies Institute, Wits University;

Dr Jon Lewis, South African Labour Bulletin;

Mark Swilling, Department of Political Studies, Wits University;

Graehame Simpson, Department of History, Wits University;

Professor Eddie Webster, Department of Sociology, Wits University.

TOMORROW: Conclusions and future implications.

The stay-aways crystallised the central contradiction of State policy — the "liberalisation" of the industrial relations system without meaningful political and social change.

Hitherto the major trade unions have focused on factory floor issues, avoiding involvement in more overtly political issues.

The State's failure to adequately respond to the educational demands of the students and the growing crisis in the townships have propelled the trade unions beyond the factory floor.

In spite of the recession, workers were willing to risk their jobs by taking part in the stay-away — even when faced by management threats, as at Sasol.

The State's response — the sackings at Sasol — is forcing the trade unions to take further action, such as the proposed call for a black Christmas consumer boycott — leading to further politicisation.

According to a recent Fosatu Press release: "The long-term implications of the stay-away could include more invol-

Unions agitating for socio-political reform

vement of the unions in political affairs."

The Government's failure to respond to the crises in education and in the townships undermines its own reform initiatives and in particular the industrial relations structures created in the post-Wiehahn period.

The stay-away brought together the major opposition forces to apartheid in the Transvaal — groups which had not previously worked together.

They share certain distinctive features. They are mass-based organisations drawing predominantly from the working class (unions, student organisations).

The stay-away was successful because it rested upon democratic

This is the second in a two-part analysis of the Transvaal stay-away mounted by organised labour, civic associations and student bodies on November 5 and 6. The stay-away was monitored by the Labour Monitoring Group, a committee of six labour academics who here draw conclusions and comment on implications of the political protest action.

grassroots support and organisation.

It was because of the deep roots of the unions in working-class communities that they responded so rapidly to the requests of the students.

And it was their highly organised and democratic structures which made it possible to mobilise at such short notice for the stay-away.

One important implication of these new forms of trade union organisa-

tion is that any policy of repression, of attempting to "behead" these organisations by detaining leaders, is much less likely to be successful.

This new alignment has involved a further polarisation of extraparliamentary oppositional politics.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's vocal opposition to the stay-away call distances him even further from the mainstream of opposition in South Afri-

ca. The high level of involvement of contract workers in the stay-away suggests a critical weakening of Inkatha influence on the Rand.

Forced to choose between loyalty to Inkatha and to their unions, many supported the stay-away.

Indeed subsequent interviews point to a systematic mobilisation of migrants in support of the stay-away by student and community organisations and the trade unions.

The hostel dwellers were to play no small part in advocating the stay-away.

Where strong trade union organisation and community/student organisation coincided, the stay-away was most successful. It may be that

the relatively weaker response in Soweto reflects less correspondence between working class and community organisation, and the class profile of the area is more varied.

Similarly, the non-participation of commuters in Brits and Pretoria indicates the absence of community organisation among commuters.

Where the stay-away was most intense (the Vaal, East Rand and Atteridgeville), school attendance was also negligible and student organisation was strong.

As Dlamini put it, workers readily identified the demands of the students for democratic SRCs with their own struggles for independent representation in the factories.

In previous stay-aways a central tactic of the authorities has been to try to undermine the action by forcing workers out of their homes and back to work.

The earlier house-to-house searches associated with Operation Palmiet were singularly unsuccessful in capturing "subversives" and did not discourage stay-aways.

Sasol's hardline approach revealed the vulnerability of workers during a stay-away.

Most employers were taken by surprise by the success of the stay-away and were unsympathetic towards what they saw as a political strike, unrelated to the workplace.

Any future stay-aways are likely to be met by a harsher management response. Already some employers are calling for a trimming down of the workforce, and they could well use stay-aways as a pretext for retrenchments.

WEAPON

The decision to resort to stay-aways reflects the absence of political rights for blacks — the vote, freedom of speech and association.

For as long as blacks are refused access to political power, the stay-away will re-emerge as a weapon.

Nonetheless, stay-aways remain essentially demonstrations of power.

In the past the State has responded to such demonstrations of power in a repressive manner with the result that legitimate protest has been forced underground or into exile.

By members of the Labour Monitoring Group: Dr Bill Freund, African Studies Institute, Wits University; Mr Stephen Gubb, African Studies Institute, Wits University; Dr Jon Leys, South African Labour Bulletin; Mr Mark Swilling, Department of Political Studies, Wits University; Mr Graham Simpson, Department of History, Wits University; Professor Eddie Webster, Department of Sociology, Wits University.

2 more officials want to quit council

By Michael Tissong

Two more Vaal councillors, Mr Steven Ntsoereng and Mr Tumanane Joseph Mosala, said this week that they were prepared to resign from the Lekoa Town Council.

Two other councillors, Mr Jan Mokoena and Mr M P Mphulenyane, have resigned from the council since the unrest in the area left three of their colleagues dead. About 80 other people died in the anti-riot protest in September.

Mr Ntsoereng said that since September he had been living with the mayor, Mr Essau Mahlatsi, and other homeless councillors at the Orange-Vaal Development Board offices in Sebokeng.

Councillors' homes and businesses were destroyed in the unrest.

Mr Ntsoereng, who sat with Mr Mosala in opposition to Mr Mahlatsi's ruling Lekoa People's Party, said he was prepared to resign from the council at any time.

IN HIBERNATION

"I am pleading with the residents of the township to accept me. I am virtually in hibernation in the board offices since my home was burnt down.

"If I just resign I will have two enemies — the board on the one side and the people on the other. I am pleading that I be accepted back into the community."

He said there was a deadlock between the residents and the board.

"On the one hand the residents are firm on their demand for rents to be reduced to R30 a month. On the other the board is adamant that rents be increased beyond the present R63,76 a month.

"The situation we are in must be defused peacefully and not by the forceful means which the board and the council are using. The residents have spoken in volumes that they do not want the council, but the authorities reply by having police and soldiers come to the townships.

"The residents must bargain with the board that they want the rents to be reduced because this stalemate situation cannot go on. Services are not being provided to the area."

Mr Mosala said he wanted to resign but had not done so yet.

NEGOTIATE

"I am going to resign if Mr Mahlatsi does not go back soon to negotiate with the people. I appeal to other councillors to also resign. The community has no faith in the council system.

"People burnt my supermarket during the protest. I cannot say they were wrong in what they did because they were proving a point. They had been saying for a long time that the rents were too high.

"I told council meetings that there were complaints about the rents being too high, but I was told to sit and keep quiet."

Mr Mosala said councillors bought some of the board's bottle stores for themselves. He said he opposed this because the council needed them as a means of income. He also said that councillors allocated themselves business sites without consideration for the rest of the community.

Mr Mosala called for the release of detainees including the Rev Jeff Tebogo Mosala and Father Lord McCamel.

"These people enjoyed recognition by the residents and were in the deputations chosen by the residents. These are the people the authorities should talk to. Their detentions have made the situation worse."

Govt is urged to remove political bans

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A call to lift the ban on the African National Congress and other black political organisations has been made by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The call is contained in an SAIRR council resolution copies of which were sent to President Botha and to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, this week together with a background paper explaining the initiative.

The SAIRR also calls for amnesty for leaders "serving prison sentences for essentially political offences" and freedom for political exiles to return home "subject to their renunciation of violence".

The resolution refers to the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress which were banned in 1960 after the Sharpeville shootings. Seventeen Black Consciousness organisations were also banned in 1977 after countrywide disturbances which started in June 1976.

The lifting of organisational bans and the freeing of leaders are seen by the SAIRR as the kind of "dramatic demonstration of good faith on the part of white people" needed to halt the deterioration in race relations.

"In the view of the institute

the bannings were not only incompatible with democratic norms but have proved futile. Far from putting a stop to public demonstrations against apartheid they have helped make violent a greater proportion of anti-apartheid action," says the background paper.

The SAIRR states clearly that a revocation of the bans would not, in itself, solve problems in education, local government and other areas of grievance.

"But it is an unavoidable prerequisite for creating a climate in which it might be possible to talk about solutions."

The institute insists that the ultimate cause of the current tension and unrest is the apartheid policy and that it is up to the Government to make the first move in defusing the situation.

The background paper states that South Africa is not on the brink of revolution and that the present unrest endangers racial goodwill rather than the security of the State.

But it adds: "No legitimate and lasting solution to South Africa's problems can be found outside structural political change or without some sort of national constitutional conference. Sooner or later the pressure for such a conference will no longer be avoidable."

RDM

MAIL, Wednesday, November 21, 1984 3

Traders not blaming UDF

11A
~~11A~~

Mail Reporter

TEMBISA businessmen are not planning to confront the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) for compensation for property lost during the two-day stayaway, it was announced yesterday.

The Tembisa Chamber of Commerce (TCC) chairman, Mr Simon Mthethwa, said yesterday the chamber dissociates itself from a statement published in a morning newspaper last week that they intend confronting the UDF and Cosas for compensation for loss of property sustained.

"We abhor and treat such utterances with the contempt they deserve," he said.

He said their position had always been clearly defined — they were in business and had never wished to be in politics.

"We prefer to leave politics in the capable hands of politicians.

"We hate to see some faceless person misusing the good name of the traders for their own short-term political ends."

Mr Mthethwa said they called on Cosas and the UDF "to rally around us in times of trouble because we need each other for the journey ahead".

Sowetan 22/11/84 (11A) (S)

Unban ANC, Govt told

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday called on the Government to revoke the bannings on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other black political organisations.

The call was made in a resolution passed unanimously at the SAIRR council's general meeting held on September 8. The contents of the resolution and the background paper — Towards a Climate for Negotiation — were conveyed directly to the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, according to a statement released yesterday.

The institute's call for the lifting of bannings on organisations refers to the ANC, PAC, which were banned in the 1960s, and the 17 "Black Consciousness" organisations banned on October 19, 1977. It also says that "political prisoners should be released and easily allowed to return to South Africa, if they renounce violence".

In its background paper, the SAIRR said "it is of the utmost importance to arrest the structural deterioration in race relations that has been taking place" and that this must be done by "a dramatic demonstration" of white good faith towards blacks. Revoking the bans would not on its own solve the country's problems, but such a move is an "unavoidable pre-requisite" for creating a climate in which negotiation can take place.

"The institute holds no brief for any particular organisation. The key point is that people be able to make democratic choices. It is therefore imperative that they be accorded the legal right to do this through lawful organisations using lawful strategies," the SAIRR said.

The background paper notes that the institute council's call is not merely a reaction to recent violence "but an attempt to point a way out of the political impasse in which the country finds itself as a result of increased polarisation and the absence of channels through which blacks can effectively and constructively participate in the political life of the country".

The SAIRR added that people denied democratic opportunities today cannot be expected to cherish and protect those opportunities tomorrow. In its view the bannings were not only incompatible with democratic norms, but have proved futile anyway. Far from putting a stop to public demonstrations against apartheid, they have helped make a proportion of anti-apartheid action violent.

Soweto Council's political gag move

SHOCK

By **LEN MASEKO**

Sowetan 22/11/84

(11A)

BAN

SOWETO City Council's management committee has resolved that all political meetings in the area be banned unless permission from the council and the police has been granted.

This information was leaked to **The SOWETAN** yesterday and the motion is to be ratified by the full council at its monthly meeting next week.

The motion was proposed by the management committee chairman, Mr Edward Manyosi, and approved by his committee.

The motion states that all indoor meetings must now be held with the permission of the local councillors, senior superintendents and police station commander of the area in which the meeting is to be held. Recommendations from the three officials should then be forwarded to the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg.

All applications for any meetings should be in writing stating the agenda, the committee resolved.

A local authority has no power to ban meetings, a

legal source pointed out yesterday.

In its preamble, the committee said it carried the motion "in view of the fact that there is in Soweto a continued tense situation threatening the lives of everybody", which it blamed on:

Destruction

- The formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its actions in Soweto and throughout the country "thereby causing violence, destruction and unending unrest"; and
- The call by student bodies and other political organisations to abolish the "Bantu Education racial system".

The controversial motion is said to have also been adopted by some of the 14 councillors who attended a meeting convened in Sun City by Mr Manyosi last

Saturday. The meeting was called to discuss the formation of a new civic body, of which Mr Manyosi is the founder.

Reacting to the move, the UDF and Azapo warned yesterday that it would infuriate the people.

The decision by the Soweto Council committee confirmed that councillors and other persons in Government-created organisations were enemies of the people, Azapo said in a statement.

"We also think that all unrepresentative organisations cannot buy legitimacy," the Black Consciousness organisation said.



FOR A MOMENT the aged overcame their physical disabilities and revived the old good times as they danced and clapped during the charity Christmas Party organised by the Johannesburg Central Business District Association in the city yesterday.

Pic LEN KUMALO

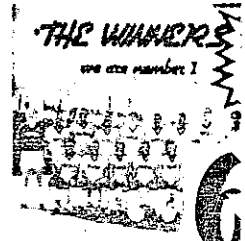
Biko

AN APPLICATION Supreme Court to co African Medical and P hold a full inquiry into the two "Biko doctors" terday on behalf of the public.

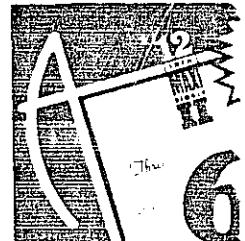
Mr I Mohamed, SC prominent medical pr tuted the case yesterd court that it was an 2 the reputation of the medical profession.

The court is being a the conclusions of two quires of the SAMD that no action should t Dr Ivor Lang and Tucker, who with a dis Port Elizabeth, treat sciousness leader Stev days before he died ir Biko was detained un ism Act on August 18

THE WEEKLY SPECIAL



The Winners We Are Number 1



Three Million I've Got The Hots (For You)

Chief Gatsha to slam violence

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the 985 000 strong Inkatha movement, is to condemn black violence in the townships when he speaks at a mass meeting scheduled for the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto on Sunday.

The SOWETAN learnt yesterday that Chief Buthelezi is inviting blacks to the stadium to tell him "what they feel and what they want". Informed sources said that the meeting is being billed as "consultation" with the people. Chief Buthelezi will be asking blacks to demonstrate their black power and black unity at the stadium by putting forward their black wisdom.

A poster announcing the meeting says Chief Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of KwaZulu, is demanding justice and full political rights from the South

African Government. At the same time it is known that Chief Buthelezi believes people should "direct their anger" and he has stated that he deplores the destruction of worker power among blacks on black political conflicts.

Speaking at KwaMashu near Durban at the weekend, Chief Buthelezi said: "Expressions of black anger now sweeping the country will not lead to constructive ends being achieved unless black South Africans stopped to think."

Sweeter 23/11/84 (11A)

Do not be used - Azapo tells members

By LEN MASEKO

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called on its members and the community to resist being used to sabotage and undermine the national liberation.

This all stems from what the organisation has termed a campaign of harassment against its members. The black consciousness organisation claims that 13 of its members had — in the past 11 days — either been raided in their homes, detained for a short spell, questioned about their political activities or asked to inform on their colleagues.

Meanwhile the Police Directorate in Pretoria said yesterday that it

could not comment on "routine investigations which take place".

The directorate said in a telex: "The South African Police do not harass people. However, should any person be of the opinion that he/she has lawful cause for complaint then such person or persons should make an affidavit at their nearest police station, where their allegations will be investigated."

The members alleged to have been contacted by the Security Police are Messrs James Chauke (Alexandra), Victor Ndlovu (Alexandra), Jabu Shabalala (Alexandra), Herman Viljoen (Alexandra), Philip Sibeko (Alexandra), France Pale (Tem-

bisa), Phosa Kuwa Mashelo (Lebowakgomo; Pietersburg), Max Ledwaba (Seshego, Pietersburg), Mangope Ramothlolo (Seshego), Windsor Meraba (Seshego), Thabo Montjane (Seshego), Rachi Rasethaba (Seshego) and Matsapa Letsoalo (Seshego).

Notably, according to Azapo, the campaign had intensified since the organisation's national congress held in Port Elizabeth recently.

Azapo said in a statement yesterday: "We urge all our members and the community at large to resist from being made use of to sabotage and undermine our national liberation struggle."



Army's Geldenhuys ... calling for a ministerial meeting

... and that technical experts of the two countries should meet to discuss the future of the Ruacana-Calueque hydro-electrical scheme.

The Angolans were asked to propose a date and place for the meeting, but the FM understands it will take place very soon and will probably be held at Cape Verde. However, the Angolans may decide to await SA's reply to their Cuban withdrawal proposals before setting up the meeting. A tripartite SA/US/Angolan meeting is then expected to be held to negotiate the Cuban withdrawal.

STAYAWAYS

Unions reject call

Major union organisations have rejected taking part in stayaways in the near future. Reports have been circulating among businessmen and in the townships recently that a five-day stayaway is planned from November 26.

Some unions believe the rumours come from sources wishing to harm the trade union movement. They fear a stayaway now would cause a hardening of employer attitudes.

The Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) says the organisation's executive "wishes to state quite clearly that Fosatu has not called for, nor will it participate in, any stayaway called for November 26." It says Fosatu believes those calling the stayaway are attempting to create chaos, and calls on government to give an assurance that the "security services" are not spreading the rumours.

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA (Ccawusa) president Jonas

Ledwaba says his union has not been consulted about any future stayaway call and "as far as Ccawusa is concerned there is no stayaway planned." A spokesman for the United Metal Mining and Allied Workers of SA also says the union does not support the call.

Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) acting general secretary Mahlomola Skhosana tells the FM that Cusa is not party to any such a call "and will not participate." He says a stayaway now will negate the achievements of the November 5 and 6 stayaway.

CUSA

A show of unity

After its failure to get through the agenda for its bi-annual conference some weeks ago because of inter-union dissent, the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) emerged from its reconvened conference last weekend proclaiming that unity had been achieved.

Hanging over the conference was the detention of Cusa general secretary Phiroshaw Camay, who was picked up by security police in the wake of the Transvaal stayaway on November 5 and 6.

According to a Cusa spokesman, the conference was primarily taken up with discussion on three issues:

- Camay's detention and that of other unionists connected with the stayaway;
- The election of office-bearers; and
- Participation in talks with the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) and four independent unions aimed at forming a new "super" federation.

Cusa said the conference had unanimously confirmed Camay's position as general secretary and condemned his detention as well as that of all other detainees. Cusa's participation in the unity talks was also confirmed.

On the surface, this is a remarkable turnabout from the disunity of recent months. The Cusa conference was initially scheduled for October 6 and 7, but was postponed. At the time, Camay said a postponement had been made necessary because most of the council's 12 unions were in arrears with their affiliation payments which would have made them ineligible to participate.

Then, at the Hammanskraal gathering on October 27 and 28, the cohesion of Cusa was placed under severe pressure as a result of the walkout by its most powerful affiliate, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Uncertainty clouds much of what happened at the abortive Hammanskraal conference and officials of Cusa affiliates have been tight-lipped. Nevertheless, the FM understands that several council unions — those in the building, automobile and metal industries — failed to attend. The FM also understands that conflict over relationships

with the Urban Training Project (UTP), a body providing educational services for Cusa union members as well as for several other unions, also marred the conference. According to one source, NUM, which does not use UTP's services, attacked the educational body for being "ineffectual." At one point, some delegates are said to have physically attacked others.

In contrast to Hammanskraal, the Cusa spokesman said all the council's affiliates had been present at last weekend's conference. However, a NUM spokesman told the FM the union had only sent observers to the conference, since its executive had had to travel to Namaqualand, where the union has formed a new branch. The FM has also received an unsubstantiated report that the Cusa-affiliated SA Black Municipality and Allied Workers' Union was not present.

According to the Cusa spokesman, the UTP and other issues will be discussed at a meeting in December.

Meanwhile, Cusa has elected Mahlomola Skhosana, an organiser, as its acting general secretary, James Mndwaweni, president of the Food, Beverage and Allied Workers' Union, as its president; and Amos Mabuza, president of the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, as its vice-president.

For the present, it seems that Cusa has managed to overcome much of its internal dissent. However, only time will tell if the cracks have merely been papered over.

DETENTIONS

Business's dilemma

Events in the past week have highlighted differing perceptions among employers and government on how to deal with political labour unrest.

Forthcoming meetings between Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange and major employer organisations are likely to focus on whether trade unionists should be treated as legitimate worker representatives or as subversive elements best handled through the machinery of the Internal Security Act.

Following the detention of at least seven trade unionists and several other community leaders, apparently in connection with the stayaway of two weeks ago, Assocom, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) and the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) last week called on the government "to enter into top-level discussions with key industrial, commercial and labour organisations as soon as possible."

In their unusual joint statement, the three organisations strongly question the wisdom of the detentions which are described as a "precipitous step" which can "only exacerbate a very delicate situation."

It adds that "like the government, the private sector is anxious to preserve stability in the economy." That, though, is where employers and government part company.

Argus 23/11/84 (11A)

Boesak invites Kennedy to come to SA next year



Senator Kennedy



Dr Allan Boesak

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — SENATOR Edward Kennedy plans to visit South Africa next year as the guest of the Reverend Allan Boesak.

"We talked about it when I was in Washington last October," Dr Boesak said from his Cape Town home today.

"I would be delighted if he comes. I have a lot of things to tell him and show him in South Africa. It would be my pleasure to host him here."

"STATEMENT LATER"

Dr Boesak has not decided whether he will be host to Senator Kennedy in his capacity as patron of the United Democratic Front and senior vice-president of the South African Council of Churches or in his private capacity.

"I will make a full statement later," he said.

He had not yet had official notification from Senator Kennedy's office about the visit.

It could not be immediately ascertained today whether the Senator had filed a visa application.

POLITICAL QUESTION

The planned visit poses a tricky political question for the South African Government.

Last year they put off a visit by the Reverend Jesse Jackson because they believed it was being planned to further his bid for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination.

But they would not find it as easy to refuse Senator Kennedy. There would certainly be an outcry from the Reagan Administration if he were barred.

But, the Government cannot fail to recall the tremendous reception given Senator Kennedy's late brother, Bobby, when he visited here in 1967 and made strong attacks on SA racial policies.

Senator Kennedy has shown himself, if anything, to be an even stronger opponent of apartheid. He favours an investment ban and is a patron of the anti-apartheid body formed by exiled South African newspaper editor Donald Woods.

Seweter 23/11/84

(11A)

(152)

Stayaway is OFF

By SYD KHUMALO

THE CONTROVERSIAL stayaway which was due to start on Monday is definitely OFF.

This decision was taken in a meeting held by representatives of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Inter-denominational Association of South Africa (Idamasa) and the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso).

The stayaway was supposed to have started on

Monday the 26th up to Friday the 30th — five days.

Rev Stephen Mbande of the Anglican parish at Emndeni and Rev Mucedisi Madlwabinga of the Congregational parish of Orlando East said that one of the reasons why the meeting was called with these organisations was that "nobody has come out with a logical reason for a stayaway."

They gave an assurance that the people should go to work as usual on Monday "whether there are pamphlets, threats or not."

Biko's

It's a d

When together wi

as great as the oc

refreshing Malt A

with the full bodie



UDF calls

for two-day
Peninsula
bus boycott

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front and two of its major Western Cape affiliates today called for a two-day bus boycott to protest against the 12,5 percent increase in busfares.

The boycott, planned for Wednesday and Thursday, was announced at a Press conference today.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Jonathan de Vries said 500 000 pamphlets were distributed and 10 Cape Flats areas surveyed by the UDF.

"HEAVY BLOW"

"The latest increase came as a heavy blow for our people. We tried going through the official channels, but we were unsuccessful," Mr de Vries said.

The UDF was one of a number of organisations that opposed the increases at a National Transport Commission hearing on City Tramways' application for the increase about two months ago.

Mr Z Malinidi of the Western Cape Civic Association, a township body, appealed to the police to keep a low profile during the two days.

CLIPCARDS

Mr Wilfred Rhodes, secretary of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), said subsidised clipcards helped only workers on a pre-determined route. There was no relief for others.

UDF officials said the trade unions had indicated they would not oppose the boycott, although they were unable to get a mandate from their members to take a public stand on the issue.

Mr Rhodes said there were "genuine fears" among some commuters that they would lose their jobs if they arrived late for work.

"We appeal to bosses not to fire people who are late and to all those with private cars to give people lifts," he said.

K... 23 11/1/84

Talking to the ANC 'would be consistent'

11A

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

PAST Government statements carry the implication that it is prepared to talk to the banned African National Congress, Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town said yesterday.

Prof Welsh, co-author of a study on South Africa's constitutional options, was commenting on the call by the Institute of Race Relations for the lifting of the banning orders on the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and 18 black consciousness organisations.

Prof Welsh referred to two statements by the Schlebusch Commission in 1980 — and accepted by members of all political parties in Parliament at the time — and, more recently, to a statement in the 1983 annual report of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The Schlebusch Commission statements were that:

- The process of designing future constitutional structures should be accompanied by the "widest possible consultation and deliberation with ... all population groups" to raise the level of acceptability of the new constitution".
- The President's Council, as the body charged with creating a new constitution, should be composed of nationally acknowledged experts and "people regarded by their respective communities as leaders".

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning report said: "The realities and demands of the constitutional development of blacks should be considered with an open mind and with a new vision."

Prof Welsh commented: "If they believe what they have committed themselves to in the past, then talking to the ANC is a consistent step."

He added: "We are a society virtually at war with itself. The only way in which we can end the endemic violence is by talking to all segments of black opinion, no matter how unacceptable the views and strategies some of these segments may be to general white opinion."

Prof Welsh recalled that Mr Ton Vosloo had, as editor of *Beeld*, made a cautious and qualified plea for talks between the Government and the ANC when he predicted in 1981 that a day would come when it would have to negotiate with the ANC.

Mr Vosloo has since risen to become managing director of *Nasionale Pers*.

Copies of the institute's resolution and of the background paper were sent to President P W Botha and to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange.

The Office of the President referred the *Rand Daily Mail* to Mr Le Grange for comment. Mr Le Grange said yesterday he had taken note of the resolution but was not yet prepared to comment.

Rgm 24/11/84

Leaders reject
stayaway reports

REPORTS of a stayaway among black workers in the Transvaal for the whole of next week appear unfounded.

No organisations have publically called for the stayaway.

Instead, various groups involved in the two-day stay-at-home campaign a fortnight ago have dissociated themselves from next any action next week.

Mr Saths Cooper, deputy-president of the Azanian People's Organisation, said no stayaway organiser could be found in spite of thorough investigations.

"No credible organisation throughout the country is aware of any organised stayaway," he said.

"No community can afford such uncertainty, especially at a time of worsening economic and social

crisis."

If a stayaway did take place it was unlikely many people would take part, a union organiser said.

Both the United Democratic Front and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), two of the main movers behind the last stayaway, have issued statements saying they would not support a stayaway next week.

The Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, representing several student and union organisations that initiated the Transvaal stay-at-home campaign two weeks ago, disbanded shortly after the action.

Opinion among the organisations over the wisdom of staging stayaways appeared to be divided, observers said. — Sapa.

UDF plans for bus boycott

Political Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) and two of its major Western Cape affiliates are planning a bus boycott on Wednesday and Thursday next week in protest against the 12,5 percent fares increase announced earlier this month.

The decision to boycott follows a 2½-week survey of 10 Cape Flats areas to gauge popular reaction to the increase, the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Jonathan de Vries, said at a press conference yesterday.

The UDF was one of a number of organizations that opposed the increases at a National Transport Commission hearing on City Tramways' application for the latest increase.

"Transport must be for people, not for profit." Mr De Vries asserted.

Mr Z Malindini, of the Western Cape Civic Association, said the Transportation Board and City Tramways had shown no understanding of the plight of commuters and "they just rode roughshod over our appeals and objections to a fare increase".

Mr Wilfred Rhodes, secretary of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), said people felt "angry and defeated".

"This is the only way we have left to protest peacefully."

Hundreds of UDF supporters distributed 150 000 pamphlets yesterday at key stations and bus stops urging commuters to join the boycott.

The public relations manager of City Tramways, Mr Bob Krause, yesterday said he thought the boycott was "politically inspired" and that services would continue as usual next week.

UDF man
B. T. M. M. M.
seeks
72/11/84
interdict

PORT ELIZABETH —
The Border chairman of the United Democratic Front, Mr Stephen Vukile Tshwete, has applied for an interdict against the Minister of Home Affairs following an order which had effectively precluded his right to live in South Africa.

Judgment was reserved by Mr Justice Jones, in the Supreme Court in Grahamstown.

Mr Ian Farlam, SC, appearing for Mr Tshwete, said it was clear that the matter was of "extreme urgency" as Mr Tshwete could not travel from his home to work without leaving and re-entering the Republic.

Mr Tshwete had been ordered by the minister to apply for a visa if he wished to enter the country.

Mr Farlam further argued that since Mr Tshwete had been living in South Africa before Ciskei was granted independence, he had not lost his South African nationality.

He conceded that Mr Tshwete had lost his South African citizenship.

A control industrial technician in the service of the Department of Internal Affairs and Land Tenure of the Republic of Ciskei, Mr Johann Baard, said in an affidavit that the area in which Mr Tshwete resided was part of South Africa. —
DDC

u-
k-
r-
rt
i-
j
h
e
e
t
d
e
f
h
it
to
ly
o-
ht
le
en
rs
t
ne
ed
er
r-
t

T
C
L
C
E
C
V
T
Z
C
C
V
C
C

AZAPO GOES CLOSER

... but our BC philosophy stays the same

11A

C. Prens
25/11/84

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation will discuss forming an alliance with non-BC organisations at this year's congress.

NEWS ANALYSIS KHULU SIBIYA



Officials said organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front were also fighting to dismantle apartheid — so, in future, Azapo will support strategies like the recent Transvaal stayaway.

Azapo official Pandelani Nefolohodwe said one of Azapo's main aims was not to engage in counter-revolutionary measures.

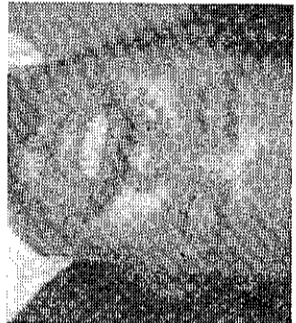
"We may differ with other organisations in many ways,

does not mean that the organisation will review its stand and commitment to black consciousness.

Azapo will still stick to its philosophy of 'black man you are on your own', and its belief that 'black people should first close their ranks before thinking of multiracial organisations'.

This philosophy has survived six years of being labelled "racist, reactionary and retrogressive".

At the congress, Azapo will once again reiterate that the specific exclusion of whites is solely based on political strategy and not on colour, race or any other grounds. It still maintains its stand



PETER JONES: "Whites are more privileged."

on the reconquest of the land and its restoration to its rightful owners — black people.

According to Azapo senior member Peter Jones, delegates will be reminded that some white people — particularly liberals — are in the struggle for a multi-racial partnership, while leftists



SATHS COOPER: "This country belongs to us."

want a colour-blind, class-conscious black working class.

The congress theme is: "Resist, Defend and Advance". Two guest speakers from outside the country will speak on "building a nation towards socialism". There will also be a workshop on education,



LYBON MABASA: "How can we fight side by side."

theology, rural and urban workers and the role of the youth in the liberation struggle.

Another burring issue likely to come is the strategy of boycotts and strikes. The rejection of organisations and individuals who work and participate within

Government-created structure will also be reiterated at the congress.

It has been argued that Azapo, which has never held a congress in Cape Town before, is playing in the UDF's homeground (the UDF was launched in Cape Town two years ago.)

To this, Azapo's deputy president Saths Cooper said: "This country belongs to us. We will hold meetings anywhere we want. Azapo is trying hard to reach everybody throughout the country."

While Azapo will not review its stand and commitment to black consciousness at the congress, it may, however, decide to support non-

BC organisations in fighting the Government. In his presidential speech last year, Lybon Mabasa said: "The black people's role is to organise in all sectors of the black experience."

He said white people in Lower Houghton had a different life style from black people in the townships.

"How, then, can we fight side by side to win back our country?" asked Mr Mabasa.

The National Forum will hold its congress at Kismet Cinema on December 16, and the Azanian Students' Movement their's at Hanover Park on December 15.

They are likely to endorse Azapo's sentiments.

AZAPO BOSS ON THEFT RAP

11A
per
25/11/84

AZAPO

Lybon Tiyane Mabasa appeared in a Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this week on a charge of car theft.

No evidence was led and the case was postponed to later this year. Appearing with 32-year-old Mr Mabasa was Ernest Phillip

By DAN MAIWA

Hlophe, 32, from Manzini, Swaziland.

Mr Mabasa was arrested last Friday and was held at John Vorster Square until his appearance in court. The alleged car theft was committed on October 3 this year. After a lengthy argu-

ment, Mr Mabasa was granted R750 bail.

Mr Hlophe's bail application was opposed by the State prosecutor and he was remanded in custody. Mr Mabasa was warned by Magistrate H S van Heerden to appear at the next hearing. The two were represented by Nelspruit lawyer Matthew Phosa.

LYBON TIYANE
MABASA



CHIEF

SLAMS

Buthelezi on attack in Soweto

UDF

Sowetan
26/11/84

278
152

CHIEF GATSHA Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, yesterday made a blistering attack on the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Students as those responsible for recent attacks by blacks on blacks.

Addressing thousands of followers at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, he said he was not against strike and stay-at-home calls, but was "opposed to any tactics and strategies which are dictated to the masses by the few, and which are forced on the people by criminal acts of intimidation."

"I am opposed to all attempts to use Black Power in strategies which will fail. I am opposed to using Black Power which results in the suffering of the ordinary people, but which gains nothing for the ordinary people. I am opposed to the use of Black Power to boost the image of certain people and organisations in the eyes of the media."

"Do you want to suffer? Do you want to lose your jobs? Do you want to go hungry? Do you want your children to die so that these few can hit newspaper headlines?"

"We have had strife in our townships now for months. A great many people have died. Others have been brutally beaten up, and yet others have lost everything they possess as their homes have been attacked and their property destroyed," he said.

Chief Buthelezi made his visit to Soweto at a time when unrest has hit the entire Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vaal complex, with scores of people in detention, more than 100 dead and many others injured.

Chief Buthelezi was welcomed

SOWETAN Reporter



CHIEF GATSHA Buthelezi at the Amphitheatre yesterday, where he slammed the UDF and Cosas.

See page 2.

into Soweto by deputy mayor, Mr Isaac Buthelezi, who made the welcoming address. Mayor Mr Ephraim Tshabalala was also present.

In his speech Chief Buthelezi said many people preached black unity, but were engaged in black activities. He said this was his fourth visit to the Transvaal in which he had canvassed for black unity.

"This in itself should indicate to each and every one of you how

much I am committed to the unending quest for black unity. Throughout my political career, I have always regarded black unity a priority in the black struggle for freedom," he said.

Referring to the situation of confrontation he said: "... experience in black politics has taught me that whenever the flames of black anger are raging, and however justified they may be, there will always be those who, because of their political bankruptcy, would exploit this anger and misdirect it."

"Black people seem to have forgotten who their enemy is, and black people seem to be fighting their own shadows now, instead of directing their anger in such a way that we all reap its benefits."

He said the Government had given credibility to the UDF by detaining its leaders and Thami Mali. According to Chief Buthelezi, the UDF and some leaders were manipulating the situation for their own ends.

He also slammed the Congress of South African Students and blamed a lot of intimidation on it.

CAPES TIMES 26/11/84 (11)

Buthelezi slates Cosas

JOHANNESBURG. — (Cosas) was helping children to "lose their lives on township streets". Those who thought the government could be toppled overnight were "vain in their stupidity", Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwa-zulu, told about 30 000 Sowetans yesterday.

Addressing a prayer meeting for black unity, Chief Buthelezi said that in organizing school boycotts, the Congress of South African Students

(Cosas) was helping children to "lose their lives on township streets".

"Cosas will fail, and, in failing, they will drag your children down with them," he said.

"You know that when violence erupts in your townships, and when that violence becomes inward-directed and you yourselves are the victims of it, that Pretoria laughs at you." — Sapa

STAR 26/11/84 (11A) (11A)

ANC member dies in clash with police

By Trevor Jones

A trained member of the banned African National Congress blew himself up with a handgrenade and another was arrested in a clash with police near the Northern Cape town of Vryburg early yesterday.

Two policemen were injured when a handgrenade exploded and another two people were detained by police for questioning, a police spokesman in Pretoria said today.

The chief of the Security Branch of the South African Police, Major-General Stan Schutte, said that the infiltration came from Botswana.

Early yesterday morning the South African Police, with the co-operation of the Bophuthatswana Police, received information that armed insurgents were in the Vryburg area.

Members of the SAP arrested a terrorist leader and shortly afterwards detained a further two people for questioning.

"The police took possession of a quantity of Russian-made arms including handgrenades," the spokesman said.

Following this arrest the police went to a house in the black township of Hu-hudi near Vryburg where another in-

surgent was believed to have been hiding.

"The terrorist came out of the house and threw a handgrenade at the policemen but it failed to explode. He ran back inside where he exploded and further two grenades," said the spokesman.

A few minutes later the man again burst out of the house clutching a handgrenade. It exploded as he ran, killing him instantly. Two members of the SAP were slightly injured in the blast.

General Schutte today praised the policemen involved for their good work.

CIA Skas
26/11/84



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi addresses about 15 000 people who gathered at the Jabulani amphitheatre in Soweto yesterday for a prayer meeting.

Buthelezi attacks Cosas and UDF

By Langa Skosana

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday said the recent unrest in South Africa's black townships was a cumulative effect of the anger of blacks against the system of apartheid.

He told about 15 000 people gathered in Soweto for a prayer meeting that the best strategy against apartheid was the unity of blacks against those who enforce apartheid.

"Our non-violent approach does not mean we are cowards. I say to you that if they burn your house you should burn their houses too," the Chief Minister said.

He said the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was an organisation gone mad.

"Cosas works among your children exhorting them to lose their lives on township streets. Cosas will fail and in failing they will drag your children down with them, and destroy the things you strive for," said Chief Buthelezi.

"We are angry because we are politically oppressed, we are angry because we are made stateless, we are angry because our people are poor and because they suffer desperate hunger and want. And we are angry because all the strife is so needless

and so senseless," he said.

He said anger did not have to be violent to achieve anything. Anger could be cold, calculating and determined in effect.

"Anger must sustain efforts that will in the end bring about radical change," he added.

Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi also attacked the United Democratic Front.

"The UDF national leadership, before the UDF threw its weight behind the national stayaway, used an underhand power-play to deceive the world that the stayaway was democratically decided."

Chief Buthelezi told the people: "Black South Africa knows there is no easy victory in the struggle. They know that those who are power-hungry will seize on anything and make anybody pay any price for their own glorification.

"You, the ordinary people of South Africa, know full well that the South African Government cannot be toppled overnight. You know that when violence erupts in your townships, and when that violence becomes inward-directed and you yourselves are the victims of it, that Pretoria laughs at you. You know that those who say they can reduce this country to ungovernability tomorrow, are vain in their stupidity."



A Zulu in traditional dress who attended Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's prayer meeting in Soweto yesterday.

Buthelezi plea for sacked Sasol workers

By JEANETTE MINNIE

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday appealed to Sasol to re-employ workers it had fired recently and to give them preference over other job seekers.

Sasol sacked more than 6 000 workers at its two Secunda plants earlier this month after they supported the two-day work stayaway.

Chief Buthelezi made the plea at a meeting with Sasol's managers, Mr Paul Kruger and Mr W de Waal, in Johannesburg yesterday.

He told them the workers had asked him to intercede on their behalf.

But the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) said in a statement yesterday that 800 Sasol workers, including dismissed employees as well those still employed at the plant, had rejected attempts by Sasol to negotiate with homeland leaders, community councillors and other non-union groups and had reaffirmed their allegiance to the union.

"At no stage have union members requested this intervention. They called upon Sasol management to stop avoiding its responsibility and to negotiate with the mandated representative — the CWIU," the statement said.

The workers had also rejected Sasol's conditions of re-employment, which include that workers should prove they were not "instigators" in the two-day work stoppage and that they had not "intimidated" fellow workers.

Another condition was that the workers would lose all their previous service benefits.

Chief Buthelezi proposed yesterday that workers who were prepared to sign a "simple" declaration that they were not organisers or "intimidators" in the stayaway should be re-employed.

But he advised the company against trying to initiate a witchhunt.

The CWIU statement called for all workers to return to Secunda to apply for their jobs to test the Sasol management's statement that union membership would not be a criteria in re-employing workers.

Chief Buthelezi asked that re-employed workers should be taken on with newcomer status — but that after a three-month probationary period they should be reviewed and have the benefits of their previous service restored to them.

He also told the Sasol managers that if anything came from yesterday's discussions "it would considerably strengthen the hand of leaders such as myself who have constantly urged people to accept that it is only the politics of negotiation which will salvage this country from ruin".

In a brief statement after the meeting with Chief Buthelezi, Sasol said because it operated a highly sophisticated chemical plant, a stable workforce was imperative to its operations. It had therefore been compelled to act firmly when employees failed to return to work.

It said it would consider re-employing workers under certain conditions.

Stayaway slammed at Azapo meeting

By LEN MASEKO

STAYAWAYS could not be described as a success if human life was lost in the process, 16 community organisations declared at the weekend.

And previous stayaway calls were an "uncalculated action" lacking political substance and direction, the organisations concluded at a meeting in Soweto called to review the current unrest situation in the country.

The meeting, convened by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), took a critical view of the previous stayaway campaigns, describing them as "ill-timed."

Among organisations represented at the meeting — which was held at St Hilda's Anglican

Church, Senaoane — were the Azanian Students Movement, Black Clergy Caucus, the Steve Biko Foundation, the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union, and Women Unite.

Slated

The organisations slated reports that previous stayaways had been successful, saying this raised a question as to what criteria were used to determine the success of such campaigns.

"Can stayaways be termed successful when lives are lost unnecessarily?" one representative asked.

Among points made at the meeting were:

- The community was not consulted when such a call was made;
 - The stayaway concept was taking ethnic lines, with the so-called coloureds, Indians and whites not participating. Ironically, there were whites among the stayaway organisers; and
 - Stayaways helped unscrupulous employers to "get away with murder," by retrenching their workers to avoid paying bonuses to them.
- Mr Saths Cooper, deputy president of Azapo, told the meeting: "The community, imposed with the idea of a stayaway without consultation, appeared to stay away from work solely in fear of their safety rather than in solidarity with the cause."



SATHS COOPER ...
Azapo vice-president.

Sasol 2/11/84

Sasol in talks with Zulu Chief

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday held talks with Sasol management in an attempt to have 6 000 sacked workers re-employed amid protest calls by a trade union representing workers at Secunda.

The Chemical Workers' Industrial Union has rejected attempts by Sasol to negotiate the workers' plight with homeland leaders, community councillors and other non-union bodies.

The workers at Secunda were dismissed following a two-day stayaway from work organised by trade unions and community-based organisations throughout the Transvaal recently.

Although management has offered to reinstate the workers, unions and other organisations have condemned the action by management. Last week some 90 workers staged a demonstration outside Sasol headquarters in Rosebank.

Problems

After the meeting with Sasol's management yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said that it was only through negotiations that the problems of this country would be solved.

He understood from management that instigators and intimidators caused the strike that led to the dismissal of the workers. He pleaded with Sasol management to accept and give preference to the previous workers rather than outsiders.

He believed that the workers should be given a three-month probation period and that they should prove that they were not intimidators. They should also gain their service benefits during the time. "The workers in South Africa must not be destroyed and used as political pawns in dangerous games," he said.

However, the CWIU said in a statement yesterday that it rejected the conditions laid down by management for re-employment and called for all workers to return to Secunda to apply for their jobs.

It also rejected attempts by Sasol to negotiate with homeland leaders, community councillors and other non-union bodies.

By MICHAEL ACOTT

A DEFIANT Dr Allan Boesak last night said that threats of prosecution would not stop him publicizing police atrocities in black townships.

Dr Boesak told the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that some of the atrocities were "unbelievable" and he would draw attention to these deeds for "as long as I can speak".

He was replying to Mr Le Grange, who told a meeting earlier this month that allegations made by Dr Boesak in an Australian newspaper on police atrocities during the recent Transvaal unrest were "lies and slander".

Charges

The minister is pressing for charges to be laid against Dr Boesak under a section of the Police Act which prohibits the spreading of false information about police activities.

Dr Boesak has stood by some of the remarks published in the Sydney Her-

ald, but has denied saying some of the things attributed to him.

Dr Boesak, a patron of the United Democratic Front, was loudly applauded when he gave his reply to Mr Le Grange at a UDF meeting in Claremont last night.

He said Mr Le Grange was unfit for his post if he neither knew nor wanted to know what the police were doing in black townships.

He was repeatedly cheered by an enthusiastic multiracial audience of more than 900 people who jammed the Claremont Civic Centre, overflowing into the foyer and crowding around windows outside the hall.

Dr Boesak read from a number of affidavits gathered in Transvaal townships by the South African Council of Churches to support his

claim of police "atrocities".

The affidavits gave accounts of the deaths of innocent children, including a three-year-old boy shot dead while playing in his yard, a six-year-old child shot on his front stoep and a youth allegedly shot in cold blood by a policeman in a van.

Dr Boesak said Mr Le Grange should follow up the allegations in the affidavits, not accuse others of lies and slander.

"I want to ask who is the liar, who is the slanderer, who is trying to cover up deaths like these?"

Saying he "refused to be intimidated", Dr Boesak said he had a duty to publicize information given to him about events in the townships because there were restrictions on what the press was told or could report on incidents there.

Responsibility

Dr Boesak said Mr Le Grange, whose duty was to protect the government and the police force, had to take responsibility for his statement that allegations against the police were lies and slander.

"My responsibility is to protect my people... if I hear then the world will hear about it as long as I can speak," he stated to loud applause.

"People have a right to know what is happening in the townships.

"They cannot say that, just because SABC-TV has not shown it, it doesn't happen."

Dr Boesak appealed for information from people who knew what was happening in the townships so that South Africa and the world could be informed.

An SABC television crew was prevented from filming the proceedings by UDF supporters, who held a newspaper over the camera lens.

(Report by M P Acott, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

Boesak: Threats will not stop me

CALC T.M.P.S. 27/11/80 11A 3/84

STAR 27/11/84 11A

Boesak: I'll tell of atrocities as long as I can

CAPE TOWN — If the Minister of Law and Order called people who told of alleged police and Defence Force atrocities liars, instead of opening an inquiry to discover the truth, he should not be in government, said Dr Allan Boesak last night.

Dr Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, told a packed meeting in Claremont, Cape Town, that if the Minister, Mr Louis le Grange, did not know that such atrocities had happened and did not want to know he should be "kicked out".

He cited instances of children who had been shot and killed during the recent Sebokeng riots and quoted from affidavits drawn up by members of the South African Council of Churches.

Dr Boesak said the Minister had ordered that he be charged under section 27 of the Police Act, which deals with publishing untruths about the police force

without proof.

"In what sort of climate can a six-year-old be shot in the back while running into his home and a policeman get away with it?" he asked. "I lay the responsibility for this at the door of the South African Government."

The response of the Minister had been "to protect the Government and the police force".

"But if I hear about it I will make sure the world hears about it for as long as I can speak," he said.

He cited a case in which a youth had allegedly been shot in the face and blinded by a tear-smoke grenade while working on a roof, and another of a 10-year-old reported to have been shot outside his house with a rubber bullet when his father sent him to fetch firewood during a lull in the township conflict.

The meeting was attended by 800 people. — Sapa.

TV team refuse to leave UDF meeting

CAPE TOWN — An SABC-TV camera team refused to leave a UDF meeting in Cape Town last night after being asked to go by the chairman of the meeting, Mr Andrew Boraine.

The meeting, attended by about 800 people, was later addressed by Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF.

Mr Boraine told the audience the UDF had no confidence the SABC would represent its views adequately.

"All we can ask is that when you get home you will judge how they present the material they have obtained here, what they report of Dr Boesak's speech, and ask yourselves why they were asked to leave."

Dr Boesak said SABC-TV "very much want me to speak so they can get me on film and show me to the nation".

The last time he spoke to them was after visiting the Durban Six at the British Consulate.

"When I got home my little girl said: 'Daddy, they didn't let you say anything.' I said: 'That is the problem with SABC-TV.'"

— Sapa.

ANC man dies in clash at Vryburg

CAPE TOWN 27/11/84
114
JOHANNESBURG. A member of the African National Congress, who had infiltrated the Republic from Botswana, blew himself up with a handgrenade and another was arrested in a clash with the South African Police near Vryburg, in the Northern Cape, on Sunday.

Two policemen were also injured when a handgrenade exploded. A police spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said two people had been detained by police for questioning.

The chief of the security branch, Major-

General Stan Schutte, said the infiltration "without a doubt occurred from Botswana".

Early on Sunday the SAP, with the co-operation of the Bophutnatswana Police, received information that armed insurgents were in the Vryburg area.

"Members of the SAP arrested a terrorist leader and shortly afterwards detained a further two people for questioning. The police took possession of a quantity of Russian-made arms, including handgrenades," the police spokesman said.

Following this arrest, the policemen went to a house in Huhudi township, near Vryburg, where another insurgent was believed to be hiding.

"The terrorist came out of the house and threw a handgrenade at the policemen, but it failed to explode. He ran back inside where he exploded a further two grenades," said the police spokesman.

A few minutes later, the man again burst out of the house clutching a handgrenade. It exploded as he ran, killing him instantly. Two members of the SAP were slightly injured in the blast. — Sapa

RDW 28/11/84
1A Naude to speak at congress

Mail Reporter

THE Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) will hold its national congress at Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre from tomorrow to December 2, its national organiser, Mr Patrick Banda, announced yesterday.

The recently unbanned Dr Beyers Naude will deliver the opening address.

Other speakers will include a member of the General Allied Workers' Union, Mr Sydeny Mapumudi, who will speak on the role of trade unions.

Mr Sechaba Montsisi, former chairman of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), will speak on the role of youth in South Africa.

Transport will leave from 2, 17th Avenue, Alexandra at 3.30pm tomorrow.

Mr Banda said AYCO was concerned about the detention of four of its members, Mr Obed Bapela, Mr Edward Ngobeni, Mr Peter Mokgoba and Mr Victor Kgobe.

Ayco summit dealt a blow

THE first four-day annual congress of the Alexandra Youth Congress on Thursday at Wilgespruit Centre has been dealt a heavy blow by the detention of the body's vice-president and one of the key speakers.

Vice-president Mr Obed Bapela was arrested during a raid of the UDF offices after the recent two-day stayaway. He had been working for a media research company.

Kate Phillip, president of the National Union of South Africa Students (Nusas) was also detained after the successful two-day stayaway in the Transvaal called by affiliates of the UDF.

The president of Ayco Mr Paul Mashatile said they were also missing two files containing names of attendants and the speakers list and programme after two policemen had visited his home at about 5 am and took away the two files — without saying a word.

"We will definitely continue with the congress as we have wrapped up arrangements for tomorrow evening's speeches, but we are still waiting to hear from Nusas who will stand in for Phillip," said Mr Mashatile.

The Rev Beyers Naude is billed to open the conference at 9 pm. He was to be followed by Kate Phillip with a paper on The Education System in South Africa.

11A

11A

Soweto 28/4/84

The secretary of the General Allied Workers' Union Mr Sydney Mafumadi will deliver a paper on the Role of Trade Unions on Friday at 9 pm.

An executive member of the Azanian Students' Organisation, Benedicta Monama, will speak on The Role of Women in the Liberation Struggle.

The chairperson of the Soweto Youth Congress, Dan Montsisi, will close the congress by speaking on The Role of the Youth in the Liberation Struggle at 9 pm.

On Sunday discussions will be opened to all. The main topic: Education Charter campaign.

11A ★

Sash warning on new 'dictators'

By BARRY STREEK

THE Black Sash has warned against the "ominous" potential for dictatorship among black communities where leaders are not elected.

It has also urged the United Democratic Front (UDF) to adopt strategies in which the government was presented with demands it could meet.

The creation of strong constituencies for organization and negotiation would never happen if leaders allowed themselves to be guided by self-interest and ideology "rather than by the needs and aspirations of ordinary people", the Black Sash said.

In an editorial in the latest issue of the organization's journal, Sash, it said: "One result of denying the vote to the majority of citizens is that there are no properly accepted structures for the expression of discontent or bargaining or management of day-to-day living.

"But now we are glimpsing signs of a more ominous, less recognized consequence, which is the potential for dictatorship that exists among the disenfranchized masses: for when leaders are not elected, they are free from responsibility to their constituencies and even from the necessity of having constituencies."

When the government could prohibit meetings, either by banning or the refusal of permits, "you are asking for a situation where any determined group can order masses of people around by means of posters, leaflets and strong-arm tactics".

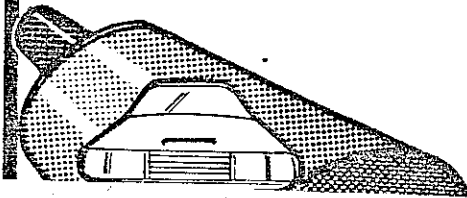
The article declared also that there were some disconcerting straws in the wind which needed to be discussed by the UDF and all opposition organizations.

Boycotts

Substantial numbers of people now wanted to get on with their lives and schooling, and they did not see what was being achieved by endless boycotts. The kind of rhetoric which invoked "the wrath of the people", together with statements that collaborators only had themselves to blame for violent attacks on them, "do not exactly create a suitable climate for frank and free discussion", the editorial continued.

The editorial suggested that "strategies must surely be worked out whereby the government is presented with demands it can meet. The consequences of the all-or-nothing ethic need to be looked at".

**You come up with
the Car, we'll
come up with
the Silencer.**



Slow start to bus boycott

By MARTINE BARKER
POLICE kept up a strong presence at bus terminuses and along bus routes during the bus boycott organized to protest against the recent 12 percent rise in fares yesterday, but no clashes were reported.

The protest got off to a slow start yesterday, with a mixed response from members of the public to the call for a two-day show of protest.

Alternatives

A United Democratic Front spokesman, Mr Jonathan de Vries, said yesterday afternoon that the boycott was most effective in areas where alternative transport was available.

In those areas the UDF estimated that between 60 and 70 percent of the usual bus commuters had boycotted the service. Commuters in the townships supported the

boycott strongly, he said.

Reporters who visited the Mowbray bus terminus at the morning and evening rush-hour, and the Claremont bus terminus and Klipfontein and Lansdowne roads in the evening, found only buses to be in use.

Reports that traffic officers were preventing commuters from taking taxis in some areas could not be confirmed. A spokesman for the Cape Town traffic department said officers from that department were "definitely not involved".

Mr De Vries said the reponse from homeward-bound commuters had been "much greater than the morning, with reports of large numbers of people walking home from work".

The public relations officer for City Trams, Mr Bob Krause, said the company ran services "as normal" and

while "perhaps here and there there may have been fewer passengers than normal" the real effect of the boycott would only be known in about a week or 10 days when ticket sales could be calculated.

Mr De Vries said a number of UDF members handing out pamphlets in the past two days had been picked up and held by police for short periods.

Several had had pamphlets confiscated.

Charges

Mr De Vries said police informed UDF officials yesterday afternoon that charges were pending concerning alleged irregularities in the publication of certain UDF pamphlets.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, confirmed police were investigating charges under the Publications and Imprint Act.

Of 13 people whom Mr De Vries said had been reported to the UDF as being held by police over the past two days, Captain Calitz was able to confirm only that Mr Brian Steyn and Ms Winifred Williams were arrested on Thursday and were still being held.

Police seize UDF leaflets

Staff Reporter

SECURITY police seized about 15 000 pamphlets, most of them relating to the bus boycott, in a raid on the United Democratic Front offices in Mowbray yesterday, said the UDF press secretary for the Western Cape, Mr Jonathan de Vries.

He said a security police officer came to the offices about 11.30am to tell him that pamphlets produced over the past few weeks were illegal in terms of printing and publishing regulations.

"We had assumed it was sufficient to have an address and whom one represents on each pamphlet, but it seems the name of an individual must also appear," he said.

The policeman had said he would discuss the issue with the Attorney-General.

At 4pm the policeman returned with five armed men and a search warrant.

It was then that the pamphlets were taken. Between the first and second visits, a uniformed policeman had apparently kept a watch on the premises, presumably so the pamphlets could not be removed.

• Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the Western Province, confirmed that police had removed pamphlets from the UDF offices in Mowbray yesterday.

● Slow start to boycott, page 2

CAPE Times 29/11/84

(11A) (11A) (11A)

UCT exploiting UWC students, says Hendrickse

Political Staff
BEAUFORT WEST — The leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, this week accused University of Cape Town students of exploiting students on the Bellville campus of the University of the Western Cape.

Addressing a rowdy election meeting here attended by about 700 people in a packed Rustdene community hall, Mr Hendrickse said posters displayed by protesting students at UWC were in English despite the fact that 90 percent of students at the university were Afrikaans speaking.

The UWC students, he said, were being exploited, with the posters in English purely for "international consumption".

During his speech Mr Hendrickse, who is also a member of the cabinet in his capacity as chairman of the Ministers Council of the House of Representatives, was heckled by supporters of the

United Democratic Front on the one hand and of the rival People's Congress Party on the other.

On numerous occasions the chairman of the meeting, the Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Jac Rabie, had to appeal for order while members of the UDF in particular chanted and booed from the back of the hall.

Mr Hendrickse said that the Labour Party believed in effective participation for all South Africans without consideration for colour, class or creed.

Eshowe

And he said the development of South Africa and its constitution would not be complete until people of all races took part and had full political rights.

Defending the Labour Party's Eshowe decision, in terms of which the party opted to participate in the tricameral Parliament, Mr Hendrickse

said some reform was better than none.

But he emphasized that at Eshowe "we also confirmed our belief in a society in which each man would have a vote".

Mr Hendrickse attacked the UDF supporters at the meeting and said they were there at the behest of whites rather than of their own people.

He repeated that the Labour Party would withdraw from the tricameral Parliament if significant progress had not been made with the dismantling of apartheid within five years.

"We are going to exploit apartheid for the benefit of our people," he said to loud applause.

Mr Hendrickse emphasized that the key to the Labour Party's policy was a programme of "affirmative action" in terms of which the coloured people would, after years of neglect, be brought on a level with the whites.

(Report by P. Cull, 19 Baxens Street, Port Elizabeth.)

Parties agree: A 'dirty' campaign for Karoo seat

Political Staff

BEAUFORT WEST. — In what has been one of the "dirtiest" election campaigns in many years officials of the People's Congress Party said this week that they had laid charges of assault with the police following attacks on two of their members working in the Nuweveld by-election.

And, while police could not confirm this, it is understood that a Port Elizabeth Member of Parliament could be involved in one of the assaults.

The PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, said that a charge of assault had been laid with the police following an attack on Mrs A Claassen, a party worker.

Mrs Claassen was hit on the head with a brick and had received seven stitches.

The SA police liaison officer for the South Western Districts, Major Eddie Snyman, confirmed that the charge had been laid and that police were investigating.

This week a Labour Party MP said two youths had been apprehended by the police in Beaufort West after they had

been caught tampering with Labour Party posters. He said that two other youths had got away.

Both Labour Party and PCP workers agree that the battle for the seat which fell vacant with the death of Mr Solly Essop has been one of the roughest and dirtiest they can recall.

Both sides have accused the other of bringing in "riff raff" in an attempt to "rough up the opposition".

The by-election got off to a bitter start when Mr Essop's son, Anwhar, was rejected by the Labour Party as a candidate in favour of local undertaker and businessman Mr Hansie Booysen.

Mr Anwhar Essop, who enjoys a wide following in the constituency, subsequently announced that he would stand for the PCP.

Both sides accept that it will be extremely close and the extent to which both sides have pulled manpower into the election fight is borne out by the fact that more than 2 000 special votes have already been registered.

(Report by P Cull, 19 Baskens Street, Port Elizabeth.)

Stirring the masses

Nobody in his right mind argues that SA's blacks do not have real and serious grievances. Or that these are raising the level of anger — particularly in the urban townships — to dangerous heights.

But it would be a mistake to see the bulk of urban blacks as potential militants. Like ordinary people around the world, they have natural human aspirations and seek (often under humiliating circumstances) to stay on the right side of the law. They want a better life for themselves and for their children. Instead, their grievances are being played upon by those who wish to see SA slide into a spiral of revolutionary violence aimed at increasing polarisation, and perhaps leading, in the end, to civil war. So the radicals hope.

Perhaps fortunately, the difficulty of political organisation among the masses is one of the chief problems facing the radicals. People who want to get on with their lives, and are not anxious to face police bullets (even rubber ones) or to lose their jobs and their livelihoods, do not make easy political prey.

The anger they feel is largely the result of the irritants of daily life to most of which their white counterparts are not subjected. From overcrowded little houses — in which Natal University's Lawrence Schlemmer points out the average real occupancy is now about 10 — they set out for work through crime-ridden streets to shabby, often dirty, dangerous and over-crowded transport systems.

In addition they are harassed by constant police checks on their documentation; by constant harping from militants on their political and material wrongs; and, to top it all, to serious inter-generation tensions that pit parents against their radical older children.

Then there is the climate of fear. SA's urban black townships are among the most criminally violent residential areas in the world — with Soweto alone having an average of 25 murders and 40 rapes each weekend. Many people count themselves fortunate to reach home safely in the evening and dare not go outdoors again until the next morning.

Even then they have to fear the crashing on the door that means political or criminal hoodlums have selected them for punish-

Government contends that the success of the recent worker stayaway — and the accompanying unrest — is largely a result of agitation, incitement and intimidation. This raises the question of whether there is a "silent majority" of urban blacks who want only to get on with their lives and their jobs, and who are being prevented from doing so by radicals.

ment, robbery, murder — or the settlement of some vendetta, political or otherwise.

Most areas have little social cohesion. The summary of the recent US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep) meeting on the causes of the current unrest (attended by representatives of private enterprise, foundations, universities and black business) puts it this way: "The proximity within which blacks of all classes must live their lives creates what was de-



Natal's Schlemmer ... political temperature rising

scribed as 'a lumpen proletariat.'

"This factor relates to the quality of life in black townships (which was) described as 'physically insecure' and 'socially oppressive.'"

That is the social background to the stayaway, the violence and the unrest. Small wonder that in past attitudinal surveys of urban blacks have put material and educational improvements higher on their lists of priorities than political reform.

But, now, that seems to have changed — largely as a result of frustrated hopes arising from government's weak reform programme. According to the Ussalep summary: "It was suggested (that) the current intensity of civil unrest in black townships is a function of the political frustration, isolation and despair experienced by blacks as a result of historical, political and economic inequality. But particularly their exclusion from the new constitutional dispensation as compounded by a number of other coincidental factors."

Schlemmer agrees that black exclusion from the new constitution is a key factor in the frustrated expectations that led to the unrest and the stayaway. In addition, Professor D A Kotze, head of the Department of Development Administration and Politics at Unisa, has put it this way: "The dominant impression one has of black politics in the Twentieth Century is one of unceasing turbulence, the consistency of the black man's frustration, the increasing radicalisation of standpoints and the growing willingness to resort to violence."

The apathy of the early Seventies came across strongly in opinion surveys published at the time. The change to greater politicisation comes across clearly in three more recent surveys: those of Germany's Bergstrasse Institute in 1977; the survey conducted for the Buthelezi Commission in 1981; and that by Schlemmer conducted earlier this year.

Questions aimed at measuring degrees of political commitment put by the Bergstrasse survey and the Buthelezi survey suggested that, on the Witwatersrand, there was a 67% increase in support for a more politically militant line between 1977 and 1981. The Schlemmer survey suggests that the politicisation of both urban and rural areas has reached a plateau — but has done

118 (118) (118) (118)



Township kids ... more attuned to violence

"If there was intimidation then workers gave into it too readily," he says. "The degree of intimidation radicals can organise is nothing to the counter-intimidation workers, particularly migrants, can exercise if they wish." Schlemmer adds that hostile migrant reaction to radical pressure has in the past brought political activity to an abrupt, if somewhat bloody, halt in certain areas.

So while there is a "silent majority" anxious to get on with their lives, the desire to live peaceably is not unconditional — and does not preclude support for political action.

Schlemmer notes of the Buthelezi survey that on the Witwatersrand virtually every respondent (just under 100%) said they would expect "either war, revolution, intervention from outside, military incursions by guerrilla forces or strikes, riots and boycotts" if there was no change in the lives of blacks within 10 years.

The Buthelezi survey also found that fully 64% of respondents on the Witwatersrand predicted mass strikes if government

did not introduce reasonable changes in the fairly near future. Neither government nor employers should, therefore, assume the recent stayaway, or the unrest, is primarily the work of agitators or of intimidation.

In the intention of some of its organisers it may have been a revolutionary type of action. In the intention of most participants it was probably no more than an expression of frustration and anger with no clear idea of where, if anywhere, it could or should lead.

But as a message of frustration it should carry a clear message to Chris Heunis's Cabinet committee on the political future of urban blacks.

Simply put, this is that the opportunity to live in peace, and make material progress, is a *sine qua non* if the silent majority is to remain silent. People simply don't wake up in the morning and think about politics — people are adaptable, even in SA. But when the harassments of daily living mount up and nothing is done about them, the hope of betterment is stifled. That must not be allowed to happen.

so at a very high level.

Schlemmer notes: "Violence, as an alternative, is fast becoming a respectable option and it is the implications of this that are worth considering. What we have identified is certainly not the precise proportion of people who are revolutionaries. We have, however, identified the scope of what appears to be a growing climate of revolutionary ideology."

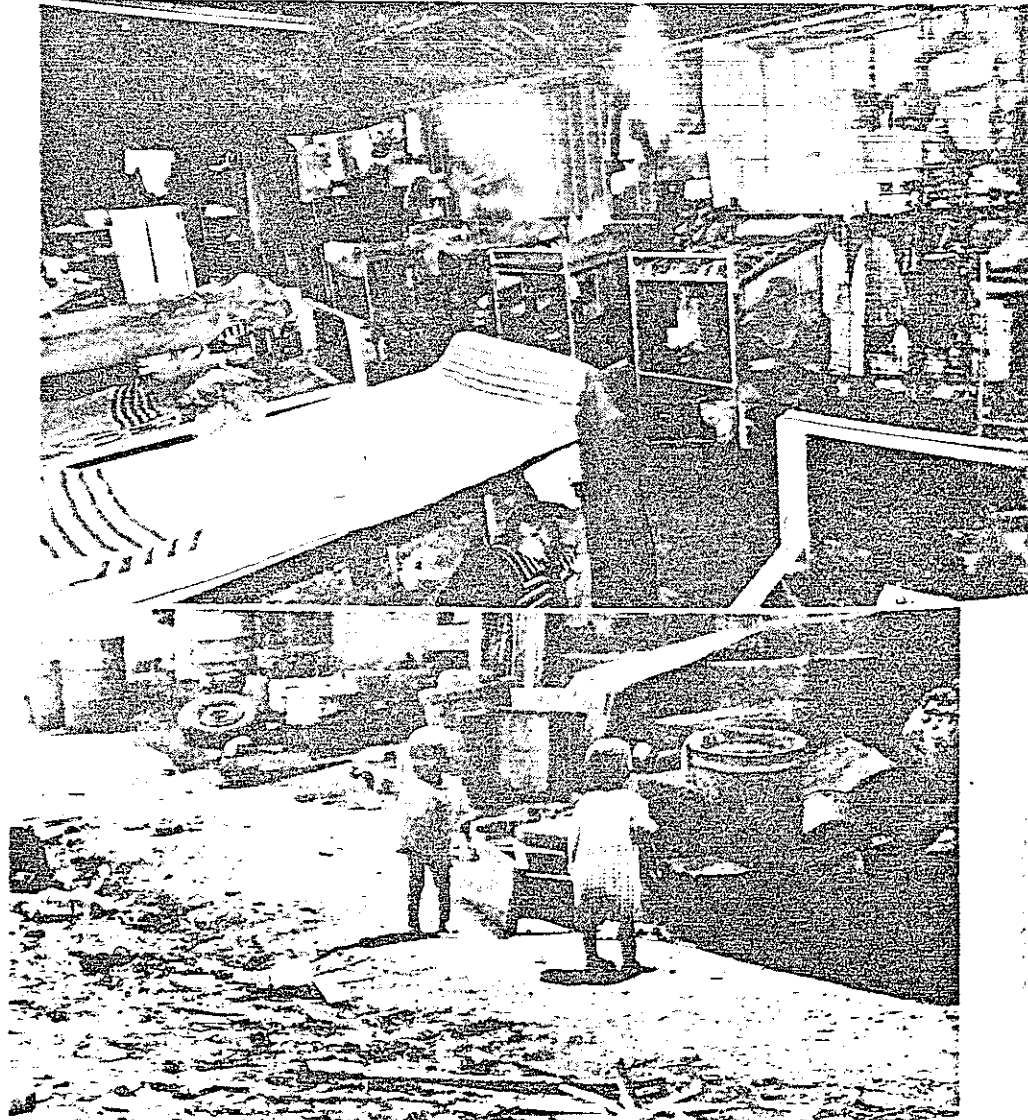
The relative success of the recent stayaway was therefore no surprise to the sociologists. They point out that both the Buthelezi and Schlemmer surveys contained questions on what would happen if a stayaway were called by respected political leaders. In both cases a high number of respondents (in excess of 60%) expected many people to stay away from work. In the event the estimated stayaway was about 60% of the workforce.

It would not, however, be easy to call another successful stayaway in the near future — and probably impossible to make one work if it was scheduled to last longer than a few days.

Schlemmer notes that the two-day stayaway period was shrewdly chosen, enabling many workers to treat it as an unofficial holiday taken at little risk that they would lose their jobs. "Workers were prepared to co-operate providing there was little risk to their livelihoods," he comments.

A longer stayaway, however, would almost certainly have fizzled out because of worker recognition that their jobs would then be in jeopardy.

The question of intimidation is crucial. It certainly happens. However, as Schlemmer has found, the high migrant involvement in the stayaway tends to suggest that intimidation was not a key factor.



Hostel and alley life ... a climate of fear

Mixed views on 2-day ^{CAPE TOWN'S} bus boycott ^{30/11/84}

Staff Reporter

THE TWO-DAY bus boycott organised in Cape Town by the United Democratic Front ended yesterday with response to the boycott call continuing to be mixed in most areas.

Mr Jonathan de Vries, media secretary for the UDF in the Western Cape, said areas where the boycott was reported to have been most strongly supported were around Bellville, Elsie's River and in the African townships.

The public relations officer for City Tramways, Mr Bob Krause, asserted however that bus services around Cape Town were "completely normal" yesterday.

No slackening in the numbers of commuters had been noted, he said.

No clashes

Mr De Vries said reports of a strong police presence at bus terminuses and along bus routes continued to reach the UDF offices yesterday. No incidents of clashes with police had been reported.

He said at terminuses such as Mowbray and Claremont it had been noted that commuters from some coloured areas had continued to catch buses but buses to and from the townships were "all empty".

Reports that traffic officers were preventing commuters from catching taxis were denied by the secretary of the Divisional Council of the Cape, Mr W R Viviers. He said the council was "not involved in the alleged prevention of commuters using taxis, since the council has no jurisdiction in black townships."

Mr Krause said City Tramways would not make a special assessment of ticket sales to assess the impact of the bus boycott as this was too costly.

Earlier this week he said City Tramways would be unable to assess the full extent of the boycott until after a week or 10 days since only then would ticket sales figures be available

(11A) 12/84

TWO-DAY BUS BOYCOTT

Time to take ACTION!
Time to UNITE!



Everytime prices go up, we all complain.

On the buses and the trains, we speak of our small pay packets and the big increases. And then what? We just accept the added hardships, until the next increase.

We must **STOP COMPLAINING**. We **MUST DO** something, otherwise our pain will never end. If we do not act now, they will just carry on putting up prices. Busfares today. Electricity tomorrow. Rent next year. **WHERE WILL IT ALL STOP?**

For years Tramways have shown that all they care about is our money. Every year they put up the fares. Every year, they take more food out of the mouths of our children. There is **NO END** to their greed.

They need to be taught a lesson. We must hit them where it hurts. We must show them that it is **OUR** money that is making them rich.

WE MUST BOYCOTT BUSES!

On **WEDNESDAY** and **THURSDAY** let the buses go empty.

Let us make sure that for two days not one of our cents goes into their greedy hands.

WE MUST BOYCOTT BUSES!

WE WILL WALK! We will show them that we are serious.

STOP COMPLAINING! LET'S DO SOMETHING!
LET'S UNITE! IT IS TIME TO ACT!

DON'T TALK - BOYCOTT!

WEDNESDAY 28th & THURSDAY 29th
DON'T CATCH BUSES!

Issued and Printed by UDF, 3 Hare Street, Mowbray.

UDF NEWS



HIGHER BUSFARES MAKE TRAMWAYS BOSSES RICH

WE PAY FOR THEIR PROFITS

Handwritten: 11A
12/84

MR Barnard and Mr Boughey are two of the bosses at City Tramways. They have a lot of money. They are rich men.

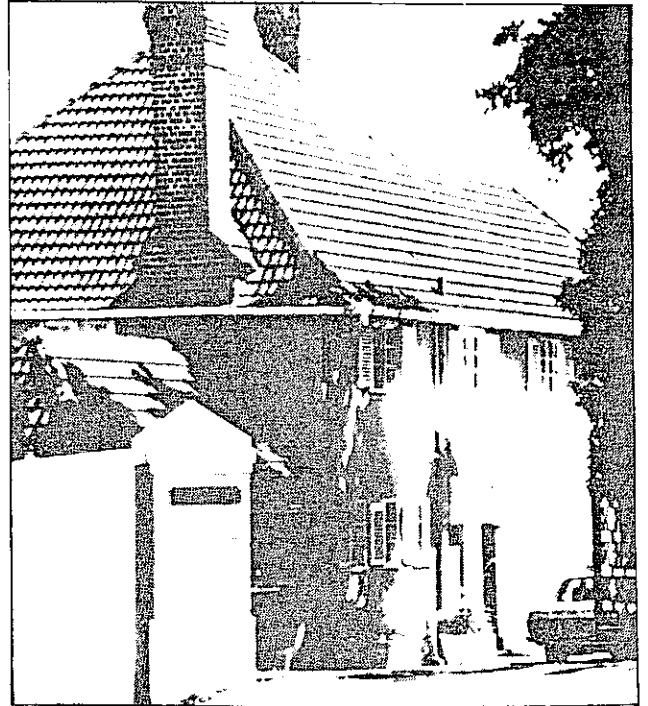
In 1982, they earned about R6000 per month. But that wasn't enough, so in 1983 they gave themselves a 35 percent increase. Now they earn R8000 per month.

They also get another R5300 per month from the money that they have invested in the company. This means that they get over R13000 per month.

R13000 per month! That is more than many of us earn in four years of working. They are rich men. They are bosses of a rich company.

That money comes from busfares. Our busfares Our pockets. We pay for these people to live in luxury. Is this right?

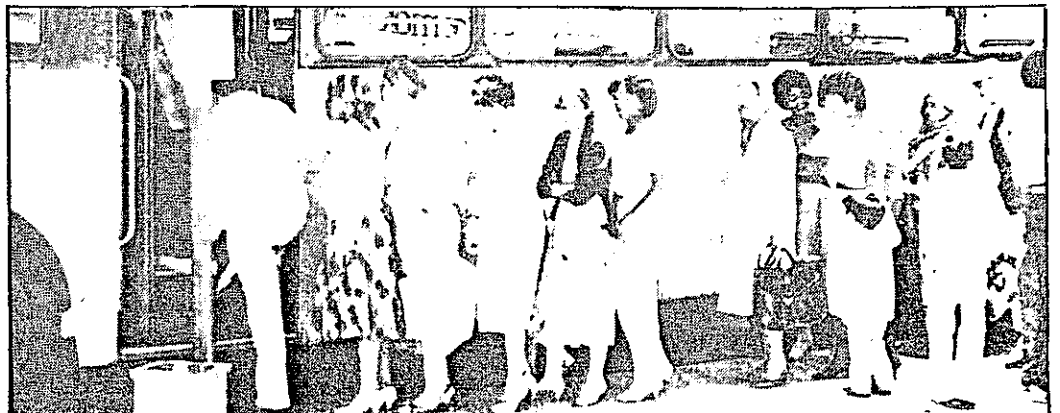
Now, the City Tramways say this is not enough. They want more. So they have put up the busfares again. There is no end to their greed.



These are the houses of Mr Barnard and Mr Boughey. Now we see why they have to raise busfares.

We say: **THIS IS NOT RIGHT!** Transport must be for people, not for profit! We did not ask to live so far from work. The Group forced us.

We demand busfares we can afford.



'DON'T BLAME US'

"Tell the people of Cape Town that we support their demand for lower busfares. We are also workers and we know what it's like to struggle. Every time the busfares go up, the bosses try to blame it on us. They say it is our wage demands that force them to put up fares. Sometimes we are too scared to ask for increases, because we know they will use it as an excuse."

This is the message that busdrivers all over Cape Town asked us to give people.

The UDF supports the busdrivers. They have a right to a decent wage. They also struggle to make ends meet, to find money for food and rent.

But UDF also says: The money for the busdrivers' wages must come from the profits of City Tramways. It must not come from increasing the busfares.

We think there is more than enough money in the pockets of Mr Barnard,

Mr Boughey and the other Tramway bosses.

We say: Decent wages for the busdrivers!

Busfares that we can afford!

**NO TO THE FARE
INCREASES!!!**



Grassroots, 1983.

The people say...



Mrs F Samsodien, Hanover Park:

"The busfares are far too expensive. I took my three little ones to Mowbray and gave the busdriver R2. He only gave me 18 cents change. It is not fair that my money disappears like that. And Tramways tries to blame the drivers - that's also not fair."



Mr Siphso Mazantsela, Guguletu:

"I can't afford it. Tramways want too much money to make themselves rich. They don't think of the people, our pain."

Mrs Constance Nqevu, Langa:

"I can't afford to pay these prices anymore. Tramways is drinking our blood. Through their greediness there is going to be trouble. The people are going to fight back. Tramways must watch it!"



Mr John Cojett, Manenberg:

"Ek kry baie swaar om hierdie pryse te betaal. Ek sal 'n ander plan moet maak om by die werk uit te kom. Ek werk nie om Tramways te betaal nie. Ek werk vir my familie."

C. Herald 11/21/84

Bus boycott planned

22
11A

THE UNITED Democratic Front has called for a boycott of buses on Wednesday and Thursday "in protest at the recently-implemented increase in busfares", and the Western Cape Traders' Association has come out in support.

The WCTA, in supporting the boycott call, requested commerce, trade and industry to make private transport available to commuters on the two days in question.

A City Tramways spokesman, Mr Bob Krause, said: "I know about the call for the boycott. All I can say at this stage is that our buses will be running as usual on those two days."

UDF spokesman Jonathan de Vries said there were two main reasons for the boycott call.

"The cost of living has increased to the point where ordinary working people are finding it very difficult to cope and live decently.

"For many years, people have been demanding that transport services in the city be organised for people and not for profits. We feel that the State should assume greater responsibility for subsidising and running the transport system on a non-profit basis."

Professor Pieter le Roux, director of the Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape, said that the problem with busfares would continue until the present monopoly ended.

Two to stand trial for murder next year

ANC men shot Langa — State



**BEN LANGA
Killed in
May his
year.**

(11A) ~~CP~~ S. Press 2/12/84
TWO ALLEGED ANC members will appear in court next year on charges of murdering political activist Ben Langa in his Maritzburg home on May 20.

In what could be a sensational trial, Siphon Machina Xulu, 25, of Sobantu and Lucky Phayi, 20, of KwaMashu will appear in the Maritzburg Supreme Court on February 2.

They are charged with murder, conspiracy to murder, terrorism and three counts of being in possession of illegal arms; ammunition and grenades.

Mr Langa was widely believed to have been a victim of a right-wing attack, and news of the impending trial is likely to send shock waves through his wide circle of friends.

The two accused, who have been in detention since June 7, appeared briefly in the Maritzburg Magistrate's Court on Wednesday afternoon.

Among other claims in the indictment, the State alleges cops found a coded notebook under a bed in the room where the two accused were staying.

With the notebook — which

CP Correspondent: DURBAN

belongs to Mr Xulu — was a paperback book, *Hellbreak Country*, which was used by police to decode the notebook.

It is claimed that the decoded notebook contained records of Mr Langa's killing, as well as other activities of the two after their arrival in Maritzburg on May 15.

The State also claims that:
• Mr Phayi left South Africa in 1981 for ANC training in Angola and East Germany and possibly elsewhere. Mr Xulu left in January 1983 for the same purpose.

• The two returned to Maritzburg on May 15 with a specific mission to kill Mr

Langa "and others regarded as being hostile to the ANC".

• They also planned to recruit and train new members and to set up a communications network with the ANC outside the country.

• They recruited George Martins and Dennis Hadebe and then conspired with them to kill Mr Langa and Dr Faith Matloapane for "acting against the interests of the ANC".

• They drove to Dr Matloapane's home to kill him with pistols but were unable to get in. They then drove to Mr Langa's flat, where they shot and killed him.

Mr Langa's body was found

pumped with bullets the night before his close friend Ben Martins was convicted of terrorism.

The dead man was a founder member of the now-banned South African Students' Organisation and a co-founder of the Malopoets.

Widely regarded as one of the most promising poets in Natal, he also had a long history of political activity.

He was banned and detained while a student at Fort Hare University and was a senior member of the UDF-affiliated DCO Matiwane Youth League.

At the time of his death, he was studying law at the University of Natal.

Proud tears

IIA
C. Per
2/12/84



Griffith Mxenge's widow, Victoria, singing the national anthem at her husband's memorial service.



Mxenge's daughter, Namhla.

SADNESS and celebration were mixed this weekend when the late Durban civil rights lawyer Griffith Mxenge was commemorated at a special function in the city.

There was sadness because of his brutal murder three years ago, which removed his talents from the community he spent his life serving.

But there was celebration too because of how much he achieved and because of the example he set.

As a fighter for human rights, his friends ranked him with Albert Luthuli, Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko.

Mxenge was born in King William's Town and graduated with a BA degree from Fort Hare. During his last year at Natal University he was detained and brought to court after 192 days.

He was sent to Robben Island for furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

When he was released he was banned — and could not complete his studies full-time. He qualified through correspondence studies in 1970.

Because he was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act, he wasn't allowed to practice as a lawyer until Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger relented and gave

CP Correspondent

him special permission.

He quickly made a name for himself as a civil rights lawyer, taking on "political" trials.

In 1976 Mxenge was detained and held for 103 days.

During 1978 he appeared for some of the accused in a big Pan Africanist Congress trial — and threats on his life began.

On the morning of November 19 1981, the family's two bull-terriers were found poisoned with strychnine.

That night he waved good-bye to his lawyer-wife, Victoria Nonyamezelo, after work.

He never arrived home.

The next morning his body was found at Umlazi Cycle Stadium. His wife, who identified his body, said he must have died in incredible pain — one of his ears was nearly ripped off.

His body had been horribly mutilated.

What chance for Pretoria-ANC settlement talks call?

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's recent surprise offer to legalise the ANC if it abandons violence has sparked off speculation that some kind of tentative deal is in the offing.

This is highly unlikely — but it is a sign of the times that an increasing number of experts and opinion-makers want a SA Government-ANC dialogue. The hunger for a lasting settlement has been stimulated by the endemic country-wide unrest.

A growing choir of South African voices is urging peace talks with the ANC for a deal whereby the ANC will demilitarise in return for legalisation.

In the past month, pleas have come from the Reverend Peter Storey, new head of the Methodists, and Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Both asked the ANC to lay down arms in exchange for the right to function again legally. Bishop Tutu says he supports ANC aims but not its methods. He has challenged the Government to prosecute him. It has not done so.

Minister le Grange added to the "talks" climate when he said that he was thinking of releasing Mbeki and Sisulu on compassionate grounds — seen by some as a move to test the temperature for Mandela's release.

Then tycoon Tony Bloom called for "a tentative dialogue" with the ANC, "on the proviso that it renounces violence as an instrument of policy".

There are indications that these pressures will escalate. Mr Botha's offer, made two weeks ago in Munich, could be a signal that the Government wants to test the atmosphere in South Africa — and to probe ANC reactions.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert told me: "I support the idea of talks with the ANC if it will avoid bloodshed. At the outset there must be clarity of aim. The agenda must be to find peace and a cure for violence. But talks will not succeed if we ask the ANC to accept the homelands — or if the ANC demands, in advance, to be the government."

The idea of talks started after the fall of Rhodesia in 1980, when Nationalist newspapers called for a summit. After slumbering, the impulse awa-

settlement talks call?

11A Stan 3/12/87



Mr Pik Botha . . . surprise offer.



Dr Slabbert . . . clarity urged.

Has a tentative, conditional initiative been launched to legalise the ANC? Political analyst Charles Bloomberg examines some intriguing pointers.

kened again this year following Mozambique's closing of the ANC's military mission. Machel argued that the mighty South African State could not be overthrown militarily, but only by persuasion. He offered himself as a go-between, a peace broker. He saw the ANC's future as a legal civil rights body, not as a "liberation movement".

This fitted in with the Western initiative to wean the ANC from its alliance with Russia and communists into the Western camp.

Then, Premier Botha on his mid-year European tour, disclosed that he would be prepared to talk to the ANC "provided it is done constitutionally and not under threat of violence".

Was the ANC welcome to return home? Yes, on conditions, said Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Maputo. South Africa, he said, would "welcome . . . any party, regardless of colour, that is prepared to seek peaceful solutions for the problems of South Africa".

The dialogue bandwagon has been refuelled by the Guy Fawkes stayaway of possibly 750 000 workers, the biggest in South Africa's history. This has spawned rumours of fresh stayaways — and comes at a time

when more than 200 000 schoolchildren are boycotting classes, after 157 have died in unrest this year (excluding mineworker strike deaths); 1 000 are unofficially estimated to have been detained, tens of thousands have been arrested.

A political show trial is planned for early 1985, though alarmed businessmen want the Government to practise "consensus politics" instead of kragdadigheid.

Confusingly, alongside the Government's crackdown, the air is thick with straws, rumours of renewed official negotiations with Mandela for conditional release.

The SA Institute of Race Relations has suddenly called for a lifting of the ban on the liberation movements, and this is endorsed by UCT's Professor David Welsh.

The motives and expectations of those who want talks with the ANC differ widely, but a common thread is that South Africa, drifting into endemic unrest, should do today what it will inevitably do tomorrow.

The peace offensive is obviously aimed at a major ANC international conference to be held soon to reassess the last 15 years and to plan future strategy. Quietly and delicately, the Government is probing the ANC for signs of a factional split. There have already been unofficial contacts with ANC representatives overseas, at Pretoria's initiative. Obviously the Government (together with the churches) would prefer a pro-West ANC willing to work within South Africa's legal framework.

Government spokesmen have im-

plied that agreement can be struck with a purely nationalistic ANC that has broken with the Marxists.

"There are two factions among the ANC ranks — those who are behind Oliver Tambo and are pro-black nationalist and others who still believe in SACP ideals that political goals cannot be attained without violence," says Brigadier Herman Stadler, a top security police expert on the ANC.

Is the Government showing remarkable pragmatism in accepting, in theory, the possibility of the ANC as a negotiating partner? Or is it just posturing for the benefit of the international gallery?

There is something contradictory in Mr Pik Botha offering to talk with the ANC while people are detained and arrested for promoting the ANC aims.

The UDF, a non-violent body, is said to be an "ANC front" — and the Government is trying to neutralise it. Would either side behave differently if the ANC were legalised? What real inducements would South Africa offer to the ANC to return?

Worse, the news blackout makes it difficult to assess how realistic is the idea of talks. Oliver Tambo has recently twice spelled out the ANC's preconditions for talks. He cannot be quoted in South Africa, leaving the public ignorant about whether dialogue is real politics or play-acting.

Also, it is hard to judge a banned body's strength. Top US expert Professor Tom Karris says ANC popularity is increasing. Tony Bloom calls the ANC's support "very, very substantial".

Inkatha 'SA govt's ally against

* (28) (117)

By BARRY STREEK

INKATHA had become an important ally of the government in the confrontation between church and state in South Africa, journalist and author Mr Hennie Serfontein said in an article released last night.

It seemed as if Inkatha had embarked on a "planned, systematic campaign of intimidation and threats against churches, ministers and workers", he wrote.

But Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the secretary-general of Inkatha, said distortions about Inkatha were being

repeated without any documentary proof.

Dr Dhlomo also rejected allegations that Inkatha was an authoritarian movement or that it used violence and intimidation against its opponents.

Both men have written articles about Inkatha, which claims about a million members, in the latest issue of the Progressive Federal Party newspaper, Deurbraak, released last night.

Mr Serfontein said there were areas where church workers and ministers feared for their

lives at the hands of Inkatha supporters, who had threatened them with physical violence.

"The experiences of some church workers and ministers in the Kwazulu area I cannot repeat. Because they fear identification, this could endanger their safety and that of their families."

In spite of Inkatha's verbal anti-apartheid stand, it was not a defender of the multi-racial English-language churches and some ecumenical organizations in their conflict with the National Party government.

This new role reflected an important dimension of the church-state conflict which began when the National Party won power in 1948: "A growing confrontation between all the 'homeland bantustan' governments and the anti-apartheid multi-racial churches."

There were numerous examples of action taken against churches and church workers in other homelands — including Ciskei, Transkei, Venda, Gazankulu and Bophuthatswana — but not much had been published about the Inkatha-church con-

flict, Mr Serfontein said.

The Inkatha action differed in some aspects from the other homelands "because it seems in direct contradiction of its claim of being a non-violent organization", he wrote.

Dr Dhlomo, in his article, which was not a direct reply to Mr Serfontein, said he could not think of a single black organization whose image was so constantly and deliberately distorted by those who claimed to be informed as Inkatha.

"It appears that when it comes to reporting about

Inkatha, the rules of objectivity and 'listening to the other side of the story' are immediately ignored in favour of wild and unproven anti-Inkatha propaganda."

Inkatha was accused of being authoritarian and bullying people into joining it, but "the mere political objective of Inkatha, which is radical, non-violent, socio-political change, is at variance with enforced membership".

Its membership was open to all black people of South Africa regardless of their ethnic origin

and it was avowedly non-ethnic and non-racist. It would gladly allow non-black people to join if it were not for the laws of South Africa.

Dr Dhlomo said the UDF, ANC, Black Sash, Nusas and other anti-Inkatha groups had adopted a deliberate and sophisticated strategy of stereotyping Inkatha as a violent, authoritarian and tribal movement.

This was because it ensured press coverage, turned white liberals and academics against In-

katha, dестredited Inkatha internationally and "could force Inkatha, out of sheer anger and defiance and frustration, to officially adopt violence as a strategy and in so doing give a tremendous boost to the violence lobby in South African politics".

It was tragic that some white academics and some journalists were now beginning to accept these stereotypes of Inkatha as gospel truth without any critical analysis, Dr Dhlomo said.

4/12/84

Violent revolt is still ANC's goal, says prof

By Trevor Jones

Despite indications of disputes within the ranks of the African National Congress over strategy, the organisation remains committed to the violent overthrow of the Government.

This is the opinion of Professor Mike Hough, of the Pretoria-based Institute for Strategic Studies.

"The overall goal remains the same," said Professor Hough. "The intention is to escalate further from armed propaganda in order to mobilise the masses.

"There has been some reorganisation of the ANC and there have been reports of differences over strategy."

Earlier this year it had been reported that one group within the organisation favoured a change of emphasis to attacks on civilian targets.

Another group was said to favour continuing the campaign on economic and Government targets such as fuel depots, railway lines, police stations and the offices of Government departments.

"But there will not necessarily be a major switch in em-

phasis," said Professor Hough. "There is a connection with the South African Communist Party and therefore the basic strategy is laid down.

"Military visibility is still important to the ANC."

Since mid-September there have been few, if any, acts of sabotage compared to a flurry of activity after the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

Professor Hough said it was difficult to pinpoint a reason for the recent decline in ANC activity but contributory reasons might have been:

BASES

● Logistical problems following the loss of forward bases and infiltration routes through Mozambique and Swaziland.

● The increasing number of insurgents killed or arrested in police action.

● Many members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, appeared to be tied up in Angola helping to guard key points, decreasing the number

of men free to be sent to South Africa.

● The lack of established alternative routes into the country.

There had been indications of an attempt to forge new routes into South Africa.

In August police had shot dead an insurgent near Ellisras in the north-western Transvaal, near the borders of Botswana and Zimbabwe.

A few days later Botswana police had arrested three men believed to be part of the same group trying to infiltrate South Africa.

In September five people had been injured in a grenade blast in the Western Transvaal town of Stilfontein.

Last week an ANC insurgent had been shot dead and another arrested in a clash with police near Vryburg, also in the Western Transvaal.

But infiltration from the west promised to be far more difficult than coming in from the east, said the professor.

Botswana did not sanction ANC operations in its territory and had arrested three men apparently trying to enter the

country.

Without even the covert approval of a country neighbouring South Africa, infiltration became extremely difficult.

The terrain along the border with Botswana differed greatly from that in the Eastern Transvaal. Although the border was long the Western Transvaal was further removed from urban targets and urban-serving targets such as power stations and fuel depots.

In the pre-Nkomati era there had been many attacks on such targets in the Eastern Transvaal and Northern Natal.

"If they do succeed it will be on a small scale," he added. "The point is that as long as the ANC remains in existence it will try to maintain military visibility. If it does not, then it ceases to exist."

But the professor emphasised that the number of attacks or acts of sabotage was not the only criterion for evaluating ANC activity.

"There is also action on the political front and it places a lot of emphasis on political activities."

10M 4/7/78
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi's plea on behalf of the dismissed Sasol workers last week was yet another sign of Inkatha's willingness to get involved in labour relations.

Chief Buthelezi has made constant references to the muscle and power of the black worker and this year the National Sugar and Refining and Allied Industries Employees Union affiliated to Inkatha.

Inkatha, like other black organisations in this country, realises the added power which would come from having the support of organised black workers.

At Sasol, Chief Buthelezi was rebuffed by the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, which has rejected attempts by Sasol to negotiate with homeland leaders, community councillors and other non-union groups.

Chief Buthelezi has hardly endeared himself to the larger unions lately.

He vociferously condemned the stayaway — the most successful in decades — and accused the fiercely independent union groupings which supported it — such as Fosatu and Cusa — of being misled by political groupings such as the Congress of South African Students and the UDF.

Detained UDF man is admitted to a private clinic

DETAINED United Democratic Front national secretary Mr Popo Molefe was admitted to a private Johannesburg nursing home late last week.

Mr Molefe, who has been held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act since October 2, has pneumonia and an infection of the left lung. He also suffered a chest complaint earlier this year prior to detention.

He was still in the nursing home under armed guard at the weekend. But it is believed that doctors are considering discharging him early this week.

Police had not commented on Mr Molefe's illness at the time of going to press.

The section in terms of which Mr Molefe is held provides for "preventive" detention. He has been detained together with other UDF, Transvaal Indian Congress and Azanian People's Organisation leaders in Diepkloof Prison, south of Johannesburg.

The initial detention orders in respect of the Diepkloof group expire on February 28. However, they could be lifted before then or they could be repeatedly renewed, making the period of detention effectively indefinite.

Upon release Section 28 detainees are placed on the consolidated list of people who may not be quoted.

~~11A~~
11A
4/12/84
Sawetse

4/12/84 (11A) (10/28) .D. Raphael
Gqabaza. no violence

ZWELITSHA — The general secretary of the Ciskei Christian Youth Fellowship, Mr Eric Gqabaza, said Ciskei's youth dissociated themselves from "harmful activities" of the youth in other areas in South Africa.

Addressing a youth day rally at the weekend, Mr Gqabaza warned youth leaders and organisers from the "riot infested" areas not to try

their luck with Ciskeian youth because the latter were a breed of nationalised and reborn people working for a common positive goal.

He said the youth from these areas were restless because they felt insecure in the white areas of South Africa and virtually had nothing that they could call their own.

"We in Ciskei have our country, our heritage and our future to be proud of," he said.

"Our national youth movement, the Ciskei Christian Youth Fellowship, enjoys the blessings of the political and the traditional leaders of this country.

"We have been repeatedly told that the fu-

ture of Ciskei belongs to us, that we are the leaders of tomorrow's Ciskei.

"We are already preoccupied studying the government process of our country in preparation for that tomorrow, and we simply refuse to jeopardise our future credibility as leaders by practising destructive ideologies."

Mr Gqabaza praised the youth of Ciskei for the spirit of nationalism that they displayed towards the country, the government and national activities.

"The youth of Soweto and other urban areas can go on fighting the whites in their country, but they should not expect us to voluntarily adopt their destructive attitudes towards life."
— DDR.

Fire at home of UDF man: 1 hurt

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A fire which started at the front door of the home of a Uitenhage trade unionist and United Democratic Front vice-president, Mr Thomas Fikile Kobese, early yesterday morning caused serious injuries to a family member and damage to furniture.

And in another incident, also in Kwanobuhle, a car belonging to another UDF man, Mr Emson Banda, was damaged after being set alight.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer in the Eastern Cape, said Mr Leslie Kobese, 22, had received serious burns when a fire was started at the front door of the family's Njoko Street house about 1.45am yesterday.

Mr Kobese, who slept in the lounge, woke up to find the front section of the house on fire. He extinguished the flames with the help of other people who came to his assistance, but received serious burns and was admitted to the Livingstone Hospital.

Lieutenant-Colonel Van Rooyen said it was not yet known how the fire started. Police were investigating.

Damage estimated at about R3 000 was caused to the vehicle of Mr Emson Banda of Rubusana Street, also early hours yesterday when a burning car tyre was placed under the vehicle.

Mr Banda was woken by someone who said his vehicle was on fire, and the flames were extinguished. The police are investigating a complaint of malicious damage to property.



Political prisoner ends hunger strike

By MONK NKOMO

POLITICAL prisoner and former reporter with the banned Johannesburg-based Post newspaper, Thami Mkhwanazi, who went on a hunger strike after prison authorities cut off his medical supplies and special diet, has ended the strike.

A source close to the family confirmed that Mkhwanazi, a law student who refused food from October 29, has called off the

strike. According to a spokesperson for the family the hunger strike ended after Mkhwanazi's medical treatment and special diet for an ulcer were resumed by the prison authorities.

Mkhwanazi, of Molantoa Street, Atteridgeville, is studying for a B Proc degree with the University of South Africa. He stopped eating after he was allegedly told by the prison authorities that his medical treatment and

diet were "too expensive," a source close to the family said.

A spokesman for the South African Prisons Services in Pretoria recently declined to comment on Mkhwanazi's hunger strike, adding that it was the policy of his department "not to comment on the treatment circumstances of any individual prisoner." The prison system, the spokesman added, provided an opportunity for prisoners' complaints and requests to be attended to.

"Whenever such a complaint has any substance the matter is thoroughly investigated and resolved," the prisons spokesman said.

ANC

Mkhwanazi was convicted and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in March 1980 for being involved in activities of the banned African National Congress (ANC). He was at Robben Island before being transferred to Potchefstroom and subsequently to the Pretoria Central Prison recently.

Jackson's agenda for SA trip remains vague

IIA. Star 5/12/84

WASHINGTON — The Rev Jesse Jackson hopes during his January visit to South Africa to meet leaders at every level, including government.

Yesterday, after being told by South African Ambassador Mr Brand Fourie that his visa application would be approved, Mr Jackson declined to say whether he would try to meet imprisoned black leader Nelson Mandela.

And he was cautious when asked if he would try to secure the release of black labour unionists whose arrests in South Africa have sparked a growing campaign of anti-apartheid demonstrations in America.

"At this point," he said, "I do not choose to talk about that which we will discuss in South Africa.

"I hope to have private meetings with leaders.

"Whatever can be done to usher in a state of jus-

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

...tice and a state of mutual respect, we want to do that."

Mr Jackson, black civil rights leader and former presidential candidate, plans to leave for South Africa early next month with a party of American clergymen.

TENSIONS

There have been reports of tensions between Mr Jackson and leaders of the Free South Africa movement, which is behind the embassy and consulate demonstrations.

The tensions are said to arise from suspicions that Mr Jackson might be trying to exploit the detained unionists issue for his own purposes.

But in public statements Mr Jackson and demonstration leaders have expressed solidarity

with each other.

Yesterday Mr Jackson said the demonstrations had put South Africa on the front page of the American agenda, with countries such as Poland, and might usher in a new era of African policy in America.

What did he hope to achieve in South Africa next month?

"I hope to meet leaders in government, church, labour and the universities.

"I feel that, just as there is a free flow of information between business leaders of this country and South Africa, there must be free communication between American religious leaders and the people of South Africa.

"I think that we must open a serious communication and relieve each other of the fears that created the oppressor-oppressed relationship.

"I think South Africa's future is in moving away from isolation and redefining relationships among the people of that country."

Were meetings with jailed leaders such as Nelson Mandela part of his plans?

FORMULA

Mr Jackson said he would be in South Africa as the guest of church leaders and with the permission of the South African Government.

He added that he wanted to communicate with leadership at every level, including government, and went on: "It is important that we figure out a formula for the development of a community of mutual respect and security.

"Dialogue leads to peace and justice and the absence of communication closes off any possibility of solving prob-

lems."

Mr Jackson said he was trying to arrange a meeting with President Ronald Reagan to emphasise that American policy toward Africa should include:

- The dimensions of justice in Southern Africa, whether it be in South Africa itself, Lesotho, Namibia or Mozambique.

- A trade policy with African nations and the development of African economies.

- Concern for human rights and self-determination in African government.

- The need to help countries hurt by the drought.

White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said the American Government had no problems over Mr Jackson's trip.

So far, Mr Jackson has been told only verbally that he may make the trip. He is still waiting for an official letter.

December 5 1984

Coetsee: role of ANC in SA coming to an end

11A

Internal developments in South Africa as well as the country's improving international relations had made organisations like the African National Congress realise their role was rapidly coming to an end, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said today.

When the new constitutional dispensation was implemented, the instigators of violence and unrest had seen another opportunity to create dissatisfaction and incite people to lawlessness and anarchy, he told a passing-out parade of nearly 700 policemen and women at the SA Police College at Hammanskraal near Pretoria.

The continuing successful reconciliation on a political level between South Africa and its neighbouring states, and among the different population groups inside the country, was proof that organisations like the ANC would not succeed in driving the country closer to the communist kraal through racial violence.

STABILITY

"These successes are naturally not acceptable to our enemies and as a result they have used every means to stoke up unrest, suspicion and violence."

Praising police action in the recent violent flare-ups in black townships, he said he felt he was speaking on behalf of every peace-loving citizen when he congratulated them on "the way in which they handled their task of maintaining law and order and ensuring stability."

Their task was to ensure there were no obstacles in the way of political development in the country.

"It came as no surprise therefore, when those who had attempted to disrupt peaceful political progress accused the police of suppressing free political expression in South Africa when lawful actions were taken to maintain order."

"South Africa is a democratic country and any attempt to land it in the communist bloc will be fought with every available means."

"The problems of this country can only be solved by peaceful negotiations and positive attitudes," he said. — Sapa.

No comment on leg iron allegations

11A

~~SSA~~

Sten

~~SSA~~

6/12/87

The Prisons Service today declined to confirm or deny allegations that a hospitalised detainee was being kept in leg irons.

Last night Mr Trevor Manuels, acting general secretary of the United Democratic Front, told a public meeting in Mayfair that he had seen Mr Popo Molefe in hospital and that he was being kept in leg irons. He added that when the guard had to go to the toilet Mr Molefe was handcuffed to the bed.

Mr Molefe, a UDF official, is being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act. He was recently admitted to the Florence Nightingale Hospital with a lung infection.

"It is the Prisons Service policy not to comment on details concerning the treatment or circumstances of individual prisoners," said Brigadier J C van Zyl of the Prisons Service.

He said the Prisons Service was responsible for safe custody of a prisoner or detainee.

"It is extremely difficult to maintain a proper balance between the requirement to maintain security on the one hand, and the human factor on the other hand. It therefore seems that there are certain realities in this regard which the public simply has to live with," said Brigadier van Zyl.

At last night's meeting Mr Manuels also claimed that the police and SADF had killed 170 people since August.

A police spokesman in Pretoria described the claim as "absurd".

"The total number of people killed in the unrest now stands at 93. It is not possible for people to be shot dead in police action without there being a record of it," the spokesman said.

Sjamboks used to disperse 15 000 chanting mourners

By Themba Khumalo

About 15 000 Sharpeville mourners, mostly youths, were scattered yesterday by sjambok-wielding police after the funeral of Godfrey Mpondo (7), who was allegedly shot by police from the Orange Vaal Administration Board.

After the funeral service the mourners marched 5 km to the Sharpeville cemetery, shouting political slogans which praised Godfrey as a hero. They also chanted freedom songs praising the banned African National Congress.

During the march mourners hijacked cars and forced them to join the procession. All local shops were closed and other businesses came to a virtual standstill.

Godfrey was killed by a bullet last week after an incident in which a municipal refuse truck was hijacked. With him was a friend, whose name is not known, who was also shot and wounded. He is in a critical condition at the Sebokeng Hospital.

Police travelling in about 15 armoured vehicles watched the events from a distance until after the funeral.

They then charged the mourners and a few people were sjambokked.

An unnamed youth whom police said pelted them with

stones was arrested by the riot squad.

A photographer from a BBC television crew was questioned and later escorted out of the township by the police.

At the Methodist service stickers on the walls blamed the Government for the continuing unrest in black townships.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said that a group of about 600 people had stoned the police outside the cemetery.

Azapo to help detainees

THE Azanian People's Organisation has launched a detainees' concern committee, with the aim of involving the community at grassroots level on the plight of detainees who are not affiliated to political organisations.

The convenor of the committee, Mr Khehla Mthembu, said the idea was first mooted at a public meeting about three months ago. He said people are being detained regularly and most of them are "unknown" and their families do not even know



CONVENOR: Mr Khehla Mthembu.

what steps to take in this regard.

Mr Mthembu said: "Most organisations are only concerned about their members. Also, some families are not assisted because of all these 'different organisations' procedures. We are doing this for a better society, freedom and

justice and also to make the community aware of its responsibility to the detainees and their families."

He said Azapo noticed that detentions had become a part and parcel of everyday life. People were now taking the whole issue as just another statistic.

The community was relatively quiet on the death of Mr Abel Ngwenya who died six hours after being picked up by police in Daveyton.

The committee is to form task committees in all black townships.

Azapo denial on Tembisa festival

THE EAST RAND branch of Azapo has denied allegations that it gave Drakensberg Promotions the green light to stage a music festival at the Tembisa Stadium on Sunday.

The festival had to be cancelled after a group

**By ALI
MPHAKI**

of youths told the organisers to pack their equipment and go.

The organisers said they had obtained permission from Azapo, to stage the show.

But Azapo yesterday said it would not tolerate any efforts aimed at making the organisation a scapegoat.

Warn

"We repeat our stand that Azapo believes in maximum participation by all members of the community and we totally dissociate our organisation from any arrangement that led to the festival.

"At no stage were we consulted or held discussions with the organisers of this festival. We further would like to warn the black com-

munity to be alert of such agents of darkness," the statement said.

• Arrangements are well under way for the annual congress of Azapo to be held in Cape Town from December 16.

Contact

The East Rand branch has organised a bus to ferry members and sympathisers on December 14. Fare is R60 a return trip.

All interested can contact Frans Pule of Tembisa at 85 Lekaneng section.

In KwaThema, people can contact Duke More at 14 Molepo Street. In Thokoza, Mafatshe Mokwena at 7201 Ramonotshe Street can be contacted; and in Katlehong John Mphumele of 275 Mopedi section can be contacted.

CARE Times 6/12/86 11A

PCP looks to NRP for new alliance

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE People's Congress Party hopes its meeting with the New Republic Party in Durban tomorrow could start laying the groundwork for a new non-racial multi-party alliance in South Africa.

The leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said yesterday that he hoped the meeting between the national executive of the PCP and the Natal leadership of the NRP would lead to closer co-operation between the two parties in future.

He added: "I hope this meeting and similar talks the PCP plans to hold with other political parties could prepare the ground for the possible amalgamation of dif-

ferent parties once the Political Interference Act has been scrapped."

Mr De la Cruz emphasized the PCP's strong opposition to the law enforcing apartheid in politics and said the meeting with the NRP would "display to the nation that politicians of all races can get together and find points of agreement".

He said the executive of the PCP, who will also meet the mayors of Durban and Maritzburg while in Natal, were anxious to hold talks with Kwazulu and Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The party also hopes to meet Dr J N Reddy of Solidarity and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert of the Progressive Federal Party to discuss possible inter-party co-operation and

the prospects for broad-based political alliances before Parliament convenes in January.

The leader of the NRP in Natal, Mr Derrick Watterson, said it was important that parties in the racially separate houses work together when areas of agreement have been identified.

"We are talking to all political parties to get to know one another better and to see if we can build on points of accord or possibly resolve points of difference that might exist."

Inkatha

He said the NRP felt the Political Interference Act was "absolutely unnecessary" and noted that the NRP had already held informative talks with the Labour Party, Solidarity and Inkatha "in a bid to stimulate inter-racial understanding".

Mr Watterson said it was difficult to say at this stage whether good prospects existed for a multi-party alliance.

"We first have to clarify what we all stand for."

A show of good faith is urgently needed

Why Race Relations wants bannings lifted

Star
7/12/84
11A

On April 8 1960 the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the two main black political parties in existence at the time, were banned by proclamation of the Governor-General under the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960 — enacted by Parliament specifically to give him this power only a few days before.

On October 19 1977, 17 Black Consciousness organisations were banned by proclamation of the State President in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The 1960 bannings, which occurred in the middle of a campaign against the pass laws, followed the shootings at Sharpeville on March 21 1960 and the widespread disturbances to which they gave rise.

DISTURBANCES

A state of emergency was declared shortly afterwards. The 1977 bannings followed country-wide disturbances that began in Soweto on June 16 1976.

In the view of the institute the bannings were not only incompatible with democratic norms but have proved futile anyway. Far from putting a stop to public demonstrations against apartheid, they have helped make a greater proportion of anti-apartheid action violent.

The bans should be lifted. At the same time,

Recently the governing council of the South African Institute of Race Relations resolved to call on the Government to revoke the banning orders served on black political organisations in 1960 and 1977. This is an edited version of the background paper to the institute's resolution, which has been conveyed to the State President and the Minister of Law and Order.

leaders serving prison sentences for essentially political offences should be granted an amnesty and political exiles allowed to return home, subject to their renunciation of violence.

An imaginative demonstration of this kind by the Government of good faith towards black South Africans is urgently necessary.

Revoking the bans would not on its own solve the problems South Africa faces in education, local government and other fields. It is, however, an unavoidable prerequisite for creating a climate in which it might at least be possible to talk about solutions. Such a climate does not exist at present.

Since the Government holds power in South Africa, and since the ultimate cause of the current tension and violent disturbances in parts of the country is the policy of apartheid, it is up to the Government to make the first move.

South Africa is not on the brink of revolution or black/white civil war. It

is still possible for the country to extricate itself from its present political impasse — but only by devising, through negotiation, a political order acceptable to the majority of the population.

It is of utmost importance that the structural deterioration in race relations that has been taking place over the past year be arrested. Whether from a political, social, or economic point of view, South Africa cannot afford this deterioration.

Revoking the bans is a logical next step to the formal recognition in 1979 of black trade union rights, which created a momentum of democratisation that cannot be stopped without damage to both race relations and the economy.

Black trade unions have played a successful role in resolving conflicts in industrial relations precisely because they are seen by workers and the community at large as legitimate institutions.

Recognising that black people have a right to legitimate political institutions as well is the only

way to avoid the politicisation of industrial relations.

Allowing the banned organisations openly to organise and recruit members and propagate their viewpoints would help overcome the present confusion arising from the endless disputes about which leaders are or are not representative of black people.

This makes for a particularly acrimonious type of in-fighting in black politics. It also handicaps white organisations, including the Government, because they do not really know who they should be talking to as representative spokesmen of black people.

Allowing full black participation in the political market-place would resolve this.

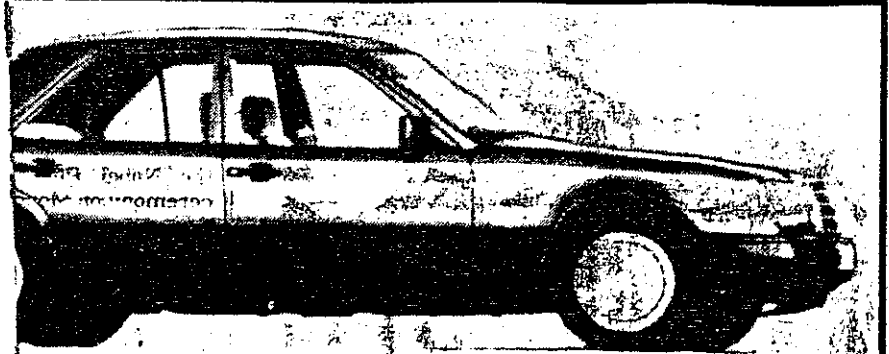
The institute holds no brief for any particular organisation. The key point is that black people should be able to make democratic choices. It is therefore imperative that they be accorded the legal right to do this through lawful organisations using lawful strategies.

The governing council's call, made more than two months ago, is not merely a reaction to recent violence.

It is an attempt to point a way out of the political impasse in which South Africa finds itself as a result of increased polarisation and the absence of channels through which blacks can effectively and constructively participate in the political life of the country.

As a first step towards the negotiation on which structural political change must be based, democratic political opportunities within the country need to be widened.

Revoking the bannings on political organisations created by black people is the single most effective step that can be taken to initiate this process.



Mercedes Benz cars to

Star 7/12/84 (11A)

Soweto Civic Association has new look

By Chris More

A new-look Soweto Civic Association (SCA), this week announced radical resolutions taken at its AGM.

The association, comprising 13 registered branches in Soweto, elected new executive members "who have closer ties with the grassroots".

Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the SCA, is the only top member of the original Committee of Ten, which was the executive head of the civic association, to be returned to office.

EXECUTIVE

The new executive, which takes over from the personality studded Committee of Ten as executive head of the SCA, comprises eight active members from branch level.

The new publicity secretary, Mr Amos Masondo, announced that the executive was elected for their commitment to the service of the association. He pointed out that whereas the former Committee of Ten comprised well known personalities, his executive was made up of people whose deeds in the community were larger than their social stature.

The new executive committee of eight is: Dr Motlana; Mr Masondo, deputy president, Rev Frank Chikane, vice-president, Mr Isaac Mogase, recording secretary, Mr Pat Lephunya, treasurer, Mr Nat Ramokgopa; organiser, Mr Mr Vusi Khanyile and an additional member, Mr Alfred Khasago.

Some of the more important resolutions were aimed at alleviating the problems facing pensioners and senior citizens of the giant township. The committee has been mandated to find ways to improve the manner in which pensioners receive their pay and to get them higher pay.

A need for a co-ordination of civic associations throughout the country led to the new committee being mandated to invite other bodies to a meeting within three months to unify civic activities.

Although the SCA has not come out clearly as an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF), many of the association's projects have been done in conjunction with the UDF.

Among the resolutions taken at the AGM was the demand for the unconditional release of all detainees.

CAPR 4/24 7/12/84

ANC's role is coming to an end, says Minister

112

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said this week that developments in South Africa as well as the country's improving international relations had made organizations such as the African National Congress realize their role was rapidly coming to an end.

When the new constitutional dispensation was implemented the instigators of violence and unrest had seen another opportunity to create dissatisfaction and incite people to lawlessness and anarchy, he told a passing-out parade of nearly 700 policemen and women at the SAP College at Hammanskraal.

The continuing successful reconciliation on a political level between SA and its neighbours and among the different population groups was proof that the ANC would not succeed in driving the country closer to the communist kraal through racial violence.

It was also proof the government was in the process of creating a situation of peace, stability and progress for all the country's inhabitants as well as its neighbouring states, Mr Coetsee said.

"These successes are naturally not acceptable to our enemies and as a result they used every means available to stoke up unrest, suspicion, and to propagate violence."

Praising police action in the recent violent flare-ups in black townships, he said he felt he was speaking on behalf of every peace-loving citizen when he congratulated them on "the way in which they handled their arduous task of maintaining law and order and ensuring stability in very trying circumstances".

Their task was to ensure that there were no obstacles in the way of lawful and democratic political development in the country.

"It came as no surprise, therefore, when those who had attempted to disrupt peaceful political progress accused the police of suppressing free political expression in South Africa when lawful actions were taken to maintain order.

"This is a democratic country aligned with the West. Any attempt to land it in the communist bloc will be fought with every available means." — Sapa.

CARE Times 7/12/84

Shock at killing of councillor

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The outgoing mayor of Soweto, Mr E T Tshabalala, yesterday expressed shock at the assassination of his rival for the mayoralty of the country's largest black city.

Mr Edward Manyosi, 72, was gunned down in a hail of bullets in front of a fellow councillor's house on Wednesday night.

The shooting took place 12 hours before voting for a new mayor was due to take place.

He was earmarked to become Soweto's new mayor yesterday after Mr Tshabalala's term of office expired.

Police are hunting the killer but no arrests have yet been made.

Strategies

Mr Tshabalala said he was particularly shocked at the killing in the light of the fact that the council was in the process of "putting its house in order".

According to councillor Mr Mike Gwensa, the shooting happened soon after they had a caucus meeting where they discussed strategies they were going to use during the elections.

The shooting took place in front of Mr Gwensa's house in Mofolo North.

According to a member of Mr Gwensa's family, a Soweto council policeman who was guarding their home was "asleep in one of the corridors at the back of the house" when the incident happened.

"He came minutes after the assassins had left."

Explaining how the assassination occurred, Mr Gwensa said that after the meeting they had de-



Mr Edward Manyosi

cidated that Mr Manyosi should take "precautionary measures" and urged him to spend the night at Mr Gwensa's house.

Mr Manyosi agreed but felt he should go home and fetch things which he was going to need the next day for the "important meeting".

"We accompanied him to his house to fetch his pyjamas. When we came out of Mr Manyosi's house, we saw a car parked nearby and it started flicking its lights.

"The car followed us but before we could arrive at my house, the car sped past. But just before we could park our cars in the garage, the car came from another direction at high speed and abruptly stopped next to our cars.

"Mr Manyosi, who was the first to jump out of his car to find out if he could park first, was shot five times and died instantly.

"The assassins drove off at high speed."

Mr Manyosi, who was chairman of the ruling Sofasonke Party, was sacked by the party central committee last month.

He was accused of "being irresponsible and unable to execute his duties as chairman of the party".

Post 7/12/84 (11A)

Prisons admit UDF man was manacled in hospital

PRETORIA — The detained Transvaal secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Popo Molefe, was manacled while being treated in a Johannesburg hospital, the SA Prison Service confirmed here yesterday.

Mr Molefe was treated in the Hillbrow Hospital for pneumonia and an infection of the left lung from November 30 until Tuesday.

However, the chief liaison officer of the service, Brigadier E C van Zyl, said it was not its policy to discuss details about treatment of individual prisoners.

The service was not without compassion, but it was often difficult to maintain a balance between the requirements of security and the "human factor," Brigadier Van Zyl said.

The acting general secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, told a party rally in Johannesburg he had visited Mr Molefe in hospital and had found he was being kept in leg irons in bed.

Mr Manuel said Mr Molefe was kept under constant guard except when his warder had to go to the toilet and then Mr Molefe was handcuffed.

A statement issued by the brigadier in Pretoria said: "It is nevertheless confirmed that Mr Molefe was manacled during his stay in hospital from November 30 to December 4."

He said when a prisoner or a detainee was in hospital, specific measures and possible aids to ensure safe custody was left to the discretion of the head of the prison, within the ambit of departmental guidelines.

"It is not as if the prisons service is without compassion in this regard, but it needs to be pointed out that approximately 90% of all escapes take place from outside prison walls, for example, hospitals, court facilities and from work teams." — Sapa

Azapo invites US Black Power leader to congress

CAPL Times 8/12/84 117

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A LEADING figure in the Black Power movement in the United States, Mr Louis Farrakhhan, has agreed to be the main speaker at the Azanian People's Organization's (Azapo) fifth national congress in Cape Town later this month.

Mr Farrakhhan, who succeeded Malcolm X as leader of the militant Nation of Islam organization, is expected to deliver the congress's keynote address on "Global Solidarity among Oppressed Peoples". The congress will be held in the Retreat Civic Centre on December 17.

Mr Farrakhhan is well known in political circles in the US for his anti-apartheid and pro-disinvestment stance and was one of the main campaign speakers supporting the Rev Jesse Jackson's recent bid to become the first black president of the US.

Mr According to Mr Thabo Ndabeni, Azapo's national organizer, the theme of the congress — "Resist, Defend, and Advance" — is intended to reflect the organization's view of the new constitution as a bid "to confuse, divide and co-opt certain sections of the oppressed and exploited".

He said: "The so-called policies of reform of P W Botha are aimed at undermining the solidarity of the black people by creating an illusory sense of hope and trust."

Mr Ndabeni said the congress, which will be open to the public, will also attempt to spell out the implications of Azapo's demand for "a democratic, socialist worker republic" in the country.

Another important goal of the congress will be to evaluate the boycotts and strikes as "strategies in our struggle". Congress will also re-examine Azapo's education policy, particularly the needs of formal versus informal education.

In announcing the proposed visit, the vice president of Azapo, Mr Peter Jones, acknowledged that Mr Farrakhhan had not yet been granted a visa to come to South Africa.

However, a visa was refused, a taped message would be played at the opening of the congress "so that at very least he will be here in word and spirit".

The two-day congress will be the first major event hosted by a Black Consciousness organization in the Western Cape since the inception of the movement more than 15 years ago.

The Western Cape has been a stronghold of the non-racial United Democratic Front, which in the past has differed with Black Consciousness bodies like Azapo on ideological and strategic grounds.

However, Mr Jones emphasized that Azapo "would not hesitate to co-operate with the UDF" on matters where policies of the two organizations co-incided.

Sanctions: Reagan, Tutu disagree

CARE Tuts
8/12/84
11A
ZB
ZB
ZB
ZB
ZB

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan yesterday remained publicly unmoved by Bishop Desmond Tutu's plea to end "constructive engagement" and "send a signal to the oppressed".

Both termed their half-hour White House meeting "good" and "friendly", but emerged with their deep philosophical differences unresolved.

Dr Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, who sat in on the talks, said that whatever its outcome, the fact that the meeting happened at all was strongly symbolic: "It is a signal in its own right."

The bishop gave Mr Reagan a specific agenda for United States policy towards South Africa which included urging Pretoria "to announce a general amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles as a prelude to a national convention in our country".

In a nationally televised press conference after the meeting, Mr Reagan insisted the administration would continue to pursue "quiet diplomacy".

Use of army

"I have always believed it is counterproductive for one country to splash itself over headlines demanding that another country do something," he said.

Standing in the bitter cold outside the White House, Bishop Tutu said he urged the president to call for an end to the current violence and the "use of the army against civilians", the immediate release of all detainees who should be charged in open court and tried in the presence of international observers, the lifting of all banings orders, particularly that on Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the im-

prisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and an end to forced removals.

Mr Reagan said he tried to explain to the bishop "the things we are are doing, many of which, I think, came as a surprise to him".

'Repugnance'

He said the administration was already carrying out many of the bishop's proposals, and was looking at some of the others "very carefully".

"But I have to disagree with him that the situation is worse now. It is not. We have made sizeable progress there in expressing our repugnance for apartheid and in persuading the South African Government to make changes, and we're going to continue."

The president also disagreed with the bishop's advocacy for disinvestment. "This is based on ignorance," he said. "The simple truth is that most black tribal leaders there have openly expressed their support for American business investment because our American businesses go there and observe practices with regard to employees that are not observed by South African companies."

Hour with Bush

"American business has spent over 100 million dollars so far on education and training in management, in business, in entrepreneurship, and those who are criticizing are just ignorant of that."

"I told (the bishop) what our private invest-

ment is in South Africa and what it has meant to those who are employed over there."

After seeing Mr Reagan, Bishop Tutu spent an hour with Vice President George Bush.

Asked whether his mind had been changed by the president, he replied emphatically, "no".

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that Bishop Tutu reported immediately to the United Nations on his meeting with President Reagan — first seeing African ambassadors, then consulting privately with the president of the General Assembly, Mr Paul Lusaka.

Resolutions

The bishop flies to Oslo this weekend for next week's Nobel award ceremony.

The General Assembly next week votes on a series of resolutions on apartheid and SWA/Namibia, in which the US is striving to have specific and harsh attacks on its policies removed.

Several of these resolutions — the Namibia series — were to have come up yesterday afternoon, but are now being delayed until next Wednesday.

Those on South Africa and apartheid will be voted on Thursday.

While the outcome is certain — the assembly has for the past 21 years advocated hitting the Republic with all manner of mandatory economic and other sanctions — what the bishop had to say was expected to influence its response towards the US.

the hospital lawyer a p.

The talk of the town . . . Black Consciousness

Sfer
10/12/84
11A

By Michael Tissong

The Black Consciousness outlook will come under intense examination when three Consciousness-oriented organisations hold separate meetings in Cape Town this month.

The Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) will hold its student executive council meeting at Maryland Centre in Hanover Park on December 14 and 15.

National Forum (NF), whose activists adopted a confrontationist approach to police and pro-election parties in the tricameral elections in August, meet at the Kismet Theatre in Athlone on December 16.

They will discuss post-election strategy.

THE DECISION

An action that will be planned is an active anti-conscription campaign which affiliates will embark on next year.

The most important decision made concerning National Forum itself will be whether it co-ordinates action among affiliates or adopts a formal structure in which affiliates would be accountable to it for their programmes.

On December 17-18 the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will hold its fifth congress at Retreat Civic Centre.

Since inauguration in 1978, the Azanian People's Organisation emphasis has been first on the demand for the return of the land to the indigenous people of the country and second that political power must be transferred to the majority in a one-man-one-vote election and not at a national convention.

Third, Azapo has said the struggle for liberation was to be conducted by blacks who felt the brunt of apartheid oppression.

The organisation defined blacks to include the African, coloured and Indian communities.

There are pointers in recent utterances by members that there will

be an emphasis on socialism in the coming year.

Azapo has said several times that it is not just against apartheid, but against the capitalist system which exploits black workers.

At a symposium in April 1981 it adopted the position that class and race coincided in the South African context.

Its class analysis said the South African Government adopted interventionist policies of race discrimination in its capitalist economy and made class coincide with race.

The organisation's interpretation of classes is that the white ruling class controls the offices of political power and runs the economy.

Blacks comprise the major part of the working class which toils in factories, farm fields and mines.

However, since the Azanian People's Organisation took on the class analysis of society, it has not drummed home the mechanics of the socialist state among rank-and-file members or with the public.

Its leaders have called for the establishment of a Workers' Republic of Azania, but have never had workshops or seminars on a national public level to thrash out the intricacies of a future socialist economic and political framework.

The Cape Town congress is likely to change that.

Natal region vice-president Mr Imrann Moosa says only 10 percent of the black working class is unionised.

He says the Azanian People's Organisation expresses working class interests in the establishment of a socialist state and that one day the Black Consciousness movement and the working class, vanguard of the struggle against capitalism, will become synonymous.

.. Kost 10/12/84

Broken window 'sign of unrest to come'

Post Reporter

THE chairman of the Booyesen Park branch of the Labour Party, Mr H M Cairncross, today added his voice to those who fear that large-scale retrenchments in the motor industry in the Eastern Cape could lead to social and economic problems for the various communities.

Mr Cairncross said the windows of his house in Booyesen Park had been smashed and he believed it was a token protest against the Labour Party and unemployment.

He feared that vandalism would increase as more people were retrenched.

Mr Cairncross said a branch meeting of the Labour Party would be held at the Community Centre in Booyesen Park on Wednesday at 7.30pm.

The branch, he said, also served as a civic association in the area and dealt with many issues at grass-roots level.

In the past two months he said 30 people who were in arrears with their rentals at Booyesen Park had been to see him. These arrears ranged from R500 to R2 000.

Mr Cairncross said other matters to be discussed at Wednesday's meeting included:

- Complaints about overcharging at the only shop in Booyesen Park which serves about 800 houses.

- The proposed Bethelsdorp minibus service.

- The poor image of Booyesen Park.

- The need for recreational facilities in the area.

- The infiltration of schools by the United Democratic Front and the South African Council on Sport (Sacos).

Mercury 10/24/84 (11A)

'Refugees' to return to Hambanati

Mercury Reporter

RESIDENTS of Hambanati township at Tongaat who fled an outbreak of violence between Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters in August, will return to their homes this weekend.

But a meeting between the two factions under the joint chairmanship of Inkatha secretary general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the KwaZulu urban representative, Mr A Mlotshwa, and the Rev Mcebisi Xundu of the UDF, ended in deadlock.

Earlier this year, mobs killed three people and burned down at least eight houses in the township. According to the Hambanati Residents Association, 25 families fled the township and have been living near Verulam ever since.

A memorandum prepared for the meeting by the Hambanati Residents Association said the pro-

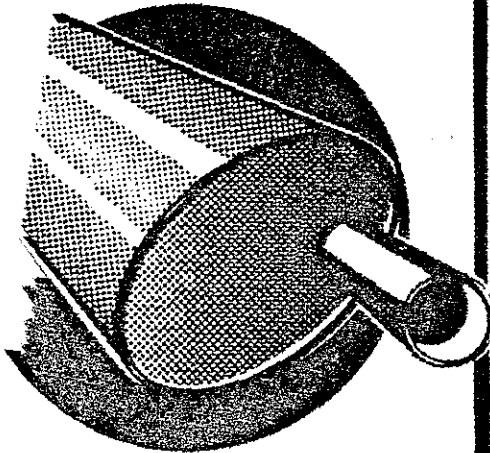
posed incorporation of Hambanati into KwaZulu had had a most divisive effect in the community but opposition to the system should not be construed as opposition or disrespect towards KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

After the meeting a spokesman for the residents' association, Mr Ian Mkhize, said the meeting had become deadlocked over the insistence by the Community Council that all charges laid against people as a result of the violence be withdrawn.

'We will be returning to the township on December 16 provided the repairs to our houses are complete.'

Mr Amon Zulu, deputy chairman of the Hambanati Community Council, said: 'They left the township on their own and if they now feel it is safe to come back then no one has the right to stop them.'

ancer systems
ney can buy.



Whether we fit our Grapnel Stainless Steel Silencers guaranteed for 10 years or our Grapnel Mild Steel Silencers guaranteed for 12 months, you'll still get the best. Made to manufacturers' specifications, expertly fitted while you wait with a friendly cup of coffee.

FAST, FRIENDLY EXPERT & QUALITY FITTING

- CITY: Corner Buitengracht & Waterkant Sts. Tel 25 3438
- PAROW: 297 Voortrekker Road. Tel 92 0146
- CLAREMONT: 37 Rosmead Avenue. Tel 64 1283, 64 1387
- PAARDEN EILAND: 51 Secbon Street. Tel 51 9953
- PAARL: Jan van Riebeeck Street. Tel 7 9250
- GRASSY PARK: 5th Avenue. Tel: 72 8448
- BELLVILLE SOUTH: Kusselsvlei Road. Tel 95 6090
- WORCESTER: 163 High Street. Tel 3170
- STELLENBOSCH: 137 Bird Street. Tel 7 2767
- GEORGE: Corner Courtenay & Meads Sts. Tel 6257
- KNYSNA: Union Street. Tel 2 3235
- OUDTSHOORN: Corner Voortrekker & Pume Sts. Tel 3218
- ATHLONE: Klipfontein Road, Surrey Estate. tel 658 2641
- ATLANTIS: Nell Haro Road. Tel 7 6628

SILENCER SERVICES

Pretoria for talks.
The three parties earlier held negotiating sessions from October 8 to 11. — Sapa-AP

Too late for classification
DEATHS

LLOYD. — Norah Maria, aged 99, died peacefully Saturday, December 8. Deeply mourned. Arrangements Goodall & Williams, Wasserial & Haroick, Phone 47 1150.
VAN DER MDLEN. — Rebecca (Beppie), passed away on December 9. Sadly missed by Barbara Newman, Irma Turilli and families. Prayers 6pm Monday only at 77 Kioof Road, Sea Point.

**ROLUX ECONOMO
LAWNMOWER**

2,6 kW (3,5 hp)
B & S motor
with grassbox



**R329
WEEDCUTTERS**

Petrol 16-40 cc
Domestic/Industrial
Including nylon head
and blades



from R199

STEPHAN'S

201 BREE ST, CAPE TOWN
Tel: 24 3377 Closed Sat

**Swazi officials blame
ANC for police killing**

CAPE TOWN ^{10/12/86} Own Correspondent (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Swaziland's Commissioner of Police, Mr Majaji Simelane, yesterday rejected an African National Congress denial that it was involved in the assassination of the Swazi deputy security police chief, Superintendent Petros Shiba. Superintendent Shiba was shot dead on Friday as he left the Swazi Police officer's mess. The assassins then fled by car.

Mr Simelane said one of the men suspected of involvement in the killing was an ANC refugee known only as "Sipho" or "Solly."

Swazi police were still searching for the assassins yesterday, having set up roadblocks at strategic points soon after the attack.

After the shooting of Superintendent Shiba, an ANC spokesman in Harare, Zimbabwe, denied that the ANC was involved in the murder. "We have no interest at any stage in killing people in any African country, except the enemy, who is in South Africa," he is reported to have said.

But Mr Simelane said of the killers yesterday: "We suspect they were acting on the orders of the ANC."



GONSALVES
is working in
ANGELOS
Hairdressing Salon
47 STRAND STR.
CAPE TOWN,
PHONE FOR AN APPOINTMENT
24 7540

TODAY

VICTORIAN AND
CAPE DUTCH
FURNITURE
TO BE
AUCTIONED

SEE AUCTION IN
MAIN BODY OF
CAPE TIMES

Press for amnesty, Tutu tells Reagan

CARE Times 10/12/84

11A

OSLO. — Bishop Desmond Tutu, in Norway to collect his Nobel Peace Prize today, said here last night that he had appealed to President Ronald Reagan to press for a political amnesty in South Africa.

He told a news conference immediately after his arrival that a general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles would prove the success of Mr Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with the South African Government.

Bishop Tutu said he had told Mr Reagan at their meeting in Washington on Friday that he had detected no sign so far that the United States policy of "quiet diplomacy" had caused any improvement in the living conditions of black people in South Africa.

Paying tribute to the wave of demonstrations against South African diplomatic missions in the United States, Bishop Tutu said he had found a groundswell of moral revulsion against apartheid.

Bishop Tutu said he had told Mr Reagan: "Conditions for constructive engagement would exist if you got a general amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles."

The 53-year-old Anglican bishop will today receive the R346 000 prize awarded by the Norwegian Nobel Committee for his unifying role in the campaign against apartheid, and will meet the Norwegian Foreign Minister and have an audience with King Olav.

Tomorrow he will deliver the Nobel Peace Prize address and tomorrow night he will be a guest preacher in the Oslo Cathedral.

"The Peace Prize is to show that God is in charge here in this world and that justice, goodness, peace, love and

compassion will prevail, that God cares, the world cares and we are winning," the bishop said.

The bishop said South Africa was in a state of civil war but said he would not take up arms. He described himself as "a peace-lover, but not a pacifist".

Before leaving for Oslo, Bishop Tutu told a congregation of more than 2 500 in Canterbury Cathedral yesterday that the award of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize was recognition of the fact that the call by the oppressed people of South Africa for dignity and human rights was a just one.

Bishop Tutu was guest preacher at Canterbury Cathedral yesterday at the invitation of the Anglican Archbishop, Dr Robert Runcie.

At a press conference earlier, commenting on Mr Reagan's claim that the release of 11 South African labour and community leaders was due to "quiet diplomacy" by the United States, Bishop Tutu said their release might have been a ploy to divert attention from his meeting with President Reagan.

He said anti-apartheid protesters could equally well say that one of the things they had called for was the immediate release of the labour leaders and that the release had been due to their action.

the South African Government, aware of my meeting with President Reagan, wished to divert attention from the meeting."

The South African Ambassador, Mr Brand Fourie, said in Washington on Friday that 11 detainees had been released. Mr Reagan, speaking to reporters on Saturday, immediately claimed credit.

Although Mr Fourie announced the release of the detainees on Friday, a police spokesman in Pretoria said they would give the names of the 11 only today. — Own Correspondents and Sapa-Reuter-AP

● Test after the prize, page 2

Fourie's call to Tutu on violence

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — South Africa's United States Ambassador, Mr Brand Fourie, yesterday called on Bishop Desmond Tutu to act "in the spirit of the Nobel Prize" and "persuade his followers on the radical side ... to stop killing moderate black leaders".

At the same time, Bishop Tutu declined to condemn outright the rising tide of black against black violence in the Republic.

"I think it is an indication of the whole level of frustration ... in South Africa," Bishop Tutu said.

"There should be no killing of anybody by anybody, but I don't know what makes people sit up and take notice."

The bishop and the ambassador were speaking on "This Week with David Brinkley", a nationally-televised Sunday morning public affairs programme.

Mr Fourie took the opportunity to renew his criticisms of the daily demonstrations and arrests outside his embassy, saying they would have "no effect whatsoever" on South Africa's actions.

"We realize that it is the democratic right of anyone in this country who wishes to demonstrate," he said, backing down from his earlier comparison of the sit-ins with the 1979 siege of the US Embassy in Tehran.

"But we also realize that those who demonstrate here hardly ever say anything about Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cuba, the Soviet Union, Central America, or for that matter what is happening in Africa itself.

"If we see what is happening in Africa, firstly there is independence, secondly there is one election, perhaps a free one. That's the last free one. Then there's a one-party state. Then there's a move towards a kind of socialism, then eventually Marxism and you get to a stage where you've moved into misery."

One man, one vote was therefore "not the answer for South Africa. We've got to work out a different system. That does not come only from the whites. There are about nine black nations, they are all minorities, and it's a feeling that's commonly shared".

Africa is the most tragic of continents. It contains at present most of those nations of the world which are starving, and, in the Republic of South Africa, that nation which of all others is most condemned by the world at large. It is a nation which, if it accepted the plentiful advice of world opinion, would as it sees things commit suicide. There is no precedent for national suicide. This article and those that follow will attempt to understand why

South Africa is as it is, and why the Afrikaner believes so strongly that it will in any case survive.

These articles will constitute an attempt, in a sense, to understand the mind of the Afrikaner. It is a presumptuous attempt, but necessary to make because it is South Africa — with its military strength, and its depth of resources, and above all its strength of will — which determines and will probably continue for some time to determine the course of events in

southern Africa. This is the realpolitik. And within South Africa, which has a population of 31 million of whom about 4.8 million are white, the political power is held by the Afrikaners, that is those whites largely of Dutch and German descent whose first language is Afrikaans. That is the reality which, however distasteful it may be to some, it would be pointless not to accept. That is where you have to start from.

It would also be pointless, in any such attempt, to cart along an intact

burde
The
whips
ships
and
my e
years
that r
horns
I H
Repu
which
than

IN THE minister's austere office in Pretoria we talked about the poet Pindar, the chief of the Zulu's, mixed marriages, black Africa, and the Afrikaner's firm resolve that his nation, and more particularly his civilisation, shall survive.

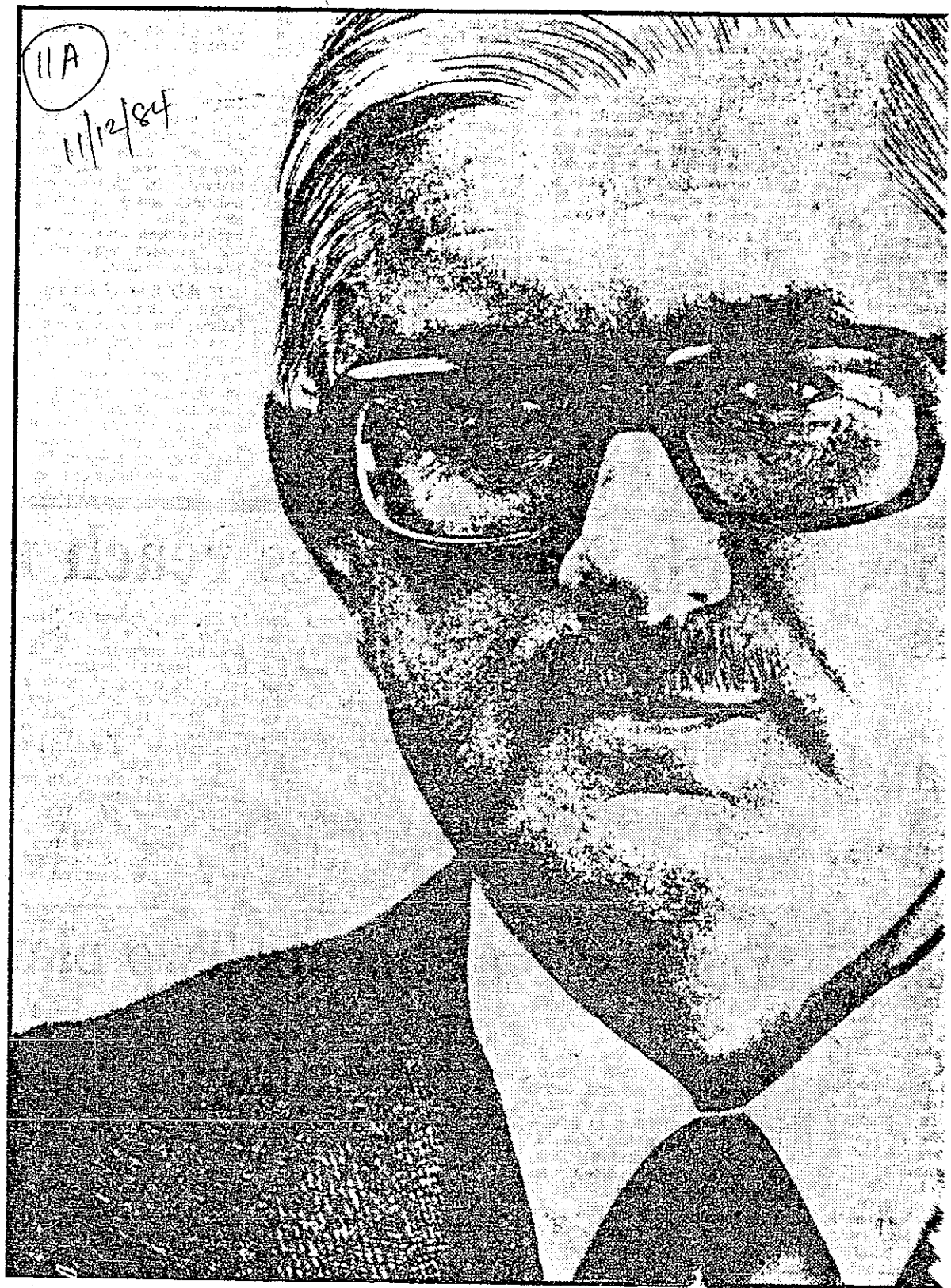
Dr Gerrit van Niekerk Viljoen is Minister of Co-operation, Development, and Education, which means, roughly translated, that he is responsible for black affairs. He is often talked of as a possible successor to the present State President and Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha. He was educated at Pretoria; King's College, Cambridge; Leiden; and the Sorbonne. He is a former chairman of the Broederbond, which is variously describable as a secret society, a club, a think-tank and a gathering of the Afrikaner elite.

Dr Viljoen spoke with some pleasure of a thesis he once wrote on Pindar's Olympian odes, a thesis he had the good fortune to write about the time that the findings were being published of the pre-war German excavations at Olympia, findings which corroborated some of the poet's descriptions. I then reminded him that he had later published a monograph on Cicero, in which he had happened to remark that Cicero lived in chaotic times. Would he say that he was now living in such times particularly in South Africa?

He demurred at this, so, sticking to Rome, I remarked that the English jurist Sir Henry Maine had once observed that Roman law had over the centuries been a progression from status to contract. "From imposed order, to freely reached agreement?" he asked.

Yes, from times when legal relationships were those between father and son, master and slave, to those times when relationships were entered into freely: and this was by way of getting to my point, which was that many would see the blacks in South Africa as semi-slaves, in the sense that they had no citizenship. "Oh," he said "they have citizenship. I think this is one of the most unfair representations of the South African situation to state that the blacks have no political rights. They have political rights, not according, shall I say, to the accepted western pattern of an homogenised, integrated democracy, but they have political rights on a differentiated basis."

Dr Viljoen was here referring to the rights of Africans in the homelands of Trans-



Day One: Dr Gerrit van Ni

Why the laag

the southern Africa. This is the realpolitik. And within South Africa, which has a population of 31 million of whom about 4.8 million are white, the political power is held by the Afrikaners, that is those whites largely of Dutch and German descent whose first language is Afrikaans. That is the reality which, however distasteful it may be to some, it would be pointless not to accept. That is where you have to start from.

It would also be pointless, in any such attempt, to cart along an intact

burden of western liberal prejudice. The detentions without trial, the rhino whips, the razing of whole shanty townships, have been copiously reported, and very properly so. But it has been my experience of two visits, one ten years ago and the second only recently, that most Afrikaners do not possess two horns and a tail.

I have travelled over much of the Republic. I have twice visited Soweto, which I have been told is twice more than some members of the South

African cabinet. I have briefly visited one of the black homelands. And, since my business was to discover what I could about the Afrikaner mind and spirit, I have talked to many Afrikaners, among them the leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, the leader of the fundamental Conservative Party, and the National Party minister responsible for black affairs. This article is an interview with that minister.

Terry Coleman



pressed support for the repeal of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts.

I pointed out a paragraph in which Mr Botha was reported as saying, "There has been mixing since Jan van Riebeeck arrived here (in 1652). These laws were introduced in 1927, so what happened between 1652 and 1927?" That, I suggested, was an admission by the President that many Afrikaners were of mixed blood, wasn't it? "Oh yes," said Dr Viljoen, there had been many calculations: some said five per cent, some 11 to 12 per cent. No Afrikaner who knew the facts would deny that.

Then, suppose the laws were repealed; and suppose a white man married a coloured woman, what would the status of the white man be? "That is one of the problems we have to solve. To repeal the law, you must have an answer to that."

Did the man become coloured, or the woman white? "Yes, or do they have a free choice... We will have to decide on this in the next six or seven months."

Six or seven months? Just like that? "Yes, sure. This is my feeling. But there is going to be a very strong popular backlash against this."

But here, surely, was the president making a point of this at a byelection? "He faces the music. I think the leadership of the president is such that if he is convinced of a point, as he is of this point, he will go for it." (In fact the byelection was, as expected, very close, the Conservative opposition was strong, and the National Party held the seat by a much reduced majority of only 748 votes in a Johannesburg blue-collar constituency.)

Now it is a common belief that the Afrikaner vote is solid, but you only have to speak to a few politicians to see clearly that this is not so. Indeed, the Afrikaner is to my mind in a state of political and intellectual ferment. So I put it to Dr Viljoen that the Afrikaner vote for the National Party had fallen from about 83 per cent in the early seventies to 63 per cent at the 1981 general election, and asked if this wasn't pretty catastrophic.

"Yes. And if you want to play the political game, you must play it in such a way that you can carry out your policy: in other words you must gain support from the constituents who elect you." Politics were about power? "Yes, sure. You cannot follow a policy which is theoretically very attractive but

Day One: Dr Gerrit van Niekerk Viljoen

Why the laager stays

"Oh," he said "they have citizenship. I think this is one of the most unfair representations of the South African situation to state that the blacks have no political rights. They have political rights, not according, shall I say, to the accepted western pattern of an homogenised, integrated democracy, but they have political rights on a differentiated basis."

Dr Viljoen was here referring to the rights of Africans in the homelands of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, and others, but these are homelands whose independence is recognised by no one other than the Republic of South Africa.

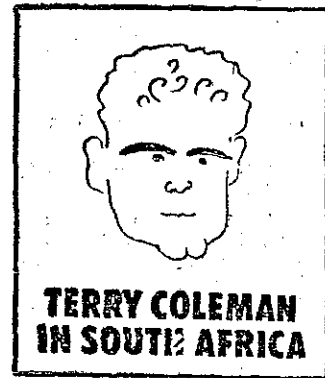
But surely most critics' condemnation of South Africa would start from the assumption that there should not be any sort of confederation of States, as is generally proposed, but one single State, with one man one vote? "Yes. While that point of departure is made, I don't think there is any possibility of rapprochement between opposite views."

One State, and one person one vote, would then be an impossibility for him? "Well no, it's not an impossibility, but it would be sheer chaos. It just wouldn't work."

He was saying it would amount to suicide on the whites' part, then? "Yes, certainly. Not only on our part: I think on the part of everyone in South Africa." But he thought it was encouraging that some black leaders now seemed willing to compromise, to agree that blacks must have citizenship, but that this could not be in a unitary system: and the best example was Chief Buthelezi.

Yes, but hadn't the two of them once met. Buthelezi as chief of the Zulus and Viljoen, then chairman of the Broederbond, as chief of the Afrikaners? And hadn't Buthelezi said that, very well, the Afrikaners had had to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, and had done so, but the trouble was that his people, who went barefoot, hadn't even got bootstraps to start with? "I think he had a strong case."

To what extent were the minister's policies, and those



of his government, affected by the view of black Africa to the north, where in 25 years there had been 12 wars, 70 coups, and 13 assassinations?

"Our own views have in a sense been that this was likely to happen, and therefore the attitude is rather one of 'We told you so.' It has strengthened our views that a unitary state in which there was a black majority government, a black domination as it were, will not work in Africa, will not make the continued existence of a white people a reasonable proposition at all." But Dr Viljoen also thought that the effect on black South African leaders had been even greater. They too had seen what had happened to the north, and were the more willing to modify their original demands for a unitary state.

Perhaps; but hadn't Bishop Tutu just said that the blacks (on the grounds that the enemy of their enemy was their friend) would welcome the Russians? "Oh yes... I think there are those who would accept chaos, to break the system."

But Tutu was a Christian, and a bishop. "Yes, well I find it difficult to understand. To me his credibility is low."

Hadn't the minister told a recent congress of the National Party that the blacks were the greatest asset of the Republic? Not the greatest asset, he replied, but a great one. They should be regarded not as a danger, not as a problem, but as an asset. In what sense? As a workforce? "No. For their human values, for their personality, their culture, their humanity; but also as a workforce. Also as a political asset. Because the blacks like the Afrikaners — and in this sense they differ widely from the liberal English who simply have an *idée fixe* about the common society — are more existentially involved. They have a willingness to struggle. They display to me a willingness to struggle to find solutions, and not just to say, 'This is the only alternative.' They have a tremendous power for

good, not only as a workforce but as part of..."

Part of a civilisation? "Yes. Of civilisation."

But just now, when I had asked about a unitary state, he had said it would be chaos? "Yes, but that's not because of inherent defects in the blacks, but because of the tremendous heterogeneity of society in South Africa. If we rejected the inherent capacity of the blacks it would be dishonest to propound a concept of separate development, because it would mean you would leave them to themselves, being without the capacity to develop. And that I do not accept."

I said I had earlier cited an example of what I thought was fatuity on the part of Bishop Tutu: could I now put to Dr Viljoen another example, this time on the part of the South Africa government? In a debate at the Cambridge Union, on the matter of ending investment in South Africa, Mr Donald Woods, the former editor of a South African newspaper, now living in England, had spoken for the motion, and the South African ambassador in London Dr Denis Worrall, against. The motion had been predictably carried, but the fatuity had been that, in the South African newspapers, the proposer's argument could be discerned only through the ambassador's reply to it, because the ex-editor, being a banned person, was not permitted to be reported. Wasn't that fatuous?

"Yes, well I think it's a pity really... I have not been personally responsible for weighing the evidence to take this decision, but, judging superficially, I would say that the nuisance value of Mr Woods did not merit giving him the honour of banning him."

I then turned to Soweto. I said I had seen people infinitely worse off in other parts of Africa. In Soweto no one was starving. But nevertheless there people were degraded, and it did seem to me, to use an archaic English phrase, that South Africa, having virtually created a subject people, had not looked after them, had not as it were picked up the White Man's Burden.

When I played the tape of this conversation back I

Day One: Dr Gerrit van

Why the laa closed to

found myself at this point speaking with some heat, which isn't good: further more, the phrase is archaic, and I shouldn't be surprised to learn that it has lain dormant since I last wrote it, in exactly the same circumstances, in 1974: so, all in all, this was a point which Dr Viljoen, or anyone, could have smiled at and dismissed that way, but he did not. He just turned the phrase.

Take black education, he said, which was part of his responsibility. Well, they had not been spending enough, but, over the last five years, they had spent dramatically more. "So," he said, "in this case the Afrikaner is picking up the black man's burden. Which has in fact, and this I admit, been neglected in the past."

I went to a point that Dr Viljoen made in a book he published in 1979, when he had said, "If we should lose control over our own political destiny, for example through an unrealistic striving for fairness, then fairness to others could become injustice towards oneself." He appeared to mean over-fairness to blacks? Was that so?

"What I meant is what is unfair in the sense of what is insisted upon by the outside world, which looks upon South Africa as comparable to western homogenous societies. Unfair in the sense of introducing a complete, head-counting democracy. That would lead in our conviction to chaos."

He was once again referring to those who wanted to apply classical Nineteenth Century European democratic standards to Africa? "Western European. In the Balkan states with diverse populations they never really came to democracy at all there, did they?"

When I remarked that the only pure democracy I knew was the United States, he replied, yes, that remained a remarkable democracy, and not homogenous, but with the advantage of having a dominant element. If there had been a similarly dominant white element in South Africa things would have developed quite differently, because the whites could have

shared: complete

And think (ir man) th to shift the sury to survi which m And if survive ness—an ceivable 50 years need fo even d' complete It wa these va portant, vival of was not issue.

Here Boshoff, man of t. a man v to mainta has an ol haven, a land for

Well, I come to mightn't land, a la Viljoen, bered a l ing to hin ties and hypothesi that the the wester try up to which is n try, and What, as would hap

To whi replied: traumatic forced to like Isra challenge, Toynbeen of a natio very very would h survive."

Now ir because o of 1978, I time was "Few po sense hav the urgen tions in S often say utes to has been it is like But all al estimated Did he the leader Party tha on the ver



Day One: Dr Gerrit van Niekerk Viljoen

Why the laager stays closed to blacks

as a
of...
isation?
n I had
y state,
ould be
at's not
defects
cause of
ogeneity
frica. If
erent ca-
it would
ound a
develop-
uld mean
them to
without
op. And
ier cited
thought
on the
ould I
ljoen an-
time on
th Africa
debate at
n, on the
vestment
r Donald
editor of
aswpaper,
and, had
tion, and
ambassa-
Dr Denis
e motion
y carried,
ad been
frican
proposer's
discerned
ambassa-
cause the
banned
mitted to
sn't that

found myself at this point speaking with some heat, which isn't good: further more, the phrase is archaic, and I shouldn't be surprised to learn that it has lain dormant since I last wrote it, in exactly the same circumstances, in 1974: so, all in all, this was a point which Dr Viljoen, or anyone, could have smiled at and dismissed that way, but he did not. He just turned the phrase.

Take black education, he said, which was part of his responsibility. Well, they had not been spending enough, but, over the last five years, they had spent dramatically more. "So," he said, "in this case the Afrikaner is picking up the black man's burden. Which has in fact, and this I admit, been neglected in the past."

I went to a point that Dr Viljoen made in a book he published in 1979, when he had said, "If we should lose control over our own political destiny, for example through an unrealistic striving for fairness, then fairness to others could become injustice towards oneself." He appeared to mean over-fairness to blacks? Was that so?

"What I meant is what is unfair in the sense of what is insisted upon by the outside world, which looks upon South Africa as comparable to western homogenous societies. Unfair in the sense of introducing a complete, head-counting democracy. That would lead in our conviction to chaos."

He was once again referring to those who wanted to apply classical Nineteenth Century European democratic standards to Africa? "Western European. In the Balkan states with diverse populations they never really came to democracy at all there, did they?"

When I remarked that the only pure democracy I knew was the United States, he replied, yes, that remained a remarkable democracy, and not homogenous, but with the advantage of having a dominant element. If there had been a similarly dominant white element in South Africa things would have developed quite differently, because the whites could have

shared power without the complete loss of power. And of civilisation? "I think in my time (as chairman) the Broederbond tried to shift the emphasis from the survival of the Afrikaner to survival of the quality which makes life worthwhile. And if those qualities can survive without separate-ness—and I think it is conceivable they could in 20, 30, 50 years' time—I think the need for separateness and even differentiation might completely change."

It was the survival of these values which was important. The physical survival of the white man itself was not a thing, that was at issue.

Here I mentioned Carel Boshoff, also a former chairman of the Broederbond, and a man who certainly wants to maintain separation. "He has an obsession. He wants a haven, a pure haven, a homeland for whites."

Well, I said, and it might come to that one day, mightn't it? A white homeland, a laager? Well, said Dr Viljoen, he vividly remembered a Nigerian editor coming to him in the mid seventies and putting to him the hypothesis of partition, and that the whites were handed the western part of the country up to the Orange River, which isn't very good country, and the Cape itself. What, asked the Nigerian, would happen then?

To which Dr Viljoen had replied: "I said it would be traumatic, but if we were forced to accept it we would, like Israel, respond to the challenge, and it would be a Toynbeen historical example of a nation that would suffer very very seriously, but we would have it in us to survive."

Now in 1977, I assumed because of the Soweto riots of 1976, Dr Viljoen had said time was short: was it still? "Few politicians with any sense have not insisted on the urgency of finding solutions in South Africa. People often say we are at ten minutes to midnight, and this has been said so often that it is like crying 'Wolf, wolf.' But all along we have underestimated the urgency..."

Did he then agree with the leader of the Progressive Party that the country was on the verge of a siege? "Yes

In a sense we've been on that verge for quite a long time. And you cannot, you know, hold the tension of this sort of situation indefinitely. There must come some relief, some detente as it were." He then suggested that, with the new constitution of this year, there had already been some detente with the Coloureds and Indians.

But, the problem wasn't, surely, the Coloureds...? "It's the blacks. I fully agree. The urgency of finding new political alternatives for the blacks."

We then turned to the attitude of the West—Europe and the United States—towards South Africa. Dr Viljoen did see some hypocrisy here. There were some double standards, but, mostly, he thought that it was simply very difficult for anyone conditioned by the standards of a western homogenous society to understand South Africa at all. He has in the past spoken out against sports boycotts, so I put the obvious question to him: how did he feel when he saw England playing football against Russia, but declining to play South Africa at cricket?

"That thinking," he said, "is not sport motivated, but political. It's so inconsistent that I can't think people hold that view on sporting grounds. Whatever we change in sport will not affect (the attitude of) the rest of the world, because our critics in sport are not interested in sport."

Recently, in speaking about sport, he had talked about South Africa's "enemies." What did he mean by enemies? "Enemies are people who want to break down completely the present dispensation in South Africa, and have no sympathy for anyone but the blacks. And the enemy could be further defined, as in Rhodesia, where it proved to be not so much sympathy for the blacks as for a specific, socialist or Marxist, group among the blacks."

I then took out a newspaper cutting which reported a speech made two days before at a byelection meeting by the Prime Minister Mr P. W. Botha, in which he ex-

cent in the early seventies to 63 per cent at the 1981 general election, and asked if this wasn't pretty catastrophic.

"Yes. And if you want to play the political game, you must play it in such a way that you can carry out your policy: in other words you must gain support from the constituents who elect you." Politics were about power? "Yes, sure. You cannot follow a policy which is theoretically very attractive but which has no chance of ever gaining support."

I went back to my cutting, in which Mr Botha was reported as saying that if a nation needed laws to maintain itself, then it was not worth maintaining. He was probably referring only to mixed marriages, but, if one took his words more generally, surely there were hundreds of laws to maintain the identity of the white State. What about section 29 of the Internal Security Act under which a man could be held indefinitely without trial? "Well, that's basically not to maintain the whites: that's to maintain law and order in the country."

But what about the laws which laid down where a black man could live and where he couldn't? "There are two points which the National Party has made quite clear. That is, that in the interests of orderly development among the components of the heterogeneous population, separate residential areas, and separate schools, are essential." But surely such laws were to maintain society as it was? "Not to maintain society, but an orderly society."

We got to rhino whips and the appearance South Africa presented to the rest of the world. There had been elections earlier this year, and riots, and television pictures round the world of police chasing blacks with rhino whips. I said it looked awful. "The fact is that if there hadn't been strong and determined policing these elections could have been broken up. The crowds were taking the law of the jungle into their own hands... As (they were) at schools, where pupils went to take final examinations. This type of crowd broke into schools and, with knives or whips, forced the children to leave. Or they overpowered the teachers and tore the examination papers to pieces."

The interview was ending. I began to get up, and Dr Viljoen said, "We cannot please the outside world by allowing people to use violent means of subversion of order."

I said what I thought, that the whole situation was impossibly complex. As we walked to the door, he said, "It's very challenging to work in. It's exciting in many ways. It's daunting. Sometimes you feel you want to run away from it, but on the whole it's, well, a privilege to be able to share in this challenge."

TOMORROW: Dr Fred-erik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Star 11/12/84

11A

Doors are closing on this committee

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Recently the Rev Sam Buti, a moderate leader with a rare degree of credibility in the Alexandra community he serves as mayor, called on black leaders to snub the Cabinet committee investigating the constitutional future of urban blacks. This could be the kiss of death for any proposals which may emerge.

The committee, chaired by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has been rejected out of hand by organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front. Their plans for black constitutional rights demand a full democratic vote in a unitary state.

Although some "independent" and self-governing homeland leaders held talks with the committee, it was boycotted by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Inkatha.

That left leaders in the black political centre — men such as Mr Buti — to give the committee, and any proposals it might make, some credibility. Now the only people likely to talk to Mr Heunis's committee are black local authority councillors,



The Rev Sam Buti



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

whose credibility is at an all-time low.

To make the situation worse about 20 of these councillors have resigned in the past few months.

It all adds up to a Cabinet committee with no one to talk to and leaves a vital aspect of the Government's "reform" plans floundering.

"The participation by blacks in discussion concerning the constitutional plan for urban blacks will be a definite betrayal of established struggles by those men and women who have been banished, exiled or even imprisoned by the South African racist regime," Mr Buti said in

his statement.

He added that history had proved that very little ever came out of such committees and reiterated that the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and various banned Black Consciousness organisations be unbanned.

The Cabinet committee was born of a Government realisation that the non-homeland urban black was here to stay and that somehow, without giving him a full vote, a method had to be found whereby he could have some representation.

The Government has been touting the committee as evidence that it is taking the urban

black question seriously as a part of a "reform" package that included the extension of a limited franchise to the coloured and Indian population groups.

The urban blacks are excluded from both the first (Parliament) and second (Regional Councils) tiers of Government. Their only slender link to the decision-making process is the third-tier local authorities, which are in serious trouble.

During unrest in the Vaal Triangle the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr FW de Klerk, told a Press conference at Vereeniging that the black local authorities were the voice of the urban black and the Government would listen to them — despite the fact that some were elected on a five percent poll.

The Cabinet committee is likely to find a willing ear only among local authority councils, whose credibility is almost nil.

But, according to Mr de Klerk, they are the voice of the urban black and their suggestions and proposals will be heeded by the Government.

The end result of that will be committee recommendations on the constitutional future of urban blacks that will solve little and be acceptable to very few.

I
C
D
it
ar
H
ti
ti
E
C
i
t
k
F

Muccor joins call for 'black Christmas'

THE MINISTERS United for Christian Co-responsibility yesterday joined several other organisations that have called on all "responsible" South Africans to observe a "black Christmas" this year.

According to the organisations, the call is to mourn all victims of apartheid during the township unrests in the past three months. At least 161 people died, 2 000 were injured and hundreds detained.

Other organisations that have called for a "black Christmas" are: The United Democratic Front (UDF), the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) is also looking into the possibility of endorsing the call, in which people are being called upon to buy only essentials for Christmas.

Fedsaw

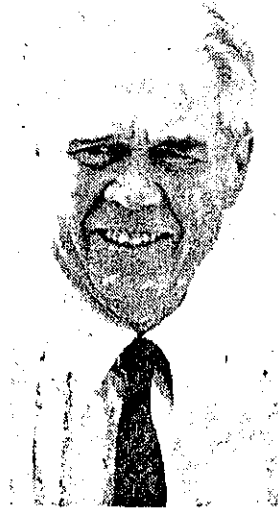
In a statement released by the Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT) yesterday, the ministers said they called upon all the local churches of South Africa to observe "black Christmas".

They urged the churches to suspend all planned festivities, such as Sunday school parties. They said instead, such activities should be turned into services for mourning.

CME TRIPS 11/12/84

~~11A~~ 11A ~~11A~~

Fourie pleads for killing to stop



Mr Brand Fourie

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African ambassador to the United States, Mr Brand Fourie, said it was Bishop Desmond Tutu's task as a Nobel peace prize winner to persuade black radicals to stop killing moderate black leaders.

In an interview on America's ABC television and broadcast on SATV on Sunday night, Mr Fourie said the bishop faced a severe test.

"He will have to persuade his followers... some of them radical. Black radicals have got to stop killing moderate black leaders.

"Black confrontation... with the blood flowing... must be stopped and that is the task for a Nobel prize winner," the ambassador said.

Asked for his views on American disinvestment in South Africa, he said it would run contrary to the concept of free trade. He added that 75 percent of working blacks in South Africa were opposed to American companies taking their money out of the Republic.

Mr Fourie said the anti-apartheid demonstrators outside the South African embassy in Washington were exercising their democratic rights.

"But we take it seriously that those who demonstrate here never say anything about what happens in Afghanistan, or Cuba, the Soviet Union... Central Ameri-

ca or in Africa itself for that matter."

Asked how he would explain his government's policies to the demonstrators, Mr Fourie said he would tell them that South Africa was continually changing:

Trade unions for blacks had been introduced, job reservation had been scrapped, equal pay for equal work introduced, a start had been made toward bringing about equal education, the new constitution had been implemented and the government was committed to bringing about greater political participation by blacks.

Not worked

"So what are we arguing about? We should rather see how we can bring these things about peacefully and without making the position more difficult," he said.

One-man, one-vote systems had not worked in the rest of Africa and would not succeed in the Republic, the ambassador said.

"We've got to work out a different system." This feeling was shared by blacks and whites in the Republic, he said.

"We've got to give to everybody a reasonable part in governing their own affairs without taking rights away from other nations."

The US Assistant Secretary of State for

African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, was interviewed on the same programme.

He said the Reagan administration was already doing "an overwhelming majority" of the things to encourage reform in South Africa that Bishop Tutu had called for in his meeting with President Reagan this week.

Challenged as to why the White House was therefore not advocating economic sanctions against South Africa, Dr Crocker said:

"I did not hear the bishop, either in the Oval Office or in public, ever call for the US to walk away from South Africa. What he's calling for is some sort of clear signal of what we stand for and we're giving all kinds of clear signals."

Dr Crocker said the Reagan administration had a "solid record" of accomplishment with regard to South Africa.

The US government was, however, still not satisfied with the position in South Africa and the sub-continent and was determined to persevere in its efforts to change the situation.

The success of such efforts had to be measured in several ways, Dr Crocker said.

"We do want to see change towards a democratic society based on the consent of the governed." — Sapa



Dr Chester Crocker

9/16 Times 11/12/84 (117) X

Nobel Prize

'challenges SA'

From JOHN BATTERSBY

OSLO. — Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, the 53-year-old Bishop-elect of Johannesburg, was yesterday awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize at a packed ceremony in the Oslo University auditorium presided over by King Olav V of Norway.

The R300 000 Nobel award, traditionally made on December 10, was awarded by the chairman of the Nobel Committee, Mr Egil Aarvik, a former president of the Norwegian Parliament, to direct attention to Bishop Tutu as "a unifying leader figure in the campaign to resolve the problem of apartheid in South Africa".

He said this year's Peace Prize was a challenge to the dominant minority to take its chance "before history's amnesty runs out".

In a short acceptance speech, Bishop Tutu said the Soviet and South African governments had been notable exceptions to the many thousands of people around the world who had been "thrilled" by the award.

"I was told of a delegation of American church people who were visiting Russia. On hearing the news they and their Russian hosts celebrated the Nobel Peace Prize winner," Bishop Tutu said.

Mr Aarvik said repression in South Africa was "so brutal that a violent rebellion would be an understandable reaction".

"Fortunately, a peaceful alternative exists... Desmond Tutu is an exponent of the only form of conflict-solving which is worthy of civilized nations.

"In recognition of the fact that it is this alterna-

tive which must succeed, Bishop Tutu has been selected as this year's Nobel Prize laureate."

Recalling the Nobel Peace award to Chief Albert Luthuli, former president of the African National Congress, 23 years ago, Mr Aarvik said:

"It is the committee's wish that this year's award should be seen as a renewed recognition of the courage and heroic patience shown by black South Africans in their use of peaceful means to oppose the apartheid system."

At a ceremony attended by more than 600 politicians, diplomats and Church leaders and marked by standing ovations, Bishop Tutu said the award had "kindled a new hope in the breasts of the millions who are voiceless, oppressed, dispossessed and tortured by powerful tyrants".

'We shall be free'

"It says more eloquently than anything else that our cause is a just cause and that we will attain human rights in South Africa and everywhere in the world. We shall be free in South Africa and everywhere in the world.

"I accept this prestigious award on behalf of my family, on behalf of the South African Council of Churches, on behalf of all in my motherland, on behalf of those committed to the cause of justice, peace and reconciliation everywhere," Bishop Tutu said.

It was the 64th ceremony since the award was first made in 1901. It was founded by the Swede Alfred Nobel in his will, which stipulated that the peace prize should be decided on by a committee of the Norwegian Parliament.

'Trail-blazer'

Bishop Tutu became the 70th individual to receive the award and the second South African. Chief Albert Luthuli received the 1960 prize at a ceremony in 1961.

It has been shared on several occasions and awarded to institutions on 14 occasions. Some years there has been no award.

Paying tribute to the work of the South African Council of Churches under the guidance of Bishop Tutu as its general secretary Mr Aarvik said:

"The SACC has become a trail-blazer in the campaign for human rights, a central force in

the liberation struggle and an increasingly wide-ranging support organization for the many victims of the system's racial discrimination."

Pass laws

Referring to the forced removal of three million people, the system of migratory labour, the pass laws and the lot of "political prisoners", Mr Aarvik said:

"If we ignore for a moment the personal humiliation, the question remains — who is there to help these people survive in their new existence?"

"Who will help them house themselves, find water, tend to the sick or educate their children?"

"It is a pleasure to note that over 90 percent of the SACC's budget is covered by contributions from churches in the Western world, while it is with anxiety that we note that new laws are being prepared which will deprive the council of the right to administer its own funds."

He said South Africa's apartheid system had judged itself and had been found to be totally incompatible with human civilization.

"This year's Peace Prize is therefore an attempt to awaken consciences..."

"It is, therefore, not a judgment, rather it is a challenge, a hand stretched out — in the same way as Desmond Tutu's hand is stretched out to conciliation and atonement."

Academic denies claim about Tutu

By NOEL BRUYNS
Religion Reporter

BISHOP Isaac Mokoena, the black church leader who told President Ronald Reagan that he and not Bishop Desmond Tutu spoke on behalf of black South African churchgoers, represented only "a few thousand" of them and was speaking "nonsense".

This was said in Cape Town yesterday by Professor G C Oosthuizen, head of the Research Institute on Black Independent Churches at the University of Zululand.

Professor Oosthuizen, who had studied black independent churches for decades, said yesterday:

"I don't say I agree with everything Bishop Tutu says, but as far as the facts go, Bishop Mokoena is talking nonsense by claiming he can speak on behalf of four million blacks in South Africa. He represents only a small group of a few thousand who belong to RICA-affiliated black churches".

Bishop Mokoena, honorary life president of the Reformed Independent Churches Association (RICA), sent Presi-

dent Ronald Reagan a telegram this weekend thanking him for opposing Bishop Tutu's call for United States disinvestment in South Africa during a White House meeting on Friday.

Bishop Mokoena claimed 4.5 million followers above 15 years of age.

Professor Oosthuizen said there were 3 270 denominations in South Africa, with nearly 6 million black adherents.

So little was known about many of the small independent denominations that anyone could speak on behalf of them, as Bishop Mokoena had done, without the ordinary man in the street knowing the facts, he said.

● In a separate statement issued at the weekend, Bishop Mokoena said the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu was "an insult to the black Christians of South Africa".

He said RICA was "deeply disturbed" about the award to Bishop Tutu, who had "promoted a war of black against black" and had collaborated with communists.

Tutu: White skin

a 'disadvantage'

CAIT TENTS 11/12/84 (11A) 337

JOHANNESBURG. — A white skin could be a "horrible disadvantage" if severe violence erupts in South Africa over the country's racial policies, Bishop Desmond Tutu said.

In an American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) interview screened on SABC TV on Sunday night, the Nobel peace prize winner said he feared a bloodbath was imminent in South Africa unless the international community exerted pressure on Pretoria to come to the conference table.

Asked if whites would be massacred in such a bloodbath, Bishop Tutu said:

"I am not saying whites would be massacred. What I am saying is that if apartheid is not dismantled peacefully then (the US policy of) constructive engagement would be an abomination for whites."

Pressed as to who the victims of the predicted bloodbath would be, Bishop Tutu said "everybody" would be involved. "And it may be that a white skin would be a horrible disadvantage," he added.

Level of frustration

Bishop Tutu was interviewed on ABC TV's "This Week" programme.

Asked for his views on the killing of blacks by their own people, he said this was an indication of the level of frustration among his people.

"We have been warning about this sort of thing... this is just the start.

"I am fearful that unless the international community and especially America intervenes on the side of the oppressed to exert pressure that is perceptible to everybody to get the South African government to the conference table, there will be a bloodbath," the bishop said.

Asked about the US policy of constructive engagement to bring about slow but steady change in South Africa, he said:

"I am not persuaded that the quiet diplomacy of the Reagan administration is working... it is four years on — from the perspective of blacks, things have got worse."

There had been more detentions without trial, more forced removals and denationalization of blacks since the constructive engagement policy began, he said.

"We haven't seen the quid pro quo of constructive engagement," the bishop added.

Asked what he believed the US should do to encourage change in South Africa, Bishop Tutu said he believed the Reagan administration should "make it clear it will no longer be protective of South Africa".

The US should not abstain from voting in UN Security Council resolutions against South Africa.

Answering a question on whether disinvestment by US firms in South Africa would harm blacks, he said US firms had for years enjoyed the benefits of "black misery and suffering in the form of cheap labour" but until recently few corporations had expressed concern about the plight of the black workers.

"Why have you suddenly become so altruistic?" he asked.

Bishop Tutu said large corporations in South Africa could be a far greater force for good.

"I would want to see them using the leverage, the clout, that they certainly have."

The fact that he could be charged in South Africa for encouraging disinvestment was evidence of how crucial foreign investment was to the government, he said.

International pressure

Asked whether sanctions could really be effective when history showed they seldom were, Bishop Tutu said they had not been applied effectively.

A good example of international pressure achieving its goal was that of the sports boycott against South Africa.

"Apartheid has been stood on its head," the bishop said, and the country now had multiracial sport.

He was asked whether sanctions against South Africa would not hurt blacks the most.

"No one would say 'let there be more suffering'," he said, "but it is interesting to see who opposes international pressure: it is the white people who benefit from the repressive system..." and black homeland leaders.

He said his calls for international pressure on South Africa had never been repudiated by "relevant" black leaders. — Sapa

CARE TIMES 11/12/84

Bomb threat as Tutu speaks

From JOHN BATTERSBY
OSLO. — An anonymous bomb threat interrupted the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony for the first time in its 83-year history yesterday moments before the Bishop-elect of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu — the 1984 recipient — was due to make his acceptance speech.

By last night no-one had claimed responsibility for the bomb threat and speculation ranged from right-wing groups in Norway to agents of the South African Government.

The Norwegian Prime Minister, Mr Kare Willoch, said in an interview: "I am astonished that this kind of thing can happen in a peaceful country like

Norway. Next year there will have to be much tighter security."

King Olav V of Norway and Crown Prince Harald were the first to be escorted from the packed hall when an organizer interrupted the ceremony at 1.28pm to announce that there had been a threat that a bomb would explode in seven minutes.

The bomb scare led to a unique Nobel ceremony which included the singing of "liberation songs" by more than 1 000 people in front of the hall and the assembling of an impromptu African choir by Bishop Tutu, imposing in a floor-length magenta cassock.

The Tutu "choir", made up largely of his family and colleagues from South

Africa, sang African songs and ended with "Nkosi Sikelele Y Afrika".

During the hour-long wait on the steps, Bishop Tutu chatted animatedly with the Norwegian Prime Minister, kissed and hugged children, accepted a sheepskin jacket to keep him warm and received a posy of carnations from a representative of the Polish trade union movement Solidarity.

Members of the public came off the streets to join more than 600 Norwegian politicians, diplomats and church leaders and at one point broke into spontaneous singing of the song "We shall overcome . . . someday".

During the singing, the crowd improvised after the first three verses with

"Tutu shall set us free . . . Tutu shall set us free . . . Tutu shall set us free someday."

On the steps security officials battled to keep journalists and the public from mobbing Bishop Tutu.

Asked whether he had been scared, Bishop Tutu laughed: "We have had these in South Africa. I never thought for one moment it would go off."

When the ceremony was resumed in the hall after no bomb had been found, Bishop Tutu began his speech: "As I was about to say before we were somewhat interrupted . . ."

- Nobel prize challenges SA, page 3
- Picture, page 4
- White skin a 'disadvantage', page 5

mom 12/12/84 (11A)

High treason charges go back a long time

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter
THE high treason charges against six prominent members of the United Democratic Front relate to activities that date back to before the formation of the UDF.

Although no detailed charge sheet was presented when the six appeared in court on Monday, it was stated that the charges related to activities between 1981 and 1984.

Since the UDF was only formed in 1983, this implies that the charges also relate to their activities in the Anti-South African Indian Council (Anti-SAIC) campaign in 1981 and in the Release Mandela Campaign.

It is understood that the trial is expected to last between 12 and 18 months and the State intends calling more than 150 witnesses.

This sets the scene for a long and complicated trial with the State attempting to paint a detailed and diverse picture of treason.

Of the six accused, at least four played key roles in the Anti-SAIC campaign. These were Dr Essop Jassat, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr George Sewpersadh, president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Mr Mewa Ramgobin, NIC vice-president, and Mr M J Naidoo, also of the NIC.

The other two — Mr Curtis Nkondo and Mr Aubrey Mokoena — are respectively the chairman and publicity secretary of the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal.

All six have also been prominent in the UDF in the past year.

Apart from high treason, they are facing alternative charges of subversion and furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

This follows the pattern of the last few years, when

political activists have generally faced trial under ordinary criminal law — for treason or murder — with alternative charges under the Internal Security Act.

This trial is one of a huge spate of political trials scheduled for the next few months.

According to the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), more than 30 political trials involving 160 people are scheduled for this month.

Another 19 trials involving about 104 people have already been scheduled for January, and nine trials involving 93 people are scheduled for February.

Most arise from the recent unrest and stayaway, and involve charges of public violence, attending illegal gatherings, possessing banned literature or subversion.

● The TIC said yesterday the only crime committed by the six opposition leaders charged with high treason this week was that they had "unwaveringly resisted the crime of apartheid".

The TIC welcomed the release of their vice-president, Dr Saloojee, and others, but deplored the treason charges laid against their president, Dr Jassat, and five others.

The TIC has called a public protest meeting in Fordsburg on tomorrow night.

"In the eyes of our people these leaders are innocent. We call for their immediate and unconditional release," it said.

The TIC statement also said that it did not consider the release from detention of Dr Saloojee and others as an act of good faith by the Government.

"On the contrary, it is our contention that they should not have been detained in the first place," it said.

12/12/84
11A

If Govt and ANC talk . . .

By CHRIS FREIMOND

Political Correspondent

THERE appeared to be considerable common ground between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Government, but the prospect of talks between the two seemed remote, a Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, reported yesterday.

A senior Beeld journalist, Piet Muller, spent five hours talking to ANC officials in Lusaka recently.

In the first of a series of articles published yesterday, he explored the possibility of dialogue between the ANC and the Government.

The report came in the wake of recent calls by a leading businessman, Mr Tony Bloom of the Premier Group, and an Afrikaans academic, Professor Willie Esterhuysen, for talks between the ANC and the Government.

In yesterday's article Mr Muller said:

- There were pro-dialogue members in the ANC.
- If talks ever took place, it was clear there was enough common ground for "fruitful" discussions on a broad front.
- A major point of disagreement appeared to be on economic policy with the ANC wanting far greater State control of big business.

Rajbansi

Cap & Tint

opposes cabinet

12/12/80

NA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE sole Indian member of the cabinet, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party, has spoken out against the government's policy of detention without trial.

Mr Rajbansi said that all remaining detainees in South African prisons should either be charged or released.

He was reacting to the government's decision this week to release detainees under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Rajbansi is a member of the cabinet by virtue of his chairmanship of the Indian Minister's Council.

'Encouraging'

The minister welcomed the latest move as "very encouraging" but emphasized that he stood by the policy of his party rather than that of the government.

"The policy of my party opposes detention without trial and even though I am a member of the cabinet, I cannot deviate from this policy."

In taking this stand, Mr Rajbansi becomes the

first person of colour in the cabinet to differ openly with government policy on a significant issue.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who is also a cabinet minister, has not been available for comment on this issue for the past two days.

He and Mr Rajbansi have been criticized recently for their "deafening silence" on controversial issues like forced removals and detentions, which significantly affect their communities.

Although strongly critical of the government in the run-up to the August elections, both are now effectively part of the government.

Both are also bound by the principle of joint cabinet responsibility and are obliged to get the consent of the State President, Mr P W Botha, before publicly differing with government policy.

This has routinely produced some awkward silences in the face of controversial government actions that extra-parliamentary political groups have been at pains to highlight.

Former PAC leader slain in Soweto

12/12/84

11A

By Langa Skosana

The former secretary of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Mathew Zwelinzima Mgaju, was found dead in Soweto about a week ago. He had suffered a fatal head wound.

His body was taken to the Government mortuary in Soweto where it was kept for several days before his sister, Mrs Grace Sebakadi, traced it there.

Mr Mgaju was a top

lieutenant of Mr Robert Sobukwe, the former leader of the organisation who died about seven years ago while banned and restricted to Kimberley.

The two men were among the thousands who marched to Orlando police station on March 21 1960 to protest against passes for blacks. On that day 69 anti-pass protesters were shot dead at Sharpeville, near Vereeniging.

His mother, Mrs Mabel

Mgaju, said yesterday that Mr Mgaju also served three years on Robben Island for sabotage after being found guilty in 1962 of bombing pylons in Johannesburg, Durban and the Eastern Cape.

She said Mr Mgaju met his death about a week ago when he left the family home to visit friends in the township. When he did not return the family thought he was away working.

BROTHER

At that time the family was also making arrangements to travel to Transkei for the unveiling of a tombstone for Mr Mgaju's elder brother, Lawrence, also a staunch member of the Pan Africanist Congress, who died four years ago.

Some members of Mr Mgaju's family left for Transkei for the tombstone unveiling which took place last Saturday, hoping to meet him there.

Orlando police are investigating the death.

, says Tutu

South Africa in grip of civil war

CARE TIME 12/12/86 11A 28/3063

From JOHN BATTERSBY
OSLO. — South Africa was in the grip of civil war and would remain so until apartheid was finally dismantled, Bishop Desmond Tutu said in his 1984 Nobel lecture here yesterday.

Addressing more than 600 people in the Oslo University auditorium, Bishop Tutu called on both sides to "beat our swords into ploughshares" in a spirit of reconciliation, justice and peace.

For the first time ever, more than a dozen plainclothes and uniformed police officers stood guard inside and outside the Aula Reception Hall, where Bishop Tutu accepted the 1984

Nobel Peace Prize on Monday, as spectators arrived for the traditional open lecture. Plastic shopping bags and handbags were checked after the bomb scare which delayed Monday's ceremony.

Before Bishop Tutu began the lecture, he asked his colleagues from the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and his family to stand in recognition of the fact that he had received the 1984 Nobel Peace prize in a "representative" capacity.

In his lecture Bishop Tutu said violence was already endemic in the South African situation.

"Violence is not being introduced

into the South African situation *de novo* from outside by those who are called terrorists or freedom fighters - depending on whether you are oppressed or an oppressor. The South African situation is violent already, and the primary violence is that of apartheid.

"It is the violence of forced population removals, of inferior education, of detention without trial, of the migratory labour systems.

"Unrest is endemic and will remain an unchanging feature of the South African scene until apartheid — the root cause of it all — is finally dismantled.

"At this time the army is being quartered on the civilian population.

"There is a civil war being waged. South Africans are on either side.

"When the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress were banned in 1960 they declared they had no option but to carry out the armed struggle.

"We in the South African Council of Churches have said that are opposed to all forms of violence — that of an oppressive and unjust system and that of those who seek to overthrow the system.

"However, we have added that we understand those who say they have

had to adopt what is a last resort for them."

Bishop Tutu added: "... There is war on the border of our country. South Africans face fellow South Africans. ...

"There is no peace in southern Africa. There is no peace because there is no justice.

"There can be no real peace and security until there be first justice enjoyed by all the inhabitants of that beautiful land.

"... In dehumanizing others, they are dehumanizing themselves. Perhaps oppression dehumanizes the oppressor as much as, if not more

than, the oppressed.

"They need each other to become truly free to become human. Let us work to be peacemakers, let us beat our swords into ploughshares," Bishop Tutu said.

● Sapa-Reuter reports that the Norwegian Commerce and Shipping Minister, Mr Asbjørn Haugstvedt, told Parliament yesterday that his country would press for an international trade boycott against South Africa.

Mr Haugstvedt said a government-appointed committee would soon recommend measures to reduce trade and shipping links with South

Africa.

He said he had already contacted his counterparts in the United States, Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark and other Nordic countries to coordinate action.

"We neither can nor should give up our efforts on this issue and the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Bishop Tutu, must in future be able to say that Norway is at the forefront on this matter," he said.

Norway's official Lutheran Church has long campaigned for a ban on oil shipments to South Africa, saying Norwegian tankers carry almost half the oil imported by South Africa.

3 to leave consulate

CARE TIMES 12/12/86

— expect to be held

(10) (120) (520) (114)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The three opposition leaders in the British Consulate here will leave the building this afternoon — the 90th day of their sit-in — expecting to be welcomed by a large crowd of supporters . . . and policemen waiting to arrest them.

The acting president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Dr Farouk Meer, announced late yesterday afternoon that the men would leave the consulate at 4.30pm.

The three men — United Democratic Front (UDF) president Mr Archie Gumede and NIC members Mr Billy Nair and Mr Paul David — occupied the consular offices in September. With them were three other NIC members — Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr M J Naidoo.

The latter three left the building on October 6 but were detained and appeared in court this week in connection with allegations of treason after all Section 28 detention notices were

withdrawn two days ago.

Dr Meer said that although no official notice had been given that the three men would be arrested as soon as they left the consulate, the police presence had been strengthened since Monday in the vicinity of the Barclays Bank building where the dissidents have been hiding.

Dr Meer said the three dissidents did not fear the consequences of their decision to leave the consulate.

"We know that a long and hard struggle awaits our people and we are prepared to play whatever role is necessary in that struggle."

A Foreign Office spokesman in London last night welcomed the fugitives' decision.

The Foreign Office said earlier yesterday it was confident the men would leave following discussions with them when the dissidents were told to quit immediately.

"We have always hoped that this difficult problem could be brought to an end by the three men leaving voluntarily. We are naturally glad that they have decided to do so," the spokesman said.

'Atrocities'

Their departure today will end a three-month diplomatic crisis which strained relations between London and Pretoria.

Dr Meer, reading from a statement signed by the fugitives, said they had entered the British consulate to focus attention on detention without trial and to expose to the world "the atrocities committed by the South African Government".

Further, they had done so to give Britain an opportunity to match "its verbal condemnation of detention without trial with effective and appropriate action".

It had successfully focused attention on detention without trial and had forced the government to withdraw all detention orders under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, they said.

'Ignominious role'

However, the men strongly criticized both the British and American governments.

They referred to the "ignominious role" of the British Government, which had "clearly played a role supportive of the South African Government and acted in collusion with it".

Referring to the fact that six of their colleagues had been charged this week, they said the US policy of constructive engagement had succeeded in securing a treason trial which could carry the death penalty.

At the same press conference, UDF publicity

To page 2



afternoon rush-hour traffic and will afford the three maximum publicity.

This could bring a tense ending to the sit-in and the NIC and UDF have appealed to police to be restrained.

The fugitives have asked the British authorities to permit the men to see their families and to permit a prayer meeting and press conference to be held in the building before they leave it.

secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the release of detainees did not represent a change of heart by the South African Government.

The small number of detainees that were released were obviously handpicked and selected to decorate the constructive-engagement policy.

The planned departure time from the consulate coincides with



From page 1

cop gle

On November 22
e has paid a de-
of R2 500. The
is to be paid in
ly instalments
January next year.

lawyers

money will be
the firm of law-
who handled Ms
ane's estate.

yesterday after-
both parties in-
in the house dis-
decided that Ms
e should contin-
ing in the house
an appeal which
heard in the Su-
Court soon.

gress

Lenz — Enva
a at 852-9620.
information re-
the journey can
ained at the
head-office, tele-
(11) 23-0112, 23-
23-0268 and
Gumbi at 933-

s will depart
Dube Y at 7 pm
St Hilda's,
e at 8 pm.



VROOM, VROOM! That's young Lesego Dikobe going places on her little scooter.



11A

**THE UNITED Demo-
cratic Front (UDF), in
conjunction with other
organisations, yesterday
called on the community
to avoid all unnecessary
expenditure on luxuries
and surplus goods dur-
ing the festive season.**

The organisation also
requested people to
avoid all arrangement of
or participation in func-
tions normally asso-
ciated with this period.
At a Press conference in
Johannesburg yester-
day, the UDF said it ap-
peals to the community
to observe a "Black
Christmas" between De-
cember 16 and 26.

The UDF said: "How-
ever, there are some
functions which appear
to be unavoidable, like
family gatherings and
cultural gatherings
which may have been ar-
ranged a long time ago.
We want to make an ap-
peal to those involved in
these gatherings to ob-
serve a silence of at least
10 minutes."

The UDF stated that
the call is intended to
impose self sacrifices in
order to strengthen the
solidarity and unity of
the community.

A number of meetings
have been planned in
which issues will be cla-
rified.

The meetings will be
at: Avalon Cineam,
Fordsburg at 8 pm to-
night, and speakers will
include Mr Terror Le-
kota, and Mrs Albertina
Sisulu; on Sunday there
will be a meeting at the
St Bartholomew Angli-
can Church, Kagiso 2
and speakers will be Dr
Allan Boesak, Miss
Amanda Kwadi, Sister
Barnard Mncube and
Terror Lekota; and at
Regina Mundi where
speakers will be Dr Al-
lan Boesak, Peter Mo-
koena, Popo Molefe and
Mr Oscar Mphetha

out of Ellis Park festival

follow suit.

At a meeting held in the Johan-
nesburg office of producer Koloi
Lebowa, Stanley Nkosi rep-
resenting the Soul Brothers, and
Dipho Mabuse of Harari said they
were displeased at the "disres-
pectful" way in which black

musicians were treated in this
country.

They expressed disapproval of
the way in which the organiser of
the show, Hilton Rosenthal,
manager of Juluka, had gone
about organising the show with-
out first consulting them.

nyosi funeral on Saturday

TRIAL service of the late Mr
Manyosi, who died in a hail
a day before the mayoral
st week, will be held at the
ouncil Chambers on Satur-
day ceremony.

Manyosi, who was chairman of
ement committee at the
his death, was tipped to
former mayor, Mr Eph-
alala.

The night before the elections, Mr
Manyosi was tipped off that his life
was in danger and he decided to
spend the night at another coun-
cillor's house. As he drove in his car
to the hideout, he was shot dead

The procession will leave Mr Man-
yosi's house at 9 am for the council
chambers and the service will start at
10.30. The cortege will leave for the
Avalon Cemetery at 2 pm.

Sowetan
13/12/84

SP men harassed us - Azapo

Sewster
13/12/84
11A
~~11A~~

TWO executive members of the newly formed branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) in Thokoza this week claimed they have been harassed by members of the Security Police at their homes.

According to the chairman of Azapo's East Rand branch, Mr Frans Pale, the two who were allegedly visited by members of the South African Security Police, on December 6, are Mr Mafatshe Mokoena, secretary of the region, and Mr Thabo Bodibe who is the treasurer. The Thokoza branch was formed about three weeks ago.

The public relations division of the South African Police in Pretoria yesterday said they could not comment on routine investigations performed by their members and therefore do not see their way clear to even enquire as to whether the allegation mentioned, is true or not.

The police said: "It is not the policy of the South African Police to harass people. We do, however, of necessity

regularly have to question people in the performance of our duties. Should anyone believe that the police have acted unlawfully in the execution of this function, they may submit affidavits to their nearest police station, whereafter their complaints will receive the necessary attention."

Abhor

The region issued a statement saying: "We abhor the action of the Security Police aimed at our members. We are moving towards Azania and there is nothing that can stop us, and that includes the senseless harassment from the police. We appeal to our members to remain vigilant and dedicated to the noble task of liberating our motherland."

According to Azapo, Mr Mokoena was visited by four black security policemen who wanted him to provide them with addresses of all members of the branch's new executive. Mr Bodibe was said to have been out when his home was visited, but his family said they were told to advise him to stay out of the organisation.

Mercury 13/12/84

Social worker on ANC charges

Mercury Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG—Detained social worker Maxine Hart, 25, appeared yesterday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in connection with allegations that she took part in activities of the outlawed African National Congress.

She was not asked to plead, but charges allege that Miss Hart 'unlawfully and intentionally took part in an activity of an unlawful organisation,' namely the ANC.

Lengthy details of charges included allegations that Miss Hart brought an ANC propaganda tape recording from Botswana to South

Africa, distributed pamphlets in Eldorado Park advocating a boycott of the coloured and Indian elections, tried to obtain maps of parts of South Africa, and sent reports to the ANC in Botswana.

Miss Hart, of Webb Street, Yeoville, Johannesburg, has been in detention since September 11.

Bail was refused by the Attorney-General in terms of Section 30 (1) of the Internal Security Act.

The hearing was postponed to January 3 1985, a trial.

The magistrate was Mr J Pretorius, Mr B Coetzer prosecuted and Mrs K Satchwell defended.

Sawetor 13/12/84

11A

Azapo to hold national congress

By ALI MPHAKI

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation will hold its fifth annual national congress at the Retreat Civic Centre in Cape Town this weekend.

Theme of the congress is "Umbutho We Sizwe — Resist, Defend and Advance."

All 93 branches of the organisation throughout the country will send their delegates, and one of the most outspoken critics of apartheid in America, Louis Farakhan, has been invited to address the congress.

Solidarity

Mr Farakhan has been invited to speak on "The Question of Global Solidarity Among Oppressed People."

Although by late yesterday it was unclear if Farakhan has obtained his visa, it is said that if he fails, he will send a recorded speech to the congress.

Several anti-apartheid organisations and the public have been invited to debate issues.

Papers to be delivered by speakers include "Building the National towards Socialism" and "Boycotts and Strikes as a Strategy in our Struggle."

13/12/84
11A

Merry

'Celebrate a black Christmas' says UDF

JOHANNESBURG—The United Democratic Front and several other organisations yesterday called for South Africans to celebrate a 'black Christ-

mas' between December 16-26.

The UDF's assistant general secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said at a news conference that the

organisations were calling on people to 'impose self-sacrifices in order to strengthen the solidarity and unity of our people'.

The UDF was emphasising the 'spirit of co-operation and voluntary participation'.

A statement released by the organisation asked people to avoid 'all unnecessary expenditure on luxuries and surplus goods' and avoid arranging or participating in functions normally associated with the festive period.

Those involved in festive gatherings should 'observe a silence of at least 10 minutes to note the events taking place in our country', the statement added.

Mr Amos Masondo, an executive member of the Soweto Civic Association, which supported the call, said people should not 'lapse into a mood of festivity'.

'We should seek ways and means of redoubling the effort towards liberation,' Mr Masondo said.
— (Sapa)

13/12/84 (11A)

JDF in Black Christmas call to those committed to change-

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Black Christmas, called as a sign of protest and mourning at detentions and township deaths and injuries, is a time of self-sacrifice to strengthen solidarity, says the United Democratic Front. "It is an attempt to win people on to the side of those committed to change," it adds.

"Voluntary co-operation is imperative and coercion would be counter-productive."

At a Press conference yesterday the United Democratic Front clarified what political, community and labour organisations expected of observers of the Black Christmas, extending from December 16 to December 26.

They should refrain from expenditure on luxuries and avoid

arranging or attending festive functions.

Where standing arrangements for family gatherings and cultural events existed and could not be called off, the UDF appealed:

"Observe a silence of at least 10 minutes to note the events now taking place in our country."

An appeal has gone out to churches to make a special note in Christmas Day services of detainees, the unemployed, those who gave their lives to the struggle and those dying of hunger in the bantustans.

The UDF will be organising meetings starting on December

16, when Dr Allan Boesak will address gatherings in Kagiso and Soweto.

The Soweto gathering will take place at Regina Mundi at 2 pm and other speakers will be UDF president Mr Oscar Mpetha and general secretary Mr Popo Molefe.

At Kagiso's St Bartholomew Anglican Church the meeting will also start at 2 pm and will feature Federation of Transvaal Women president Sister Bernard Ncube and UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota.

Community groups are actively promoting the Black Christmas in East and West Rand townships, the Vaal, Pretoria and Alexandra.

The Alexandra Youth Congress is to meet shebeeners to gain their support.

A UDF spokesman said that in parts of the country which were in a state of siege, such as Tembisa and the Vaal, people had absolutely nothing to celebrate and the Black Christmas was a direct outgrowth of such conditions.

But, he added, progressive people beyond the townships and removed from such conditions were also expected to respond to the Christmas protest.

"It is a demonstration of solidarity with families whose loved ones died and those who were maimed or detained," said Mr Molefe, adding that the Black Christmas should not be confused with a simple consumer boycott.

13/12/80
11A

Pamphlet calls Pebco 'useless dirty fools'

AN ANONYMOUS pamphlet criticising the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation and praising the Kayamandi Town Council and its Mayor, Mr Thamsanqa Linda, was distributed in Port Elizabeth townships and on buses today.

The pamphlet, issued by "residents", has as its heading "Alukho ukwayo - No boycott by these useless dirty fools - UDF affiliates".

It attacked the boycott of liquor outlets belonging to the East Cape Development Board and all businesses operated by members of the Kayamandi Town Council.

The boycott, launched by Pebco on Monday, is in protest against the council's refusal to let organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front use community halls.

Reacting to the pam-

phlet. Mr Ernest Malgas, an executive member of Pebco, said ~~that~~ ^{he} suspected who the authors of the pamphlet were.

"We would like these so-called 'residents' to make these allegations at a mass meeting so that we can act legally on them," he said.

"I can only say the whole pamphlet is laughable..."

Mr Malgas said the boycott was agreed on by the majority of the residents and it was now clear both the council and the ECDB were feeling the pressure.

The pamphlet states that after every meeting by "these" organisations in the community halls, buses and cars were stoned.

It praises the council's involvement in cleaning the township. In pamphlets distributed by Pebco at the weekend, the filthy state of the Red Location and the absence of doors on public toilets were criticised.

music summer schools

CARL

~~16 327 329~~ 11A

Times, Thursday, December 13, 1984 11

Rifkind: Why did charges take so long?

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The British Government has expressed concern that it has taken three months to bring charges of treason against fugitives who took shelter in its Durban Consulate on September 13 this year.

Mr Malcolm Rifkind, British Foreign Office Minister responsible for Africa, told the Cape Times in an exclusive interview last night that while he welcomed the lifting of detention orders on 11 South Africans he was concerned that the charges of treason brought against six of them were "fairly serious".

Noting the wide definition of treason in South African law, Mr Rifkind said: "The question must be asked why — in the case of those in the consulate — could they (the charges) not have been brought three months ago. They have been in the consulate for three months and have not been able to commit an offence in that time. It would obviously have been in everyone's interest if they could have been brought at the very beginning of the whole episode."

He said the British Government's position had taken into account all along that the men in the consulate had made clear that they would be happy to leave if they were charged with specific offences and allowed to defend themselves in court.

Coventry Four pose a problem

Answering questions in the House of Commons earlier yesterday, Mr Rifkind broke the news to the British parliament that the remaining three fugitives had quit and said this "removes a difficult problem and will improve our ability to make representations to the South African Government on matters of concern".

He was not aware at the time of his announcement that two of the three — Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Paul David — had been arrested.

Speaking in an interview later, Mr Rifkind told me that the South African Government's non-return of the "Coventry Four" continued to pose a "very serious problem" in bilateral relations.

"Clearly assurances by the South African Government can no longer be relied upon to the extent that might have been thought possible," he said.

"In future if the South African Government hopes for action based on its assurances it is unlikely to be thought by others to be a sufficient basis for any decision that might be taken.

"We continue to emphasize to the South African Government that there is no justification for their failure to honour a pledge to return the Coventry Four . . . and we still hope that it may examine the damage being done to its international relations by a failure to honour a pledge and may still redeem the pledge," Mr Rifkind said.

S
is
a
w
n
S
e
z
d
c
h
o-
ly
in
Ir
is
ly
n

DURBAN

3

Times 13/12/84

end sit-in, two arrested

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Durban Three walked out of the British Consulate here at 4.30pm yesterday — ending their three-month-long sit-in — but two of the men were arrested by security police as they stepped out of the lift.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said last night that the two — United Democratic Front president Mr Archie Gumede and Natal Indian Congress executive member Mr Paul David — will appear in court today on charges of treason.

The third man, former Robben Island prisoner Mr Billy Nair, was carried out of the building shoulder-high by his supporters to thunderous applause by the large crowd which overflowed into Field and Smith streets.

Mr Gumede and Mr David were taken away by plainclothes policemen through a back door of the building.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night welcomed the end to the sit-in and, at the same time, denied that South Africa had bowed to pressure from abroad to release detainees.

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr



Mr Billy Nair is carried shoulder-high by supporters as he leaves the consulate.

Patrick Moberley, also welcomed the development saying: "Well it's a relief that the long sit-in is over."

Asked in an interview with TV news whether there had been any pressure on the government from abroad to release Section 28 detainees, Mr Botha said: "The South African Government remained resolute not to

give in to pressure. If we were to give in, it should have been sooner."

The Minister of Law and Order had applied the law, "namely in an overheated climate ... he had the right, and probably the duty, in terms of that section of the law (Section 28) to remove certain people from the overheated climate. And when the climate changed he had the duty to take another look at the situation. In other words he gave effect to a South African law", he said.

Sapa-AP reports that the British Foreign Office Minister, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, said he was "perturbed" about the arrest of Mr Gumede and Mr David.

Opposition Labour Party foreign-affairs spokesman Mr Don Anderson, who visited the three men in the consulate, asked Mr Rifkind in the Commons: "Now that these three brave men are no longer in the consulate will you adopt a rather more robust view about the 'Coventry Four' in relation to South Africa?"

Mr Anderson was referring to four South Africans charged in Coventry with arms smuggling and who did not return to Britain to stand trial in

what the South African Government said was a reprisal for Britain harbouring the dissidents.

Mr Rifkind replied to Mr Anderson: "We have already indicated our great concern at the refusal of the South African Government to return the 'Coventry Four'."

Outside the consulate in Field Street a contingent of uniformed policemen battled to control the crowd of about 3 000. A section of Field and Smith streets were closed to traffic and police dogs were used to keep the onlookers off the streets.

After a lengthy press conference and a meeting with family members the fugitives left the consulate. They waved to the large crowd below from a seventh-floor window.

After a short speech in which he gave a firm commitment to work towards a free South Africa, Mr Nair was carried away by his supporters down Field Street.

Mr Nair said they decided to leave the sanctuary of the consulate because of the withdrawal of their Section 28 detention orders by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

"We realized the possibility of us facing charges of treason. We are prepared to face it as part of our struggle for a free South Africa."

Mr Nair said he had not served 20 years in Robben Island for nothing and that he was not afraid of being arrested.

"I didn't mind being arrested today because the fight will continue even though I had been freed," he said, adding that both Mr David and Mr Gumede had vowed, as they parted, to continue with the struggle for a free South Africa.

● Why did charges take so long?, page 11

It COSTS LESS at

Grand

Bazaars AND Ultramarkets

FARM FRESH

CUCUMBERS

10c

By P
M
th
is
De
ye
re
by
)
tel
pr
of
ed
pa
nu
th
sh
M
De
ca
wl
ter
lar
ba
be
wl
uc
W
ar
er

Ebrahim retracts UWC statements

Education Reporter

THE Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, yesterday backed down on his assertion that he would take steps to weed out "undesirable elements" at the University of the Western Cape, and acknowledged he had no powers in the matter of university admissions.

The acknowledgement came after he and the UWC rector, Professor Richard van der Ross, met yesterday morning for urgent discussions on a report which appeared in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper which quoted Mr Ebrahim as saying he intended to introduce more stringent entrance qualifications for the University of the Western Cape to "weed out" undesirable elements on the campus.

Mr Ebrahim was reported to have said that

in the present system the "holes of the net" were too wide. The entrance qualification of a 45 per cent matric pass mark should be increased to at least 50 percent, he was quoted as saying.

A joint statement issued after yesterday's meeting said it had been agreed that as the university was an autonomous institution, the minister had "no powers in the matter of university admission". University discipline was also "a matter for the university authorities".

The statement said: "The remarks in the relevant newspaper report therefore fall away."

The minister's private secretary, Mr S Ohlsson, confirmed yesterday that Mr Ebrahim was quoted correctly in the report and that in his meeting with Professor Van der Ross he had withdrawn the statements he had made.

Cape Times 13/12/84
(111) 3437

Attacks on house of Soweto's new mayor

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Barely 30 hours after Mr Edward Kunene's election as mayor of Soweto, his house was fire-bombed four times early yesterday causing damage estimated at R2 000.

Two of the four bombs were thrown at the children's bedroom, while the other two were hurled at the sitting-room.

Flames burnt expensive curtaining, a sofa and a carpet, but prompt action by the mayor's

nephew Sipho saved the house from being gutted.

Mr Kunene said the bombing had been a well-organized operation by those not wanting to give up their leadership seats even when they had been democratically defeated.

He also related the incident to the death of Mr Eddie Manyosi, who was assassinated in a Soweto street soon after his party caucus had nominated him to challenge Mr E T Tshabalala for the mayoralty.

"There are those powermongers who do not want to give up their leadership positions even when they are no longer recognized as leaders of the people. They are bitter because they have lost.

"But bombing my house will not by any means change the course

of events," said Mr Kunene.

"We are not cowards. If they want to keep on doing it (firebombing) let them kill all of us. I shall never give up."

Councillor Joseph Khumalo, a staunch supporter of the assassinated Mr Manyosi, also accused the "power-mongers" of being responsible for organizing the petrol-bombing.

The former mayor, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, said: "I sympathize with Mr Kunene and hope that those responsible for the bombing will be brought before a court of law."

Brigadier J C Coetzee, Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, confirmed the fire-bombing. He said the matter was being investigated and it was hoped this would be completed as soon as possible.

Beeld calls for govt-ANC talks

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, called yesterday for talks between the government and extra-parliamentary opposition groups such as the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

The call, made in an editorial comment, could signify an important new strategy by Nationalist "verligtes" to press for political reform.

Although hope of talks between the government and the ANC is not new in some Nationalist Party circles, the idea has never before been widely expressed in public.

Yesterday's call came with the publication in Beeld of a second report of a recent five-hour interview with ANC leaders in Lusaka by a senior Beeld journalist, Dr Piet Muller.

Beeld's editorial said

the question of talks with extra-parliamentary groups struck a raw nerve in South African politics.

The first reaction of any government worth its salt would be to reject such a suggestion because it would undermine its authority.

But when significant numbers of citizens had no direct political representation, the situation changed somewhat.

In such a case a government had a duty to listen to what might be regarded as unorthodox voices. If it did not, it might not hear important messages in time.

One of the biggest problems was to decide when the time was ripe to talk. Unfortunately people usually realized too late that they let opportunities slip through their fingers. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was a good example, Beeld said.

It required courage

and conviction for a government to talk to extra-parliamentary groups, even if the talks took place in secret.

Even the possibility of such talks could give new hope for the future to millions of people.

A future that was acceptable to all could only be planned by everyone together, Beeld said.

A former editor of Beeld, Mr T Vosloo, who is now managing director of the newspaper's parent company, Nasionale Pers, once caused a minor storm by writing that discussions between the Nationalist government and the ANC to plan South Africa's future were inevitable.

After his interview, Dr Muller concluded that there was a group within the ANC that was prepared to talk to the government and that there was common ground between the organization and the Nationalists.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Socialist preview?

(11A)
Em 14/12/84

The future of Black Consciousness (BC) will come under the spotlight during a series of conferences in Cape Town this weekend. It is possible that a more formal socialist path could be mapped out for the movement, which has tended to load ideological rhetoric on top of a preoccupation with black self-reliance and liberation.

One thing the meetings will be is controversial. The black American activist Louis Farrakheen of "The Nation of Islam" group has been invited to deliver a keynote address on "Global solidarity among oppressed peoples."

Even in American terms, Farrakheen is controversial. It was he, as a supporter of Jesse Jackson, who caused a major row in the American presidential primaries with his threatening and anti-Semitic remarks. In the (highly likely) event of government refusing him a visa, Farrakheen has been asked to send a tape-recording of his speech.

Groups within the BC fold, primarily the



Saths Cooper ... in line for president of Azapo

Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), are in opposition to supporters of the Freedom Charter, a roughly socialist, humanitarian document supported by both the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the banned ANC.

The BC meetings start on Friday when the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) executive council meets at Hanover Park. Azasm intends discussing "the urgency of the crisis in black education." It will also take up the question of drawing up a constitution for students' representative councils — a major issue in this year's black school boycotts.

The BC approach on educational matters is seen as particularly important because Azasm's charterist rivals, the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), made most of the running in the school boycott. Azasm needs to catch up.

The BC umbrella organisation, the National Forum (NF), intends holding a workshop in Athlone on Sunday to discuss streamlining its operations and tightening its central structure. The August anti-election campaign will also be reviewed, and an anti-conscription campaign launched.

The BC meetings reach a climax with Azapo's fifth national congress, at which Farrakheen is supposed to speak, on December 17 and 18. Saths Cooper, the current vice-president, may be elected president of Azapo in place of Muntu Myeza.

Post 14/12/84

Nair wants to address UN (11A)

Post Correspondent

DURBAN — Mr Billy Nair, one of the three men who ended their sit-in in the British consulate offices in Durban earlier this week, applied today for a passport to visit the United States to address the United Nations.

Mr Nair received the invitation along with several other United Democratic Front leaders about two months ago during his sit-in.

They were invited to address the special

committee of the United Nations on apartheid.

He said today that he had made an application for the passport early this morning and would "await events".

He claimed that the sacrifices made as a result of the sit-in had been "well worthwhile".

He said that the "struggle" against apartheid would continue and he would persist in that struggle.

'It was like Robben Island, except we got results'

Star 15/12/84 (11A)

Life in the consulate horrendous, says Nair

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Life in the Durban British Consulate for three United Democratic Front leaders was like being on Robben Island, Mr Billy Nair, the only man to walk away free from the building this week, said yesterday.

Mr Nair spoke to *The Star* of the three months he, Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Paul David spent in a tiny room in the consulate.

"It was as horrendous as being in jail; the only difference was that it achieved something concrete," he said.

Both Mr Gumede and Mr Davis were arrested when they left the consulate and charged with high treason.

"We did what we did to focus world attention on detention without trial and to force the Government to withdraw section 28 detention orders against us. We achieved both objectives," Mr Nair said.

Billy Nair knows what he's talking about when he speaks of Robben Island — he spent the last 20 years of his life there after being convicted in 1964 of sabotage, a charge he still denies.

He told of increasing pressure from the British Government to force them out of the building and into the arms of the Security Police.

Mr Nair said they had exposed the South African Government when three of the original six men who sought refuge in the consulate walked out and were instantly detained.

"British officials said they did not believe the Security Police would arrest us in or around the building if we left. We decided to test whether they were right and three men left.

"We also wanted to expose the double dealing of the South African Government which did not send the Coventry arms smugglers back to Britain to face trial because, it said, the London Government was hiding us.

"Three of us left but the South Africans still did not return, which exposed the lie.

"To link the two cases was absurd. The four South Africans were facing criminal charges while we faced detention without trial."

He said the British Government had made life increasingly difficult for them. The consulate staff was under orders not to provide anything but the basics.

"They provided a portable chemical toilet, which we tried not to use too much, and allowed us the use of two small sinks at the end of a passage where we could clean ourselves every night. We were not allowed to use this facility during the day."

The food for the men came from family and supporters on the outside and the men all slept on the floor.

Mr Nair denied that the presence of the men in the building could possibly have disrupted the normal functioning of the consulate.

"The office we occupied was a small reception area with seven chairs, a carpet, two tables and some bookshelves. I think that by



Mr Billy Nair . . . "we achieved something concrete."

claiming we were disrupting the consulate's routine the British Government hoped to add even more pressure," Mr Nair added.

"There were allegations that we were fugitives from justice and should either come out or the British should throw us out. This is absolute nonsense. We were seeking refuge from detention without trial and the instant the Government withdrew our detention orders we left the consulate."

He said the men knew it would not be a pleasure to live there.

"I think we expected most of what happened to us, but we were determined to sit it out and make our point against detention without trial — and we succeeded in doing that very well."

11A ~~309A~~ E. Post
ANC: shock Nat Press move

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic development, a major Afrikaans Nationalist Press group this week published a series of interviews with the banned African National Congress, vanguard of African nationalist movements in South Africa.

It was the first time in decades that there has been such in-depth contact between an Afrikaans newspaper group and the ANC.

Observers were struck by the sympathetic tone of some of the comments about the ANC and point out that the Nationalist Press has often in the past played a trail-blazing role for the Government.

One political observer today cautioned, however, that "one should not read too much into it until the Government actually talks to the ANC".

In a five-hour interview with leading ANC figures in Lusaka, a senior journalist from Beeld — biggest daily in the Nasionale Pers stable — found "there are enough things about which a fruitful discussion could be conducted between the National Party and the ANC — were such a

meeting ever to take place".

The meeting between Beeld's representative and the ANC leaders was arranged by the University of Cape Town's Centre for Inter-Group Studies.

In the interviews published in Beeld and its sister newspapers around the country, the following were highlighted as points for "fruitful discussion" at any future meeting between the ANC and the National Party Government:

- Both are convinced that South Africa will have to find its own type of solution if the claims of all peoples and groups are to be satisfied.

- On group rights, the National Party and the ANC apparently also do not differ much.

"History has thrown us together.

"Whether we like it or not, we must all live together," one of the ANC leaders told Beeld.

- Just as is the case among thinking Nationalists, there is interest within the ANC in federalism as a possible key to a solution to South Africa's problems.

- During the interview, President P W Botha's proposed

division of South Africa into eight regions for the promotion of economic development was often favourably referred to.

- Although the homelands policy was rejected by the ANC, "a fruitful discussion about this is nevertheless possible".

Beeld said, however, that a dialogue between the NP and ANC lay "far in the future unless something dramatic and unexpected happens which can bring the two parties to the negotiating table".

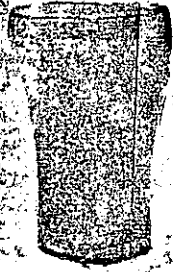
The newspaper pointed out that South Africa's northern neighbours were holding thumbs that such a discussion could take place.

"They say straight out that peace is only possible if the Afrikaners and the ANC come to terms."

The biggest point of difference between the two sides, Beeld said, would be on economic policy.

Beeld found that the ANC's economic policies showed a "remarkable similarity" to those of the right-wing HNP and AWB.

makes



City Press

27c plus 3c tax in the RSA ☆

charged with hig

Black Christmas: 'Think of those who died'

11A

C. Press
16/12/84



MANUEL

THE UNITED Democratic Front and other black organisations made a national call this week for people to observe "Black Christmas".

The UDF has appealed to people throughout the country to observe "Black Christmas" from December 16 - 26.

Speaking at a Press conference at Khotso House, Johannesburg UDF acting publicity secretary Trevor Manuel made a special appeal to people to avoid unnecessary expenditure on luxuries and surplus food.

UDF meeting banned

16/12/84

11A

C. Press

A UNITED Democratic Front protest meeting scheduled for Fordsburg last night was banned by Johannesburg acting chief magistrate George Schoeman late yesterday afternoon.

According to UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota, the meeting was to protest against this week's rearrest and recharging of leading UDF leaders, including Archie Gumede and Paul David, who were arrested while they were leaving the British Consulate in Durban.

By KHULU
SIBIYA

"We want to make an appeal to those involved in these gatherings to observe silence for at least 10 minutes to note the events presently taking place in our country," he said.

An appeal has also been made to churches to make a special note of detainees, the unemployed, those who gave their lives to the struggle and those dying of hunger in the homelands.

However, the UDF is not going to "cru-

cify or use force" on people who ignore the call.

"Our intentions are to impose self-sacrifice in order to strengthen the solidarity and the unity of the people.

"It is therefore an attempt to win people onto the side of those committed to change."

He said voluntary participation was imperative, because coercion would be counter-productive.

Several meetings have been lined up this weekend to clarify how "Black Christmas" should be observed.

'STOP THIS PARTY!'

11A

C. Press
16/12/84



STEVE TSHWETE

A house-warming party by UDF Border chairman Steve Tshwete, who has been banished to the Ciskei, was banned by the Zwelitsha magistrate last weekend.

The banning order was served on the Tshwete family a day after he had

By MKUSELI MANI

been visited by Ciskei security police.

The order prohibited a house-warming party at Mr Tshwete's new R250 000 house in Peelton near King William's Town — because it would "endanger" public peace and national security.

Friends who came from as far as Cape Town to celebrate

with the former Robben Island prisoner were forced to return home without a party.

An angry Mr Tshwete said: "I told everybody that I would have a house-warming party — I never thought it could be deemed a security risk.

Mr Tshwete served 15 years on Robben Is-

land for his political activities. He is presently appealing against his banishment to the Ciskei.

He had been employed as a clerk for a firm of attorneys in King William's Town when he was banished.

He resigned a day after he was served with restriction orders.

'Nothing's changed'

11A C-Press 16/12/84

AN ALTERNATIVE non-racial educational system in South Africa will be the only way to satisfy the aspirations of this country's black people.

This was said by more than 150 delegates of the Azanian Students' Organisation at its general student council at the University of Natal's Alan Taylor residence in Durban last weekend.

In line with this, the Azaso delegates decided to step up their national campaign to draw up an Education Charter.

This campaign will be co-ordinated with the support of the Congress of SA Students and the National Union of SA Students.

At the same time, Azaso reaffirmed its commitment to the Freedom Charter as a basis for a new way to

govern South Africa.

Azaso president Simphiwe Mgoduso – one of the students recently expelled from Ngoye University – said the organisation's 1984 theme – “Liberating For A People's Education” – would not be changed next year.

“Conditions in the country's educational institutions have not changed much this year – it is therefore still relevant,” he said.

Other resolutions:

- condemned the wanton killing of students,
- condemned the closure of Ngoye University and the University of the Transkei,
- condemned the detention of hundreds of political activists and students,
- endorsed participation in the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

Delegates from major campuses throughout the country attended the council meeting. Azaso's annual general congress will be held in July next year.

'EXPULSIONS ARE PURELY POLITICAL!'

AZANIAN Student's Organisation president Simphiwe Mgoduso believes his expulsion and that of 281 other University of Zululand students was clearly a case of "political victimisation".

Mr Mgoduso, who is a post-graduate law student at the campus, said this after City Press disclosed that the university authorities had blacklisted him and 281 other students.

The university said the list was part of "standard guidelines to get rid of those students whose work and conduct was not up to standard".

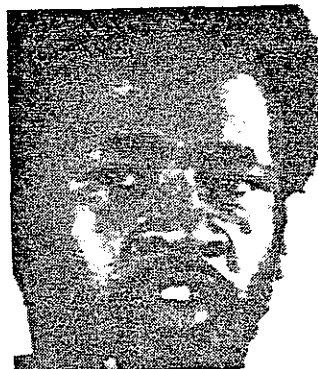
But Mr Mgoduso disputed the university's contention that the expulsions had anything to do with their academic work.

Mr Mgoduso, who has not been informed of his expulsion officially, said it appeared that many of the students affected were Azaso members.

Mr Mgoduso said no students had been informed of their expulsion or banning from the university — they had just seen the list in City Press.

He believed the KwaZulu authorities was behind the university's move to expel students.

He said there was evidence — in correspondence — of collusion bet-



SIMPHIWE MGODUSO:
"We're being victimised."

CP
Correspondent

ween the university administration and the KwaZulu Authorities over Robert Manzi, one of the expelled students.

He added that there were rumours in September that some students might not be allowed back to lectures next year because of their involvement in the September boycotts.

He added, however, that some Azaso members had been allowed to return next year.

"It seems the expulsions are purely political. What else could it be?"

"If it was for academic reasons, the students should have been given a chance to show why they performed badly."

"What if a student had been sick during the year?"

THE SIT-IN SIX

WELCOME

BACK

TO S.A.

C. Pers

~~73A~~

16/12/84

11A

THIS week's dramatic end to the Durban Consulate sit-in brought with it a massive new treason trial.

And although relations between Britain and South Africa will ease now that it's over, there's no end in sight to international criticism of the Pretoria Government and its policies.

As the sit-in trio stepped out of the lift on the ground floor of the consulate, two of them were arrested by waiting security police, who told them they were being charged with high treason.

As their children wept and their wives watched anxiously, the two were bundled out of the building through a backdoor to avoid the crowd.

Now Mr Gumede and eight other UDF members are on trial for their lives.

The trial, scheduled for March next year, is likely to draw fullscale local and international attention.

It's set to be a massive case, involving the activities of the eight accused during the period 1981-1984.

And the State has indicated to defence lawyers that it intends calling many witnesses, and the trial could be a very lengthy one.

For UDF leader Archie Gumede, this is the second treason trial.

"No treason trial will stop the struggle for freedom in this country."

Mr Nair, who was given a hero's welcome, was carried shoulder-high through Durban's streets.

He said he thought the Consulate protest had achieved a major victory by bringing South Africa's detention-without-trial policy to the attention of the international community.

Before they left the British Consulate offices, Mr Gumede, Paul David and Billy Nair indicated that they were fully aware of the possibility that they would be arrested and charged for treason.

Moments later, Mr Gumede and Natal Indian Congress member Paul David were served with warrants of arrest.

When Mr Nair, the only member of the original consulate six allowed to go free, appeared before the crowd, he also referred to the pending trial.

"I am free, but my colleagues are in jail," he told the people.

"I am going to do everything possible, together with the UDF and its allies, to continue with the fight until South Africa is free."

5.7.84 17/12/84

Lifting of ~~UDF~~ NA UDF ban ~~is~~ is welcomed

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The court order setting aside the ban on a United Democratic Front meeting at the weekend has been hailed as "a major success in the human rights struggle" by the UDF general secretary, Mr Popo Molefe.

A meeting to launch "Black Christmas" — a 10-day period of mourning for those who suffered in the disturbances of 1984 — was banned by a Johannesburg magistrate on Friday.

The prohibition was set aside yesterday by a Rand Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice G Leveson, just 90 minutes before the meeting at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church was originally scheduled to begin.

At such short notice turn-out for the meeting was poor and it was abandoned.

But at Tembisa, where there had been no threat of a ban, about 5 000 people packed a cinema auditorium for the UDF launch. The township has been the centre of turmoil over the past four months.

● See Page 9, World section.

Semester 17/12/84 (11A)

Backing for Black Christmas

By ALI MPHAKI

A SNAP survey in Soweto yesterday revealed an overwhelming support for the Black Christmas call by black organisations.

Although some said "tears of self pity may drown black people" and suggested "life should continue as it is" the majority said there was truly no reason for blacks to celebrate this Christmas.

Mr Victor Qabazi of Orlando East said: "It goes without saying that the year 1984 has been a bad one for us blacks. Therefore, with all the violent acts, boycotts, killings etc. that have occurred this year, one is actually left with nothing to celebrate."

Mr Naneso Miya of Mofolo said: "The end of the year is usually a time to look back with

either pride or regret. This has been one of the most terrible years for us blacks. I therefore have no qualms about supporting this call for a black Christmas."

Said Mr Vivian Ramasedi, a University of the North student: "Our everyday life fails to bring any joy because of the kind of circumstances we live under. In

fact, misery is part of our daily life and it would be folly for us to think we can celebrate this Christmas. For, what is it that we really have to celebrate? Our own suffering?"

But Modike Nkwe of White City Jabavu disagrees: "This is a time when everyone should be happy with his/her family as it is also the

end of the year."

• The United Democratic Front has endorsed a call for the black Christmas to observe the recent uprisings which claimed the lives of hundreds and the detention of scores of people.

The call was made at a meeting attended by over 30 people at the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville yesterday.

UDF wins urgent appeal against ban

By CHRIS FREIMOND and RICH MKHONDO

THE United Democratic Front won a last-minute legal battle yesterday to have the ban on a major meeting set aside — but it had to be called off when only a handful of people turned up.

All the UDF's weekend meetings in the Johannesburg district were banned on Friday by the city's acting chief magistrate, Mr George Schoeman, in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Schoeman said he had "reason to apprehend that the public peace will be seriously endangered" by a planned UDF rally at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto "or any other gathering" called to discuss a wide range of issues set out in the notice.

But the ban was set aside after an urgent application yesterday at the home of Mr Justice G Leveson.

The way was opened for the Regina Mundi meeting at which the UDF was to have launched its "Black Christmas" campaign.

However, only about 20 people turned up at the church.

UDF officials attributed the poor attendance to the lack of time they had to pass the word that the ban had been lifted.

News of the ban was widely reported in newspapers on Saturday and on SABC TV and radio.

In an interview at Regina Mundi yesterday a UDF official, Mr Amos Madondo, said a "Black Christmas" had been decided on because of the widespread unrest during the year.

Many trade unions and civic and political organisations decided there was no cause to celebrate.

"We do not say people must not buy food and other household necessities, but ask them to refrain from unnecessary spending and lavish merry-making," he said.

Earlier, the UDF's legal team, headed by Mr Jules Browde SC and Mr Gilbert Marcus argued before Mr Justice Leveson that:

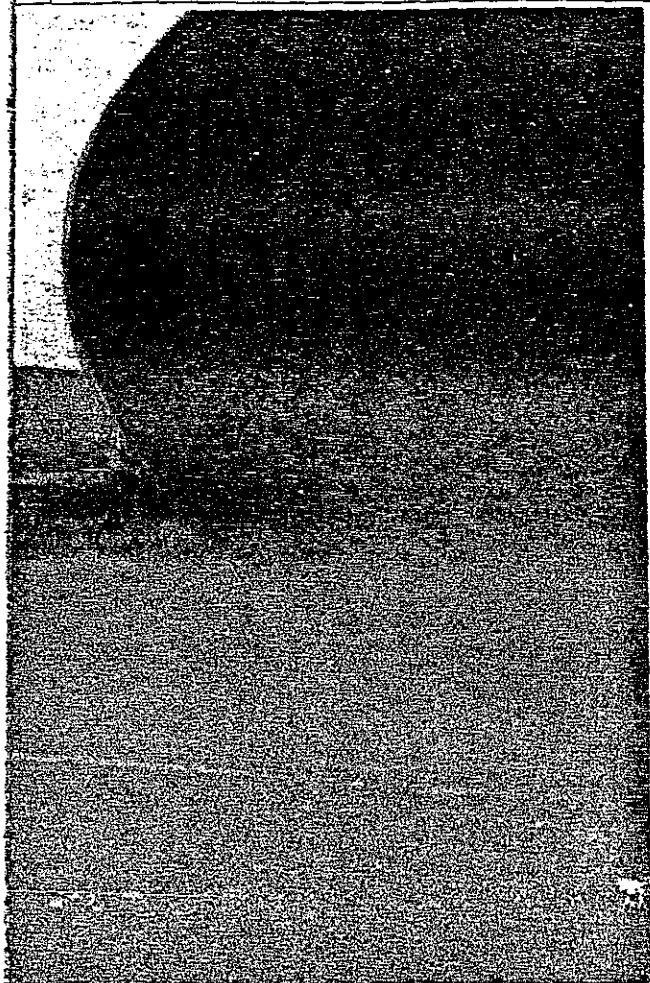
- There was good reason to believe the meetings would not disturb public peace;
- The banning order was grammatically confusing and incomprehensible to an ordinary person.

In an affidavit yesterday, Mr Schoeman said he had carefully considered the information at his disposal before issuing the banning order.

An affidavit was also submitted from a Lieutenant Kritzinger of the Security Police who said the UDF and its affiliates were "props" for the African National Congress.

Mr Browde and Mr Marcus were instructed by Mr Norman Manoim of Cheadie, Thompson and Hayson.

Mr René Kruger SC, assisted by Mr J Coetzee, instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the acting chief magistrate of Johannesburg.



...rcraft, right, smashed into it at Wonderboom Airport near ...pter alone will cost about R20 000 to repair.

Picture: TONY NAIDOO

Judge overturns ban on UDF's first Black Christmas meeting

STAR 17/12/84 HA

The United Democratic Front yesterday launched a successful bid to overturn a ban on its first Black Christmas meeting.

A Rand Supreme Court judge ruled that there was no reasonable foundation for the belief that the meeting would lead to violence or disruption of peace.

The UDF was represented in an urgent application before Mr Justice G Leveson by three leading members of Lawyers for Human Rights: national chairman Mr Jules Browde SC helped by Mr Gilbert Marcus and briefed by Mr Norman Manoim.

Mr Marcus and Mr Manoim are members of the Lawyers for Human Rights Witwatersrand committee.

It is believed to be the first successful action of its kind in the Transvaal, preceded only by an application brought by the UDF in the Cape some months ago.

The application argued that:

● The ban, imposed because acting Johannesburg magistrate Mr G J Schoeman had reason to apprehend the public peace would be seriously endangered by the meeting, had been made in ignorance of the United Democratic Front's arrangements to ensure good order.

By Jo-Anne Collinge

In papers before the court Mr Popo Molefe, the UDF's general secretary, pointed out that the organisation had anticipated the ban because of similar action taken last week against the Transvaal Indian Congress.

It had therefore written to the magistrate outlining the measures to be taken to ensure an orderly meeting.

Mr Schoeman's order, however, pre-dated receipt of the letter by a day and therefore could not have taken account of the precautions, it was argued.

● The wording of the ban was confusing and seemed so wide as to prohibit a simple discussion on rent increases between two neighbours or a committee meeting of Operation Hunger.

The banning notice applied to the December 16 meeting of the United Democratic Front at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto or any other gathering to commemorate or discuss the detention of persons related to the UDF and to other matters set out in a pamphlet advertising the

Black Christmas meeting.

The pamphlet, noted Mr Molefe, mentioned such diverse matters as increases in rents, bus fares and electricity as well as calling for sobriety during the festive season.

He added: "I respectfully submit that the wording of the prohibition is not only grammatically confusing but also so vague as to be incomprehensible to reasonable people."

● That the United Democratic Front had a demonstrable record of well-organised mass meetings attended by thousands which had concluded without incident of public disturbance. Meetings given as examples included 12 000 to 15 000 in Cape Town; 3 000 in Lenasia; 1 000 in Soweto; 5 000 in central Johannesburg.

In response Mr Schoeman, represented by Mr R Kruger SC and Mr J Coetzee, instructed by the State Attorney, placed an affidavit before the court.

It stated that his decision to ban the meeting had been based on Security Police information that other meetings at Regina Mundi had culminated in violence; and that the

United Democratic Front and several of its affiliates were props for the African National Congress which celebrated December 16 as Heroes' Day.

Mr Justice Leveson ruled that there was nothing in fact to show support for the ANC.

He ruled further that a ban on meetings in terms of the Internal Security Act was not a matter of discretion but should be founded on factors that could be reasonably objectively determined.

To infer from the evidence placed before Mr Schoeman by the police that the Black Christmas meeting was likely to lead to violence was to make a too tenuous link.

He further professed himself troubled by the wording of the notice, deeming it a frightening thought that any two people discussing a matter mentioned in the notice of meeting might find themselves in breach of the prohibition.

Mr Justice Leveson ruled that the ban on the meeting was invalid, that the organisers could proceed with the gathering and that the respondent pay the costs of the action.



Mr Popo Molefe.

11A

MPC addresses 1 000 in black township

PORT ELIZABETH — The Progressive Federal Party's MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn addressed about 1 000 people at a protest meeting called by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) at New Brighton's Rio Cinema yesterday.

She said afterwards she had decided to attend the meeting after speaking to Pebco executive members, but had not been scheduled to speak.

"I decided to address the meeting on the spur of the moment."

She added that she had been confronted by four security policemen on leaving the cinema. "They asked me who I was, and I replied that they knew exactly who I was.

"They demanded to know whether I had a permit to enter the township, and I told them I did. I produced it when they asked to see it."

Major H. B. du Plessis, of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth said last night he would not be able to comment on Mrs Blackburn's claims before this morning.

Asked when last a white politician had addressed a meeting in Port Elizabeth's townships, Mrs Blackburn said: "I really wonder when that last happened."

In her impromptu address, Mrs Blackburn called

for December 16 to become a day of hope, when all South Africans could celebrate the hope for their future.

She said calls for an end to detention without trial for political dissenters should be renewed on December 16, as should calls for a non-racial democratic government, the only hope for peace.

She urged people of all races to unite and not to dwell on hatreds and sufferings of the past, but to strive for a bright future.

"However, the time is past when whites can think that what happens in the African townships does not concern them, whether it be school boycotts, unequal education opportunities, influx control or so-called residential rights."

Also, white SABC-TV could no longer "set about increasing fears and suspicion of relevant political movements", thereby intensifying black-white tensions in South Africa, she said.

Mrs Blackburn said the Cradock community leaders, Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata, who were recently released from detention, had been suppressed because they were authentic leaders and the government feared the support they enjoyed.

● Earlier this month Mrs Blackburn was charged with entering Cradock's township of Ilingelihle without a permit. — DDC.

Judge lifts ban on UDF meeting

CAPC Times 17/12/86

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) won a last-minute legal battle yesterday to have the ban on a major meeting set aside — but it had to be called off when only a handful of people attended.

All the UDF's weekend meetings in the Johannesburg district were banned on Friday by the city's acting Chief Magistrate, Mr George Schoeman, in terms of the Internal Security Act.

In his prohibition order, Mr Schoeman said he had "reason to apprehend that the public

peace will be seriously endangered" by a planned UDF rally at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, "or any other gathering" called to discuss a wide range of issues set out in the notice.

But the ban was set aside after an urgent application yesterday at the home of Mr Justice G Leveson.

'Black Christmas'

However, only about 20 people turned up at the church, where the UDF was to have launched its "Black Christmas" campaign.

UDF officials attributed the poor attendance to the lack of time they had to pass the word that the ban had been lifted.

News of the ban was widely reported in newspapers on Saturday and on SABC TV and radio.

In an interview at Regina Mundi yesterday, a UDF official, Mr Amos Msondo, said a "Black Christmas" had been decided on following the widespread unrest during the year.

Many trade unions and civic and political organisations had decided that there was no cause to celebrate.

Legal team

"We do not say people must not buy food and other household necessities, but ask them to refrain from unnecessary spending and lavish merry-making," he said.

"We make this call because so many people lost their jobs, and some their homes and even their lives."

Earlier, the UDF's le-

gal team, headed by Mr Jules Browde SC, and Mr Gilbert Marcus, argued before Mr Justice Leveson that:

● There was good reason to believe the meetings would not disturb public peace.

● The banning order was grammatically confusing and incomprehensible to an ordinary person.

In anticipation of a ban on its meetings, the UDF delivered a letter to Mr Schoeman on Friday assuring him that special precautions would be taken to ensure good order at the meeting and requesting in the event of a ban the opportunity to put a counter argument.

In an affidavit yesterday, Mr Schoeman said he had carefully considered the information at his disposal before issuing the banning order.

An affidavit was also submitted from a Lieutenant Kritzinger of the security police who said the UDF and its affiliates, including the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), were "props" for the African National Congress.

Meetings by the UDF yesterday would have commemorated December 16 as Hero's Day, which had been designated as such by the ANC, he said.

The general secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe, said the setting aside of the ban was "certainly a major success for human rights in South Africa".

Cape Times 17/12/84

Azapo against whites in NF (11A)

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

MAJOR differences between black-consciousness hardliners and moderates over white participation in the National Forum alliance emerged at the NF's national workshop in Athlone yesterday.

During the workshop's plenary session, hardliners of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) — numerically the strongest component of the NF alliance — strongly opposed participation by whites representing constituent members of the NF.

About 1 300 people attended the workshop, held at the Kismet Cinema.

Mr Lybon Mabasa, the Azapo president, said that while Azapo prohibited white participation in its struggle to mobilize the black working class, it respected the different views of other constituent organizations in the NF.

"Black consciousness is not anti-white. We are not racists," said Mr Mabasa. "Neither do we dictate to others nor are we dictated to. For us the blacks are the exploited and oppressed and they matter to Azapo."

The Azapo hardliners' opposition came during the pre-noon debates, when they took exception to white observers and representatives of the Cape Action League (CAL).

At the afternoon plenary session, the hardliners maintained that the inclusion of whites through membership of the NF was "anti-revolu-

tionary". If white participation was acceptable, they said, then they might just as well have joined the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Azapo opposition to the UDF stemmed largely from differences on white participation.

● During the two-day fifth national congress of Azapo, which starts in Retreat today, opposition to its co-operation with organizations with white participation and its subsequent alliance in the NF is expected to be a key debating point.

The contention between hardliners and moderates, which had been brewing for some time now, is expected to reach a head, some observers say. Azapo's affiliation to the NF may also be challenged by the hardliners.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Mabasa said that key issues to be discussed during the congress would be the organization's strategy in promoting an active social programme which emphasized education, health and labour.

Azapo was now beyond the rhetorical stage in its revolutionary struggle, he said. Contingency strategies to develop its ability to cope with detentions and bannings would also be discussed.

Classification

Gunman was 'ANC hit man'

STAR
18/12/84

11A

The Star's Foreign
News Service

MBABANE — A gunman shot dead in Swaziland at the weekend was a crack "hit man" of the African National Congress who was responsible for the assassination of Swaziland's deputy Security Police chief, the Swazi Police have announced.

The gunman was killed on Sunday after he had been flushed from what police believe was an ANC "safe house" in the town of Manzini, central Swaziland.

During a shoot-out a passer-by was killed and a 12-year-old boy wounded.

Swaziland's Commissioner of Police, Mr Majaje Simelane, said the dead man had been identified as "special agent" Solly Ngcobo, who was also known as "Solly".

Mr Simelane said the police had established

that Ngcobo was a highly trained ANC agent who was based in Maputo before the signing of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique.

"We have now fully established that Ngcobo is the man who killed the deputy chief of the Security Police, Petros Shiba, with the same AK-47 rifle he was carrying on Sunday when we caught up with him."

Mr Simelane said the police had found identification papers which linked Ngcobo with the ANC.

According to the police commissioner, the papers said Ngcobo was a member of an elite special operations squad of the ANC trained by South African Communist Party strategist Joe Slovo. He fled to Swaziland after the Nkomati Accord.

Manyosi family ^{STAR} ^{R/12/84} to claim ^(11A) R50 000

The Soweto Council has submitted a claim for R50 000 on behalf of Mr Edward Manyosi, the councillor who was gunned down by assassins about two weeks ago.

Mr Manyosi's widow, Mrs Joyce Manyosi, said yesterday the family was still recovering from the ordeal and had not done anything about the insurance claim.

All Soweto councillors are insured for R50 000 and the mayor's assured sum is R100 000. The premiums are paid by Soweto residents.

Speaking through her son, Sobhodla (33), Mrs Manyosi said if the family did not hear from the council they would then proceed with their claim.

The mayor, Mr Edward Kunene, today confirmed the claim was being processed.

Soweto's acting town clerk, Mr J G Jacobs, said: "The claim has already been submitted. We are now awaiting the results from the insurance company."

Soweto 18/12/84

It's war says Azapo leader

11A

By SELLO RABOTHATA

BLACK people in South Africa have in no uncertain terms shown their rejection of the laws and constitution of this country, Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, said yesterday.

Addressing the organisation's fifth annual congress, at the Retreat Civic Centre, Cape Town, he said blacks have resisted, and continued to resist all efforts to subjugate them.

In their actions they have shown their general indifference to old and new legislations by even refusing to participate in the most recent "dummy elections."

Mr Mabasa said: "Our clear understanding of the forces in constant action and interaction in our society will lead us to understand the role we have to play in our society to bring about change.

Masses

"If the masses were a conscious mass then we would have long had the revolution.

"As much as spontaneous eruptions are both essential and necessary in that no revolution is successful without them, it is our duty as leaders and members of the movement to give decisive leadership, using whatever agitation and propaganda are available to us to organise the struggle and to create the momentum of a continuous offensive towards revolutionary objectives," he said.

Mr Mabasa added that containment and repression should be vigilantly resisted by the forces of revolution. Black people should not allow themselves to be intimidated to back down on any of their demands.

Peace

Their movements, he added, have gone through periods of transition, of reform and revolution. They have developed beyond the period of reformists petition-signing, sending people to imperial and colonial powers to negotiate.

He said Sharpeville One and Two, Soweto, Langa and many other massacres cannot be allowed to continue. The white minority Government has declared war on black people and they have begun advancing the course of the war, and because blacks are lovers of peace they will have to go out and defend themselves and stop the war, said the Azapo leader.

Sowetan 18/12/84 (11A)

Cosas stops the music

HARARI leader and organiser of the Burnt Out festival, Siphon Mabuse was forced to cancel his show at the weekend despite being allowed to stage it by the United

Democratic Front (UDF).

According to reports, members of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) confronted organisers at the stadium and told them the show would be disrupted as it could not be allowed to continue, in compliance with the call for a black Christmas.

An emergency meeting in Pretoria between Mr Moss Chikane, local UDF official, Mabuse and Cosas representatives failed to reach accord and the show had

to be cancelled, costing Mabuse losses estimated at over R20 000.

UDF secretary Mr Popo Molefe was not in the office when we phoned and publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota is in Durban. Mr Mabuse was also not available.

But according to our records the show was given the go-ahead after being originally "banned." This go-ahead was given after an appeal by the organisers, who had been taken unawares by the sudden ban on all

festivities. According to them all arrangements had already been made.

After the cancellation of the show several artists came out strongly against the abrupt cancellation of the show.

They pointed out that two shows backed by whites continued in Soweto and the Bundu Inn on Sunday — the very day of the Day of Mourning.

Another point of controversy is that the period of mourning has not been specified.

S TAK 01/2/84

Azapo ^{11A} head slams quelling ~~of~~ of unrest

By Michael Tissong

CAPE TOWN — The president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Lybon Mabasa, criticised police and army action during township unrest in his opening address at Azapo's fifth national congress in Retreat, Cape Town, yesterday.

He accused the Government of "starting a war" against blacks when it took action to put down township unrest.

"We can no longer afford to stand and watch as the years go by. Sharpeville 1960 and 1984, Soweto 1976, Langa and many other massacres cannot be allowed to continue."

He added: "For far too long the white minority government has called the tune and expected black people to dance to its every whim. We should change that."

The Chief Minister of the Nation of Islam in America and a critic of the South African and Israel governments, Mr Louis Farrakhan, sent a recorded speech on the global solidarity of oppressed people, which was played at the meeting.

Mr Farrakhan had been invited as guest speaker but did not apply for a visa to come to this country because of his activities in organising demonstrations at South African consulates in the United States.

Labour exposé on telephone tapping

LONDON — A detailed description of how telephones are tapped and mail intercepted in Britain was given yesterday by the Labour Party newspaper, Labour Weekly.

The writer of the article, Ken Hyder, said: "If your phone is being tapped and your mail intercepted you should not know about it. Professional tapping and mail interception leaves no tell-tale signs.

"Ordinary post office workers or telephone engineers are not involved — or at least if they are involved in the machinery of surveillance, it is unwittingly.

"There is no way you can have the Home Office confirm or deny you are under surveillance and there is no appeal against it, even if you are certain it is happening."

In England and Wales in 1979 there were 411

authorised telephone taps and 52 letter interceptions. In Scotland in the same year there were 56 authorised telephone taps.

"But that is not the whole story. A warrant to tap the National Union of Mineworkers, for example, would cover not only NUM head office, but branch offices and individual members of the union. Indeed police could tap all 182 000 members.

"There are also unofficial taps, which are far more common. Because of established close links between different agencies in the surveillance business, it is common for the old pals' act to be invoked.

"Telephone tapping is simple and effective. There are volunteer telephone engineers working in secret units available to do the job. Active trade unionists are weeded out.

"The units operate under phony code names and under instructions from a higher level. They usually enter the exchanges at night when there are no other workers present. One engineer can make a tap within half an hour.

"Your telephone number is connected via a jump-lead to a listening centre which could be miles away. For example, the Special Branch in London can arrange for a miner's number to be tapped locally in Yorkshire, then relayed back to London without the local police even knowing anything about it.

"Telephones can also be bugged so as to pick up conversations in the room where the telephone is located, without the telephone being in use at the time.

"In that case, local engineers are told on sub-

scribers' cards that they should on no account go out to service that phone if there's a fault. Any maintenance will have to be carried out by the tapping squads.

"It is even easier to monitor mail without an official warrant. Mail for individuals is often put aside in sorting offices for legitimate reasons.

"They could be running a quality of service check to see that deliveries are being made on time. Or perhaps the individual has made an arrangement to come in and pick up mail every day.

"A sorter being asked to put such mail aside would not be suspicious.

"The operation is carried out by the post office investigation department, who'll also investigate thefts within the post office. Many of the investigators are former police officers.

"It is easy to intercept mail on an old pals' basis without gaining the Home Secretary's signature.

"It is possible for the mail you post to be intercepted as well as the mail you receive, provided, of course, that it is known where you have posted your mail from.

"If the job is done properly, you should not be aware that you are under surveillance. Many people, suspicious that they might be tapped, can see normal clicks and ticks and malfunctions as evidence to support their suspicions. Perhaps they should be more alarmed if their phone is perfectly normal." — DDC.

in
ix
to

as

in
ie
x,
n

e

Stayaway 'did not advance the struggle'

CAPE TOWN 18/12/84 (117) (117)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

WORK stayaws, school boycotts and hunger strikes all contain the potential to seriously harm the very people they are intended to help, according to a paper drafted by Azapo's central committee.

The paper, delivered by the Rev Joe Seoka at Azapo's fifth national congress in Cape Town yesterday, notes that these three weapons of struggle, "far from enhancing the people's efforts towards liberation, may alienate the people from a process wholly dependent for success on their participation".

Mr Seoka said stayaways or work stoppages were bargaining tools that had to be used with much care, as they

"are not immune from possible perversion".

He said the recent two-day stayaway on the Reef had not advanced the working-class struggle in South Africa but had rather antagonized and alienated a sizeable portion of this class.

While some saw the stayaway as a colossal success by virtue of the overwhelming "support" it commanded, others viewed it as "a creation of adventurous and glory-seeking people".

He said the originators of the stayaway were so caught up in the "passion for self-glorification" that they had not considered the possibility that about 7 000 workers could be dismissed from Sasol.

"And thus 7 000 workers had learnt a very bit-

ter lesson never again to heed the calls for stayaways, for only distress and suffering flows from them."

The two-day stayaway, he said, came at time of economic depression when management wanted an excuse to retrench or dismiss workers without giving full benefits.

"Thus management gained an upper hand in a situation where it was supposed to have suffered."

"The stayaway therefore militated against the short-term interests of the black working class and as a result it will be very difficult in the future for any organization or group to call the masses into concrete action."

Mr Seoka said the boycott or stayaway was basically a weak weapon.

Tutu warns of SA 'bloodbath'

COPENHAGEN. — Bishop Desmond Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, warned yesterday that without international pressure against Pretoria's apartheid laws, "there will be a bloodbath".

Answering questions at a press club lunch, the Anglican clergyman told Danish and international reporters: "Unless you help us form the kind of moral climate in your countries which will make it impossible for your governments to collaborate with the perpetrators of apartheid, we (blacks) have very little option but to use violence."

He said this was not a threat "but a simple statement of fact."

Economic sanctions

Nevertheless, Bishop Tutu said he would not openly advocate economic sanctions against South Africa "because to say so is a criminal offence in my country ... punishable by up to five years in prison."

He said he wanted South Africa's trade partners to understand that "sanctions are as much a moral issue as they are economic".

Bishop Tutu described apartheid as "the policy which has earned our beautiful country the polecat position in the world so that a young

girl, a very good athlete, had to use the dubious stratagem of instant British citizenship in order to be able to participate in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles." He was referring to 18-year-old distance runner Zola Budd.

Asked whether he thought President Ronald Reagan of the United States was serious in an apparent tougher stance against the South African Government, Bishop Tutu responded: "Obviously we are glad for the change in rhetoric, but it is still rhetoric."

He said he thought Mr Reagan "cannot ignore the 35 conservative Republicans" who sent a letter to South Africa's Ambassador to the United States threatening economic sanctions unless Pretoria eased apartheid.

"He cannot afford to ignore Senator (Richard) Lugar, the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He cannot ignore Senator (Nancy) Kassenbaum. He cannot ignore the (American) blacks' attitude toward the Republicans and the possibility of their being able to enlist the support of the Jewish lobby."

Reagan meeting

Bishop Tutu spent 40 minutes with Mr Reagan in the White House before accepting his Peace Prize last week in Oslo.

He said yesterday that he had told the US President that South African blacks would believe Mr Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement," or behind-the-scenes diplomacy, was working when:

"One. The present violence in South Africa ends and the (Pretoria) government does not use the army against our people.

"Two. They stop all banning orders and detention orders.

"Three. They stop the process of our denationalizing.

"Four. They are prepared to announce a general amnesty for all political prisoners (in South Africa) and exiles."

'Cosmetic changes'

Bishop Tutu said the recent adoption of the new South African constitution and other apparent changes in the country "are basically cosmetic" and superficial.

"But the face beneath the cream remains as ugly as it ever was."

The 53-year-old clergyman met privately later with the Danish Prime Minister, Mr Poul Schluter.

Bishop Tutu is to fly today to New York to resume a series of personal appearances in the United States. — Sapa-AP

Cooper calls for black unity

117
C.M.C. Tm 5 18/12/84

Political Correspondent

BLACK people in South Africa would continue to remain "in bondage" unless they forged a unified opposition to the government, the deputy president of the Azanian People's Organization, Mr Saths Cooper, said yesterday.

Speaking at Azapo's fifth national congress in Cape Town, Mr Cooper told delegates it was not just "racism, imperialism and capitalism that keeps us in bondage".

"Blacks have allowed exploitation to continue and even after three centuries of exploitation and oppression we have not yet achieved solidarity," he said.

Although it was essential that blacks be able to resist "any measures this racist, capitalist government can throw at us", the black political leadership in South Africa continued to remain divided.

In the past, Azapo had managed to win verbal pledges of unity from a wide range of black leaders, but they had reneged on these when confronted by the press later, he said.

Mr Cooper said blacks who followed the editorial columns of the Rand Daily Mail and the Cape Times were allowing their political actions to be dictated by "bourgeois considerations".

Azapo was not interested in simply fighting for "a Pretoria with black faces", he said.

Mr Cooper said it was not enough for whites to show solidarity with the exploited classes in South Africa.

"Whites must show us in practical terms that they deserve to be in the mainstream of political resistance."

However, decision-making and leadership would remain in the ranks of the "exploited", he said.

● The time had come for black people in South Africa to defend themselves against the war the "white minority government" had declared on them, Azapo president Mr Lybon Mabasa said yesterday.

A number of black communities had been under a "continuous state of seige" for parts of this year as a result of army activity, he said.

2001 19/12/84 (11A)

Azapo. boycott action is weak

Mali Correspondent

WORK stayaways, school boycotts and hunger strikes all contain the potential to seriously harm the people they are intended to help, according to a paper drafted by the central committee of the Azanian People's Organisation.

The paper, delivered by the Reverend Joe Seoka at Azapo's fifth national congress in Cape Town on Monday, noted that these three weapons of struggle, "far from enhancing the people's efforts towards liberation, might alienate the people from a process wholly dependent for success on their participation".

Mr Seoka said stayaways or work stoppages were bargaining tools that had to be used with much care as they "are not immune from possible perversion".

He said the recent two-day stayaway on the Reef had not advanced the working class struggle in South Africa but had rather antagonised and alienated a sizeable portion of this class.

While some saw the stayaway as a colossal success by virtue of the overwhelming "support" it commanded, others viewed it as "a creation of adventurous and glory-seeking people".

He said the originators of the stayaway were so caught up in the "passion for self-glorification" that they had not considered the possibility that about 7 000 workers could be dismissed from Sasol.

"And thus 7 000 workers had learnt a very bitter lesson never again to heed the calls for stayaways for only distress and suffering flows from them."

The two-day stayaway, he said, came at a time of economic depression when management wanted an excuse to retrench or dismiss workers without giving full benefits.

"Thus management gained an upper hand in a situation where it was supposed to have suffered."

Soweto 19/12/84 (11A) (107)

Azapo congress told:

Stayaways can harm the cause

By SELLO RABOTHATA

SCHOOL BOYCOTTS, hunger strikes and work stayaways all contained the potential to seriously harm the very people they intended to help, the fifth annual congress of Azapo was told in Cape Town yesterday.

Rev Joe Seoka, in a paper on Stayaways and Work Stoppages — a Critique, said that far from enhancing the people's efforts towards liberation, stayaways may alienate the people from a process dependent for success on their participation.

Rev Seoke said hunger strikes are a weapon accompanied by limitations. The same can be said about school boycotts against Bantu Education. For it is only when people begin to understand that Bantu Education must be transformed into a struggle against the political situation that they begin to appreciate the shortcomings of a fight against Bantu Education.

He said: "Stayaways, like the other weapons, are not immune from possible perversion. The two-day stayaway of the past month is a case in point. There are two diametrically opposed interpretations attached to it.

"The one sees the stayaway as having been a colossal success by virtue of the overwhelming support it commanded. The other views it as a creation of an adventurous and glory seeking mind. There is only one correct and objective interpretation and this is derived from a dispassionate assessment."

Thus, said Rev Seoka, thousands of workers learnt a bitter lesson — never again to heed calls for stayaways, for only distress and suffering flows therefrom. The two-day stayaway, far from advancing the working class struggle in the country, had antagonised and alienated a sizeable portion of the working class.

That the workers' salaries were pruned by employers without the committee responsible for the stayaway raising its fingers was a worse indictment.

Potent weapon

Rev Seoka said the concept of boycotts or stayaways can become a very potent weapon in the hands of the oppressed or powerless people. In almost all instances where the boycott tactics have been successful, the following aspects have been observed:

- The careful selection of the target;
 - The methods to be used;
 - The time duration;
 - Full knowledge of the consequences by the participants; and
 - The leaders of such boycotts cannot and must not rely on attempting to enforce the boycotts.
- At the time of going to press the Azapo congress was due to hold elections for national office bearers. Hot favourite for Azapo president appeared to be Soweto's Ishmael Mkhabela with keen competition from Mandla Nkosi, also from Soweto.

The bishop who tried to discredit Tutu on television

STAR 19/12/84

119
11/9
2/2/84



The man on the box . . . Bishop Mokoena.

Who is Bishop Isaac Mokoena, the religious leader SABC-TV so conveniently trotted out in an attempt to discredit Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu?

As the president of the Reformed Independent Churches Association, Bishop Mokoena claims he is the leader of 4,5 million congregants . . . but the Council of African Independent Churches has disputed this.

The general secretary of the Council, the Rev P Makhubu, has publicly dissociated himself from comments Bishop Mokoena made during the SABC-TV interview: that Bishop Tutu was promoting bloodshed among black people. According to church sources the Reformed Independent Churches Association was established with the help of white Reformed church leaders to counter an earlier group of independent churches founded by the now-banned Christian Institute, which was established by Dr Beyers Naude.

The association is a former affiliate of the Council of African Independent Churches, an umbrella group uniting the bulk of South Africa's independent African church movements. During the four-minute interview on TV1, Bishop Mokoena said he was deeply disturbed that the Nobel Peace Prize had been awarded to Bishop Tutu because of his stand on disinvestment.

Bishop Mokoena praised America's President Ronald Reagan for opposing Bishop Tutu on American disinvestment in South Africa. Bishop Mokoena

By Eugene Saldanha,
Religion Reporter

discloses that he has been encouraging his congregants in recent months to sign petitions calling on the American business community to increase investments in South Africa. The petition states: "We urge American businessmen to make use of all the opportunities which are available to them in South Africa and the national states." Mr Makhubu said Bishop Mokoena's claim to be leader of 4,5-million Christians was not true.

EXPOSURE

"We find it strange Bishop Mokoena was given so much exposure on the government media," he added.

"Bishop Tutu has always tried to avert bloodshed in this country.

"He has always spoken with a prophetic voice." A close analysis of the 1980 Government Statistics, which put the total membership of independent black churches at about 4,5 million, does not support Bishop Mokoena's claims either. The Zion Christian Church of Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane alone draws close to 1,5-million people to its annual meetings in Morija in the Northern Transvaal, according to Press reports. Bishop Mokoena is a former divisional director of the South African Council of Churches, but he left after he was acquitted on 17 counts of fraud in October 1979. He is a member of the South African Theological College of Independent Churches.

In an interview, Bishop Mokoena said he had a Licentiate in Theology from a college in the United States, a Bachelor of Divinity degree from a university in the United States and a Doctorate of Divinity from the University of Korea. He is leader of the St John's Mission Church in Sebokeng and claims a congregation of several thousand.

He has not always been a member of St John's Mission Church.

"I joined St John's after I left another church in 1960 because of disagreements with the church leaders," he said. He declined to name the church because he wanted to avoid embarrassing its leaders.

Bishop Mokoena makes several overseas trips a year, mainly to Germany, the Normadic countries and the United States.

On his trips he has often called for increased foreign investment and hopes to meet senior officials of the Reagan Administration early next year.

Earlier this year, the South African Council of Churches Ecumenical News Service reported that Bishop Mokoena and the leader of the right-wing Christian League of Southern Africa were travelling in West Germany with the aim of discrediting Bishop Tutu and the Council.

"Nobody is happy about everything in South Africa," said Bishop Mokoena.

"But I would never sell apartheid for communism.

"I have seen what is happening in Mozambique and Ethiopia."

Tutu guilty of fanning violence SA envoy

By Gerald L'Ange
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner, has been accused by Mr Brand Fourie, South Africa's Ambassador in Washington, of making inflammatory statements instead of working for peaceful change in South Africa.

Mr Fourie reacted critically to Bishop Tutu's recent warning of a possible bloodbath in South Africa.

And he said Bishop Tutu should join in constructive consultations in South Africa on bringing about voting rights for blacks rather than standing in the pulpit and shouting about it.

Mr Fourie was asked about the bloodbath statement during the main news programme on a major Washington TV station.

Mr Fourie, whose relatively frequent news media interviews have made him one of South Africa's leading international spokesmen, said he regretted Bishop Tutu's use of this terminology.

He hoped that as Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Tutu would go back to South Africa and take steps to stop unnecessary bleeding to prevent the killing of moderate blacks by radical blacks.

In a separate interview Mr Fourie told editors and reporters of the Los Angeles Times: "What is important from this step onwards is whether he is going to act and work like a Nobel Prize winner or not."

● To Page 3, Col 8

Ambassador accuses Tutu

● From Page 1.

"He is talking about the vote for blacks.

"But then he must join now in a constructive way in the consultations and see how you bring it about.

Mr Fourie said anti-apartheid demonstrations taking place in American cities were an irritant that would have no effect at all on the South African Government.

This statement contrasted with an assertion by demonstration leader Mr Randall Robinson during last night's TV programme that the protests had been effective.

Mr Robinson, director of the black lobbying organisation Trans Africa, said the Administration of President Ronald Reagan, Congress and the South African Government were going to have to respond to the demonstrations.

Mr Fourie accused the demonstrators of a selective morality that ignored human rights violations in African and other countries.

Azapo slams Jackson visit

THE AZANIAN Peoples' Organisation has slammed the proposed visits to South Africa next year of Americans Senator Edward Kennedy and the Rev Jesse Jackson.

At its congress this week speakers called the visits fake and said they only served to mislead the black community. "The invitations to Rev Jackson and Senator Kennedy do not enjoy the backing of the black community," the organisations said.

Speakers said the black community was sick and tired of "self-

appointed" spokesmen for black South Africa who came to the country for a few days and then returned to their countries experts on South Africa and black aspirations.

"The visits by the two will in no way alleviate the suffering of the downtrodden. The two must know that even if they do come they will not be helping our struggle in any way. Instead they are being indirect tools of the Government and imperialism," a senior member of the organisation, Mr Saths Cooper, told The SO-

WETAN last night.

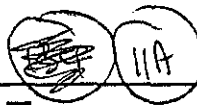
Black groups in the United States have already put Rev Jackson on ice following his applications for a visa to visit South Africa.

The two are tentatively due in South Africa on January 4 and intend meeting leaders from all spheres of the community. But the Black Consciousness groups will now ignore them when they visit the country.

The new president of the organisation is Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, who succeeds Lybon Mabasa, president for the past two years. Mr Mkhabela is a founder chairman of the organisation.

Deputy president is the Rev Joe Seoka, a priest in the Anglican Church.

Other officials are George Wauchope (vice president political affairs); Imram Moosa (publicity secretary); Phambili Ntloko (Cape vice president); Ntjaamu Habedi (vice president Transvaal); Haroun Patel (projects co-ordinator); Thabo Sehume (organiser); Eric Mahlathi (general secretary); and Mr Mandla Selokane (vice-president finance).



Unions and the UDF question

TWO DOMINANT ideologies in the black community are going on an all-out campaign to politicise unions along their own thinking. JOSHUA RABOROKO talks to Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary on the campaign to have as many unions as possible to the PD (Progressive Democrat) line and join the UDF. Tomorrow he looks at the BC (Black Consciousness) unions.

The controversy of trade unions aligning themselves to political organisations has assumed a sharper focus in South Africa recently.

This controversy seems to have been sparked off and highlighted by the formation of the United Democratic Front — an orga-

nisation seeking to co-ordinate a wide spectrum of organisations previously acting independently.

Since its inception last year there has been debate among trade unions, especially emerging ones, on whether or not to affiliate to the organisation.

Some unions have argued that there is a very thin line that can be drawn between political and labour issues, whereas others have expressed views to the contrary.

UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota explained the position by

saying that the UDF is an alliance of workers, youths, church, sporting organisations and so on.

"The UDF is an alliance specifically in opposition to the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills. It is an umbrella body seeking to co-ordinate organisations previously acting independently," he explained.

He added that they were not satisfied because they have not received as much trade union support as they had hoped for, "however we see the participation of workers in the UDF as important.

"The more workers that come in the closer we are to gaining a truly national character. South Africa is still under colonial conditions and the struggle against imperialism is a struggle against capitalism. For this reason the working class must provide the backbone of the struggle."

Non-racial

Mr Lekota said that by "national character" he meant that UDF was a non-racial organisation — which means that they embrace all races and bring together all classes.

The presence of work-



Mr TERROR LEKOTA: Workers' participation in the UDF important.

unity among unions is disappointing. UDF has sent a letter to the feasibility committee giving solidarity to the unions in their search for unity.

Organised

"We also stated that workers must be organised beyond the factory and need to form an alliance with other classes and that the UDF is the best forum for this."

Referring to individual membership by workers, he said that the problem with a "loose affiliation" was it would not be easy to co-ordinate and mobilise the people. The situation would be greatly improved if unity on the factory floor and unity in the community

we are to gaining a truly national character. South Africa is still under colonial conditions and the struggle against imperialism is a struggle against capitalism. For this reason the working class must provide the backbone of the struggle."

Non-racial

Mr Lekota said that by "national character" he meant that UDF was a non-racial organisation — which means that they embrace all races and bring together all classes.

The presence of workers and middle classes in the UDF was discernable, but a significant section of the working class in some major trade unions still remains outside their fold.

Asked whether whites have a contribution to make in the struggle, he said they have, because some have shown their rejection of the apartheid laws, such as influx control, mass removals and have even refused to join the army.

However, he continued, he saw other unions taking up political issues as well after workers have turned to them. He added that to link to the community-based organisations is not to "sell-out." The UDF could be used to fight these issues directly.

He added that some criticism has been levelled by some of the independent unions that the UDF is dominated by "middle class" people and workers find it difficult to participate.

He conceded this, but said that workers must join to give the UDF direction and make their voices heard.

Asked whether affiliation to the UDF may not sway the political thinking of workers, he answered that the organisation has not forced any union to join. Every union will consider whether or not to join and the democratic processes within the unions will take their course.

He added that the dis-

solidarity to the unions in their search for unity.

Organised

"We also stated that workers must be organised beyond the factory and need to form an alliance with other classes and that the UDF is the best forum for this."

Referring to individual membership by workers, he said that the problem with a "loose affiliation" was it would not be easy to co-ordinate and mobilise the people. The situation would be greatly improved if unity on the factory floor and unity in the communities could be achieved.

"It will thus be easier to take actions and to take decisions if the trade unions had already formed themselves into a single federation."

He said once a union has joined UDF it retains its independence. It cedes the independence only in regard to opposition to the constitutional proposal and the Koornhof Bills.

However, Fosatu's general secretary, Joe Foster has different ideas on trade union affiliation to the UDF. He believes that Fosatu comprises people who have different political ideologies and making them affiliate to any political organisation might pose a problem.

"We support any organisation that fights apartheid, and other horrid laws, but we cannot find ourselves affiliating to any of them. We have opposed the new constitution, supported the stayaways, condemned detention . . ."

One of the country's biggest emerging trade union federations, the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) has also pledged solidarity to the UDF in their fight against the new constitution, but was not affiliated to the organisation as such.

The Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) was forced to split regarding the question of affiliation to the UDF.

547K
20/12/84

Tshabalala files for action against successor

114

The former mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, yesterday filed papers for a Rand Supreme Court action against his successor, Mr Edward Kunene.

Details of the application may not be published as the case is to come before a judge in the new year. The action is entitled Mr E Tshabalala and another vs Mr E Kunene and three others.

Attorneys have been preparing papers for the application since Mr

Tshabalala refused to recognise the election of Mr Kunene last week.

Mr Tshabalala claimed that the election was invalid because Mr Kunene was not voted into office at a monthly meeting of the Soweto Council.

He said "constitutional" elections would be held next year.

He has refused to give Mr Kunene the keys to the mayor's office, and former deputy mayor Mr Isaac Buthelezi is living in the mayoral house.

Swazi Govt deports top ANC man

The Star's Foreign
News Service

MBABANE — The African National Congress's most senior man in Swaziland has been ordered to leave the country.

And the Swazi Commissioner of Police, Mr Majaje Simelane, has confirmed that 23 ANC militants had been told to give themselves up or face trial as common criminals.

The latest ANC crackdown follows the assassination of Swaziland's deputy security police chief earlier this month.

On Sunday paramilitary police shot dead a guerilla they described as the ANC "hit man" responsible for the policeman's death.

The police commissioner said that the senior ANC representative in Swaziland, Mr Bafana Duma, had been given until tomorrow to leave the country.

Sources speculated that the Saturday dead-

line would enable Mr Duma to catch direct flights to either Lusaka or Dar es Salaam.

Mr Simelane said that at least 23 ANC militants were "operating underground" in Swaziland. He said the police had names and descriptions of the ANC members and it was just a matter of time before they were apprehended.

He said if they ignored the chance to give themselves up peacefully, and were caught, they would be deported to South Africa.

He did not specify what would happen to the men if they surrendered. But sources said they might be allowed to stay on as refugees if they promised not to engage in political activities.

Mr Simelane said that the 23 ANC men on the Government's "wanted list" had received advanced guerilla training.

He also warned Swazi citizens not to give ANC members shelter.

Union and the struggle

LABOUR reporter JOSHUA RABOROKO looks at the influence of the Black Consciousness Ideology in several unions among the black community. This is the second of two articles.

Workers linked with Black Consciousness

THE involvement of black consciousness trade union movement in labour issues has grown rapidly in the past two years.

The formation of an alliance by nine unregistered black trade unions, founded on the notion of the black consciousness, bears testimony to this idea.

The alliance was the result of months of behind-the-scenes discussions which started in February this year, according to Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, co-ordinator of the alliance.

Mr Nefolovhodwe, who is secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (Bamcwu) — a member of the alliance — says the ideological orientation of the unions is to provide black workers leadership.

The involvement of blacks in trade union movements is a long and traditional one which started as early as 1917 when they were not allowed recognition.

Various commissions

strikes. During 1977 clampdown, which included the banning of Saso and BPC, BAWU somehow survived.

With the formation of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) in 1978 and the increasing re-examination by black consciousness activists of the nature of SA society, the unionisation of black workers was once again placed on the agenda.

Azapo, a black consciousness organisation, arranged labour clinics with the aim to assist workers. It was here that assistance was given to workers and where many of the unions which presently form part of the alliance were first discussed.

After Azapo's labour secretary, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, had helped workers on strike at Ready Mix Concrete, in resolving their wage dispute, Bmacwu was formed in 1982.

Since that time until now, Mr Nefolovhodwe says, "We never looked

back in organising workers and we formed the alliance to help one another."

The unions which form the alliance are: Bamcwu, Insurance and Assurance Workers Union, African Allied Workers Union (AAWU), Amalgamated Black Workers Union (ABWU), Black General Workers Union (BGWU), National Union of Workers' of SA (NUWSA), Black Electronics and Electrical Workers Union (BEEWU), and the SA Scooter Drivers Union.

The Black Health and Allied Workers Union, Oranje-Vaal General Workers Union and the South African Domestic Workers Union, have given their support to the alliance, although have not formally joined.

During May a declaration of intent was adopted by the unions stating inter alia:

- That the unity of black workers is paramount in all efforts di-



STRUGGLE: Bamcwu's general secretary Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe... whites have their own struggle.

rected at the eradication of all forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination.

- That it is the inalienable right of all worker organisations to organise themselves into a solid structure that will be capable of defending the right of workers.
- There is a need to

come together to co-ordinate resources as a means towards the fulfilment of black workers' objectives.

- The need to encourage the spirit of solidarity and unity within the black working community.



THE WRITER: Joshua Raboroko.



THE REVEREND JOE SEOKA: President of Insurance Insurance Assurance Workers Union.

February this year, according to Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, coordinator of the alliance.

Mr Nefolovhodwe, who is secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (Bamcwu) — a member of the alliance — says the ideological orientation of the unions is to provide black workers leadership.

The involvement of blacks in trade union movements is a long and traditional one which started as early as 1917 when they were not allowed recognition.

Various commissions of inquiries instituted by the South African Governments recommended that blacks should not be allowed trade union recognition — but the spirit of unionism was kept alive among blacks throughout the years.

Strong

Some blacks were accommodated in white unions which accepted their membership — but there was a strong and growing need for blacks to have their own unions.

In 1971 the Black Worker Project was formed under personalities such as the exiled South African Students Organisation and Black People's Convention member, Mr Bokwe Mafuna.

Mr Mafuna, a former journalist with a Johannesburg newspaper, together with several other black consciousness exponents, ran labour clinics throughout the country, especially in Johannesburg and Durban.

Saso and BPC were for many years the driving force of the black consciousness movement. In 1972, they were instrumental in the launching of the Black Allied Workers Union, to organise black workers exclusively.

Leaders such as Drake Koka, Lindiwe Mabandla, Saths Cooper and Strini Moodley were very influential in the running of the union, especially during the 1973 Durban

consciousness organisation, arranged labour clinics with the aim to assist workers. It was here that assistance was given to workers and where many of the unions which presently form part of the alliance were first discussed.

After Azapo's labour secretary, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, had helped workers on strike at Ready Mix Concrete, in resolving their wage dispute, Bamcwu was formed in 1982.

Since that time until now, Mr Nefolovhodwe says, "We never looked

Whites split over ANC

STAK 21/12/84

43 pc favour

talks, but

44 pc say ~~NO~~ ^{NO}

By Andrew Beattie,
Pretoria Bureau

White public opinion is split down the middle over the question of whether the time is ripe for negotiations between the Government and the outlawed African National Congress.

Of whites over 18 years of age polled recently, 43 percent favoured negotiations but 44 percent were against.

This was one of the major findings of a national survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of whites' perceptions of the coloured and Indian elections and the recent unrest in black urban areas.

Other results of the survey, released in Pretoria today, showed that nearly 75 percent of the respondents did not believe that nothing short of equal political rights for blacks would end the unrest in black townships — which 71 percent agreed would happen again.

Nearly 42 percent agreed that unrest would result in whites refusing increasingly to give blacks more rights. Forty-three percent disagreed with this view.

The survey, headed by Dr Nic Rhoodie, revealed that 42,9 percent of people contacted in a telephone poll in September were in favour of negotiations with the ANC and 43,9 percent against. A minority 13,3 percent were uncertain.

Of those in favour of negotiations, the largest percentage believed they were "important to ensure peace". Of those against, almost a third linked the ANC to communism, violence and terrorism.

Black majority rule

On reactions to the recent unrest, 41,7 percent agreed that black unrest would result in whites refusing increasingly to give blacks more rights. Roughly the same proportion (43,4 percent) disagreed.

Only 3,3 percent of the survey sample said they would be prepared to accept a black majority government, and roughly three-quarters disagreed that only equal political rights for blacks would end unrest.

Questioned on the role of the police in riot control, only 5,2 percent evaluated their action as "too hard", 43,3 percent said it was "too soft", and 41,5 percent said it was "just strong enough".

A third of the respondents expected terrorism to increase despite the recent peace initiatives in Southern Africa, while a third expected it to decrease. The others expected it to remain constant.

On the low percentage polls in the recent coloured and Indian elections, 14,4 percent attributed the result to the voters' rejection of the new constitution, 35 percent attributed it to "apathy and ignorance", and 30,7 percent regarded "intimidation and propaganda by radical anti-Government groups" as the cause.

Half the respondents disagreed with the proposition that the respective 70 and 80 percent of the coloured people and Indians who did not vote rejected the new constitution, while 36,4 percent believed that they did.

The report noted that the percentage who did not agree the constitution had failed, and that the low polls did not mean coloured people and Indians did not want to co-operate with whites, corresponded with the two-thirds "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

● Government sources today denied a *City Press* report that four top National Party MPs are to hold talks with the ANC in January. The report claimed to be based on a tip-off from a Netherlands diplomat.

● See Page 9.

In an unprecedented move, *Beeld* sent its assistant editor and head of its Pretoria office, Piet Muller, to Lusaka for a five-hour meeting with senior leaders of the ANC. The result was two long articles concluding that if a meeting between the ANC and the SA government took place "there will be enough things on which a fruitful discussion over a wide front can be held."

NP sources tell the *FM* that direct talks between government and the ANC are "out of the question" for the foreseeable future. According to one source: "Government has nothing concrete to give the ANC. There is no indication that government is about to go further than semi-autonomous black local and regional authorities — or to abandon homeland leaders and its new friendship with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. And then there is the rightwing to think of."

However, it is not impossible that secret meetings could be held at least between some leaders of the ANC and prominent NP supporters, especially academics, who would then report to the NP leadership. Similar meetings with Inkatha preceded President P W Botha's recent rapprochement with Buthelezi. However, meaningful dialogue between government and the ANC would probably only be possible if the ANC was unbanned and its leaders released from prison.

Why should government talk to the ANC at all? There are some signs that 1985 could be one of the most traumatic years in recent

SA history — with a sharp increase in labour unrest and growing external pressures. And that could speed up any movement towards dialogue. A mediatory role by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who is believed to have been involved in Muller's meeting, could also help.

Beeld commented on the issue in an editorial headed "Talk it out." It said that the question of talks between government and extra-parliamentary groups (like Inkatha, the ANC and the UDF) touch a raw nerve in SA politics. Talking to groups who want to change the country outside existing political channels could undermine the position of the present authorities, it argued.

Not represented

"But when significant numbers of citizens are not represented directly in the political bodies of a country, the picture changes somewhat. Then a sensible government also has a duty to listen to voices that sometimes sound from unorthodox places; otherwise it runs the risk of not receiving important messages in time.

"One of the biggest problems is to decide when the time is 'ripe' for such talks. Unfortunately, people only understand afterwards what opportunities they have missed. History is full of examples of tragedies as a result of missed opportunities . . .

"It takes courage and conviction for a government to start talks with extra-parliamentary groups, even if such talks are held in secret. Still, the mere possibility of such talks will give millions of people new hope for the future. A future that is acceptable to all can only be planned by all together."

In his reports, Muller said SA's northern neighbours are holding thumbs that such talks will be possible, since peace can only come about if the Afrikaners and the ANC reach agreement. There are leaders in the ANC who want dialogue with government, he found.

Muller also found support for federalism among ANC leaders and for President Botha's proposed division of the country into eight regions for economic development. Although they reject the homeland policy, Muller believes a "fruitful dialogue" on the issue is not impossible.

He writes that one issue on which harsh words would be exchanged is the economy: "As the NP believed two decades ago, the ANC believes that the State should control the economy and crack down on monopolies. In fact, the ANC's economic policies show remarkable similarities to those of the HNP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging."

By calling for talks between government and the ANC, *Beeld* has added its voice to those of Peter Storey of the Methodist Church; Stellenbosch University philosophy professor Willie Esterhuyse; Premier Milling chairman Tony Bloom; the SA Institute of Race Relations; and the Reformed Association, a Calvinist Afrikaner body.



ANC's Oliver Tambo . . . should Pretoria talk to him?

THE ANC ~~2000A~~ (11A) Dialogue talk grows

Is the way being prepared for talks between government — or at least senior National Party (NP) members — and the banned African National Congress (ANC)? Unlikely as the idea may seem, the stance of the most influential Afrikaans daily newspaper, *Beeld*, suggests something is in the wind.

THE SACC
Political division

304
11A

2/11/84
11A FM

There is strong opposition in influential black circles to a political activist or leading member of the United Democratic Front (UDF) being appointed as general secretary of the SA Council of Churches (SACC). Hence Beyers Naudé's "caretaker" appointment.

The opposition surfaced in a remarkable editorial in *The Sowetan*, SA's largest black newspaper, on November 27. Although no names were mentioned, the message was clear: the SACC should not appoint Allan Boesak — patron of the UDF — or one of his UDF supporters as long-term secretary. Said *The Sowetan*: "It



SACC's Naudé ... in a caretaker capacity

Financial Mail December 21 1984

would be disastrous to pick the type of leader who might be tempted to take ideological sides ..."

The editorial appeared on the day the SACC executive and church leaders met to discuss who should succeed Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu at the helm of the organisation.

No final decision was taken. Instead, recently unbanned Beyers Naudé agreed to become "caretaker" general secretary for a period of up to two years. Ironically, Naudé is also a UDF patron.

The executive also appointed a study commission to investigate, in co-operation with member churches, the task of the general secretary and what kind of council the SACC should be. It will also review the role of the SACC general secretary so that a "suitable personality" can be found to fill the post on a long-term basis.

Church circles say that *The Sowetan* editorial reflects tension and anxiety in black circles over the appointment of a new SACC general secretary. It also mirrors the intense divisions in the black community between the multiracial UDF and black consciousness groups.

The purpose of the editorial was apparently to stop the SACC becoming a UDF "front organisation," and to bring into the open the possibility of a UDF "takeover."

There was never any chance of Boesak accepting the post. However, he and his supporters are said to have been promoting the candidacy of the controversial Frank Chikane, director of the Institute of Contextual Theology. Chikane is a member of the Apostolic Faith and Transvaal chairman of the UDF — one of the key posts in the organisation.

Nonetheless, the appointment of a "caretaker" general secretary can be seen as a victory for the Boesak camp which recognised that the time was not ripe for Chikane to assume leadership of the SACC. There are strong objections to his appointment on the grounds of his UDF activism, his youth and his membership of the non-establishment Apostolic Faith church.

The first move to make him more acceptable to the church hierarchy could be to appoint him director of one of the SACC departments — possibly the vacant department of mission and evangelism. This could prepare the way for him to succeed Naudé as general secretary.

Equal political rights for blacks will not end unrest in townships — HSRC

Forty-three percent of respondents in a Human Sciences Research Council survey on whites' attitudes were in favour of the Government negotiating

with the banned African National Congress, 44 percent were against. Other results of the survey, released in Pretoria today, show nearly 75 percent

of respondents did not agree that only equal political rights for blacks would end unrest in black townships... which 71 percent agreed would happen again.

Nearly 42 percent agreed that black unrest would result in whites increasingly refusing to give blacks more rights; 43 percent disagreed.

Survey shows split on whether

there should be talks with ANC

The result of a survey of white opinion on whether the Government ought to negotiate with the African National Congress is most interesting and a great surprise, says survey head researcher Dr Nic Rhoadie.

The survey, by the Human Sciences Research Council, involved white perceptions of the coloured and Indian elections and recent unrest.

Dr Rhoadie said the findings on negotiations between the Government and the ANC was by far the most significant.

It is to be the subject

By Andrew Beattie, Pretoria Bureau

of a further survey in February.

"We expected the vast majority to come out against negotiations with the ANC," added Dr Rhoadie.

"We intend to conduct extensive research into this question, which is naturally of immense significance, as it is often possible to come to conclusions based on statistics through sheer coincidence."

The survey was conducted on four evenings

in September among a random sample of 815 whites aged 18 and over throughout the country.

Dr Rhoadie said open-ended questions were put, so as to obtain the most accurate expression of views.

He added that this was a more accurate way of establishing opinions than giving a list of possible answers to enable respondents to tick off choices.

"Of course it is not for us to say how the government should react to this finding," said Dr Rhoadie.

"That is up to the decision-makers."

The significance of surveys of this nature was debatable however, said Mr Rob Lambert, a senior lecturer in Industrial Sociology at the University of Natal.

"It is difficult to attach weight to attitudes that hang in a vacuum and surveys like this have their main value in that they stimulate questions," he went on.

"A great deal of further research is needed to place these findings in their true perspective. For example it would

be of greater relevance if the finding stated exactly which socio-economic group most of the 42.9 percent in favour of negotiations fell into.

"If they were businessmen who were now starting to debate these questions the finding would be of immense significance."

Almost 70 percent of respondents in the survey believed the Defence Force's massive Thunder Chariot military exercise in September was necessary at the time despite sharp criticism on eco-

nomic grounds by the media.

Project leader Dr Nic Rhoadie said 15.5 percent of the total sample had rejected the operation on economic grounds.

"South Africa's current economic difficulties can basically be regarded as the only reason why some respondents did not approve of the operation," he added.

"Because of the sharp criticism of the exercise on economic grounds by the media it was expected that the percentage of whites who believed it was unnecessary would

be considerably higher."

The data confirmed several earlier research findings that the majority of whites were prepared to pay a high price for their safety... and therefore for an alert Defence Force, Dr Rhoadie went on.

Operation Thunder Chariot was carried out at the Lohatla military grounds in the Northern Cape at a cost of millions of rands. — Sapa.

The survey has brought caustic comments from opposition leaders.

STAR 21/12/84

11A

~~SECRET~~



11) How many children were born alive?

12) How many of these children are still al

13) Are you/your wife breast feeding a chil

0	1	11
0	0	12
2		13

14) Have you or your par

1		14
---	--	----

15) How old is (a) your

(b) your yo

5	5	15 a
5	5	b

16) a) How many of your

b) How many other ct

0	0	16 a
0	4	b

Whose children al

any... Siste

		c
		d

17) How many people (in

0	5	17
---	---	----

Education

18) (a) Can you read ?

(b) Can you write?

1		18 a
1		b

19) (a) What standard

none []¹ Sub
3 or 4 []⁶

2		19 a
---	--	------

(b) What other tr

0		b
---	--	---

Income

20) What work do you

		20
--	--	----



The survey leader . . . Dr Nic Rhodie.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, said the finding that white public opinion was roughly split down the middle over whether the government should negotiate with the African National Congress was a sign of promise for the New Year.

She added that this finding was not surprising as most whites were probably ahead of the Government in their thinking and realised that to solve South Africa's problems it was necessary to get to the negotiating table.

Violence would get South Africa nowhere. Slamming the findings, the United Democratic Front stated that the Human Sciences Research Council had mastered the art of using so-called scientific methods to prove their starting point, namely that the actions of the State were in line with public opinion.

"However," the United Democratic Front continued, "the opinion which they rely on is purely white, and probably conservative white opinion.

The conclusions drawn from the survey clearly show that those interviewed lead lives of absolute isolation and complete ignorance of the views, aspirations and demands of the majority of South Africans.

Judges criticize magistrate

Own Correspondent
GRAHAMSTOWN. — A Cradock magistrate, Mr A Meintjies, was criticized yesterday by two Grahamstown judges for not conducting a fair trial in the case of a woman he convicted and sentenced for wearing a T-shirt with the slogan "Free Mandela".

Mrs Sheila Liza Calata was fined R250 (or three months) last April after Mr Meintjies had found she had "distributed" the T-shirt, which was an undesirable object. She appealed successfully against both conviction and sentence in the Grahamstown Supreme Court last month.

The acting Judge-President of the Eastern

Cape, Mr Justice J P G Eksteen, and Mr Justice N W Zietsman, yesterday gave their reasons for upholding Mrs Calata's appeal and said justice had not been seen to be done in her case.

A reasonable person observing the proceedings in her trial "could not have been blamed if he had gone away gone away saying: 'The magistrate was biased'," the judges added.

They emphasized that they were not required to decide whether the magistrate had in fact been partial and biased towards the prosecution. It was sufficient that reasonable people might think he had favoured one side unfairly.

On several occasions when Mr Meintjies had spoken during the trial, his choice of words had been "unfortunate and distinctly partisan", they said.

When he had approved an erroneous submission by the prosecutor concerning an amendment to the charge sheet, he had given a "strong indication that he was making common cause with the prosecution".

In their view, the magistrate had improperly embarked on the amendment to the

charge sheet, changing the venue of the alleged offence from Cradock Provincial Hospital to Michausdal, a township near Cradock.

The judges said the magistrate ought not to have been aware of prospective evidence and therefore should not have been in a position to decide that the State could only hope to prove that Mrs Calata displayed the offending T-shirt on a bus at Michausdal, and not at the hospital where she worked.

The magistrate was also criticized for approving of the "indefensible attitude" of the prosecutor, who had refused to tell Mrs Calata and her counsel what the relevance was of evidence he had led concerning Mrs Calata's late father-in-law, the Rev James Arthur Calata, who had been general secretary of the African National Congress before it was declared an unlawful organization.

This contravened the most elementary principles of justice, which demanded that a party brought to court should be fully apprised of the case he was called upon to meet, the judges said.

Delia ...

What chance for a black

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

STAR 22/12/84

'Solidarity'?

The successful call for a two-day work stoppage by South Africa's black workforce has raised new fears among white business interests in the country that they may soon face a Solidarity-type movement, similar to that which developed in Poland, *The Economist* reports in a recent issue.

The temptation to compare Poland's Solidarity movement and the trade union movement in South Africa is easy to understand: both collections of workforce organisations are seen to represent the classic confrontation between the oppressed and a powerful, unjust, State.

That, however, may be where the similarities end.

There is no doubt that Poland's Solidarity has become an extremely powerful pressure group, despite the efforts of the authorities there to crush the movement.

There is also no doubt that the South African trade unions have the potential to become just as strong — and even less doubt that this is a long way away.

There are three major reasons for this. Firstly, South African unions lack the leadership typical of Solidarity.

The leadership problem is not helped by the fact that trade union leaders in South Africa are constantly harassed, intimidated and detained. And while it can be

argued that this obviously happens in Poland as well, the unions there have the benefit of many years during which they have built a solid organisational structure and gathered the experience required to survive such an onslaught from the State.

The South Africans do not have that background.

Secondly, the local unions do not have anything resembling the representation that is enjoyed by Solidarity.

Less than 10 percent of the total black workforce in South Africa is unionised. While this includes most skilled workers in some industries, it falls far short of what would be required before local unions could wield the kind of power that Solidarity has.

Thirdly, and probably most important, is the fact that while Solidarity represents a united worker front against the Polish authorities, the South Africans are struggling to achieve some form of unity.

The unity factor in South African trade union organisations is hampered by the same problem which prevents a united black political front — the split between

the Charterists and the advocates of Black Consciousness.

There is already some discontent in black political quarters over the November two-day stayaway.

It is no coincidence that complaints about lack of consultation and high-level involvement in the strike are coming from mainly Black Consciousness quarters while the strike itself was organised mainly by Charterists.

Some of the larger unions in South Africa have thrown in their lot with the United Democratic Front, a Charterist organisation, while others have attempted to maintain neutrality by affiliating to both the UDF and to the National Forum, an umbrella body for Black Consciousness groupings.

Others have stayed out of the political arena altogether.

It is at this point, the question of trade union unity, that the biggest stumbling block to a black "Solidarity" is to be found.

It can, however, be overcome.

Discussions between major South African unions have been under way for about two years and there is promise that some-

thing may develop early next year.

One important factor helping to bridge the differences between the union heavy-handed action of the South African Government

The anger and bitterness of the recent spate of detentions of trade unionists and the forcing of a six-day stayaway on charges of economic sabotage and subversion has not abated despite the fact that other unionists were released without charge.

The Government's action further politicised the unions and helped bring them closer together in the face of common adversity.

The combined membership of the black trade unions stands in the region of 400,000. A long road to unity lies ahead with it will come increased membership, greater experience and expertise.

In the long term the white man's nightmare of a "Solidarity" is bound to become a reality.

In the short term some loose federation between major unions can be expected to emerge and even if it represents just 10 percent of the black workforce it will nevertheless be a formidable challenge to the African Government.

What chance for a black

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

STAR 22/12/84

'Solidarity'?

~~111~~ ~~152~~ ~~154~~

The successful call for a two-day work stoppage by South Africa's black workforce has raised new fears among white business interests in the country that they may soon face a Solidarity-type movement, similar to that which developed in Poland. *The Economist* reports in a recent issue.

The temptation to compare Poland's Solidarity movement and the trade union movement in South Africa is easy to understand: both collections of workforce organisations are seen to represent the classic confrontation between the oppressed and a powerful, unjust, State.

That, however, may be where the similarities end.

There is no doubt that Poland's Solidarity has become an extremely powerful pressure group, despite the efforts of the authorities there to crush the movement.

There is also no doubt that the South African trade unions have the potential to become just as strong — and even less doubt that this is a long way away.

There are three major reasons for this. Firstly, South African unions lack the leadership typical of Solidarity.

The leadership problem is not helped by the fact that trade union leaders in South Africa are constantly harassed, intimidated and detained. And while it can be

argued that this obviously happens in Poland as well, the unions there have the benefit of many years during which they have built a solid organisational structure and gathered the experience required to survive such an onslaught from the State.

The South Africans do not have that background.

Secondly, the local unions do not have anything resembling the representation that is enjoyed by Solidarity.

Less than 10 percent of the total black workforce in South Africa is unionised. While this includes most skilled workers in some industries, it falls far short of what would be required before local unions could wield the kind of power that Solidarity has.

Thirdly, and probably most important, is the fact that while Solidarity represents a united worker front against the Polish authorities, the South Africans are struggling to achieve some form of unity.

The unity factor in South African trade union organisations is hampered by the same problem which prevents a united black political front — the split between

the Charterists and the advocates of Black Consciousness.

There is already some discontent in black political quarters over the November two-day stayaway.

It is no coincidence that complaints about lack of consultation and high-level involvement in the strike are coming from mainly Black Consciousness quarters while the strike itself was organised mainly by Charterists.

Some of the larger unions in South Africa have thrown in their lot with the United Democratic Front, a Charterist organisation, while others have attempted to maintain neutrality by affiliating to both the UDF and to the National Forum, an umbrella body for Black Consciousness groupings.

Others have stayed out of the political arena altogether.

It is at this point, the question of trade union unity, that the biggest stumbling block to a black "Solidarity" is to be found.

It can, however, be overcome.

Discussions between major South African unions have been under way for about two years and there is promise that some-

thing may develop early next year.

One important factor which is helping to bridge the political differences between the unions is the heavy-handed action of the South African Government.

The anger and bitterness over the recent spate of detentions of trade unionists and the forthcoming trial of six stayaway leaders on charges of economic sabotage and subversion has not abated — despite the fact that other unionists were released without charge.

The Government's actions have further politicised the unions and helped bring them closer together in the face of common adversity.

The combined membership of the black trade unions today stands in the region of 400 000. A long road to unity lies ahead but with it will come increased membership, greater experience and expertise.

In the long term the white businessman's nightmare of a black "Solidarity" is bound to become reality.

In the short term some sort of loose federation between the major unions can be expected to emerge and even if it represents just 10 percent of the black workforce it will nevertheless be a formidable challenge to the South African Government.

Will Mandela be freed?

SA-ANC talks on the horizon

RDM
22/12/84
~~30/11~~
11A

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

THE prospect of talks between the Government and the African National Congress in the new year to seek a solution to South Africa's political dilemma was strengthened yesterday by three important developments:

● It was reported that a group of Nationalist MPs would travel to Lusaka next month to meet ANC representatives;

● A Human Sciences Research Council survey showed that 43% of whites interviewed favoured Government contact with the ANC, although 43% were against such a move; and

● An academic survey showed that the majority of students at homeland universities supported the ANC and its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela.

In Johannesburg, City Press reported that four Nationalist MPs were planning to have talks with the ANC in Lusaka early in January. The four MPs were not named.

The report was sourced to an unnamed Dutch diplomat who visited South Africa recently.

The State President and leader of the NP, Mr P W Botha, was unavailable for comment yesterday, but a number of other senior Cabinet Ministers denied the report.

However, some observers believed the report was in line with clear indications in recent weeks that there is a growing lobby within the NP which favours talks with the ANC as a solution to the country's problems.

At the same time, there are growing rumours that the Government is seriously considering releasing Nelson Mandela early in the new year.

It was also reallably learnt recently that a significant number of a group of NP youth leaders who met in Pretoria earlier this year favoured direct contacts with the ANC.

Earlier this month a leading Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, published articles about the ANC after a five-hour interview with representatives of the organisation in Lusaka. Beeld also called for talks between the ANC and the Government.

There is a growing feeling in some Nationalist circles that the Government must negotiate with the ANC to solve South Africa's problems.

It is widely suspected that some Nationalist MPs — and possibly Cabinet Ministers — have already had informal secret contacts with representatives of the organisation.

It was speculated yesterday that if the report of the January meeting between Nat MPs and ANC representatives was correct, it would probably involve some of the so-called verligte backbenchers in the party and certainly not anyone with party rank.

The HSRC report released in Pretoria yesterday was a survey of the attitudes of 815 whites over

□ To Page 2

Vote goes to Mandela

From Page 1

the age of 18.

Some observers believed the relatively favourable attitude towards the ANC was significant because there has been no conditioning of whites to the acceptance of talks with the ANC, other than the Beeld articles and subtle hints by other Nationalist media.

According to the survey, of those in favour of negotiations with the ANC, 24% said their reason was to ensure peace, 17% said communication with the ANC was important, 14% said they wanted a solution to the problem, 11% said it was "at least worth an effort" and 10% said their reason was "to come to an agreement" with the organisation.

Of those opposed to the idea of negotiations, 31,4% linked the ANC to communism, violence and terrorism.

The Mail Correspondent reports from Cape Town that high levels of support for the ANC and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela had been found among students at five homeland universities.

It was conducted among 896 students between 1980 and 1983 by Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, a visiting professor at the University of Cape Town.

Prof Totemeyer also found more support for the PFP than for the Pan Africanist Congress and Inkatha.

Mandela easily topped the list as the most popular politician, followed by Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Workers reminded stay-away is off

11A

Post Reporter

E. Post 22/12/84

THE Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) today repeated an earlier call for workers not to stay away from work on Monday.

The secretary of the organisation, Mr Siphon Hashe, said that a month ago Pebco decided to call off a recommended one-day work stoppage over service charges increases which was originally scheduled for Monday, November 26.

He said Pebco had originally resolved to protest against the increases by asking people to stay away from

work on Monday and to boycott all liquor township outlets for three days from Monday.

"We reviewed our resolution and decided to call off both the stay-away and the boycott.

"We informed people at our meetings and through the media after the Kayamnandi Town Council decided to scrap the increases for lodgers, hostel-dwellers and shacks," he said.

However, there were rumours that some people thought the stay-away was still on.

AMC head attacks Council

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

IN AN attack on the City Council yesterday, the Rev Edward Manikkam, acting-president of the Association of Management Committees (AMC), termed the council's rejection of management committee involvement in its affairs as "racist".

At its monthly executive meeting on Thursday, the council reaffirmed its vow to fight for direct participation of all Cape Town's citizens in council affairs. It thereby rejected a management committee plea to be allowed to be involved in council affairs even without the right to vote.

'Contempt'

Reacting to this decision yesterday, Mr Manikkam, who is also a member of the House of Delegates, said: "I cannot understand the City Council's stand. They don't represent all the citizens of Cape Town! They represent people on the white voter's roll, which is a racist roll and discrimination at the highest level.

"Who are they trying to cheat?" he asked. "I treat their decision with the contempt it deserves."

City Council elections also had low polls, he said in response to Councillor John Sonnenberg's reference to low management committee polls.

The AMC was committed to direct representation and called for one common roll.

Previous direct representation council elec-

tions operated on the basis of a "qualified franchise" which eliminated most of the people living in Bonteheuwel, Manenberg and Bishop Lavis, Mr Manikkam said.

Asked if he was prepared to serve on the council without a vote, he replied: "Yes, only under duress. In the meanwhile we will use every available mechanism to fight for the civic rights of our people."

Mr Fred Peters, Labour Party secretary and member of the House of Representatives for Silverton, yesterday termed the City Council's decision as "their typical pink liberal attitude".

Conscience

The matter would be raised at the LP's coming conference in Kimberley, he said.

Councillor David Bloomberg, responding to Mr Manikkam's criticisms, said yesterday: "My conscience and that of the City Council is absolutely clear that we would welcome an open roll where all people of the City would be on one voters' roll. No citizen would be disqualified from standing for election."

Mr Jack Heeger, former councillor for Ward 17 who was barred from his post as councillor following legislation which disenfranchised coloured voters, yesterday "applauded" the council for fighting to keep the franchise open to people of all races.

Printers

TO GOVT talks with ANC

CITE TINTS
22/12/84

11A ~~301A~~

Restaurant
Room Restaurant
36 50
41 CHRISTMAS
I am to
IN TODAY
IAS with

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The prospect of talks between the government and the African National Congress in the new year to seek a solution to South Africa's political dilemma was strengthened yesterday by three important developments.

● It was reported that a group of Nationalist MPs would travel to Lusaka next month to meet ANC representatives.

● A Human Sciences Research Council survey showed that 43 percent of whites interviewed favoured government contact with the ANC, although 44 percent were against such a move.

● An academic survey showed that the majority of students at homeland universities supported the ANC and its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela.

In Johannesburg, City Press reported that four Nationalist MPs were planning to have talks with the ANC in Lusaka early in January. The four MPs were not named.

The report was sourced to an unnamed Dutch diplomat who visited South Africa recently.

NP lobby

The State President and leader of the NP, Mr P W Botha, was not available for comment yesterday, but a number of other senior cabinet ministers denied the report.

However, some observers believe the report was in line with clear indications in recent weeks that there is a growing lobby within the NP which favours talks with the ANC as a solution to the country's problems.

At the same time, there are growing rumours that the government is seriously considering releasing the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, early in the new year.

It was also reliably learnt recently that a significant number of a group of NP youth leaders who met in Pretoria earlier this year favoured direct contacts with the ANC.

Interview

Earlier this month a leading Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, published articles about the ANC after a five-hour interview with representatives of the organization in Lusaka. Beeld also called for talks between the ANC and the government.

There is a growing feeling in some Nationalist circles that the government must negotiate with the ANC to solve South Africa's problems.

Subtle hints

It is widely suspected that some Nationalist MPs — and possibly cabinet ministers — have already had informal secret contacts with representatives of the organization.

The HSRC report released in Pretoria yesterday was a survey of the attitudes of 315 whites over the age of 18.

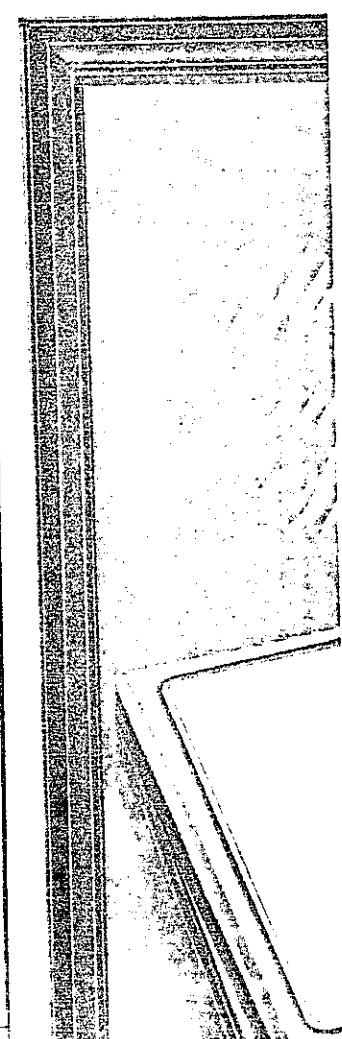
Some observers believed the relatively favourable attitude towards the ANC was significant, because there has been no conditioning of whites to the acceptance of talks with the ANC other than the Beeld articles and subtle hints by other Nationalist media.

According to the survey, of those in favour of negotiations with the ANC, 24 percent said their reason was to ensure peace, 17 percent that communication with the ANC was important,

14 percent to find a solution to the problem, 11 percent said it was "at least worth an effort" and 10 percent said their reason was "to come to an agreement" with the organization.

Of those opposed to the idea of negotiations, 31.4 percent linked the ANC to communism, violence and terrorism.

● Students back Mandela, page 2



me
bu
th
bl
ter
Ac
on
i
ed
jer
sa
I
ap
tag
pe
Ca
ins
cle
sh
ch

114 ~~114~~

CAPE Times 22/2/84

Students back Mandela

By BARRY STREEK

A HIGH level of support for the banned African National Congress and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela has been found among students at five homeland universities.

This support for the ANC is higher than that given by urban black people in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban in a poll in 1981.

The survey was carried out among students at the Universities of Transkei (Unutra), BophuthaTswana (Unibo), Venda (Univen), Fort Hare and QwaQwa (Uniqwa).

It was conducted among 896 students between 1980 and 1983 by Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, a visiting professor at the University of Cape Town.

He found that 71 per cent of the students polled at Unutra saw the ANC as the movement or political party they supported or sympathized with most.

At Unibo it was 70 per cent, at Univen 44 per cent, with 59 per cent at both Uniqwa and Fort Hare.

Professor Totemeyer found more support for the Progressive Federal Party than for the Pan African Congress — backed by between two and three per cent — and Inkatha.

Inkatha had no support at Unutra, two per cent at both Univen and Fort Hare, four per cent at Unibo and nine per cent at

Uniqwa.

Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence and cannot be quoted in South Africa, easily topped the list as the most popular South African politician.

Asked to name three politicians they admired most, 61 per cent at Unutra opted for Nelson Mandela, as did 48 per cent at Univen, 31 per cent at Unibo, 45 per cent at Uniqwa and 66 per cent at Fort Hare.

However, the ANC leader in exile, Oliver Tambo, obtained little backing. Bishop Desmond Tutu, the retiring general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, gained on average the second-highest support, although

this was much lower than that for Mandela.

Inkatha president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi obtained six per cent at Uniqwa, four per cent at both Unutra and Univen, three per cent at Unibo and two per cent at Fort Hare, where he studied.

Professor Totemeyer said the overall scant support for Chief Buthelezi contradicted earlier findings by Professor Theodor Hanf among the urban population of Soweto and Durban, as well as the assertion that Chief Buthelezi was the second-most acceptable choice or alternative in black politics after Nelson Mandela.

Homeland leaders received very little support in their own areas, and

none outside them.

Three per cent of the Unutra students admired President Kaiser Matanzima, six per cent of the Uniqwa students admired Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli, six per cent of the Univen students admired President Patrick Mphahlele, three per cent of the Unibo students admired President Lukas Mangope and just one per cent of the Fort Hare students admired President Lennox Sebe.

Professor Totemeyer said: "The legitimacy of the ANC as an authentic voice of the blacks has never been doubted."

"It is not only seen as a symbol of hope, but also an alternative to racism, exploitation and discrimination."

re
y,
B-
ie
L

DUAL BLOW FOR AZAPO MEMBER

FORMER Azanian People's Organisation Pietersburg branch chairman Jonas Mabotja, 31, suffered a double blow this week.

He was expelled from the school where he had taught for 10 years for allegedly inciting students.

But as he left Khaiso High School in Seshego to prepare himself for taking up a new post he had been offered at Mazwe High School, 4km from the Botswana border, he received another shock.

A letter arrived telling him he was fired.

Political comment in this issue by P Qoboza and P Selwyn-Smith, newsbills by P Selwyn-Smith, headlines and sub-editing by C Vick, all of 62 Eloff St Ext, JHB.

What's all the fuss
ing as far as I am con-
he said.

C. Pen
27/12/94
11A

'White papers cause conflict'

By KHULU SIBIYA

THE newly-elected Azanian People's Organisation executive committee has been given the task of relentlessly fighting for an anti-racist, socialist Azania.

Delegates who attended Azapo's fifth congress in Cape Town this week resolved to intensify their fight for the seizure of land and power from the South African Government in order to usher a democratic, socialist Azania.

In his speech, new president Ishmael Mkhabela called for unity among black people "in order to speed up liberation".

He said the division in the black community was caused by white

newspapers, who write editorials favouring one group against another.

"BC will not conform to the whims of those who want to destroy us. We are more than willing to go forward with our struggle.

"We may not have all the muscles but we will continue to go forward," he said.

Azapo broke a long silence when it condemned work stayaways, school boycotts and hunger strikes as "potentially harmful to the very people they are intended to help".

A paper delivered by

new deputy president Joe Seoka noted that the three weapons of the struggle failed to "enhance the people's efforts towards liberation".

Congress condemned the pending visit by Edward Kennedy and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson as having no interest to black people.

The delegates condemned the "unjust and unequal" education in the country. It was resolved that the black community must be well prepared for the hardships and challenges that lie ahead.

Delegates also pledged support for the national anti-asbestos campaign

SOWETO RESIDENTS

20
27

COUNCILLORS GUARDED IN 'COMPOUND'

LEKOA's councillors have at last come out of hiding and are living in Sebokeng Zone 10 under tight security — and away from the public eye. *(L.A.) C.P. Rep 23/12/84*

A source close to the councillors — who all had their homes razed by fire during the unrest — revealed that they moved into their new homes last Tuesday.

Lekoa mayor Esau Mahlatsi confirmed that he and his councillors had built themselves homes in Sebokeng Zone 10.

"There is nothing strange about us owning homes," he told City Press.

However, the mayor refused to reveal the cost of the new homes.

"What's all the fuss

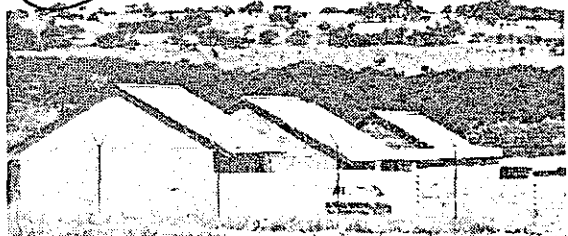
**By STAN
MHLONGO**

about us owning homes?" asked councillor Sonny Mofokeng.

But the public finds the whole issue very peculiar.

Grace Mofokeng of Zone 14, Sebokeng said it was disturbing that community leaders should live in a secluded area — far away from the people they lead.

"They are still in hiding as far as I am con-



The "compound" at Sebokeng Zone 10 where Lekoa councillors have dug themselves in behind barbed wire.

cerned," said Mrs Mofokeng.

"The area has about 40 posh homes surrounded by barbed wire. And it is heavily guarded day and night."

But mayor Mahlatsi insisted that there was nothing peculiar in councillors not living with their community.

"We are not in hiding — I go about the township as I please," he said.

Pityi's daughter sacked

CISKEI authorities this week fired Foreign Affairs Minister B N Pityi's daughter from Radio Ciskei — where she was working as a programmer.

Busisiwe Pityi received a letter signed by the Deputy Director General of Foreign Affairs, informing her of her dismissal under the Public Servants Act.

23/12/84
C. P. P. P.
143 (157) 5/2/84

DAIRY MAID CRIES OVER SPILT MILK

A LEADING dairy products manufacturer this week demanded that the Food Beverage Workers' Union verify a Press report that its mother body had launched a consumer boycott of its products after a dispute with the union.

The manufacturer, Dairymaid, intends to take legal action against the Council of Unions of South Africa to prohibit the boycott.

However, Cusa pointed out that the boycott was launched by the Dairymaid Workers' Union, not Cusa.

Cusa said the boycott was launched because

of Dairymaid's unfair labour conduct.

This allegedly includes the dismissal of long-service employees, the assault and insult of workers by management employees, refusing to negotiate with the union and failure to reinstate union members.

By SANDILE MEMELA

★ 'Let SA read it!'

THE publishers of a black scholar's best-selling book, which was banned last week, lodged an appeal with the Publications Control Board this week.

Theory and Practice of Black Resistance to Apartheid by Dr Mokgethi Motlhabi, published in August, is a penetrating social-ethnic analysis which spotlights the ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement between 1948 and 1978 in their fight for the total liberation of South Africa.

Skotaville also revealed that another of its best-sellers, Bishop Desmond Tutu's Hope and Suffering, has been published in the United Kingdom and the United States.

UDF
11A C P P P
man
23/12/84
gone



CHARLES NQAKULA: Missing.

FRIENDS and relatives are worried over the mysterious disappearance of former Mswasa acting president and UDF Border publicity secretary Charles Nqakula.

Mr Nqakula was due to stand trial on a charge of entering South Africa without a visa on November 28, but he failed to appear in the East London Magistrate's Court.

A warrant of arrest was authorised and his R200 bail was provisionally estreated until December 12.

But he failed to appear again.

Police believe Mr Nqakula may have skipped the country, but friends and relatives fear that he could be in detention.



LEKOA: come out in Sebokeng security public e

A source all had the the unres vealed t' moved in new hor Tuesday.

Lekoa m Mahlatsi that he ané cillors had h selves h Sebokeng 2

"There strange abo ing homes, City Press.

However, refused to cost of the n

"What's a

DUAL FORA



TOP NAT MPs TO

MEET

ANC

11A
C. Pres
23/12/84

FOUR National Party Members of Parliament will travel to Lusaka in January to hold talks with the African National Congress.

From THE PRESS TRUST OF SA

The names of the MPs have not been released — but the trip follows recent reports that the South African Government is preparing the white community — especially Afrikaners — for a possible meeting of the outlawed liberation movement.

A Dutch diplomat visiting SA this week confirmed that four MPs will be sent by the National Party to talk to the ANC early

in January.

The diplomat said it seemed the Government was now serious about opening dialogue with the ANC; which was banned in 1961.

“Pretoria realises there can never be peace and development in South Africa while organisations such as the ANC are ignored.

“The Government realises the ANC commands a great deal of support among the black people and among some whites.

“It therefore wants to create the right climate for talks with the organisation’s leadership,” he said.

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Terror Lekota agreed, saying it was a “sensible thing” for the Government to do.

“We have always main-

tained that the Government must start talking to the black leaders and organisations who really matter.

“In South African politics there is no way organisations such as the ANC can be ignored.

“We sincerely hope the Government starts negotiating with the ANC so that a climate of goodwill can be created.”

This week’s development follows a recent visit to Lusaka by senior Afrikaans journalist Piet Muller, to interview the ANC.

Rapport editor Wimpie de Klerk has called for the Government to talk to imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and Potchefstroom University Professor Ben van der Walt urged the Government to talk to “extra-parliamentary organisations” such as the UDF and the ANC.

PE black leaders call on all people to report for work as usual on Monday

24/12/84 E. Post

11A

By JIMMY MATYU

POLITICAL, civic, youth and trade union leaders in the Port Elizabeth black townships have called on all people to report as usual for work on Monday.

This is in response to what they describe as "confusion and unfounded rumours" that have been circulating in the townships.

They said people must ignore the rumours about a planned work stoppage on Monday.

The leaders explained that the stayaway originally scheduled for Monday by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) in protest against service charge increases had been called off.

Organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation this week made it clear they knew of no stayaway call on Monday.

Mr Siphon Hashe, secretary of Pebco, repeated an earlier call by his organisation to workers not to stay away from work on Monday.

"We reviewed our resolution for a one-day stayaway on Monday and a three-day boycott of all liquor outlets in the townships from Monday and decided to call these off after the Kayamandi Town Council scrapped the service charges increases we were protesting against," he said.

"We informed residents at meetings and through the Press that there would no longer be a stayaway or a boycott on Monday."

Mr Hashe issued the statement to quash "unfounded rumours" circulating that these were still on.

Mr Dennis Neer, national secretary of the Motor Assemblers and Components Workers Union of South Africa (Macwusa) and the General Workers Union of South Africa (Gwusa) said that as far as the two trade unions were concerned they were not aware of any call for a stayaway on Monday.

"there is no stayaway on Monday and we appeal to our people not to allow themselves to be confused by any elements working against progressive organisations," he said.

Mr Ngcobo Nguna, president of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Azanian People's Organisation, said Azapo was not aware of any stayaway planned in Port Elizabeth for Monday.

Mr Nguna called on all people to ignore any rumours or anonymous pamphlets that might be distributed over the weekend by forces aiming to confuse them in order to discredit black organisations.

Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), said: "People must ignore these rumours and go to work on Monday."

CAPE Times

11/12
JOSEPH

Monday, December 24, 1984

NP, ANC deny contact rumour

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — With both the African National Congress and the National Party this weekend quashing rumours of any planned contact in the new year, a Cape Town academic is pressing on with moves to bring about dialogue with the ANC.

He is Professor Harvey van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, who arranged the recent trip to Lusaka of a Beeld journalist, Dr Piet Muller.

Professor Van der Merwe — who sees himself as a "peace-maker" — is paving the way for meetings between the ANC and various academics, business leaders and church leaders in the new year.

Professor Van der Merwe has been a cen-

tral mover behind the recent calls for dialogue with the banned and exiled ANC from within the establishment — which has included Beeld.

These calls have fuelled widespread speculation that the government is preparing to meet with the ANC.

The feeling in some political and academic circles is that the idea of a meeting with the ANC is being "floated" to gauge white public opinion and at the same time prepare whites for future, as yet unplanned, talks with the ANC.

On Friday, the black weekly City Press reported that four NP MPs would travel to Lusaka to meet ANC representatives. The report was sourced to an anonymous Dutch diplomat.

At the weekend, Mr P W Botha, the State President, said no NP MPs would be allowed to hold

talks with the ANC, while the ANC said from Lusaka that no such talks were planned.

The ANC categorically denied the City Press story and said the reports were "pure speculation" resulting from hopes built up following Dr Muller's visit.

Mr Botha said no National Party MPs would be allowed to hold talks with organizations engaged in promoting violence in South Africa and "no parliamentarians or the government will be allowed to do so".

Professor Van der Merwe said that while he understood Mr Botha's position, this did not mean discussions could be ruled out, as the government was not a unitarian structure.

"There is a lot of scope for meetings between the ANC and establishment-oriented business leaders, church leaders and academics."

Professor Van der Merwe — who is aiming to act merely as a "mediator" in such meetings — said he had had nothing to do with the rumour of a trip by Nat MPs.

Two ANC men shot dead in

Ingwavuma

Police have shot dead two trained ANC members, arrested four others and seized large quantities of Eastern bloc arms and ammunition in the Ingwavuma district of northern Natal since December 6.

Six "terrorist hangers-on" were also arrested during the operation, which was continuing, said the Acting Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General H G de Witt, in a statement issued in Pretoria yesterday.

Equipment seized included land-mines, rocket launchers, anti-tank grenades, limpet mines, anti-personnel mines and 5 000 rounds of ammunition.

General de Witt said police, acting on information gained as a result of "certain arrests" made by the Security Branch, approached a "certain place" in the Ingwavuma district on December 14.

"A black man with an AK-47 started shooting at them. Police returned the fire and the man was killed," the statement said.

"It has since been established the black man was a highly trained ANC terrorist."

WOUNDED

A Captain Holloway of the SAP was wounded in the right arm and hand.

At 5.30 am yesterday, an SAP unit under the command of Major-General Stanley Schutte and Brigadier Bert Wandrag, assisted by the Air Force, approached an alleged terrorist hideout in the Ingwavuma district, the statement said.

"In the shoot-out that followed, another trained ANC terrorist was shot dead and two terrorist hangers-on were arrested."

Other ANC members and sympathisers were arrested during the course of the operation, General de Witt said.

Police seized four TM 7 land-mines, 34 PMN anti-personnel mines, 17 RKG anti-tank grenades, 31 handgrenades, seven RPG-7 rocket launchers, one limpet mine, one PKM machine-gun, 15 AK-47 rifles, one C Peterson carbine, three Luger pistols, ammunition and two electronic time switches.

The police investigation is continuing. — Sapa.

MANDELA
STAR 27/12/84
rejects deal
for release
report

Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has spurned a deal for his release offered by Transkei President Kaiser Matanzima, says the Afrikaans morning newspaper, *Beeld*.

The offer of release to an independent homeland reportedly also affects other ANC life-prisoners, presumably including Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki.

Beeld reports it has a copy of the "sharply worded" letter of refusal from Mandela to President Matanzima. It says the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has refused permission for it to disclose the contents of the letter and would not comment on the release offer.

UNAWARE

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Walter Sisulu, said this morning she was unaware that any release offer had been made to her husband. She had received no communication from lawyers or homeland authorities.

"But my son is visiting his father in Cape Town. He may return with the news," she said.

Reports of Mandela's rejection of the homeland release offer come as no surprise. Similar offers by President Matanzima have been made in the past and ANC leaders have rejected them unequivocally.

SPURNED

The last initiative of the kind was taken by President Matanzima in March this year. It became known that Mandela and Sisulu had spurned the deal because they rejected the homeland system and desired unconditional freedom for all political prisoners — not release with heavy restrictions for a few.

The present offer, although put by President Matanzima, is understood to have been made by heads of several independent homelands. In a build-up to the move, *Beeld* claims, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Nelson's wife, met President Matanzima in Umtata a week ago — before a Christmas visit to her husband in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town.

2 shot dead, 10 held in Ingwavuma

DOM 27/12/84

Police deal a big blow to the ANC

By EMIELIA JAROSCHEK
Crime Reporter

A DEADLY blow has been dealt to the ANC with the smashing in northern Natal of a large band of terrorists on a mission, Lieutenant-General H G de Witt, the Acting Commissioner of Police, said yesterday.

Gen De Witt said: "Break-throughs like the one in Ingwavuma, Natal, do not fall from the sky. This was the result of hard work by the Security Police. I am proud of their success."

Two terrorists were shot dead during separate confrontations with the police at their hideouts and four other terrorists and six sympathisers were detained.

Police also discovered a large cache of arms — described as the biggest yet found in South Africa — at a temporary base used by the terrorists.

Brigadier Bert Wandrag, the Commanding Officer of the Police Special Task Force which played a

major role in the swoops, said yesterday that this was the first time that so many of the powerful TM 7 landmines had been found by police in a swoop.

"They are rare in this country. We have found them before on isolated occasions. The weaponry in the cache was of the type mainly used for rural targets."

The operation involved the Security Police, the SAP Special Task Force, the SAP Counter Insurgency Unit and the Air Force, reports the Durban Correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail.

A Security Police captain was slightly wounded during a follow-up operation on December 14.

A statement released by Police Headquarters in Pretoria said that after a number of arrests were made during early December, a hideout was pointed out to police.

When the police approached the hideout a man armed with an AK 47 rifle opened fire, wounding a

Captain Frank Holloway of the Security Police.

"The bullets hit his gun which was extended in front of him, deflected and grazed the fingers of his left hand," a Security Police spokesman said.

"Another bullet hit him in the right shoulder. He is really lucky to be alive.

"There were initial fears that he might lose his fingers, but they have healed nicely," the spokesman said.

In the follow-up operation, police assisted by a number of Air Force helicopters swooped on another terrorist base at 5.30am on Monday morning.

During the ensuing battle another highly trained terrorist was shot dead. Four other terrorists as well as two sympathisers were arrested.

According to Brig Wandrag, the arms found at the terrorist base and at various other caches included four TM 7 landmines, 34 PMN personnel mines, 17 RKG 3 anti-tank grenades, 31 hand grenades, seven RPG 7 missiles, one limpet mine, one PKM machinegun, 15 AK 47 rifles, one C Peterson hand machine carbine, three Luger pistols, 5 000 rounds of ammunition, 2 electronic time switches, various other equipment and clothing.

Brig Wandrag said more arrests could be expected.

Hard line by LP on apartheid

Post Correspondent

11A
E. Post
27/12/84

KIMBERLEY — Delegates to the Labour Party congress, which began here today, are determined that apartheid at beaches, swimming pools, restaurants, cinemas and town halls must go — and go now.

Party members say the Government must prove that when it speaks of "reform" it means what it says — it can no longer discriminate between parliamentary voters.

Peninsula MPs are angered by beach apartheid in the Western Cape, home to the largest concentration of coloured people in the country.

They point out there are more coloured people in the Cape than white people, and more Indian people in Natal than white people, which means that the country's total stretch of beach can no longer be reserved on a racial basis.

One Cape Town delegate commented: "We are fed up with being thrown off our own beaches to make way for verkrampes from the Transvaal."

The Cape Divisional Council and Simonstown are among local authorities which still insist on beach apartheid although the Government's Strydom Committee earlier this year questioned the validity of beach apartheid signs.

The situation in Port Elizabeth is similar. Many beaches remain closed to all but whites, which has resulted in an on-going controversy.

Until recently, Oudtshoorn had separate parking, which kept apart the cars driven by white owners and those driven by people of colour, and had separate entrances to the Cango Caves.

Mr David Curry, now Minister of Local Government in the House of Representatives, has had the experience of being asked to leave the Cango Caves restaurant.

This month a member of the House of Delegates was asked to leave a Bloemfontein restaurant.

"This sort of nonsense must never happen again. We are voters who participate in South Africa's Parliament," said a Labour Party delegate.

Similarly, congress delegates want all public halls and cinemas to be opened by law. They also want the law to ensure that a city such as Pretoria cannot consider closing a public park to people on the grounds of race.

Many town halls throughout the country are still closed to people of colour. Capab, for example, does not visit a number of towns in the Cape because the towns will not allow performances that are open to all members of the public.

The Labour Party national executive met in Kimberley this morning and the congress will be formally opened in Kimberley City Hall tonight by the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

in the US

Crowd-puller Tutu is proving a hi

Cape Times

27/12/84

~~128~~ ~~1304~~ (11A)

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — Bishop Desmond Tutu, who calls his Nobel Peace Prize "a wonderful signal from God", is a hit here—a crowd-puller with the sort of easy familiarity, directness of message and zest that Americans go for.

Now all of America is learning about constructive engagement, and the teacher is a Nobel laureate who calls Mr Chester Crocker's labours "an abomination . . . Immoral, evil and unchristian", then follows up with a warm little laugh of absolution.

South Africa has itself a celebrity. Bishop Tutu is quotable on everything and anything. Even in defence of boxing.

When the American Medical Association called for the abolition of the sport,

its defenders dug up an old Bishop Tutu comment in which he suggested that the achievements of Joe Louis and Sugar Ray Robinson had inspired him more than those of Martin Luther King.

Bishop Tutu is everywhere — addressing the United Nations Security Council, chatting with President Ronald Reagan, taking an unprecedented standing ovation in a congressional hearing, toasted by high society at a Waldorf-Astoria banquet and blessed by hundreds of fellow churchmen in the vast cathedral of St John the Divine.

"He's a bubbling fountain of joy amidst the turmoil of South Africa," raved former UN ambassador Mr Andy Young.

Bishop Tutu's words may on occasion

read like those of some Old Testament avenger, but they are delivered with such good nature, and his talk of blood-baths mixed so daintily with images of lambs gambolling in a harmonious future, that it all sounds wholesome, even jolly.

He goes to work "like a politician at a wedding", it has been noted, "patting backs, cracking jokes, hugging old friends . . ." And he comes up with the sort of anecdote President Ronald Reagan exploits so well.

The bishop travels light and fast. So fast that his dash home for his mother's funeral was a mere blur in his crammed calendar.

What intrigues most is the bishop's basic message: "For me to say I support economic sanctions is an indictable of-

fence," he politely corrects those who assume he does. In between such advisories, he hammers away at the need for "economic pressure". He harps on the sanctions the US has imposed on Poland and for decades on Cuba, and he lauds the sports boycott as an example of what such pressure can accomplish: "Apartheid has been stood on its head."

Dr Crocker says the bishop is against US withdrawal, while the disinvestment movement assumes that he is for it. And Pretoria? Ambassador Brand Fourie suggests that Bishop Tutu has not "fully subscribed" to disinvestment.

Just about everybody sees the bishop as the catalyst that triggered the American demonstrations, even if they disagree on long-term impact.

Mr Fourie sees no depth of public sup-

port behind the protests, and South African officials in New York disparage them as "a people shuffling about".

Yet the warning of conservative Republicans that South Africa is becoming embarrassing — is getting in the way of the crusade against communism — has to bother your average Botha.

That white conservatives are operating in concert with this cheerful black bishop who offers Reaganism absolution with a merry laugh, has to bother even more.

"The bishop is the ideal person to tell Americans of apartheid," wrote Washington commentator Stephen Rosenfeld. "A victim but a survivor, moral without being threatening, universalist in his message, winning in his manner."

Boston columnist David Nyhan put it simpler: "Tutu gets the Peace Prize and suddenly even the White House gets religious on apartheid."

Pretoria undoubtedly trusts that time will turn Bishop Tutu into a clergyman too taken up with diocesan concerns to grab global headlines once the novelty fades.

Yet within days, Teddy Kennedy comes calling with the big guns of the American media in tow and Tutu the host. One network may even "anchor" — headquarter — its main news programme in South Africa for a while.

Pretoria should know that mass communications and the power of a single personality to influence millions have greatly developed since a South African last won the Peace Prize.



Bishop Tutu

'Kei President denies offer

Govt is silent on Mandela

RDW
28/12/84

11A
11/11/84

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Department of Prisons refused to comment yesterday on reports that African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela has refused a renewed offer of release from prison to reside in

Transkei.

And President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei has denied that the offer — reportedly made to Mandela through his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela — was ever made.

President Matanzima told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday that he was visited by Mrs Mandela last week but this, he said, was to discuss family matters. The imprisoned ANC leader is his cousin.

The offer and its refusal were reported in the Afrikaans newspapers Beeld and Die Burger yesterday morning.

It is believed to be the third offer of its kind to be made to Mandela in recent years — except this latest one was extended to two other prisoners serving with him, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu.

Informed sources confirmed the report, but the Mail was unable to establish under what conditions the three men would be released.

The Beeld report said the offer for the three men to each be freed into one of the independent homelands was made by President Matanzima on behalf of the other leaders.

President Matanzima said that if Mandela was to be released he would always have a home in Transkei, where he was born and brought up.

"I have made representations on Nelson's behalf to the South African Government in the past," he said. "Whatever I have to say on the subject is a matter between myself and the State President of South Africa."

Yesterday a Department of Law and Order spokesman declined any comment on the reports and said the matter was the responsibility of the Departments of Justice and Prisons, reports the Mail's Cape Town Correspondent.

A Department of Justice spokesman, in turn, referred inquiries to the Department of Prisons.

A Department of Prisons spokesman said a statement would be issued late last night.

Yesterday, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Sisulu's wife, said she was unaware of any release offer to her husband, but her son, Anthony, was in Cape Town this week to visit his father. Anthony Sisulu left Cape Town yesterday and Mrs Sisulu said: "He may return with some news."

However, in March Mrs Sisulu said: "They will have nothing to do with a release of this kind. They feel everyone, and not just the so-called Xhosa prisoners, should be released."

"They will also not agree to be restricted anywhere because they believe they belong in South Africa as a whole."

● Editorial comment
— Page 6

D. Dispatch 28/12/86

Hendrickse urges economic changes

(11A)

KIMBERLEY — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, last night called for a restructuring of South Africa's economy to accommodate the aspirations of people who had been denied economic benefits in the past.

Speaking at the LP's congress here, Mr Hendrickse also reassessed his party's previous opposition to foreign investment in South Africa.

He said disinvestment was no longer the correct strategy for forcing change.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also a member of the cabinet, said in the light of high unemployment, hardships, hunger and poverty it was now wrong to call for disinvestment as the LP had done in 1971 and again in 1977.

However, the LP could not give "unqualified and indiscriminate" support to a free market economy because many South Africans had been effectively barred from the benefits of such an economy for so long.

"The gap that must be filled, the unreasonable backlog that must be wiped out, is just too great," he said.

"Some or other form of affirmative action must be taken, particularly by

the private sector."

He indicated that if this did not happen, legislation or other indirect methods would have to be considered.

While the Labour Party had sympathy for the free market ideology advanced by businessmen and government leaders as a basis for the ordering of socio-economic life, it was convinced that this concept was too narrow as a basis for the restructuring of South African society which would be necessary in the coming decades.

Such a process has to take into account: the demands of social justice for all people; the particular development issues facing South Africa; the need for the efficient organisation of the economy; and the inherent potential and available resources of the country.

The LP wanted a "social market economy" under which government as well as the private sector would respect the principles of a "market economy", but temper them with a "properly balanced sense of social responsibility."

The Labour Party's attitude to economic developments was influenced by the party's goals and principles and its socio-economic prog-

ramme which included: the non-negotiable right of effective participation in all decision-making processes; the striving for non-discrimination and the eradication of existing discriminatory measures; the overcoming of the socio-economic consequences of past discrimination by selective programmes of affirmative action; the striving for a broad-based strategy of "income redistribution with growth" coupled to the need for a general and specific policy of fiscal discipline.

Mr Hendrickse also reaffirmed his party's commitments to a free democratic society in a unitary state, but qualified these commitments by listing a number of possible constitutional developments under which, he believed, such a goal could still be attained.

These included examining the question of a federal structure in a non-racial geographic state where there would be a basis of citizenship which would be guaranteed for all.

Earlier Mr Hendrickse criticised some of his extra-parliamentary opponents including the United Democratic Front and the Rev Allen Boesak. — PS.

Earlier report P9.

End discrimination or LP could quit, says Hendrickse

Σ. Post 11A
28/12/84

KIMBERLEY — The Labour Party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, warned the Government last night it had five years in which to move away from discrimination or his party could withdraw from the new constitution.

He also declined to move the Labour Party away from its policy supporting international disinvestment and sanctions against South Africa. Instead, he called for "a moratorium for five years".

Opening the party's annual congress, being held in Kimberley, Mr Hendrickse told about 500 people in the City Hall that he wished the congress to consider a policy of geographic federation for South Africa.

"I am asking congress to consider the whole question of a federal structure based on one man, one vote in a non-racial geographic state

where, on a national basis, common citizenship is guaranteed and we can all form one nation."

He said there were "distinguishable" geographic areas in South Africa with common interests, and constitutional structures could differ from area to area while remaining democratic in form.

Speaking of the Peninsula area he said: "The Western Cape can become a non-racial geographic state. We have all people living there — white, coloured, Indian and black."

He also insisted on the abolition of the Government's "coloured labour preference area" in the Western Cape.

Mr Hendrickse said Labour felt "growing doubt" about the ability of a simple free-market system in South Africa to change the structures which kept

people of colour in an inferior position.

"We have been in an inferior position for so long and were for so long effectively excluded from the growth of our country that I cannot give my unqualified and unconditional support to the free-market system," he said.

A more dynamic process was needed, taking into account the demands of social justice for all, he said.

The Labour Party will also seek the abolition of the Separate Amenities Act and all other measures that limit social mixing when Parliament meets in Cape Town next month. This includes the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

— Sapa

● Editorial comment

— Page 6

Hendrickse breaks silence

CALL TIMES
28/12/84

11R

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

KIMBERLEY. — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, last night called on the government and business leaders to reconsider the pursuit of a free market system as a basis for South Africa's future development.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also a member of the cabinet, said the LP was convinced that the free market ideology advanced by business and government leaders was "too narrow a basis for the restructuring of South African societies which is going to be necessary in the coming decades".

Opening the 19th annual congress of the Labour Party in Kimberley, Mr Hendrickse also:

- Called for the establishment of a series of non-racial "mini states" for certain geographic areas, including the Western Cape.

- Called for a reversal of an earlier Labour Party stand favouring disinvestment and sanctions against South Africa.

- Made a plea to par-

liamentarians in 1985 to repeal the Political Interference Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

In making his speech, Mr Hendrickse broke months of self-imposed silence on a wide range of political and social issues which had given rise to considerable speculation and criticism among politicians and commentators alike.

'Growing doubts'

In a wide-ranging criticism of "free market" ideology as a strategy for development with social justice, Mr Hendrickse told his audience of 600 that he had "growing doubts" whether an almost unqualified free market philosophy could bring people of colour on an equal footing with whites.

"We have been in such a largely-disadvantaged position for so long — and have been effectively locked out of the dramatic growth advantages enjoyed by our country — that I cannot give the un-

qualified free market economy my unqualified support.

"To say that 'from today you can participate in the economy on an equal footing' is not enough," he said. The gap had to be closed first because the backlog that had to be eradicated was simply too large.

Mr Hendrickse said a form of affirmative action would have to be instituted, particularly in the private sector.

If this did not happen, legislation would be necessary for other indirect methods — as had been done with the Afrikaners in the Railways and in other institutions — to close gaps that existed.

While the LP had "much sympathy" for the free market ideology advanced by business and government leaders in South Africa as a basis for the ordering of socio-economic life, such a process should take into account "the demands of social justice for all people in the country".

Mr Hendrickse said the LP stood for the implementation of a "social market economy".

This entailed "an economic system where government as well as the private sector respect the principals of a market economy, but temper these with a properly-balanced sense of social responsibility".

Such a system would aim to:

- Establish functioning markets wherever these could meet the demands of efficiency and minimum social justice.

- Strengthen private initiative and support private enterprise "wherever this does not conflict with social and community goals".

Opportunities

- Satisfy the basic social and economic needs of all South Africans.

- Create opportunities for all to participate in the economy.

Mr Hendrickse said the party's attitude toward economic development was also affected by the need to overcome the social and economic consequences of past discrimination by supporting selective programmes of affirmative action.

He noted that the Labour Party had in the past supported disinvestment and sanctions, "in spite of the legal implications".

'Re-evaluate'

However, he believed the time had come to re-evaluate this strategy because of the present economic climate which had created high rates of unemployment, hardship, hunger and poverty, and because "the Labour Party is now part of a coalition government".

Although the LP's disinvestment policy had been justified in the past, it would now produce economic collapse and "lead to a volatile situation in which the volcano will erupt".

Mr Hendrickse said the main purpose of the LP was to establish "a true democracy in which there will be no discrimination and no domination of people by other groups, be they minority or majority groups".

Mandela 'no' to Transkei offer

CAPE Times 28/12/84 (11A)

By BARRY STREEK

NELSON MANDELA, jailed leader of the African National Congress, has emphatically rejected a fifth attempt to have him released in Transkei.

According to reports in yesterday's Beeld and Burger newspapers, the offer to Mandela, who is serving a life sentence, was made to him by his nephew, Transkei's President Kaiser Matanzima.

President Matanzima has been involved in all

previous attempts to negotiate a deal for Nelson Mandela to be released in Transkei and they have all been rejected out of hand.

The latest offer, reportedly made by President Matanzima to Mrs Winnie Mandela, the ANC leader's wife, in Umtata last week, was conveyed to him in Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town when she visited him this week.

A "sharply worded" letter rejecting the offer was written to President Matanzima by Mr Mandela, but according to the two newspapers, the South African Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, refused permission for the letter to be quoted.

Mr Le Grange was also reported to have refused to make any comment.

Yesterday, however, Department of Law and Order spokesmen declined any comment on the reports and said the matter was the responsibility of the Departments of Justice and Prisons.

A Department of Justice spokesman in turn referred inquiries to the Department of Prisons.

Statement

A Department of Prisons spokesman said a statement would be issued later.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, was in London and could not be contacted. Mr Ayob's partner, Mr Akber Ayob, was out of town and also could not be contacted.

However, in March when the last offer Mr Mandela to be released to Transkei was made, Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela rejected the homeland system and would not stay in any homeland in any circumstances.

"He would return to Johannesburg immediately," Mr Ayob said then.

The March offer also involved two other prominent ANC leaders in prison, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki.

The latest offer was also reported yesterday to have involved other political prisoners — in-

cluding Sisulu and Mbeki — and that each would have been freed to "independent" homelands, where they would be free to move about.

Yesterday, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Sisulu's wife, said she was unaware of any release offer to her husband, but her son Anthony was in Cape Town this week to visit his father. Mr Anthony Sisulu left Cape Town yesterday and Mrs Sisulu said: "He may return with some news."

However, in March Mrs Sisulu said: "They will have nothing to do with a release of this kind. They feel everyone, and not just the so-called Xhosa prisoners, should be released."

"They will also not agree to be restricted anywhere, because they believe they belong in South Africa as a whole."

On two previous occasions when offers to Mandela have been made, the South African Government has denied that his possible release had been under consideration.

But in a recent interview with Leadership SA, Mr Le Grange said his release had been considered in the past and "will be considered on a regular basis in the future".

He also said then that Mandela was a Transkeian citizen and because of this the Transkei Government and President Matanzima would have to be consulted in any developments or decisions.

● The Department of Prisons refused to comment yesterday on reports that Mandela had refused a renewed offer of release from prison to reside in the Transkei.

And President Matanzima denied that the offer was ever made.

President Matanzima said yesterday that he had been visited by Mrs Mandela last week but this was to discuss family matters.

He said that if Mandela were to be released, he would always have a home in Transkei.

UCT prof urges talks between ANC, govt

Cape Times 28/12/84 (111) 201/8

Political Staff

DISCUSSIONS between government politicians and the African National Congress (ANC) were of crucial importance, Professor H W van der Merwe of the University of Cape Town said yesterday.

But it was also important that many other sections of the population should be involved in meaningful discussions with the ANC, he said in a statement.

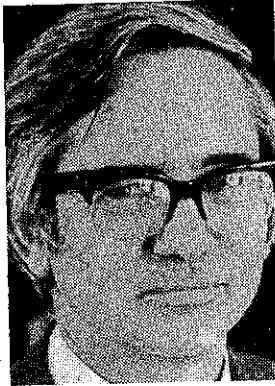
Professor Van der Merwe, director of UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, has been playing a key role in promoting dialogue with the ANC.

In the statement, he disclosed that he had arranged the recent interview between the assistant editor of *Beeld*, Mr Piet Muller, and the ANC executive in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, as part of the Centre's Conflict and Peace Studies (CAPS) programme.

However, he did not comment on reports that he had arranged another meeting next month with the ANC, involving four Afrikaans-speaking academics.

Professor Van der Merwe did say that the rumour about an imminent meeting of Nationalist MPs and the ANC had been correctly denied by both parties.

He said the programme was based on "a long and well-established



Prof H van der Merwe

tradition of bridge-building which was especially manifested in our series of national and international workshops where we brought together parties of contrasting and conflicting backgrounds and views".

The historic meeting of the Afrikaner Studentebond (ASB), the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the SA Students' Organization (Saso) in 1971 had been the first of these workshops, while the latest, in August this year, had involved representatives of the National Party, the United Democratic Front, the Soweto Civic Association and Inkatha.

At the August workshop, Mr Wynand Malan, the Nationalist MP for Randburg, had indicated that while official talks between the government and the ANC would not

be possible at this stage, "private talks might take place".

The promotion of both private and public talks formed part of the ongoing programme of the centre, Professor Van der Merwe said.

They were especially important in the current political debate, "to counter the negative attitudes and despair among many people resulting from the belief that dialogue and a negotiated settlement are impossible due to irreconcilable interests of the conflicting parties which inevitably lead to violence".

They were also important "to promote the idea of consensus politics which presupposes that conflicting political groups do in fact have certain things in common and are able to settle the matter through negotiation rather than violence".

Professor Van der Merwe said "a democratic society requires political participation and activity from a wide spectrum of the population".

"I therefore believe that while discussions between politicians from the government and the ANC are of crucial importance, many other sections of our population should be involved in meaningful discussion," he said.

● Leading article, page 10

D 0 1

28/12/84
Last ANC members
being rounded-up
(11A) E. Post

MBABANE — Swazi police have begun rounding up the last 23 members of the African National Congress still in the country, a police spokesman said today.

He said the operation started yesterday.

In one incident between Manzini and Mbabane, two ANC guerrillas were arrested after police fired warning shots at their speeding car.

Military police also rounded up several ANC members in Mbabane and found Soviet-made arms.

The crackdown follows a warning by Swazi police a week ago that the ANC men, who fled to Swaziland from neighbouring Mozambique earlier this year, had to surrender or be deported to South Africa.

Swazi authorities said they were doing this because the ANC guerrillas were allegedly involved in the recent killing of deputy security chief Mr Petros Shiba, a charge the ANC has denied.

Swaziland and Mozambique have peace accords with South Africa aimed at curbing ANC activities. — Sapa-Reuter

Talks with the ANC crucial, says UCT man

11A

~~2000A~~

E. Post

28/12/84

v
d
l
s
s
-
l

s
j
o
-
r
l
7
l
-
7
i
a
7
7

CAPE TOWN — Discussions between Government politicians and the African National Congress (ANC) were of crucial importance, Professor H W van der Merwe, of the University of Cape Town, said yesterday.

But it was also important that many other sections of the population should be involved in meaningful discussions with the ANC, he said in a statement.

Prof van der Merwe, director of UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, has been playing a key role in promoting dialogue with the ANC.

In the statement, he disclosed that he had arranged the recent interview between the assistant editor of Beeld, Mr Piet Muller, and the ANC executive in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, as part of the Centre's Conflict and Peace Studies programme.

However, he did not comment on reports that he had arranged another meeting

next month with the ANC, involving four Afrikaans-speaking academics.

Prof van der Merwe did say that the rumour about an imminent meeting of National Party MPs and the ANC had been correctly denied by both parties.

He said the programme was based on "a long and well-established tradition of bridge-building, which was especially manifested in our series of national and international workshops where we brought together parties of contrasting and conflicting backgrounds and views".

The historic meeting of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the SA Students' Organisation (Saso) in 1971 had been the first of these workshops.

The latest, in August this year, had involved representatives of the National Party, the United Democratic Front, the Soweto Civic Association and

Inkatha.
At the August workshop, Mr Wynand Malar, the National Party MP for Randburg, had indicated that while official talks between the Government and the ANC would not be possible at this stage, "private talks might take place".

The promotion of both private and public talks formed part of the on-going programme of the centre, Prof Van der Merwe said.

Talks were important to promote the idea of consensus politics, which presupposed that groups were able to settle matters through negotiation.

They were especially important in the current political debate "to counter the negative attitudes and despair among many people resulting from the belief that dialogue and a negotiated settlement are impossible due to irreconcilable interests of the conflicting parties which inevitably lead to violence". — Sapa

ROM 29/11/84

Lawyers spell out refusal

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

NELSON MANDELA, the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader, had made it clear in April that he would not accept offers of freedom in the independent homelands, a spokesman for his lawyers said yesterday.

The spokesman was commenting on reports that Mandela had refused an offer by President Kaiser Matanzima that he reside in Transkei as a condition for his release.

President Matanzima has denied the offer and the South African Department of Prison Services have refused to comment.

The spokesman said Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, was overseas but had come to know about the offer before he left. Mr Ayob had asked to be allowed to see Mandela before he left, but was turned down.

"However, the situation hasn't changed. Nelson made his position clear as early as April this year when he received a similar offer and turned it down," the spokesman said.

Labour Party decides not to have a beach sit-in



Mr HENDRICKSE

change the law," said the Rev Andrew Julies, national chairman.

Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, said: "Our policy is to remove discrimination. No arguments — apartheid must go. I fully support Mr Mopp's sentiments, but we have called on the Government, which controls separate facilities, not to prosecute anybody who uses these facilities and so far nobody has been prosecuted.

"Now we come to strategy. Let's say we go on a beach and are not arrested because we are MPs and Ministers. But Oom Piet from Paarl goes on a beach and is arrested.

"What I am saying is that when it comes to strategy, this is a negotiating party.

"If the Government refuses, then we come back to Mr Mopp. It is a tactic. We will use it when it becomes necessary."

In a vote, Mr Mopp's proposal was defeated.

The congress was told during a debate on the Separate Amenities Act that apartheid was hurting people of colour at the local level, where only white people were represented on the law-making provincial, municipal and divisional councils.

The congress emphasised its commitment to getting the system of management committees abolished and demanding a direct say in local government.

Delegates said that in terms of the new constitution, white, coloured and Indian people were represented in Parliament in the ratio of 4:2:1. But "here below" there were discriminatory measures that hurt every day.

Backing him, Mr Mopp said: "This law must be put to the test."

But the hierarchy opposed the move. "This suggests defying the law. We must remember we are in Parliament now. I would rather suggest we

11A
29/12/84
S. Post
Weekend Post
Correspondent

KIMBERLEY — The Labour Party congress has decided against an anti-apartheid "sit-in" on whites-only beaches this holiday season, but left the door open for future action of this kind if the Government does not end beach apartheid.

There was applause from delegates last night when it was proposed that the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the LP and a Cabinet Minister, should lead the party's hierarchy in wading into the waters on a whites-only beach — Muizenberg was suggested.

"Just when we all thought about the changes to take place, up pops the evil head of apartheid signs, telling those of us who are not white not to 'blacken' the white sands and pools," said Mr Fred Peters, LP national secretary and a Peninsula MP in the House of Representatives.

"Could I suggest that we put this stupidity to the test, that our Ministers and MPs visit these hallowed shores and waddle in the colourless seas," he added to applause.

This and other incidents put question marks as to whether there was any sincerity about change.

"For too long has the white man spoken with forked tongue," he said.

Mr Peter Mopp, the party's Border leader, clearly delighted some delegates when he pointed to the members of the Ministers' Council on the congress stage and proposed they should all go to a beach of their choice in the Peninsula that is set aside for whites.

Mr Peters told the congress: "We are still a party of defiance. Have we gone so soft that we will not defy a law which says we cannot walk on the beaches?"

Ex-ANC stalwart among 44 granted amnesty

By KHULU SIBIYA

FORMER African National Congress member Martin Ramokgadi, 74, was released this week following State President P W Botha's Christmas Amnesty.

Another unidentified political prisoner is among 43 long-termers due to be released by Monday.

Mr Ramokgadi had served six years and eight months of his seven-year prison term.

He spent 10 years on Robben Island previously.

He was convicted in 1978 with six other ANC members in the mammoth Pretoria Palace of Justice trial which lasted 16 months.

Mr Ramokgadi originally appeared with 12 others. Six were acquitted of charges under the Terrorism Act, including exiled journalist Joe Gqabi - who was later assassinated in Zimbabwe.

Judge Myburgh said Mr Ramokgadi had given him the "greatest problem in determining what should be an appropriate sentence".

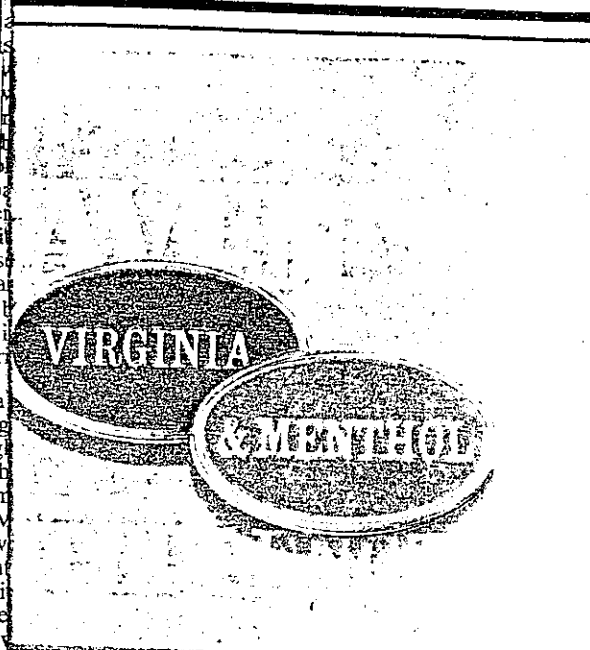
The Prison Department has declined to reveal the name of the other political prisoner. However, they said he is a 78-year-old man, who has served six years of his eight-year prison term.

There is speculation that he could be Ellias Motsoaledi of Mzimhlophe, Soweto.

The United Democratic Front has described Mr Botha's Amnesty as a "well-orchestrated propaganda exercise to create favourable international publicity".



rink and 'development' will destroy an — Page 5



FORMER African National Congress member Martin Ramokgadi, 74, was released this week following State President P W Botha's Christmas Amnesty.

Another unidentified political prisoner is among 43 long-termers due to be released by Monday.

Mr Ramokgadi had served six years and eight months of his seven-year prison term.

He spent 10 years on Robben Island previously.

He was convicted in 1978 with six other ANC members in the mammoth Pretoria Palace of Justice trial which lasted 16 months.

Mr Ramokgadi originally appeared with 12 others. Six were acquitted of charges under the Terrorism Act, including exiled journalist Joe Gqabi - who was later assassinated in Zimbabwe.

Judge Myburgh said Mr Ramokgadi had given him the "greatest problem in determining what should be an appropriate sentence".

The Prison Department has declined to reveal the name of the other political prisoner. However, they said he is a 78-year-old man, who has served six years of his eight-year prison term.

There is speculation that he could be Elias Motsoaledi of Mzimhlophe, Soweto.

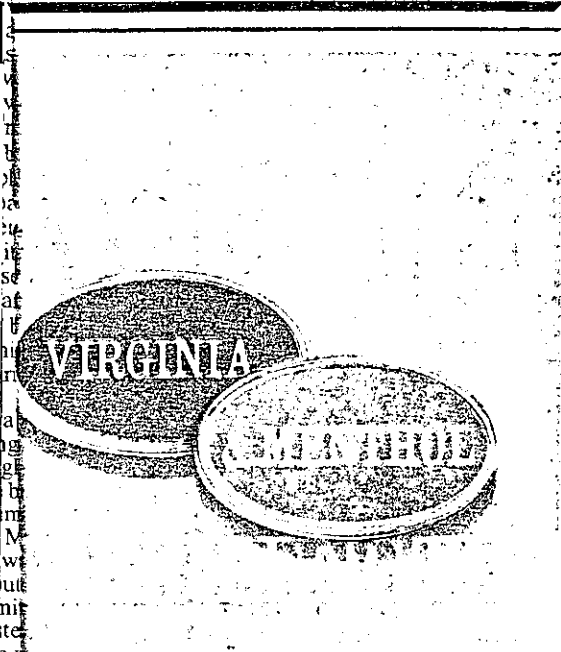
The United Democratic Front has described Mr Botha's Amnesty as a "well-orchestrated propaganda exercise to create favourable international publicity for the Government".

"The fact that there are only two political prisoners among the scores of common law prisoners being released, is proof that the Government has no intention of releasing political prisoners," said UDF general secretary Popo Molefe.

He said the Government had no mercy for opponents of apartheid.

Mercenary and jailed leader of the abortive Seychelles coup Mike Hoare is also due for release.

rink and 'development' will destroy
in - Page 5



VERGINIA

SOLTER

MENTHOL

GRAVEN 20

GRAVEN 20

Supplied by...

Vertical text on the left side of the cigarette packs, including words like 'for', 'SOLTER', 'ut', 'f', 'rio', 's m', 'Or', 'an', 'TH', 'pri', 'ion', 'Ne', 'de', 'in', 'DU', 'lit', 'is', 'bo', 'ot', 'tk', 'in', 'ple', 'me', 'Pre', 'was', 'Wer', 'star', 'his', 'to', 'Isl', 'leas', 'ture', 'Ma', 'th.', 'tal', 'ra-', 'For', 'we', 'tha', 'del'.