

Black POLITICS

1985

JANUARY — February

Violence pact

House of Assembly

House of Assembly

Mandela release subject to non-

CAPE TIMES 11/1/85 (114)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The South African Government was prepared to consider the release of the former African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said here yesterday.

The offer was conditional to a commitment by Mr Mandela not to make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence or the furtherance of political aims, Mr Botha said.

He was speaking near the end of the no confidence debate and said Mr Mandela would have to undertake to conduct himself "in such a way that he will not have to be arrested".

"It is not the South African Government which now stands in the way of Mr Mandela's freedom," he said.

"The choice is his. All that is requested from him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political

instrument, a norm which is respected in all civilized countries of the world."

Mr Botha referred to a recent visit paid to the jailed leader by the British peer, Lord Bethell, who is also a British member of the European Parliament and a member of the European Working Group on Human Rights.

Lord Bethell had asked for Mr Mandela's release, as had many others, including President Kaizer

Mantanzima of the Transkei.

Lord Bethell and the Mail on Sunday, which published his findings on visits to two South African prisons and Mr Mandela, had requested the release of Mr Mandela.

"They are neither the first nor the only ones to make such a request to the South African Government.

"Two eminent black leaders, President Mantanzima and Chief Minister Buthlezi (of Kwa-

Mr P W Botha: "The government is prepared to give sympathetic consideration to President Mantanzima's requests, but it seems that Mr Mandela and his associates prefer to stay in prison rather than being released in their country of origin."

Zulu), also called on me to release Mr Mandela.

"In fact, President Mantanzima has for years been appealing to the South African Government to have Mr Mandela and a number of other citizens of the Transkei, who are serving prison

sentences in South Africa, released in Transkei."

These persons belonged to his people and Mr Mandela was related to him, President Mantanzima had said.

He would provide them and their families with

suitable houses in order to resume a normal family life.

"He also indicated that these people would not act contrary to provisions of any law should they be released," Mr Botha said.

"The government is prepared to give sympathetic consideration to President Mantanzima's requests, but it seems that Mr Mandela and his associates prefer to stay in prison rather than being released in their country of origin.

"My government is not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others have spent a very long time in prison, even though they were duly convicted in open court."

Even Lord Bethell had rejected the ANC and unreservedly rejected violence as a means to achieving political aims.

"As I have indicated, the government is willing to consider Mr Mandela's release, but I am sure that Parliament will under-

stand that we cannot do so if Mr Mandela himself says that the moment he leaves prison he will continue with his commitment to violence," Mr Botha said.

"All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument. This is, after all, a norm which is respected in all civilized countries of the world," Mr Botha said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, (PFP Houghton) asked Mr

Botha whether this offer applied to other prisoners apart from Mr Mandela.

He replied that it did, as did the conditions for release.

● On Wednesday in the House of Assembly the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Je Grange, responded to current speculation — that the government was considering releasing the jailed ANC leader — by describing calls for his release as "an old ANC story". — Sapa

Mbabane
Sobhu (11A) *AM*
fugitive
2/1/87
broke legs

The Star's Foreign
News Service

MBABANE — An African National Congress member being chased by police jumped from a fourth-floor flat in Mbabane and broke both legs.

Police did not name the man but said he used many aliases and was one of 23 ANC militants who had been told to leave Swaziland but were hiding.

After a tip-off they went to a flat in the centre of Mbabane and found a party. Some people fled but the suspected ANC man locked himself in.

As police began to break down the door he jumped out of the window, breaking both legs, and was treated in Mbabane Hospital handcuffed to his bed.

Police
clash
with
mourners

7.11.25
Star

11A

By Chris More

There was a near riot when mourners returning from the funeral of an alleged African National Congress (ANC) insurgent on Sunday afternoon trapped two policemen at the dead man's home and threatened them with violence.

The two policemen had entered the home of Mr Jabulani Sono Andrew Ngcobo (26) in Zone 6, Meadowlands, Soweto, apparently looking for whites who had joined other mourners.

Mr Ngcobo was shot dead by Swazi police about two weeks ago in Mbabane. He was described by the Swazi police as a crack ANC hit-man.

As the policemen approached the gate there were murmurings among the hundreds of mourners, who had gathered in and around the yard, for the traditional washing of hands and dinner.

PRIEST

At the time there were about four whites in the yard, including a priest. The crowd surrounded the policemen — one a black and the other a white — after they had beckoned to the white priest.

Other police in a number of vehicles which were nearby also closed in on the crowd which had begun to shout and hurl insults at the two men. Some people threw paper glasses at the policemen and demanded that they leave the home immediately.

Quick action by people wearing T-shirts bearing the insignia of a number of organisations belonging to the United Democratic Front (UDF) saved the situation as they came to the rescue of the policemen and pleaded with the crowd to be calm.

The policemen questioned the priest and family members and then left. The mourners went on with the ceremony but kept taunting the police by singing freedom songs and dancing in the street.

Earlier the police had chased some of the mourners, who were returning from the Doornkop Cemetery on foot around the streets of Zone 6. Most of the mourners had walked to the cemetery ahead of the hearse. In front of them police drove all the way taking photographs with a movie camera.

Seveta *3/1/85* *(11A)*

1985 won't be easy says Azapo boss

By MZIKAYISE EDM

THE black community shall turn setbacks and temporary defeats into milestones of achievement on the road to a democratic anti-racist socialist Azania, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said this week.

In his New Year's message to the black community, the newly

elected president of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said 1985 will not be an easy year.

"There will be hardships and our people should brace themselves for challenges. There is little for the oppressed and exploited to celebrate but to be thankful for the gift of life.

"Our cheer is in the struggle which defies odds and casualties. The

unshackled hand of the black man holds the key to the future prosperity, progress and peace in the country," Mr Mkhabela said.

He also appealed to the young and old to play a role in the "noble and just struggle" against the "evil scourge of racism, landlessness and powerlessness in the land of our ancestors."

Kennedy for UDF meeting in city

ARGUS 3/1/85

112

JOHANNESBURG. — Local anti-apartheid organisations are gearing up for the lightning visit of United States Senator Edward Kennedy, which is to encompass cities from Cape Town to Lusaka and rural areas affected by the Government's forced removals scheme.

Senator Kennedy starts his visit in Johannesburg on Saturday and is believed to be scheduled to address public meetings — including one in Soweto — during his eight-day stay.

The Free State town of Brandfort is on his itinerary and it is understood he will be meeting Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

There is speculation that an interview with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will wind up his trip.

Senator Kennedy will be met on Saturday by Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg elect Desmond Tutu, who will be his host while the senator is in the city.

The Cape Town leg of the trip will be hosted by Dr Al-

lan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who first extended an invitation to the Senator to visit South Africa.

Senator Kennedy is scheduled to give a major speech at a UDF meeting while in Cape Town.

In Durban it is expected Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley will be meeting him.

The tour will include parts of SWA/Namibia and will al-

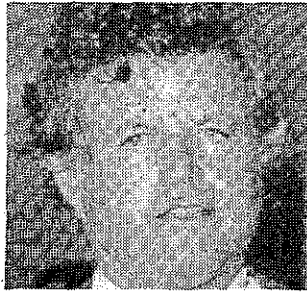
most certainly include meetings with the Swapo leadership inside the country.

The senator leaves South Africa on Monday, January 14, flying to Lusaka.

● Our Washington correspondent reports that a top American television team has been denied visas to cover the visit.

The denial of visas to a team from CBS television's *Sixty Minutes* programme comes only a few weeks after the US showing of a documentary they did on South Africa. It is considered one of the most favourable for Pretoria so far filmed.

CBS is to appeal. — Argus Foreign Service, Argus Correspondent.



Senator Edward Kennedy

LP's mine plea rejected

CAPL Times 3/1/85 (112)

Political Staff

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, has sharply rejected a suggestion by the Labour Party leader and his fellow cabinet minister, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, that South African mines should be nationalized.

Mr Botha said he was committed to free enterprise and rejected socialism which had brought poverty and starvation to Africa.

In a statement after being approached for reaction to Mr Hendrickse's suggestion, Mr Botha said the LP was democratically free to determine its own policy.

As State President, however, he had sworn to uphold the new constitution the preamble to which made national objectives of the promotion of private enterprise and

effective competition. He had also committed himself in Parliament and at meetings such as the Carlton and Good Hope conferences to the free-enterprise system.

Mr Botha said he had repeatedly stated his opposition to socialism, which a number of African countries had tried with predictable results. Prosperity had come to a few people while the vast majority was denied progress and was suffering poverty and starvation.

He agreed with Mr Hendrickse that mineral riches should be used to the advantage of all South Africans.

But experience worldwide had shown that optimum use of national resources was best achieved by involving private investment and enterprise to promote their development.

What's in store for blacks?

FOR black politics 1984 was another year of the mailed fist.

The only politics tolerated from the black community was politics within separate development — or the politics of operating within the system.

It is for this reason that while the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front got the jackboot from the Government, Inkatha could not have had a more pleasant relationship with the authorities.

The man behind the harassment of black political activists was Mr Louis Le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, and his counterparts in the various homeland parliaments — both independent and not.

Security forces in both South Africa and its homelands went about their business with undisguised enthusiasm. For the better part of the year there were at least 100 people in jail at any one time.

Nets

Their nets spread far

eza (Azapo publicity secretary) and other leading officials of the two organisations.

When black townships erupted into violence, the Government was in a state of siege. There was general panic evident as the police faced infuriated mobs of youths. At the end of October the toll stood at 131 dead and countless injured.

The Government virtually threw the book at the UDF, Azapo and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), whose members were questioned, raided by police and some detained. Many activists, particularly students, did not sleep at their homes. Police activity was at its peak.

With townships in the Vaal Triangle on fire magistrates banned meetings called in the area. Organisers would suddenly see notices go up at the doors of meeting venues, see a high police presence and would conclude that the meeting was

death, looting, police crackdowns, burnings and general disorder.

While Inkatha and the UDF were at the receiving end, Inkatha had a cosy relationship with the Government and its media.

Inkatha, one of the three main political organisations within the black community, opposes the Govt's Separate Development, but operates from within this system to oppose the Government.

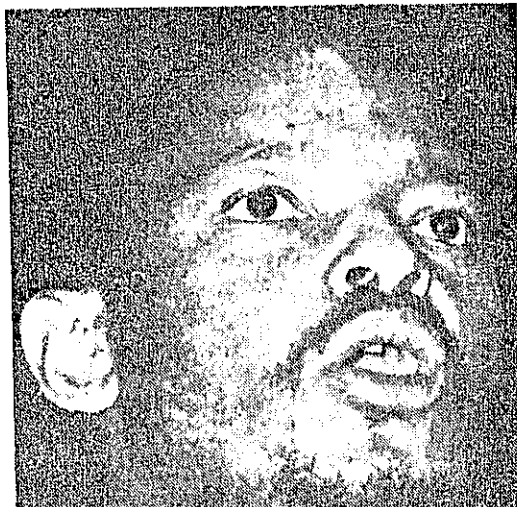
Thus in terms of political strategies the UDF and Azapo oper-

ate from outside and oppose Government institutions such as homeland governments and local authorities.

Inkatha, on the other hand, operates from within these structures and sees them as a means towards an end — total liberation.

Frequent attacks on Inkatha's policies, particularly that of operating within the system, resulted in little love lost between organisations.

Inkatha has retreated into itself and



THE SOWETAN news editor **THAMI MAZWAI** takes a look at black politics in 1984.

Last Sunday he looked at the struggle for the control of black masses by Inkatha, the UDF and Azapo. Today he looks at the harassment of these organisations, and how Inkatha enjoys privileged status. The next article will deal with some highlights and questions for 1985.



THAMI MAZWAI

KwaZulu, thus Inkatha, will be part of the Government strategy, whether by design or accidentally, to suppress all politics outside Government strategy. This also applies to other homeland Governments, both "free" and "unfree."

The UDF-Inkatha battle is not surprising. It is part of the situation.

Because of this situation the Transkei will ban the UDF and Cosas, the Ciskei ban the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu), Lebowa ban Azapo meetings and Bophuthatswana pass a labour law that virtually bans South Africa's black independent trade union movement.

All these Governments, including KwaZulu, perceive South Africa's political opponents as their enemies.

reacted violently to the two organisations whenever there has been a confrontation at a common place. So far the death toll is about five people dead in Natal as a result of Inkatha-UDF confrontations.

This state of war between the UDF and Inkatha has resulted in Inkatha being seen to be on the same side with the Government, against the UDF, and other radical organisations.

On the other hand Inkatha claims that it only reacts violently to these organisations when attacked, or as a result of continuing Inkatha harassment by them.

While at first glance this could be the reason, my impression is that this state of war between Inkatha and the UDF does not only flow from attacks on Inkatha and Chief Gcobe Buthelezi by

that Inkatha is seen to be Government inspired, and indeed, to a large extent is Government inspired.

One's analysis of the situation is that Inkatha is the KwaZulu Government. And the KwaZulu Government is part of the Homelands Governments' family. In other words KwaZulu can be uttered in the same breath with all other homeland Governments, whether independent or not.

Because these homeland Governments are a creation of Pretoria they must of necessity be one with their creator. They need Pretoria to continue existing (which is why Pretoria is funding them) and Pretoria needs them to exist.

It is the Broederbond's grand apartheid scheme. While P W Botha and his Ministers claim that the homelands were cre-

increased students, priests, journalists, doctors, unionists and many other leading members of communities.

The actions included:

- Detention under Section 28;
- Detention under Section 29;
- Occupation of townships by the army;
- One death in detention (Venda);
- High profile police activity in townships;
- Use of rubber bullets, truncheons, batons and tear smoke;
- Banning of meetings.
- Passport refusals.

While this harassment is a replay of previous records, there was a new element — panic.

The elections for the tricameral parliament had evoked a lot of activity in the community. As the date neared it became clear that the coloured and Indian communities were about to give P W Botha's grand apartheid schemes a massive backhander.

And the Government acted.

Police activity heightened, and in August several leading members of the community were detained under Section 28 (detention for the prevention of crimes). These included Terror Lekota (UDF publicity secretary, Muntu My-

where townships were surrounded by the army and residents subjected to raids in what police said were crime prevention exercises or the rooting out of agitators.

Towards the end of 1984 it was a season of

DETAINED: Terror Lekota, UDF publicity secretary detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.



ARMY: An armoured vehicle manned by army personnel in one of the townships at the height of the unrest.

UDF took a part of the entire fabric of black politics in the country.

The one reason that Inkatha does not want to admit but remains the seed of resentment between itself, the UDF and Azapo, is

ated to give self-determination to peoples, there is no mistaking the ulterior motive — traditional divide and rule politics. The white man's politics in Africa since the 18th century.

With this background it is logical that

tolerate the UDF or Azapo.

Chief Buthelezi has argued that he has not opted for "independence" and cannot be in the same league with the Ciskei. The facts of the matter are that they are on the same road and in the same stable. While the Ciskei, Transkei or Venda have taken 10 steps, KwaZulu has taken five. But it is the same road.

Detention

The only way Chief Buthelezi could have steered clear of this label was by refusing to take even the first step on the road.

It is also not surprising that Inkatha has not protested the detention of two of their Evaton officials under Section 29. This lack of protest from Inkatha when officials are detained under one of the country's most infamous laws has more to it than meets the eye.

In conclusion one saw in 1984 the harassment of black political organisations directed at all organisations that operated outside P W Botha's structures while organisations operating within these structures, though opposing the Government, enjoyed privileged status.

And 1985 will be worse.

2005/01/11 3/11/85 11A

Vaal beer boycott hotting up

THE boycott of malt, sorghum beer and liquor outlets owned by the Oranje-Vaal Development Board has gained momentum following the distribution of pamphlets in Vaal Triangle townships.

The boycott, which includes other products of the board, has been called by the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers' Union (Sabmawu) following the dismissal of more than 17 workers at two subsidiaries of the board — M and B Jwala Basesotho (Pty) and Big S Sorghum Beer Brewery in Sebokeng.

Refuted

However a board official has refuted claims by the union that the malt company belonged to the board. He also invited the union officials to hold talks with them on the issue.

Sabmawu's general secretary, Mr Phillip Dlamini, has insisted that both companies belonged to the board and for as long as they were not prepared to negotiate with the union the campaign will be intensified.

Kennedy visit is slammed by Azapo

By Gary van Staden
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) issued a statement today slamming the impending visit of Senator Edward Kennedy.

The statement said: "He must be informed that the oppressed blacks of Azania are not his ticket to the presidency and that our enemy includes the imperialists of the United States."

It added that the liberal face of Mr Kennedy did not show his support of Israel and of the racist regime in Pretoria. "He has no mandate from the people of Azania for a visit here and for that matter he has no mandate from black Americans."

The statement concluded that Mr Kennedy would do better to address the problems of the oppressed masses in America rather than be an open advocate of capitalism.

● Local anti-apartheid organisations are gearing up for the lightning visit of Senator Kennedy which is to encompass cities from Cape Town to Lusaka and rural areas affected by the Government's forced removals schemes.

Mr Kennedy starts his visit in Johannesburg on Saturday and is believed to be scheduled to address public meetings, including one in Soweto, during his eight-day stay.

MRS MANDELA

The Free State town of Brandfort is on his itinerary and it is understood he will be meeting Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

There has also been speculation that an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, will wind up his trip.

Mr Kennedy will be met on Saturday by Bishop Desmond Tutu, who will be his host in Johannesburg. For the Cape Town leg of the trip his host will be Dr Allan Boesak. In Durban it is expected that Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley will be meeting Mr Kennedy.

The tour will include parts of Namibia and almost certainly meetings with the Swapo leadership inside the country including Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo.

● Gerald L'Ange of The Star's Washington Bureau reports that CBS television is appealing against Pretoria's denial of visas to a team to cover Senator Kennedy's visit.

Daring attacks in Swaziland

ANC raiders free jailed comrades

The Star's Foreign
News Service

~~3/11/85~~ IIA
3/11/85 Star

MBABANE — Heavily armed guerrillas of the African National Congress (ANC) carried out a series of daring raids yesterday to free comrades held by Swazi police.

The ANC men — armed with Russian-made AK-47 assault rifles — managed to free six prisoners from Mbabane police station but they were thwarted in further raids on police stations and jails throughout the country.

The Commissioner of the Swazi Police, Mr Majaje Simelane, today confirmed the jail-break but declined to give details.

Police sources said that 15 ANC men carried out the raids on two police stations and two prisons.

In the first raid, in the early hours of yesterday, the ANC men went to Mbabane's main police station.

They surprised three police officers and a driver and threatened to shoot unless the cells were opened.

The raiders then went from cell to cell, to locate their comrades. After freeing three ANC men, the raiders asked Swazi prisoners being held for non-political offences if they wanted to join the ANC.

Three Swazis who said they were willing to join were also freed and left with the ANC men in three vehicles.

The raiders, said the police sources, then went to the Mbabane remand prison, on the outskirts of the capital.

They attempted to break in but found that security was too tight.

Thwarted

The men then telephoned the country's main jail, at Matsapa in central Swaziland, and demanded the release of a leading ANC member whom they identified as Eric Zuma.

Prison guards called for reinforcements and thwarted a subsequent attempt by the ANC men to break into the prison.

The police sources said the ANC gang then moved on to the police station in the industrial town of Manzini. Armed police at the station were alerted by the prison guards and again the ANC men failed in their attempt to break into the police station.

Police immediately mounted a massive countrywide search for the gang. The search was centred on Manzini, a known ANC stronghold.

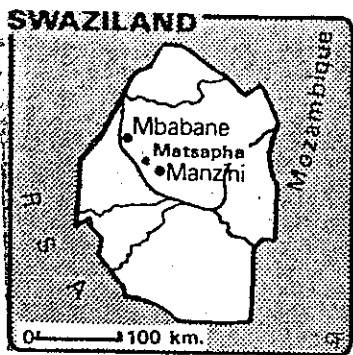
The latest incident comes at a time when police have been conducting a round-up of ANC personnel in the country in the wake of last month's assassination of the deputy chief of the Swaziland Security Police, Superintendent Petros Shiba.

A South African identified by police as the ANC "hit man" responsible for the killing was later shot dead.

Police have arrested about 10 ANC members during their clampdown and seized a large cache of arms, including assault rifles, hand grenades and limpet mines.

At the same time Commissioner Simelane has appealed to all ANC members hiding in Swaziland to give themselves up, or face possible deportation to South Africa.

MBABANE. — Heavily armed guerrillas of the African National Congress have mounted a series of raids in Swaziland to free colleagues detained by the police.



The ANC men — armed with Russian-made AK-47 assault rifles — yesterday freed six prisoners from the Mbabane police station but were thwarted in further raids on police stations and jails throughout the country.

The Commissioner of the Swazi Police, Mr Majaje Simelane, today confirmed the jail-break but declined to give details.

Police sources, however, said 15 ANC men had raided two police stations and two jails.

Death threat

According to the sources, the ANC men first went to the main police station in the capital early yesterday.

They surprised three police officers and a driver and threatened to shoot unless the cells were opened.

The raiders then went from cell to cell to find their comrades. After freeing three ANC men, the raiders asked Swazi prisoners being held for non-political offences if they wanted to join the banned South African movement.

Also freed

Three Swazis who said they were willing to join were also freed and left with the ANC men in three vehicles.

Police sources said today the ANC raiders moved on to Mbabane's remand prison, on the outskirts of the capital.

They attempted to break in but found security too tight.

The men then telephoned the main jail in the country, at Matsapha in central Swaziland, and demanded the release of a senior ANC member they identified as Eric Zuma.

Armed police

Prison guards called for reinforcements and thwarted a subsequent attempt by the men to break into the prison.

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ANC JOINT BR

Heavily armed guerrillas raid Swazi jails and police stations to free comrades

Police have been conducting a round-up of ANC personnel after the assassination last month of the deputy chief of the Swaziland security police, Superintendent Petros Shiba.

"Hit man"

A South African identified by police as the ANC "hit man" responsible for the killing was later shot dead.

Police arrested about 10 ANC members during their clampdown and seized a large cache of arms, including assault rifles, hand-grenades and limpet-mines.

Commissioner Simelane has appealed to all ANC members hiding in Swaziland to give themselves up — or face possible deportation to South Africa.

Meanwhile, sources in Swaziland said today that a senior ANC official had arrived in the country from Zambia for talks with the Swazi Government and Swazi elders.

EAK

Natal MP subject

Merams
3/1/85

of R750 000



probe by Customs

Deven Moodley

VERULAM garage owner Narantuk Jumuna, who is the North Coast MP in the House of Delegates, confirmed yesterday that he was the subject of a Customs and Excise investigation involving R750 000.

Mr Jumuna, who is also known as Shan Mohangi, said the Department of Customs and Excise was investigating alleged irregularities in the sale of diesel fuel.

'I have nothing to hide because I don't owe R750 000 claimed by Customs and Excise,' said Mr Jumuna, adding that he was prepared to go to court to prove it.

He would be glad to pay

back any money, including the R750 000, if the department showed him how the amount or amounts had been arrived at.

He said this was the second time he had been involved with the department over alleged irregularities in the sale of diesel fuel.

'Allegations were made against me in 1976, but nothing came of them,' he said.

Mr Jumuna said he and his legal consultant had met the Minister of Finance in connection with the alleged violations.

He had written to the Department of Customs and Excise asking for details but had not received a reply.

He said it had been alleged that he had claimed rebates on the sale of diesel fuel and had kept them for himself, but he denied the allegations.

The Department of Customs and Excise declined to comment.

Kennedy: a 'has-been' or future president?

The importance of Senator Edward Kennedy's visit to South Africa next week and his standing in the American political scene today is examined by Frederick Cleary.

MANY South African may be tempted to dismiss Senator Edward Kennedy's visit her next week with indifference.

They will argue that he is a member of a party out of power and whose liberality is now unfashionable in the era of Reagan republicanism, and all he is doing is seeking to bolster his own fading career.

Maybe, but an equally valid argument is that the head of one of America's most remarkable political families is far from finished and, in the next decade, he could still greatly affect US-South African relations, especially, of course, if he does eventually reach the White House.

The following factors cannot be overlooked:

- Still only 52, he is a consummate politician with over 21 years successful experience in the most influential parliamentary chamber of the free world, the US Senate. What he sees and says about South Africa will be reportedly widely and read avidly abroad.
- For two decades he has moved confidentially through the corridors of national and international power and is on first-name basis with many of the people who count.
- Although the winds of republican conservatism currently prevail in Washington, the political barometer invariably swings the other way after a while.
- The do-nothing Hoover presidency begat the do-it-all Roosevelt era: the status quo Eisenhower years were followed by the challenging New Frontier cry of JF Kennedy: the welfare-statism of Johnson by conservative Nixon, and the liberalism of Carter by the completely opposite dogma of Reagan.

● The Democratic Party still controls the House of Representatives and has the broadest support at all levels of government across the nation. Thus, a Democratic president might emerge in 1988 or 1992, and it could be Edward Kennedy.

● Apart from hard work, the secret of success in politics is good luck and opportune timing, and no one is more aware of this than Kennedy, one of the most experienced men in American public life, who on his day is one of the most exhilarating orators in the land.

With Walter Mondale driven out of public life by his crushing 49-state defeat last November, the Democratic party leadership is there for the man who has the courage and right credentials to claim it.

Of course, the ghost of Chappaquiddick still haunts Mr Kennedy. Millions of Americans will not forget his irresponsible, erratic behaviour that July night in 1969 when a staff secretary, Mary Jo Kapechne, drowned when their car plunged off a road bridge and into an ocean inlet.

They shudder at the thought of the finger of President Teddy Kennedy being on the nuclear button when under stress at some future East-West confrontation.

The authors of a new book on his family, Peter Collier and David Horowitz, infer that Chappaquiddick may have punctured the "royal" family image and laid to rest the invincibility and inalienable right of the Kennedys to supreme political power:

"It was one of the crucial moments of the Kennedy saga. All during the development of the Legend a sort of shadow legacy of doubt and suspicion



Senator Kennedy

had moved along in lock-step, waiting for an opening.

"If the Legacy held that Joseph Kennedy had been an eminent American who proved the vitality of the melting pot and the potential of the American dream, the shadow legacy insisted that he had been a bootlegger and semi-outlaw who had risen by illegal leverage.

"If the Legacy held that Jack's life had been the remarkable triumph of disciplined grace over illness and pain, the shadow legacy said that he had been a libertine whose achievements were bought for him.

"If the Legacy held that Bobby had developed a moral passion that made him unlike any other politician in the history of the country, the shadow legacy claimed that he had always been a sinister force and that the apparent sea change of his last years had been a facade for the ruthless ambition that had always been his sole cause.

"The shadow legacy maintained that the Kennedy climb

to the top had involved contempt for all the rules and a flaunting of all the mores, a Kennedy recklessness and a Kennedy arrogance toward the laws that bound everyone else. The occurrence at Dike Bridge and its aftermath seemed to give credence to it all."

Does the senator from Massachusetts still desire the presidency after one brother had been murdered while in office and another slain while seeking it?

The pressure on him to pick of the fallen standard of the family ambitions was thrust on him even as Bobby's corpse was being wheeled to the autopsy room in the Los Angeles hospital that tragic June evening in 1968.

Democratic politician and friend Al Lowenstein blurted to the distraught brother: "Now that Bobby's gone, you're all we've got. You've got to take the leadership." Kennedy assured him he would "carry on", but sensibly avoided seeking the party presidential nomination that year and for some years afterwards.

Only Edward Moore Kennedy knows deep down today whether he can, after more than 15 years, overcome Chappaquiddick prejudices and win over the American electorate if the winds of liberalism should indeed swirl again toward Washington again before he is too old.

The blood of a remarkable dynasty flows through his veins and while he is here he should, for better or worse, be regarded still as a prospective president and leader of the free world.

The Kennedys (Secker and Warburg, R26,95).

Social worker pleads guilty to acts for ANC

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Slight, dark-haired Maxine Sandra Hart, 25, smiled reassuringly at family and friends as she stepped from the basement cells yesterday to plead guilty before a regional magistrate to charges related to the activities of the African National Congress (ANC).

About 50 well-wishers crammed the courtroom here to hear Hart plead guilty to three activities carried out in the interests of the ANC.

Firstly, she illegally brought from Botswana into South Africa a pamphlet which she read and destroyed. It was written by the ANC women's section.

Secondly, she sent letters about activities of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee to an ANC member in Botswana named "Zwelakhe", at his request.

Thirdly, she distributed ANC pamphlets titled "Down with the Traitors"

and "Burn Registration Certificates" advocating a boycott of the recent coloured and Indian elections.

The court accepted Hart's admissions and found her guilty on all three allegations.

Mr D Kuny SC, who defended, said "it would be wholly inappropriate to send the accused to prison" as the acts amounted to "very little indeed".

He told the court Hart was a highly-respected woman who "rather foolishly and perhaps naively placed her future and her work in jeopardy".

He described the acts, carried out from February to August 1984, as "transgressing fleetingly, foolishly and rather tragically".

Hart discontinued seeing ANC members "Zwelakhe" and "George", who initiated all contact with her, when advised by Mr David Johnson, former chairman of the University of Witwatersrand's Black Students'

Society, when she visited him in exile in Botswana.

Mrs Mendelle Mendelow, assistant director of the Centre for Social Development at Wits University, where Hart worked, told the court of Hart's selfless and exceptional dedication to problem children.

She praised Hart as "a most dedicated social worker, very creative, responsible and committed".

Hart, of Ninth Street, Orange Grove, looking well in spite of the isolation since being detained on September 11, said in a written statement: "The period of my detention, which lasted for about two months, was spent in solitary confinement and thereafter, when I became an awaiting-trial prisoner, I was kept entirely on my own in a section apart from other prisoners at the Johannesburg Prison at Diepkloof."

The magistrate, Mr T J la Grange, adjourned the hearing to January 22.

Swazis search for ANC men after jail raid

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

SWAZI police yesterday mounted a manhunt for African National Congress fighters after heavily armed ANC insurgents forced police at Mbabane Police Station to free three jailed comrades.

The Swaziland Police Commissioner, Mr Majaje Simelane, yesterday confirmed that the three ANC men were freed after the police station was raided by two ANC fighters — not 15 as first reports said — armed with AK-47 rifles on Wednesday.

— But Mr Simelane denied reports that the raid on Mbabane Police Station had been followed by a bid to mount similar raids to "spring" ANC men in police stations in or near Manzini.

The ANC raiders were reported to have been particularly keen to secure the escape of an ANC man named Eric Zuma.

Mr Simelane also repudiated reports that three non-political prisoners at Mbabane Police Station had taken advantage of an offer from the raiders to free them on condition that they joined the ANC.

The Swazi Police were, however, determined to capture all ANC men still in Swaziland and "deport them to a country of their choice", Mr Simelane added.

Last year about 100 ANC men were deported from Swaziland after fighting broke out between Swazi security forces and ANC men fleeing from Mozambique to Swaziland in the wake of the March 16 Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique.

A *modus vivendi* was, however, reached between the Swaziland Government and the ANC after talks in Lusaka, Zambia, between Dr George Msibi, a senior member of Swaziland's Supreme Council of State, and the ANC.

The uneasy peace was shattered early last month by the assassination of Swaziland's Deputy Chief of Security Police, Superintendent Petros Shiba.

The ANC was blamed for the killing. It denied responsibility.

The raid on Mbabane Police Station is the latest incident in the new round of fighting between Swaziland Police and ANC fighters triggered by the killing of Mr Shiba.

Events since Mr Shiba's death include the deportation of the ANC political representative in Swaziland, Mr Absalom Duma, the gunning down by Swazi Police of an ANC man, Mr Jabulani Ngcobo, of Soweto, the discovery of an arms cache in Manzini, and capture of a least two ANC men — whom the Swazi authorities are reported to have threatened to hand over to South Africa.

Wednesday's raid on Mbabane Police Station was the second time in the past nine months that ANC raiders are reported to have freed their comrades.

In April, last year, ANC fighters were reported to have raided Bhunya Police Station in Swaziland and freed four of their comrades.

The ANC later accused the Swazi authorities of handing the men over to South Africa after pretending that they had been freed at gunpoint by their comrades. Swazi Police denied the charge.

Last October, Mr Babalazi Bulunga, immediate past SRC president of the University of Swaziland, who is said to have had close connections with the ANC, was deported from Swaziland and immediately arrested by South African Police.

Dr Msibi, however, denied Mr Bulunga had been deported for his reputed ANC links.

Mandela nephews topic at meeting — spokesman

JOHANNESBURG — At no time has Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, discussed the release of her husband to Transkei with President Kaiser Matanzima, of Transkei, a Mandela family spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman, Mr M. K. Malefane, was referring to speculation that Mrs Mandela discussed the release of her husband with Paramount Chief Matanzima during meetings with him in Bloemfontein in November and Umtata in December.

President Matanzima is related to Mr Mandela and the Bloemfontein and Umtata discussions centred on a Mandela family matter, the sentencing to death for murder in Transkei of two of Mr Mandela's nephews, Mr Malefane said.

As President of Transkei, Chief Matanzima had the power to save the two men from the gallows.

At the Bloemfontein meeting, Chief Matanzima asked Mrs Mandela to tell

her husband when she next visited him that he, Chief Matanzima, wished to discuss the fate of the convicted men directly with him.

At the Umtata meeting, Mrs Mandela conveyed her husband's response — that he was willing to meet Chief Matanzima on the strict understanding that it was to discuss the fate of his nephews, Mr Malefane said.

A meeting was arranged, but fell through, Mr Malefane said, adding that Chief Matanzima had since commuted the death sentences to imprisonment. He did not know how long the men would remain in jail.

Shortly after Christmas, Chief Matanzima denied he had conveyed an offer of freedom to Mr Mandela through Mrs Mandela. According to news reports, the offer was that Mr Mandela agree to live in Transkei in return for his release from prison, where he is serving a life sentence for sabotage.

Chief Matanzima said he and Mrs Mandela had discussed "family matters". — DDC

Sentator 4/1/85 11A 1257

Azapo slams Kennedy

UNITED STATES Senator Edward Kennedy is set to be given a rousing welcome when he arrives for his southern Africa visit at Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow.

Meanwhile the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday reiterated its opposition to the planned visit. In a statement to **The SOWETAN**, Azapo said "the visit by Senator Kennedy is another visit by an American imperialist hoping to become President of the United States in 1988."

By SELLO RABOTHATA

Azapo said: "Senator Kennedy must be informed that the black people of Azania are not his ticket to the Presidency and that our enemy includes American imperialism which props up the racist regime here. The liberal political face of Edward Kennedy has not stopped him from being a leading supporter of Israel and an open ally of racist South Africa.

"Senator Edward Kennedy does not have any mandate for his visit from the black people of Azania or for that matter the

black people of the United States. He would be better advised to address himself to the problems of the oppressed masses in the United States rather than remain an open advocate of capitalism."

Bishop Desmond Tutu, last year's Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg elect, who will be Senator Kennedy's host during the Johannesburg part of the visit said: "Everybody is entitled to his opinion and Azapo is free to voice its feelings. I would not like to comment further on the matter."



SOWETO's MAYOR, Mr Edward Kunene receiving the R50 000 insurance payment for the death of slain Mr Edward Manyosi, from Mr Gene Fivas, director of an insurance company. Story on page 2.

Senator Kennedy's southern Africa visit will include Namibia and Zambia and is due to end on January 13.

In Brandfort, Senator Kennedy is expected to meet with Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Service

In Johannesburg, Senator Kennedy will be staying at Bishop Tutu's home in Phefeni, Soweto. On Sunday he will attend a church service at the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville. He is also due to meet with black organisations and leaders. On Monday he will be jetting out to Cape Town where his host will be Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

- A spokesman for the Kennedy entourage announced last night that as Senator Edward Kennedy will stay at Bishop Tutu's house on Saturday night, a special party will be thrown where Senator Kennedy will entertain all present and have a short discussion session.

News from News AP Reuter and UPI

Unity a top priority, says the UDF

28W 4/1/85 (11A)

Mail Reporters

UNITY must be a top priority among the oppressed people of this country in their fight against apartheid, the United Democratic Front (UDF) said in its New Year message.

A statement issued yesterday by the UDF said: "The UDF salutes the masses of the people of South Africa for their gallant support during its 1984 campaign.

"Through this support, the Front effectively dented the apartheid edifice.

"We draw the attention of our people to the difficult times ahead.

"As the tide of resistance against apartheid grows, greater repres-

sion can be expected.

"This, then, means that for the UDF and the oppressed, unity must be a top priority.

"In 1985, our struggle and offensive against apartheid must be intensified.

In its message, the Catholic Diocese of Johannesburg said that 32 years ago the Catholic Bishops' Conference declared that justice demanded that blacks be permitted to evolve gradually towards full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

"And where are we now as regards this full participation?

"Must we use the new Constitu-

tion, which excludes blacks, as the yardstick to measure our progress?" Bishop Reginald Orsmond, the Bishop of Johannesburg, said.

"Is it so difficult to understand why there is growing dissatisfaction and unrest among the blacks?"

Meanwhile Sapa reports that the Government should make 1985 the year in which it abandons forever the policy of forced removals, the South African Institute of Race Relations said in a New Year call on President P W Botha.

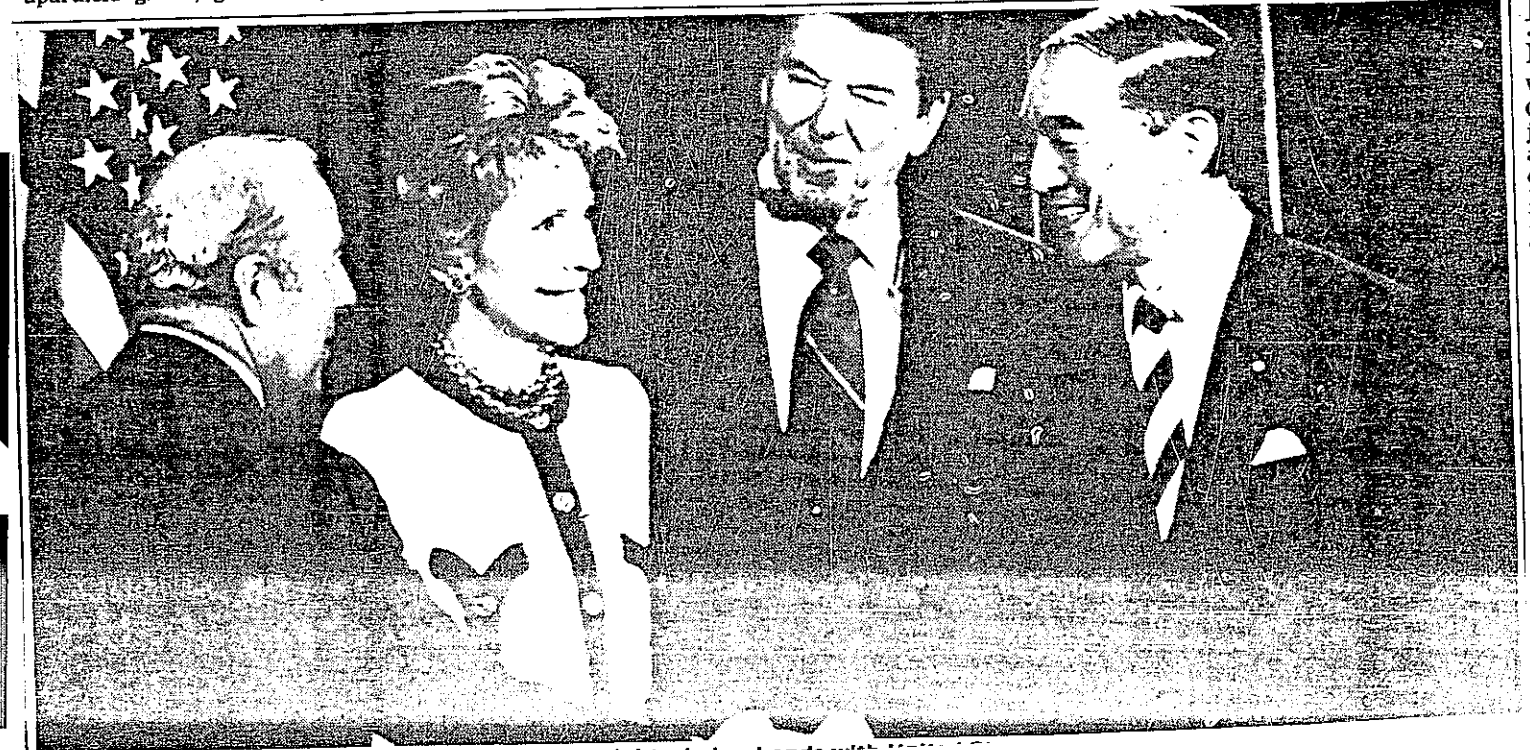
"There is no doubt that forced population removals are the single most injurious aspect of apartheid and the one that besmirches the

name of South Africa abroad more than anything else," the institute's director, Mr John Kane-Berman, said.

"Yet, paradoxically, they can be stopped at the stroke of a pen with no complications and at no cost."

The Azanian People's Organisation said in its New Year's message that the "unshackled hand of the Black Man" holds the key to the future prosperity, progress and peace in South Africa.

The statement released by Azapo's president, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said that in August 1984 black solidarity dealt a "death blow to Botha's 1983 White Referendum mandate".



Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, right, shakes hands with [woman's name]

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RJM 4/1/85 (117)

Call to unite against SA

By TONY WEAVER
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — The Leftwing of the South West Africa National Union yesterday called for the formation of an "anti-Pretoria" movement modelled on the United Democratic Front.

This is the latest blow in the war of words between internal parties supporting the South West African People's Organisation and members of the Multi Party Conference.

In a tough statement, Swanu's general secretary, Mr Vekuii Rukoro, called for the unification of popular organisations and said mass mobilisation was essential in 1985.

"We have to have a visible role in our national politics, we have to supplement the courageous efforts of the Namibian guerrillas with effective mass action by

all patriotic forces.

"No amount of diplomatic activities on our part can be a substitute for direct mass action within Namibia."

Mr Rukoro said the "challenge for the patriotic forces in 1985" was whether "we can emulate the historic example of the heroic people of South Africa by launching a UDF-type offensive of our own, or whether silly, petty, outdated party political considerations will be allowed to weaken our resistance."

He called on "all anti-Pretoria forces to make 1985 the year of unification in action of the national liberation movement".

Observers in South West Africa see the statement as being the first major salvo in what promises to be a tense year of confrontation between members of the Swapo Patriotic Alliance and the South African-backed Multi Party Conference.

4/1/85
Star
11A
Passport is ~~is~~
withdrawn ~~is~~

The Minister of Home Affairs has withdrawn the passport of a Soweto member of the Release Mandela Committee (RMC).

Mr Jabu Ngwenya, treasurer of the RMC in the Transvaal, yesterday said he had returned from Natal on Wednesday to find two security policemen at his Senaoane home.

They served him with a notice advising him that his passport had been withdrawn "with immediate effect" and that he was "called upon to surrender the document to the officer serving the notice".

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs would not comment on the withdrawal of Mr Ngwenya's passport.

New twist in ANC jailbreak drama

Star
4/1/85
11A

The drama surrounding the raids on Swazi jails, in which six men were released and carried away, has taken a new twist.

Within hours of The Star's report yesterday that Swazi police claimed that heavily armed guerillas had successfully raided Mbabane jail but been beaten off from several other jails in Swaziland, the African National Congress (ANC) despatched telexes worldwide from London and Lusaka, denying responsibility.

The organisation has tried to shift suspicion on to South African forces for the abduction of captive ANC members.

The ANC is seeking the intervention of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

In terms of South African security legislation their full telex messages may not be quoted.

Their denial, and a similar incident last year when prisoners apparently vanished, has raised several questions.

But Swazi police today insisted that the attacks were by ANC guerillas. They told The Star's Foreign News Service that a group of 15 armed ANC men freed three comrades and three Swazi awaiting-trial prisoners from Mbabane Police Station.

The police said that the three Swazis had given themselves up after initially telling the raiders they were willing to be recruited into the ANC.

The incident has come when police in Swaziland are rounding up members of the ANC, after the assassination of a senior police officer last month.

The commissioner of police, Mr Majaje Simelane, has repeatedly warned ANC members to give themselves up or face deportation to South Africa.

A police spokesman, Mr Mgcwembe Dlamini, said today that a search was being conducted countrywide for the raiders. He stressed that police were in no doubt that the raiders belonged to the ANC.

But doubts about ANC involvement were also raised when four alleged ANC men were "sprung" from a police station in Bhunya, near the north-eastern border with South Africa, last year.

The four men had arrived in Swaziland shortly after the signing of the Nkomati Accord. They were released by a group of armed men and have not been heard of since. Not even the ANC has claimed they have rejoined its ranks.

The ANC representative in Swaziland, Mr Bafana Duma, left the country yesterday for Lusaka after a Ministry of Interior deportation order. Mr Duma had been based in Swaziland for 20 years.

X Report restricted

● This report has had to be restricted to comply with the Internal Security Act. The ANC report was issued by the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, who cannot be quoted in South Africa because he is a banned person.

All is not well in the City of London anti-apartheid camp

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Tension persists between the Anti-Apartheid Movement establishment and a comparatively small group of left-wing rebels who have tried to take over the movement.

Ostensibly the picketing of the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square is organised by the South African Embassy Picket Campaign, an offshoot of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's City of London branch.

The movement's leadership has refused to endorse the weekly picket because it is outside the City of London branch territory (confined to the financial district, some miles away).

DEEPER

A second reason is that the campaign against South African representation in London is a national issue to be fitted into the Movement's national campaign.

However, the issue cloaks a deeper division.

The City of London branch, which is closely allied to the Revolutionary Communist Party, wants the Anti-Apartheid Movement to:

- Abandon its strong links with Britain's political establish-

ment.

- Strengthen its ties to radical political movements.

- Become more involved in street activities.

Anti-Apartheid Movement leaders, on the other hand, believe the campaign against the South African Government is well served by its close links with top opposition politicians such as Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and Liberal Party Leader Mr David Steel and by the fact that it has considerable access to Conservative Party Cabinet Ministers.

The leadership's view was endorsed by a more than two-to-one vote at the movement's annual general meeting in October and a rebel attempt to win a number of seats on the national executive was defeated.

However, the City of London branch has now written to the executive setting out its reasons for continuing the picket action at the South African Embassy.

And its members are reported to be working hard on a campaign to get more radicals into positions of influence in the movement.

Kennedy asks to see ANC men

CAIT TINKS 5/1/85

11A
~~327~~

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Senator Edward Kennedy, who arrives in South Africa tonight on the start of an eight-day visit, has asked the government for permission to visit Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, two African National Congress leaders serving life sentences in Pollsmoor Prison.

A spokesman on the senator's staff told pressmen at a briefing yesterday that no request had been made for the senator to meet the State President, Mr P W Botha, but there was a good prospect that he would meet the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

A Kennedy staff member said they had received no response to a request to visit Pollsmoor Prison, but that the government had waived all permit requirements for those involved in the eight-day trip.

This means that Senator Kennedy, the six other family members with him, his aides and staff and the press will not have to apply for permits to go to Soweto, Onverwacht, Brandfort or other townships.

Crossroads visit

Mr Kennedy will meet Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-Operation, Development and Education, and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Administration.

RIAAN DE VILLIERS reports that Senator Kennedy is to visit the Crossroads squatter complex — and the controversial new Khayelit-

sha township — during a two-day visit to Cape Town next week.

This was confirmed yesterday by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Churches, who will accompany him throughout his South African visit and host his stay in Cape Town.

Mr Kennedy will also address a public meeting in Cape Town.

Resettlement

Senator Kennedy's visit to Crossroads may have some influence on future black affairs in the Western Cape, as it comes on the eve of government plans to clear squatter camps and resettle all squatters at Khayelitsha.

Dr Boesak said yesterday that he was "tremendously excited" by Senator Kennedy's visit which was "very significant indeed" for South Africa and the United States.

The national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr "Terror" Lekota, said the visit could benefit the "struggle for freedom" in South Africa, while the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) criticized the tour.

Mr Lekota said: "We consider that Kennedy's visit should benefit the struggle for freedom in South Africa if on his return to the United States he uses the insights he gains to mobilize international opinion, and especially US public opinion, against the policies of apartheid."

In contrast, the Azapo statement accused Senator Kennedy of visiting South Africa to further his ambitions of becoming US president in 1988, adding: "He would be better advised to address himself to the problems of the oppressed masses in the US rather than remain an open advocate of capitalism."

Mr Kennedy will also meet Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, apparently at the request of the chief.

Trade unionists

Other black leaders who will meet Mr Kennedy include Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Joe Foster, general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, Mr Piroshaw Camay, general

secretary of Cusa, and Bishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Manas Buthelezi, both of the SACC.

In Brandfort, Mr Kennedy will meet Mrs Winnie Mandela, the banned wife of Nelson Mandela, and have a private meeting with novelist Nadine Gordimer in Johannesburg. He will also address a public meeting in Soweto and visit two other removal areas — Mathopstad and Onverwacht.

Business leaders

He will address a group of 600 business leaders, mainly white, at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel and meet informally two more groups of white businessmen and academics in Johannesburg and Stellenbosch.

He will also fly to Windhoek to meet representatives of Swapo and the Namibian churches and to Lusaka to meet President Kenneth Kaunda.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	.....	\$301,75
Rand	.....	\$0,4910/20
FT index (close)	.....	941,00
RDM 100	.....	928,90
Dow Jones	.....	1 184,96

5/1/83
11A
Disputed

De Beer slams UDF criticism

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Sam de Beer, the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, has criticised opposition organisations for their response to the Van Der Walt report into the recent unrest.

By making "outrageously negative statements" and condemning a report they had not seen, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were destroying their

own credibility, he said.

Mr De Beer made these remarks in a letter to a Johannesburg newspaper after the UDF and Azapo had criticised the report drawn up by Professor Tjaart van der Walt, the rector of Potchefstroom University.

"According to the report a UDF spokesman stated that 'Prof Van der Walt had not consulted the Vaal communities when drawing up his report, but had relied on government stooges.'

"Azapo is also reported as saying the report lacked an objective basis and only confirmed the bias of the government.

"The attempts to discredit Prof Van der Walt and to question his integrity and impartiality are despicable.

"Prof Van der Walt did not 'consult' anyone. On the contrary, it was widely publicised that any person or organisation was free to testify before Prof Van der Walt or to submit written testimony, as did no few-

er than 132 individuals and organisations.

"If the UDF and Azapo did not avail themselves of the opportunity to meet Prof Van der Walt, they have only themselves to blame and should therefore refrain from invalid criticism and mud-slinging," he said.

● The Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday neither he nor Prof Van der Walt had accused black local government of being responsible for the riots.

However, he admitted that most of his comments had dealt with aspects of the local authorities and their manner of determining municipal rates and levies.

This did not prejudice the government's appreciation of the "dedicated manner in which black local authorities have been and are still coping with their demanding tasks," he said. — DDC-SAPA.

Gunmen abduct Swiss envoy

BEIRUT — Police and militiamen searched Beirut yesterday for a senior Swiss diplomat who was kidnapped shortly before he was due to have left Lebanon at the end of his posting.

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Tutu gets ready to greet Ted Kennedy today

W/C ARGUS 5/11/85

117

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — US Senator Edward Kennedy, a vigorous critic of apartheid, arrives in South Africa today for a week-long tour.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, was due to greet him on his arrival on an SAA flight to Johannesburg this evening.

The Rev CF Beyers Naude, unbanned former director of the Christian Institute and designated successor to Bishop Tutu as general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Bishop Mannas Buthelezi were also expected to be in the welcoming party.

The senator and six other other members of the Kennedy family are to visit various black areas and will meet many church, business, labour and political leaders — black and white.

Members of Senator Kennedy's family with him are his daughter Kara, 24, and son Teddy, 23; his sister, Mrs Jean Ken-

nedy Smith, her son Steve, and two children of the assassinated Senator Bobby Kennedy, Chris and Kathleen.

Sapa reports that Senator Kennedy has asked to see jailed ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sizulu when he visits Cape Town next week.

Coming to grips

U/C ARGUS
5/1/85
119

AT its recent congress, the Labour Party set itself goals aimed at a "non-racial democracy". BRIAN STUART analyses the congress.

THE Labour Party finds itself in a peculiar position, being opposed to Government policy on the one hand, yet being a part of that Government.

Coming to grips with this contradictory situation was the task of its Kimberley congress, leading to an emphasis that was laid less on policy than on strategy.

The Labour Party, holding all but three seats in the House of Representatives, is the ruling party in one of the three Houses of the new Parliament. But it is committed to the dismantling of the total Verwoerdian apartheid structure, including the separate parliamentary House it occupies.

How to go about it is the biggest problem facing the party. Here the Kimberley congress was more than

merely considerate of the National Party position.

Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, set as immediate goals for the first session of Parliament this year the abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Act, Separate Amenities Act and laws prohibiting mixed political parties.

All these measures are already under fire even within Nationalist ranks. An end to separate amenities, at least in the Cape, is all but an established fact.

The party had appointed its Border leader, Mr Peter Mopp, to head a committee to analyse all discriminatory legislation and draw up a priorities and feasibility list which will determine the party's long-term strategies and goals.

"To talk of the repeal of race classification (Population Registration Act) or the Group Areas Act at this stage is not feasible," said Mr Hendrickse. "The whole structure of the new Par-

liament is based on this legislation."

In the mean time such legislation could "remain on the books if only to satisfy the Transvaal radicals" but could be ignored elsewhere. "Turning a blind eye might be one of the ways of reform," said Mr Hendrickse.

It was this approach which marked the Kimberley congress — an attempt to define not so much the party's policy as the strategy by which to achieve a still unclearly-defined goal of "a non-racial democracy" in South Africa.

On economic issues, the Labour Party faces problems — what are "own" and "general" affairs is not clear in many fields of life in South Africa. In salaries and pensions, over which it has some say, the Labour Party has been very specific in demanding equality.

Most of the party's policies are still in the formulation stage. Party committees will analyse and debate the issues in the light of experience gained at this year's session of Parliament.

THE acid test of any campaign and organisation is the extent to which it achieves its objectives.

This is the test that needs to be applied when one looks at political activity in the black community during 1984.

Some of the campaigns launched by organisations last year were well planned and executed, while others gave the sinking feeling that they were decided on at the spur of the moment.

It was quite evident that no thinking had gone into them. Questions that seemed not to have been asked before the launch of the campaign included: What do we want to achieve? What is involved? What MUST be done to ensure success? Is this campaign really necessary? Is there any chance of success? How will this contribute to our objectives? What happens if we fail? Does the community approve?

The above questions had to be asked, but were not asked in some of the campaigns last year.

As a result, communities asked pertinent questions and instead of getting answers, were bullied into supporting hare-brained campaigns that should never have been on in the first place.

Sacrifice

People were told to sacrifice for the struggle.

Most people are prepared to sacrifice, but take strong exception to being dragged into ego boosting or half baked campaigns in which they were not consulted in the first place, and which on the drawing board simply do not make sense to them.

Looking at 1984, some campaigns were worth all the support they got from the black community, while others are best left forgotten.

To start with the Black Christmas call supported by several organisations, including the UDF and Azapo, is one campaign that just did not make sense.

We had a call for a Black Christmas which did not specify the period effective, how it was to be conducted, did not specify what was to be bought or not bought and the public was left not knowing what was expected of them.

On the opposite side we had the very successful anti-tricameral elections campaign from early 1984 which bore victory in August. This campaign was sweet success. The communities involved were told why they should not vote and they withheld their vote knowing why they were doing it.

The UDF and Azapo planned this campaign extensively.

The now historic November stayaway was also a success. As a major court case is pending it is not proper to go into detail.

Two other issues stick out like a sore thumb. The first is the successful Durban sit-in and the second the Release Mandela Committee (RMC).

First the RMC. This committee was responsible for two petitions calling for the release of imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, and the other calling for signatures that reject P W Botha's constitutional proposals.

Million

Both petitions had to have a million signatures each.

At some stage the two got tangled up, with the

community not knowing which petition it was signing.

In any case at the figure 600 000 the lists were shelved. It was not known if the 600 000 was for the Mandela petition, the Botha proposals rejection, or both. It was just confusing.

Mercifully the petitions died a natural death. But let us have a look at them. Were they necessary in the first place? They were not. I have no doubt that our imprisoned leaders and other political prisoners know under what conditions they wish to be freed, and not through petitions while the status quo remains.

All of us want Nelson Mandela released, but we do not want him released on Botha's terms. We want Mandela released on Mandela's terms.

The petition on Botha's proposals was redundant. In November 1983 black townships demonstrated via a low poll they rejected the Black Local Authorities. In August last year the Indian and coloured communities used a NO vote to reject Botha's reforms. Why was a petition then necessary when it was known the elections in August would demonstrate the will of the people?

Also, questions have to be asked why the

RMC could not raise a million signatures when the UDF has declared it has two million members.

The RMC then decided on a stayaway in Soweto in October. The results of this stayaway were lives lost, many injured, cars had their windshields smashed and bodyworks peppered with rocks. Many people had to travel long distances after Putco had withdrawn buses.

But the status quo remained as was and none of the demands made were addressed to. In the first place why was this stayaway called? How did it fall under the gambit of a committee busy with petitions? Who empowered this committee to organise a stayaway? Who did it consult? Was the Soweto community ever asked to give an indication if it was ready for a stayaway or wanted it?

Thankfully the bitter memories of this stayaway were washed clean by the November 5 and 6 mass stayaway.

The Durban Consulate drama ended on a triumphant note. The objective of the sit-in was to focus on detention without trial. It was neatly executed and the rug pulled from under the Government. The British Government was

also left with a red face.

An added bonus was the bungling of Louis Le Grange, who went down last year as the best public relations officer the UDF ever had. If he continues as Law and Order Minister then we can expect more publicity campaigns by him on behalf of radical organisations in the black community.

One would have given anything to be present when PW and Cabinet met to order the release of detainees not in detention. The expressions on their faces should have been a delight to watch.

While this campaign was a coup in the long run, the participants nearly lost credibility as they stayed too long in the consulate. They could have stayed for a reasonable period and then gone to jail to show that they did not fear imprisonment.

With the campaigns behind us questions have emerged that need answering. Firstly Azapo, Inkatha and the UDF have in 1984 preached Black Unity. Will 1985 still see them paying lip service to this?

Secondly, 1984 saw an escalation of violence between Inkatha and the UDF. Also, some members of the Azanian Students' Organisation

(Azaso) assaulted some official of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm).

On the above violence the question that follows is: are the organisations involved not aware that other elements could step in and knock a few heads off knowing the rival organisation will be blamed? We could just have more Griffiths Mxenges.

In conclusion, campaigns launched by black community organisations have left many questions hanging in the air. The questions are:

To Azapo:
• When will Azapo state where it is going and how it is getting there? Six years is rather too long a period to exist without a programme of action;

• Black Consciousness spokesmen have said white people can contribute to the struggle by operating within their own communities. Is it possible for Azapo to explain if these whites must operate in isolation, or, if there is to be co-ordination, how will this be effected?

Boycott

• Is it possible for Azapo to react timeously to issues? They took rather too long to react to the November stayaway. Did they not have the courage of their convic-

THE SOWETAN news editor, Thami Mazwai, completes his three part series on the United Democratic Front, (UDF), the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and Inkatha Yeskulu-leko Yesizwe (Inkatha). Today he looks at some of the more prominent campaigns launched in 1984. He also asks



questions that seem to go unanswered each year.



THE SUCCESSFUL November stayaway. The normally bustling bus terminus at Baragwanath is quiet.

tions to oppose the stayaway before it actually occurred?

To Inkatha:
• When will Inkatha implement the consumer boycott it has been threatening for the past five years, seeing that they are opposed to nearly each and every boycott planned by the UDF or Azapo?

• When will the organisation be either fish or fowl? While claiming to be part of the liberation struggle some of its campaigns or statements against other black organisations seem to suggest it is in the other camp.
• How did Inkatha find it possible to intimidate Indian voters to vote for the SA Indian Council elections but in 1984 called on the same communities to boycott the polls?

To the UDF:
• Why is it that most UDF affiliates have constitutions allowing for membership of all races, but no whites seem interested in joining organisations led by blacks, eg Cosas, Saawu, Azaso etc?

• Why is it that whites were involved in the distribution of pamphlets calling for the November two-day stayaway but none of these pamphlets were directed at white, Indian and coloured communities with the result that very

few, if any, from these communities participated in the two-day stayaway?

• Black students writing Unisa examinations during the stayaway had their examinations disrupted. Some claim they phoned the UDF before the stayaway and asked what they should do. They were asked to sacrifice for the struggle. Why was this sacrifice not extended to other university students, particularly those at Wits?

• The National Union of South African Students (Nusas), a white students' organisation affiliated to the UDF, and the Wits University SRC, also loyal to the UDF, last year organised countless meetings supporting demands by black students. When black students finally boycotted classes and then exams, why did the UDF not get their supporters, Nusas and the Wits SRC, to have white students boycott classes and examinations in support of black students?

• Black workers at the same university went on strike last year. Black students immediately supported them by going on a class boycott. What is the attitude of the UDF that an affiliate, Nusas and the Wits SRC, failed to support a strike by a union at the university?

Jail raid: Swazi Govt meets as ANC denies responsibility

The Swaziland Cabinet met yesterday to discuss Wednesday's reported raid by armed ANC men on the Mbabane police station in which three detainees are said to have been freed.

But the ANC has denied responsibility for the raid, describing the "disappearance" of three of their number as mysterious.

South Africa viewed the matter as an internal Swazi affair and had not officially contacted Swaziland about the matter, a spokesman for the South Africa Department of Foreign Affairs said.

Asked to comment on the affair in the light of the security accord between the two countries, in terms of which Swaziland has been clamping down on and expelling ANC members, he said his department did not want to see the incident in isolation.

It was merely another example of the differences between the Swazi Government and the ANC.

The Swazi Commissioner of Police, Mr Mjaje Simelane, says police are still searching for the raiders and escapers involved. They will be deported to the country of their choice.

Three non-political prisoners also freed in the raid are back behind bars after having surrendered.

It is not known whether the Cabinet will issue a statement but the prime minister's private secretary, Mr Moses Dlamini, says his government is "disappointed with the state of affairs".

The Swazi Government regards the matter in a serious light.

There have been conflicting reports on the raid, some saying that 15 armed men freed the men from the Mbabane police station before attempting the same at another police station and two prisons.

Mr Simelane says only two raiders freed their comrades.

In a statement in the Zimbabwe daily newspaper *The Herald*, the ANC suggests the three prisoners "disappeared" following threats by Mr Simelane that ANC members were to be handed over to the South African Government.

The organisation said it would ask the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity to ensure that no opponents of the Pretoria Government were sent back to South Africa and that the safety of prisoners in Swaziland was guaranteed.

In April last year ANC men were reported to have raided the Bhunya police station and freed four of their colleagues.

At the time, the organisation accused the Swazi Government of staging the abduction and repatriating the prisoners. — Sapa.

SA and ANC did have talks

THE South African Government and the African National Congress met in Lusaka three weeks ago for "informal exploratory talks".

Although the Government has repeated an earlier denial that talks have taken place, reliable sources close to the ANC, the Zambian and Mozambique governments are adamant that they have, and that they are the beginning of negotiations for the release of Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders imprisoned for life — this being the chief reason why the ANC agreed to the meeting.

The Mandela issue was not raised at the meeting which was described "as exploratory, and talks about talks".

Commenting yesterday, President P W Botha reiterated a statement made in December that no member of the ruling National Party would be allowed to speak to the ANC. A government spokesman dismissed the report as "ANC propaganda".

The ANC refused to comment.

The Zambian Government was responsible for the meeting which took place on Wednesday December 19.

This is probably the first time since the ANC was banned in 1960 that there has been contact between Pretoria and the ANC. Both had adopted an uncompromising stand, refusing to talk to each other.

The meeting followed an interview granted by the ANC, which had previously refused to speak to pro-Government Afrikaans newspapers, to the assistant editor of Beeld, Dr Piet Muller.

"This pre-Christmas Lusaka meeting was actually a discussion between official ANC and South African Government representatives. It did not involve go betweens or people such as journalists, academics or business-

men," the sources said.

Since South Africa and Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord, the ANC leadership has been locked in debate over the issue of contact with Pretoria.

Most of the top ANC leaders are believed to be in favour of negotiations on some issues. They include ANC president Oliver Tambo, Alfred Nzo, the veteran general secretary who is to retire soon, and Tabo Mbeki, the director of publicity and information.

Military

A smaller faction led by senior Communist Party member and head of the ANC military forces, Joe Slovo, is strictly opposed to talks.

The Zambian Government has been urging the ANC to make contact with Pretoria.

Zambia told the ANC that Pretoria would not discuss the political future of South Africa. But, Zambia argued, the ANC could achieve limited goals, such as the release of Mandela and others.

President Kenneth Kuanda was the middleman in the Namibian talks and there is a bond of trust between Pretoria and Lusaka.

The pro-contact group in the ANC has apparently no illusions about how far discussions with Pretoria can go. They advocate talks to gain the release of prisoners, something they could present as a victory for their strategy.

As a precedent they point to the unconditional release in March last year of Swapo leader Herman Toivo Ja Toivo; and to the 1975 release of Zimbabwean political prisoners such as Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole.

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KENNEDY

Senelam 7/1/85 (11A)

ARRIVES

By SELLO RABOTHATA

SENATOR Edward Kennedy arrived in South Africa at the weekend to demonstrations by members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and a rousing welcome by Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alan Boesak, two prominent church leaders.

Later, in Orlando West he was feted by residents and the Imilonji ka Ntu choir at the home of Bishop Tutu.

He is in the country for a whirlwind visit that will see him visit the main centres, with a trip to Zimbabwe and Zambia.



HOSTS: Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (Warc), Senator Edward M Kennedy (centre) and Bishop Desmond Tutu meeting the Press at the Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday evening.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

He is accompanied by his son, Teddy Junior, daughter Kara, and relatives of his extended family. They include Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, Christopher Kennedy, sister Mrs Jean Kennedy Smith and her son Steven. Kathleen and Christopher are children of his late brother, Robert, assassinated during the primaries for the American presidential elections in 1968.

About 50 supporters of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) were dispersed by police as they demonstrated at the Jan Smuts Airport when Senator Kennedy arrived.

The incident took place immediately after the senator and his hosts had left the airport lobby and were on their way to the waiting cars en route to Bishop Desmond Tutu's residence in Soweto. Nine of the protesters, among them senior Azapo member Zithulele Cindi, were dragged into a private room by the police.

Placards

The demonstrators waved placards reading: "Kennedy help the blacks in America," "You have no mandate to be here" and other slogans. They also chanted "Kennedy, go home, Kennedy, go home." While the confusion went on, an elderly white woman waved the South Afri-

To Page 2

**Demos
as Tutu,
Boesak**

**welcome
Senator
to SA**

Kennedy visits Soweto

11A

➔ From Page 1

can flag, obviously welcoming the senator to the country.

In Soweto, the senator's reception was rousing. More than 300 people lined the street next to Bishop Tutu's home to welcome the Americans. They all had candles and were singing hymns when the entourage arrived. Bishop Tutu announced the senator's arrival and the crowd sang the national anthem, Nkosi sikelel' Afrika, with the candles held high. It was a beautiful sight. Imilonji ka

Ntu under the baton of Mr George Mxadana also sang a few other songs before the entourage retired into the house where the senator spent his first night in the country.

Among those who met Senator Kennedy at the airport were Bishop Desmond Tutu and his wife, Leah; Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (Warc); and Dr Beyers Naude, who is set to take over as general secretary of the South African Council of Churches

(SACC) when Bishop Tutu becomes Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg next month. A battery of foreign and local journalists was also in attendance.

In his remarks and welcoming speech Bishop Tutu told the senator that there were people opposed to his visit and that these people would indicate their feelings towards this, but that they were entitled to their opinion. The senator came to South Africa at a time when crisis was escalating and deepening.

...may return

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onditions in his lifetime
n's Hostel in Soweto.

Kennedy appalled

REPORTERS

of excited by his visit.
nd Addressing the Press
he after the tour, the sen-
sly ator said he was ap-

palled at the conditions
of the people. The men
at the hostel were trying
to earn a living for their
families with whom they

cannot live.

A man who had been
staying at the hostel for
the past 20 years told
him he worked for 12
months and only went
home for three weeks.
The senator said in that
time the man said he
could only send the
equivalent of a hundred
dollars home, which
barely covered his fami-
lies' needs.

to in the township
showed a lot of courage
despite the frustrations
facing them. One said
they wanted their child-
ren to have a quality
education and that even
when their children had
passed matric parents
feared they would be ar-
rested because of unem-
ployment."

Church

In the morning Sen-
ator Kennedy attended
a church service at the St
Pius X Roman Catholic
Church in Mofolo. Al-
though the service was
closed to the Press it was
learnt that Holy Com-
munion was held.

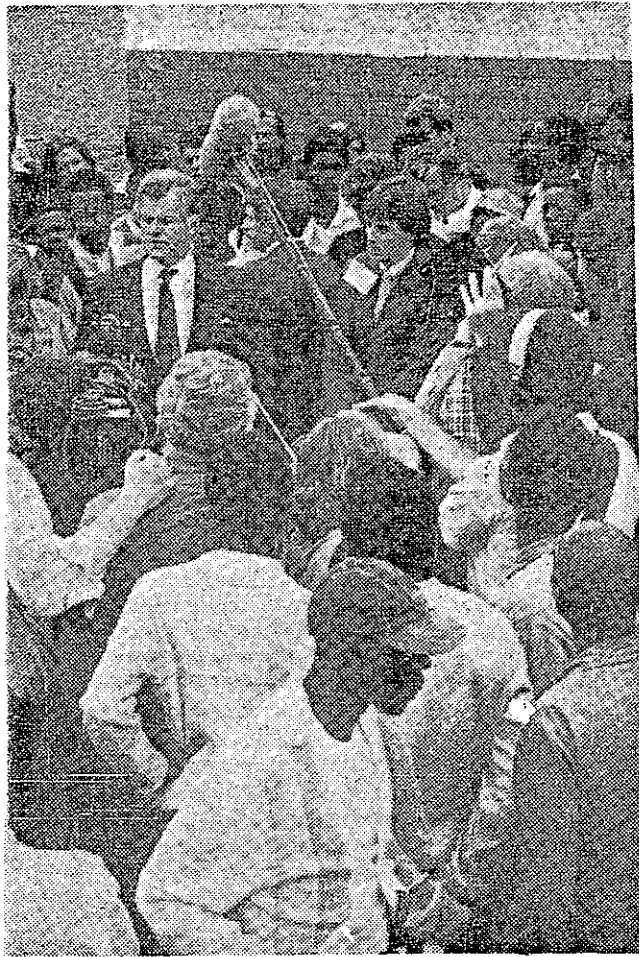
After the service the
senator and his entou-
rage visited two families
in the area — he walked
in the street from the
first house to the next
which was about a block
away — followed by the
congregation and a
number of other resi-
dents who were at-
tracted to the scene. He
later visited a family in
White City before going
to the Nancefield Hostel

and ended his day in So-
weto at the Funda
Centre.

The senator was in
the company of Dr Al-
lan Boesak, president of
the World Alliance of
Reformed Churches
(Warc), who will be his
host during the Cape
Town leg of the eight-
day tour of the country.

A surprise absentee
during the Soweto tour
was his host in Johan-
nesburg, Bishop Des-
mond Tutu at whose
home he spent Saturday
night. A number of Se-
curity policemen were
also keeping a close
watch on the senator
and his entourage.

Senator Kennedy was
last night due to meet a
number of community
leaders. Today he will
visit residents of Matho-
pestad Black Spot and
the proposed Onderste-
poort resettlement area.
Later in the afternoon
he will hold a meeting
with members of the
South African Council
of Churches and in the
evening meet business
leaders.



g the Press at Nancefield's Men's Hostel yesterday during
tour of Soweto.

Forced to leave

want

stantly.
The meeting then
continued.

Before the arrival of
the TV crew, a Pretoria
educationist, Mr Louis
Khumalo had pointed
out the need for parents
to work closely with
black political organisa-
tions when dealing with
matters affecting the
community.

Education, he added,
was no exception and
could not be dealt with
in isolation.

"Black people are op-
pressed because whites
are unified behind their
political organisations
and their children are
made to know their
identity at an early age,"
Mr Khumalo said.

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AMERICAN Senator Edward M Kennedy yesterday said he had never seen such appalling living conditions in his lifetime after he had visited the Nancefield Men's Hostel in Soweto.

Senator Kennedy said this after a tour of the township in which he was having a first hand experience of the way people live in Soweto. He was re-

SOWETAN REPORTERS

ceived by hundreds of ululating women and children, although the men were obviously

excited by his visit.

Addressing the Press after the tour, the senator said he was ap-

palled at the conditions of the people. The men at the hostel were trying to earn a living for their families with whom they

cannot live.

A man who had been staying at the hostel for the past 20 years told him he worked for 12 months and only went home for three weeks. The senator said in that time the man said he could only send the equivalent of a hundred dollars home, which barely covered his families' needs.

On his impressions about the hostel, Senator Kennedy said: "Here in this camp is one of the most depressing, despairing visits made to any facility in my lifetime. Here individuals are caught between trying to provide for their families or living with them.

"I do not really know of any other place in the world where that kind of cruel difficult choice is made by any people that believe in family life, that cares about children having the opportunity of being with their fathers and their mothers.

"The women I spoke

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PRESS: Senator Edward Kennedy addressing the Press at Nancefield's Men's Hostel yesterday during his tour of Soweto.

TV crew forced to leave

By ALINAH DUBE

A MEETING of parents nearly came to an abrupt end in Mamelodi yesterday when a group of freedom song chanting youths, entered the local YMCA hall in protest against the SABC-TV coverage of the meeting.

The meeting was called by the Mamelodi Action Committee, (AMC) to discuss problems affecting the students and to formulate strategies to avoid rioting when schools re-open this week. About 600 parents attended.

Problems started when the television crew entered the hall, and started putting up their equipment. Members of the audience requested that the crew be ordered out of the meeting be-

cause "we do not want to go to jail."

But, one of the organisers of the meeting Mr S Moloko said he would not do so as he had invited them in order to show the world what went on in Mamelodi.

A group of youths left the hall and assembled outside shouting: "Our parents must understand that the presence of our oppressors at meetings aimed at solving our problems, is unacceptable.

"We would rather be sold by informers than allow whites into our meetings."

Some of the people, among them elderly women, quickly ran out of the hall as the youths entered singing freedom songs. The television crew also left — in

stantly.

The meeting then continued.

Before the arrival of the TV crew, a Pretoria educationist, Mr Louis Khumalo had pointed out the need for parents to work closely with black political organisations when dealing with matters affecting the community.

Education, he added, was no exception and could not be dealt with in isolation.

"Black people are oppressed because whites are unified behind their political organisations and their children are made to know their identity at an early age," Mr Khumalo said.

Boraine ^{11A}
urges Govt ~~to~~
to hold talks
with ANC ^{Star}

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President Botha should initiate talks with the African National Congress if genuine peace was to be achieved in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's federal executive, said today.

Dr Boraine was reacting to the denial by President Botha of reports of meetings between South African officials or National Party public representatives and the ANC recently.

Mr Botha, however, for the first time said that he would be prepared to talk to the ANC if it renounced violence as a means of achieving constitutional change.

Dr Boraine said in an interview that he was disappointed that Mr Botha had taken such pains to deny any meeting with the ANC.

"It would have been much more hopeful and encouraging if he were to announce such talks were going to take place.

"There will be no genuine peace in South Africa until negotiations take place between those who govern and the voteless.

"I have persistently called for such talks over several years and it is interesting to note that the president has stated that if the ANC were to move away from its commitment to armed struggle he would be prepared to talk to them.

"Surely if the ANC were to accept an overture from the Government to talk that would mean a commitment to change through negotiation rather than through the barrel of a gun.

"In any event what is the difference between Swapo, with which the Government has held talks, and the ANC?"

CALL tents 7/1/85
UCT man set
up ANC talk

Staff Reporter

THE Director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, Professor H W van der Merwe, disclosed last night that he had arranged a recent interview between Dr Piet Muller, assistant editor of the Johannesburg daily Beeld, and executive members of the African National Congress.

He added that the interview — believed to be the first granted by the ANC to a newspaper supporting the South African Government for the past 24 years — had been arranged "at the request of both parties".

However, he said he had not been involved in talks between South African government officials and ANC representatives which took place in Lusaka three weeks ago, according to a report in the Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday.

The report said the talks were "probably the beginning" of negotiations over the release of Nelson Mandela, serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison, and other ANC leaders.

However Sapa reports that a government spokesman said in Cape Town yesterday that the State President, Mr P W Botha, denied "in no uncertain terms" that the meeting in Lusaka had taken place.

Mr Botha was adamant that "no contact with the ANC would be established until after they have turned their backs on a policy of violence against the people of this country", the spokesman added.

Professor van der Merwe said: "I am very pleased that talks have reportedly taken place — but I had nothing to do with them. Dr Muller did what I hoped he would — he called publicly for official talks with the ANC. I hope that kind of publicity makes it easier for the government to consider such talks."

He would not comment on the truth of a report that Mr Joe Slovo, a prominent figure in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing, was against talks with South Africa, while the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, the general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, were in favour

PUBLICITY

has eaten away much of

MBABANE 7/1/85

Police deny ANC handover

MBABANE—Swazi police have denied that they have handed over to the South African authorities three men of the African National Congress.

Police Commissioner Majaji Simelane repeated in a statement on Saturday that the men had been sprung from jail by ANC colleagues, and said he had heard they were planning to flee to East Africa.

One of the escapers had been spotted in the Swazi town of Manzini and would be rearrested soon, he added.

The ANC indicated on Thursday it was not responsible for freeing the men early the previous day. It said they had disappeared in strange circumstances after Mr Simelane had threatened to hand over ANC men to South Africa. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Senator was 'deeply moved' by night

spent in Soweto

Political Staff

AR6u5 7/1/84
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JOHANNESBURG. — Senator Edward Kennedy was reportedly "deeply moved" by the experience of his night in the home of Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The senator was given the main bedroom in the house while the Bishop and his wife slept in the lounge.

An aide said yesterday that the senator was deeply moved when he saw a picture of Bishop Tutu and the Nobel Peace Prize medal on display on a sideboard cupboard in the bishop's bedroom.

"It was all just so unreal," said the aide, "there he was in this sparsely furnished room in a little house in the middle of a black township — and laying on the cupboard was the Nobel Peace Prize medal," the aide added.

"How many times in your life will you touch a medal like that? How many times will you get the opportunity to talk to and live in the same house as a Nobel Prize winner? The senator found it to be a deeply moving experience.

"There was no big fuss about the prize, no big glass case. It was just there on the table next to a picture of Bishop Tutu and Pope John Paul II."

The aide added that the

senator had said the very beautiful singing of the large group which greeted him at Bishop Tutu's home was something he would never forget.

Senator Kennedy said his tour of a migrant workers' hostel in Nancefield, Soweto, was one of the most distressing and despairing visits of his lifetime.

"The conditions here are the worst I have seen anywhere," he said.

"Here, individuals are caught between trying to provide for their families and living with their families," Senator Kennedy said.

"I don't know of any other place in the world where that kind of a cruel, harsh choice has to be made."

According to aides, among those the senator spoke to in the hostel was a man identified as Mr Wilson Ngobeni, 54, who has lived apart from his family of five children in the Gazankulu homeland for 20 years.

Mr Ngobeni told Senator Kennedy that he earns R40 a week as a labourer.

The migrant worker, according to Kennedy aides, said the worst aspect of living away from his family was the loneliness.

Senator Kennedy described the migrant worker system as "alien to every kind of tradition in the Ju-



Senator Kennedy reaches out his hand during a drive through the streets of Soweto yesterday

deo-Christian ethic, and I find it appalling."

The senator and members of his family who accompanied him yesterday, including daughter Kara and his nephew Stephen Smith, were shown the washroom and toilet facilities at the squalid hostels. They appeared stunned by the conditions.

Earlier in the day Senator Kennedy heard Mass in the St Pius Catholic Church in Mofolo, Soweto, while dozens of journalists and TV crews milled around in the church grounds to get footage of the senator leaving the church.

After the service he visited a few homes in Soweto and during one of these visits his nephew, Stephen, took

off his shoes and socks and played soccer with a group of local youths.

The Kennedy aides said afterwards that the most frequent request to the senator was to do something, if he could, about black education.

"They all expressed great concern for their children's educational needs," an aide said.

Senator Kennedy told reporters at an impromptu press conference outside the Nancefield hostels that in his visit to Soweto yesterday he had met "some of the most courageous, bravest and warmest men, women and children who love this country and care very deeply about their future."

#1648 8/1/85 (11A)

Growing support for talks with the ANC

LEON MARSHALL, Political Editor, discusses the argument now raging in Nationalist ranks and elsewhere for and against contact between the Government and the ANC

THE chances of talks in the near future between the Government and the ANC seem slim indeed.

Suggestions that probative talks have been held have been officially dismissed. And President P W Botha has made it clear that ANC violence would have to end before contact could be made.

On the ANC side the mood is difficult to assess, largely because it is a banned organisation whose policy pronouncements and even private thinking cannot be quoted or be properly reflected.

It is nevertheless suggested that leading members of the organisation, like Mr Oliver Tambo, have long been amenable to talking. Others, like Mr Joe Slovo, head of the ANC's military wing, are said to be strongly opposed to any rapprochement.

However, while attitudes at the top level on either side seem hardly to have changed at all, significant developments have been taking place at other levels.

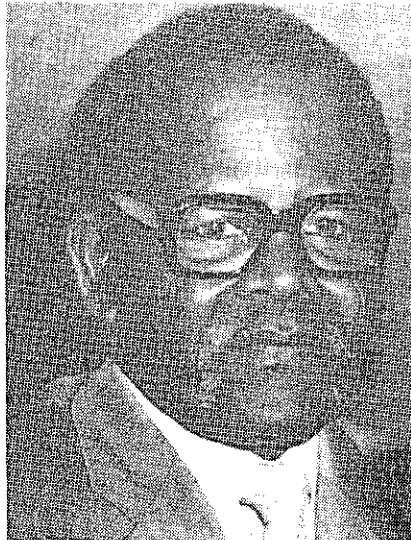
Most important of these is the growing sentiment favouring talks, in spite of ANC atrocities and the country being virtually on a war footing against the organisation.

Before, calls for negotiations were regarded almost as treason. Now the Government has to listen to a growing chorus of such calls, coming also from its own ranks.

Many Nationalist academics and even certain Nationalist politicians are known to favour some kind of accommodation with the ANC. Some have been heard even to admit that it was a mistake to ban the organisation in the first place.

Recently a Nationalist newspaper suggested that the time had arrived for negotiations with the ANC as well as other extra-Parliamentary organisations like the UDF.

The newspaper, Beeld, said while it was a problem deciding when the time was right for talks, people unfortunately often realised too late just what



ANC leader Oliver Tambo

opportunities they have allowed to slip through their fingers. An example of such a tragedy was Zimbabwe.

It took courage and conviction for a Government to confer with extra-Parliamentary groups. But even the possibility of such talks would give new hope for the future for millions of people, the newspaper said.

At a recent meeting of Nationalist youth leaders, a majority was said to favour talks with the ANC.

And a recent Human Sciences Research Council survey showed that a surprising 43 percent of whites shared this sentiment.

The ANC has been around for a long time. Founded in 1912, it has changed from a non-violent political organisation into an activist force fighting the South African system through all available means, including sabotage and terrorism.

It has been banned and many of its leaders have been jailed, and it has been dealt painful setbacks by the Government's pacts with neighbouring states like Mozambique and Swaziland.

But internally it has been found in a survey by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer to command the support of 27 percent of the black population. And externally it enjoys observer status at the United Nations and diplomatic relations with about 30 countries.

Inside South Africa various organisations like the United Democratic Front have sprung up, and while denying links with the ANC they have to a large extent assumed the internal political role that the ANC had before it was outlawed.

In spite of all this, the ANC hardly seems a serious military or even diplomatic threat to the Government at present. Similarly, the Government while scoring wins against the ANC on the diplomatic and security level, seems unlikely to attain ultimate success against it.

Perhaps it is the spectre of repeated unrest, coupled with the persistent destabilising campaign of the ANC, that is causing even Nationalists to start looking at negotiations with the ANC as a possible way out of the dilemma. They, too, appear to realise that sooner or later there will have to be negotiations with blacks anyway.

And if this is so, it is argued, why not sooner rather than later?

To get to that point, however, involves getting round the chicken-and-egg problem: The Government won't talk until the ANC stops hostilities, and the ANC won't stop hostilities until the Government declares its willingness to talk, which probably also involves unbanning the organisation.

Govt mouthpiece denies talks with ANC

11A
2/2/83

The SABC's Current Affairs, a thinly disguised voice of the South African Government, stated today that reports of an African National Congress and National Party get together were way out of line.

DENIAL

Current Affairs said that any negotiation with the ANC was out of the question, while the banned organisation itself denied that it had spoken to any official of Pretoria.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka did, however, tell the Reuter news agency that four National Party MPs had requested a meeting with

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

the organisation but that the ANC did not even reply to the request.

Both the South African Government and the ANC were reacting to weekend reports that talks between the two had already taken place in Lusaka on December 26.

Observers, however, point out that at the time the ANC were supposed to be negotiating with South African officials, Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, and most of his senior officials were on an official visit to Moscow.

The SABC said today that the ideology of the

ANC was the antithesis of democracy, and its methods made a mockery of negotiation as a democratic concept.

TERROR

"As long as the organisation continues to regard violence and terror as valid means of political persuasion, to talk of negotiation with it is a contradiction in terms," the commentator added.

Reuter reported yesterday that the ANC had denied that its officials met the South African Government last month.

A spokesman in Lusaka said that three weeks ago ANC officials unofficially met an Afrikaner university profes-

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sor and member of the National Party who was accompanied by a journalist from the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Beeld*. The meeting took place in Lusaka.

President Botha, reacting to speculation about past or impending contacts with the ANC, told Reuter: "We will hold no talks with the ANC until after they have turned their backs on their policies of spreading violence."

He described the reports of a recent meeting as "a lot of unadulterated rubbish".

The SABC commentary today said that in a state professing democratic ideals, negotiation

is by definition the characteristic means of resolving political disputes.

"Conversely, the democratic principle excludes from participation in negotiations those groups which reject the peace consensus and espouse violence as a means for achieving political ends."

GROUPS

The SABC commentary added that there had been many calls by leading politicians and other interest groups lately to open negotiations with the ANC.

"In fact, such calls ignore the democratic imperatives with which they are concerned."



KENNEDY

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DEMO

POLICE used dogs to disperse a crowd of about 500 people who had gathered to watch members of the Azanian People's Organisation demonstrating against American Senator Edward Kennedy in Johannesburg yesterday.

The demonstration by Azapo took place at Lekton House where the senator was to hold a meeting with local trade unionists. About 30 Azapo members, waving placards, singing freedom songs and chanting, stood at the building's lobby 30 minutes before the meeting was to take place. The organisation has offices in the same building.

The demonstration started attracting passers-by who stood along the pavement and asked curiously what it was all about. Minutes later police arrived in two vans and their presence seemed to spur the demonstrators to sing louder. At this point the number of onlookers swelled and reinforcements were summoned. Traffic officers also came to help control the situation.

Senator Kennedy and a number of security men arrived and as the singing and chanting became louder, police stepped in. Scuffles ensued as some of the Azapo members were physically removed from the lobby. placards were

torn, and people on the pavement were dispersed with dogs.

After the senator had entered the building members of the organisation were still venting their anger outside while trying to get back into the building, but were refused entry by the police. One of them said:

"Why are we being refused entry to our offices while an American imperialist is allowed in? We will follow Kennedy whenever he goes and he will know we do not want him in Azania."

There were further scenes outside when one of the organisation's se-

nior members, Zithulele Cindi, tried to go in, saying he was going to lock the offices, and was refused entry. One of the American security men asked him for his pass and Cindi exploded: "Imagine that, an American asking for my pass — go and ask Kennedy for his pass."

Placards

The police later allowed the Azapo members to enter and once inside, they demonstrated through the windows, waving placards reading: "Release Lemmv, can you Kennedy?"

vehicle accidents time

ANC 73 years old, few results to show

CAPE Times
9/1/85
11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The banned African National Congress (ANC) marked 73 years of struggle yesterday, with few results to show and a rough road ahead.

Banned in 1960, the ANC will observe the anniversary with some of its leaders in prison and present commanders struggling to retain bases close to home in the face of the government's diplomatic and military onslaughts against neighbouring black states, political analysts say.

In spite of renewed press speculation, Pretoria scoffs at the idea of talking to the ANC, described by the government as a terrorist group bent on revolution.

Founded to seek equality for the black majority through peaceful means, the ANC took up arms after years of protest, strikes and boycotts failed to extract concessions from the National Party.

The years since the start of the ANC military campaign have been characterized by dormancy, say political analysts, with the organization's leaders jailed, exiled or underground.

In spite of army crack-

downs on ANC activities, the organization has bombed numerous targets, aiming mostly at power and transport systems.

Its most spectacular attack took place in May, 1983, when a powerful bomb ripped through Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria, killing 20 people and injuring more than 200.

Split on issue

The State President, Mr P W Botha, rejecting suggestions of impending government talks with ANC leaders, said the organization would have to abandon violence before negotiations could take place.

Whites are split on the issue of contacts with the ANC, with a public opinion survey last month showing 43 percent in favour of talks and 44 percent against.

Analysts say Pretoria, intent on preserving white domination after offering minor political concessions to Indians and coloureds last year, cannot enter into serious dialogue with the ANC without losing considerable support. — Sapa-
Reuter

Buthelezi and Kennedy in clash

Durban argument follows senator's reluctance to meet Inkatha supporters.

The Argus Correspondent reports

THE CHIEF Minister of Kwa-zulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and Senator Edward Kennedy argued loudly after a prayer breakfast at the Royal Hotel here today.

During the altercation, which arose because of Senator Kennedy's reluctance to meet hundreds of placard-wielding Inkatha supporters waiting outside the hotel, Chief Buthelezi complained of being snubbed.

Earlier, the Chief Minister had said calls for disinvestment were "madness".

The Kennedy show was already running more than an hour late when the breakfast meeting started. The two parties then met for over two hours while Chief Buthelezi delivered three papers on disinvestment, the "liberation struggle" and "a few remarks as president of the South African Black Alliance".

During his talk with Senator Kennedy he dismissed Bishop Desmond Tutu as peripheral to the struggle for liberation because he did not lead grass-root organisations.

Kennedy aides and members of staff were clearly impatient

as they kept looking at their watches and mumbled that Chief Buthelezi was "still busy — he's just started reading his third paper and we are already more than half-an-hour late".

When the senator and Chief Buthelezi walked out of the meeting the aides and the South African security police started leading him to the rear entrance of the hotel where cars were waiting to drive him to the airport.

But Chief Buthelezi was adamant that the senator should go to the front entrance with him to greet the crowds, saying: "It happens every time that I get treated this way and am snubbed" when Senator Kennedy insisted that there were security problems involved and he was running very late.

They stopped along the main corridor of the hotel with crowds of journalists, photographers, aides and security members and argued with each other until eventually Chief Buthelezi led the senator to the front door, holding him by the arm, where they stood together and waved to the chanting crowds.

A furious row also erupted in the foyer between a former Durban councillor, who gave his name as Mr Cornelius Koekemoer and Mr Bob Shrum, one of Senator Kennedy's aides.

The incident happened just before Senator Kennedy was due to leave for Cape Town.

Mr Shrum was talking to pressmen in the hotel lobby and arguing about arrangements for coverage of the senator's brief visit to Durban.

Mr Koekemoer said loudly that Senator Kennedy should never have been allowed in South Africa.

"Why don't you go to the Soviet Union? Why don't you go and fix up your own problems with blacks in America? What about all the deaths in Harlem?" Mr Koekemoer said.

Mr Shrum argued with him and at one stage claimed that South Africa was being run as a "slave state".

Hotel officials moved to quell the disturbance, which attracted a small crowd of people in the lobby.

Tempers eventually calmed and the men parted.

Pik hits at Government 'No' to Mandela visit

MR PIK BOTHA, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has criticised Senator Edward Kennedy for his remarks to businessmen in Johannesburg.

Commenting on Senator Kennedy's statement that declarations of good faith could not be accepted as substitutes for concrete action to obtain basic rights for all South Africans, Mr Botha said the senator did not bear the responsibility for the orderly government of South Africa and Southern Africa.

The leaders of South Africa would decide on their own future, Mr Botha said.

It was high time Senator Kennedy paid more attention to the alarming increases in poverty and famine in the rest of Africa and to the difference in living standards between black and white Americans.

The death rate among black children in the United States was twice the figure of whites and the poverty rate was three times as high among blacks, Mr Botha said.

SENATOR Edward Kennedy's application to see Nelson Mandela has been refused by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, who suggested that such a visit could "prejudice" a government decision on the future of the banned ANC leader.

In a statement from Pretoria, Mr Coetsee said visits to prisoners were granted primarily to allow them "to maintain and promote family ties... (but) must also naturally be reconcilable with the aim of imprisonment.

"Exceptions to the rule, as far as visits are concerned, are only made under conditions which are not contrary to this principle," Mr Coetsee said.

Mr Kennedy intended to visit Mandela later this week. Earlier yesterday he visited the ANC leader's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, during a stopover in the town of Brandfort.

Mr Coetsee said: "A visit by Senator Kennedy, in his capacity as a foreign politician, to a prisoner who is serving a sentence for crimes against the security of the State (including sabotage) does thus not qualify."

The application was made for Mr Kennedy by Johannesburg attorneys Ayob and Associates.

According to the statement, Mr Kennedy's visit could also influence the imprisoned ANC leader's position.

"As is the case with all other prisoners, the position of security prisoners, with regard to inter alia their release, is considered on a continual basis by the government in the best interest of the Republic of South Africa.

"And the decision-making process could be prejudiced by such a visit (from Senator Kennedy)."



Dear ^{ARGUS}
Senator
Kennedy, ^{10/1/05}
¹¹⁴

On behalf of all the inhabitants of the City of Cape Town, I welcome you as a United States Senator and a member of a well-known American family to the Mother City of South Africa and the "Fairest Cape".

I trust that your all too short stay here will be fruitful and that you will be able to participate meaningfully in the graciousness of our Cape way of life.

I am glad to learn that you are endeavouring to hear all sides of the South Africa experience, which in the case of Cape Town and environs involves, among numerous other things the maintenance of a viable economy and work opportunities for our large semi-skilled labour force so that all our inhabitants may enjoy the benefit of a better way of life.

It is for this reason of the larger welfare of our people and other peoples of our country that I believe I speak on behalf of the majority of our citizens of Cape Town when I say that we cannot accord with you in any support which you give to a programme of disinvestment in South Africa.

I believe that this would tend more to hurt the people most whom I would like to believe you would wish to help most.

I would be happy to forward to you details of equal opportunity employment made available in my Council which has a proud record in maintenance of human rights, and in the city generally.

I wish you well in your stay in our fair city, would be happy to be available should you wish to discuss any matter, and offer you any assistance which I am able to give.

I trust that on return to your country you will be able objectively and comparatively to assess and to assist in supplying the needs of the people of this city and indeed the country, for economic stability and growth.

Yours sincerely,

**Sol Kreiner,
Mayor of
Cape Town**

Commerce groups back mayor's plea

Municipal Reporter

THE Cape Town Chamber of Commerce and Afrikaanse Sakekamer have joined the City Council in its call on Senator Edward Kennedy to reconsider his disinvestment policy.

This follows an open letter from the Mayor, Mr Sol Kreiner, to Senator Kennedy saying the council disagreed with disinvestment because of the impact it would have on the economy and workforce of the Western Cape.

The director of the chamber, Mr Brian MacLeod, said disinvestment would cause unemployment — mainly among black people — of "vast proportions".

He said: "If Senator Kennedy has their welfare truly at heart, the last thing he should do when he returns home is to beat the disinvestment drum."

The chairman of the local Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Mr Gilbert Colyn, said: "I think the business community is united in its approach on the issue of disinvestment — we believe it will do more harm than good."

He said: "You will not persuade people to change their political views by threatening disinvestment and it may, in fact, have the opposite effect of hardening opinions."

CAC Times 10/1/85

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Firebomb: Man gets five years

Staff Reporter

RAVENSMEAD youth leader Trevor Wentzel, 24, was yesterday jailed for five years for his "exceptionally prominent role" in the firebombing of the home of Labour Party politician Mr John Christiaans during the tricameral elections last year.

Cape Town Regional Court magistrate Mr J van Dam, who described the firebombing as a "horrifying and repugnant deed for whatever reason it was done", refused Wentzel bail pending an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Wentzel, who pleaded not guilty, was convicted of terrorism and attending an illegal gathering.

No finding was made on an alternative count of arson.

The youth leader, who gave a black-power sa-

lute as he was led away to the cells, was also fined R100 (or 25 days) for attending a gathering in De la Rey Road, Parow, on May 29 last year.

Describing Wentzel as the leader of a group which manufactured the firebomb on August 22 last year, Mr Van Dam said Wentzel had been the one to purchase the bomb's main ingredient, petrol, and had later shown only "half-hearted reluctance" to dissuade his companions from actually throwing the bomb into Mr Christiaans's home.

"On your own evidence you said you were afraid they would call you chicken," he said.

Although Wentzel had not actually thrown the bomb he had played an exceptionally prominent role in its planning and manufacture.

Mr Van Dam said he wanted to make it clear that the "issue here is not one of politics, but of overstepping the accepted norms and the unacceptability of your behaviour".

Added weight

Luckily nobody had been injured in the bombing which destroyed Mr Christiaans's study and caused damage estimated at R2 000, he added.

Refusing Wentzel bail after an appeal had been lodged, Mr Van Dam supported the State's contention that the Attorney-General's issuing of a notice prohibiting the granting of bail in terms of Section 30 of the Internal Security Act had added weight after conviction and sentence.

The notice advises a magistrate to refuse bail under the Criminal Procedure Act in the "interests of State security".

Mr E Schrock prosecuted. Mr A Omar, instructed by Mr R Vassen, appeared for Wentzel.

en^Kneddy arrives^{in city} police^{11A} break up^{ARGWS 10/1/85} up^{Protest}



rd Kennedy puts an arm round the shoulders of Dr Allan Boesak at D F Malan Airport today.

Political Staff

POLICE broke up a small demonstration at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport when Senator Edward Kennedy arrived this afternoon.

The demonstrators shouted "Go home Kennedy" and waved posters reading "Boesak American missionary", "Kennedy for peaceful profits", and "Liberation yes, imperialism no".

Policemen moved into the group of about 15 demonstrators and seized their posters. They dispersed, although some continued shouting "Go home Kennedy".

Senator Kennedy's plane landed at 12.40pm.

Security

As he walked towards the airport terminal building he put his arm round the shoulders of Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who has accompanied him on his tour.

Among those at the airport to meet Senator Kennedy were Anglican priest the Rev David Russell and Mrs Regina Mtonga, a prominent Crossroads personality.

Tight security marked the senator's arrival on the Cape leg of his tour.

Checkpoint

Cars were stopped and searched at a police checkpoint near the airport entrance.

Officials in the building maintained secrecy on the arrival time and movements of the American politician's party.

Police guarded an area next to the international section of the airport, while a member of Senator Kennedy's advance party waited alongside a fleet of plush cars in an enclosed area.

Crossroads

About 50 curious onlookers and 30 pressmen gathered outside Dr Boesak's home in the smart suburb of Glenhaven in



Kennedy puts an arm round the shoulders of Dr Allan Boesak at D F Malan Airport today.

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Crossroads

About 50 curious onlookers and 30 pressmen gathered outside Dr Boesak's home in the smart suburb of Glenhaven in Bellville South where Senator Kennedy had lunch.

Security men stood watching in the neat garden but there were no incidents.

Senator Kennedy was due to go to Crossroads squatter camp for a 90-minute walkabout this afternoon.

The squalor of Crossroads will contrast sharply with a reception at the gracious Fleur du Cap wine estate tonight.

UDF support

The Government's refusal to allow Senator Kennedy to visit African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison has left a big gap in the senator's programme tomorrow.

The United Democratic Front issued a statement yesterday supporting the American politician's visit to South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Argus correspondent reports from Washington that the Reagan administration yesterday supported the views of its Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, who crossed swords with Senator Kennedy on Tuesday on how the US should work against apartheid.

Confrontation

"Ambassador Nickel repeated our long-standing administration policy," State Department spokesman Mr Alan Romberg said of the confrontation, which was reported on television news and in major newspapers here.

The Washington Post described the incident as the Reagan administration reaching ... "across 9 000 miles of ocean to warn Senator Kennedy to be cautious in his proposed solutions for South Africa".

● Buthelezi clashes with Kennedy. Page 17.

10/11/85
Petrol bomber' is jailed

CAPE TOWN. — A Cape youth leader, Trevor Wentzel, was sentenced to five years jail yesterday for terrorism after the petrol bombing of a candidate's house on the eve of the House of Representatives election last August.

A Cape Town magistrate, Mr J van Dam, convicted Wentzel, 24, of Third Avenue, Ravensmead, of terrorism in terms of the Internal Security Act.

He was also fined R100 (or 25 days) for attending an illegal gathering in May.

The court found he had taken part in making petrol bombs on the night before the election.

The home of an election candidate, Mr John Christiaans, was the target of the bombs, which caused damage of R2 000.

Mr Van Dam found that although Wentzel did not throw a bomb, he was responsible because he "initially participated by supplying petrol for the bombs and by assisting in manufacturing them".

Mr Van Dam dismissed State allegations that Wentzel committed further terrorist acts by burning tyres.

He found that tyre-burning was not an act of violence.

Sentencing Wentzel, Mr Van Dam said throwing petrol bombs was "a horrifying and repugnant deed".

— Sapa.

11A

Probe into strike call

Political Editor

~~11A~~

TWO members of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Jabu Ngwengwa and Mr Tshediso Matona, have been ordered to report to Protea Police Station in Soweto, their lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, disclosed yesterday.

Rem 10/1/85

Police told her they wanted to question the two men about their alleged distribution of pamphlets urging a stay-away from work, Mrs Jana said.

"We will inform the police that the two men are not prepared to make a statement and we hope they will no longer insist on seeing them," Mrs Jana said. "But if the police still insist we will accompany them to Protea."

Moderate views from homeland students

By BARRY STREEK

STUDENTS at five homeland universities have shown remarkably moderate political attitudes despite their overwhelming support for the African National Congress (ANC) and its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela.

The students displayed strong support for "democracy" and significant backing for "socialism" but little support for "communism/Marxism" — apart from the University of Transkei where 14 percent said "communism/Marxism" interested them most — and "African socialism".

They also endorsed "honest government in the interest of the people", "constitutional structures respecting fundamental rights" and "free press and expression of thought".

Support for ANC

These views were expressed in surveys of student opinion at the universities of Transkei (Unitra), Venda (Univen), Bophuthatswana (Unibo), QwaQwa (Uniqwa) and Fort Hare in Ciskei.

The students were surveyed in self-administered questionnaires between 1980 and 1983 by Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, now a visiting professor at the University of Cape Town but previously head of political science at Unitra.

He found most students at all five homeland universities sup-

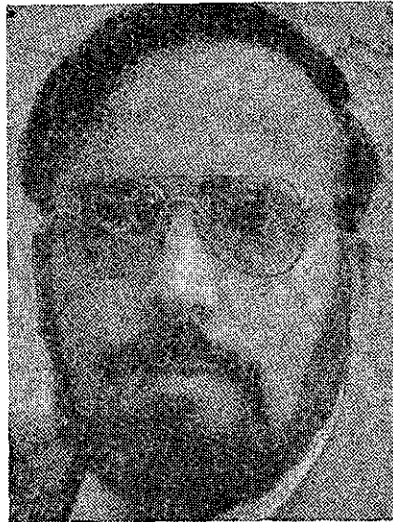
ported the ANC as the political party or movement in Southern Africa they sympathized with or supported most, with the Progressive Federal Party as the second most popular.

As the surveys were answered by early 1983, their views on the United Democratic Front and the black consciousness-orientated National Forum, both established in 1983, were not ascertained. However, the minimal support given to the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) — none at Unitra, eight percent at Univen, four percent at Unibo, five percent at Uniqwa and three percent at Fort Hare — reflected little support for black consciousness.

Professor Totemeyer said nearly 66 percent of all the respondents at the five universities said they supported the ANC "because it is committed to the liberation struggle of the blacks from oppression and that it fights for the black cause, black power, black rights and a free Azania".

"The ANC policy of non-racialism is forwarded as the second most important reason.

"Other reasons mentioned were: it is against discrimination and segregation; reflects the interests of the blacks; is prepared to suffer for its cause; its policy programme; the only party which can save South Africa's problems; it supports unification of blacks and



Professor Gerhard Totemeyer . . . tapped student opinion

whites; it has committed itself to change."

He said an honest government in the interests of the people was considered the most important characteristic of a democratic political system.

"The replies confirm the stated distrust in the white South African which is considered dishonest in relationship with the black population.

"The distrust in the honesty of

Africa is higher than the distrust in a democratic government.

"What is expected from a democratic system is a constitution which respects fundamental rights."

The students were given the opportunity to express in an open-ended question their reasons for their belief in a democratic system.

In order of importance, they gave: equal rights (equality); government of the people, by the people, for the people; freedom; justice; protection of civil rights.

Democracy favoured

Professor Totemeyer commented: "All these attributes of a democratic system are withheld from the black population in South Africa and the urge for them is therefore high."

When he asked the students what political idea or ideology interested them most, 38 percent of the Unitra students said democracy, as did 33 percent of the Univen, 80 percent of the Unibo, 73 percent of the Uniqwa and 59 percent of the Fort Hare students.

Socialism was cited by 30 percent of the Unitra students, none of the Univen, five percent of the Unibo, 15 percent of the Uniqwa and 22 percent of the Fort Hare students, while black consciousness received less than five percent support at the universities, except at Unitra where 10 percent

cited black consciousness.

When they were asked what three elements of the Western culture they liked most, education, the "political system (democracy, freedom, equality)" and Christianity were ranked highest.

They disliked "racism/discrimination" and "bad habits/manners/characteristics".

Professor Totemeyer pointed out that it had to be remembered that whites in South Africa were considered representatives of the Western culture.

"The students consider them as being selfish, too formal, status conscious, dishonest, impartial, unfaithful, hypocritical, corrupt, exploitative, pretentious, aggressive, greedy and unfair."

Professor Totemeyer commented: "The tragedy of the situation in South Africa is that the values of the Western democratic system and of Western culture *per se* are on the one hand admired by the students but on the other hand despised by them because they cannot benefit from them.

"As many of them are reserved for whites only, these values are withheld from them by the political representatives of the white population which claims to represent Western values and norms.

"This precipitates ambiguity among black students which is reflected by a love/hate relationship and cultural dualism."

did you hear

and Afrikaans newspaper headlines proclaiming: SA *praai met ANC* "I've applied to Warmbaths City Council for an international permit," explained the owner, "they should make a decision later this month." Will Warmbath take a giant leap for mankind?

That even a cynic like that author of

economic geographic units, such as the western Cape, PWV area, Natal-KwaZulu, PE-Uitenhage. These could become self-governing states, as in the US, while remaining part of greater SA, he says. They would be non-racial zones, although "apartheid states" could also exist.

But all people would have the right to choose whether or not they wanted to live in these states. "I am looking at the whole question of how to get rid of the fear of numbers. Federalism is the only answer," he says.

On economic policy, Hendrickse introduced his mix between capitalism and socialism. The free market system is "too

narrow" to bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots, he says.

Part of this policy is a programme of affirmative action along the same lines as the US campaign to promote black minorities. This is already taking place in the various coloured "own affairs" ministries, congress was told, with coloured applicants receiving preference over whites who were often better qualified.

Tensions within the party surfaced when a militant group, led by the western Cape MP Peter Mopp, supported a call from general secretary Fred Peters for a defiance campaign by the party leadership in the form of protest sit-ins on segregated beach-

es. The proposal was defeated after heated debate, with the leadership arguing that Labour was a party of negotiation not confrontation. The sigh of relief from the podium was almost audible.

But the pressure against apartheid will not let up. Hendrickse tells the FM that his "bottomline" for the 1985 parliamentary session is the repeal of four apartheid laws — the Political Interference Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and the Separate Amenities Act. He says his three months in the Cabinet leaves him confident that Labour will achieve this in 1985, with the total dismantling of apartheid as the long-term goal.

Financial Mail January 11 1985

LABOUR PARTY CONGRESS Opting for federalism

The Labour Party's (L.P.) decision to opt for the federal route in its long-term strategy for SA makes it the latest in a long list of organisations trying to find their way out of the "numbers maze" of southern African politics.

The challenge is to find a formula for co-existence without domination of minorities based on the understanding that simply counting heads won't work.

Labour's new direction — proposed by leader Allan Hendrickse and confirmed by the party's congress in Kimberley — has another significance. It signals a move away from the party's former commitment to the one-man one-vote principle, which many in SA, particularly whites, find unacceptable. It also demonstrates that the conferment of the franchise and a little political power can transform "radicals" into conservatives, if not reactionaries.

If this LP conference revealed anything it displayed the involuntary response of its leaders to imitate the people who transferred "power" to them. Hence the unfamiliar air of *noblesse oblige* that pervaded leaders' speeches.

Even so, Hendrickse made it clear that the new deal was on five years' probation so far as the party was concerned. While he and other delegates remained firm that apartheid must go, there was general awareness that little can be achieved overnight. On economic issues, too, party leaders clearly realise their demands for finance must be tempered with the realities of the times.

The congress also proved to be the first real public test for the members of the House of Representatives' Ministers' Council — and there were surprises as well as disappointments.

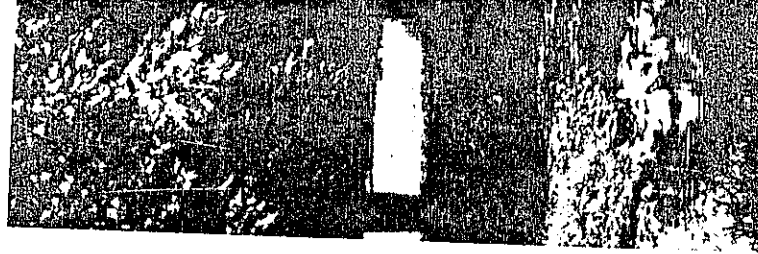
The opening night, with Kimberley's historic city hall packed with singing, chanting coloured people, had an atmosphere all of its own. It was here that party leader Allan Hendrickse gave the first indications of the policy directions the LP will follow within the tricameral system.

He announced the LP's new concept of a "non-racial system of government on a federal basis." He proposed a new economic structure for SA, which he called a "social market economy" — a blend of free market ideology and socialist principles. And he revealed Labour's turnabout on disinvestment by calling for a five-year moratorium on efforts to stop foreign investment in SA. All these proposals were later endorsed by congress.

Also, for the first time, Hendrickse revealed his "bottomline" for the forthcoming parliamentary session by identifying four apartheid laws which he says must go this year.

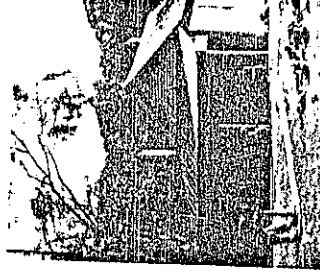
On federalism, Hendrickse says SA has a number of clearly distinguishable social

Financial Mail January 11 1985



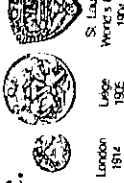
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Kennedy Policy

Murray 11/18/85



Stuns Buthelezi

African Affairs
Correspondent

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi and Senator Edward Kennedy clashed after a prayer meeting at the Royal Hotel in Durban yesterday and the rift widened last night when the visiting American politician stunned the chief with the content of a later statement.

During a breakfast meeting the senator had been stung by the chief's criticism of Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alan Boesak, who have jointly hosted the American's visit to South Africa.

'You would think less of me as a person if I remained silent while you criticise the brave and courageous individuals who have invited me to this country,' he told Chief Buthelezi.

'Your comments in this regard were not positive, not constructive and were derogatory to some proud individuals who are my close personal friends.'

No insult

The chief said he had been dealing with the matter of disinvestment and this was important background. He felt that Senator Kennedy's reaction had been unwarranted and he had been 'over sensitive' about the issue.

He had not insulted the bishop in any way and had referred to him as a 'respected' bishop.

In a statement released in Cape Town the senator said his discussions with Chief Buthelezi had failed to make any convincing case that the so-called homelands policy and any co-operation with that policy would lead to full and meaningful political participation by all South Africans in the life of their country.

Chief Buthelezi was flabbergasted last night by the introduction of the issue of the homelands policy.

The issue had not been mentioned during the breakfast meeting.

'I have known him since the early 1970s when I was already the head of the KwaZulu Government. He has always embraced me as an opponent of apartheid and this issue has never arisen before.

'I do not know if he has sucked this poison from Bishop Tutu,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he made it clear in private talks with Senator Kennedy before the breakfast yesterday that he had not seen President Botha for four years because he opposed the Government's apartheid policies.

'I told him I would never have set up the Buthelezi Commission if I had agreed with Government policy,' he said.

The Chief Minister also explained the altercation which developed when Senator Kennedy became reluctant, at the end of their meeting, to meet hundreds of Inkatha supporters who had gathered outside the main entrance of the hotel.

Chief Buthelezi said that the senator had initially agreed to meet them but became very nervous.

'I could understand his nervousness. He said he did not have his own aides.

'The South African Security Police directed him to the back of the hotel but I said the people were in front,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi denied that he had complained of being snubbed.

Funeral of ex-ANC woman on Monday

Post Reporter

A PROMINENT member of the community, Mrs Adelaide Mabuda, who was a committee member of the PE Women's Organisation and who served a prison sentence for ANC activities in the 1960s, is to be buried on Monday.

The funeral will be held in the Bantu Presbyterian Church, New Brighton, on Monday from 8am to noon. From there mourners will proceed to the Zwide Cemetery.

An all-night vigil will be held at 5082 Kwazakele on Sunday night.

Mrs Mabuda was to have been buried on Sunday, but a restriction order in terms of the Internal Security Act restricts the funeral service to a weekday.

Azapo, UDF clash looms

A MAJOR confrontation is looming between the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) on Sunday, when American Senator Edward Kennedy is to address a meeting at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto.

This follows Azapo's opposition to Senator Kennedy's visit to the country and a commitment that "we will demonstrate against his tour wherever he goes" — while the UDF has come out in support of the tour and "has given our affiliates the green light to make Dr Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu's itinerary a success."

The president of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, yesterday said the organisation has stated in no uncertain terms that it was not undermining anybody.

Meanwhile UDF publicity secretary, Mosioua "Terror" Lekota, speaking from Cape Town where the Kennedy entourage is, said a rumour had been circulating in the area that the organisation would be demonstrating against the visit. "The UDF's point is that we will not demonstrate and also point out that the rumours, spread by State agents are a serious setback for constructive engagement in the United States and apartheid South Africa," he said.

Soweto 11/1/85 U/A

Kgame slams UDF, Azapo

CLAIMS that unrest in the Vaal Triangle took place because residents there were partly ignorant of the functions of the Black Local Authority's Act were described as "a pinnacle of myopia and ignorance" by two black political organisations.

The allegations were made in a statement released this week in Pretoria by Mr Steve Kgame, president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA), to endorse the findings of the Vander Walt Commission into the recent riots in the Vaal. The statement further stated that not only residents of that area were ignorant but that the situation was worsened by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian

Peoples Organisation (Azapo).

Mr Kgame accused the UDF and Azapo of having exploited the fact that many black people were unfamiliar with the running of municipalities "for their own short term political gain."

"Instead of the senseless attacks on councillors, which merely serve to divide and confuse the community, these organisations should be striving for political accommodation of blacks at other governmental levels," Mr Kgame said.

Reacting to these allegations, Mr Popo Molefe, UDF general secretary said: "There is none as blind as those who refuse to see. To believe that it is out of ignorance that the people of

the Vaal rejected dummy councils is to believe that it is out of ignorance the oppressed masses are rejecting white minority rule. In fact, the statement by Ucasa represents the pinnacle of myopia and ignorance."

Mr Molefe went on to ask if it was the fault of his organisation that the Lekoa Town Council was forced to raise rent and service charges because of not being financially viable? Representation at local level, he emphasized, was meaningless without democracy at the central government level.

Mr Amos Masondo, publicity secretary of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), said, that the people were ignorant was untrue.

Dirty tricks campaign against leading churchman

Police spies expose Boesak's love affair

Chris Steyn, Mike Cohen and Staff Reporters

A "dirty tricks" operation by the Security Police has brought to light an affair between Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss "Di" Melanie Scott, a leading official of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The affair is fairly well-known in church circles.

A pamphlet campaign against Dr Boesak — orchestrated with great cunning and clearly aimed at discrediting Dr Boesak, a patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF) — involved the use of deliberate "plants" by the Security Police.

The tactics included spying reminiscent of the Watergate scandal in which President Nixon's agents smeared political opponents.

REV. DR. ALLAN BOESAK - IS THIS MAN A HYPOCRITE?

SACC OFFICIAL - DIANNE MELANIE SCOTT

The Rev. Dr. Allan Boesak, priest, executive member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), spiritual leader of millions of christians and patron of the UDF, is a hypocrite.

He is currently having an affair with SACC official, 30 year old DIANNE MELANIE SCOTT.

Can this father of 4 be trusted?

A cut-out of the pamphlet which spread the gossip.

Continue →

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MacDougall, Sir Donald. The Benefits and Costs of Private Investment from Abroad: A Theoretical Approach. *Economic Record*, March 1960, pp. 130—35.

Leaked

An investigation by *The Star*, started after the receipt of the pamphlet, has confirmed the deliberately leaked evidence. The investigation unearthed proof that Dr Boesak, an executive member of the SACC, and Miss Scott have been involved in an affair since July last year.

Investigations disclosed that Dr Boesak, the spiritual leader of millions of Christians, and Miss Scott have been meeting regularly at various Johannesburg hotels for the past seven months.

They also spent four days together at a holiday resort in Zimbabwe in October last year.

The Star started the investigation after the pamphlet campaign was brought to its notice.

Our independent investigation this week also disclosed:

- That other newspapers had also received the pamphlet.

- That, as long ago as November last year, one newspaper carried a brief and oblique reference to the affair.

- That Dr Boesak was aware of the existence of the pamphlet before he was questioned by *The Star*.

Stifled

Part of the pamphlet said: "The churches have been trying to stifle this story for months."

"The Press, too, is aware of it.

"Details have been sent to major daily and Sunday newspapers once again, together with the

COMMENT

Who can feel safe now?

THE WORST aspect of "the Boesak affair" does not concern Dr Boesak's public or private life. It is the fact that a Government agency was used to smear a political opponent — using "dirty tricks" that no longer shock South Africans.

The gossip about Dr Boesak was already spreading. He, his conscience, his church and his political associates must live with it.

But the problem which South Africa lives with is far greater. The nation lives with the fear that "dirty tricks", matching the smear tactics used by agents in President Nixon's last term, are

neither controlled nor punished.

The tactics repeat some of the evils of "Infogate" in their attempt to dupe newspapers into doing the dirty work on behalf of the ruling political party.

It is time to mend the nation's ethics and reputation.

Should people such as Dr Treurnicht and Mr Jaap Marais; Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu; Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (and you and I) be made to feel surrounded by spies and malevolence?

No one is safe in a society that condones "dirty tricks".

— The Editor

● See main editorial — Page 10.

necessary evidence in corroboration.

"Please ensure they publish by phoning them and by protesting to your minister of religion."

The Star spent a week checking every fact before confronting Dr Boesak and Miss Scott.

At a Durban hotel on Wednesday night, Dr Boesak declined to comment.

He said: "I don't think I have anything to say. I will remain silent and see what happens."

Miss Scott was contacted in Cape Town yesterday morning. She was accompanying the Kennedy entourage as the SACC's public relations officer for Senator Edward Kennedy's South African tour.

Asked if she wanted to comment on the affair, she said "No" and replaced the receiver.

The couple were not

the only people confronted. The investigation also sought to trace the anonymous source. It was assumed that the pamphlet was the work of some moralist group or a very right-wing organisation.

The language was couched in that style. But the sophistication of the detail printed in the pamphlet was not typical of the rest of the material.

Evidence

The Star's investigation has produced evidence to suggest that there was little involvement by anybody but Security Police in the smear campaign.

● As far as Dr Boesak is concerned, the investigation revealed that the couple were together in several Johannesburg hotel rooms on specific

nights and that they flew to Harare on October 21 and spent four days together at Tiger Bay on Lake Kariba.

Although they booked separately through travel agencies, it was established that Dr Boesak and Miss Scott shared a chalet for the duration of their stay.

Miss Scott returned to Johannesburg on October 28.

The Star was told that Dr Boesak always made hotel bookings at short notice and always paid cash or settled hotel bills with a credit card.

Although the couple stayed at various Johannesburg hotels over the past seven months, Dr Boesak booked rooms at a hotel in Braamfontein at least once a month between July and November last year.

Dr Boesak is married and has four children.

Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, Band 110, 1974, pp. 447—81.

Barnard, W.A.B.R. Government Assistance to Exporters, in: D.J.J. Botha (ed.) *Exports from South Africa*. University of Port Elizabeth, 1969, pp. 31—40.

Botswana troops fire on teenagers

The Star's Foreign
News Service

GABORONE — Botswana troops hunting for African National Congress (ANC) guerillas opened fire on a party of white teenagers here.

One of the teenagers, the son of a Swedish diplomat, was slightly injured. All were handcuffed and taken to a police station.

The incident has been confirmed by a senior officer of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). He said the teenagers — who had gone into the bush outside Gaborone early on Wednesday morning

— had stumbled on an army exercise to track down ANC guerillas.

The officer said the exercise came after explosives, believed to belong to the ANC, were found in the area.

Botswana does not allow guerillas to operate from its territory.

The army officer, who declined to be identified, said the teenagers, who included a 15-year-old girl, had arrived for a party in two cars.

They were on a track leading to a hill a few kilometres from Gaborone.

An officer ran after the first vehicle, indicating he wanted it to stop. When the vehicle was not stopped, the officer apparently opened fire, puncturing a front tyre.

But some of the teenagers said several shots were fired. One hit the son of a Swedish diplomat.

The group was then handcuffed and taken to the Broadhurst Police Station in Gaborone. They were later released after questioning.

The BDF officer said it was "unfortunate that the teenagers had gone to the wrong place at the wrong time".

Kennedy hears squatters' message

Government 'avoids the questions'

Political Staff

EVERY time issues about South Africa are raised, Government officials either do not have the answers or they change the subject, says Senator Edward Kennedy.

In a statement yesterday Mr Kennedy hit out at earlier criticism of his tour by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

"Any comparison between conditions in America and in South Africa is a transparent distortion of the truth," the senator said.

Two fundamental points had to be made. Firstly, the fact that he opposed injustice in his own country, wherever it occurred, did not mean that he could or would be blind to injustice in South Africa, in the Soviet Union, or anywhere else.

Secondly, the South African Government stubbornly refused to discuss the central issue — full political rights and citizenship for all in this country.

"There are disparities in the United States between black Americans and white Americans, although they are barely a fraction of the disparities in this society," Senator Kennedy said.

"But they are disparities between Americans who have equal rights politically."



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

Grandstand performance . . . Senator Edward Kennedy speaks to Crossroads residents. To his left, in the white suit, is his host, Dr Allan Boesak. Right, with his arms folded, is the self-styled mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Nxobongwana.

Political Staff

SENATOR Edward Kennedy has promised the people of the Crossroads squatter settlement that he will take their message back to the United States.

Addressing a cheering, singing crowd in the shanty town he said: "I will speak to Americans who oppose apartheid as vigorously as you do."

Senator Kennedy stood on a table placed in a small open square amid a sea of squatters' shacks. Next to him was Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who had introduced him to a milling crowd of men, women and children.

The American politician said he had no magic wand, but he would work with Dr Boesak, Bishop Desmond Tutu and others "to see that apartheid ends".

He said he had read years ago of "the brave men and women who came to this community to be with their families".

A doctor in the Crossroads clinic had told him that the infant mortality rate there was eight to ten times higher than in other parts of South Africa.

Their families

And yet the people of Crossroads still wanted to be with their families, Senator Kennedy said.

"Mothers and fathers told me of the difficulties they had in finding jobs. And even when they did find jobs they did not have enough money to feed all in their families."

The crowd responded with a loud "Yes".

Senator Kennedy said he had asked some of the mothers of Crossroads why they did not want to go to the new Khayelitsha town for black people on the Cape Flats where they would be close to the sea.

One of the answers he had received was that the people could not trust the Government because it had not kept its promises.

Senator Kennedy said the people had referred to "a gentleman called Koornhof" who had made certain promises.

The people of Crossroads had indicated that they chose not to leave Crossroads before the issue of the legality of their children's presence had been cleared up.

Senator Kennedy addressed the crowd after a tour of more than two hours in Crossroads.

'I will never forget you'

'I will never forget you'

By JOHN YELD, Staff Reporter
CROSSROADS has never seen anything like it.

What started as a low-key visit, applauded politely by marshalled schoolchildren, ended with an emotional crowd of about a thousand singing and chanting adults who saw Senator Kennedy and his entourage off with roars of "asiye" — "we're not going" (to Khayelitsha).

Crossroads residents stared in surprise as journalists and television crews jostled for the best positions to cover the arrival of Mr Kennedy in the shanty town.

Kennedy aides tried in vain to orchestrate the visit, tugging ineffectually at television cameramen perched on bystanders' shoulders and ordering bemused photographers not to cross imaginary lines drawn in the fine Crossroads dust.

But the man himself looked remarkably composed in a dark suit, even though at one point in the humid atmosphere of the clinic under the glare of the television lights he was sweating profusely.

The temperature rose even higher as Mr Kennedy, Dr Boesak and the clinic's Dr Ivan Toms got involved in a heated exchange with Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud, Chief Commissioner for the Department of Co-operation and Development in the Western Cape.

But his manners never deserted him and he rose politely from the hard wooden bench to introduce himself to clinic nutrition worker Miss Keli Xorile: "Ted" he said simply.

In a brief but poignant mo-

ment during the busy afternoon Mr Kennedy's attention was attracted to wheelchair patient Mr Liukile Nocwanya. He broke away from the crowd to shake Mr Nocwanya's hand and introduce him to his son Edward Kennedy Jr.

Addressing the large and enthusiastic crowd outside the Noxolo school from atop a schoolbench at the end of his two-and-a-half hour visit, Senator Kennedy remarked: "One of the nicest greetings to your homes was given to me by a mother who quoted a hymn. It has touched me very deeply.

"Our prisons will be open, our bonds will be broken. We hope your visit will help us to open the prisons we live in," she said.

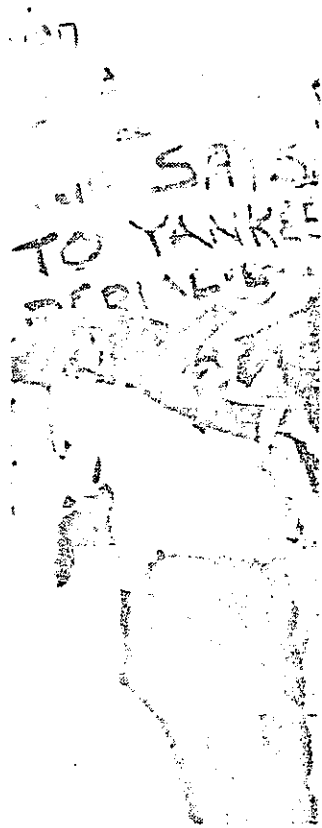
"I will never forget you or stop fighting apartheid."

Kennedy pledge to help squatters

CHE Times
11/1/85
11A



Mr Timo Bezuidenhout



Cape Action League pro and shouted at

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HUNDREDS of Crossroads residents yesterday told visiting Senator Edward Kennedy of their strong opposition to government plans to move them to Khayelitsha.

Senator Kennedy responded by promising to publicize their message back in the United States and to fight for an end to apartheid.

His remarks are likely once again to place the embattled squatter community in the international spotlight and set the stage for a lively meeting today with Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education.

The senator's pledge came at the end of a 2½-hour tour of the sprawling squatter camp during which he clashed sharply with top government black-affairs official Mr Timo Bezuidenhout.

Senator Kennedy told about 1 000 residents that he had been informed by government officials that there were beautiful homes that looked over the sea where all the residents of Crossroads would be able to move with their families.

But the residents he had spoken to had opposed the move to Khayelitsha for a number of reasons.

Some had indicated that they could not trust

the government because the promises made by Dr Piet Koornhof, the former Minister of Co-operation and Development, to build new permanent housing for the residents had not been met.

"Others say that if it is so nice at Khayelitsha then why don't the whites

SENATOR Edward Kennedy will address a public meeting at the Athlone Civic Centre tonight.

Dr Allan Boesak will also address the meeting, which begins at 7pm. It is open to all.

A UDF spokesman was unable to say last night whether the meeting would take place under the auspices of the UDF.

go out there," he said to loud applause and cheers.

When the senator asked the crowd if they wanted to remain at Crossroads, they responded with a resounding "Yes".

"I will take your message back to my country and speak to Americans who vigorously oppose

apartheid like you do and like I do."

Senator Kennedy told the squatters he had no magic wand or magic solutions, but resolved to work with Dr Allan Boesak, Bishop Desmond Tutu and others in South Africa to "see that apartheid ends".

He told the crowd the most moving greeting he had received during his tour of Crossroads was from a mother who had welcomed him into her home with the following line from a hymn: "Our prisons will be opened, our bonds will be broken."

Senator Kennedy ended his dialogue with the crowd by promising: "I will never forget you and will never stop fighting apartheid."

Earlier, he had clashed sharply with Mr Bezuidenhout when the senator failed to extract an assurance that no squatters would be forced to move to Khayelitsha against their will.

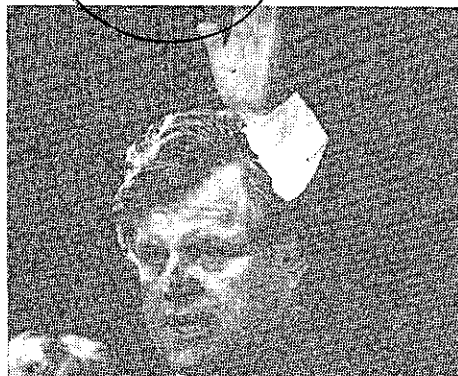
It is understood that Mr Bezuidenhout also refused to give an assurance that "illegal" blacks would not be penalized if squatters moved to Khayelitsha.



Surrounded by newsmen and onlookers, Sen

O D/E ARGUS 12/1/85 (114) 337

Constructive engagement 'will soon come to end'



Senator Edward Kennedy

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

SENATOR Edward Kennedy has predicted that President Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa will soon come to an end.

He told a wildly cheering crowd of about 6 000 people in Athlone last night that one reason for his trip to South Africa was to signal that the vast majority of Americans opposed apartheid.

Speeches at the meeting in Athlone Civic Centre were disrupted by scuffles and poster-waving demonstrations by anti-Kennedy groups.

Hall packed

The hall was packed, and several thousand people sat and stood outside.

Posters on the walls inside the hall included one which called for the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Another poster read: "End ties with apartheid. Join us now."

The meeting ended with the singing of the black anthem Nkosi Sikelele Afrika.

Senator Kennedy said he could not believe any South Africans wanted to see their children inherit a country which was "an armed camp".

He believed the great question in South Africa was not white or black, but right or wrong.

He said he disagreed with US policy towards South Africa precisely because it offended abiding American values.

Those who comforted themselves that US Ambassador Mr Herman Nickel spoke for the American people had "some surprising and painful days ahead".

Human rights

"For my nation will not long continue a policy of so-called constructive engagement with a social order so entirely destructive of human rights."

Senator Kennedy condemned the Government's homelands policy as "a complicated, dangerous, impossible, inhuman plan".

Instead of separate "homelands" for some, the country had to become one country for all its people. Only then could all live at peace in their own homes.

K gets blast-off — special delivery

Political Staff

A BLAST from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, today marked Senator Kennedy's departure for Windhoek at the final stage of his South African tour.

In a letter to the American politician, Mr Botha accused him of seeking to use his visit as "a forum to obtain publicity for a set of pre-conceived value-judgments".

"You arrived with your mind made up. You will depart with it made up. Like the Bourbons, you have learned nothing and forgotten nothing," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha wrote: "You have your problems and we ours. They differ.

So do the solutions. Solutions which you have found effective for your problems have no echo here except possibly as slogans parroted by those who wish to exploit our situation for their own ends."

Referring to Senator Kennedy's talks with him this week, Mr Botha said it was clear to him at the time of their meeting that Senator Kennedy had not come to South Africa "to establish the facts."

"What you had in mind was to put South African issues to good use in the context of your domestic constituency in the United States."

Mr Botha then challenged the validity of various claims which, he said, had been made by Senator

Kennedy.

He said Senator Kennedy had asserted that the infant mortality rate for South African blacks was the highest of all African countries.

"I would like to be informed of your source. It is regrettably true that the infant mortality rate for blacks in South Africa is much higher than that for whites. We are concerned about it and we are trying to bring it down ...

"But I know of no statistics, whether from the United Nations, the World Health Organisation or any other body which supports your assertion," Mr Botha wrote.

● See Page 10.

McKAGG 12/1/85

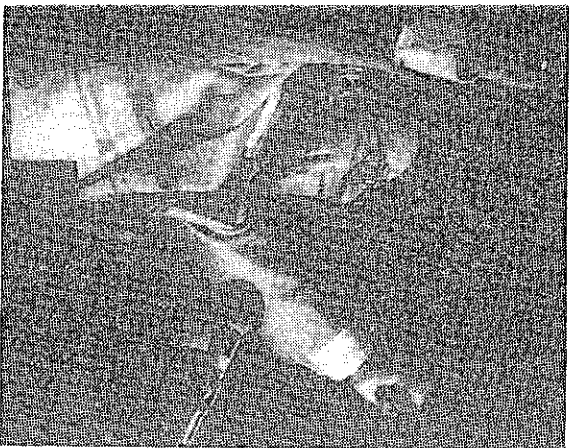
THE KENNEDY VISIT

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333

Boesak emerges as crowd's favorite

By JOHN YELD
Weekend Argus
Reporter



Dr Boesak in full cry.

THE crowd estimated at 6 000 who packed the Athlone Civic Centre last night might have gone to listen to Senator Edward Kennedy, but they made it clear their favourite was Dr Allan Boesak.

When the two men and members of their party entered the hall shortly before 8pm, there was applause and the by-now familiar United Democratic Front (UDF) chant of "Boesak, Boesak, Boesak".

As early as 6.30pm busloads of singing supporters had arrived and a crowd of several hundred was waiting to enter the hall.

When the doors were opened shortly after 7pm, the hall was quickly filled to capacity while another 3 500 gathered outside in the parking area. Closed-circuit television relayed the proceedings to a big screen placed on the stairs.

People inside the hall kept up a constant barrage of chanting, singing, clapping and dancing while waiting for the speakers to appear.

There were several sharp exchanges between organisers and individuals unhappy with arrangements. Kennedy staff argued with photographers who had gathered on the stage.

By 7.45pm the atmosphere was emotionally charged.

A handful of demonstrators inside the hall greeted Senator Kennedy with boos and placards reading: "Liberation yes, imperialism no".

Senator Kennedy went to the microphone and started making remarks about anti-Vietnam war protests, but his words were lost in an uproar as several scuffles broke out in the audience. The demonstrators' placards were ripped from their hands and torn up.

When Senator Kennedy was introduced by the chairman, there were boos as well as cheers from the audience. Cries of "Kennedy go home" from a section of the crowd were soon drowned by the louder chant of "Boesak, Boesak, Boesak".

Senator Kennedy seemed unmoved by the incidents, laughing and grinning to the members of his family who shared the stage with him.

Several more scuffles broke out in spite of appeals for calm from Dr Boesak. To chants of "Out, out, out" several anti-Kennedy demonstrators were evicted from the hall.

Dr Boesak said: "Don't get excited when people call me names. The Government call me names all the time and you're used to that."

Dr Boesak started his speech to an ovation and made only a brief reference to the controversy which has erupted about his personal life. His speech was punctuated by loud applause.

"They can do whatever they like but our people's determination to be free shall not be stopped — they can forget it," Dr Boesak said.

When Dr Boesak finished talking he stepped back from the microphone to mop his brow with a handkerchief and Senator Kennedy came across from his seat to shake hands.

Dr Boesak received another ovation and the audience started singing and chanting.

Furore over allegations of Allan Boesak 'affair'

WE ARGUE R/HS
Political Staff (114)
ALLEGATIONS that Dr Allan Boesak has been having an affair with Miss Di Scott of the SA Council of Churches have caused a major upheaval.

Dr Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the most visible patron of the UDF, and one of Senator Edward Kennedy's hosts, has firmly denied the allegations.

The Commissioner of Police, General P J Coetzee, has denied that the SAP or the security po-

lice were involved in a smear campaign or had distributed pamphlets to discredit Dr Boesak.

He denied that the security police were involved in activities to slander any person, saying their activities and those of the SAP were determined by laws which were strictly adhered to.

This follows allegations contained in the original reports that the Security Police might be behind the spreading of pamphlets that contained the allegations about Dr Boesak.

The allegations that Dr Boe-

sak has been having an affair with Ms Scott for several months have drawn wide response.

Earlier Dr Boesak, approached for comment, at first declined to comment, saying it was beneath his dignity to say anything on the report or its source.

Pressed for a firm answer he firmly denied he was having an affair with Ms Scott, who toured with the Kennedy entourage.

Asked specifically whether it was true that he was having an affair with Miss Scott, he said:

"It is not true."

The World Alliance for Reformed Churches had no official comment when told of the allegations. But staff at the organisation's headquarters in Geneva said the allegation was "crazy" and beyond belief.

In reply to the reaction to The Star's report yesterday, the editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said last night: "We stand by the report in every respect, despite denials from all sides".

"We have our evidence, and so far as the allegations (and denials) of police involvement are

concerned we would welcome — indeed we urge — a proper judicial inquiry.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Beyers Naude, said it was significant that the distribution of the smear pamphlet had coincided with the visit of Senator Edward Kennedy.

In a personal statement Dr Naude said he had been made aware of the rumours some time ago and had, as a close friend, conveyed them to Dr Boesak, his wife and Miss Scott.

Call inquiry, urges Editor

Boesak, police deny charges

11A
Star
12/1/85

Dr Allan Boesak has categorically denied having an affair with a church official, Miss "Di" Melanie Scott.

Allegations made in *The Star* yesterday that news of the affair was deliberately leaked by the Security Branch to discredit the president of the World Alliance of Churches are dismissed by a South African Police spokesman as "absurd".

In reply to the reaction to *The Star's* report, the Editor of *The Star*, Mr Harvey Tyson, said last night: "We stand by the report in every respect, despite denials from all sides.

"We have our evidence, and so far as the allegations (and denials) of police involvement are concerned, we would welcome — indeed we urge — a proper judicial inquiry.

"We believe that an open commission of jurists, dealing with all aspects of control of secret police methods, and all allegations of abuse of surveillance powers, is essential for South Africa.

"The truth about police methods needs to be defined, and it needs to be published."

The Security Police's actions as alleged in *The Star's* story are widely condemned by all shades of opinion — by Helen Suzman and Dr Alex Boraine of the PFP; Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party, and Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Dr Boraine, however, criticised *The Star* for publishing the story.

An investigation by *The Star* after deliberately leaked evidence contained in a smear poster, unearthed proof that Dr Boesak, an executive member of the SACC, and Miss Scott have been involved in an affair since July last year.

Investigations disclosed that Dr Boesak, the spiritual leader of millions of Christians, and Miss Scott had been meeting regularly at several Johannesburg hotels over the past seven months.

The Star started the investigation after the pamphlet campaign was brought to its notice.

Dr Boesak, asked by Sapa about the report in Cape Town yesterday, said:

"I believe the source is an anonymous pamphlet, and I have no doubt as to the source of that," he said.

● To Page 2 ■

P.T.O

Struggle ^{IIA} must go international'

by
David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — More than 10 000 people at the Kennedy rally last night heard United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak call for the "internationalisation" of the South African struggle. He also endorsed disinvestment.

Dr Boesak said the SA liberation movement had to make itself heard more effectively in Washington and Europe to counter the millions of rands spent by the Government abroad in its attempt to explain its apartheid policies.

On the subject of disinvestment, Dr Boesak said it was unfair that the South African Government made laws that prohibited talk about the subject and then said that the black people wanted investment.

He criticised the business community for expressing its concern to Senator Kennedy that black people would be harmed by disinvestment.

"Why, suddenly for the first time in the 350 years that the whites have been in this country are they now concerned?" he asked. "Where was their concern when their money propped up the apartheid system, when the laws broke up family life and when their own country discriminated against blacks at every level?"

He said there could be no peaceful change until all discriminatory and oppressive legislation had been scrapped, the homeland policy and current constitution had been abandoned and there was Government for the people by the people.

From Page 1 12/1/85
"Because of what it is and because of what it is trying to do, I do not even think it is worth my comment. So I'll just leave it as it is."

When asked about the truth of the allegation, he replied: "Of course it is not true."

Colonel Jaap Venter, chief public relations officer of the SAP, said: "My personal comment is that it is not our modus operatus to give tip-offs to newspapers and defame any person."

"We are concerned with the maintenance of law and order, and if a person commits a crime we take him to court and the court decides whether he is guilty or not."

"As far as I am concerned, it's absurd. We are not a news agency."

He said he had been unable to contact Major-General Stan Schutte, head of the Security Police. Nor was *The Star* able to contact Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, for comment.

General P J Coetzee, the Commissioner of the SAP, denied in a statement issued in Preoria last night that the SAP or the Security Police were involved in activities to slander any person.

The activities of the SAP were determined by laws which were strictly adhered to, he said.

He emphatically denied that the SAP or Security Police were involved in a smear campaign or had distributed pamphlets to discredit Dr Boesak.

Dr Edmond Perret, the general secretary of the World Alliance for Reformed Churches, yesterday issued a brief statement: "No comment."

But staff at the organisation's headquarters in Geneva said the allegation that Dr Boesak and Miss Scott had been involved in an affair was "crazy and beyond belief".

Dr Naude said it was significant that the distribution of the pamphlet had coincided with the visit of Senator Edward Kennedy.

In a personal statement, Dr Naude said he had been made aware of the rumours some time ago and had, as a close friend, conveyed them to Dr Boesak, his wife, and Miss Scott.

"According to reports in *The Star*, it seems clear, however, that without the

Boesak, police deny charges

assistance of facilities to which only the Security Police have access, the pamphlet could not have been issued," said Dr Naude.

He said he had not seen the pamphlet and could therefore not comment on the contents.

"But I have full confidence that Dr and Mrs Boesak, as well as Miss Scott, will know how to deal with these allegations."

Dr Boraine said the use of smear tactics by the Security Police came as "no surprise".

"The Government will go to any lengths to attack and silence its political opponents. They detain or ban some people, and use dirty tricks on others."

"I am astounded that a reputable newspaper such as *The Star* would stoop to such depths as publishing a story which is, by their own admission, a plant by the Security Police."

"In doing so *The Star* destroys its long and hard fought-for credibility, and merits the description of yellow journalism."

"It also plays into the hands of the Security Police and nothing in its comment can justify the publication of personal details concerning the two individuals."

"It may be that other newspapers would have printed the story, but that does not justify *The Star* from stooping to these depths."

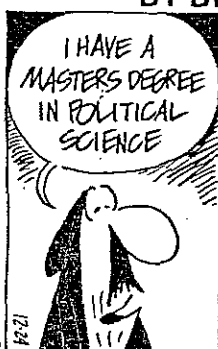
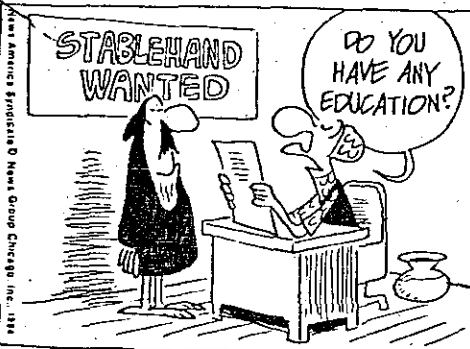
Mrs Suzman said the Security Police should be concentrating on the security of the state.

"That's what they are paid to do — not snoop into people's private lives."

She refused to comment on the affair between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott — "I think that's a matter for his own church to consider. I want nothing to do with it."

Dr Treurnicht said he felt very strongly about Government spying on individuals in order to score a political point, and said the powers of the Security Police should be limited to ensuring the wellbeing and security of the community.

WIZARD OF ID



BY BRANT PARKER & JOHNNY HART



Senator Edward Kennedy and the daughter of the late Robert Mwend, during a lighter moment on the stage at the Athlone Civic Centre last night.

ANC flag for the senator

CAPE TIMES
12/11/85
11A ~~11A~~

By RONALD MORRIS

CHANTS of "Boesak, Boesak", the singing of freedom songs and the unfurling of the black, green and gold flag of the African National Congress, greeted Senator Edward Kennedy at a meeting at the Athlone Civic centre last night.

About 2 000 people packed the hall to capacity to hear Senator Kennedy, Dr Alan Boesak and the Rev Chris Nissen, chairman of the Karoo region of the United Democratic Front, speak.

Chairs were placed in the parking area outside the hall and the proceedings inside were relayed to the 4 000-strong crowd outside by means of three video screens.

The meeting was under the auspices of the UDF in spite of earlier denials by Kennedy aides that it would not be. UDF banners adorned the hall and UDF officials controlled the massive crowd.

A small group of demonstrators affiliated to black consciousness groups jumped up from the audience when Senator Kennedy entered the hall and waved posters protesting against his visit and shouted at him to go home.

Cape Action League members held posters aloft reading: "Kennedy remember Vietnam, Hands off Nicaragua, and Kennedy for peaceful profits". They were jeered by the crowd and drowned out with chants of "Tambo, Tambo".

Some of the posters were torn from the hands of the protestors.

'Kennedy go home'

Following shouts of "Kennedy go home", a scuffle broke out and some of the CAL hecklers were ejected from the hall.

Dr Boesak appealed for calm and said: "Don't get excited when people call me names, I'm used to being called names."

A group of people left when the senator started speaking.

The meeting was frequently interrupted by singing and dancing in the crowd.

The entire Kennedy entourage rose from their seats and applauded at the conclusion of Dr Boesak's speech. A small group of people in front of the stage unfurled the ANC flag and carried it onto the stage.

Elephant gores UCT lecturer

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A geology lecturer from Cape Town University is in a serious condition in Bulawayo Hospital, Zimbabwe, after he was gored by an elephant on Thursday in Northern Chobe, Botswana.

Last night Mr Peter Betton, 30, underwent three hours of surgery, and was reported to be "surviving and alright", by his girlfriend, Miss Vineke van der Heyve.

He was on holiday with Miss Van der Heyve, 26, a student, and her mother, Mrs Jetty van der Heyve.

Miss Van der Heyve described how the elephant initially pursued her and then ran into Mr Betton by accident.

"It happened so quickly. We were outside the car sitting on a log and we could hear elephants swimming. Some of the elephants moved nearer to us and I said to Pete that we had better move away," she said. "One female remained and was looking at us. I ... and we did ... the elephant



after action satisfaction

PATIENCE RUNNING

CAG Tins 12/1/85

out — Kennedy

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SENATOR Edward Kennedy last night warned that patience with apartheid was fast running out with groups right across the political spectrum in the United States.

He told a boisterous crowd of about 6 000 at the Athlone Civic Centre that those who believed patience would prevail over the injustices of apartheid were labouring under a "perilous myth".

"They are profoundly mistaken or misleading about the reaction in the United States," he said.

During his speech, Senator Kennedy sounded several warnings that the majority of citizens of the United States would no longer permit their government "to turn back to business as usual with a regime of repression".

"One of the reasons for my trip here is to signal that the vast majority of my fellow citizens oppose apartheid — and we will not be complacent about it and we will not accept endless delay and empty excuses for it."

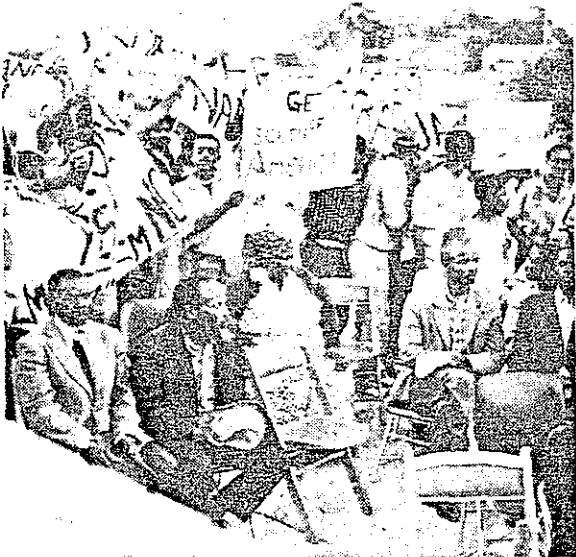
'Painful days'

Senator Kennedy attacked the Reagan Administration's "constructive engagement" policy towards this country and sounded a note of caution to South Africans who had been lulled into a false sense of security by this policy.

"Those in South Africa who comfort themselves that Ambassador (Herman) Nickel speaks for the American people have some surprising and painful days ahead of them.

"For my nation will not long continue a policy of so-called constructive engagement with a social order so entirely destructive of human rights."

Senator Kennedy said time was running out for cosmetic reform in South



A group of anti-Kennedy demonstrators outside the Athlone Civic Centre last night.

Africa. Neither the majority of South Africans nor the outside world would be taken in by the new constitution, he said.

"This false accommodation did not deceive the victims of racism here — and will not deflect the friends of South Africa in the wider world from the course of genuine change.

"The new constitution is not a sign of fundamental shift. It is another, perhaps more clever, but still clear step along the wayward road of apartheid."

Earlier, Dr Boesak said he had invited Senator Kennedy to South Africa to help tell the international community that "we want freedom here — and now".

He said it was necessary to find ways of countering the massive sums the government spent on "lying" to the interna-

tional community about conditions for blacks in South Africa.

It was important, he said, for President Reagan to realize that "the policy he supports spells death to millions of people in this country".

Dr Boesak said it was unfair for the government to claim that blacks were opposed to disinvestment when it had first passed laws making it a criminal offence to advocate this practice.

He accused the business organizations that presented Senator Kennedy with a memorandum opposing disinvestment of hypocrisy, saying that these groups had shown scant concern for workers during times of exploitation and State repression.

● More reports and comments on the Kennedy tour, pages 2, 6 and 7



The Rev Allan Boesak, Senator Edward Kennedy, Kathleen Townsend, during a lighter Centre last r

'Vigilante' victim talks

NEW YORK. — One of four teenagers wounded in the so-called "subway vigilante" case has said in hospital that he and his friends were on their way to rob video game machines at the time of the shooting, and had no plans to hold up any person.

The youths were shot on December 22 as they rode a subway train in lower Manhattan. Mr Bernhard Goetz, 37, who is charged with attempted murder in the shootings, has won broad support from the public.

Mr Barry Allen, 19, said one of the four had simply asked Mr Goetz for five dollars to play video games.

"We wasn't planning on robbing him."

Mr Allen said the gunman replied, "I'll give it to you", but "pulled out a gun and started shooting". — Sapa-AP

Elephant UCT lec

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A geology student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, was seen riding an elephant on Thursday in North

Last night Mr Peter Betton hours of surgery, and was rep and alright", by his girlfriend Heyve.

He was on holiday with Miss student, and her mother, Mrs

Miss Van der Heyve described initially pursued her and their accident.

"It happened so quickly. We sitting on a log and we could ming. Some of the elephants m said to Pete that we had better

"One female remained and suggested we move, and we began charging and we wer after me and I dived under a

"My mother screamed and and met Peter head on — after happened as I was in shock,"

She and her mother drove The Zimbabwe-Botswana late on Thursday night to en reach a hospital in Wankie v

Yesterday morning Mr. B. Bulawayo hospital, still in a

According Dr Francois Jays charge of Kasane health c broken ribs, two deep wound more in his legs and left art lung injuries. Local people it and donated blood.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	.....	\$304,50
Rand	.....	\$0,4600/00
FT index (close)	.....	968,30
RDM 100	.....	907,20
Dow Jones	.....	1 218,09



Senator Edward Kennedy outside Pollsmoor Prison with his host Dr Allan Boesak (to his right) and some of the contingent of journalists following the senator on his South African trip.

CAPE TOWN 12/11/85 (KA) (2/2)

'I'll carry Mandela's spirit back to the US'

Staff Reporter

SENATOR Edward Kennedy yesterday held a brief protest outside the Pollsmoor Prison over the South African Government's refusal to allow him to visit the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

Arriving with the United Democratic Front patron, Dr Alan Boesak, who is his host on his eight-day trip around South Africa, Senator Kennedy said he "regretted very much the decision by the South African Government denying me the opportunity to visit Nelson Mandela".

"I firmly believe that the real cause of peace in South Africa will be served with the freedom of political prisoners.

"I can but say that although I will not even speak with Nelson Mandela and other leaders, I believe that I have felt their spirit in the homes, in the villages and in the towns that I have travelled to in South Africa, and I will keep that spirit with me and carry it back to the United States."

Dr Boesak said he had told Senator Kennedy about Nelson Mandela and the fact that in spite of having been imprisoned for 22 years he con-

tinued to command great respect, "even now after those who were involved with him in the ANC in the 1960s have almost passed off the scene".

The new generation of young people accepted him as a leader. This was a sign of the greatness of the man, said Dr Boesak.

Mr Terror Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF, criticized the government's refusal of Senator Kennedy's request to see the jailed ANC men, who were the "authentic leaders of our country". Talks with them would have given Senator Kennedy a "proper perspective", he said.

Even Kennedy can't say tour was complete success

W/E ARGUS 12/1/80 114

By ANDRÉ MEYEROWITZ
Political Staff

SENATOR Edward Kennedy leaves South Africa tomorrow after an anti-apartheid visit which not even he, in his heart of hearts, can claim to have been a complete success.

He won a few rounds in his crusade — and lost a few.

He has highlighted some of apartheid's more disgraceful excesses, but he is not leaving without egg on his face.

His swan-song comes at noon tomorrow

in a speech at Regina Mundi in Soweto, where he will try to crystallise his visit for an audience he hopes will consist of thousands of blacks and millions of American TV viewers.

Teddy Kennedy was certainly not unmindful this week that he will one day ask the people of the United States to make him their leader.

It was obvious to pressmen travelling with him through South Africa that various events on his tour were stage-managed to bring him publicity — so obvious, in fact, that friction

arose between Kennedy aides and journalists who were not prepared to be manipulated.

There was also friction between Kennedy people and staff from the American Embassy. It reached a point at one stage where the United States Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, asked Senator Kennedy for an apology — which was given.

Private talks

South Africa's top businessmen were, by and large, not enamoured of Kennedy. He reportedly impressed some of those with whom he had private talks, but at a lunch in Johannesburg the applause for Mr Nickel and Mr Sam Motysuenyane of National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) was warmer than for the senator.

More acrimony — and even anger — arose when Kennedy got together with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who is not a man to be snubbed by anyone, including a representative of one of Boston's finest families.

Outright rejection of Kennedy by some South African blacks, in the form of small but vehement demonstrations, followed him from Johannesburg to Durban and Cape Town.

Why invite Kennedy at all, especially at a time when his hosts agree the time is past for foreign white saviours to come and help the "oppressed" here who are more interested in their own leaders?

Struggle

Well, said his hosts, the struggle is now internationalised — and opponents of the Government must have access to foreign opinion-formers and learn how to use foreign forces.

What Teddy Kennedy did achieve this week was to focus attention on the disgraceful conditions and way of life imposed on many of South Africa's black people.

If he has hastened the departure of these horrible excesses he will have done South Africa a service. And it is not a bad thing that he has stirred further vigorous debate about South Africa's constitutional future.

His trip also highlighted the fact that South Africa will have a painful time of it if he or someone like him ever replaces the Republican administration now in power in Washington.

● See Pages 3, 10.

FEDSAW

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11A

PIONEER'S

Prep

FUNERAL

13/1/85

BANNED

THE weekend funeral for former political prisoner and Federation of SA Women activist Adelaide Mabuda has been banned.

Mrs Mabuda — who died in East London recently — can only be buried during the week, according to an order issued by PE Chief Magistrate J P Coetzee.

The order also stipulates that no placards and banners can be carried at the funeral and no-one can follow the procession on foot.

Mrs Mabuda served five years at Barberton prison during the 60s for African National Congress activities.

Church elders to demand Boesak probe

IIA (S. Tunes)
□ From Page 1, 11/88

Church, of which Dr Boesak is the assessor, have indicated that they will ask the church to investigate the allegations.

Mr L F Salmons, one of 63 elders who have clashed with Dr Boesak over his political activities, said yesterday: "We will make work of this."

Shocked

"I was shocked by the revelations, and the church will have to act. We will ask that he be tried by the general synod commission, and, if the allegations are true, that he be expelled as a minister and as assessor of the church."

The Rev M G Bosch, co-minister of Dr Boesak at his Bellville South congregation, said: "It is a very sensitive issue about which I would not like to comment."

But he said that normally the church would investigate such rumours and act on its findings.

"Due to the nature of this matter and the fact that not all people in the congregation think alike, this could harm the congregation, especially where rumours are involved."

Dr Naude said yesterday that he had felt it his duty, as a friend, to tell Dr Boesak, his wife and Miss Scott about the rumours. He had spoken to the Boesaks while on a visit to Cape Town.

"I have full confidence that Dr and Mrs Boesak, as well as Miss Scott, will know how to deal with these allegations. I have not seen the pamphlet referred to and therefore cannot comment on smear efforts of this kind."

"I also found it significant, that the publication and distribution of this pamphlet coincided with the visit of Senator Kennedy."

Pleaded

Dr W Kistner, acting general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said he trusted "that Dr Boesak and Miss Scott will responsibly examine these allegations and respond to them."

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Asked yesterday whether he was a close friend of Miss Scott, Dr Boesak laughed. Told about efforts in church circles to have the affair investigated, Dr Boesak said: "We will have to see what happens."

Mrs Boesak refused to speak when approached at the home of her sister. But sources close to the family indicated that she had known about the alleged affair for some time and had pleaded with her husband to end it.

Miss Scott's mother, who lives on the West Rand, said: "If it were your daughter, how would you feel?"

Dr Boesak is the leader of about 70-million Christians round the world as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. Miss Scott was formerly married to a University of Cape Town lecturer, Mr Tony Saddington.

She is in charge of the SACC Youth Desk and has published a book for the youth in which she broaches the subject of extra-marital sex.

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Boesak gets the biggest backing

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN
AMERICAN Senator Edward Kennedy almost took a back seat at the Athlone Civic Centre on Friday night as thousands of people gathered to show their support for Dr Allan Boesak.

The leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches walked on to the stage amid deafening applause and chants of "Boesak, Boesak, Boesak".

Dr Boesak was subjected to criticism from several quarters this week — many South Africans did not approve of him inviting the Senator here and on the last day of the American visitor's tour, newspapers ran a story about his alleged extra-marital affair.

However, it was clear at the Friday night meeting that he had strong support from the majority of the crowd of about 8 000 people.

● See also Sunday Times main section for more reports.



Senator Edward Kennedy and members of his family cheer while a young man leads the crowd, singing freedom songs.



About 8 000 people gathered at the Athlone Civic Centre on Friday night to listen to Dr Allan Boesak and Senator Edward Kennedy. Pictures by AMBROSE PETERS.

11A 13/1/85 S. Express

Doctor faces medical ban after terror conviction

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

A YOUNG doctor, who served six years on Robben Island for a political offence, is now threatened with being struck off the medical roll.

Dr Aubrey Mokoape, a Durban general practitioner, has been accused of improper or disgraceful conduct by the South African Medical and Dental Council because of his conviction under the Terrorism Act.

He was one of six former leaders of the banned SA Students' Organisation and the Black People's Convention convicted and jailed after a marathon trial in 1976.

Inquiry

A political conviction has never before been used as grounds for a disciplinary inquiry by the medical council.

If he is found guilty, the council could strike him from the roll, either temporarily or permanently.

Dr Mokoape appeared before a disciplinary committee of the council yesterday, but the inquiry was postponed to February 20.

Counsel for Dr Mokoape, Mr E D Moseneke, asked for a postponement to prepare for the inquiry, which would have "far-reaching" implications.

Dr Mokoape and his Durban attorneys, Baqwa and Company, said in a statement the implications of the case "will impinge on the whole definition of medical ethics".

"At stake here is not only the career future and livelihood of an individual, but the entire professional world."

Mr Moseneke said the obvious question was whether professional bodies could



● Dr Aubrey Mokoape and Ché, the youngest of his three children, at yesterday's hearing

make what amounted to political decisions.

Dr Joe Veriava, who attended the hearing, said the inquiry made it appear the council was "an extension of the South African repressive machinery".

Detention

Dr Veriava was one of the doctors who recently brought an action in the Pretoria Supreme Court in an attempt to force the council to hold an inquiry into the medical treatment of Mr Steve Biko before his death in detention.

"It appears to me that the council is indirectly trying to tell doctors that they should

not be involved in any kind of political activities which are extra-parliamentary," he said.

Mr Moseneke said that although the case had no precedent in the medical world, there had been cases in which attempts were made to bar lawyers because of their political actions.

But, as in the Supreme Court action brought by Nelson Mandela against the Transvaal Law Society, the court had found that a political conviction did not necessarily constitute unprofessional conduct.

Mr Sydney Kentridge SC will appear for Dr Mokoape in February.

Teddy gets a roasting from the foreign Press

JOHN D'OLIVEIRA of The Argus Foreign Service in London and the South African Press Association report on Press comment in Britain and the United States on Senator Edward Kennedy's visit

BRITISH newspapers today prominently reported the departure from South Africa of Senator Edward Kennedy following the cancellation of his speech in Soweto and two of Britain's three major Sunday newspapers yesterday were critical of Senator Kennedy's controversial visit to the country.

But the Boston Globe, largest newspaper in Senator Kennedy's home state of Massachusetts, backed the Senator and said his visit had revealed the extent to which South Africa's domestic situation had deteriorated since the 1966 visit of Senator Kennedy's brother, Mr Robert Kennedy.

Today in London The Times reported on its front page that "a humiliated Senator Kennedy" had flown out "borne on a wave of black anti-Americanism after an eight-day tour that served only to bring to the surface the polarisation among the people whose cause he sought to champion."

The Guardian today says of the cancellation of Senator Kennedy's Soweto speech: "On the face of it the demonstration did not appear to constitute a greater threat than the earlier protests from some ideological quarters which have dogged his footsteps since his arrival."

Yesterday, under the headline "Kennedy's Troubled Trek", the Sunday Telegraph reported that much of the surprise generated by the fact that Pretoria had allowed the visit was dissipating rapidly:

"Perhaps the mandarins of Pretoria knew all along that the senior Senator from Massachusetts would make more enemies than friends, that his cynical use of the South African dilemma for his own political ends would alienate radical blacks as much as reactionary whites and that his overweening arrogance and ineptitude would counter the best stage-management of a liberal crusade that the family fortune could buy."

The Sunday Times reported on "a pilgrimage that failed" and said the senator's attempts to "tread in his brother's footsteps through the South African political jungle" had proved thornier than he expected.

Crowds were small and the Senator had run into strong opposition not only from Azapo and the white right-wing, but also from white liberals, businessmen and even from supporters of the United Democratic Front, whose leaders had hosted him.

"Irritated white liberals who have been fighting against apartheid all their lives regard Kennedy much as American Indians view people credited with discovering America."

The Sunday Telegraph said Senator Kennedy had announced that he intended listening and learning in South



Senator Edward Kennedy

Africa and that he was not visiting the country to lecture.

"But any illusions of an even-handed approach vanished within moments of his arrival when he made it clear he had come merely to confirm his firmly-held preconceptions of South Africa."

The newspaper added that "the script was as predictable as the stage-management.

"It was good old-fashioned Hollywood stuff — the tousle-haired hero vanquishing the villains and rescuing the underdogs. As long as the cameras were rolling."

The third major Sunday newspaper, The Observer, concentrated on Senator Kennedy's plans to lead a crusade in the United States over apartheid.

It reported that the tour had been an "astonishing event" evoking a strength and range of emotions that revealed "just what a contorted and psychologically-disturbed society South Africa had become".

The visit had driven white South Africans into a state of collective hysteria.

In the Sunday Express columnist, John Junor, swiped at Senator Kennedy's visit in typically forthright right-wing fashion.

"The fact that Senator Kennedy

should be prancing around South Africa accompanied, to ensure sympathy, by his son who had a leg amputated and, to ensure publicity, a full TV team, means only one thing," Junor said.

"He was determined to be the Democratic candidate in the next presidential election. That is the bad news.

"The good news is that not even by 1988 will American voters have forgotten the name of Mary Jo Kopchne or Chappaquiddick.

pa "Should not Senator Kennedy's desire to serve suffering humanity have started there?"

The South African Press Association reports from New York that the Boston Globe's reporter on the tour, Robert Healy, said in a report today that Senator Kennedy's visit had "unsettled" the Pretoria government.

His visit had been "greatly different" from that of his brother, Robert, in 1966. "Robert Kennedy spoke to a white lawyers' group and students. But the Government virtually ignored him," Healy said.

"South Africans were secure and rich in the 1960s. Today, the prime rate is 25 percent, inflation is 14 percent, and the possibility that US corporations might have to pull out unless the Government changes its apartheid policy is very real."

"Eddie Botha, in 1966 a student and now a journalist covering this trip, remembers that the debate at the time of Robert Kennedy's visit was whether 'there would be a start of a more moderate approach.'

"The debate then was philosophical and Robert Kennedy's speeches reflected that," Healy writes.

"Now the nation is at the edge of possible revolution, and Edward Kennedy's speeches reflect that.

"Robert Kennedy, in 1966, was talking to the whites.

"Edward Kennedy, in 1985, is talking to the blacks.

"That difference makes Edward Kennedy a lot more threatening to the Government than his brother was," writes Healy.

Published in the Massachusetts stronghold of the Kennedy family, the Boston Globe is unfailingly supportive of the Senator and his utterances.

Its views have not been reflected elsewhere in American media coverage of the Senator's trip.

The old magic formula that failed to work

IN those misty years of Camelot and immediately after, Robert F Kennedy came to these shores.

"Our aim," he was to write, "was not simply to criticise but to engage in a dialogue to see if, together, we could elevate reason above prejudice and myth."

The way he set about that task set South Africa agog. In the tradition of his brother, President John F Kennedy, whom he later tragically sought to emulate in his own quest for the White House, Bobby Kennedy's style and ringing rhetoric were stunningly new and dynamic to South Africans. The youth of those 18 summers ago particularly adored him.

Tousled-hair, toothy grin, his charisma was undeniable. He waved, shook hands, talked and listened. He had about him a purposeful author-

ity; tough but vulnerable and humble too.

I remember, vividly, listening to him at a campus meeting in Durban. People were shoehorned into the hall; loudspeakers carried his message to hundreds left outside.

Came question time and someone from the floor tried to justify church apartheid on scriptural grounds. Kennedy heard him out, then responded in a phrase which was to sweep the country: "Suppose God is black."

Yet he showed, too, that night that he could be devastated. A student, once off and committed to his question, finally — hesitatingly, haltingly — asked Kennedy whether he, as US Attorney General at the time of his brother's assassination, wasn't responsible for the President's safety. The audience was aghast at its insensitivity. Bobby



SECOND THOUGHTS

Andrew Drysdale

Kennedy's head drooped, he paused a long while. Eventually the words came, quietly: "No, sir."

The legacy of those Kennedys, brilliant but brief, lives on in South Africa. All these years later the memory lingers on in JFK reminders daubed on walls here and there in Cape Town and out on the Flats. And those same revered initials adorn college-type sweaters, even to this day. Almost, it seems, they hold an abiding promise of better tomorrows.

Yet, somehow, after last week that old Kennedy magic isn't quite the same. The third of the Senator brothers, Edward (Teddy) M Kennedy, tried. Maybe he tried too hard. Word has it he even consulted Bobby's notes.

Inevitably things change though. The audiences were different, the politics, the sponsors, the mood, the expectations.

If Senator Kennedy expected to be hailed as some gallant knight on a white charger, he is surely rudely disillusioned. In the end, with the ignominy of having to cancel a public address for fear of violent confrontation, he may well have reaped as much rejection as acceptance.

It was lack of homework, a gross misreading of the situation, and a near public relations disaster. Rightly or wrongly, there were too

many suspicions about his motives — hinged primarily on considerations of Kennedy political self-interest.

To be sure the crusade was not without some reward, but in their postmortems Kennedy insiders are already asking why, why, why, where did it go wrong? One of the ready answers is that it was overstaged, that those "media opportunities" came across as manipulation and news management. Off-camera, too, Senator Kennedy and some of his aides hardly endeared themselves.

As an afterthought a cynic offers this perspective: If the tour, and the reaction to it, really sours Kennedy into irrational judgment, heaven help South Africa. On the other hand, if it somehow helps him to run for President, heaven help America.

KENNEDY VISIT

Some undelivered parting shots

JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports from Johannesburg

AN attack on South Africa's new constitution was one of the parting shots of Senator Edward Kennedy. It was delivered in a message, due to have been read at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto yesterday, but left hastily in the hands of the Press when demonstrations prevented the meeting.

"Peace can be kept only through the triumph of justice," warned Senator Kennedy, whose high moral tone and insistence on straight answers to pointed questions have irked members of the Cabinet for the past week.

Of South Africa's new constitution he said: "All the fine phrases cannot hide the fundamental reality that at its core is the corruption of apartheid.

"The tactic of granting a small minority of the subjugated majority a token place in a powerless house of Parliament is a transparent attempt to divide and rule."

Referring to the constitution's exclusion of blacks, he said: "You cannot justify making most non-whites into political non-persons by making some non-whites into second class citizens."

Senator Kennedy claimed that South Africa had made a crime of treason out of minor offences, "offences which in the rest of the Western world would be regarded as inalienable rights".

He referred to recent sentences for offences relating to the ANC — 18 months' jail for owning a mug inscribed with ANC slogans; five years for singing ANC songs at a funeral; eight years for trafficking in T-shirts of the ANC.

"The laws of arbitrary rule can never become a substitute for the rule of law," he observed.

11A

Congress flare-ups cast doubt on PCP

Political Staff

A NEW coloured party is to be formed this week in the wake of a major walk-out at the People's Congress Party congress in Plettenberg Bay at the weekend.

The party, which is likely to be known either as the Democratic Party or the United South African Party, apparently has the support of two of

the three PCP members who form the opposition in the coloured House of Representatives.

They include the opposition leader, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, MP for Ottery and secretary-general of the party, who has resigned to join the new party.

Mr Yusuf Rhodda, one of the other two MPs, did not attend the congress

and it is reliably understood that he is likely to throw in his lot with the new party. The rebels also claim the support of the third MP, Mr Anwar Essop, who however told the congress he had no intention of leaving the PCP.

PC member

In addition, one of the PCP's two members of the President's Council and East Cape leader of the party, Mr Abdul-Wahab Tiry, has also resigned from the PCP.

Effectively this could lead to the PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, who is a member of the President's Council, becoming a "leader without a party".

The row at Plettenberg Bay started over who was to be registered as a delegate and supporters of Mr Marais attempted to fill the hall with their supporters while refusing admission to supporters of the opposition faction, which has been in existence for the past few months.

A showdown ensued and both Mr De la Cruz and Mr Tiry were expelled from the party.

In a subsequent letter to Mr Marais, the leaders of the party in the Transvaal, Natal, Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Karoo, in addition to Mr De la Cruz and the national treasurer, Mr Les Rudolph, indicated that they were resigning from the party to estab-

lish "a party with credibility".

Mr Tiry said last night that it was the aim of the break-away group "to become a proper opposition" and he predicted that the PCP would "die a natural death" within six months.

Just who controls the official opposition will be crucial when Parliament opens on January 25, as within 14 days the official opposition has to nominate a third member of the President's Council.

At the PCP congress, Griqua leader Mr Eric le Fleur received the nomination, but this will fall away should two or more of the opposition MPs opt to link up with the new party.

Rowdy confusion

The leader of the PCP, Mr Marais, was returning by car from Plettenberg Bay last night and was not available for comment.

● Sapa reports from Plettenberg Bay that the congress, attended by about 100 delegates, was reduced several times to rowdy confusion. Police were called in to restore order as tensions between PCP executives flared into the open on Saturday.

During one dispute, Mr Marais and one of the dissidents shouted at each other to "shut up", and at another stage Mr Marais took off his jacket and said he was "ready to fight".

Kennedy calls ANC talks constructive

By Andre Meyerowitz, Political Staff

LUSAKA — Senator Edward Kennedy had what he called “constructive and positive” talks for an hour with African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo after receiving a rousing welcome in Zambia yesterday.

He and members of his party were visibly relieved at the festive atmosphere at Lusaka Airport which contrasted sharply with the tension of their final hours in South Africa.

The senator's first engagement on his stop-over was a meeting with the top members of the ANC hierarchy at State House.

Journalists travelling with him — including some South Africans — were ushered in to hear part of what they had to say to each other.

Mr Tambo's words may not be reported in South Africa, but Senator Kennedy will have come away with the impression that the ANC's priority is to increase pressure against the South African Government.

Mr Kennedy told Mr Tambo: “I want to make it clear that I deplore violence — my family has been touched by it and I feel very strongly against it.

“Having said that, I remember that President Kennedy said those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable.”

The senator gave Mr Tambo a copy of the speech he had intended delivering in Soweto yesterday. Then he asked for “private time” to talk further with the ANC leadership — and reporters were told to leave.

Banquet

Informal conversations between South African journalists and ANC men continued over dinner on the lawns of State House while the Kennedy party attended a banquet hosted by President Kenneth Kaunda.

At a Press conference on his departure for the United States, Senator Kennedy promised “effective American action” against apartheid.

Sapa reports that Senator Kennedy's eight-day South African tour came to an ignominious end yesterday when 100-odd Azapo demonstrators kept him from addressing a crowd of more than 2 500 at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto.

Azapo demonstrators inside the hall chanted: “Kennedy out, Kennedy out”, and attempts by Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu to call the meeting to order failed.

The bishop told the crowd: “I asked Senator Kennedy to come (to South Africa) because of a build-up of concern and interest in the United States in South Africa, and because any exposure of the evils of apartheid would benefit its victims. I didn't ask him to come here because he was going to be our liberator.”

He added: “I told him I don't want him to come to a meeting that would be disrupted.”

● Senator Edward Kennedy doubts that the South African Government would grant him another visa. Asked yesterday if he would come again, he said: “I hope so — to a free South Africa. I don't know if they'll let me in before that.”

SOWETAN

MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1985

VIA

23c+2c GST (SA) Elsewhere 25c

Azapo disrupts Senator Kennedy's tour

REGINA DRAMA



ESCORT — Bishop Desmond Tutu and supporters

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation yesterday forced the cancellation of American Senator Edward Kennedy's farewell speech by demonstrating and threatening to disrupt the meeting scheduled for Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto.

Azapo's demonstration against Senator Kennedy's visit led to a confrontation with members of the United Democratic Front who openly hurled insults at the demonstrators, both inside the church and outside.

There were fears among other people who thought the two groups would end up physically fighting it out. The arguments and angry words were still being exchanged long after the meeting had ended.

A group of about 100 Azapo members gathered at the church from as early as 10am and the senator was to deliver his speech at 12 noon. Arguments had already started outside the church on why the senator was not welcome in the country. Police in hippos, a sneeze machine and several vans were also on stand-by, but no incidents were reported.

The Rev Lebamang Sebidi, who chaired the meeting, voiced concern over the possible demonstration but also acknowledged the fact that people

By SELLO RABOTHATA

had a right to show their opposition to matters they were against.

"Although Senator Kennedy's visit won't bring liberation, his presence and views have ruffled a few Government officials' feathers. And, although people have a right to demonstrate, they should not disrupt what others are doing," he said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, who was given a standing ovation by the nearly 2 000 people told the meeting that Senator Kennedy was invited to South Africa by him.

He had told the Senator not to come to a meeting that would be disrupted.

United Democratic Front (UDF) members who were also in the church and in favour of the Senator addressing the meeting marched to the front chanting "yes, yes, yes". The two groups met at the front and Azapo members seemed to retreat and heated exchanges of words took place.

Appeals by Mr Sebidi and Bishop Tutu to bring the situation under control seemed to fall on deaf ears as the meeting went out of control.

Meanwhile, US Senator Edward Kennedy voiced deep regret at being forced to cancel a speech marking the end of his controversial South African tour yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter.

**NEW EXAMINATIONS
FOR CORRESPONDENTS**

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Policeman ~~STAW~~
ANC suspects
14/1/85
die in clash (11A)

Pretoria Correspondent

A police officer and three suspected African National Congress terrorists were killed in a shoot-out between the police and infiltrators in northern Natal early today.

The policeman killed was Lieutenant J H G D Janse van Vuuren of Vryheid.

The shoot-out happened at a house in the Nongoma district in northern Natal, a spokesman for the police division of public relations confirmed in Pretoria.

Police seized a number of AK-47 semi-automatic assault rifles, ammunition and empty cartridge cases.

The spokesman said the fire fight followed investigation of information that a band of ANC men were hiding in a house in the district.

When police approached the house, shots were apparently fired at them. In the gun battle which followed Lieutenant van Vuuren was killed.

The officer is survived by his wife Jeanne and four young children. Police are at this stage still probing the incident and cannot reveal further details.

Dissent leaves Marais's People's Party in tatters

By BRIAN STUART
Political Staff

THE People's Congress Party (PCP), plagued by dissent over the leadership of Mr Peter Marais, is in tatters following a rowdy national congress at Erica-ville, near Plettenberg Bay.

When the House of Representatives meets this month the PCP's only representative will be a former Labour Party leader, Mr Anwar Essop of Beaufort West.

ALL BUT THREE

Labour holds all but three seats in the House of Representatives. When the PCP congress opened it held two of the three opposition seats — Mr Dennis de la Cruz (Ottery) and Mr Essop (Nuweveld). The third man is Mr Y Rhoda (Ceres), an independent.

But in a head-on clash over the party's leadership, the party's Eastern Cape chief and one of its President's Council representatives, Mr Abdul-Wahab Tiry, led a walkout by almost half of the 100 delegates, including Mr de la Cruz.

This removed from the PCP one of its members in each of the House of Representatives and the President's Council.

More dramatically, it left the party structure in shreds. The PCP heads in the Western Cape, including chairman Mr Jo Deers, were expelled from the party by Mr Marais last year. While a new Western Cape executive was set up the dissension has continued.

DEMOLISHED

The congress walk-out demolished the party's Eastern Cape, Natal and Transvaal structures. At the national level Mr Morris Fynn, PCP vice-chairman, was among the defectors.

The defections left Mr Marais in charge of a much-weakened PCP.

The delegates named the party's re-elected national chairman, Mr Eric le Fleur, as its candidate for the vacancy in the President's Council.

Nyerere to step down

DAR ES SALAAM. — Tanzanian president, Mr Julius Nyerere, has said he will not stand for re-election when his term expires at the end of the year, the official Radio Tanzania reported today. Mr Nyerere, 62, has ruled Tanzania since independence in 1961. — Sapa-Reuter

House of Reps gets a new opposition party

By BRIAN STUART, Political Staff

THE new opposition party in the House of Representatives is expected to be named the United South African Party and to be headed by ex-school-teacher Mr Dennis de la Cruz, MP for Ottery.

Coloured MP turned away from hotel

BRIAN STUART
Political Staff

THE Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, was not admitted to a Plettenberg Bay hotel at the weekend because of his colour.

"When the hotel got the go-ahead from Pretoria we were admitted. But we first had to give an undertaking that we would not dance with white people — that's the bottom line on 'reform'," said Mr de la Cruz.

"I am Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, an executive member of Parliament. But to sleep in a hotel overnight I need confirmation from an official in Pretoria, hundreds of kilometres away and out of touch with the situation."

NO POWER

Mr de la Cruz was attending the People's Congress Party congress at Erica-ville, the coloured area near Plettenberg Bay.

He said: "The congress itself was a rigged-up thing, a congress out in the bundu like that. There was no power, no sanitation, no organisation at all.

"I was disgusted at the arrangements there. So we pulled out. We went to the one-star Frederick Hotel in Keurbooms River. The manager was willing to take us, but said he needed approval from Pretoria.

"We were referred to the two-star Formosa Inn about 10km down the road and were admitted there. Apparently they have permission from Pretoria."

The leadership of the new party is already committed to more urgent reform than the Labour Party, demanding the immediate repeal of the Mixed Marriages, Immorality and Group Areas laws, as well as parity in pensions and education.

Support for the new party, which will be formed this week following major defections from the People's Congress Party (PCP) at the weekend, has come from the Eastern and Western Cape, Karoo, Transvaal and Natal.

In an interview Mr de la Cruz said he was confident the other two opposition members in the House of Representatives, Mr Anwar Essop, MP for Nuweveld, and Mr Y Rhoda, MP for Ceres, would join the party.

"No role"

"That would leave the PCP with no future role to play in politics," he said.

"We expect to form a constitution and establish the party this week," said Mr de la Cruz.

Asked about expected policy, Mr de la Cruz said he wished to see faster and stronger reform than that proposed by the Labour Party.

"Same status"

"I in Parliament have the same status as Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr J N Reddy — Leaders of the Opposition in the three Houses.

"The question we all face is how far are we removed from reform. Without a definite declaration of intent from the National Party, all talk of change is meaningless."

Mr de la Cruz said he did not support the Labour Party in "buying time", particularly when it spoke of a five-year deadline.

Mr de la Cruz called for the immediate repeal of the Immorality and Mixed Marriage laws.

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The planned climax of Senator Edward Kennedy's tour of Southern Africa — a speech at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto yesterday — collapsed chaotically when the meeting was disrupted by demonstrators and Mr Kennedy called off his appearance at the last minute.

Before boarding an aircraft for Lusaka, Mr Kennedy voiced his deep regret at being forced to cancel his speech and said he had been advised to do so by "the South African security forces", by his hosts, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, and by his own security staff.

At Regina Mundi, about 500 members of the crowd of about 3000 people disrupted the meeting, waving anti-Kennedy banners and chanting "Kennedy, go home".

Most were members of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) or other affiliates of the National Forum. They carried placards saying "Kennedy equals capitalism", "Socialist Azapo versus capitalist Kennedy" and "Kennedy, you will remember Azapo and socialism".

Police advice

On the advice of the police, Mr Kennedy's convoy was stopped at the entrance to Soweto when about 100 demonstrators arrived at the hall an hour before the meeting was due to begin.

At Regina Mundi, Bishop Tutu took the stage and asked the crowd to indicate whether they wanted Mr Kennedy to appear.

At that moment, at least 400 other demonstrators marched into the meeting and it deteriorated into a shouting match between those who wanted to hear Mr Kennedy and those who did not.

About 75-80 percent of the crowd called for Mr Kennedy.

However, Bishop Tutu — saying he was saddened "to the point of tears" — announced that Mr Kennedy would not appear.

Mr Barry Wyatt, a senior Kennedy aide, said the senator was not appearing because of the security risk to the crowd rather than himself.

Mr Kennedy's staff announced that his convoy had been diverted to Bishop Tutu's house, where he would read his speech. However, Mr Kennedy then went directly to the airport.

At the airport, Bishop Tutu said that because of

the demonstrators, "the system was waiting eagerly to step in as if they were restoring law and order and we did not want to give them that excuse or to allow you (Mr Kennedy) to be used in that way".

A "very, very small minority" had been against Mr Kennedy speaking.

Mr Kennedy said he was leaving South Africa



Bishop Tutu appeals for order at the Regina Mundi meeting.

with hope and with many "warm memories", such as his meeting with Mrs Winnie Mandela and the warm welcomes he had received elsewhere.

Call to Azapo

"I return to the US a strong and vigorous opponent of apartheid. There will be no member of the US Senate or Congress who will fight more vigorously, and I hope, more effectively against apartheid."

He said his staff had been in contact with Azapo "about a willingness to exchange views" after their initial demonstration. However, that opportunity had been rejected.

Had he spoken, Mr Kennedy would have told the crowd at Regina Mundi that "the genuine difficulties and complications of South Africa's situation cannot excuse the iron reign of injustice that shackles the land".

"The forces of repression seem to march heedlessly along. Their trap-

pings may change, like the uniforms of a soldier, but their purpose remains the same," he said, according to a copy of his planned speech released by his staff.

Warning against the belief that apartheid was a defence of freedom because it was a safeguard against communism, he said: "We cannot oppose tyranny by imitating its tactics."

Flouting the law, he quoted Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC leader, and his banned wife Winnie, and called for the release of all political prisoners.

He called on people not to replace one form of racism with another and to remember "those whose skin is white, who have stood with you inside this nation, often at peril to themselves".

● Sapa reports from Lusaka that Mr Kennedy was greeted by a cheering crowd of about 5000 when he flew into the Zambian capital.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor L K H Goma, welcomed the senator and he was introduced to a line of ruling Unip dignitaries.

'Fine leader'

Mr Kennedy asked whether it was true that President Kenneth Kaunda was one of the finest leaders in Africa and whether they believed SWA/Nambria ought to be "truly free and independent".

The crowd answered with a resounding "Yes." "There can be no freedom in South Africa and South-West Africa unless Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners are freed," he said.

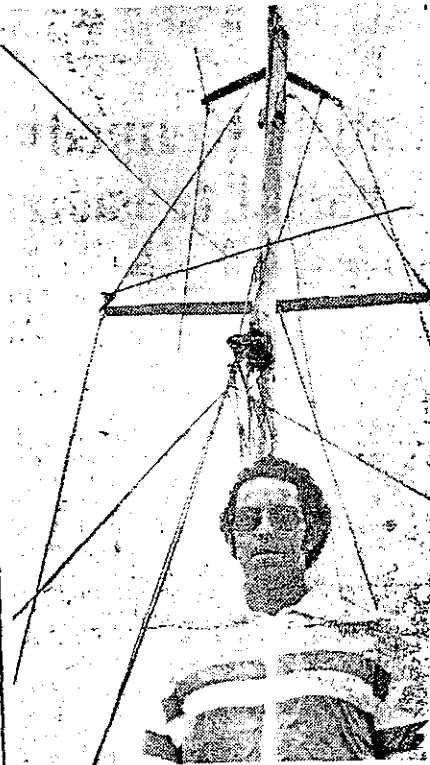
Senator Kennedy told the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, whom he talked to for more than an hour soon after his arrival: "I want to make clear that the central belief I have basic to all my political values is that I deplore violence."

He had a private audience with President Kaunda before he and the president attended a banquet on the lawns of State House.

● Kennedy a 'political prostitute', page 2

● Leading article, page 8

The mast of the sloop Arch...



Richard Glanville, skipper of stands in front of the broke

● Rain ruins WP's chances

● Fighting Amm earns draw for EP

BACK PAGE

110 000 attend rock concert, colour pictures,

PAGE 7

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Natal hero dies in hail of bullets

Mercy 15/1/85 (11A)

Willie Louw
Crime Reporter

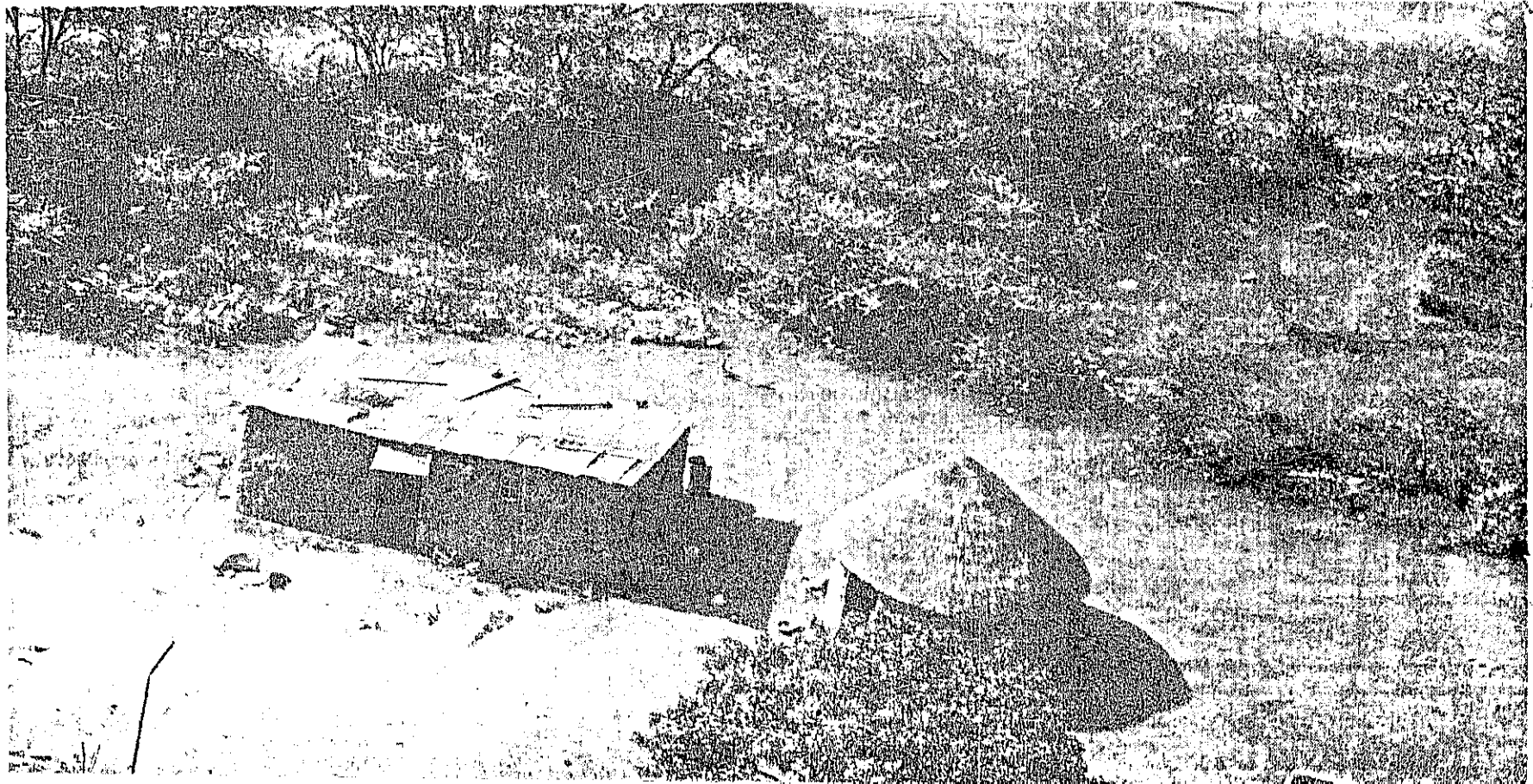
Terrorist hideout

A NATAL police lieutenant, father of four young children, died in a hail of bullets as he led a pre-dawn attack against a fortified hut in a remote area of Zululand early yesterday.

Two terrorists and a third black man, thought to be a civilian, were also killed in furious exchanges of automatic fire.

Police were confident last night that no other members of the terrorist gang were in the area.

The dead policeman was Lt J Janse van Rensburg of Vryheid, who, it is thought, was moving in on a tin-roofed hut in the early-morning darkness when a bullet ripped through the silence as one of the fugitives



of four young children, died in a hail of bullets as he led a pre-dawn attack against a fortified hut in a remote area of Zululand early yesterday.

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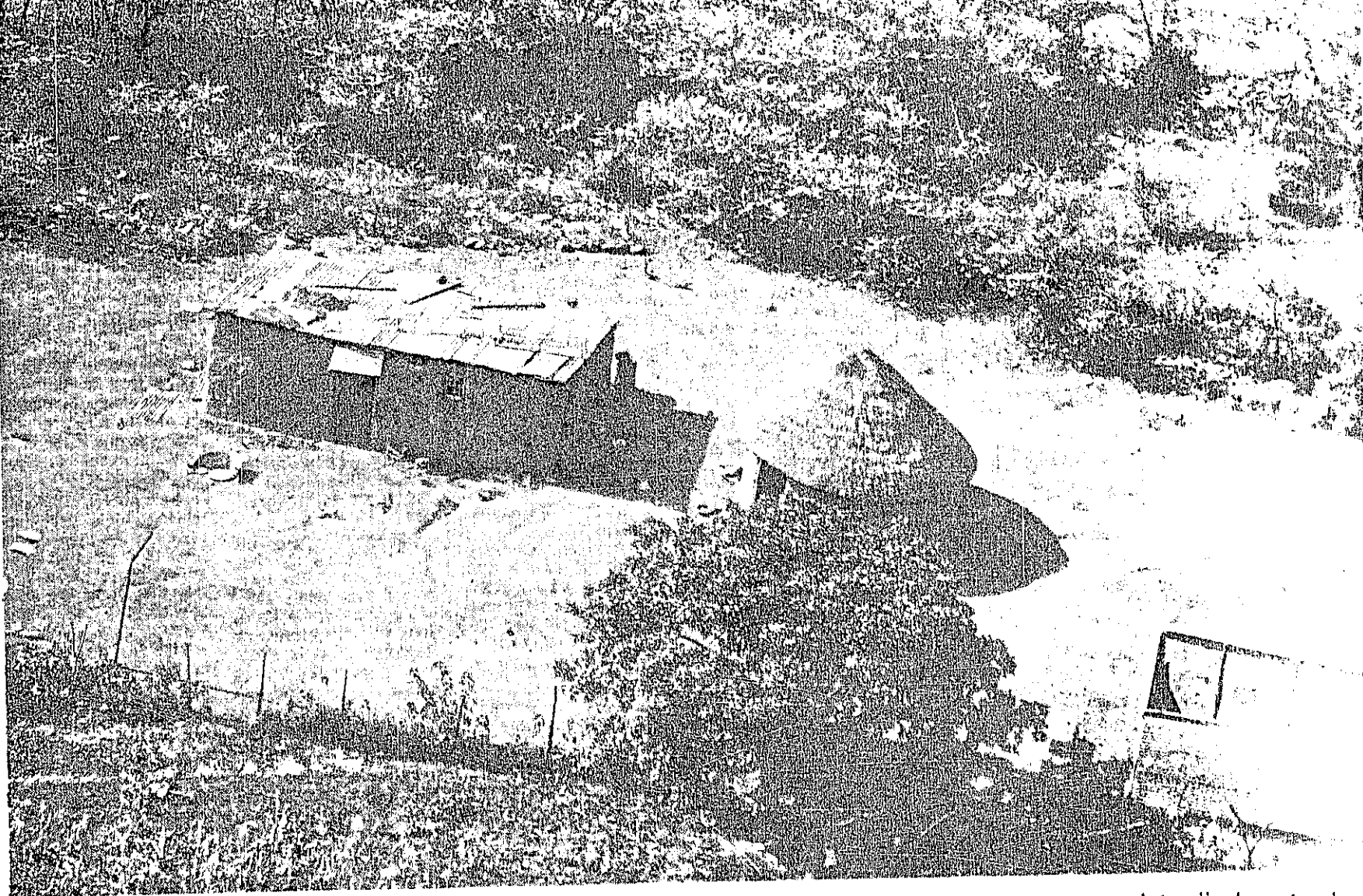
Surrounded

Col Daan Hugget, district detective officer for the area, last night praised the actions of Lt van Vuuren, whose bullet-riddled body was found afterwards.

Col Hugget said the operation had started about 4 a.m. when Maj Harold Halket of Eshowe with a detachment of police surrounded a kraal in the Nongoma area after receiving information about terrorists being in the district.

As they approached a shack in the middle of the kraal, they were fired at.

Police said they had taken possession of two



This aerial picture, taken soon after the dramatic operation, shows the hut in which two terrorists died yesterday after a fierce gun battle with police. Picture by ALAN COXON

AK-47 rifles and other arms and ammunition of Russian origin.

Yesterday, when the Mercury flew over the scene it was tranquil and the only evidence of the action a few hours earlier was the bullet-scarred

hut.

Brig S Theron, Divisional Commissioner for Northern Natal, visited the scene yesterday.

Lt van Vuuren leaves his wife, Jean Mary, and four children: Jan Hendrik, 14, Jacobus Christof-

fel, 12, Irene, 10 and Jane, two.

The three black men killed in the shooting have not yet been identified.

Police said investigations into the incident

were continuing.

It was not yet known from where the terrorists had infiltrated the country.

In a combined forces operation in the nearby area of Ingwavuma during Christmas last year,

two terrorists were killed and 10 other terrorists and sympathisers detained.

The operation also netted what was then described as the largest arms cache yet found in South Africa.

Friend inside!

LATE FINAL

MAIL

WITH Business Day

PRICE 27c + 3c tax
PRICES ELSEWHERE ON BACK PAGE

mother in US



th her baby when it was six days old.

Mall Correspondent

DURBAN. — A South African policeman and three unidentified black men — suspected African National Congress (ANC) terrorists — were killed in a shootout during a police raid on a house in the rugged Nongoma district of Zululand, 50 km from Vryheid, yesterday.

Acting on information that suspected terrorists were in the house, Lieutenant J H G Janse van Vuuren, of Vryheid, and an unspecified number of policemen swooped on the home in the early hours of the morning.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday the policemen were fired at as they approached the house.

They had retaliated and Lt van Vuuren, 37, was shot and killed in the ensuing exchange, the spokesman said.

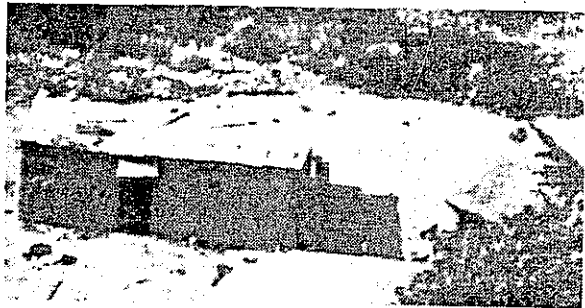
He leaves his wife, Jean Mary, two sons and two daughters.

Three unidentified black men were also fatally wounded in the incident, the police spokesman said.

Police had captured AK-

Policeman shot dead during raid

RDM 15/1/85
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The kraal where yesterday's shootout took place.

47 rifles, ammunition and empty cartridge cases after the gunfight, he said.

Investigations into the incident were still under way, the spokesman added,

and it was not yet known whether the men had infiltrated from Mozambique or Swaziland or whether they were resident in South Africa.

Misconception

SCA depllores disruption of Mundi meeting

THE Soweto Civic Association yesterday said it deplored the disruption of Senator Edward Kennedy's meeting by the Azanian People's Organisation and that this was a violation of the basic principles of democracy.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

The publicity secretary of the SCA, Mr Amos Masondo, said the disruption of Sunday's meeting at Regina Mundi Catholic Church took place "after Bishop (Desmond) Tutu had requested and obtained an overwhelming vote for the meeting to proceed. This small fringe group was still bent on imposing its will on the masses of the people of Soweto."

He added that the SCA thanked the people of Soweto for turning up in their thousands to Bishop Tutu's call, and for restraining themselves in the "face of such extreme provocation by a minority group." The SCA reaffirms its support for both Bishop Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak for their continued opposition to apartheid and their commitment to the struggle for liberation.

"The effort of Bishop Tutu and Dr Boesak," Mr Masondo said, "to expose, through the Kennedy visit, the plight of our people at Nancefield Hostel, Crossroads and Onverwacht deserves recognition. Although we do not be-

lieve that Senator Kennedy is going to liberate us, the Reagan-Kennedy contradiction on the policy of constructive engagement can be exploited to highlight the need for the complete isolation of the apartheid regime at international level."

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo president, said the organisation was within its democratic right to express its opposition to the Kennedy visit.

Azapo yesterday condemned the organisers of Senator Kennedy's tour of Soweto.

System

The organisation accused the organisers of repeatedly referring to the Azapo demonstrators as "the system" even though there was no police presence near the church premises.

Azapo said in a statement that the organisers were warned not to bring the senator to Soweto to address a mass meeting in what was to be the climax of the American politi-

cian's South African tour.

The black consciousness organisation made their socialist stand clear with pro-socialist and anti-Kennedy placards and also chanting "Kennedy go home."

The statement read: "Azapo has consistently spoken to the people organising the tour and requested them not to bring Kennedy to Soweto."

"But our request fell on deaf ears. We want to show our anger and disgust at the way the service was conducted. There was a deliberate reference to 'the system' when these people knew all along that it was Azapo which was demonstrating."

"It is so funny that people should claim that Azapo has fallen into the hands of 'the system' by not wanting Kennedy. They forget that before any other persons or organisations, it was Azapo that came out clearly saying we were opposed to the Kennedy tour."

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Four die in Zululand shootout

CAPE TOWN

15/11/85

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Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A South African policeman and three unidentified men — two suspected African National Congress guerillas and a civilian — were killed in a shootout yesterday during a pre-dawn police raid on a house in the rugged Nongoma district of Zululand, about 50km from Vryheid.

Police were confident last night that no further members of the guerilla group were in the area but said investigations into the incident were continuing.

The policeman killed was Lieutenant J Janse van Vuuren, 37, of Vryheid, who led the police attack on the shack where the gunmen were hiding out.

The three black men fatally wounded in the shooting have not yet been identified.

Kraal surrounded

Acting on information that suspected guerillas were in the house, Lieutenant Van Vuuren and an unspecified number

of policemen swooped on the home early in the morning.

Colonel Daan Hugget, district detective officer for the area, said last night that the operation started about 4am when a number of policeman surrounded a kraal in the Nongoma area after receiving information about guerillas being in the district.

As they approached a shack in the middle of the kraal, they were fired on.

The policemen retaliated and in the ensuing fire-fight Lieutenant van Vuuren was shot and killed.

Yesterday when Cape Times correspondents

flew over the scene, it was tranquil and the only evidence of the action a few hours earlier was the bullet-riddled shack.

Colonel Hugget praised the actions of Lieutenant Van Vuuren, whose body was found at the scene afterwards. He had been shot several times.

He leaves his wife, Jean Mary, and four children — Jan Hendrik, 14, Jacobus Christoffel, 12, Irene, 10, and Jane, 2.

Infiltration?

Brigadier S Theron, divisional commissioner of police in Northern Natal, also visited the scene yesterday.

Police took possession

of AK-47 rifles, ammunition and empty cartridge cases after the shootout.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said last night that investigations into the incident were continuing. It would not be known until they had been completed whether the men had infiltrated from Mozambique or Swaziland, or were resident in South Africa.

In a combined-forces operation in the nearby area of Ingwavuma at Christmas last year, two guerillas were killed and 10 other terrorists and sympathisers detained.

The operation also netted what was then described as the largest arms cache yet found in South Africa.

A restricted day in the life of Mrs Mandela

The visit last week of America's Senator Edward Kennedy provided a welcome break in routine for Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

The visit provided intellectual stimulation for a woman starved of contact with the outside world.

For her, the visit of Senator Kennedy and his party provided one short day of some normality. In terms of South African security legislation, Mrs Mandela is listed as a banned person and may not be quoted in South Africa without permission of the Minister of Law and Order.

She was previously restricted to the Magisterial District of Soweto but on May 16 1977 she was banished to Brandfort and is now

restricted to that Magisterial District. She may not leave Brandfort without Ministerial permission. Once a month with such permission she visits husband Nelson, who is serving life imprisonment in the Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town.

In terms of her banning order, which is renewed every five years, Mrs Mandela may not leave her home before 6am and must return to it by 7.30pm.

According to newspaper reports at the time she was moved to Brandfort, she was placed in an empty house in the local township.

The house was little more than a shell and she has done much over the years to improve the property.

After Senator Kennedy's visit, *The Star's* Political Reporter, Gary Van

Staden, spoke to Mrs Mandela about her years in Brandfort, her husband and her struggle to raise a family with Nelson in jail and severe restrictions on herself. *The Star* requested permission from Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange for the full text of the interview to be published. The request was denied. The report below is all of the original interview that *The Star* may publish in terms of the law

BRANDFORT — Senator Edward Kennedy came to Brandfort last week and in a whirl of red Free State dust was gone again.

Life for the residents of this tiny platteland dorp returned to normal . . . and for one resident returned to abnormal. For people to sit at home surrounded by friends

when they want to be, visiting others when houses threaten to become prisons is normal.

But for Winnie Mandela that is exactly what her home is: a prison.

She may not leave it or go from it at certain hours of the day, and may never sit and talk to more than a single visitor at one time.

X Report restricted

(Mrs Mandela told of her early days in Brandfort and some of the hardships).

Winnie Mandela is stunningly beautiful and she sits in a large armchair in the tiny lounge of the house she has done much to improve since that afternoon all those years ago.

It is warm and cosy, if a little dishevelled after the whirlwind Kennedy visit.

She stares into space, reliving those first moments in her new home, a home not of her choice.

X Report restricted

(She told of her move to the Free State town.) She offers a soft drink but because of her banning order must go and fetch it herself.

For anyone else to be in the room at the same time as we are is against the law.

She moves with ease and grace and speaks to her family with gentle authority.

It is on the subject of her family that she is most outspoken.

X Report restricted

(Mrs Mandela told *The Star* about bringing up her family.) She speaks with great fondness about husband Nelson, the man she married 23 years ago but has never lived with.

X Report restricted

(She spoke of her visits to Nelson and discussed his health, both mental and physical.) Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment at the end of the Rivonia Trial and is presently being held in the Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town after spending many years on Robben Island.

X Report restricted

(Mrs Mandela discussed her relationship with her husband.)

Sweeter 15/1/85

~~UA~~ UA

More unions join UDF for 'unity'

ABOUT 18 black trade unions have joined the United Democratic Front as a means of attaining unity of workers throughout the country.

The UDF's publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said that some of the unions joined at the formation of the organisation while others joined later.

He said that the UDF was seeking to co-ordinate a wide spectrum of organisations previously acting independently. These included workers, youths, churches, sporting and other organisations.

The unions that have joined include; the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu), General Workers' Union of South Africa (Gawusa), South African Scooter Drivers' Union (Sasdu), South African Domestic Workers' Union (Sadwu), Retail and Allied Workers' Union (Rawu).

The Motor Assemblies Components Workers' Union of South Af-

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

rica (Macwusa), Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) western Cape, Vukani Blackguard and Allied Workers' Union (Vbawu), South African Laundry, Dry Clean and Dying Workers' Union (Saldcwu) and others.

Most of the union's officials have confirmed that they joined the UDF as a means of attaining unity of workers throughout the country. "We want more unity and workers rights," says Mrs Margaret Nhlapo, organiser of Sadwa.

Sasdu's Thabo Molelele says they joined to fight for workers' rights. Gawu's spokesman confirmed that they have joined because they thought the UDF was a wider field through which "we can fight for workers with bosses."

Mwasa's western Cape official, Mr Salie Aneez, said that they were provisionally affiliated to the UDF pend-

ing the association's next annual congress.

Mwasa was forced to split on the issue of affiliation to the UDF when the southern Transvaal rejected affiliation last year. Both regions are holding negotiations and will decide on the matter in future.

Saawu's spokesman has confirmed that they were affiliated to the UDF while Rawu says they have a close working relationship with the organisation, but are not affiliated.

Both Vbawu and SALDCDWU officials are said to be on leave and were not available for comment.

Mr Lekota said that during 1985 these unions should strive to strengthen their membership and fight for workers' rights, which include a living wage, exploitation and oppression.

"They should work towards unity because trade unionism is the only weapon through which we can flex our muscles in this country. We must fight against intransigent bosses," he adds.

Azapo not star 15/11/85 11A kept on Jesse's trip

The Rev Jesse Jackson would be welcome to attend the installation of Bishop Desmond Tutu as the Bishop of Johannesburg, "but beyond that we would not be pleased", the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said today.

Azapo demonstrated against Mr Jackson's Democratic Party colleague, Senator Edward Kennedy, during the senator's visit here last week because Mr Kennedy was seen as a representative of American capitalism and imperialism.

Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said the organisation was "going to look into the entire nature of his visit".

Reuter reports that former Azapo president Mr Lybon Mabasa, has urged Mr Jackson to call off his visit next month.

"We urge Mr Jackson to take heed of our pleas not to visit South Africa now. The time is not right," he said in a telephone interview.

Minister's home stoned ^{Argus} police ^{16/1/85} fire shots at car

Argus Correspondent (11A)

DURBAN. — Shots were fired by police at a car in Clare Estate, Durban, early today after one of its occupants had hurled a stone at the home of an Indian Member of Parliament.

Police were guarding the home of Mr Kessie Ramduth, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, when a man in a white Cortina hurled a stone at the house, smashing a large window pane in the lounge.

Mr Ramduth was not at home as he had left for Cape Town earlier. His son, Vinesh, and daughter-in-law, Nadira, were in the house.

THREE SHOTS

Constable B Panday was on duty at the front of the house and immediately fired at the car. He fired three shots at the rear window of the car, but it is not known whether any of the occupants were hit.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chief Minister in the Ministers Council, said he sincerely hoped that those who were striving to achieve democracy would allow others their democratic right to use their own methods.

"This action is unfortunate and I hope that people refrain from any acts that endanger the lives and property of people who honestly and sincerely are trying to bring about peaceful change.

"The changes which Mr Ramduth has brought about in Indian education during his short period as Minister are something we are all proud of," Mr Rajbansi said.

Police are investigating.

Stoning and shooting as bus boycott goes on

UFA 16/1/85

Labour Reporter

A BUS boycott at Empangeni continued yesterday with further reports of vehicles being stoned and shooting in the black townships.

According to a South African Police spokesman, two women passengers in a privately-owned car were injured when rioters set fire to the car. On Monday two buses were set alight while parked at a terminus in the township. Nobody was hurt.

Two people were injured in a shooting incident in the Esikhawini township, but the SAP could not give further information as the area fell under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Police.

Withdrawn

The SAP said police were still patrolling townships but there were no further reports of violence.

Col S Mathe, of the KwaZulu Police in Ulundi, could not be reached for comment last night.

Commuters began boycotting the buses on Monday after an increase in fares.

Mr J Steenekamp, manager of Empangeni Transport, told the Mercury that his company buses had been temporarily withdrawn from the black

townships of Esikhawini and Nseleni 'as the position there seems unsettled'.

Many workers did not turn up as the boycott continued into its second day and SA Breweries cancelled beer deliveries when truck drivers failed to arrive at work.

Safety

A breweries spokesman in Empangeni said only a few workers reported for duty yesterday morning, but the company decided to send them home as they were concerned for their safety.

Customers called personally to fetch orders. 'We are hoping things will get back to normal so that we may resume our deliveries,' he said.

Mr Steenekamp said the company tried unsuccessfully to get community leaders from the black townships to come forward to discuss the grievances of the commuters.

He doubted the trouble had been caused by the bus fare increases which have been in effect for two weeks. There was a split between those who wanted to travel by bus and those who did not.

'We are trying to operate as normally as possible, but will not allow the buses to go right into the Esikhawini and Nseleni townships,' he added.

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16/1/85

RDM 16/1/85 (11A)

SACC speaks out over 'smear pamphlets' aimed at Boesak

By DAVID CAPEL

THE South African Council of Churches had no reason to disbelieve that information distributed to newspapers concerning allegations about its senior vice-president, Dr Allan Boesak, "and one of its staff members, Ms Di Scott", did in fact originate from police sources.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, said this in a statement yesterday.

The Rand Daily Mail also learnt that Bishop Tutu has convened a meeting of top SACC executive members

for Friday to discuss what steps, if any, should be taken regarding the Boesak issue.

Bishop Tutu said in his statement yesterday the SACC would "in due course, through its proper channels", determine the action it will take in regard to the allegations now being made concerning Dr Boesak and Ms Scott".

The statement said the SACC was "aware that these allegations have been systematically fed to major newspapers over recent months, and has noted that The Star newspaper alleges

that this has been done by a section of the South African Police.

"The SACC has no reason to disbelieve that the information distributed to the newspapers did in fact originate from police sources. If this is the case, it is appalled that the State should be involved in this kind of unsavoury smear," it said.

Dr Boesak is in France and could not be reached yesterday.

A spokesman for the office of the Minister of

Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the Minister would not comment on the statement and referred inquiries to the Commissioner of Police. A spokesman for his office said inquiries should be directed to the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria.

A spokesman for the directorate said: "We reiterate our denial of involvement. Whether we are going to take any steps against those who accuse us is a departmental decision on which we are not prepared to comment at this stage."

No PFP split on Kennedy

THE Leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday denied that there was a serious controversy in the party over the PFP's attitude to Senator Edward Kennedy's South African tour.

The PFP MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, was harshly critical of Senator Kennedy on SATV last week. Earlier this week the PFP MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal issued a statement welcoming aspects of the Kennedy visit:

Dr Slabbert said the PFP had no "official view" on the visit.

Members of the PFP could have differing personal views on the Kennedy tour and were free to express them.

ANC lauds Kennedy for visit

CAPC Times 16/1/85
1104
BTA

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The African National Congress has given its full backing to Senator Edward Kennedy's controversial eight-day tour of South Africa and has praised him for his forceful condemnation of apartheid.

But the British media have pronounced the Kennedy mission an ill-conceived and divisive exercise between supporters of the ANC and non-racial United Democratic Front, on the one hand, and black consciousness-orientated organizations such as Azapo which led the anti-Kennedy protests.

Apparent rifts

The unconditional ANC backing for the Kennedy visit comes in spite of apparent rifts within the UDF itself over the wisdom of identifying so closely with an American capitalist politician.

The ANC support for the Kennedy tour was made clear in a BBC radio interview with Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, who met Senator Kennedy in Lusaka at the weekend.

The left-of-centre Guardian newspaper said in an editorial yesterday that Mr Kennedy's tour had failed to yield the desired degree of publicity in the United

States and he had miscalculated the black South African response "by blithely assuming he would be welcomed with open black arms wherever he went".

Better job

Dealing with the impending visit of the Rev Jesse Jackson, a contender for last year's Democratic candidacy, the Guardian said: "It is

The Guardian said the only clear beneficiary of the Kennedy visit had been the government he had sought to condemn.

In an editorial headed "Insensitive senator", the Daily Telegraph said that Bishop Desmond Tutu, Senator Kennedy's host, had also misjudged the mood of blacks in South Africa.

"The bishop presumably wants to keep in with these radical blacks (Azapo).

'Own home'

"Had he known how things would turn out he would have surely not identified so closely with the senator, even to the point of putting him up in his own home."

During his meeting with Mr Tambo at the weekend, Senator Kennedy told the ANC leader that he deplored violence but could understand that when people were denied channels to effect peaceful change they often turned to violence.

Mr Tambo's remarks, which may not be quoted in South Africa, were a clear rebuff for the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) which led the small but effective demonstrations against Senator Kennedy whom they saw as a representative of American "capitalism and imperialism".

● More reaction on Kennedy visit, page 4

ANC men flee ^(11A) ~~(3/2)~~ from ^{Star} Swaziland

16 | The Star's Foreign
News Service

11/85
MBABANE — Nearly all the African National Congress guerillas who were told to surrender to Swaziland Police last month have fled to Mozambique, a police spokesman has said.

Police told 23 ANC members to surrender following a police crackdown on ANC activity late last year.

Commissioner Mr Majaji Simelane yesterday said that five of the ANC men had come forward and were now registered as refugees living in Swaziland.

He said they had applied for political asylum and their applications were being considered by the government.

● Swazi soldiers this week searched forests surrounding Mbabane for gunmen believed to be hiding there.

Police and army units have been engaged in a hunt for ANC members following the assassination of Swaziland's deputy security police chief

A man described by police as the ANC "hit man" responsible for the assassination was shot dead last month.

CHE Trust 16/1/85

Tutu speaks on Boesak affair

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches had no reason to disbelieve that allegations to newspapers about its senior vice-president, Dr Allan Boesak, "and one of its staff members, Ms Di Scott," originated from police sources, Bishop Desmond Tutu said in a statement yesterday.

Bishop Tutu, the general secretary of the SACC, will hold a meeting of top SACC executive members on Friday. He said in the statement that the SACC would "in due course, through its proper channels", determine what action it will take.

The statement said the SACC was "aware that these allegations have been systematically fed to major newspapers over recent months, and has noted that the Star newspaper alleges that this has been done by a section of the South African Police.

"The SACC has no reason to disbelieve that the information distributed to the newspapers did in fact originate from police sources. If this is the case, it is appalled that the State should be involved in this kind of unsavoury smear."

A spokesman for the office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, said the minister would not comment on the statement and referred inquiries to the Commissioner of Police. A spokesman for his office said inquiries should be directed to the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria.

A spokesman for the directorate said: "We reiterate our denial of involvement. Whether we are going to take any steps against those who accuse us is a departmental decision on which we are not prepared to comment at this stage".

● Leading article, page

Kennedy's visit lifts veil over black politics

CARL TINK
17/1/85

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ONE of the undisputed benefits of the controversial Kennedy visit is that it helped to lift, just a little, the veil of ignorance surrounding the differences and complexities within black opposition politics in South Africa.

In particular, it afforded groups on the left of the political spectrum — mainly affiliates of the National Forum — an opportunity to publicize their views to a white public dangerously unfamiliar with them.

The trip also brought to the surface some of the diversity of opinion that exists within the more moderate and loose-knit United Democratic Front which boasts more than 600 affiliates.

Most of the criticism of the Kennedy visit coming from organizations affiliated to the black consciousness National Forum challenged the sincerity or ability of an "avowed ally" of capitalism and imperialism to act as a champion of black workers in South Africa.

Belligerent and honeysweet voices

According to Azapo, the Kennedy visit — coming as it did at a time of growing opposition in the United States to the policies of the South African government — was intended "to fool the oppressed people of Azania (South Africa) into believing that our enemy is Reaganism and not American imperialism itself".

But as one Azapo spokesman puts it: "Both American parties support international capitalism, whether their voice is the belligerent voice of Reagan or the honeysweet one of Kennedy."

As such the real purpose of the visit is seen not as fundamental change in South Africa but as an attempt to rekindle black support for the West.

The objections to the visit by the Cape Action League (CAL), another National Forum affiliate that actively protested during the Cape Town leg of the tour, follow a similar logic.

CAL questions how Senator Kennedy, as a prominent member of the ruling class of "the



Anti-Kennedy demonstrators at D F Malan Airport when the senator arrived in Cape Town

most powerful imperialist force in history", could work counter to his own interests and further the cause of down-trodden people in South Africa.

Only two things matter, according to CAL, for people like Senator Kennedy with ruling-class interests to defend:

□ Furthering their own careers or satisfying their lust for power.

□ Ensuring that the capitalist system of profits and wages survives and expands on a world scale.

CAL argues that the senator's current interest in South Africa has been sparked by fears that the recent wave of unrest in black townships portends radical change in South Africa.

"Imperialists throughout the so-called Free World are becoming worried that the working class will make good their demand for a socialist South Africa where there will be no exploitation and oppression."

CAL statements emphasize that the organization does not want liberalized capitalism, mere civil rights or democracy American-style. "We want real change."

Another radical community-based organization that came out in strong opposition to the Kennedy visit, the Federation of Cape Civic Associations

(FCCA), emphasized in its statements that the senator's anti-apartheid stand was not sufficient to warrant support for his trip.

FCCA argues that Senator Kennedy is unambiguously a representative of foreign capitalism — or imperialism — which has more than R60 000 million invested in South Africa and owns or controls many of the mines, factories and banks in this country.

The white ruling-class government, together with local capitalists, are seen to manage and protect these investments in South Africa on behalf of imperialism.

The senator is characterized as a member of and spokesman for the foreign capitalists who allegedly siphon off R35 million in profits from South Africa each day thanks to the

low wages they pay their workers.

FCCA submits imperialist forces are concerned that the way the South African government is managing its affairs will ultimately endanger their huge profits.

"The imperialists are worried that if the South African government does not bring about reforms quickly, they will lose their investments, properties and super profits during times of unrest and uprisings."

Senator Kennedy, while masquerading as a friend of the people, is seen as attempting to strengthen and support liberal organizations and individuals, both black and white, who want the same "sham reforms" as the imperialists do.

According to FCCA: "Senator Kennedy is attempting to trick the oppressed into believing that the free-enterprise system of capitalism is beneficial to them."

Senator Kennedy's trip has also laid bare very real differences within the United Democratic Front — the body that was supposed to act as his informal host during his visit.

This is hardly surprising, given the vast number of diverse organizations affiliated to the government's largest legal extra-parliamentary opponent.

Divisions over the possible benefits or liabilities flowing from open support for the visit were particularly marked within the Western Cape branch of the UDF.

Questioning his sincerity

Some UDF groupings — led by the organization's most prominent patron, Dr Allan Boesak, feel it is tactically wise to support the influential senator since his anti-apartheid crusade in the United States could have several positive spin-offs for blacks in South Africa.

Other more radical elements, while not necessarily questioning the senator's sincerity, acknowledge the validity of some arguments raised by the UDF's black consciousness rivals.

Although many extra-parliamentary groups were strongly opposed to the Kennedy visit on one level, they welcomed the trip on another for the platform it afforded them to publicize their often ill-understood views.

It also gave black consciousness groups an opportunity to regain some of the initiative following successes by the rival UDF during the election and work stayaways last year.

Further, it provided these groups with a virtually untrammelled right to protest which the authorities would certainly not have allowed had they been directed against the South African government.

Section 17/1/85 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

Meeting for Vaal residents

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A MEETING of all Vaal Triangle residents to discuss the recent uprisings and the rent increases is to be held at the Zone Three golf course on Sunday at 10am.

An executive member of the Vaal Civic Association, Mr Mfanimpela Magagula, said the meeting had been convened to explain to the residents actions the association was planning to take against the Lekoa Town Council.

The council has refused to respond to the residents' demands, which include:

- Reductions of rents to R30;
- Resignation of all councillors;
- Release of all detainees; and
- An end to the class boycott which resumed when school re-opened last week.

Mr Magagula reiterated that all councillors, including Mr Sam Rabotapi of the Evaton Council, were invited to the meeting because "crucial issues will be discussed."

He indicated that the association has briefed lawyers on various aspects concerning the people's problems, especially the enforcement of rent reduction from workers' salaries.

"This has turned out to be a thorny issue, as most residents have complained that money for rent has been deducted from their pay packets. The act enforcing these people to pay rent is going to be challenged in a court of law soon," he added.

Residents have not been paying house rents and service charges since last September 3.

Fewer ANC attacks last year

11A

RM
17/1/85

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THERE was a decrease in attacks by African National Congress insurgents last year compared to 1983, according to the Pretoria-based Institute of Strategic Studies.

Figures compiled by the institute show that there were 42 ANC attacks last year, ranging from attacks on police stations, the killing of State witnesses in security trials, to the bombing of Government buildings.

The 42 attacks represent a marked decrease on the comparable figure of 55 for 1983. The 1984 total, however, was higher than that of 39 for 1982.

The attacks were concentrated in two key areas: the Port Natal area of Durban, Maritzburg and Pinetown, where ANC fighters struck 13 times, and the Witwatersrand, including Soweto, where there were 17 attacks.

A feature of last year's attacks was the way in which they tailed off during the last three months of 1984.

Until then the frequency of attacks was on a par with those initiated in 1983, in spite of the signing of the

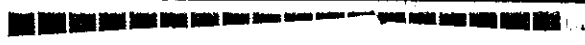
Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique in March last year and the subsequent crack-down on the ANC in Swaziland.

The Nkomati Accord is understood to have resulted in an exodus of ANC men into Swaziland and South Africa, and, consequently, in a continued spate of attacks in South Africa.

Once these men were either killed or captured, the ANC, deprived of its Mozambique base and facing escalating hostility from the Swazi police, found it increasingly difficult to infiltrate replacements across South Africa's borders, Professor Mike Hough, director of the institute, said yesterday.

But the discovery of a huge cache of arms, including landmines, in northern Natal last month, indicated that the ANC would not easily abandon its campaign of "armed struggle", Professor Hough added.

According to the institute's records, more than 100 ANC fighters were either killed or captured in battles with police last year, Mr Wim Booyse, a researcher at the institute, said.



Police investigation into Boesak 'smear campaign' unconfirmed

11A
Star
Crime Staff
17/11/85

Police were today unable to confirm a report that a top-level investigation was being conducted into allegations that the security police were involved in an operation to discredit the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak.

The report, which appeared today in a Johannesburg morning newspaper, said the investigation was "being conducted to ascertain the full facts behind allegations that the security police deliberately leaked infor-

mation to the Press smearing Dr Boesak".

It was reported that General Christie Zietsman, chief of the CID and a former security policeman, was heading the investigation himself.

General Zietsman refused to speak to *The Star* this morning and inquiries were referred to a police directorate spokesman.

The spokesman said he was unaware of any top-level investigation into the affair.

He said a decision whether to bring charges under the Police Act against any newspaper was an internal police decision.

FM 18/1/85

It's not every day that a syndicalist black power grouping gets a look in on SABC television news, or approbation from such pro-government quarters as *The Citizen*. Azapo succeeded in both by staging demonstrations full of ultra-Left rhetoric against Kennedy.

Indeed, Azapo managed to scotch what would have been the climax of Kennedy's crusade, his meeting at Soweto's Regina Mundi cathedral on the eve of the senator's departure for Zambia. But for the presence of Bishop Tutu, some feel, Azapo's spoiler could have led to violent clashes. Those who accepted the Kennedy safari as part of the anti-apartheid battle were riled by what they felt was Azapo's wholly-misdirected attack.

But Azapo certainly got its publicity, something it was a little bereft of ever since the rival United Democratic Front (UDF) came into its own during last year's successful anti-election campaign.

Kennedy, however, must have felt vindicated in Lusaka. After all, he was received by no less a person than Oliver Tambo, leader of black SA's premier liberation organisation, the banned ANC.

So what is Azapo all about, and why did it concentrate its attack on a liberal American senator of strong anti-apartheid conviction?

Azapo vice-president George Wauchope explains: "We regard the Kennedy visit as promoting imperialism and international capitalism. This was confirmed by his meeting with 600 businessmen in Johannesburg. He is using us as a stepping stone to the American presidential campaign for 1988. He has shown open support for Israel which is a natural ally of Pretoria."

Wauchope further charges that the US has been "known for destabilisation" in Africa; that the Democratic Party, of which Kennedy is a member, started the Vietnam war and destabilisation of Cuba and El Salvador. "But, most important, the Democrats have always used the veto in the UN against punitive measures against SA."

Workers' republic

Kennedy's main aim, avers the Azapo spokesman, "is to see that there is stability in SA; he is not interested in the complete overhauling of the system. He came here to fight against apartheid, thus reducing our struggle to a civil rights struggle. We are not an anti-apartheid movement. Apartheid is only a point of departure in our struggle for national self-determination and repossession of the land. We are fighting against racism and capitalism and for an anti-racist, socialist workers' republic of Azania."

To Azapo, "the workers" are by definition black. Like the notion of "racial capitalism" coined by its partners in the umbrella National Forum (rivals to the UDF), it is not strictly a socialist concept. But Azapo argues that in SA race and class follow the same cleavages. Further, in what it calls the "pre-revolutionary phase,"

whites are excluded from its ranks and "democratic" ones advised instead to "conscientise" their own community.

Is Azapo "more radical" than the ANC? Like its intellectual forbears in the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) Azapo certainly takes a more purist (racial) line on membership and on what it sees as the all important "land question." Azapo believes fundamentally that the land must *a priori* revert back to its rightful owners, the blacks. The ANC, too, espouses vaguely socialist sentiments (redistribution of wealth) based on the Freedom Charter, its blueprint which is not banned in SA. But, unlike Azapo, the ANC has white members in its ranks. Further, the ANC is made up of different strands, including hardline communists, old-fashioned nationalists and liberals.

But the bottom line, of course, is that the ANC believes in "armed struggle" whereas Azapo does not, or it too would be banned.

AZAPO



Militant mavericks

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) continues to distinguish itself as a maverick political organisation. It broke ranks, so to speak, with other anti-government groups and found itself at one with the SA establishment in decrying Senator Edward Kennedy's recent tour — though for radically different reasons, of course.

Now the heirs of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness (BC) movement have told US black civil rights leader, Jesse Jackson, who plans to come here, to stay at home.

According to Azapo, whose BC concern has been rather overshadowed by its socialism in recent years, "the black working class is the vanguard of the struggle, we don't expect an outside redeemer to give us illusions of freedom."



Anti-Kennedy demo . . . no outside redeemer

DET told to repair schools

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE DEPARTMENT of Education and Training was yesterday requested by organisations to repair all the schools damaged during rioting last year, to avoid a continuation of the unrest.

The organisations were reacting to this week's announcement by the DET that it would not repair the schools because of lack of funds.

A number of schools, mainly in the East Rand and the Vaal Triangle were extensively damaged when rioting youths set them alight and petrol bombed them last year.

Rioting

Mr Sam Ntuli, the general secretary of the East Rand People's Organisation said: "The Department is responsible for last year's class boycotts and the rioting that followed.

"The schools were damaged by youths who were boycotting against the inferior 'bantu education' provided by the Government. It is a duty of DET to repair the schools and I see no reason why it is now appealing to the community to help, whereas the department has been refusing to meet the parents," Mr Ntuli added.

He said as long as the Government neglected the demands of the pupils there would be no peace within the black community. "The sooner the schools are repaired the better, because as it is no classes can be conducted in burnt out classrooms," Mr Ntuli said.

Mr Paul "Sparks" Mokoana, the chairman of the Ratanda Civic Association condemned the Department's announcement that the community should repair the schools.

Boycott

He said: "I foresee another class boycott erupting this year. It is the responsibility of the Department to look after the welfare of the schools and as they are the cause of last year's rioting they should clean the mess. In no way are we going to repair the schools."

ROM 19/11/84 (11A) (21A)

'Lucky' SA can talk to Mandela, says Kaunda

London Bureau

LONDON. — The South African Government should not try to negotiate with Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress (ANC), says Zambian President Mr Kenneth Kaunda.

In an interview in the Cuban magazine "Prisma", Mr Kaunda urges President P W Botha to negotiate with imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his colleagues, rather than the "leader of the fighters".

"The South Africans have the luck to have Mandela in prison because that has given him a different stature to Tambo. They can take advantage of the presence of Mandela in South Africa, talk with him, and through him with the masses."

In another development, Mr Mzwai

Piliso, a member of the ANC national executive, said the movement was ready to have talks with the South African Government.

Addressing a meeting in London to mark the 73rd anniversary of the ANC, he said Professor A W van der Merwe, of the University of Cape Town, had contacted the ANC during a visit to Lusaka last year.

Prof Van der Merwe said he had spoken to Dr Brand Fourie, the SA Ambassador to Washington, who told him the Government would talk to the ANC if it was prepared to lay down its arms and distance itself from the (SA) Communist Party.

They then met and Dr Van der Merwe said he would be meeting with a National Party MP "who was interested in getting negotiations going".

ANC ^{RAM} suspends ^{19/11/85} Kitson ^(11A)

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — Mr David Kitson, released from prison in South Africa last May after serving nearly 20 years for sabotage and furthering the aims of communism, has been suspended from the African National Congress.

Mr Kitson's 20-year prison sentence arose from activities connected with the banned organisation. His suspension was confirmed yesterday by Mr Solly Smith, chief ANC representative here.

Mr Kitson, a former member of the high command of the ANC's military wing — Umkhonto We Sizwe — was suspended with his outspoken wife, Mrs Norma Kitson, following a row over his candidacy for the rebel City Group of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

Mrs Kitson and her son and daughter, Steven and Amandla Kitson, are leading members of the City Group — an activist pressure group within the AAM.

The group came into direct confrontation with AAM leadership last year over its picket campaign outside the South African Embassy here, which brought demonstrators into conflict with police.

The AAM avoids public confrontation with police in its campaign to win the widest public support for its cause.

Mr Kitson was one of the 13 unorthodox candidates who sought election to the 30-strong national committee.

When the ANC instructed Mr Kitson to stand down, he refused. The ANC was also concerned that Mr Kitson publicly claimed to still be a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Churches to decide on 'Boesak affair'

11A
Star
19/1/85

—by—
Harvey Thomas

The South African Council of Churches last night said it was up to its respective churches to decide whether World Alliance of Reformed Churches presi-

dent Dr Allan Boesak had been involved in an affair with Ms "Di" Melanie Scott, a leading SACC official.

It said it was up to the governing bodies of the N.G. Sending Kerk (of which Dr Boesak is a minister) and the

Congregational Church (to which Ms Scott belongs) to make recommendations about the alleged conduct of the pair.

"In the event of these actions requiring response from the SACC such response will be made at the appropriate time," SACC administration director

Mr Dan Vaughan said.

He said the "expanded presidium" of the SACC had met in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss media reports about Dr Boesak and Ms Scott. The meeting had affirmed the statements made in this regard by the Rev W Kistner, Dr Beyers Naude and Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Mr Vaughan said he knew the governing body of the N.G. Sending Kerk would be meeting next week but he was unaware of when the decision-makers of the Congregational Church would gather.

Revealed

On Friday last week *The Star* revealed that a "dirty tricks" department of the Security Police had uncovered an affair between Dr Boesak and Ms Scott.

An investigation instigated by *The Star* subsequently unearthed proof that Dr Boesak and Ms Scott had been involved in an affair since last July.

Mr Vaughan said the meeting was made aware of the fact that the churches concerned may take whatever actions they consider necessary.

Ga-Rankuwa people win 'back-pay'

10/11/85
C.P. Press

BOP'S Housing Department has to pay back thousands of rands to Ga-Rankuwa residents — because it "miscalculated" land prices more than a year ago.

Local Government and Housing assistant secretary M S Namane said there was R21 (R1) waiting for people who bought sites in Ga-Rankuwa's Zone Seven in 1983.

money when it took it," one resident told City Press

Others said they weren't aware they had been overcharged until they received their title deeds.

The amounts they paid differed from what was written on the deeds — but when some stopped paying rent in protest, the authorities threatened to bulldoze their shacks.

"It's been sent to the township manager residents just have to collect it," Mr Namane told City Press. Even though they are being paid back, residents are still angry at having been charged R1,87 a square metre instead of R0,00.

"The department knew what it was going to do with our

However, the dispute has now been settled.

By ANDREW LEFOKA

'I'm not that rich'

7/11/85
C.P. Press

THE UNITED Democratic Front Border region has been embarrassed and inconvenienced by the publication of a report about chairman Steve Tshwete last month.

ing party by a Ciskei magistrate.

It was stated in City Press that the house cost R250 000.

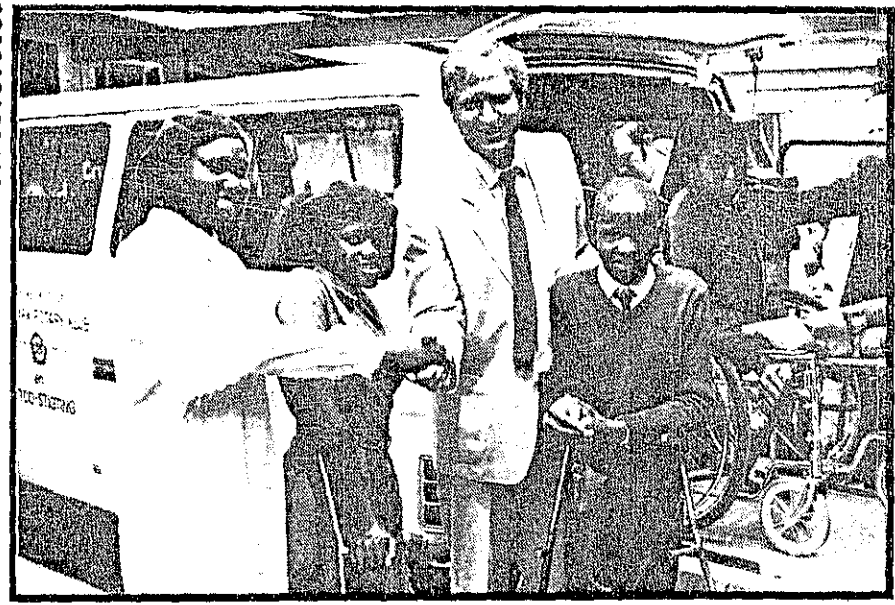
UDF general secretary Popo Molefe this week said that incorrect — saying it was impossible for Mr Tshwete to have built a house cost-

ing that much after working for less than a year since he matriculated in 1961.

"In 1964 he was convicted for ANC activities and spent 15 years on Robben Island. And between 1980 and 1983 he was detained."



Steve Tshwete: Embarrassed by report.



Bus for disabled

THE FAIRY godmother came to Soweto's paraplegic pupils of the J C Merkin School this week — Greenpark Rotary Club and PUTCO Foundation presented them with a new school bus and two computers.

More good news is that SA Breweries will present an R18 000 minibus and a R1 000 cheque to the Emalahleni Society for the Aged and Crippled in Witbank tomorrow.

Left: Putco's Pat Rogers shakes hands with teacher Miss Hlongwane.

(11A) (304A) C. P. res 20/1/85

WHY SA is talking about TALK

HOWARD BARRELL in Lusaka

VOICES north of the Zambezi see a relatively simple explanation for the many rumours about — and calls for — talks between the SA Government and the African National Congress.

It boils down to this: If 1984 showed anything, it was that President P W Botha's Government is fast running out of options.

So it is no wonder that elements within the Afrikaner intelligentsia and big business should either call for talks (like food tycoon Tony Bloom) or try to create channels for talks (as Prof Harvey van der Merwe and journalist Piet Muller have done).

The voices in Zambia point out that:

- The Nkomati Agreement has not significantly blunted the ANC's activities — but has, if anything, enhanced its political profile as a threat to apartheid.
- The new constitution did not divide blacks but stimulated the formal re-building of a united black resistance — probably more powerful than ever before.
- By the end of the year, outposts of apartheid administration — like black local authorities within an hour's drive east of Johannesburg — had completely collapsed and the Government had to use troops to win a battle it had lost hopelessly at a political level.
- Using troops on the East Rand and in the Vaal brought about exactly what Government security services had been trying to avoid for years — united action between political

and organised labour groups.

● All this took place in the midst of the worst economic crisis in South Africa since the 1930s — with a shrinking market for goods, three million unemployed and still more being laid off, white farmers in debt to the tune of a staggering R6,4-billion, the rand only small change against the US dollar — and, God forbid, the world's largest bank, Citicorp of New York, said South Africa had only just "entered" its recession.

No wonder Tony Bloom and his business colleagues said they felt "the wheels have begun to fall off".

No wonder also that there should be the first moves towards a completely different set of options — talks with the ANC.

Tony Bloom — a butter-not-guns man usually a few years ahead of his colleagues on po-

litical issues — seems to be saying: For capitalism to survive, let's sacrifice most of the white faces in Government if we have to.

For Muller and Van der Merwe the realisation has dawned that, whereas apartheid is supposed to be a recipe for Afrikaner survival, it is rapidly becoming Afrikanerdom's suicide note.

And powerful liberal and social democratic tendencies in the West would like to see in South Africa something like the Lancaster House agreement which brought Zimbabwe to independence.

Lancaster ensured that the Mugabe government, whatever its socialist rhetoric, would have to rely on a capitalist economy for a number of decades. The balance of forces did not allow him to do otherwise.

The last thing any of these forces want is a revolution in South Africa — which would

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C. Press 20/1/85

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organised labour groups.

All this took place in the midst of the worst economic crisis in South Africa since the 1930s — with a shrinking market for goods, three million unemployed and still more being laid off, white farmers in debt the tune of a staggering \$5,4-billion, the rand only half change against the US dollar — and, God forbid, the world's largest bank, Citicorp New York, said South Africa had only just "entered" its recession.

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The last thing any of these forces want is a revolution in South Africa — which would

overturn not just the state structure but the entire economic structure as well. And that is, realistically, a possibility in the next decade or two.

So these fears have given birth to hopes — hopes which have sometimes over-extended themselves to fantasy.

The white hoppers are hoping they can keep the momentum about "talks" going and that the whole thing will snowball.

But these white hoppers dread, almost as much as anyone else, the moment when the military and security men and assorted hawks decide enough is enough — and then mount another raid on the exiles or another township, declaring that the vision of our future can be seen only down the barrel of a gun.

Nevertheless, a very important stage has been reached: advanced elements among the rulers are finding it difficult to rule in the old way.

It now appears certain there have been no talks between the Government and the ANC.

But certainly a channel has been opened through which the postures of each side can be told to the other. And, conveniently for the Government and the ANC, both sides can quite correctly deny any involvement in talks.

"We have a department of information and publicity — and any individual can talk to them, and they can talk to anybody," said one ANC source.

"That is their job. But that should not be confused with talks."


Pres P W Botha has also strongly denied that any Government representative has held any talks with the ANC.

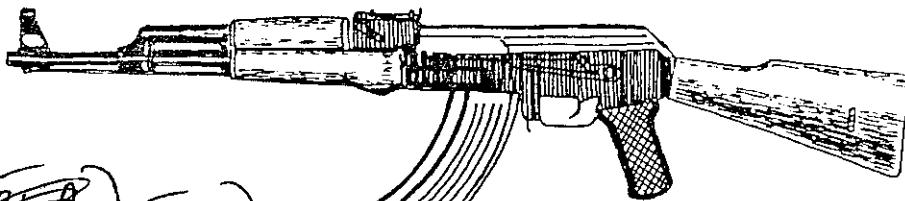
So all South Africans will have to distinguish between their hopes for a peaceful future and their fantasies.

SCHOOL

City Press

Political comment in the...
Smith, headlines and sub-editing by D Niddrie, all of 62...





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C. Press

20/1/25

lived, the sources added.

"Preparations are being made, and it will not be long before they come to fruition," a senior source told City Press during discussions on the ANC consultative conference to be held this year.

His disclosures were backed up by ANC president Oliver Tambo in an interview with me last week.

The sources said the conference would closely examine ANC military strategy over the past eight years, and major changes in method were likely.

This would probably include an end to hesitancy about hitting white civilians.

Sources also rejected a suggestion in some Press circles that the ANC might abandon armed struggle following its Nkomati setback.

The conference — the first major meeting of delegates from all sections of the ANC since the Morogoro consultative conference in 1969 — will also focus on the need to extend the ANC's underground machinery inside South African, he said.

Overall ANC political strategy — as drawn up at Morogoro in the document Strategy and Tactics of the ANC — is unlikely to change fundamentally.

But there are signs that some delegates will push for a much closer examination of the relationship between the working class and the black nationalist components of "the struggle".

About 200 delegates are expected to attend the conference, the date and venue of which are being kept a closely-guarded secret.

The source said scores of reports, discussion pap-

ers and recommendations for the conference had already been received from ANC units inside South Africa. These were being combined with reports from exile sections of the movement in preparing the agenda.

An important feature of the conference is expected to be the progress through the ranks of the ANC of a number of the young men and women who joined the movement in the upheavals of 1976 and later.

New elections for the national executive committee — the ANC's top administrative body — will also be held at the conference.

One result of the conference could also be the opening up of the committee to all races. Until now, membership has been restricted to African people. A few non-African members have served on other top bodies for some years.

If the conference does decide to open NEC ranks, it will be "a reflection of the ANC's attempt to bring together like-minded people of all races in united action as the nucleus of a future South Africa", according to the source.

"We will be testing the views of the membership on this point," the source added.

"There is a widespread belief that the ANC cannot mark time on a matter like this. People of other races have also been making great sacrifices."

A set of new operational and other structures could also arise out of the conference, according to sources.

Furrowed brows are waiting for Kennedy's return to US

CAT Tint's 21/1/85 (114)

LONDON. — When Senator Edward Kennedy reports back to his American backers and advisers about his Southern African tour he will probably cause more furrowed brows than understanding faces.

The impression even the skimpy reports of the senator's garbled progress can have left with readers and viewers and gossips both in Africa and America must have been more of sound and fury mingled with contradictions from black and white leaders.

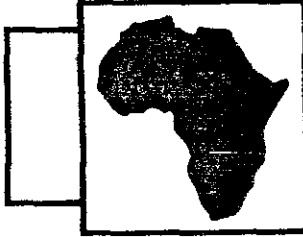
The consensus in official quarters as well as the market-places on the continent must have been of a wild scramble of black cross-purposes.

One of the strangest results to have emerged from the affair must have been that the senator was apparently followed around South Africa by a group of the followers of the late Steve Biko and his heirs all yelling that the last of the Kennedys was only there to win the next American presidential election.

Effective?

Biko's followers once had the reputation of being among the most sophisticated of South Africa's black politicians—but if they believed this they must have become too consciously clever for their movement's good.

In any case, in spite of the length of time American elections run, who can believe that a tour carried out four years and 12 000 km away will be effective in 1989? Or that the Americans will



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS

choose between Republicans and Democrats on the basis of what happens in South Africa at the end of the present decade, or that the voters in New England or the South will remember or care by then what the boys of Azapo said about Mr Kennedy in Cape Town or Johannesburg at the start of 1985?

All the events of this time may have impressed the world with is an abiding, though vague, memory of the confusion on the spot.

Probably a suspicion of the political ham-handedness and ineptness of both blacks and whites in South Africa will persist.

Followers of both President Ronald Reagan and latterday Democrats will pass on the muttered accepted wisdom among themselves that apartheid madness has created a situation in which no common sense of any kind is likely to survive and that there is very little that the saner part of humanity can do about it.

Perhaps this was one of the results that the government intended to achieve. Such an outcome is, however, hardly a sensible one for a reasonable government to plan to bring about.

There does seem some

sense in allowing Mr Kennedy a fairly free run about the country to see its most deeply aggrieved citizens for himself.

Similarly, it does appear strange to allow him to see and speak with some of the country's most reputable black people without apparently being willing to do something about their main grievances.

Any country would be proud to have inhabitants like Bishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and major trade unionists; but it must be hard to understand why its government is unwilling to listen to them.

Sanctions

What the rest of Africa must have been anxious to hear is whether Mr Kennedy formed any impression on the Third World demand that South Africa should be put under worldwide sanctions.

Africans must understand that for the long-advocated sanctions to have any effect America must join the world application of them. Mr Kennedy must surely have realized that the Reagan administration's constructive engagement policy is objection-

able to Third World countries because it helps South Africa to dodge an imposition of full sanctions.

South Africa's hope in allowing Mr Kennedy to get around as freely as he did must have been that he would be persuaded or confused into saying that sanctions would not be effective or even welcome among the black people of the country.

Hence Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement argue against it, and the trade unions, were circumspect in inviting world action which might put their members out of work.

The argument about sanctions between two such Christian leaders as Bishop Tutu and Mr Alan Paton must have raised doubts in Mr Kennedy's mind.

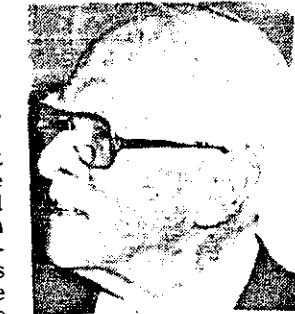
However, the fear that the senator might, in the long run, be persuaded to advocate an American policy too near to sanctions for South Africa's liking must have become too strong and caused the rapid cooling of the official tolerance of the Kennedy presence so that towards the end of the tour there seemed to be an almost chaotic mixture of advice coming in from both black and white about how the people of the country would react



Bishop Tutu



Chief Buthelezi



Mr Alan Paton

to a stiffening of the American attitude to sanctions.

Or has the government's attempt to show up the ineffectiveness of world liberalism become too risky?

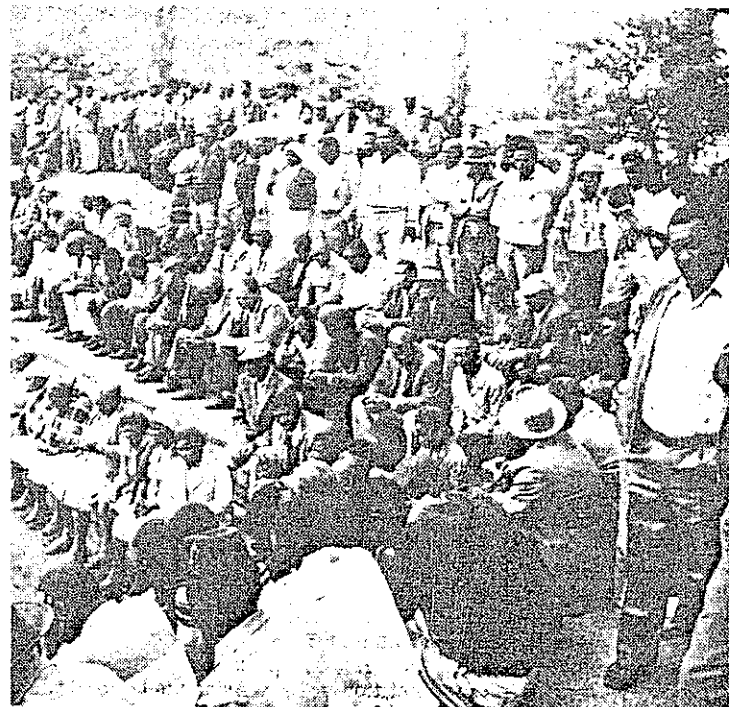


Katilehong Mayor Mr A P Khumalo announces suspension of proposed rent rises to 6 000 people at Huntersfield Stadium yesterday. Before he could finish, stones were hurled.

● Pictures by Juda Ngwenya.



Councillors flee as stones are hurled.



Part of the crowd. Police dispersed them.

Five injured as black groups clash

Five people were seriously injured in Tembisa yesterday when members of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) clashed with members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) outside the Mathole Cinema in Difateng Section.

Three of the injured went to Tembisa Hospital; the others could not be traced.

Trouble started when 200 Azapo members about to hold a general meeting of their Tembisa branch, were confronted by 50 placard-carrying Cosas members.

An Azapo member said:

"We were standing outside the cinema waiting for members from Pretoria to join us.

"Their bus arrived and as they were alighting, some Congress of South African Students members who had been standing outside protested, producing placards saying 'Azapo go home' and 'Kennedy we like you'.

"We tried to ignore these people, but as we moved into the cinema they started attacking us with knives, pangas and an assortment of other dangerous weapons including two guns.

"Our chairman, however,

opened the meeting.

"He was hardly two minutes into his opening remarks when one of our members came rushing in with blood oozing from his face and back.

"Even at that stage the chairman called for calm and restraint.

"In his bid to achieve peace he said: 'Let me try and talk to these people because we refuse to raise our hands against our fellow oppressed black brothers and sisters.'

"But pandemonium broke out.

"Stones were hurled at the

doors."

Some Azapo members stayed in the cinema; others ran into neighbouring houses with knife-wielders chasing them.

One Tembisa resident said the chasers broke windows in houses where they suspected Azapo members had sought shelter.

Mr George Wauchope, Azapo's vice-president for educational affairs, said this was not the first time members of his organisation had been attacked by the Congress of South African Students and other United Democratic Front affiliate.

~~278~~ 11A ~~278~~ slow 21/1/85

Civilians not target, says ANC

11A
The Star's Foreign News Service
2/11/85
Should the African National Congress increase its guerilla activities in South Africa, they will not be aimed specifically at civilians, says a statement from ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

The statement was in response to a recent Johannesburg newspaper report that the ANC was reconsidering its policy of not attacking "soft targets" such as white civilians.

The report, from Lusaka, quoting senior ANC sources, said the movement was preparing for a new guerilla offensive — and that part of that prepara-

tion was to reassess its hesitancy to hit soft targets.

Asked about the *City Press* report, ANC headquarters in Lusaka said: "Whatever military escalation takes place it is not specifically directed at any civilians. Our offensive will be against all targets including the army and police forces.

"Our sabotage campaign will also be intensified."

A spokesman at the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said: "It is an established fact that the ANC are not concerned about possible loss of human life irrespective of the fact that innocent civilians may suffer most.

"Dastardly deeds of terrorism perpetrated by ANC terrorists in the past have proved conclusively that this is the case.

"The propagandistic statement concerning an intensified sabotage campaign should be evaluated against the logistical problems that the ANC are experiencing and their desperate attempts to regain imagined lost prestige," the spokesman said.

X Report restricted

● This report and the report below have had to be restricted to comply with the Internal Security Act.

Security pacts slowed insurgency — ANC

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The ANC has admitted that insurgency actions against South Africa slowed in the past few months because of the country's security pacts with Mozambique and Swaziland.

The admission was made in Lusaka to *The New York Times's* Johannesburg-based correspondent, Alan Cowell.

The ANC said the slowdown was not permanent. Difficulties the ANC was facing in Swaziland were also discussed.

The ANC believes the US policy of constructive engagement towards South Africa had caused widespread dissatisfaction in black Africa, and said President Reagan was regarded as an ally of apartheid because he had accepted the SA Government view of the ANC as a Communist front.

Meeting disrupted

A MEETING called by Azapo to form a branch of Azasm was yesterday disrupted by alleged members of the United Democratic Front and several people were injured, a member of Azasm said last night.

The Azapo spokesman said a bus-load of members had arrived and the meeting had just been opened by the chairman when a group

chanting stormed the hall.

In the confusion some members were attacked and a member of Azapo was seen bleeding from the face and back. He had been stabbed, the spokesman said. There was pandemonium as members fled into the township. The meeting was held at Mathope Hall.

The UDF could not be contacted for comment late last night.

Sweeten 2/1/85 11A

Inkatha ^{Memo} 22/1/85 (UA) accuses ANC of plotting assassination

**African Affairs
Correspondent**

THE central committee of Inkatha has warned the African National Congress to stop massing armed insurgents and caches of arms 'within the precincts' of the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, with an intention to assassinate him.

In a resolution adopted at Ulundi at the weekend, the committee referred to the recent discovery of a large cache of arms in the Ingwavuma area and to the harbouring of insurgents in the Nongoma district.

The committee said

failure on the part of the ANC to heed this call could be interpreted not only as a declaration of war on Inkatha but also on the 'innocent and oppressed' black people of the country.

The body, the highest policy-making body of Inkatha, also called on the South African Government to resolve the Ingwavuma land deal once and for all.

Signalling

It urged the State President, Mr PW Botha, as well as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to take 'prompt and decisive' steps to restrain the Swaziland authorities from pursuing their 'provocative course' against the KwaZulu Government.

The central committee called upon the Government to issue a statement of intent signalling its desire to end apartheid and move towards a 'free and egalitarian society'.

Such a declaration, it said, would fill many hearts with hope that, at least, the principle of racial equality had been accepted even if no details were given as to how this would come about.

UDF denial of 'war' with Azapo

22/1/85 Stan
11A

The United Democratic Front has denied that it is "at war" with the Azanian People's Organisation and has described clashes between Tembisa members of the Congress of South African Students and Azapo as "a disaster".

UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "News of the clash has come as a complete surprise and a shock to UDF and Cosas leadership. We are deeply saddened by it."

At least three people were treated at Tembisa Hospital after the clash which took place when Cosas members demonstrated against an Azapo meeting on Sunday.

Mr Lekota said an appeal for calm had already been conveyed to the East Rand area. But he said that, while reports of violence had laid responsibility at the door of Cosas members only, "we are informed that Azapo had bused into Tembisa armed contingents of members".

Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Imraam Moosa dismissed the UDF's counter-allegations as "unsubstantiated rhetoric".

Monday 22/1/85 (S.A.) The

Reports of luxury living 'rubbish' (S.A.) says Rajbansi

CAPE TOWN—The Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, yesterday rejected as rubbish reports that Indian ministers were living in the lap of luxury in their new State-built houses in Cape Town's Pelikan Park.

'Our houses are no better than those occupied by white ministers and I feel it is unfair that we are singled out for speculation and criticism.

Furthermore, I expect

our houses will finally cost about R250 000, and not R500 000 as mentioned in reports.

'As ministerial houses are also guest houses, naturally they must have more facilities — and there is nothing unusual about that,' he said, adding that the houses built for the Indian ministers were modest and did not have air-conditioning.

Also reacting angrily to reports that he and his ministers had been provided with luxury Mercedes cars through State-assisted loans, he said that many MPs, including some from the Opposition Solidarity, had also bought new cars through such Government loans. — (Sapa)

CMB Times 22/1/85 (11A) * C

'Palatial' homes: Rajbansi replies

Political Correspondent

THE leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has hit back at complaints by Solidarity that members of the Indian Minister's Council were being housed in "palatial" homes in Pelican Park worth R500 000.

The Solidarity MP for Isipingo, Mr Nizam Khan, criticized the ministers' luxurious, fully furnished, 13-roomed homes situated in what some MPs have dubbed "millionaires row".

Mr Rajbansi said Mr Khan, who is also a property developer, had been "completely off the mark" in his valuation of the new homes.

"I am certain they would not exceed half of his valuation and obviously one would expect Indian ministers to be given homes that were not inferior to those of other ministers," he said.

He said Mr Khan had failed to point out Solidarity had made "official representations" to have a minister's home allocated to the Solidarity leader, Dr J N Reddy.

Mr Rajbansi said Solidarity members could have enjoyed the privilege of ministerial homes had that party had the majority of MPs in the House of Delegates.

Responding to the criticism that ministers had luxury chauffeur-driven German cars parked outside their homes, he said that a number of Solidarity MPs had used their transport allowances to buy similar vehicles.

Mr Rajbansi said the Minister of Communication and Public Works, Dr L A P A Munnik, had indicated that accurate figures on the cost of housing for new ministers and MPs would be released soon.

● Last week, National People's Party MPs rejected the Pelican Park houses that had been set aside for them, arguing that it would be morally wrong to accept houses which had been set aside for displaced city residents.

However, they later decided to accept their new homes "under protest".

Residents won't budge

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE



PUBLIC: The Rev RW Radebe addressing an open-air public meeting in Zone 3 Sebokeng on Sunday.

HUNDREDS of Vaal residents vowed they would not budge from their determination to have their rent reduced to R30 at a meeting held in Sebokeng at the weekend.

Members of the Lekoa Council, who had been invited failed to turn up, and police, in hippos, landrovers and private cars kept close watch.

The open-air meeting was held at the Zone Three golf course in Se-

bokeng and was without incident.

Residents expressed disappointment that councillors did not turn up as they had hoped to discuss matters that led to the unrest in the area since last September.

Speaker after speaker lashed out at councillors, who are still holding office and those who had resigned.

They said it was extremely serious that

these officials did not attend public meetings where consensus between themselves and residents who elected them could be reached.

Various speakers said residents should not back down on their demands that rent should be reduced to R30. They said since the beginning of the upheavals they had made their stand clear and they were waiting for a suitable

reply from the Lekoa Council.

They had thought that this would be a crucial meeting where these matters could be raised and thrashed out with the councillors.

Their demands are: that rents be reduced to R30; that councillors should resign; and people detained during the unrests be released.

Among matters that came under criticism were people who disrupted classes in the area, people who pay

their rents secretly when others are not doing so, councillors who go abroad to make loans which create heavy interest rates that eventually have to be paid by residents; and youths who stone buses thus inconveniencing commuters.

One speaker said: "It is going to be very interesting to see what will happen to the people paying rent now after we have won our battle. They will be the losers in the end."

Mashao

ceed without the presence of the two. The magistrate postponed the case to March 4. The three were not asked to plead. Two of the accused were warned and a third's bail of R50 was extended.

ELLIS
THE HOUSE OF FINE FURNITURE

BLOEMFONTEIN: 10 Fichardt Street. **JOHANNESBURG:** 183 Jeppe Street, 284 Bree Street, 214 Bree Street, 61 Harrison Street. **PIETERSBURG:** 81B Landros Mare Street, 100 Kerk Street. **PRETORIA:** 294 Paul Kruger Street, 64 Prinsloo Street. **RUSTENBURG:** Cnr. Plein & Leyd Streets. **VEREENIGING:** 3 Beaconsfield Avenue.

Detailed UCT study of 'new deal' poll bo

By BARRY STREEK

FEWER than 18 out of every 100 potential coloured voters, and 16 of every 100 potential Indian voters, went to the polls in last year's elections, a University of Cape Town study has concluded.

The average participation in the elections was only 17,3 percent, Mr Ebrahim Patel of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (Saldru) at UCT said.

Mr Patel's research is the first definitive study on the controversial elections for the new tricameral Parliament which is to be

opened on Friday by President P W Botha.

The study, to be published this week, said the poll was "equal to 2,6 percent of all blacks (coloured, Indian and African) aged over 18".

More than two million black people were eligible to vote in August last year, but 356 467 had actually voted.

This represented 27,6 percent of registered voters and 17,3 percent of potential voters, Mr Patel said.

Natal, with 16 percent of potential voters, had the lowest poll, followed by the Cape (16,8 percent), the Free State (18,8 percent) and

Transvaal (22,7 percent).

"The region with the lowest poll was the Peninsula. It registered approximately 25 750 votes out of a potential voter total of 515 000.

"This meant about five percent of potential voters actually voted," he said.

However, the Peninsula contained 32,6 percent of potential voters and had the greatest concentration of coloureds in South Africa.

The proportion of potential coloured voters dropped from the 1969 elections for the defunct Coloured Representative Council,

when 76 out of every potential 100 voters registered, to last year's elections, when 59 out of every 100 were registered.

"In general, the intensity of participation among registered voters in the tricameral elections was far below that of the CRC general elections.

"One can deduce that the enthusiasm of both rural and urban voters had decreased in the period."

In 1969, a total of 300 918 people voted, but 15 years later only 272 854 people voted, in spite of the growth in the population and the lowering of the voting age

from 21 to 18.

However, more Indian people voted in the 1984 elections than in the 1981 elections of the South African Indian Council.

Mr Patel rejected as "absurd" the argument that the low poll could be expected because the coloureds were "a developing community".

In that period, the State apparatus had grown and access to radio, television, newspapers and education had increased.

"The advent of television has put a powerful medium for reaching people and influencing opinions in the hands of the State.

"In addition, commentary in newspapers coloured the SABC campaign."

Mr Patel said the lack of participation toward the exclusion of the constituent electoral factor boycott.

"The anti-organizers were able to reach around whittled."

Superb view of the False Bay coast
Good food and personal service
PH 88 9828
6 Dalebrook Road
Dalebrook (in between Kalk Bay and St James)

TURN TO THE AUCTION PAGES IN TIMES CLASSIFIED

Environment Reporter
IMPLICATIONS that Americans employed at Koeberg nuclear power station were putting their skills to weapon-related use was "absolute nonsense", a spokesman for Eskom said last night.

The spokesman was commenting on a Washington report carried by the Cape Times yesterday which said the Reagan Administration was investigating whether American nuclear power plant operators were illegally helping to run Koeberg.

According to the report US citizens wishing to work for South Africa's nuclear industry have — since February 3, 1983 — been required on penalty of up to 10 years imprisonment and a \$10 000 fine to seek special authorization from the Secretary of Energy to ensure that their skill would not be put to weapon-related use.

with Apple Mac in hot pursuit.

The race positions published today are in the form in which they were received.

Being the scratch boat of the race, Apple Mac badly needs to be well ahead of the rest of the fleet — so there can be no doubt that skipper "Padda" Kuttel is driving his new R1,5 million boat as hard as it will go.

Apple Mac had had the better day's run — 220 nautical miles at an aver-

ner is also a creditable third on handicap.

At the tail-end of the fleet now are Vaal Dam sailor Dave Barford, in the smallest boat in the race, HSC Honey, and Talgal, the boat with the all-girl crew. Both yachts have sailed only about 1 000 sea-miles from Cape Town since the start of the race 10 days ago.

One of yesterday's highlights was a mid-ocean rendezvous with Pelican, reports JOHN

his position and said he was getting every little bit out of the yacht to try to out-distance his near-rivals Three Spears, Touch Wood, Wings and the Natal entry Elangeni.

Trish Reiss on Talgal reported having had steering trouble but said it had been fixed.

Susan, Medlease, Sancho Pansa and Scorpion failed to report yesterday but there is no concern as most had indicated either battery or transceiver problems.

Spirit of Freedom	B19A	25
Susan	=C01B	26
Te Kalbos	B17B	27
Paloma	B20B	28
Spirit of Fauna	B20B	29
Skorpion II	=B17D	30
H S C Honey	C01F	31
Talgal	B17G	32
Medlease	=C01N	33
COMVESSEL	D150	

+ Latest run suspect
● The latest position reports will be in Cape Times. Map references are given with copies of the official 1985 South African Yacht Race brochure, obtainable at any branch of the Yacht Club of South Africa.

FRENCH AT ALLIANCE FRANCAISE

The next best thing to actually going to France!

- ★ Classes at all levels starting 28th January
- ★ Most competent French teachers
- ★ Progressive and effective teaching methods

and also:
★ Cultural and social activities (films, exhibitions, theatre plays, tennis, lectures, videos, etc)

Mother, girl attacked at home

Crime Reporter
MALMESBURY police are hunting two men who broke into the home of a 34-year-old woman and her 12-year-old daughter early yesterday.

The beating took place after Mr Hawker allegedly led an attack on the rival gang leader's home.

"About 2.15am, Mr Hawker's gang attacked

'Whites only' sign removed

Municipal Reporter
THE "whites only" sign which mysteriously appeared at the entrance to

School unit E Cape cor

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — School attendance increased yesterday in the strife-torn Vaal Triangle townships — affected by

11A 304A SAKSRA -

imes, Tuesday, January 22, 1985

Detailed UCT study of 'new deal' poll boycott

RRY STREEK
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 tion had increased.
 "The advent of television has
 put a powerful medium for reach-
 ing people and influencing opin-
 ions in the hands of the State.

"In addition, in the words of one
 commentator, 'virtually every
 newspaper called upon the
 coloured electorate to vote, while
 the SABC waged a ceaseless cam-
 paign'.
 Mr Patel concluded: "The hos-
 tility towards the rulers, and disil-
 lusionment with State-sponsored
 constitutional methods, were pow-
 erful factors which favoured a
 boycott.
 "The anti-election movements
 were able to add a high degree of
 organization to the boycott. They
 were able to crystalize the issues
 around which people would boy-
 cott."

personal
 128
 Good
 veen Kalk
 mes!

**TURN TO THE
 AUCTION PAGES
 IN TIMES
 CLASSIFIED**

**FRENCH AT
 ALLIANCE
 FRANCAISE**

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 actually going to France!

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social activities (films, exhibi

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 The spokesman was
 commenting on a Wash-
 ington report carried by
 the Cape Times yester-
 day which said the Rea-
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 investigating whether
 American nuclear power
 plant operators were il-
 legally helping to run
 Koeberg.

According to the re-
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 to work for South Afri-
 ca's nuclear industry
 have — since February 3,
 1983 — been required on
 penalty of up to 10 years
 imprisonment and a
 \$10 000 fine to seek spe-
 cial authorization from
 the Secretary of Energy
 to ensure that their skill
 would not be put to work

With Apple Mac in hot
 pursuit.
 The race positions
 published today are in
 the form in which they
 were received.
 Being the scratch boat
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being a front-run-
 ner is also a creditable
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 At the tail-end of the
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 Talgal, the boat with the
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 cho Pansa and Scorpion
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 ed either battery or
 transceiver problems.

Spirit of Freedom	B19A	25	18	1104
Susan	=C01B	26	26	1080
Te Kalbos	B17B	27	23	1135
Paloma	B20B	28	31	1088
Spirit of Fauna	B20B	29	28	1077
Skorpion II	=B17D	30	29	1100
H S C Honey	C01F	31	30	967
Talgal	B17G	32	32	1019
Medlease	=C01N	33	33	809
COMVESSEL	D150			

+ Latest run suspect = Position not reported
 ● The latest position reports will be published daily in the
 Cape Times. Map references are given to enable readers
 with copies of the official 1985 South Atlantic Race Bro-
 chure, obtainable at any branch of the CNA, to pinpoint
 yacht positions on the special race chart provided in the
 brochure.

**Mother, girl
 attacked at home**

Crime Reporter
MALMESBURY police
 are hunting two men who
 broke into the home of a
 34-year-old woman and

The beating took place
 after Mr Hawker alleged-
 ly led an attack on the
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 "About 2 15am Mr

**'Whites
 only' sign
 removed**

Municipal Reporter
 THE "whites only" sign

**School unrest in
 E Cape continues**

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —
 School attendance in-
 creased yesterday in the
 strife-torn West Cape
 shattering a number of
 windows and damaging
 the roof. Classes at the
 school were disrupted as

MP hits at killing of UDF official

CAME TIMES 23/1/85

ETS
114
227
ES

By EBRAHIM MOOSA and STEPHEN WROTTESLEY
POLICE fired teargas at a crowd of 300 demonstrators yesterday afternoon in the black township of Beaufort West following the shooting of a United Democratic Front activist by police at his home there earlier in the day.

Mr William Kratshi, 25, an executive member of the UDF's rural committee, was shot dead in his home about 7.30am by policemen who were arresting him in connection with a stoning incident on Saturday night.

The shooting was condemned by Mr Anver Essop, MP in the House of Representatives for Nuweveld and executive member of the newly-formed Democratic Worker's Party (DWP). He called on the government to "urgently" launch a full-scale investigation.

According to Mr Essop,

he was summoned by Mr Kratshi's family about 8am. On arrival at the house, he found Mr Kratshi's body on the floor.

He said three policemen had apparently entered Mr Kratshi's home asking him to accompany them. Mr Kratshi, who was apparently feeding his son, had had a fork in his hand, Mr Essop said.

He had apparently asked the police to allow him to get dressed. Soon after, teargas had been fired into the house and while the occupants were fleeing a shot was fired, said Mr Essop.

Police denied that

teargas had been used

Major Eddie Snyman, police liaison officer for the South-Western Districts, said the shooting would be fully investigated, as were all shootings involving the police.

He confirmed that at 5.30pm yesterday police had ordered a crowd of 200 to 300 demonstrators to disperse. Five canisters of teargas had been fired when they refused.

Outlining the events which he said led up to the death of Mr Kratshi, Major Snyman said that on Saturday about 7.30pm, Constable P A de Villiers and Constable WJ Moody were on patrol in the township when a group of people dented the side of their van and shouted "political slogans".

The police had approached the group and Mr Kratshi had allegedly sworn at them. This resulted in a stone-throwing incident in which Constable De Villiers was struck on the head.

Bitten on back

About 7.30am yesterday, the two policemen, with a detective sergeant, had gone to Mr Kratshi's home to arrest him. As he was being led from the house, he allegedly bit Constable De Villiers twice on the back.

He had then jerked himself free and, using a fork, had stabbed the policeman in the back. Constable De Villiers drew his firearm and when Mr Kratshi allegedly charged at him, a shot was fired, hitting Mr Kratshi in the chest.

Major Snyman said the policeman's wounds were not serious.

'Saddened' UDF calls for calm

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) was saddened by reports of a violent conflict between its supporters and those of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) in Tembisa at the weekend, and appealed this week to its affiliates for calm.

It also, however, accused Azapo of transporting armed members into Tembisa, and suggested that Mr Saths Cooper, former deputy president of Azapo, was seen in the area "parading around with a shovel".

An Azapo spokesman yesterday said one of its members, Mr Fithiwe Mthethwa, had been admitted to hospital with "a minimum of seven wounds from different-sized knives" and a number of others were treated and discharged.

He said the incident occurred on

Sunday at the launching of a Tembisa branch of the Azanian Students' Movement.

The disruption started when an Azapo member — with blood pouring from a stab wound — rushed into the hall where the meeting was being held.

Stones were thrown and pandemonium broke out.

"We were forced to scuttle to an emergency exit... and were forced out of the hall, with a crowd chanting UDF slogans hot on our heels," the Azapo spokesman said.

Outside, they were met by about 70 people also chanting UDF slogans.

The Azapo spokesman said there had been 11 similar incidents at Turfloop, the Regina Mundi Church, Tembisa and the University of Durban/Westville over the last 18 months — and at least five in the Western

Cape.

A UDF spokesman said "news of this disaster has come as a complete shock and surprise to the leadership of the UDF and Cosas. We are deeply saddened by this event.

"We have sent word to our affiliate members appealing for calm.

"We are informed, however, that Azapo had bused into Tembisa armed contingents of its members... We are alarmed to hear that such a senior Azapo official as Mr Saths Cooper was... seen parading about with a shovel.

"To Azapo we counsel caution and repeat that our energies as a collective must be devoted to the struggle against apartheid."

In a statement to the Rand Daily Mail Mr Irann Moosa, national publicity secretary for Azapo, said deliberate attempts were made to disrupt the meeting in Tembisa.

Violence: 'UDF to blame'

119
23/1/85
CAPE TIMES

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS and PETER DENNEHY

CONTROVERSY erupted yesterday following the rents unrest in New Crossroads during which 169 women were arrested and the houses of two community councillors and other leading residents burnt down.

Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud, top black affairs official in the Western Cape, accused the United Democratic Front (UDF) of "exploiting the rent situation to intimidate innocent, law-abiding citizens".

He said the violence had been triggered off by a meeting in the township on Sunday which had been addressed by Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, chairman of the Crossroads executive committee as well as the UDF-affiliated Western Cape Civic Association.

Mr Bezuidenhoud said he had evidence that Mr Ngxobongwana had "incited people" by giving instructions that community councillors and their supporters had to leave their houses by today.

Some arson victims claimed they had no links with the community council and that the Ngxobongwana regime was "misusing" the rents protest to extend its influence and suppress opponents.

Mr Jonathan de Vries, publicity secretary of the Western Cape UDF, said the UDF "dissociated itself from violence of this nature" and had never encouraged violent means to achieve political ends.

The unrest began when 169 women who had met in the open to discuss their rent protest were arrested on Monday afternoon. Police later dispersed crowds with teargas and rubber bullets.

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer, said yesterday that three policemen had been injured in the stoning and that arsonists had set fire to seven privately-owned cars and five houses.

169 women to face charges

Three more people had been held on charges of arson and one on a charge of public violence.

He said the 169 women would face charges in the Langa Commissioner's Court today of attending an unlawful gathering.

The township was quiet but tense yesterday. Police watched as women met again in the open to discuss the rents issue. Police vehicles patrolled the area.

● A spokesman for the "Committee of Eight" at KTC — formerly led by Mr Oliver Memani — said yesterday that the group had been warned it would also be attacked following Sunday's meeting.

● Mr Ngxobongwana acknowledged that he had addressed Sunday's meeting, but would not say more before "investigating the situation".

AKG 23/1/85 (11A)

Ten held as police probe unrest in Crossroads

Staff Reporter

TEN people were arrested early today following police investigations into unrest in the New Crossroads township.

Captain Jan Calitz, police liaison officer, said eight men and two women were being held under the Intimidation Act and were expected to appear in court soon.

Meanwhile, allegations that the rents issue in New Crossroads was being "used" to rid the area of a faction opposed to Crossroads "mayor" Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana have been denied by township organisations.

KENNEDY

However, a senior black affairs official, Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud, said yesterday the rents issue was a "blind" and he accused United Democratic Front affiliates of organising the protest to "coincide with the Kennedy visit".

He reiterated that residents with complaints should approach him through the Community Council.

The Western Cape Civic Association, a UDF township affiliate, said the Government should realise that community councillors were not representatives of the people.

"PROVOCATIVE"

Miss Miranda Qwanashe, a member of the UDF Anti-forced Removals Committee, said residents believed supporters of the community council had "signed for the rent increase".

The secretary of the United Women's Organisation, Miss Thozamo Tsolo, warned that the police action in New Crossroads was "provocative" and said the protest was a response to the recession.

Mr Bezuidenhoud commented: "They have paid the increases for four years. Why all of a sudden must they start agitating now?"

Teresa visits China

Beaufort West unrest flares — house burnt

Argus 23/1/85 11A

Staff Reporter

A POLICEMAN'S house was set alight in the black township near Beaufort West today as the unrest of the past few days flared again.

Mr Jan van der Merwe, Town Clerk of Beaufort West, confirmed that the fire brigade had been sent to deal with a fire in the township, but could not confirm reports that it had spread to two other houses in the block of four.

Mr Anver Essop, House of Representatives MP for Nuweveld, said the fire started at 9am and there was a strong police presence in the township.

Mr G W Merbold, regional representative of the Department of Education and Training, said there was a total boycott of classes today at the lower primary school in the township.

In a fresh development in the troubled township, the Beaufort West Community Council last night resigned in protest at what it considered to be broken promises by the East Cape Development Board to upgrade facilities in the township this year.

UDF MAN SHOT

Unconfirmed reports today alleged that the home attacked today belonged to one of the policemen involved in yesterday's shooting of Mr William Kratshi, an executive member of the UDF's rural committee.

A close friend of Mr Kratshi, Mr Themba Mlonjeni, president of the Azanian Students' Organisation at the University of Cape Town, said two policemen had tried to arrest Mr Kratshi twice in recent days.

"However, they could not give him any reasons for doing so and said they did not have to provide him with any. They left him alone when a crowd gathered and stoned the police vehicle.

"Yesterday morning William was feeding his seven-year-old son, Simphiwe, when the police arrived.

"One black policemen told him that because he had failed to report to the police station the previous day, he had come to get him and then started hitting him. William retaliated.

"The policeman, with the help of another, pushed him to the door of the house, where they shouted to a third policeman outside to shoot him."

Mr Essop said today he intended to raise the shooting of Mr Kratshi in Parliament at the first opportunity.

CAPE TIMES 23/1/85

PE Cosas suspends class boycott

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A meeting of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) yesterday resolved to conditionally suspend the four-month class boycott. At the meeting attended by about 2 000 pupils and parents held at the Holy Spirit Church Hall in Kwazakele, pupils vowed to return to classes today on condition that the nine Cosas leaders released on bail on Tuesday were allowed to register in schools and write the year-end examinations.

Other provisions were that pupils and Cosas members would not be victimized in schools because of their involvement in the boycott, and they must be given three weeks to prepare for the 1984 final examinations.

Resolutions

There were demands for the implementation of Student Representative Councils in secondary schools, with March 1 set as the date, while other demands will be pursued in classes.

Among several resolutions reached was that the pupils should leave their demands for SRCs, an end to excessive corporal punishment, demands for qualified teachers and improved school facilities to the Parents' Committee, which will continue to negotiate for them with the Department of Education and Training.

Meanwhile, in a surprise move, a group of youths yesterday invaded schools in Odendaalsrus, near Welkom, disrupting classes for about 5 000 shocked pupils who were forced to flee the

premises.

Chaos broke out as about 50 outsiders burst into the Phehello secondary school and threatened pupils and the headmaster, a police spokesman said.

They then marched to the Rearabetsewe secondary school and repeated their action, but were met by police, who confiscated a number of banners carried by the youths.

Unrest escalated as about 450 youths merged with the group, who then headed for the township's five primary schools.

Panic-stricken children were kept inside the classrooms until the situation calmed down and their parents arrived to collect them.

In the Vaal Triangle townships, attendance continued to increase yesterday, but stayaways persisted in the Eastern Cape townships of Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cradock, Grahamstown, Graaff-Reinet and Fort Beaufort.

However, in Port Alfred, where schools have been totally boycotted this year, more than half the pupils returned to the secondary school and two primary schools.

The secondary school in Queenstown was also half-full yesterday, while between 60 and 80 per cent of primary school children turned up.

Pupils from the nine East Rand townships are continuing to attend school.

Too late for classification

DEATHS

OXENHAM. — William James (Jimmy), our beloved brother, passed away on January 21, 1985. Lovingly remembered by his sisters Bea, Dorene, Kay and brother-in-law Len.

and friends'

Blacks may get new Govt forum

Political Staff

THE government was considering establishing a new negotiating forum in which blacks would have a far greater say in political reform, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

In an interview in Cape Town, Dr Viljoen said a new negotiation structure was one of the issues being considered by the Cabinet Committee examining the future of urban blacks.

Results of the committee's work were likely to be made known in the first half of the year, he said.

Dr Viljoen said the committee was trying to avoid "working out solutions and presenting

them to people", because this had caused problems in the previous stage of reform in respect of the coloureds.

The possibility of a new discussion forum did not mean the committee had failed, he said.

Prerequisites

The government's priorities for black political reform included the provision of "acceptable participation in decision-making by black communities in areas affecting their lives" and joint decision-making with other groups on general affairs, Dr Viljoen said.

The two basic prerequisites for constitutional reform were:

The acknowledgement of the cultural national ethnic diversity in the population and therefore differentiation, according to population groups, in the political structure.

The maintenance of the "standards and the norms in social, economic, educational and political respects that have been achieved in this country in contrast with the rest of Africa".

Successful reform at central level was also a key to the success of the new black local government system, he said.

The past year was one of transition for the new system and there were many problems, including lack of understanding of how the system worked.

The perception in black communities that they were being excluded from central decision-making, manifested itself in a rejection of the new black local authorities which were seen as an alternative to a role in central government.

Education

Dr Viljoen said central government reform was also a key to educational issues.

"I think we have addressed the educational issues as such thoroughly, and the continued unrest at certain points is caused politically, not educationally," he said.

Dr Viljoen also said the government was "seriously reviewing" certain aspects of the policy on population removals, although removals would not halt entirely.

However, illegal squatting in both rural and urban areas would not be tolerated.

Negotiations on removals for consolidation purposes would continue with the governments of national states, as in the past.

"But when it comes to forced settlement, and also the resettlement of townships — the policy in the past has been that they be resettled in the national states — this is an aspect at which we are having a penetrating new look," Dr Viljoen said.

Top man talks to Beaufort West council

Cape Times 24/1/85

24/1/85
11A

Staff Reporter

A SENIOR official of the Eastern Cape Development Board was on his way to Beaufort West yesterday to discuss the resignation on Tuesday night of the local black township's community council.

Mr H J Swanepoel, Director: Development and Special Tasks of the Development Board, said Mr Faan Naude, the Deputy Director of the Department of Community Services, was going to the town in an attempt to sort out the situation.

He said the resignations had come about as the result of a "misunderstanding". The council had believed promised developments would start at the beginning of 1985 but the board's "year" referred to the financial year, which begins on July 1.

Mr Swanepoel said he hoped he would be furnished with a full report from Mr Naude by this afternoon.

The resignations came hours after a UDF activist in the town, Mr William Kratshi, was shot dead by police who were attempting to arrest him following earlier unrest.

Following the shooting, unrest again broke out in the township and after police used teargas to disperse a crowd outside a hall on Tuesday evening, an attempt was made to firebomb a policeman's home.

House was gutted

Major Eddie Snyman, police liaison officer for the South-Western Districts, said a petrol bomb, which failed to explode, was thrown into the home of Constable J Nappies.

About 9.15am yesterday, a fire was started at the back of Constable Nappies's home. The house was gutted, but the policeman and his family were taken safely to a secret address.

Meanwhile Mr Anver Essop, the Democratic Workers' Party MP for Nuweveld, yesterday said he would seek an urgent meeting with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to discuss police action in the black township.

Mr Essop said he had instructed his attorneys and said he would seek that an "open inquest" be held into the death of Mr Kratshi.

23	TV	2	The Facts correction service,
22	What's On?	17	☎ 24-2233 (Mon to Fri)
17	Weather	17	Cape Times, Box 11,
24	Women's	7	Cape Town.
11	World Report	4	(Registered at the GPO as a newspaper.)

24/1/85
11A

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS
Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, "mayor" of Old Crossroads and chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, denied yesterday that the United Democratic Front (UDF) was involved in a controversial meeting held in New Crossroads before the rent unrest earlier this week. He also said he had repeatedly appealed to New Crossroads residents to refrain from all violence and not to damage any property when he ad-

ressed the meeting, held in the township on Sunday. Mr Ngxobongwana was replying to allegations made by Mr Timo Bezuidenhout, top black affairs official in the Western Cape, after the rent unrest during which 169 people were arrested and the houses of nine people burnt down or damaged. After the violence, Mr Bezuidenhout accused the UDF of "exploiting the rent situation to intimidate innocent, law-abiding citizens and burn

down their houses". He said the violence had been triggered by the meeting addressed by Mr Ngxobongwana on Sunday at which he had "incited people" by giving instructions that community councillors and their supporters had to quit their houses in the township. Some victims of the violence have claimed that their houses were burnt or damaged by youths as a result of statements made at the meeting. In a lengthy interview, Mr Ngxo-

bongwana said yesterday that he had gone to the meeting at the request of "members of the community" who had wanted to inform him about the rent protest. They had also wanted him to explain what had occurred during rent negotiations between the Crossroads leadership and the government when New Crossroads was built. He had advised residents to continue paying the rent they had paid last year, to refuse only to pay the in-

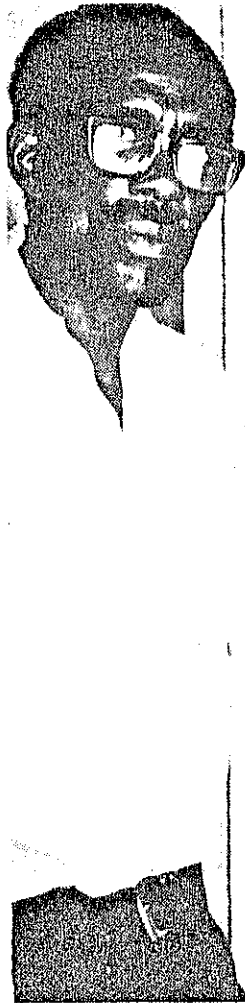
creases of R6 and to continue negotiating with the authorities. The meeting was held by the "community of Crossroads only" and the UDF was not involved. Meanwhile, police arrested eight men and two women in connection with the violence yesterday morning. Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said they had been arrested on charges under the Intimidation Act. They would appear in court soon.

Khayelitsha for homeless leaders

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS
NINE community figures whose houses were burnt down or damaged during the rent unrest in New Crossroads have been moved to the controversial new township of Khayelitsha. Among them are the two New Crossroads members of the Cape Town Community Council, Mr Hubert Venfola and Mr H Nkonya. The people and their families were moved to Khayelitsha on Tuesday after they had approached the Western Cape Development Board for assistance. A spokesman said they would have the option of returning to New Crossroads after their houses had been repaired. Most of the other victims of the violence were members of the community council-related ward or street committees. They also include three leading figures who say they have no links with the government-imposed

council system. They believe they were attacked because they were seen as opponents of Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, "mayor" of Crossroads and chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association. They are Mrs Regina Ntongana, former chairwoman of the Crossroads Women's Committee, the Rev Cameron Kani, a former member of the Crossroads executive committee, and Miss Nomangesi Mbobosi, a community worker with long-standing links with the squatter communities. Mr Venfola disclosed yesterday that he had offered his resignation as a councillor at a meeting held in New Crossroads on Sunday — a day before the unrest. "But they broke into my house the next day and damaged my possessions. Now I don't know what to do — I will have to discuss the situation with the council chairman," he said. He would move back to

New Crossroads when his house was repaired. Mrs Ntongana — who played a prominent role in Crossroads politics for a number of years — said: "I'm glad the board has given me a place to stay. I'm sorry to be saying it, but I am not going back again." Rev Kani said he had been singled out at a meeting in New Crossroads on Sunday because he had broken away from the Old Crossroads committee together with Mr Oliver Memani years ago. "I want to live in peace with my children. If I can get a bigger house here I will stay," he said. Miss Mbobosi — whose house was gutted by fire on Monday night — said earlier this week that the group had not been "forced to move to Khayelitsha by the government" but by the organizations and factions which were responsible for the violence. She would return to New Crossroads when her house had been rebuilt.



The Rev Cameron Kani, one of the victims of violence in New Crossroads this week, and members of his family in the Khayelitsha house allocated to him yesterday.

ARGUS 25/1/85 (11A) (1/85) (1/85) (1/85)

Boesak and security police: Call for inquiry

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A call for parliamentary control of telephone tapping and "bugging" was made today when allegations about the Security Police were published by The Star.

It was also suggested that a judicial commission inquire into the proposal of South Africa's six largest employer organisations for "legislative reform to restore administration of justice to the courts".

In an editorial accompanying a report on the alleged involvement of colonels not only in surveillance, but in a pamphlet and tape campaign to discredit Dr Allan Boesak, The Star added: "A Government that promises clean administration cannot afford to have some of its people indulging in 'dirty tricks'. It is time Law and Order put its house in order.

"Should not Parliament be furnished with details and statistics of all decisions taken in the previous six months to tap phones and "bug" citizens? Should MPs not be officially informed of the circumstances of every man held incommunicado without access to the courts?

"Should not the courts be restored their proper and vital place in the administration of justice? This is precisely what the Associat-

ed Chambers of Commerce, Handel-sinstituit, Seifsa, Nafcoc and the Chamber of Mines have pledged to the world that they will press for."

The Star reported that the two colonels, during their unexpected admission, implicated two other senior security police officers by name and rank.

Their admissions were made to a reporter investigating the pamphlet and a witness called in to arrange a meeting with police before publication.

The Star said it was publishing more details in the hope that this would provide sufficient grounds for a full judicial inquiry into all aspects of security operations.

Smear pamphlets

Some of the evidence which The Star said it was prepared to put before a proper judicial inquiry into administration of justice included the following:

- The names of two colonels, who claimed to have fed the newspapers with anonymous smear pamphlets, plus accurate details, plus tape-recordings.

- The names of an even more senior official and of an investigating officer.

- The full details and circumstances of the casual admissions by the police.

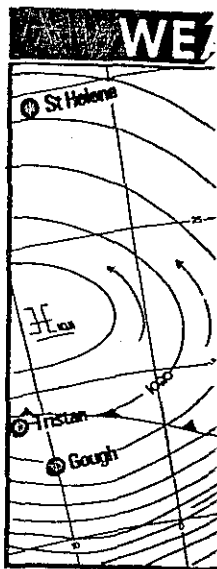
- Additional evidence outside of the meeting with the colonels in their own office.

Sworn affidavits have been lodged with The Star's lawyers. The testimony comes from the reporter who asked for a meeting with the Security Police to confront them with her evidence of their involvement, and from the chief crime reporter who was not concerned with the investigation, but accompanied the reporter to the police as a matter of course.

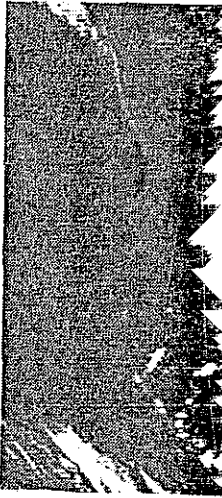
The colonels said they would deny everything if The Star published.

The Star called for a full-scale inquiry into Security Police methods when it first published its own findings on the spreading rumours of an affair between Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss Di Scott, an official of the South African Council of Churches.

It also uncovered evidence of Security Police involvement, it said. In publishing some details of the Boesak affair, The Star accused the Security Branch of "dirty tricks" and of being responsible for the spreading rumours and smear campaign.



Slack pressure to occur overn



Today's satell

September 25/1/85 (11A) ~~25/1~~

UDF slams plan for council cops

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has lashed at the Department of Co-operation and Development for giving local town councils the green-light to have their own police forces.

Training of the auxiliary police forces for 16 black town councils start next month under instructors appointed by the South African Police.

In a hard-hitting statement the UDF said: "These police forces are not aimed at crime prevention but will be tools in the hands of the unpopular town council to defend councillors and suppress mass resistance to arbitrary measures like high rents, water, elec-

tricity charges etc.

"They are intended to relieve the already overburdened SAP and the SADF from the obligation of controlling unrests in the townships. Their establishment will further siphon off funds which should be used to provide the much needed amenities such as housing, recreation facilities etc," the statement said.

"They will only serve to deepen the scale of conflict in the affected communities. We reject them and call on the Department of Co-operation and Development and the councils to abandon the scheme and solve the material problems of the people," the statement added.

SAP colonels involved in 'dirty tricks' plan

25/11/85 Star
11A

Two Security Branch colonels have admitted that they were involved not only in surveillance, but in a pamphlet and tape campaign to discredit Dr Boesak recently.

The colonels, during their unexpected admission, implicated two other senior Security Police officers by name and rank.

Their admissions were made to a reporter investigating the pamphlet and a witness called in to arrange a meeting with police before publication.

The Star today publishes more details in the hope that this will provide sufficient grounds for a full judicial inquiry into all aspects of security operations.

Reform of "the administration of justice as safeguarded by the courts" is one of the six principles to which the six biggest employer organisations in South Africa have committed themselves.

Questions have been raised about the system of holding people without trial. The adequacy of control and discipline of secret police surveillance is also being questioned in various quarters.

Some of the evidence which *The Star* is prepared to put before a proper judicial inquiry into administration of justice includes:

- The names of two colonels who claimed to have fed the newspapers with anonymous smear pamphlets, plus accurate details, plus tape-recordings.
- The names of an even more senior official and of an investigating officer.
- The full details and circumstances of the casual admissions by the police.
- Additional evidence outside of the meeting with the colonels in their own office.

Sworn affidavits have been lodged with *The Star's* lawyers. The testimony comes from the reporter who asked for a meeting with the Security Police to confront them with her evidence of their involvement, and from the chief crime reporter, who was not concerned with the investigation but accompanied the reporter to police headquarters

as a matter of course.

The reporters were startled that the colonels seemed so confident of their situation that they admitted their involvement. The policemen volunteered detail which must only have come from those who "planted" pamphlets and other material on a number of newspapers.

The colonels said they would deny everything if *The Star* published this information. They appeared pleased with their successful detection and their smear campaign, and seemed confident that no newspaper would report their part in the Boesak affair.

There was no suggestion of apprehension that any disciplinary action might follow, or that anything they were doing would be construed as illegal.

The Star called for a full-scale inquiry into Security Police methods when it first published its own findings on the spreading rumours of an affair between Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss Di Scott, an official of the South African Council of Churches. The investigation into the pamphlet confirmed the rumours. But it also uncovered evidence of Security Police involvement.

In publishing some details of the Boesak affair, *The Star* accused the Security Branch of "dirty tricks" and of being responsible for the spreading rumours and smear campaign.

NO REACTION

Since then, apart from a general denial, there has been no reaction from the authorities.

The Star has direct knowledge of another case in which there was clear evidence of illegal activities by security policemen. And there are also lists of suspicions and allegations which should justify a judicial commission examination so that those suspicions which are identified as unfounded, can be eliminated once and for all.

- Let Parliament monitor phone taps, bugging and solitary imprisonment — Editorial on

Inkatha slams Azapo, ANC

SOWETAN REPORTER

INKATHA'S Central Committee this week applauded the step taken by Senator Edward Kennedy in making an on-the-spot assessment of the South African political situation as it affects blacks.

• The ICC, at its first meeting this year, also slammed Azapo's demonstrations against the senator as "political immaturity". The meeting also deplored Senator Kennedy's "short sightedness politically" by agreeing to tour the country ostensibly to promote the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The ICC expressed its dismay at the ANC's elaborate plans to cast Chief Buthelezi as an enemy of the liberation struggle.

"The series of vitriolic condemnatory articles appearing in 'Sechaba' (the ANC's newsletter), especially the 1984 September issue can be seen as a ploy to denounce our president and to assassinate him politically, thus preparing the way for his actual physical assassination," the ICC said.

It also warned the ANC to "desist forthwith" from their "nefarious" plots such as the "massing of armed guerillas and caches of arms in a menacing manner within the precincts of Chief Buthelezi with an intention to assassinate him".

It also called upon black organisations to realise that black disunity is the curse of the black man's struggle for liberation and to dedicate themselves to its elimination.

(11A)
ISHMAEL MKHABELA

Angry loner

Azapo, the Azanian People's Organisation, is the strongest and least predictable of the Black Consciousness (BC) organisations to emerge after the purge of October 1977. Unexpectedly it attacked visiting "imperialist" US Senator Teddy Kennedy — unlike its more ambivalent rival in opposition, the United Democratic Front (UDF).

New Azapo president Ishmael Mkhabela is a long-standing BC stalwart. He was chairman of the Soweto Action Committee, the BC caretaker body involved in forming Azapo in 1978, and chairman of its interim executive — for all of four days, after which he was detained for seven months and banned until the end of 1981. He served as Azapo publicity secretary in 1983, and was Soweto branch chairman last year until his election as president in December.

Mkhabela is hard to pin down for an interview. Two are cancelled because he's in the Vaal township of Sebokeng for a meeting of its Civic Action Committee. On his return late at night, he braces himself tiredly and methodically to finish this last item on the agenda.

Of Kennedy he says: "Bearing in mind the anti-liberationist stance of the US political establishment across the world, we

didn't see why he should get away with it. Yes, some elements of the UDF were in favour, that's their right." Then why was Azapo involved in disrupting the meeting Kennedy was to address at Soweto's Regina Mundi?

"Right from the outset we didn't want a red carpet reception for Kennedy in Soweto, but it's a distortion to say it would have happened had it not been for Azapo. We weren't at loggerheads with Bishop Tutu and the SACC, but felt we had the right to protest openly at what we opposed, and we also objected to Tutu using his enormous prestige in the township and at the meeting to sway people in favour of Kennedy."

Of the Vaal township risings, he says: "Worsening recession, with rising unemployment and cost of living, intersected with imposition of undemocratic community councils, homeland structures and the tricameral parliament. The combination left black communities with massive grievances that are finally pushing them to challenge the right of this government to rule them."

Azapo reportedly criticised the stayaways which emerged from the Vaal unrest. Mkhabela contradicts this: "Look, the November stayaway was a success. After all, we all stayed away, despite some disagreement as to how it was managed. We

felt the demands involved were unclear, and that attainable short-term objectives weren't clearly enough defined either.

"Azapo doesn't reject stayaways or boycotts as weapons, but because of the sacrifices they demand, and the potential to harm the communities involved, they *must* be used wisely. And if the people aren't thoroughly canvassed beforehand, the authorities can exploit their suffering afterwards."

Mkhabela is a devout Christian, and has been an activist since high school. Born and brought up in Soweto, "I matured young because of my family situation. There were eight of us, and my father was stabbed and paralysed when I was seven. We had to contribute and fend for ourselves. I sold tomatoes, sweets and peanuts in the street."

Despite the odds, he matriculated in 1971, and had already worked in the Students' Christian Association (SCA). He went to Turfloop with a bursary after a year's work to get additional money. There he became involved in a range of political, cultural and religious activities.

"We were grappling with the questions of day-to-day educational problems: why we were rebuked for asking questions, and why our ambitions were continually frustrated. Friends and I in the Student Christian Movement were eager to get out to the rural areas and preach, but we were realising



Ishmael Mkhabela combines religious zeal with angry solitude

11A 25/1/85

Enter the trimmer

Tancredo Neves, Brazil's newly elected president, has spent many years walking a political tightrope with amazing grace.

Neves, who last Tuesday was elected Brazil's first civilian president in 21 years, was originally nominated by Brazil's opposition party because he was one of the few politicians acceptable to the military who also had broad support among the country's 120m citizens. Although the presidency of Brazil has been turned over, the military still controls much of the country's political machine and the opposition parties had no choice but to run a moderate for fear anything more radical would threaten the fragile democratic accord accepted by the current military leader Joao Figueiredo.

Neves' political style is characterised as centrist and subtle. He campaigned on a promise to restore a "full and modern democracy" for Brazil but his platform was markedly lacking in any controversial positions that would have

either threatened his relations with military leaders or sharply divided the Brazilian people. He rarely commits himself to any position and is known to speak in riddles when confronted with difficult questions.

But his lack of clear-cut political goals belies the serious and thoughtful manner with which he will approach his new job, his colleagues say.

Neves, who will turn 75 the week before his inauguration, which is scheduled for March 15, is known as the "Wily Fox" and *Jornal do Brasil*, one of the nation's largest newspapers, says he is Brazil's most clever yet subtle politician.

His small-town wisdom and grandfatherly qualities have won over many a heart in his home-town of Sao Joao del Rei, a coastal city 120 miles south of Rio de Janeiro.

The fifth of 12 children, he came from a wealthy family and his political career started some 40 years ago. As a

lawyer he was first elected an alderman in his home town in 1934 and later served as governor of Minas Gerais state in 1983 and 1984. While his outward demeanour befits an elderly gentleman he is also a tough but controlled fighter who carefully weighs his options. On the subject of Brazil's foreign debt he has insisted that the country should pay back what it owes but the country's creditor committee in New York is also expecting a new round of tough negotiations to follow the election.

As governor of Minas Gerais state, Neves trimmed spending and renegotiated \$250m in debt. During his 25 years in Brazil's congress he reportedly twice talked the military out of instituting police state controls and abolishing the growing but fragile democracies when public unrest caused panic in the military ranks. But while governor of Minas Gerais state, he once called out the police to quell a demonstration by striking teachers.

EM 25/1/85 (11A)
 that individuals must be seen in their social context, and that the gospel had social as well as spiritual implications."

Already prominent in BC circles in 1974 when a number of other student leaders were detained, he led a support committee for them, and later presided over the SRC's constitutional reforms. He was detained for the first time in 1976, but charges of public violence against him and 157 others were dropped.

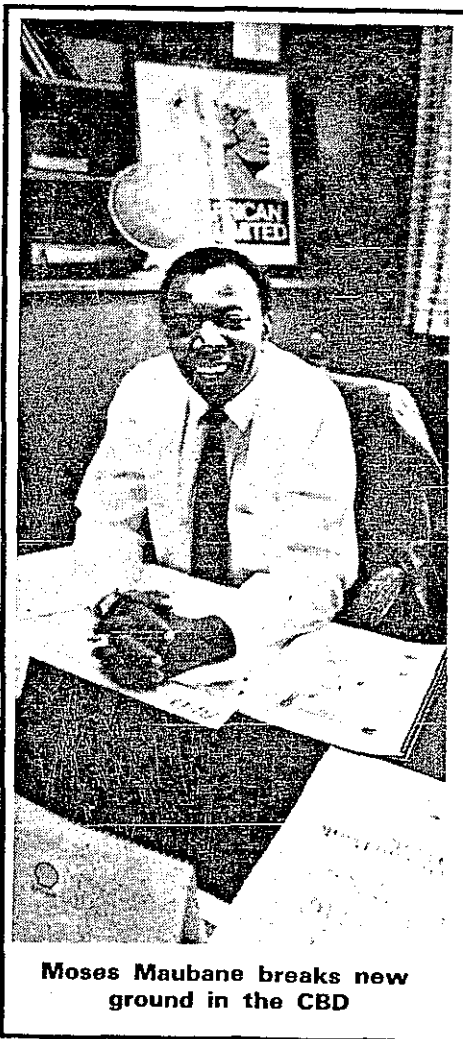
He taught in a Soweto high school briefly in 1977, resigning when the Bantu Education department began clamping down on teachers. He worked for the SA Committee for Higher Education, designing education courses which appeared in the *Weekend World*, until his banning in 1978.

Asked about major influences on him, Mkhabela considers, then concludes that he's essentially a loner who gets much of his input from reading. Friends since high school see him as a quietly intelligent character. "I'm not much of an extrovert, but I'm fated by my public involvement to deal with people." He works continuously at high pressure and, he says, needs his indignation to keep him from burn-out.

MOSES MAUBANE

Counting notes

African Bank chief executive Moses Maubane must be one of few SA businessmen for whom the outlook seems promising. His is the first black operation to be granted a licence to trade in Johannesburg's CBD.



Moses Maubane breaks new ground in the CBD

Maubane (41), an outspoken critic of government interference in the market, has been agitating against group areas exclusion for several years. "Banking is a matter of convenience," he says. "You can't sell a bank just as an ethnic bank. As a recognised financial institution, I found it hard to understand why Afribank was singled out to trade only in black areas. It's impossible to compete fairly where business is aided and abetted by legislation."

Current estimates indicate that about 80% of black purchasing power is in the CBD where the majority of blacks work. As a result Afribank was losing a sizeable chunk of black custom.

"We did pretty well in the 1983/1984 financial year with net profits in excess of R600 000," he says confidently. "We project that in 1984/85, if all goes well, we should have profits in excess of R1m, though this obviously depends on the economy."

Maubane joined Afribank as chief executive in 1980 with no previous banking experience. But a stint as Nafcoc executive director and six years of lecturing accountancy and company secretarial practice at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, have obviously stood him in good stead.

Afribank's growth has confounded the sceptics. A recent market research exercise showed that Afribank already has at least 21% of the market in Soweto. However, he's adamant that "government must open more doors. The economy needs it, SA needs it," he says. "We simply can't afford unnecessary barriers in the creation of wealth and jobs."

SA

Cape Times 25/11/83

Squatter leader held by police

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS

MR JOHNSON 'Ngxobongwana, leader of the Old Crossroads squatter community and chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, has been arrested.

His arrest appears to form part of a large-scale police crackdown following the rent unrest in New Crossroads earlier this week.

Mr Ngxobongwana — a key figure in black politics in the Western Cape — was arrested by a large police task force on Wednesday morning, shortly after giving an interview to the Cape Times.

However, his arrest became known only yesterday.

Witnesses, including members of the Crossroads Executive Committee, said yesterday that police had accosted Mr Ngxobongwana outside the committee's office in the Crossroads Development Centre late on Wednesday morning.

A large task-force of heavily-armed reaction police was present.

Mr Ngxobongwana was then taken to his Crossroads house, which was surrounded by reaction police while it was searched. There were no incidents.

He was then taken to the Guguletu police station, where he was still being held yesterday.

'Intimidation'

Members of the Crossroads executive committee would not comment further yesterday. However, it is believed arrangements were being made for his legal representation.

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, confirmed yesterday that a "leading resident of Old Crossroads" had been arrested on a charge under the Intimidation Act.

He confirmed that there was a "large police presence" during the arrest.

He said the man would appear in the Athlone Magistrate's Court today.

Mr Ngxobongwana is a key figure in black politics in the Western Cape and his arrest may have far-reaching effects.

As chairman of the Old

Times

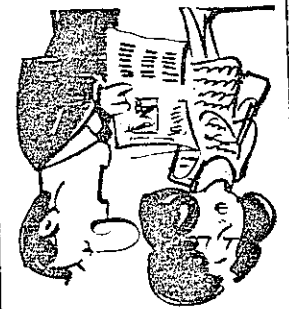
Funfinder Inside

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Yesterday that he believe what he ing thing" they had ever heard. "He often brought home male friends who were manly, not funny at all." They feared for his future and wondered where he would be able to get work. A Honeydew teacher who exposed himself to girls was also recommended to be removed from the register. Mr Francois Venter used to expose himself to girls, after stopping next to them in his car in the Randburg area and ask-

to be stru

"How to beat unemployment: Award yourself a doctorate and apply for a job with Escom."



Crack of dawn

JOHANNESBURG. — Police used tearsmoke, batons and dogs to disperse a crowd of 300 in Jeppe yesterday after a Traffic Department driver shot dead a man who had attacked him with an iron rod while towing. The shots were fired with the driver's private handgun, a Traffic Department spokesman said. Gusting winds reduced the effects of the tear-smoke and 15 traffic police reinforcements armed with batons raced to the corner of John Page Street and Main Road to help control the crowd. At 7am a traffic department driver was towing away an illegally parked car — hatched up at the corner of Commissioner and Green streets — when the owner allegedly attacked him. "The official fired warning shot in the air but the man alleged

Shoots

ceremony for opening of Parliament, PAGE 11

MPS on trial, PAGE 10

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van der Laan, skipper
 of CIW2, said a number
 of technical mishaps had
 been sorted out.

C.T. 25/1/85
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 From page 1

Crossroads Executive for
 Committee, he rose to a
 position of considerable
 power in recent years
 and has played a major
 role in squatter resis-
 tance to government
 plans to clear the squat-
 ter camps and move all
 squatters to Khayelitsha.
 Recently his influence
 has extended further as
 chairman of the Western
 Cape Civic Association, a
 mainly township-based
 community organization
 which is affiliated to the
 United Democratic
 Front and has played a
 leading role in the UDF's
 campaign against forced
 removals to Khayelitsha.

Meeting

The police action fol-
 lows a campaign against
 rent increases in New
 Crossroads township be-
 which led to violence be-
 earlier this week.
 On Sunday, Mr Ngxo-
 bongwana addressed a
 meeting in the township.
 On Monday, police ar-
 rested 169 women who
 had gathered in the open
 air to discuss the rent is-
 sue.

Police later used rub-
 ber bullets and teargas
 to disperse crowds.

Later the houses of two
 community councillors,
 other residents with
 links with the govern-
 ment-sponsored com-
 munity council system
 and other leading com-
 munity figures, were
 burned down or da-
 maged and their furni-
 ture destroyed. Several
 cars were burned.

On Wednesday police
 arrested 10 people —
 eight men and two wom-
 en — on charges in terms
 of the Intimidation Act in
 connection with the vio-
 lence.

The women arrested
 on Monday appeared in
 the Wynberg Magis-
 trate's Court yesterday.

Captain Calitz said the
 10 people arrested on
 Wednesday would ap-
 pear in the Athlone Mag-
 istrate's Court today.

He added the situation
 in New Crossroads was
 "quiet".

Buthelezi rejects negotiating forum for blacks

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday rejected the idea of a new negotiating forum in which blacks would have a far greater say in political reform.

He said blacks wanted to take an active part in Parliament.

The chief was responding to a statement from Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development, that a new negotiating structure was one of the issues being considered by the Cabinet committee examining the future of urban blacks.

Chief Buthelezi said as long as Government spokesmen used this type of language, they gave credibility to black people who had opted for violence.

He said the South African Government once created a Black Advisory Council. Black people had rejected this, on the grounds that it was meant to be a substitute for decision making at parliamentary level.

He said the Government should be considering how blacks could be included in a single state.

'We cannot be excluded from participation in 87 percent of our country.

'There is no way of removing blacks from the so-called white areas. We are an ineradicable majority,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Viljoen's statement that a prerequisite for constitutional reform was acknowledgement of the 'cultural national ethnic diversity in the population' was irrelevant.

'We don't see that diversity used to apply to white groups,' he said.

Cape Times 26/1/85

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'Police smear': Boesak speaks

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JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Allan Boesak spoke yesterday for the first time about reports that the South African security police were behind allegations that he is having an affair with a church worker, Ms Di Scott.

Dr Boesak, head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, gave his interview after the Star newspaper claimed yesterday that two police colonels had admitted to a campaign to discredit the church leader.

The Star said that two security branch colonels had admitted to a reporter that they were involved not only in surveillance, but in a pamphlet and tape campaign to discredit Dr Boesak.

Admissions

The colonels implicated two other senior security police officers by name and rank.

Their admissions were made to the reporter investigating the pamphlet and to a witness called in

to arrange a meeting with the police.

The reporter had asked for a meeting with the security police to confront them with her evidence of their involvement. She was accompanied by the Star's chief crime reporter and both have made sworn statements on the alleged admissions.

The reporters were startled that the colonels seemed so confident of their situation that they admitted their involvement.

They had said they would deny everything if the Star published this information.

Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party said last night she would raise the matter during the No Confidence Debate in Parliament next week.

Inquiry

Mrs Suzman said she would be asking the Minister of Justice to appoint a judicial inquiry to investigate reports that the security branch was behind the "very unsavoury business".

Dr Boesak will meet with the council of the ANC Sending Kerk tonight to discuss allegations that he was having an affair with Ms Scott.

Dr Boesak, who has denied having the affair, refused again yesterday to speak about it.

"I wasn't prepared to comment at all before I had spoken to my church council."

However, Dr Boesak said: "We have been adamant from the very beginning that this was a smear campaign and that, somehow, the security police had been involved. I am not surprised at all that this is coming to light."

'Decency'

"I cannot say more than that at this stage. I will make a statement at a time when I am ready—possibly after the meeting."

"I am speaking to you now because the Rand Daily Mail and the Cape Times are the two newspapers that have treated this matter with decency," he said.

The Commissioner of the South African Police, General PJ Coetzee, said in a statement last night that he would take up with the South African Media Council a report in the Star newspaper yesterday saying two members of the security police were involved in attempts to discredit Dr Boesak.

He repeated a previous statement that the SAP "was not involved in the so-called exposure of an affair between Dr Allan Boesak and Miss Di Scott". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

RINE 

STALL

COUNTRY FRESH FRUIT,
AND HOME-BAKED
PRODUCTS

IS IN ELGIN!
(Opp Grabouw turn-off)
EVERY DAY

...grammers about the beliefs and

Merrill ^{26/1/88}
Rajbansi, Reddy
in row over MP
who changed sides

CAPE TOWN—The Leader of the National People's Party, ruling group in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and the Leader of the Opposition, Solidarity, Mr Jayaram Reddy, became embroiled in a heated row in Mr

Rajbansi's parliamentary office in Marks Building on the eve of Parliament's opening.

At the centre of the row was Dr Dawood Cader, MP for Montford in Chatsworth, Durban, who fought — and won — his seat on a Solidarity ticket and then quit the party to declare himself an independent.

He said he would remain an independent

but align himself with the NPP.

'I have decided to become closer to the ruling party to avoid further animosity between the two parties.'

He confirmed that the two party leaders had clashed on his party political stand, but both Mr Rajbansi and Mr Reddy declined to discuss the matter except to confirm that heated words had been exchanged. — (Sapa)

RDM 26/11/85 (114) 374

Blacks won't accept new deal — UDF

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

A SPOKESMAN for the United Democratic Front (UDF) said this week that it could not see blacks accepting the creation of a new negotiating forum, as suggested by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

"Only a constitution embracing all the people of our country will bring about peace," Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the UDF publicity secretary, said.

He was reacting to statements by Dr Viljoen that the Government was considering establishing a new negotiating forum in which blacks would have a far greater say in political reform.

Dr Viljoen said that such a forum was being considered by the Cabinet committee currently examining the future of urban blacks.

Mr Lekota said that it

was not clear what Dr Viljoen had in mind, "but we have an abiding suspicion that the Government is planning a fourth chamber of Parliament for urban Africans.

"We can say already that that such a step would not serve to satisfy the demands of the people.

"Only a constitution embracing all the people will bring about peace," he said.

The UDF was created specifically to oppose the new tricameral system and the "Koornhof laws" on urbanisation.

Meanwhile, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on Thursday rejected the idea of a new negotiating forum for blacks.

He said blacks wanted to take an active part in the central Parliament.

Chief Buthelezi said the Government should be considering how blacks could be included in a single state.

RDM 26/1/85 (11A)

UDF withdraws Cooper allegation

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has formally withdrawn and apologised for its allegation that Mr Saths Cooper, convenor of the national forum and former deputy president of Azapo, was involved in a violent clash between UDF and Azapo supporters last weekend.

The allegation was made after an incident in which a number of people were injured in clashes that broke out at a meeting called by Azapo in Tembisa on Sunday.

Mr Cooper firmly denied having any involvement in

the incident and said he was nowhere near Tembisa at the time.

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, yesterday issued a statement that it had come to the attention of the UDF secretariate that Mr Cooper was not in fact in Tembisa on Sunday.

"The (UDF) secretariate has now satisfied itself that the person who was seen at the incident was not Mr Cooper.

"Accordingly, the secretariate wishes to correct this aspect of the statement and also apologises to Mr Cooper for any inconvenience that may have been caused to him," he said.

COOL



Girls' Wash & Wear WRAP-AROUND DUNGAREES R12⁹⁹ RPS



Girls' PLEATED SKIRTS R11⁹⁹ RPS

'Two got members for ANC'

^(11A) TWO alleged African National Congress members will stand trial in the Middelburg Regional Court this year for allegedly training ANC recruits.

C.P. 27/1/85

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

29, and Mr Manthata's trial from April 11 to April 26.

Both are represented by Nakedi Phosa.

Frans Harlem Maserumula and George Manthata were arrested by security police in Dennilton on June 15 last year. Their trials are set to run for about two weeks each.

Mr Maserumula is charged with participating in terrorism activities, recruiting ANC members, alternatively teaching them to use AK-47 rifles and three counts of attempted murder.

Although they were arrested on similar charges, their cases — which will involve 20 State witnesses — have been separated for trial.

Mr Manthata is charged with taking part in terrorism activities, trying to convert people to communism, trying to recruit ANC members and attempting to smuggle arms, and ammunition into the country.

Both appeared briefly before Magistrate J V R Petersen last week.

Neither were asked to plead and have been remanded in custody.

Mr Maserumula's trial will run from March 13 to March



THIS WEEK

FURNI SPEC

3 Pce KIM lounge suites

FM/AM

Police slam Boesak 'slur' report

By WIM VANVOLSEM and SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN
TWO colonels of the security police who, according to The Star newspaper, "admitted" to having been involved in the surveillance and subsequent pamphlet smear campaign to discredit Dr Allan Boesak, yesterday called the report "blatant lies".

They are Colonel Chris Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Piet du Toit, of the Security Branch in Johannesburg.

The SAP public relations division in Pretoria confirmed that a complaint would be lodged with the Media Council over the matter.

In an official statement yesterday, the police said the "so-called" admission by two colonels mentioned in the Star, "probably referred" to an interview by two of its reporters with Colonels Scholtz and Du Toit on January 9.

Confident

On Friday The Star claimed it had the names of two colonels "who claimed to have fed newspapers with anonymous smear pamphlets, accurate details and tape recordings on Dr Boesak's alleged involvement with the SA Council of Churches youth desk worker, divorcee Miss Di Scott."

Last night the paper's editor, Mr Harvey Tyson, said he was confident about the accuracy of the report and that he would welcome a Media Council hearing.

He added: "But we believe the matter could also form part of a full-scale public inquiry into accountability for secret operations."

Dr Boesak's church council — his community is in Belhar near Cape Town — met last night to discuss the alleged affair.

A statement was due to be read at Dr Boesak's morning service today.

Daring play's colour bar love scene
Page 21

TV4 goes on a star spree
Page 5



Ears of the family

Page 7

JR is immoral.
So is Open End.
So is Pop Shop.
So says the
RUITERWAG
Page 24



Tina, the girl without limbs:
Picture on pages 6 and 7 in *LifeStyle*

PETROL: New factor in our economic nightmare
BUSINESS TIMES

Abse
11A
27/1/85

Back to nowhere

27/1/85
(11A) (2) C. Press

By MONO
BADELA

A FORMER veteran of the ANC's military wing Umkonto Wesizwe, Thomson Zenjani Daweti, has returned home after spending 21 years on Robben Island — to find that a town councillor is living in his Timisi location home near Fort Beaufort.

The 62-year-old former ANC activist, who looks surprisingly fit, spent most of his sentence in the same section with ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He told City Press in an exclusive interview that he and his wife were now homeless.

He said he learnt that the house in which he grew up, and which belonged to his



DAWETI: Homeless.

mother, had been taken from his sister only a few months before his release.

The sub-economic house is owned by the East Cape Development Board.

Mr Daweti said he intends to get his home back.

He now lives with his sister Mrs Nosec-ond Njobe.

His former house is now being occupied by town councillor Makwezi Gabashe.

Mandela remains vibrant, says MP

By IAN HOBBS
London

NELSON MANDELA, the banned ANC leader, remains vibrant, authoritative and totally uncowed after nearly 22 years of imprisonment in South Africa.

This is the opinion of the British Euro-MP, Lord Nicholas Bethell, who was allowed to visit Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison where he is serving life imprisonment.

Lord Bethell's visit was allowed shortly after a similar request by Senator Edward Kennedy was refused by the South African Government.

In the Mail on Sunday of Fleet Street today, Lord Bethell said he found the tall, lean and silver-haired political prisoner in good spirit.

Conservative peer Lord Bethell, an avid anti-communist, was granted a lengthy and relatively unrestricted meeting with Mandela.

Talked freely

He said they ate together and talked freely.

Senior prison officials were present, said Lord Bethell, but it was Mandela who seemed the most assured man — he stood out as the senior man present.

Lord Bethell, who said he had pleaded with the South African Government to release Mandela on humanitarian grounds, said he found him in good health and spirit.

The article dwelt extensively on the generally acceptable prison conditions and Mandela's fortitude.

The opinions expressed to him by Mandela and reported in the article may not be quoted in South Africa.

Lord Bethell said Mandela had lived up to his image of a black folk hero and probably the world's most famous political prisoner.

He concluded that he had found him a man of inner strength and exhilarating company.

Mandela: support is not whole-hearted

LONDON — The London campaign to free Mr Nelson Mandela will be given fresh impetus by the prominent publication of an interview with him in a major British newspaper, *The Mail on Sunday*.

The newspaper gave two pages to what it called a world exclusive interview with Mr Mandela, jailed leader of the outlawed African National Congress sentenced to life in 1962 after the Rivonia sabotage trial.

The article was written by Lord Bethell, vice-chairman of the European Parliament's human rights sub-committee.

He wrote to the South African Government asking for permission to visit Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison, near Cape Town. To his surprise, the Government agreed.

Lord Bethell found Mr Mandela in good health, well treated in a prison that looked like a redbrick university which, say the South African

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

authorities, is as good as any in the world.

But this, said Lord Bethell, did not lessen the basic injustice of keeping in jail for more than 20 years a man who was no murderer, whose only crime was conniving at blowing up electricity and water installations and advocating the overthrow of apartheid.

The newspaper backed Lord Bethell with an editorial which said it unhesitatingly joined all throughout the world who demanded the immediate release of what it called the undisputed leader of the black population of South Africa.

However, like Lord Bethell and Amnesty International, the newspaper could not give whole-hearted support to a man who favoured violence to further his political cause ... and Mr Mandela had con-

28/1/85
firmed again that he believed violence was justified.

However, said the newspaper, a great violence was being done to Mr Mandela by keeping him in prison and a great violence was being done to his people by denying them political rights.

In his article Lord Bethell spoke of Mr Mandela as self-assured and healthy, a man who took joy in his prison garden and praised senior prison officers.

The problem was that Mr Mandela still supported the armed struggle and this was why human rights organisations like Amnesty International would not campaign for his release.

Lord Bethell wrote: "It means, too, that his case makes a bad impression on the South African parole board since he shows no repentance for his past actions; rather the contrary."

Mr Mandela explained to Lord Bethell that the armed

struggle had been forced on blacks by the South African Government.

South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, last week called for dialogue between South Africa's black community and its Government.

"The world will treat these words, with scepticism," said the newspaper, "but perhaps we should be prepared to trust the Government more if Nelson Mandela were invited to take his place at the head of his people at that forum.

"With him locked up in prison, and there apparently for ever more, this forum will be seen for what it is: a cynical exercise in public relations by South Africa."

X Report restricted

● The Internal Security Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act compel *The Star* to restrict this report.

A report
from JOHN
BATTERSBY
in London

On his return to Britain, Mr Jones held a press conference in the offices of a Labour Party MP, Mr Dave Nellist, one of Militant's two MPs in the House of Commons. The other is Terry Fields, MP for Liverpool Broad Green.

At the press conference, Mr Nellist told reporters that neither he nor Mr Jones would be prepared to discuss the "mechanics" of the visit for "security reasons."

Mr Jones disclosed at the press conference that the South African NUM had made a R500 donation to striking British miners in a "historic act of solidarity" and that he had been made the first white member of the black NUM — "an honour which will remain with me until the day I die."

Direct contact was made between the South African and British NUM during a visit to Britain in 1983 by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, president of the NUM. Mr Rampahosa met the miners' leader, Arthur Scargill.

It was during this visit that Militant laid the groundwork for the Jones visit and secured an invitation for a British miner to visit the South African NUM.

The Militant Tendency regards the visit as a major coup for the revolutionary, Left.

Mr Jones has issued a report on his visit in which he recommends more direct contact with independent South African unions and more visits by British trade unionists — a sharp difference in emphasis from the line of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) which believes solidarity with black unions should be pursued in other fields.

UK labour left links with black SA unions

11A
D. Dispatch 28/1/85

placed a blanket ban on them.

In terms of a compromise reached several years ago, they recommend that any visit — particularly by British trade unionists to South Africa — should be arranged in consultation with Labour, the AAM, the ANC and SACTU.

The Jones visit did not fall into that category and was skillfully engineered from behind the scenes by Militant in an effort to exercise an influence in the emerging union movement in South Africa.

Militant, a pressure group of the revolutionary Left which has opted to remain within the Labour Party, is a source of continual tension between the Labour leadership and the party's hard Left.

Last week the Labour Leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, was faced with stiff opposition within the Labour national executive in his attempt to

find a formula for purging the party of Militant members.

One solution being proposed by a faction in the Labour executive is to draw up a clear definition of "democratic socialism" to make it easier to discredit Militant and mobilise wider support for a party purge of Trotskyist infiltration.

Attempts at Labour congresses to purge the party of Militant members raise cries of "witch-hunt and McCarthyism" from the hard Left.

Militant has between 3 000 and 6 000 members and claims a circulation

of 35 000 for its weekly journal — Militant.

Its main influence in the party comes through its firm control of the Young Socialists since 1970 and its recent breakthrough in getting two of its members into the House of Commons.

It follows the "entryist approach," which was conducted in some secrecy until the 1970s. Since the party as a whole has moved to the Left, Militant have operated with increasing openness in the party.

Militant was founded in the 1950s by South African-born Ted Grant (70) — a dedicated Trotskyist.

Mr Grant — born and brought up in Germiston — emigrated to Britain in 1937 at the age of 24

and soon became the leading of British first joiners' Int League merged with tory (RCP).

When the disintegration Grant and decided entryism Party — w organisational rallies, no and no org ties.

Mr Grant developed the Rev Socialist another Trotskyist group forerunner.

At the election, five candid whom we: Parliamen

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O. Dispatch 28/7/85

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ajor coup for the revolutionary Left.

Mr Jones has issued a report on his visit in which he recommends more direct contact with independent South African unions and more visits by British trade unionists — a sharp difference in emphasis from the line of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) which believes solidarity with black unions should be pursued in other fields.

The Labour Party, the AAM and the ANC are clearly embarrassed that Militant's clandestine activities have enabled it to gain a foothold in the independent union movement by using bona fide links between the two NUM's to further its vision of an international workers' revolution.

The Labour Party and the AAM do not regard direct links between British and South African trade unions as a priority but have not

placed a blanket ban on them.

In terms of a compromise reached several years ago, they recommend that any visit — particularly by British trade unionists to South Africa — should be arranged in consultation with Labour, the AAM, the ANC and SACTU.

The Jones visit did not fall into that category and was skillfully engineered from behind the scenes by Militant in an effort to exercise an influence in the emerging union movement in South Africa.

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Last week the Labour Leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, was faced with stiff opposition within the Labour national executive in his attempt to

find a formula for purging the party of Militant members.

At the party's 1983 congress the five members of the editorial board of Militant, the group's weekly mouthpiece, including South African-born Ted Grant, were expelled from the party on disciplinary grounds after a long wrangle.

Since then there have been a number of isolated moves to expel Militant members — some of which have backfired and left Mr Kinnock with egg on his face.

Mr Kinnock admits democratic structures within the Labour Party are open to abuse by groups like Militant unless it can be proved that

they are advocating a separate set of political principles in conflict with Labour policy, rather than merely advocating changes in existing Labour policy.

One solution being proposed by a faction in the Labour executive is to draw up a clear definition of "democratic socialism", to make it easier to discredit Militant and mobilise wider support for a party purge of Trotskyist infiltration.

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Militant was founded in the 1950s by South African-born Ted Grant (70) — a dedicated Trotskyist.

Mr Grant — born and brought up in Germiston — emigrated to Britain in 1937 at the age of 24

and soon became one of the leading proponents of British Trotskyism, first joining the Workers' International League which later merged with the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

When the RCP began disintegrating in 1949, Grant and his followers decided on a policy of entryism into the Labour Party — with no named organisation, no public rallies, nor publications and no organised activities.

Mr Grant later developed close links with the Revolutionary Socialist League — another Trotskyist entryist group — and the forerunner of Militant.

At the last general election, Militant had five candidates — two of whom were elected to Parliament.

It favours nationalisation of the media, unilateral nuclear disarmament, workers' democracy, the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, and the nationalisation of Britain's top 200 monopolies.

Africa curious about SA contacts with the ANC

ONE TIME
8/1/85 (11A)

NO

LONDON. — In its increasingly bemused dealings with American politics and politicians, the Pretoria government is betraying an impulsive tendency to shoot itself in its boot with its sub-machine-gun.

In its latest exhibition of erratic sharp-shooting between the feet it has presented the world with what must be the clearest evidence of the basic racialism that it is so concerned to deny.

Feeling it had made its case by the confusion among the blacks caused by permitting a white American politician to do a whistle-stop tour against apartheid around the country, it has promptly refused a black American politician permission to do the same thing.

Even if one accepts that our two ruling Bothas made the subtle calculation that Senator Edward Kennedy was much more likely to make a cock-up of this form of venture into the interior than would the more astute Reverend Jesse Jackson, it is still not convincingly explicable why Pretoria chose to open the door to the former and not the latter.

Left wondering

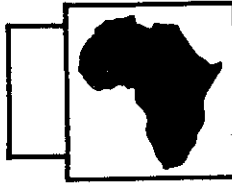
Somebody should have asked himself whether the affair should not have appeared before the world as the latest and most blatant bit of South African discrimination between black and white.

Perhaps canny black lookers-on elsewhere in this continent may have been left wondering whether South African policies were not on the point of quietly changing from the well-known official refusal to negotiate or palaver with influential black representatives.

Welcoming Mr Jackson might have given the appearance of rushing into change, when not long before Mr Andrew Young had demonstrated how sharply and accurately critical a visiting Afro-American pastor might be.

There is, such African observers might have said, such a thing as being too obvious.

A number of periodicals for Africans have been showing great curiosity about rumours that the Pretoria Nationalists have been trying to have talks



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



Prof H W van der Merwe . . . organizing contact with ANC

with members of the African National Congress.

A recent West African periodical has carried an account of how Professor H W van der Merwe of the University of Cape Town used private political enterprise to make contact with ANC members in Lusaka. There were also visits made in search of contact by Afrikaans journalists.

Well I find nothing surprising in Afrikaner journalists and academics making efforts to interview the ANC — it's just



Rev Jesse Jackson . . . a case of South African discrimination

what one would expect among such an able and sensible body of men.

ANC men and other Africans, including periodical readers, are just as interested in such contacts, although some are suspicious of them, believing them to be Pretoria government feelers.

Professor Van der Merwe explained to one ANC official contact that he was "a Quaker . . . concerned about the state of violence" in South Africa.

The professor is also report-

ed to have said he knew at least one member of the ruling National Party who was eager to speak to the ANC. I wouldn't be surprised if there had not been several probing meetings between Afrikaners, whether connected with the National Party or the government or not, and that quite a few files of discussions exist in ANC archives and External Department, or in military intelligence files on both sides.

But all those involved are obviously going to be extremely cautious about talking to journalists whether black or white about such contacts.

However, as far as I know, the talks between such parties have never been very substantive and certainly by no means on anything like an official level. If there has been anything in such approaches beyond a general query level I certainly have not heard of them.

The rights of Afrikaners

The ANC has never laid anything on the line about what their policy would be, or terms of working political attitude would be, in dealing with whites in a governmental role. They would simply refer any official questioner to the terms of the 1956 Freedom Charter drawn up between themselves and some left-wing whites.

At least when one Afrikaner researcher asked the question about the rights of Afrikaners in the presently almost unimaginable situation of the country under ANC rule, he received the answer that, "the rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex. All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs. But there will be no end to general hostilities without a complete end to apartheid".

It all makes one wonder whether it might not be worth throwing South Africa open to a great ndaba, or pitso. Apartheid should be set aside for a year for all sides to make their positions clear to each other without any penalty. We might all learn a lot about this country's common wisdom and tolerance.

ANC chief spells out policy

The Star Bureau

LONDON — African National Congress (ANC) leader Mr Oliver Tambo has spelled out his organisation's future policy in an interview with the British magazine *New Statesman*.

Mr Tambo's comments may not be published in South Africa.

The interview covers the effects of the Nkomati Accord, the issue of talks between the ANC and South Africa and the ANC's attitude to sabotage.

X Report restricted

● *The Internal Security Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act compel The Star to restrict this report.*

Botswana braces for ANC influx

By Donald Knowler,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

LOBATSE — The Botswana Government is bracing itself for a major infiltration by guerillas of the African National Congress (ANC), according to sources here.

The Government believes that the ANC is trying to establish supply lines through the country now that its operations have been curtailed in Mozambique and Swaziland.

The campaign against the ANC comes at a time when the Botswana Defence Force has confirmed finding a cache of arms on the outskirts of the capital, Gaborone.

Botswana has in the past been an important infiltration route for ANC guerillas and political agents travelling to South Africa from the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, sources said.

The policy of the Botswana Government is to round up suspected guerillas and deport them.

But there is fresh evidence that the ANC is increasing its operations through Botswana in order to overcome setbacks in Mozambique and Swaziland, the sources said.

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28/11/85

Star

✓

Boesak to speak on 'smear campaign'

AR 645
28/1/85
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DR Allan Boesak will make a full public statement about the alleged "smear campaign" against him when he returns from the United States.

A member of the Ecumenical Support Committee said although Dr Boesak was "reluctant to speak on the matter" he would make a statement on February 9 at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain.

The statement would be a culmination of the support campaign which would ask organisations and churches to sign a declaration to "record their anger and indignation" at the attempt to smear and discredit Dr Boesak as a reputable church and community leader".

The committee's aim was to "pledge support and solidarity for him and for the position he holds not only locally and nationally, but also internationally".

The church council of Bellville Sendingkerk, served by Dr Boesak, has rejected as a "smear campaign of the worst kind" allegations of an affair between Dr Boesak and a youth worker of the South African Council of Churches.

"Dirty tricks"

The church council decision read: "The meeting took note of the alleged rumours in connection with Dr Boesak. It is clear to the church council that we are dealing with a smear campaign of the worst kind.

"The church council has no reason to doubt the integrity and the credibility of Dr Boesak.

"The origin of the rumours is so doubtful — the nameless pamphlet — and the motives are so transparent that the church council is surprised at the publicity given to them."

● The editor of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said he would be happy to test allegations about police "dirty tricks" before the Media Council, but the newspaper also sought a wider inquiry.

This was said in a reply to a police statement which described as "blatant lies" the newspaper's report of security police involvement in the affair.

The police announced they would lodge a complaint with the Media Council about last week's report which, they said, probably referred to a conversation on January 9, between Mr Mike Cohen and Miss Chris Steyn, of the Star, and Colonel Chris Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Piet du Toit, of the security branch.

"The two members of the security branch describe the Star's version of the interview as blatant lies," the statement said.

Mr Tyson said: "We welcome — we seek — a Media Council hearing, for we are confident of the accuracy of our reports.

"Our report that two colonels were involved in the incident is not the only allegation of 'dirty tricks'. There are others, some of which we have direct knowledge of. The whole system needs examination and perhaps upgrading.

"Is there sufficient control of phone-tapping and "bugging"? Should not Parliament or some responsible independent body be kept informed, at least of the statistics?

"More important, should not the courts be made responsible for monitoring every case of every person held in communicado, even where there is no charge and no evidence?

"Solutions have to be found which allow security police to do their job, and at the same time to be accountable to their country," he said. — Staff Reporters and Sapa.

Lord peer

Calls for SA to free Mandela

11/11
13/11

From JOUBERT MALHERBE

LONDON. — A leading Conservative peer in Britain has called for the immediate and unconditional release of the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela.

Lord Nicholas Bethell, a member of the European Parliament and vice-chairman of the European Parliament's sub-committee on human rights, said the life sentence imposed on Mandela and his ANC comrades in 1964 was "completely out of proportion with the acts they committed".

Interview

Lord Bethell had the first "world exclusive" press interview with Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison last Monday. The interview was splashed over two pages yesterday in the popular Fleet Street newspaper The Mail on Sunday.

The newspaper, in its editorial, also called for Mandela's immediate release.

Speaking from his home yesterday, Lord Bethell said Mandela's continued incarceration was the focal point of world wrath against South Africa.

Mandela's release would help those in the international community who were attempting to lessen South Africa's isolation.

'Vibrant'

Lord Bethell said Mandela's imprisonment was a basic miscarriage of justice.

He said he had found Mandela in a positive frame of mind and Lord Bethell said the ANC leader remained vibrant, authoritative and determined, in spite of his 21 years of imprisonment.

He said the interview was an "exhilarating experience" and he was impressed by Mandela's inner strength and his character. Mandela always seemed to be the

most senior man in the company, he said.

The interview was arranged after Lord Bethell had written to Dr Denis Worrall, the South African Ambassador in Britain, in his capacity of the then chairman of the human rights sub-committee at the European Parliament.

Lord Bethell said Mandela's case aroused considerable public interest and was often mentioned in the European Parliament.

He also said there was concern over the conditions of Mandela's imprisonment, adding that he wanted to ascertain the truth about his position. After two months he was given permission for the interview.

He described Mandela's conditions at Pollsmoor Prison as "generally satisfactory", adding that this was confirmed by the Red Cross in Geneva and by Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman.

Although a prison officer was present during the entire interview, Lord Bethell said they were free to discuss anything, including politics.

"I could not detect that Mandela was holding back at all and I think he welcomed the opportunity to get his views on record," he said.

Letter

However, Mandela was not allowed to sign a letter accepting his nomination as Rector of the Edinburgh University. But Lord Bethell said he would write to the university informing them that Mandela had agreed to accept the honour.

Lord Bethell criticized the following restrictions on Mandela:

- Letters Mandela

wrote to congratulate Bishop Desmond Tutu on the Nobel Peace Prize and to his brother-in-law in the Transkei were blocked.

• Mandela should be permitted more contact with other prisoners at Pollsmoor, not just his political comrades.

• He should be allowed to see more of the outside world. At present his part of the prison is surrounded by high white walls.

• Lord Bethell said there were big pot plants in an L-shaped courtyard outside Mandela's cell, but there was no grass.

Has radio

Mandela was permitted to have an FM radio. He received South African newspapers and magazines and he also received some international publications, Lord Bethell said.

He said it was his impression that Mandela still supported the armed struggle, but only against the symbols of apartheid.

Car-bomb

Mandela had been saddened by the car-bomb in Pretoria in May 1983 in which a number of civilians had died, he said.

Lord Bethell said he was principally opposed to apartheid. It would be difficult to find a way of bringing blacks into the political process while people like Mandela "and his friends" were kept behind bars.

Mandela should be released unconditionally — "it won't work to confine him, because he won't obey such an order," Lord Bethell said.

CAPE TIMES 28/1/85

Church comes out in support of Boesak

Staff Reporter

DOCTOR Allan Boesak has won the support of his church council, which yesterday expressed faith in him after allegations that he was having an affair with a South African Council of Churches official, Ms Di Scott.

In a strongly-worded statement, the Bellville NG Sending Kerk upheld Dr Boesak's "integrity and credibility".

The statement, read to his congregation yesterday by the chairman of the church council, the Rev Martin Bosch, said:

"At an extraordinary meeting of the church council held on Saturday, January 26, 1985, the council noted the allegations against Dr Allan Boesak. It is clear to the council that these are part of a smear campaign of the worst kind.

"The council has no reason to doubt the integrity and credibility of



Dr Allan Boesak

Dr Boesak. The origin of the allegations is so dubious, and the motives so transparent, that the church is surprised at the publicity surrounding the matter."

The council met Dr Boesak on Saturday night to discuss the allegations.

Meanwhile the South African Police have described as "blatant lies" the report in the Star in Johannesburg that two security police officers

had admitted involvement in the smear campaign. However, the Star has said it is confident of the report's accuracy.

The Star named Colonel Chris Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Piet du Toit, as having been involved in the "dirty tricks" campaign to discredit Dr Boesak.

The police have announced that they will lodge a complaint with the South African Media Council — a move welcomed by the editor of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson.

Dr Boesak's supporters, including a group of clergymen, community leaders and activists, have formed a group to counter the smear campaign against him.

A member of the support committee said Dr Boesak would make a full public statement on the allegations at a mass meeting in Mitchells Plain on February 9.

Call to close ANC, Swapo offices in UK

11A
29/1/85
D. Ingham

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON — A call to Mrs Thatcher's government to close all ANC and Swapo offices in Britain has been made by the foreign affairs group of the Federation of Conservative Students, whose president is Mrs Thatcher.

The federation is the student wing of the Conservative Party and its two vice-presidents and honorary secretary are all Conservative MPs.

Its foreign affairs group's recommendations are contained in a seven-page publication, *A Liberation Reader. The Freedom Fighter versus Terrorist Debate. A Conservative Activists' Guide.*

The publication does not necessarily reflect the views of the federation or of the Conservative Party itself. Mrs Thatcher's Government has resisted all efforts so far to persuade it to

close down the ANC and Swapo offices.

The Conservative Students' Union, a pressure group within the 9 000-strong federation, earlier this month called on the Conservative Party chairman, Mr John Selwyn Gummer, to cut off R55 000 a year in party funds to the federation because of disruptive behaviour at last year's conference of the left-wing National Union of Students.

The publication wants the government to urge its EEC partners to take similar action against the ANC and Swapo (and the PLO).

"To give safe haven to such bloodstained marxist terrorist organisations is to nurture a cancer in our very midst and encourages the legitimacy of terrorism," the publication said.

"The co-operation, for example, between the Provisional IRA, INLA

(Irish National Liberation Army) and the PLO is well-known and documented and the links between the ANC, Swapo and PIRA (Provisional IRA) are also clear.

"It is difficult not to criticise the government for not having taken steps against these terrorist organisations having offices in London considerably earlier in the light of the grievous wounding of Israeli ambassador Argov, the recent ANC terrorist bombings in South Africa (most of whose victims have been black civilians) and Swapo's

continuing murder campaign against black and white civilians in Namibia."

The publication added: "We must highlight and support the legitimate struggle for self-determination of movements such as Unita in Angola and Mozambique's MNR.

"At the same time it is important to urge the government to release financial and military aid to these legitimate freedom-fighting organisations; to train their personnel and to support these movements both diplomatically and politically at every opportunity."

tions of the community had only been done on families following a request those who are opposed to being autonomous.

UDF, Azapo under fire

Seweter 24/1/85

11A

THE BLACK Management Forum has warned the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azapo to stop their mudslinging

for the sake of black unity.

In a statement released to The SOWETAN, BMF president

Mr George Megota said: "We deplore and abhor the manner in which Azapo and the UDF are settling their differ-

ences.

"Let them be warned that their differences can only serve to strengthen the hand of the enemy. Oppressed people in South Africa have long identified their enemy.

"We are surprised that Azapo and the UDF are still involved in mudslinging gimmicks at the expense of black unity."

Warned

BMF also warned both the Gazankulu and Lebowa governments to accept responsibility for tribal feuds going on in the northern Transvaal.

"We deplore in the strongest possible terms this kind of action and would like to warn both governments that they should accept responsibility for what is happening, in view of the fact that they declared themselves carriers of the policy of divide and rule.

"We would also like to appeal to people in those affected areas to stop fighting. They must not allow their differences to degenerate into tribal war".

Capacity crowd expected at Bishop Tutu's enthronement

A CAPACITY congregation of over 1 500 is expected to witness the enthronement of Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu as the next Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg on Sunday, February 3, at 2pm at the St Mary's Cathed-

ral.

According to the office of the Dean of the Anglican church, His Grace, the Most Reverend Philip Russel, Archbishop of Cape Town, will preside at what might be considered one

of the most moving and impressive liturgies in the Anglican tradition. The Archbishop, together with the Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend Merwyn Castle, as Senior Priest of the Diocese, will perform the actual ceremonies of enthronement.

Among those who will attend will be representatives of churches from the Republic and abroad, civic and consular dignitaries, and over 200 priests and hundreds of lay people from the wide-flung Diocese of Johannesburg. At the end of the service, the Bishop will be led in procession to the great west doors of the cathedral, where he will pronounce a blessing on the city and the diocese.

Send your news now

IT is only a day to our Church and Community News deadline!

If you have not yet submitted your items please do so immediately. You have only until tomorrow at 12 noon.

Telephone Mzikayise Edom and Letta Rammego at 54-8027; Monk Nkomo at (012) 21-9408 or Mojalefa Moseki at 673-4160. Please remember that you can also phone the news desk at 673-4160 if there are any problems.

There is no charge for your items, all you have to do is make sure you telephone before Wednesday 12 noon so that we process your items properly.

Remember that there is someone in the office from 9 am to 8 pm today to take down your details.

economy in this state?

Five Azasm members freed from detention

FIVE MEMBERS of the Azanian Students Movement, including the Soweto branch vice president, were at the weekend released from detention after being held for more than three months.

The five, who were released from John Vorster Square and Protea police stations, are Thami Mcerwa (21) vice president of Azasm, George Ngwenya (19), Nhlanhla Sambo (17), Gladstone Mkhwanazi (19) and Sipho Lugojobo (20).

They were all students

at the Ibhongo High School in Dhlamini, Soweto. Mcerwa was detained on October 5 while the others were picked up on October 8, last year. They were all held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Progress

They said they appreciated the fact that there was academic progress presently, but were wary of the Department of Education and Training's attitude as regards students' demands which have not been

met. They are presently making arrangements to go back to classes.

The five ex-detainees were unanimous in that "the struggle continues" and that they would start where they left off. Although they expressed relief at being released, they were concerned about fellow students who are still in detention and called for their release. Mcerwa was held at John Vorster Square while the other four were at Protea.



FREE: The five Azasm members who were released from detention at the weekend. They are (from left): Sipho Lugojobo, Gladstone Mkhwanazi, Nhlanhla Sambo, George Ngwenya and Thami Mcerwa. Pic: LEN KUMALO

see the market

29/1/85

HNP attacks journalist for ANC talks

Pretoria Bureau
A Herstigte Nasionale Party member of the Pretoria City Council wants the council to eject Dr Piet Muller from a special committee which aims to turn part of Church Street into an historic walkway because Dr Muller, a leading Afri-

kaans journalist, met with the African National Congress in Lusaka recently.

Dr Muller, an assistant editor of the Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* is unperturbed by the motion.

Mr Piet Rudolph of the HNP accuses Dr Muller and *Beeld* of hypocrisy,

in that before the 1984 referendum the newspaper warned that voting "no" was tantamount to siding with the ANC.

"Now Dr Muller has had discussions with the ANC which, in 1983, planted a bomb in Church Street which killed and maimed civilians.

"How can he now sit on a committee looking into turning the street into an historical walkway?" said Mr Rudolph.

The motion which will be tabled at tomorrow's council meeting, calls on the council to withdraw permission to Dr Muller to participate.

CAPE Times 29/1/88

11A

Heads may roll at ANC conference

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — The exiled African National Congress is to hold a major conference — the first of its kind since 1969 — to discuss its role in Southern Africa in the light of the Nkomati Accord.

The date and the venue of the conference are being kept secret, but some reports suggest it may be held at Morogoro in Tanzania within the next few months.

As many as 200 delegates may attend the conference, which is expected to launch into a frank, in-depth discussion of the plight in which the ANC finds itself following the severing of its "Ho Chi Minh" trail through Mozambique into South Africa and its virtual expulsion from Lesotho and Swaziland.

According to some sources, "heads will roll" at the conference as the ANC faces up to the new problems facing it. Some younger members of the ANC, including men and women who left South Africa after the upheaval in Soweto in 1976, are expected to be voted into high office.

Civilian targets

The ANC leadership has come under increasing pressure from young militants in the organization's ranks to embark on more forcible campaigns, and even to consider attacking "soft" civilian targets.

The ANC has consistently avoided attacking civilian targets, and although it may be forced to modify this aspect of its campaign, no serious change in policy is contemplated at this stage.

There is apparently no threat to the leadership of the ANC's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is popular at all levels of the organization.

The ANC says it intends to continue its sabotage campaign in South Africa, but at the same time it is clearly interested in engaging in talks over apartheid — if not directly with the government at this stage, then possibly with other sections of white opinion in South Africa.

Another controversial issue expected to surface at the ANC conference is a proposal that whites, coloured people and Indians should be allowed to become members of the national executive committee.

Some ANC members, particularly the younger ones who formerly supported the black consciousness movement, are opposed to anyone other than blacks serving on the national executive. They are opposed particularly to the presence of white communists on the national executive.

Nats sceptical of Mandela truce offer

11A
Star 30/11/85

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government is taking a low-key and sceptical approach to reports that former African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has offered to call a truce and negotiate — on condition that the organisation is unbanned.

And it is clear the Government is still not prepared to release him from prison.

A spokesman for President Botha's office said today that it would take more than just a statement of intent before the Government would sit down and talk to the ANC.

Hard-and-fast evidence was needed over a "considerable period of time" that violence had been abandoned.

VIOLENCE

But the spokesman added: "The position of the President is quite clear. If the ANC stops its campaign of violence, we will sit down and talk.

"If they do not stop their violence, we will not talk to them."

The reported truce offer by Mandela was disclosed in Parliament yesterday by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Sandton).

She said Mandela had conveyed his message to Conservative peer Lord Nicholas Bethell during an interview at Pollsmoor Prison this month.

Mandela explained to Lord Nicholas that the armed struggle had been forced on blacks by the South African Government.

"And if they want us to give it up, the ball is in their court," Mandela said. "They must legalise us, treat us like a political party, and negotiate with us.

"Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle. It is useless simply to carry on talking..."

Mandela said that if there were talks along the lines he suggested, the ANC would declare a truce.

Mrs Suzman appealed for the release of Mandela and other jailed ANC members.

It is understood the Government is unlikely to even con-

sider their release unless they are prepared to give an undertaking that they will virtually retire from politics.

The Government is not willing to allow Mandela to become a rallying point, or to have a situation where it would be forced to re-arrest him for activities he might become involved in.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, is expected to deal with the issue when he speaks in Parliament during the No-Confidence debate this afternoon.

President Botha, who will take the adjournment of the debate this afternoon and speak in detail tomorrow, could also deal with the issue.

In her speech, Mrs Suzman said the international campaign for punitive action against South Africa had reached tidal wave proportions in the United States.

She said South Africa faced the prospect of growing international isolation because of its racial policies.

There was a "veritable flood" of legislation in preparation in the US on disinvestment and economic relations.

INVESTMENTS

She said legislation already in operation in the US — which had "huge investments" in South Africa — included:

- A ban on the sale of Krugers in the US.
- Prohibition of bank loans to the South African Government, except for purposes to "uplift blacks".
- A ban on new investments in South Africa.

Mrs Suzman said it was the epitome of self-deception to believe that the opening address to Parliament by President Botha, in which he promised a negotiating forum for urban blacks, would halt the campaign.

It was also wrong to believe that the Reagan Administration would save South Africa from international isolation — because there was a Democratic majority in the US House of Representatives.

Women protest at increase in bus fares

By JIMMY MATYU

ABOUT 30 members of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (Pewo) today assembled outside the Port Elizabeth Tramways' New Brighton bus depot — Bay Passenger Transport — to protest against increased bus fares.

The women were watched by police who photographed the crowd. One video camera was used.

Some of the placards read: "Down with high bus

fares"; "High fares, NO"; "No high wages"; "We are hungry, we have no money"; "Decrease bus fares" and "This is a peaceful demonstration".

Last night the women decided not to assemble outside the Centenary Great Hall after Brigadier C A Swart, the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, had warned on Monday that the march would amount to an illegal gathering.

Today they walked to the depot one-by-one or in couples.

Outside the depot, five women, Mrs Ivy Gcina, the president of Pewo, Miss N Stampo, the assistant secretary, Mrs Elizabeth Hashe, the treasurer, Miss N Zini and Mrs N Mbunye, were delegated to seek an interview with company officials.

While the five women were inside the premises of the bus depot, the others

stood across the street displaying placards.

Mrs Gcina and Miss Stampo later met depot officials.

Mrs Gcina said they were advised to write to Mr Carl Coetzer, the managing director.

She said they had told the officials that the bus fare increases had come at the wrong time with breadwinners being retrenched and high unemployment.

Representatives of six

affiliates of the United Democratic Front — Pewo, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Motor Assemblers' and Components Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa) and the General Workers' Union of South Africa (Gwusa) — will hold a meeting on the bus fares increases in the Gana Kakaza Hall today at 6pm.

Mandela

'ready to call a truce'

CAPE Times
30/1/85

11A
~~20/1/85~~

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, was prepared to call a truce and negotiate with the government if the ANC was unbanned, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton said Mandela had conveyed this message to a leading Conservative peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, during an interview at Pollsmoor Prison this month.

Lord Bethell, who is vice-chairman of the European Parliament's sub-committee on human rights, said after his visit that the immediate and unconditional release of the jailed leader would help those in the international community attempting to lessen South Africa's isolation.

'Nebulous'

Mrs Suzman said yesterday that if the government really wanted to improve South Africa's position dramatically both at home and abroad, it would announce its intention to free Mandela.

It should also release other long-term prisoners like Denis Goldberg and Govan Mbeki, who had spent more than 20 years in prison.

Mrs Suzman warned that "nebulous incremental change" would no longer be sufficient to save South Africa from isolation or to improve race relations.

She said repulsive aspects of government poli-



Mrs Helen Suzman

cy, like detention without trial and forced removals, had for years fuelled 'overseas' campaigns for punitive action against South Africa.

These had now reached "tidal wave" proportions and in the United States alone, 17 bills were presently being prepared on disinvestment and other punitive economic measures against South Africa.

"Even if some of the bills and resolutions are dropped, I believe we can say goodbye to new US investment in South Africa, for the hassle factor is enough to deter any aspirant investor."

Mrs Suzman said that

although Mr Botha's speech indicated that the government was showing signs of greater flexibility, it would be premature to become euphoric about his announcements on urban blacks.

Caution was needed, because Mr Botha's statement contained "considerable ambiguity". The government also had a habit of breaking its promises.

What would have been more effective in stemming the "tidal wave" of punitive measures contemplated against South Africa would have been a clear, unambiguous statement by the government that it would:

Steps

- Eliminate influx control entirely, rather than simply reconsider its negative and discriminatory aspects.
 - Abandon all plans for forced removals.
 - Return to due process of law and release all detainees held without trial.
 - Revoke all banning orders.
- Once these initial steps had been completed, the government should dismantle apartheid and move towards a system based on the consent of all South Afri-

● Sapa-AP reports from London that a spokesman for the State President, Mr P W Botha, had said the South African Government would be prepared to talk to the banned ANC if it abandoned violence, according to a report in the newspaper The Times yesterday.

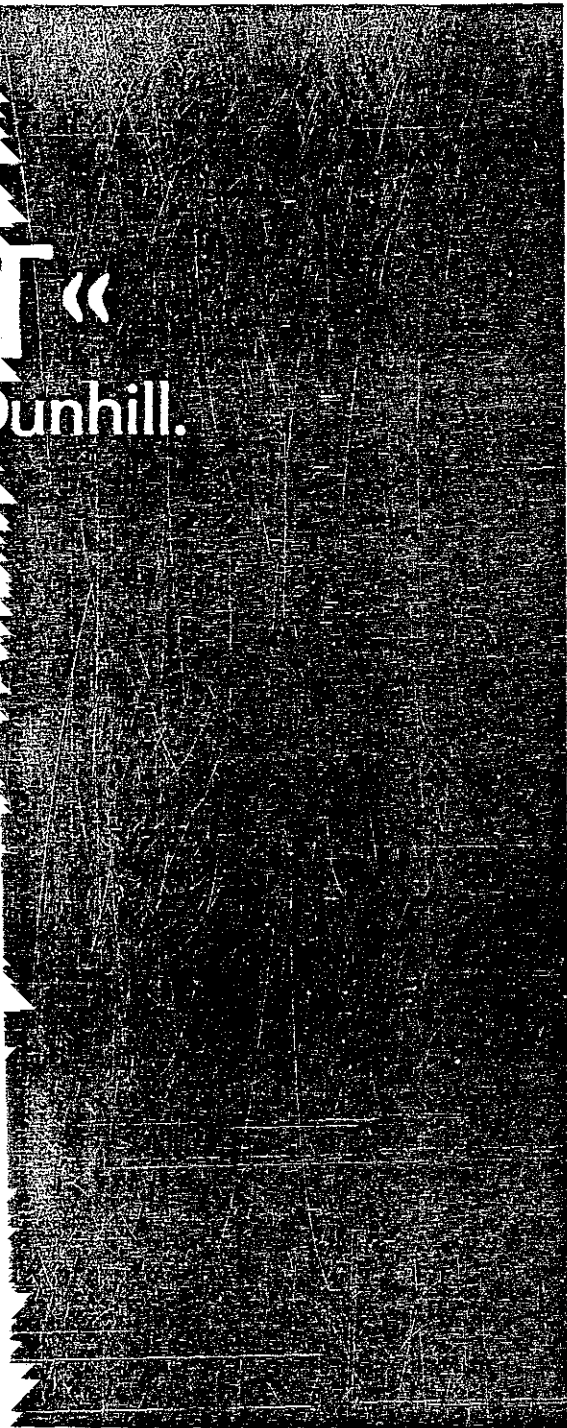
The Times quoted the presidential press liaison officer, Mr Jack Viviers, as saying: "The position of the President is quite clear. If the ANC stops their campaign of violence, we will sit down and talk to them. If they do not stop their violence, we will not talk to them."

Pik Botha

Mr Viviers was reported as saying that if talks were to be opened, the President would require "not just a statement of intent, but hard and fast evidence over a considerable period of time that violence had in fact been abandoned".

● Meanwhile, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, indicated in an interview with the Christian Science Monitor and the Washington Post yesterday that the government might respond favourably to remarks attributed to Mandela.

Calling it "a very delicate matter" on which the government had made no decision, he said he personally believed that if Mandela denounced violence as a means to achieve political objectives, "there would be at least a sympathetic consideration of the whole matter".



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unhill.

ANC 'truce offer': Govt calls ^{AKGus 30/1/85} for end to violence

Political Staff ^(11A)

THE Government says it would have to be "very sure" that the ANC's campaign of violence is over before it enters into any talks with that organisation.

This is part of its response to a conditional truce offer by the ANC, reported in Parliament yesterday by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFHP Houghton).

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in an interview published in American newspapers yesterday that if the ANC denounced violence "there would be at least a sympathetic consideration of the whole matter".

Mrs Suzman said during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday: "I wonder if the Government is aware that when Lord Bethell visited ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela about 10 days ago Mandela told Lord Bethell that if the Government would unban the ANC, the ANC would be prepared to call a truce and enter into negotiations."

"NAMIBIAN SITUATION"

After interjections, Mrs Suzman said: "I think South Africa should be aware of this important statement.

"This ongoing war, this Namibian situation, is all due to the fact that no negotiations have been entered into or are contemplated between the Government and the ANC."

Today a Government spokesman said: "If the ANC stops its campaign of violence we will sit down and talk to them. If they do not stop their violence we will not talk to them."

He added: "The State President would require not just a statement of intent, but evidence over a considerable period that violence had in fact been abandoned."

Mrs Suzman suggested in Parliament that if the Government wanted to improve South Africa's position dramatically it would announce its intention to release Mandela and other long-term prisoners.

But there has been no sign from the Government that such a step is imminent.

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RDM 30/1/85

Ban on bail removed

By ANTON HARBER

IN A most unusual move, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal yesterday withdrew the certificate preventing bail being granted to Mr January Radebe, a student leader facing charges of subversion and terrorism.

Mr Radebe, a leader of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) in Sebokeng, was released on R1 000 bail.

Mr Radebe, meanwhile, has laid charges of attempted murder against a school-teacher who allegedly stabbed him earlier this year.

Mr Radebe was allegedly stabbed shortly after schools reopened this year. He has

laid charges against Mr Hugh Paul Dolo, a teacher at Tukela High School, Sebokeng.

Mr Radebe was arrested shortly after the stabbing and appeared in court on January 17. He was charged with subversion and terrorism, offences which carry sentences of up to 25 years.

Mr N Neethling, Attorney-General of the Transvaal, issued a special certificate in terms of the Internal Security Act preventing bail being granted.

However, Mr Radebe's lawyers, Priscilla Jana and Associates, made representations to Mr Neethling and the certificate was withdrawn yesterday.

Mr Radebe must report to a police station twice weekly.

Detainees 'tell of torture'

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC) received a steady flow of allegations of assault and torture of detainees during 1984, according to a paper delivered at a health conference last weekend.

The paper, delivered by a DPSC representative at the conference of the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda), described 1984 as "one of the worst periods of repression in

South Africa".

It compared 1984 with the period of the Sharpeville State of Emergency in the early 1960s and the period of the 1976/7 student uprising.

More than 1 100 people — mostly pupils, students, teachers and political and community workers — were detained.

The paper pointed out that 62% of the detainees were charged, but by the end of the year only 1,1% had been convicted.

In 1983, only 15% of all

detainees were charged.

The paper also warned that there was no sign that this year would bring a decrease in repression.

The most alarming new development in 1984, according to the paper, was the introduction of closed-circuit television in the cells at John Vorster Square.

By late yesterday, the SAP division of public relations had not replied to a request for comment on the allegations.

30/1/85

Parliament and Politics

Suzman wants probe into Boesak 'affair'

11A

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) yesterday called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to appoint a judicial inquiry into the allegations of the "disgraceful intrusion" by security police into the private life of Dr Allan Boesak.

Police denials of involvement in "dirty tricks" operations were not sufficient. Neither was the referral of "this unsavoury matter" to the Media Council.

The government should — if it was able to do so — refute claims by the Star newspaper that it had "concrete evidence" of security police involvement, before a judicial inquiry.

"The use of State machinery to smear political opponents cannot be tolerated," she said.

Only way to clear name is to sue

● The moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, the Rev Izak Mentor, said yesterday that the only way that Dr Boesak could completely clear his name was to sue those who had alleged that he had had an extramarital affair.

Mr Mentor was reacting to a statement of support for Dr Boesak by the church council of Dr Boesak's own Bellville congregation.

Mr Mentor said: "As I read the statement, it left the question of whether the rumours were true or not unanswered.

"From the church point of view, whether or not the allegations are true is the main thing, rather than where they came from.

"A proper investigation from the point of view of the church could clear his name."

Leader wants ANC unbanned

Mandela 'ready to call truce'

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

THE JAILED leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, had undertaken to call a truce and negotiate with the Government if the organisation was unbanned, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

Nelson can be quoted in SA

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, may be quoted in South Africa, provided care is taken not to contravene the Prisons Act and those sections of the Unlawful Organisations Act incorporated into the new Internal Security Act.

Mandela is not included in any list under the omnibus Internal Security Act and the presumed total prohibition on quoting him does not exist in law. The Rand Daily Mail came to these conclusions after talking to Colonel Leon Mellet, liaison officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mr Andre Bosch, a Government advisor on security law, and a senior Johannesburg advocate who has made a thorough study of the subject.

Approached for comment last week shortly after Mandela was interviewed by the British peer, Lord Bethell, Col

Speaking in the House of Assembly during the No Confidence Debate, Mrs Suzman said Mandela told this to a British Conservative Party peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, during a recent interview at Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town.

She said she believed it was important for the Government to be aware of what Mandela had said.

The interview, the first published since Mandela's conviction 21 years ago, was published in The Mail on Sunday in Britain at the weekend. It has not been published in South Africa.

Lord Bethell, a member of the European Parliament and vice-chairman of its human rights sub-committee, called for Mandela's immediate release.

In her speech yesterday, Mrs Suzman supported the call and said it would dramatically improve South Africa's position both internally and in the outside world.

The Government should also release other jailed ANC leaders such as Denis Goldberg and Govan Mbeki because more than 20 years in jail was retribution enough by any civilised standards, she said.

Mrs Suzman said she could not "go overboard" about it.

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30/1/85
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Overseas fares to g

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Overseas fares are up on Friday, February 1, and 10% with an increase 25% on one-way overseas

Mr Robert Carosin, regional TFC Tours travel agency, that the travel industry has increases for some time, they have been much higher and go up again.

Mr Carosin said that, for the cheapest ticket from Johannesburg and back had been R1 now be R1 137.

"The biggest cost to a going to London will still be the cheapest ticket at the other end. The down against almost every Western world," he said.

Mr Maurice Bower of Tivvices said that the increase in type of ticket, but that to return ticket was up 10% about 8%.



By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

THE JAILED leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, had undertaken to call a truce and negotiate with the Government if the organisation was unbanned, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said

Nelson can be quoted in SA

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, may be quoted in South Africa, provided care is taken not to contravene the Prisons Act and those sections of the Unlawful Organisations Act incorporated into the new Internal Security Act.

Mandela is not included in any list under the omnibus Internal Security Act and the presumed total prohibition on quoting him does not exist in law. The Rand Daily Mail came to these conclusions after talking to Colonel Leon Mellet, liaison officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mr Andre Bosch, a Government advisor on security law, and a senior Johannesburg advocate who has made a thorough study of the subject.

Approached for comment last week shortly after Mandela was interviewed by the British peer, Lord Bethell, Col Mellet said: "Mandela is not listed in terms of the Internal Security Act".

Mr Bosch confirmed Col Mellet's statement, but declined to comment on whether that meant Mandela could be quoted.

Statements made by Mandela before and since his imprisonment in 1964 would appear to be publishable, provided they are not used to further the aims of the outlawed African National Congress and provided they do not concern the offence for which he was sentenced (sabotage).

His now famous speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial of 1964 would, however, appear to be quotable because the Prisons Act permits quotation of statements submitted in evidence in a court.

yesterday.

Speaking in the House of Assembly during the No Confidence Debate, Mrs Suzman said Mandela told this to a British Conservative Party peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, during a recent interview at Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town.

She said she believed it was important for the Government to be aware of what Mandela had said.

The interview, the first published since Mandela's conviction 21 years ago, was published in The Mail on Sunday in Britain at the weekend. It has not been published in South Africa.

Lord Bethell, a member of the European Parliament and vice-chairman of its human rights sub-committee, called for Mandela's immediate release.

In her speech yesterday, Mrs Suzman supported the call and said it would dramatically improve South Africa's position both internally and in the outside world.

The Government should also release other jailed ANC leaders such as Denis Goldberg and Govan Mbeki because more than 20 years in jail was retribution enough by any civilised standards, she said.

Mrs Suzman said she could not "go overboard" about the Government's latest plan for black constitutional reform.

The plan, announced by the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the opening of Parliament last week, was ambiguous and contained the "obvious ploy" of creating a political division between rural and urban blacks.

She could also not help recalling that the Government had broken promises in the past both at home and abroad.

The Government had also shattered the hopes of South African businessmen who had attended the Carlton and Good Hope conferences and come away starry-eyed.

And every time there was a by-election which the Conservative Party

truce offer on hand

From Page 1

seemed to have a chance of winning, the Government retreated into the laager.

She warned the Government that it could no longer do this. Its time was running out.

Moves towards punitive economic action against South Africa had reached tidal wave proportions in the United States.

Even if some of the US Bills opposing economic and other ties with South Africa were dropped, future US investment in South Africa could be severely affected merely because the "hassle factor" would deter investors.

Mrs Suzman said it had to be remembered that the new Constitution was heralded as a "step in the right direction", but had contributed nothing towards better race relations in the country.

Last year the scene had been dominated by riots and school boycotts and actions by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that had undoubtedly added to the disastrous impression of South Africa gained by the outside world.

Mrs Suzman said "nebulous incremental" change would not save South Africa from isolation or improve race relations within the country.

A clear and unambiguous statement of intent by the Government that it would remove influx control, abandon plans for forced removals, return to a due process of law, release all people detained without trial and revoke all banning orders would have been more effective than what Mr Botha announced last week, she said.

"What I suggest is just for starters — to stem the tidal wave. Thereafter the Government must act with all deliberate speed to dismantle apartheid and move towards a system of government based on the consent of all South Africans." The PFP supported this line not because of foreign pressure, but because the party believed it was morally right, politically tenable and economically sound.

To Page 2

Mandela 'ready to call a truce'

CAPE Times
30/1/85

11A

~~30/1/85~~

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, was prepared to call a truce and negotiate with the government if the ANC was unbanned, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton said Mandela had conveyed this message to a leading Conservative peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, during an interview at Pollsmoor Prison this month.

Lord Bethell, who is vice-chairman of the European Parliament's sub-committee on human rights, said after his visit that the immediate and unconditional release of the jailed leader would help those in the international community attempting to lessen South Africa's isolation.

'Nebulous'

Mrs Suzman said yesterday that if the government really wanted to improve South Africa's position dramatically both at home and abroad, it would announce its intention to free Mandela.

It should also release other long-term prisoners like Denis Goldberg and Govan Mbeki, who had spent more than 20 years in prison.

Mrs Suzman warned that "nebulous incremental change" would no longer be sufficient to save South Africa from isolation or to improve race relations.

She said repulsive aspects of government poli-



Mrs Helen Suzman

cy, like detention without trial and forced removals, had for years fuelled overseas campaigns for punitive action against South Africa.

These had now reached "tidal wave" proportions and in the United States alone, 17 bills were presently being prepared on disinvestment and other punitive economic measures against South Africa.

"Even if some of the bills and resolutions are dropped, I believe we can say goodbye to new US investment in South Africa, for the hassle factor is enough to deter any aspirant investor."

Mrs Suzman said that

although Mr Botha's speech indicated that the government was showing signs of greater flexibility, it would be premature to become euphoric about his announcements on urban blacks.

Caution was needed, because Mr Botha's statement contained "considerable ambiguity". The government also had a habit of breaking its promises.

What would have been more effective in stemming the "tidal wave" of punitive measures contemplated against South Africa would have been a clear, unambiguous statement by the government that it would:

Steps

- Eliminate influx control entirely, rather than simply reconsider its negative and discriminatory aspects.

- Abandon all plans for forced removals.

- Return to due process of law and release all detainees held without trial.

- Revoke all banning orders.

Once these initial steps had been completed, the government should dismantle apartheid and move towards a system based on the consent of all South Africans.

● Sapa-AP reports from London that a spokesman for the State President, Mr P W Botha, had said the South African Government would be prepared to talk to the banned ANC if it abandoned violence, according to a report in the newspaper The Times yesterday.

The Times quoted the presidential press liaison officer, Mr Jack Viviers, as saying: "The position of the President is quite clear. If the ANC stops their campaign of violence, we will sit down and talk to them. If they do not stop their violence, we will not talk to them."

Pik Botha

Mr Viviers was reported as saying that if talks were to be opened, the President would require "not just a statement of intent, but hard and fast evidence over a considerable period of time that violence had in fact been abandoned".

● Meanwhile, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, indicated in an interview with the Christian Science Monitor and the Washington Post yesterday that the government might respond favourably to remarks attributed to Mandela.

Calling it "a very delicate matter" on which the government had made no decision, he said he personally believed that if Mandela denounced violence as a means to achieve political objectives, "there would be at least a sympathetic consideration of the whole matter".

Parliament and Politics

LP sees realities UDF 'ignores'

Cape Times 30/1/85 119

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—The Labour Party recognized important realities of South Africa which could not be ignored or wished away, as organizations like the United Democratic Front and the

Azanian People's Organization wanted to do. the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, said yesterday. "We have identified with those who seek a

peaceful solution to South Africa's problems," he said while speaking against the motion of no confidence proposed on Monday by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz.

There was no place for "political opportunism" such as that shown by the UDF when it invited Senator Edward Kennedy to visit the Republic in the hope that his presence would "wield a big stick" over the government.

"Instead of a big comet in the sky, his visit was nothing more than a damp squib," Mr Ebrahim said.

Senator Kennedy's visit had, however, highlighted clearly that South Africa was a deeply-divided society, and that black unity was a pipedream.

The UDF had sealed its own doom, with its followers falling out among one another and its road ahead leading nowhere.

"I hope this lesson has come home to the black community."

Similarly the Marxist models proposed by Azapo and the black consciousness movement would only lead to bloodshed and violence. This was clearly shown by what had happened in Mozambique.

Azapo objected to attempts to create a black middle class through property ownership, but the establishment of such a class would be one of the cornerstones of a peaceful society in the country.

The minister said one of the realities accepted by the Labour Party was that whites had political power, and that they would not capitulate overnight, as the UDF hoped. — Sapa

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11A (circled) Star 30/11/85

Mandela: Pik talks of a sympathetic response

WASHINGTON — South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, is reported to have said he believes his Government will respond sympathetically if jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela denounces violence as a means to gain political objectives.

Mr Botha's comment was made jointly to two American

The Star Bureau

newspapers and reported slightly differently in each.

In the *Washington Post* Glen Frankel said Mr Botha was referring to an offer by Mandela for talks with the Government.

In the *Christian Science Monitor* Paul van Slambrouck

linked Mr Botha's comment to possible release of Mandela.

Frankel reported that Mr Botha held out the possibility that his Government might respond positively to recent published remarks by Mandela offering a truce between his outlawed resistance movement and the Government in return for meaningful talks on South

Africa's future.

Frankel added that Mr Botha described as a very delicate matter an interview published in London last weekend in which Mandela made his offer of truce.

"Without expressing he was not commenting officially for his Government," Frankel reported, "Mr Botha said he believed

that if Mandela denounced violence as a means to achieve political objectives there would be at least a sympathetic consideration of the matter."

Van Slambrouck tied Mr Botha's comment to speculation in South Africa that the Government was considering freeing Mandela.

Le Grange admits watch on Boesak

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

11A ~~11A~~
Star
31/1/85

PARLIAMENT — Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange admitted yesterday that Security Police had discovered an apparent extramarital affair between Dr Allan Boesak, president of the

Boesak may face new church probe

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak's alleged affair with SA Council of Churches youth worker Miss Di Scott may come under new scrutiny by the Ned Geref Sendingkerk following the disclosure that the security police were aware of it.

A preliminary investigation by the council of the Bellville Sendingkerk dismissed the allegations as "a smear campaign of the worst kind". It said the council had "no reason to doubt the integrity and credibility of Dr Boesak".

In Parliament yesterday the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said that Security Branch members had uncovered the affair during the course of their duties.

It is now possible that the church council will either hold another meeting to investigate the allegations or refer the issue to the Ring under which Bellville Sendingkerk falls, according to the moderator of the Sendingkerk, the Rev Isak Mentor.

He said the church council conducted its preliminary investigation with respect to allegations carried in the Press and normally would have discharged its duties at that point.

"Now new light has been thrown on the matter." — Own Correspondent.

World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and an employee of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

But he denied that they had leaked the information to newspapers in order to smear Dr Boesak — or for any other reason.

Speaking in the House of Assembly in No-Confidence debate, he said the affair between Dr Boesak and Miss Di Scott had come to the notice of the police during the course of "the Security Branch's duties".

Such information garnered by the police during the course of duties was treated confidentially and not leaked, he said.

Mr le Grange said it was also apparent to the police that the affair was an open secret and known in various circles, including journalists, church groups and members of the SACC.

Private life

The Minister was reacting to Progressive Federal Party demands on Tuesday that the Government hold a judicial inquiry into the allegations — first published by *The Star* — that the Security Police had used "dirty tricks" to intrude into the private life of Dr Boesak.

Mr le Grange said that the Commissioner of Police had repeatedly denied allegations that the Security Police were responsible for publicising the matter.

"The police are responsible for ensuring internal security, and the activities of the United

Democratic Front and SACC are important in this regard.

"Certain office-bearers of the UDF are accused in a treason trial which is pending in the Supreme Court, while others have been particularly involved in the recent unrest.

"It is therefore obvious that members and office-bearers of this organisation should be subject to the attention of the Security Branch."

Mr le Grange said Dr Boesak was the patron of the UDF and vice-president of the SACC. Miss Scott was the SACC's youth organiser.

PFP laughter

The Minister said that in the course of duties the Security Police established that Dr Boesak and Miss Scott had been meeting secretly at certain hotels, but it had become apparent this was merely an extramarital relationship.

"They gave no further attention to these meetings," said Mr le Grange — to hoots of laughter from the Opposition side.

Turning to a report in *The Star* on January 25 which alleged that two colonels of the Security Police had admitted that they were involved in a smear campaign against Dr Boesak, Mr le Grange said this was a reference to a confidential conversation.

"The conversation (*The Star*) refers to took place during a courtesy visit to the police which had been requested by a reporter, Mr Mike Cohen, in order to introduce a new reporter, Miss (Chris) Steyn. "The officers concerned have rejected *The Star's* version of the conversation as flagrant lies."

Parliament and Politics

CALC Times 31/1/85

DWP 'squabble' meeting

Political Staff 11/1/85

AN URGENT executive meeting of the fledgling Democratic Workers' Party (DWP) tonight will attempt to resolve an internal party squabble affecting its status as the official Opposition in the House of Representatives (Coloured).

The party has been plagued by serious differences among executive members on the vacant nomination to the President's Council (PC). These differences have seriously threatened the party's political future.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Dawood Adams, national secretary of the DWP, said he had informed the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Johan Greef, that the two

DWP MPs, Mr Anver Essop for Nuwefeld and Mr Yusuf Rhoda of Bokkeveld, were not empowered to submit any names for nominations for the PC post.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Denis de la Cruz, DWP leader and leader of the Opposition in the Coloured house, denied earlier reports that Mr Rhoda had deserted the party.

This was confirmed during by both Mr Rhoda and Mr Essop.

Mr Rhoda admitted he had "bodily expelled" Mr Morris Fynn, the DWP national chairman, and Mr Adams from his office this week.

The internal squabbles had also led to the party's bank account being frozen, Mr De la Cruz said.

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CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) had tried to create a false impression of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Le Grange said Mrs Suzman, in a speech on

Tuesday, had tried to imply that Mandela was eager to negotiate with the South African Government and was in favour of the African National Congress laying down its weapons.

During her speech

calling for the release of Mandela and political detainees, Mrs Suzman quoted a British Conservative Party peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, as saying Mandela had told him during an interview at Pollsmoor Prison

that he was prepared to call a truce and negotiate with the government, if the ANC was unbanned.

Mr Le Grange said Mrs Suzman had not quoted other parts of Lord Bethell's comments.

She had not said that Mandela still supported an armed struggle and was unrepentant of the deeds for which he was sentenced to life imprisonment, Mr Le Grange said.

Mrs Suzman had also

not mentioned that Mandela was adamant the ANC should be treated like any other political party and that he was a self-confessed socialist, the minister said.

He added that there

were 132 people presently facing charges under Article 29 of the Internal Security Act. These people faced charges ranging from treason to other serious contraventions of the act.

"These are the people the honourable member for Houghton wants released in the name of PFP," Mr Le Grange said. — SAPA

11A ~~25~~ P. Defalab 31/1/85
Mandela unrepentant — minister

EAST LONDON — Mr Andrew Hendricks, publicity secretary of the Border region of the United Democratic Front, said yesterday that he did not know of the whereabouts of his predecessor, Mr Charles Nqakula.

A magazine report published here yesterday said Mr Nqakula had fled the country and was said to be in Lesotho. Mr Hendricks said he had not yet read the report.

Mr Nqakula, a former acting president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, was effectively restricted to Ciskei by an order withdrawing from him an exemption from visa requirements.

UDF (IA) ~~3~~
D. Hendricks
man in
3/1/85
Lesotho?

He was acquitted on charges of illegal entry into South Africa late last year, but was charged with the same offence a week after his acquittal.

He failed to appear in court to answer these charges and R200 bail was estreated in December.

The magazine did not give a source for its report. — DDR

Curbs on UDF man's burial

Staff Reporter

THE magistrate of Beaufort West imposed several restrictions this week on the funeral of Mr William Kratshi, the UDF Karoo region leader who was last week shot dead apparently in a struggle with police who came to arrest him.

The magistrate, Mr PJJ van Rensburg, forbade the church or burial services to take the form of "a political gathering in which the State policy or that of its officials is attacked, ridiculed or criticized in speeches, prayers or songs".

The notice served on the dead man's mother, Mrs Melicia Kratshi, said the magistrate had reason to fear that the public peace could be threatened by the funeral being held and that it could only go ahead subject to several restrictions.

Mr Van Rensburg required that: The ceremony should not take place over a weekend or on a Monday; there should be no overflow of mourners

outside the church; no placards, banners or flags should be shown during the service or procession; mourners be taken only in "motorized transport" from mortuary to church to cemetery; the shortest route be taken; and that the funeral take place between 9am and 1pm.

Mrs Kratshi had travelled from Ciskei to Beaufort West for the funeral. She came to Cape Town to try to change the order.

"It is very heavy for me," said a distressed

Mrs Kratshi. "It is so difficult to get cars without money. Maybe some people will transgress the law, but I don't want trouble."

Mrs Kratshi said she did not want flags at William's funeral anyway, because she wanted to bury him in peace though "he would have liked there to be singing, and many people there".

Mr Anver Essop, Democratic Workers' Party MP in the House of Representatives, yesterday called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr

Louis le Grange, to allow the burial of Mr Kratshi "to take place under normal conditions".

An attempt to see the minister last week was not successful and another meeting was sought with him this week, Mr Essop said.

During the no-confidence debate in the House of Representatives, Mr Essop also questioned the police action in connection with Mr Kratshi's death and urged that an open inquest be held. 1/10

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Parliament and Politics

Le Grange kills 'old ANC story'

Cape Times 31/1/85
RAV 227

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday quashed current speculation that the government was considering releasing the jailed African National Con-

gress leader, Nelson Mandela.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Le Grange said calls to free Mandela were "an old ANC story".

The Progressive Federal Party MP for

Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, had been misleading when she said during the debate on Tuesday that Mandela indicated in a recent interview with a British peer that he was prepared to call a truce and talk to the government if the ANC was unbanned, he said.

Mr Le Grange said the peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, had written in an article published soon after the interview that Mandela still supported the armed struggle and it was for that reason that Amnesty International would not campaign for his release.

Legalize

Lord Bethell wrote that Mandela's attitude and lack of repentance made a bad impression on the South African parole board, Mr Le Grange said.

He also wrote that Mandela was adamant that the government had first to legalize the ANC and start negotiations before the organization's operations would be halted.

On Tuesday, Mrs Suzman said Mandela told Lord Bethell that he was prepared to call a truce and negotiate with the government if the ANC was unbanned.

There has been strong speculation recently that the government might be considering releasing Mandela or easing his terms of imprisonment.

CAPL TIPS 31/1/63

Boesak affair was 'ignored'

Political Staff organizer in the SACC.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, told Parliament yesterday the security police had uncovered — and then ignored — an illicit affair between Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Ms Di Scott, a youth worker for the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

But he denied allegations by a Johannesburg newspaper that the security police were responsible for an anonymous smear campaign disclosing the affair.

Treason

The security police, he said, were responsible for internal security and the actions of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the SACC were relevant in this respect.

Certain office-bearers in the UDF had been charged with treason and others were active in recent unrest.

"It speaks for itself that members and office-bearers of this organization would receive the attention of the security branch," said Mr Le Grange.

Dr Boesak was a patron of the UDF and vice-president of the SACC and Ms Scott was a youth

organizer in the SACC. "In the course of their duties the security branch established that Dr Boesak and Ms Scott met secretly at hotels and when it became clear that this was simply an extra-marital affair no further attention was paid to the meetings.

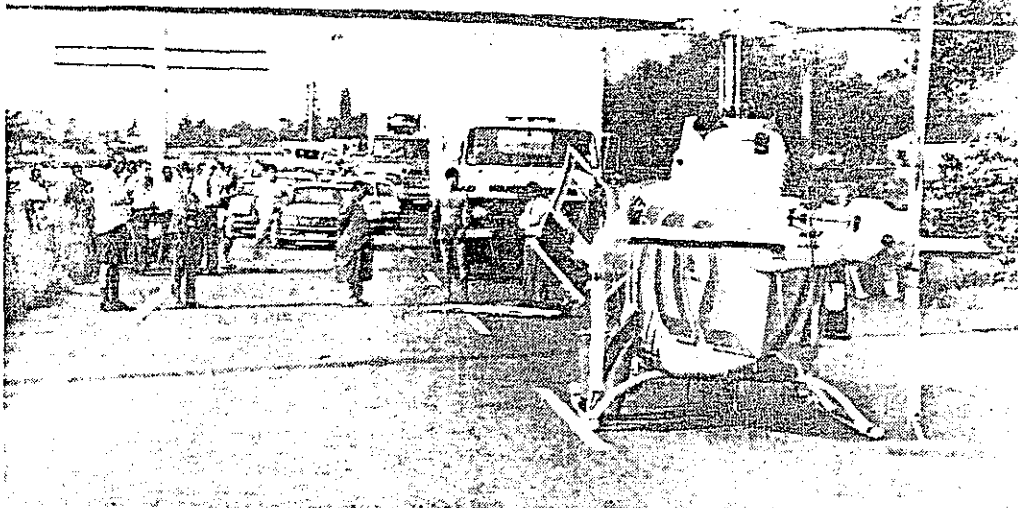
"It became clear to the police during the investigations that they were dealing with an 'open secret' in certain circles, journalists, church circles and the SACC among others," he said.

Mr Le Grange recalled that Dr Beyers Naude, the SACC secretary, had said in a press statement that he had spoken to Dr Boesak and Ms Scott and other family members about the matter.

'Flagrant lie'

The Star of Johannesburg had reported that two colonels of the security police had admitted to two of the newspaper's journalists that they had been involved in the smear campaign against Dr Boesak.

"The two officers describe the Star report of the conversation as a flagrant lie and the Commissioner of Police had issued a denial to the press and indicated that the matter would be referred to the Media Council."



Rush hour traffic on the R22 outside Johannesburg was held up at 5pm yesterday, with cars lined up for 3km, after an unidentified male pedestrian was knocked down on the Geldenhuis interchange. Music Radio 702's "trafficopter" landed on the highway, but was unable to help. The man had died instantly. Bedfordview ambulancemen took his body away.

Medics are 'ecstatic' over judgment in Biko case

By THELMA TUCH

MEDICAL professionals and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) welcomed yesterday's judgment ordering the South African Medical and Dental Council to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the two doctors — Dr Ivor Ralph Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker — who treated Mr Steve Biko.

Three of the applicants who successfully challenged the SAMDC in court said they were ecstatic.

Professor Philip Tobias, head of the anatomy department at the University of the Witwatersrand Medical School hailed the judgment as a "considerable boost to restoring the honour of the South African medical profession on a local and international level".

"We are most gratified that the court has ordered the Council to do what we consider to be its duty in the upholding of the ethical standards of our medical

profession," he said.

He stressed that their complaints were directly related to the council's handling of the affair and that there was no desire to crucify the doctors concerned.

Dr Yusuf Veriava, from Coronationville Hospital, said the judgment was crucial for the maintenance of medical ethics but said: "The detention laws and problems in the country which led to Biko's death and the actions of his captors which may have resulted in his death still remain."

He said it was clear that people could challenge decisions made by the SAMDC.

"Its rulings have been shown not to be final if there are sound grounds to the contrary. People who believe there is an erosion of ethical principles can go further to have standards maintained."

Prof Frances Ames, a senior neurology lecturer at the University of Cape Town said the

judgment restored her faith in the judiciary and could lead to an improvement in the medical care of detainees.

Prof Trevor Jenkins of the Medical Research Council, said the SAMDC would have to take well-formulated complaints of medical professionals seriously.

Chairman of the Federal Council of the Medical Association of South Africa, Dr R D Le Roex, said the judgment should clear the air surrounding the long-standing issue.

But he said he would not comment further before reading the entire judgment.

Prof F G Geldenhuis, president of the SAMDC, said the council would study the verdict before deciding to hold an inquiry or lodge an appeal.

Meanwhile, Azapo said it had taken eight years and a court order for the council to take action against the Biko doctors.

A statement released yesterday

□ To Page 2

'It has restored faith'

□ From Page 1,

day by Mr George Wauchope, Azapo's vice-president for political education, said: "The political bias and sickening double standards of the SAMDC becomes obvious when we realise that Azapo member, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, is being prosecuted for his belief in Black Consciousness.

JOHN MOJAPELO of the Pretoria Bureau re-

ports that Mr Justice W G Boshoff, the Judge President of the Transvaal, said in the Supreme Court that the next step in the action was the complaint lodged by the six doctors.

Professors Timothy Wilson, Frances Rix Ames, Trevor Jenkins and Phillip Vallentine Tobias, and doctors Yusuf Veriava, Dumisani Vuyisile and Andrew Mzamane brought the review action against the

president of the SAMDC, the chairman of the medical committee preliminary inquiry of the SAMDC, the medical committee of preliminary inquiry of the SAMDC and Drs Lang and Tucker.

They asked that the decision of the inquiry committee of the SAMDC turning down complaints against the doctors be set aside.

● Picture — Page 3

The alternative to direct urban black rule

LONDON — Leading Southern Africa authority Professor William Gutteridge spells it out today.

Unless the South African Government returns to direct rule on urban black communities, he says, it may have no alternative but to negotiate eventually with United Democratic Front leaders and release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Professor Gutteridge makes this point in the latest publication from the highly respected Institute for the Study of Conflict.

It comes within the framework of an argument concluding that South Africa is in a state of siege rather than revolution and that the Government will retain basic control through the 1980s with a mixture of reform and

By John D'Oliveira
The Star Bureau

repression.

The price of relative stability in South Africa is going to be high, says Professor Gutteridge, and it will be hard to afford ... but the country has no realistic alternative.

Professor Gutteridge, emeritus professor of international studies at Birmingham's University of Aston, said the events of the last few months of 1984 demonstrated a total breakdown of Government communication with urban blacks.

This was the main problem facing the Government in its plans for further constitutional change; 1984 would prove to have been a watershed in modern South African history.

Events often violent in character began to push into the background the ideology of apartheid and even the rhetoric of Black Consciousness.

Whatever the deficiencies of the new constitution might be, it had changed the nature of South Africa's political processes and effectively focused attention on internal resistance and unrest.

It was probably an exaggeration on Bishop Desmond Tutu's part to suggest that the Government was in a panic.

However, the use by Ministers of the term "revolutionary climate" clearly indicated that they no longer felt themselves totally in control of events.

Reactions from outside South Africa could now be taken as a clear reflection of

its increased volatility.

British attitudes remained directly and fairly simplistically related to a high level of bilateral trade with and investment in South Africa.

However, a fundamental shift of opinion appeared to be taking place in the United States.

"If South Africa's Accord with Mozambique were to collapse and intransigence in Namibia at the same time continues," said Professor Gutteridge, "the United States policy of constructive engagement could easily be greatly modified, with important consequences for the South African economy."

Disinvestment was much more of an issue in the United States than in Britain and on the Continent.

Professor Gutteridge said the new era heralded by the

constitutional dispensation had begun in South Africa.

Already the repercussions of the formal change had created a level of uncertainty which only a dramatic move on black political participation could remove.

"This is unlikely to take shape in the near future," he added, "and thus almost everything depends on the capacity and the willingness of the reconstituted Government of South Africa, still based on white control, to institute real social reforms and create economic opportunities.

"This in turn is closely related to the future health of the economy which does not depend only on global recovery, nor just on the price of gold."

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Star 31/1/85

ARGUS 31/1/85

11A ~~22/1/85~~
**Boesak case:
Church may
start new
investigation**

Staff Reporters

DR Allan Boesak's alleged affair with SA Council of Churches' youth worker Miss Di Scott may come under new scrutiny by the Ned Geref Sendingkerk following the statement that the security police were aware of it.

A preliminary investigation by Bellville Sendingkerk council was resolved in a statement dismissing the allegations as "a smear campaign of the worst kind" and saying the church council had "no reason to doubt the integrity and credibility of Dr Boesak".

In Parliament yesterday the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the security branch uncovered the affair during "the course of their duties" but had dismissed it after finding it to be an "open secret".

INVESTIGATE

The Moderator of the Sendingkerk, the Rev Isak Mentor, said it was possible that the church council would either hold another meeting to investigate the allegations or refer the issue to the ring under which Bellville Sendingkerk falls.

● The Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC) has pledged its support for Dr Boesak.

● The Progressive Federal Party is to continue probing the police role in the Boesak case and other alleged excesses of the wide powers of the police.

NOT IMPRESSED

The general feeling among PFP MPs today is that they are not impressed by Mr le Grange's explanations.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands, said in reply to Mr le Grange during yesterday's no-confidence debate that the Minister had raised more questions than answers.

PFP Law and Order spokesman Mrs Suzman said today that Mr le Grange still had to explain how pamphlets and tapes, based on information which only the security police could have collected, were disseminated widely and found their way into the hands of so many newspapers.

She said there were many aspects of police behaviour which needed to be investigated.

WHEN it comes to proposing a place for blacks in his overall constitutional plans, President P W Botha resembles a poker player without new cards who must pretend his old cards are new ones.

Nearly all the proposals mooted by Mr Botha in his address to Parliament last week were not new initiatives but reformulations of already rejected or abandoned ideas.

One of the key items was the establishment of a "informal statutory forum" for discussion of constitutional matters with invited black leaders.

But as Chief Gatsha Buthezi was quick to point out, the forum is but the jettisoned Black Advisory Council in new garb.

When blacks were excluded from the old President's Council in 1979, they were offered a separate "advisory council" as a platform or forum where they could formulate proposals on how they should be accommodated politically and constitutionally.

Blacks, however, overwhelmingly rejected the advisory council ... whose members, like those of the new forum, would have been nominated by the ruling whites rather than elected by their own people.

In August 1980, Mr Botha, who was then Prime Minister, announced that his Administration would not proceed with the advisory council.

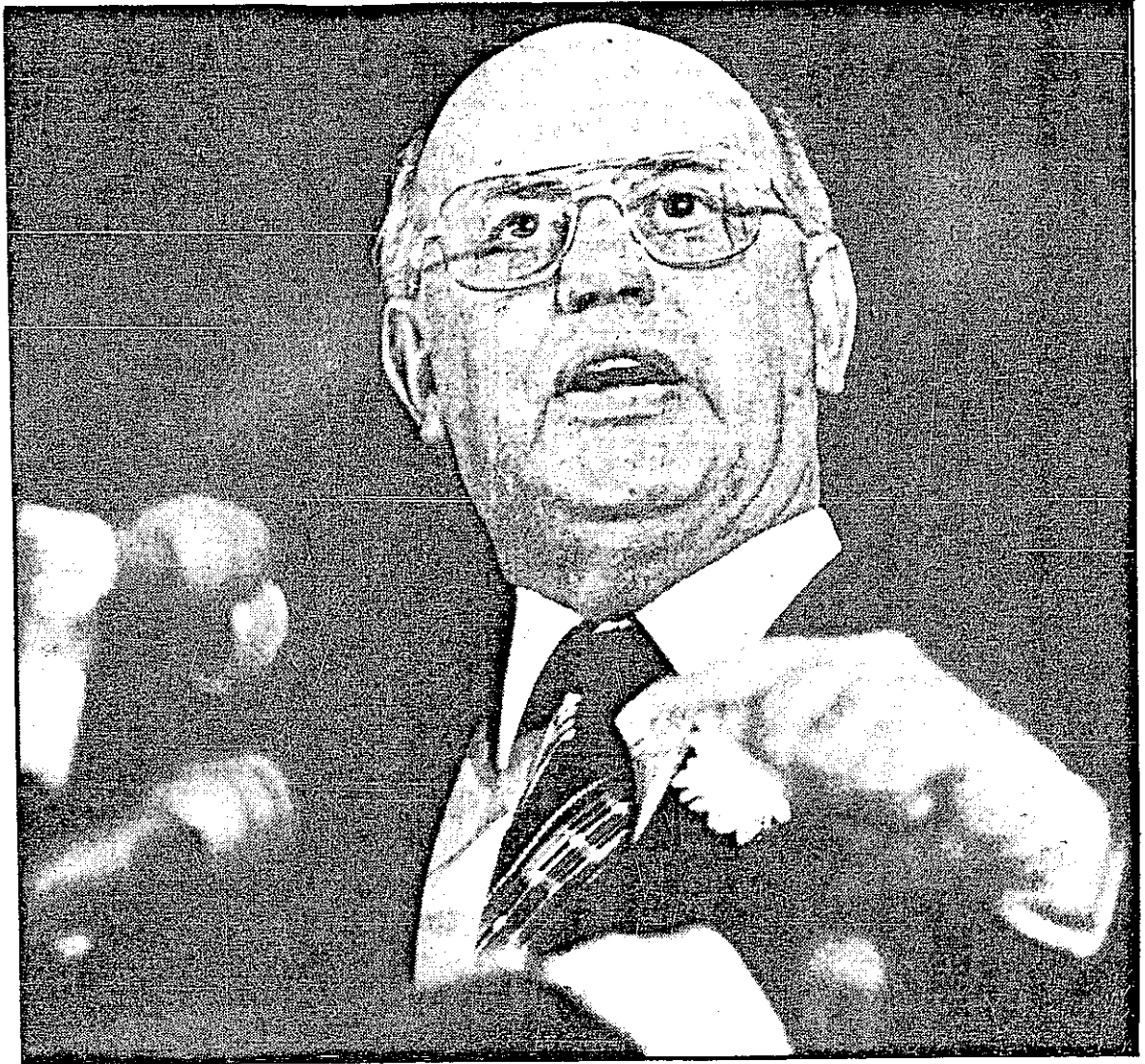
It is difficult to see why the new forum-cum-advisory council should be more acceptable to blacks in today's political climate of heightened tension and greater expectations.

Another concept mooted by Mr Botha in his address was the establishment of an intermediate stage between partial self-government and full independence for the black "homelands".

The idea of greater autonomy for the homelands, which stops short of full sovereignty, represents an attempt to resolve the impasse in which the Botha Administration finds itself.

The goal of official policy for the "homelands" remains independence, as Mr Botha noted in his speech.

But at least half of the designated "homelands" still



PRESIDENT BOTHA ... poker player without any new cards

RAM 31/1/85
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PW's promises are all old hat

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

spurn it, among them KwaZulu, numerically the largest.

The creation of "further stages of autonomy," as Mr Botha labelled the stages between partial self-government and independence, might be interpreted as a calculated bid to lure "homelands" further along the independence road.

But it is not a new idea: it was previously put before Parliament in the form of

a Bill in 1977 after the township rebellion of 1976.

The 1977 Bill provided for the establishment of "internally autonomous homelands," which were empowered to give their heads of state any title they wished — including, presumably, the title of "president" — and to pass any laws deemed necessary for "internal peace, order and good government".

In his speech, Mr Botha disclosed that the special Cabinet Committee on blacks outside the "homelands" had investigated, and made recommendations on, the controversial question of citizenship.

Mr Botha did not reveal further details, except to emphasise that "clarity must be reached soon on the question of citizenship".

Citizenship as it pertains to South Africa's blacks is,

of course, one of the most controversial aspects of prevailing policy, largely because of its denationalisation provisions.

In terms of this policy, blacks deemed to be citizens of the "independent homelands" were stripped of South African nationality when their designated "homelands" accepted Pretoria's offer of independence.

Mr Botha's commitment to re-examination of the question of citizenship



PRESIDENT BOTHA ... poker player without any new cards

RAM 31/1/85

11A
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220

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Mr Botha's commitment to re-examination of the question of citizenship co-

incided with reports that his Administration is considering introducing a form of dual citizenship. But, again, the idea of dual citizenship is not new. It was investigated in 1980 by a special committee appointed by Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the then chairman of the President's Council, and headed by Professor Charles Nieuwoudt, of the University of Pretoria.

The proposal considered at the time was a dual citizenship in which all South Africans would have a common, confederal citizenship, embracing the right to South African nationality, as well as a second-tier citizenship tying them to their designated "homelands".

But the idea was rejected by the committee, largely because of conservative white opposition.

It remains to be seen whether Mr Botha's planners can breath new life into the discarded dual citizenship concept and then "sell" it to blacks, who are increasingly demanding equal citizenship rights without any qualifying "ifs" or "buts."

Mr Botha further undertook to oversee the removal of "negative and discriminatory" aspects of influx control.

His pledge revokes a similar promise a decade ago from then Prime Minister John Vorster. That promise turned out to be the prelude to tightened influx control and heavy fines for employers of blacks living unlawfully in prescribed urban areas.

Mr Botha also expressed his determination to resolve the problems raised by relocation of blacks to the "greater satisfaction of all those concerned".

His words again recall the past, in this case the statement by former Minister of Co-operation and Development Dr Piet Koornhof that there would be no more forced removals "as far as humanly possible".

Mr Botha's willingness to sympathetically consider granting freehold rights to blacks in townships in white-designated South Africa represents a breakthrough, however.

But his emphasis that extension of property rights is not the inevitable prelude to full franchise rights is another warning that the restraining hand of the dead past is still very much on his shoulder.

Black leaders scoff

Argus Correspondent 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Black leaders have scoffed at the Government's offer to consider the release of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela if he promises to reject violence as a political instrument.

They said the offer was a deal with strings attached to it and would make him lose his credibility as a political leader.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, whose husband, Walter, is serving a life sentence with Mr Mandela, said the offer was "totally unacceptable" and called on the Government to release all political prisoners.

Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, said it was not fair to lay down conditions for Mr Mandela's release.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, and the Azanian People's Organisation also rejected the conditional offer.

11A 1/2/85

Botha's offer to Mandela

Symbol of apartheid

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

From Page 1

along these lines, we in the ANC would declare a truce."

The leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said Mr Botha's offer was a far more reasonable and tolerant attitude than the Government had shown in the past.

He said Mr Botha should apply the same approach to banned individuals and organisations such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Suzman, who has campaigned for Mandela's release for many years, said assuming that Mr Botha's offer to the jailed ANC leaders carried no conditions other than an abandonment of violence, then their non-violent opposition to apartheid could continue.

"I hope it is in this light that Mandela and the others will consider the offer and make their decisions," she said.

But sources close to the ANC leadership in Lusaka rejected the offer.

The Lusaka source said the decision was up to Mandela, but the ANC was not satisfied with Mr Botha's conditions.

The national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota, said the UDF wanted Mandela's unconditional release. If he accepted the offer, he would have to distance himself from the ANC.

In a statement in Cape Town, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said according to recent authoritative sources, including the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mandela had in no way renounced violence as a political weapon.

● The Rand Daily Mail yesterday applied as required by law to the Prisons Department for permission to publish a photograph of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, but the request was refused.

AFTER 22 years in prison, Nelson Mandela has become more than a political figure. He has become an international symbol of the fight against apartheid and the suppression of that fight by the National Party Government.

Today, his face and his personality are hardly known to South Africans. For 22 years, none of his words have been published in the country and even his photograph may not be published.

Yet this has not prevented him from becoming a major symbol, the subject of numerous local and international campaigns and the recipient of many international honours.

He has even had the unusual distinction of being the subject of a hit song, "Free Nelson Mandela", which made a number of European hit parades last year. It was banned in South Africa.

Rholihlala "Nelson" Mandela was born into the Tembu Royal House in the Transkei in 1918. Like so many major African leaders, he studied at Fort Hare University from 1938, although he was expelled after two years for his part in a student protest.

He moved to Johannesburg where he studied law by correspondence and later at the University of the Witwatersrand.

When young members of the African National Congress formed the Youth League in 1944, they included in their numbers some of the men who would come to dominate black politics for the next few decades.

Apart from Mandela, they included Mr Oliver Tambo, current president of the ANC in exile, Mr Robert Sobukwe, who became president of the PAC, and some of the men jailed with Mandela, such as Walter Sisulu.

The Youth League played a key role in radicalising and "Africanising" the ANC during the late 1940s and early 1950s, replacing the moderate leadership of Dr A B Xuma with that of Dr James Moroka.

Although Mandela at first played a subordinate role in the Youth League, he was named national secretary in 1948 and in

By JEANETTE MINNIE

ON APRIL 20, 1964, the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, made a statement from the dock during the Rivonia Trial at the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

Extracts from the statement were reported in the Rand Daily Mail the following day. These are some extracts from that report:

● Mr Mandela said: "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white

What Mandela said during

domination and I have fought against black domination."

● Africans wanted a share in the whole of South Africa. They wanted security and a stake in society.

Above all they wanted political rights. The whites' fear of granting these could not be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which would guarantee ra-

cial harmony and freedom for all.

● Mr Mandela said: "The Government has always sought to label all its opponents as communists. But, as I will show, the ANC is not and never has been a communist organisation."

● The fight of the African people was against real and not imaginary hardships. Basically they fought against two features which

lowed his first private visit by and non-family friend. He was Mr Benjamin Pogrand, deputy editor of the Rand Daily Mail.

● He was also allowed another nature shortly afterwards and by Professor H W van der Merwe at the Abe Bailey Centre for Studies at the University of

● He has also recently been in newspapers and to listen to all broadcasts.

Despite his banning, which prevented him from leaving Johannesburg to give any public meetings, he was in a position of national deputy president of the ANC under Chief Albert Luthe.

However, a new banning in 1961 restricted him by forcing him to be officially from the ANC for a

For a long period in the 1950s he exercised a key leadership position entirely in secret. He oversaw the implementation of the M-Plan, which attempted to decentralise and strengthen the organisation into an extensive structure in anticipation of Government repression of the organisation.

The M-Plan was in fact a

him. From 1956, he was one of the accused in the massive Treason Trial and others — had to wait until 1961 finally acquitted.

During the 1960 emergency and its rival off-shoot, the Pa Congress, were banned.

When Mandela's own banning in 1962 was lifted, he made a surprise appearance at the historic All-In Africa Conference in Natal and called on to mark the advent of the Republic with a three-day, stay-at-home

He went underground to avoid incitement — acquiring the nickname "Black Pimpernel" — and fled to South Africa for a dramatic independent Africa.

RELAXING THE RULES OF PRISON

Mail Reporter

THERE has been a relaxation of visiting and other restrictions placed on Nelson Mandela in the past 18 months.

● In about July last year, he was allowed his first contact visit with his wife Winnie since his imprisonment.

● In about September last year he was allowed his first contact visit with his daughter Zinzi.

● In about October last year, he was al-

lowed his first private visit by and non-family friend. He was Mr Benjamin Pogrand, deputy editor of the Rand Daily Mail.

● He was also allowed another nature shortly afterwards and by Professor H W van der Merwe at the Abe Bailey Centre for Studies at the University of

● He has also recently been in newspapers and to listen to all broadcasts.

1949 the youthful trio of himself, Tambo and Sisulu joined the ANC national executive committee.

Mandela and Tambo later opened up a joint legal practice in Johannesburg.

Tom Lodge, an academic and author of a recent book on black politics, described him thus: "Mandela was a tall, aristocratic-looking man with a remote but commanding personality. He had not been one of its (the Youth League's) main theorists, despite his intellectual abilities.

"In the events which followed the ANC's adoption of the Programme of Action, Mandela would prove himself to be a pragmatic and astute strategist."

American academic, Professor Gwendolyn Carter, described him thus: "Tall, athletic, with a commanding bearing and dominating personality".

At first he was known, like many of the Youth League leaders, as being distrustful of links with the Communist Party and the SA Indian Congress. However, he later changed these views and became a prime proponent of a broad, united opposition to the Government.

In late 1950, he was elected national president of the Youth League and in the Defiance Campaign in 1952 was volunteer-in-chief.

As a result, he appeared in the dock at the first of his many trials. This time he was given a nine-month suspended sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act and was banned for six months.

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● Africans wanted a share in the whole of South Africa. They wanted security and a stake in society.

Above all they wanted political rights. The whites' fear of granting these could not be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which would guarantee ra-

And struggle Rule of the gun, says Meer

ON LIFE

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other visit of this... and was visited... Merwe, head of... for Inter Group... of Cape Town... been allowed all... to all SABC news

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... sion of my people by the whites."

● Strict instructions were given to Umkhonto (we Sizwe) that they were on no account to kill or injure people in their attacks. Umkhonto members were forbidden to go into operation carrying arms.

● They believed that unless responsible leadership were given to canalise and

In December 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC, began its campaign of sabotage. Mandela evaded arrest until August 1962, when he was jailed for five years for incitement and leaving the country illegally.

The following year, he was brought from prison for the famous Rivonia Trial. Along with Sisulu and others, he admitted guilt and was jailed for life for guerrilla activity and for being a member of the high command of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Mandela's second wife, Winnie, has also remained in the world spotlight. In 1970, she and 19 others were charged and acquitted under the Terrorism Act.

She was first banned in Soweto and later banished to the small Free State town of Brandfort.

Mandela has received numerous international awards and honorary degrees. Numerous campaigns have made him probably the most famous political prisoner in the world.

In 1981, a Johannesburg newspaper, the Sunday Post, launched a Free Mandela petition. In 1982, Free Mandela Committees were launched around the country and they put the issue of the imprisonment of Mandela and others on the political agenda.

In spite of his age, Mandela is apparently in good health, rising before dawn every morning to do two hours of exercise.

Mandela has reportedly had many offers of conditional release, but appears to have snubbed them all.

It is understood that Mr Jimmy Kruger, then Minister of Justice, visited Mandela and made him an offer as early as 1977.

Last year, Mr Kaizer Matanzima, Prime Minister of the Transkei and a nephew of Mandela by Tembo custom, apparently made an offer of conditional release, provided Mandela would stay in his territory.

The offer was reported to have been repeated late last year.

In April last year, he said through his lawyers: "If the ANC is legalised and participates in the constitutional development of the country, then there is no need for violence, but the conditions which led up to violence must be removed."

control the feelings of the people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of the country.

Secondly, they felt that as all lawful methods of expressing opposition to the principle of white supremacy had been closed, sabotage provided the African people with their only means of defying the Government. The alternative was to accept a permanent state of inferiority.

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN. — Dr Farouk Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, said President P W Botha should first renounce the violence perpetrated by his Government on the people of South Africa before calling on Nelson Mandela to renounce violence.

"Mandela always believed in peaceful change and he only resorted to violence when all peaceful options became closed to him because of the policies of the Nationalist Government.

"The South African state exists not by the consent of its people but by the rule of the gun.

"If there is a clear commitment to move away from apartheid, security laws are repealed, exiled leaders are allowed to return and freedom of speech is restored, then we are sure Nelson Mandela will be only too pleased to renounce violence."

Mr Imran Moosa, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, said last night that the organisation saw no reason for conditions to be attached to the release of any political prisoner.

Azapo had always maintained that the Government had absolutely no right to imprison anybody for their political views.

Nelson, Winnie and Biko blocks

London Bureau

LONDON. — The banned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie are to be honoured by having blocks in a major Hertfordshire housing estate named after them.

The Labour Party controlled Watford council also wants to honour Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's memory by naming a block after him.

The majority Labour group of councillors will give final approval to the

On violence: words of the ANC leader

Mall Reporter

NELSON MANDELA'S current position on violence is contained in an interview published on Sunday in the British newspaper The Mail on Sunday.

The interview was conducted by Lord Nicholas Bethell, a British Member of the European Parliament, who became the first journalist to publish an interview with Nelson Mandela since he was imprisoned almost 21 years ago.

This is what Mr Mandela told Lord Bethell during an interview at Pollsmoor Prison:

"The armed struggle was forced on us by the Government. And if they want us to give it up, the ball is in their court. They must legalise us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle.

"It is useless simply to carry on talking. The Government has tightened the screws too far. Of course, if there were to be talks along these lines, we in the ANC would declare a truce.

"Meanwhile we are forced to continue, though within certain limits. We go for hard targets only, mili-



MR ISMAIL AYOB
Mandela's lawyer

tary installations and the symbols of apartheid. Civilians must not be touched.

"This is why I regret what happened in Pretoria on May 23, 1983. A bomb went off and more than a dozen civilians were killed. Something must have gone wrong with the timing. It was a tragic accident.

"We aim for buildings and property. So it may be that someone gets killed in a fight, in the heat of battle, but we do not believe in assassinations. I would not want our men to assassinate, for instance, the major here. But all this can end as soon as talks begin. It would be humiliating though for us simply to lay down our arms unconditionally."

Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, asked to comment on the latest offer, said the jailed ANC leader had always been consistent in his views that the ANC's armed struggle would continue until the ANC was legalised, treated like a political party and the Government negotiated with it, reports ANTON HARBER.

Mr Ayob added: "Mr Botha said that Mandela and his associates preferred to stay in prison rather than be released in their country of origin. Mandela's view would be that his country of origin is South Africa, not a homeland."

naming of the Mandela Block at a full council meeting on Monday, in spite of bitter protests by Conservative members.

The Conservatives, who object to "foreign political figures" being honoured have proposed facetious alternatives including "Dumbo Court", "Fantasia Block" and "Elton Court" — the pop superstar Elton John lives in the area.

Watford is a multiracial area with a high immigrant population.

ANC rebuff on Mandela offer

CAPL Tink 1/2/85 11A



Dr Slabbert ... reasonable attitude



Mr P W Botha ... the choice is his

Political Staff

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, announced during the no-confidence debate yesterday that he was willing to consider releasing ANC leader Nelson Mandela provided he unconditionally rejected a strategy of violence.

However, ANC sources said it was up to the South African Government to renounce violence first.

Mr Botha said the offer was conditional on Mandela giving a commitment that "he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives".

"It is therefore not the South African Government which now stands in the way of Mr Mandela's freedom. It is he himself. The choice is his. All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument."

● **STANLEY UYS** reports from London that sources close to the ANC leadership in Lusaka do not expect Mandela to accept the offer.

'Made it clear'

The sources said Mandela had made it clear that he was not prepared to accept a conditional release.

They said the ANC view was that the "apartheid State" had been responsible for violence in South Africa and that the ANC simply responded to this violence by launching the armed struggle.

It was up to the South African Government, therefore, to renounce violence first.

However, the sources said President Botha's offer yesterday was an advance on the earlier offer to release Mandela provided he accepted confinement in Transkei.

The President's offer follows repeated calls both at home and abroad for the jailed leader's release, and the disclosure earlier this week that Mandela was prepared to call a truce and negotiate with the government if the ANC was unbanned.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said later that Mandela and other political prisoners would be given a copy of Mr Botha's speech and any reaction from them would reach the government through official channels.

● **JOHN BATTERSBY** reported from London that the British Government last night gave its backing to the offer.

In an unusually swift reaction, a Foreign Office spokesman said the British Government would welcome Mandela's release.

"We believe that Nelson Mandela's release would be widely welcomed as evidence of the desire for reconciliation in South Africa.

"The British Government has consistently called for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa — including Nelson Mandela," the spokesman said.

Condition endorsed

British Government sources made it clear, however, that they condemned violence in South Africa from which ever quarter it came — thereby endorsing President Botha's condition that Mandela would have to reject unconditionally violence as a political instrument.

Reaction within South Africa to Mr Botha's offer has generally been positive, although spokesmen for a number of parties have suggested that it ought to be accompanied by an assurance that apartheid would be dismantled.

The national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said the UDF had doubts as to the "practicality" of the conditions set for Mandela's release.

'All prisoners'

"In our judgement, only the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the dismantling of apartheid structures will bring about stability and peace in South Africa."

The media convener of the Cape Action League, Mr Armien Abrahams, said CAL had no comment on Mr Botha's statement "except to say that we support demands for the unconditional release of all political prisoners".

● **Dr Farouk Meer**, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, said President Botha should first renounce the violence perpetrated by his government on the people of South Africa.

"Mandela always believed in peaceful change and he only resorted to violence when all peaceful options became closed to him because of the policies of the Nationalist government.

"If there is a clear com-



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mitment to move away from apartheid, security laws are repealed, exiled leaders are allowed to return and freedom of speech is restored, then we are sure Nelson Mandela will be only too pleased to renounce violence."

● Mr Imran Moosa, publicity secretary of the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo), said last night that the organization saw no reason for any conditions to be attached to the release of any political prisoner.

Azapo had always maintained that the government had no right to imprison anybody for their political views.

● The PFP's veteran civil-rights campaigner, Mrs Helen Suzman, said she hoped the offer would open the door to a new era of non-violent opposition to apartheid.

"Of course, if the government were to accept the truce offer by Mandela in exchange for the unbanning of the ANC, then South Africa would be even closer to negotiating with a leader accepted by black people."

● The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, welcomed the "far more reasonable and tolerant attitude" being shown by the government towards political prisoners.

"I believe it would be extremely appropriate if the government applied

this approach to banned individuals and organizations like the ANC and the PAC.

"If this is combined with a programme of action to dismantle apartheid and discrimination, I believe a climate for the politics of negotiation rather than confrontation and violence will improve dramatically."

● The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, welcomed the move but said it was "regrettable to note that according to the State President, Mr Mandela was still committed to the question of social change by means of violence".

● The chairman of the opposition Solidarity party in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovlingham, said Mandela could be assured that there would be "genuine reform", and called for the general amnesty of all political prisoners and the lifting of banning orders.

● The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said Mandela was a "self-proclaimed communist" and it was consequently not in the interest of State security that his release be considered.

● The secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, welcomed the President's offer.

MR Nelson Mandela, the jailed African National Congress leader, is unlikely to accept President P W Botha's release offer unless the ANC is legalised.

This was the impression in political circles today following Mr Botha's statement in Parliament yesterday that the Government would consider the release of Mr Mandela provided he unconditionally rejects violence as a political instrument.

A source close to Mr Mandela today also pointed out that he had consistently maintained that, unless the ANC was legalised, what the movement calls its "armed struggle" would continue.

In Government circles, too, there were doubts about whether Mr Mandela would accept the President's condition.

Offer to ANC

He will not be willing to cut himself off from the ANC by accepting conditions for his own release.

On the other hand, the Government recently made an offer to the ANC that it would be willing to talk if it abandoned violence as a policy.

Nationalist politicians pointed out today that a recent article by Lord Nicholas Bethel on a visit to Mr Mandela gave the impression that Mr Mandela still supported the "armed struggle".

According to that article, which was published in a British newspaper, that was why the human rights organisation Amnesty would not campaign for his release.

But there has also been a suggestion that he would be willing to have the ANC call a truce while it was negotiating with the Government.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, has said that Mr Botha's speech would be relayed to Mr Mandela and others in jail.

Cause of violence

When questioned by Mrs Helen Suzman MP in the Assembly yesterday Mr Botha said his offer could be extended to certain other political prisoners.

She said: "It should be understood that South Africa has much to gain if Mandela is free. It would remove a major rallying point against this country."

Mrs Suzman said that some of the other prisoners she had in mind to be covered by Mr Botha's offer were a number sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 at the Rivonia sabotage trial, such as Dennis Goldberg, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, A Kathrada and Raymond Mhlaba.

Others sentenced to life at that trial were Elias Matsaedi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, welcomed Mr Botha's announcement.

He said: "This is a far more reasonable and tolerant attitude than has been the case before. The final choice as to what Mr Mandela should do about this offer is, of course, his own."

"It is significant that the offer is extended to other so-called political prisoners as well. I believe it would be appropriate for the State President to apply this approach to banned individuals and organisations such as the ANC and PAC."

"If this is combined with a clear programme of action to dismantle apartheid and discrimination, I believe the climate for the politics of negotiation rather than confrontation and violence will improve dramatically."

Mr Allen Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, welcomed the move but said it was regrettable to note from the President's announcement that Mr Mandela was apparently still committed to violence.

Meanwhile, the United States has expressed the hope that the South African Government will engage in a dialogue with the ANC.

Mandela unlikely to accept PW offer

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

AR605 1/2/85

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'Credibility as a political leader would be destroyed'

Black leaders doubt PW's Mandela offer

11A

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Stew

1/2/85

The United Democratic Front said today that it had serious doubts about the practicality of the Government offer to release Nelson Mandela and said that for him to accept the offer would entail breaking a deep commitment to the African National Congress and rejecting all he had fought to achieve.

"Mandela is known for strong views on apartheid and his deep commitment to the ANC. We cannot see him making a pledge of the nature expressed," the UDF said in its statement.

The organisation was reacting to a Government offer to release the jailed ANC leader on condition that he rejected violence as a means of changing South Africa's political structure.

"For Mandela to make such a pledge would mean he must distance himself from the ANC and his entire political struggle to date," the UDF added.

"In our judgment the offer will not be acceptable to the man."

The UDF said only the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the total dismantling of apartheid would bring stability and lasting peace.

Langa Skosana reports that black leaders last night scoffed at the Government's offer.

They said the offer was a deal with strings attached and would cause Mandela to lose his credibility as a political leader.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, whose husband, Walter, is serving a life sentence with Mandela, said the offer was unacceptable and called on the Government to release all political prisoners.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said Mandela was convicted because the Government was not prepared to give black people their rights.

"It was because he told the authorities that blacks were slaves that he landed on Robben Island," Dr Motlana said.

It was, therefore, not right to link his release to acts of violence by the ANC.

Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) PRO, Mr Imrann Moosa, said: "Azapo does not see any reason for conditions to be attached to the release of political leaders. Azapo has maintained that the racist regime has absolutely no right to incarcerate anybody for his political views. We will not be satisfied with anything less than the re-possession of the land."

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday welcomed the President's announcement that the government was willing to consider Nelson Mandela's release, reports Sapa.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said it was in the interests of national security that the release of Mandela should not be considered.



"political priest".

Political priests - fact or fallacy?

11A

2/2/85

e. Herald.

HE is another of these "political priests" causing trouble again, was the angry retort of many a conservative Christian on reading about the election of Dr Allan Boesak as president of the World Alliance of Reformed churches in August 1982.

Reports by Portia Maurice

ministers have as their duty as anybody else to accelerate the process of fundamental change in this country? "Accusations such as these usually come from those professing Christians who are in positions of power, and are comfortable in the statue quo," said David

But what does this accusatory term really mean? Is it just a misnomer? Is it perhaps a mere indulgence on the part of those who revel in the comforts of a narrow interpretation of scripture? And are these ministers of religion really overstepping the mark, or do

And the trend of the... uec when Bishop Desmond Tutu's nomination as the 1984 Nobel Prize winner and his election as the new Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg met with a cautious reception from some white parishioners, who consider him a "political priest".

Rural people becoming more aware

"I HAVE witnessed a developing political awareness within rural congregations of the NG Sendingkerk, which is an inevitable result of the oppression and exploitation which people experience.

Such is the testimony of the Rev James Buys, who has been minister of the NG Sendingkerk in Calitzdorp for the past six years.

"Historically, the rural areas have been under the influence of liberal white missionaries," said Mr Buys. "They built up a religious support for the inhumane labour practices in these areas, and the people became subservient - accepting their meagre lot without question."

"But all this is beginning to change, along with the development of community organisations, which create an open forum for people to relate their experiences, and construct a new approach."

Mr Buys also feels that too much emphasis has been placed on the role of leadership in the church. "Leaders are, after all, only a means of voicing the aspirations of the people," he said.

OPPONENT

Mr Buys is a member of the Broederkring, an informal but influential ecumenical organisation representing more than one third of all black and white ministers in the three NG churches. It is an uncompromising opponent of apartheid and of the Government, and campaigns vigorously for the physical unification of the three black churches - which the white NG Synod has categorically rejected.

The organisation recently changed its name to "The Beleidende Kring", a change influenced by a greater emphasis on the role of women in the church. Membership has now been opened to all.

Russel, an Anglican minister.

"They don't feel the urgency of change in this country because they don't experience any suffering, and they tend to individualise the Gospel."

"The Lord's Prayer reads: 'Thy will be done on earth as in Heaven.' We don't just say 'Pie in the sky, when you die'."

"The term stems from the view that politics is a dirty word, and that it is a terrain far removed from the church," said Peter Groves, a final year theological student at UWC. "But what they fail to realise, is that in South Africa, 'politics' is integrally related to all aspects of our lives, and we cannot turn a blind eye to reality. Even the personal is political."

The political history of churches in this country shows very clearly that they have almost always reflected, in their structure and organisation, and sometimes even in their dogma, the customs, prejudices and policies of the peculiar society

in which they

functioned. But perhaps even more serious a shortcoming, is the apparent apathy with which the church has regarded issues which affect the daily lives of people.

INDICTMENT

"It is an indictment on the Church that many of the oppressed see no relationship between their plight and the apartheid society in which we live," said Rev Colin Jones, the outspoken chaplain of the University of the Western Cape.

Dr Boesak warned recently: "The church has to transcend the narrow boundaries of race and nationalism and bring justice to the poor and oppressed. The struggle in South Africa is not merely against an evil ideology, but also against a pseudo-religious ideology which has been born in and is being justified out of the bosom of the Reformed churches." For the past few years, Dr Boesak has been leading a more articulate and verbal as-

sault on the hierarchy of the church, and has succeeded in focusing the attention of the international community on the oppressive and exploitative nature of the South African status quo.

And his sentiments have been echoed by a growing movement of mainly black theologians, who feel that the time has come for the church to start asserting itself and challenging traditional doctrine.

MICROCOSM

"For too long, the church in South Africa has tended to be a microcosm of society, and it is time that we took a firm stand against injustice," said Father Courtney Sampson, of the Anglican church in Hanover Park. "Reactions in our circles have cashed in on the idea that the church can be a neutral observer in society, but by ignoring social conditions, we effectively defend the status quo."

"The time is long overdue that we challenge the church to adopt a more progres-



● DR ALLAN Boesak ... accused of causing trouble.

sive stance towards the South African situation. Not just by passively voicing its concern over isolated social issues, but by actively participating in the movement to transform the fundamental structures of society."

"The church seems to believe that if you speak reasonably, and calmly, and appeal to the humanity of the State to change, you will be 'doing your

bit", says Mike Weed-er, an Anglican minister from Ocean View. "But the church has never called on its members to actively resist, for example, conscription. Apartheid has been declared a heresy, and yet the church still allows its members to take up arms and defend a heretical State! It makes conscription a matter of conscience which is

left up to the individual, but on an issue like abortion, the church says an emphatic NO!

"If we take this into account, then are people labelled 'political priests' really just agitators - or are they just part of a much broader peoples' movement against a heretical State?"

Perhaps this will provide food for thought.

C. Herald 2/2/85

11A

Council vote was 'arbitrary'

IN their open letter the four chairman express their "extreme disappointment and disgust" at their treatment and voice their "extreme displeasure at the very antagonistic comment and emotional outbursts" directed at the Management Committees.

They go on to say that they were denied access to tapes of the debate.

The open letter goes on to say: "However, notwithstanding the 'lily white' image which your Council is attempting to project we are not fooled by this facade as any intrusion into the 'white' laager by people other than white will be stoutly rejected because of vested interests and therefore we view your discussion ... as hypocritical and cowardly.

"(It) was adopted under unfair advantage in the seclusion of a full Council meeting. Why (they) could not be present when invited to the Management Committees/Executive Committee meeting on December 17 1984 to put their views and to have these challenged is beyond comprehension. No, rather those concerned chose the cowardly way out to give vent to their emotions (for this is all that it is) behind the protective skirts of the Council sitting.

"There is also a strong streak of hypoc-

MANAGEMENT Committees exist in a twilight world: widely rejected by the people they purport to serve (coloureds and Indians) and often snubbed by the people they are supposed to advise (white City and Town Councils). The Cape Town City Council's recent move to disregard new regulations aimed at "improving relations between Management Committees and local authorities" drew an angry reaction from the chairmen of the Athlone, Rylands, Wynberg and Kensington committees, which fall under the control of the Cape Town City Council. They have now written an open letter to the Council stating that the provisions of the Regulations — those relating to improvement of communication — were not followed. The consensus required by the regulations, say the chairmen, was not reached — and the Council eventually gave the thumbs-down to wider co-operation with the management committees.

risy in the decision when one views the disparaging remarks passed by certain Councillors. These Councillors referred to the low percentage poll in Management Committee elections, a fact which is not disputed but could be defended, if need be.

"The true question which really should be posed should not centre round the percentage poll cast but rather be asked 'when does the elected candidate have the full support of the ward he represents?' Is it not when more than 50% of the voters have supported them? If this is so, and a closer look at the percentage polls at Council elections were taken, then surely Council must admit that the majority of the sitting Councillors do not enjoy the support of the voters since the votes cast have been less than 50% of the possible amount of votes that could be exercised. So let us not fool ourselves about being representatives of the electorate.

"It was also said that in a particular Management Committee area no election took place as people were not interested in contesting a seat on the Management Committee. This point is taken, but then it must also apply to the Councillor for Claremont who was elected unopposed. Are we then to assume that people of Claremont were also not interested in standing for election to Council? We want to appeal to Councillors not to try and fool us as they are only fooling themselves.

"Furthermore, much comment was passed on the efforts and representations made by Council for the return of all citizens of Cape Town to the Common Voters' Roll. The Association of Management Committees also contributed to this ideal/viewpoint and made its view quite clear to the various Commissions set up by the Government to investigate this vexing question. In fact on the Schibusch Commission we had

members of the Association made our stand for Direct Representation on a non-racial basis in Local Authorities emphatically clear.

IMMORAL

"Having said that, we must refer to opinions expressed at Council meetings which described the present Constitutional Development in the country as being immoral. If this is not being hypocritical in the extreme then we will never know what is. Haven't these very critics made themselves available for election to this immoral system? There are those who have even contested a seat on a political level within the immoral system. Funny how sauce for the goose is not necessarily sauce for the gander. Councillors have been elected by a white electorate and Management Committee members by the coloured and Indian electorate. This is the reality of the situation.

"If Councillors then believe in true morality let them resign their

seats on the Council and we can assure you the Management Committee members in the Cape will do likewise. But while you are prepared to be elected by whites and serve on an all-white Council taking decisions on matters affecting the lives of coloured and Indian people, be informed that the Management Committee members will retain their positions.

"If we pretend not to be hypocritical let all of us resign to uphold principles which we hold in such high esteem. Surely this will be remembered as the Day of the Real Vow and not something inscribed on a plaque hanging in the dark passages of the City Hall.

ARBITRARY

"We view your decision as arbitrary and unilateral as it was not taken jointly with the Management Committees in terms of the Regulations and the Administrator has been advised accordingly.

"Furthermore, as your Council had taken its decision to the exclusion of the members of the Management Committee, it would be appreciated if you would include this letter on the white paper Agenda of Council in order that your Councillors may be aware of the feelings of the Management Committees which unfortunately cannot be verbally directed at them through no fault of their own.

Botha 'no' to a vote for blacks or 4th chamber

~~Botha~~ 114 Skw
2/2/85

The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night rejected one-man-one-vote and the creation of a fourth chamber of parliament for blacks.

In a nationwide SABC-TV interview Mr Botha elaborated on the Government's plans for the future political development of the country's black people.

He said the aim of the new strategy was a "stable country" and the Government was willing to negotiate on certain problem areas in a "flexible forum."

But Mr Botha said several aspects were "non-negotiable." These included:

- The "non-abdication" of the country's white people.
- The rejection of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state; and
- The impossibility of a fourth parliamentary chamber for black people.

He said a forum to negotiate about the political future of blacks would take place on an ad hoc basis according to guidelines but without a set agenda.

The forum was being established only for those in favour of evolutionary change and who rejected violence as a political tool.

He said that despite expected and unavoidable criticism the Government had proved its commitment to reform by granting full political rights to Asians and coloureds.

Mr Botha said he had linked freehold rights for South African blacks with property rights in the national states because they were inseparable in any attempt to promote small businesses on a regional basis.

Commenting on influx control measures Mr Botha said the regulations needed to be adapted to do away with "unnecessary irritations".

IMPRESSED

On the subject of South Africa's new parliamentary system, Mr Botha said he was impressed with the sense of responsibility evident in the white house in the past week.

In the chamber for coloureds there had been criticism but this had been constructive.

While attending the Indian chamber he had been struck by the responsible attitude of speakers, even during the no-confidence debate. — Sapa

Violence has changed: has Nelson Mandela?

"I have dedicated my life to end white domination. It is an idea I hope to live to see realised, but, My Lord, it is also an idea for which I am prepared to die."

So ended a four-and-three-quarter hour address to the Pretoria Supreme Court 20 years ago — and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was ready to go to jail.

Nelson Mandela — attorney, convicted saboteur and black leader who has, since then, become a symbol of the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Mandela was offered his freedom this week, provided he turned his back on violence — the violence he deemed necessary to free black South Africa from apartheid.

But what are Nelson Mandela's views on violence? And is the violence the Government now wants him to reject of the same measure?

There are two major reasons why he will probably reject the Government's offer. First, he would never place his freedom above the demands of the liberation struggle.

Second, if he accepted the offer it would almost certainly open the rift in the African National Congress between those who think the time is right for negotiation and those who believe the only language the Government understands is that of plastic explosives.

This division of opinion has already placed severe strains on the ANC leadership and, if Nelson Mandela were to accept the offer and make a pledge of non-violence, he could do further damage to the organisation.

It is a situation that has the Government winning both ways

This week the Government offered to release the jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, provided he pledged to reject violence as a means of bringing political and social change to South Africa. But what are Nelson Mandela's views on the subject and why did he commit himself to such a course in the first place? Political Reporter GARY van STADEN looks at Mandela's views on violence and how the nature of political violence has changed during the 20 years he has been in prison.

with little or nothing to be gained by the ANC or Nelson Mandela.

At the Rivonia sabotage trial in 1964, Mandela said that the ANC believed that, as a result of Government policy, violence by black people had become inevitable.

"Either we accept inferiority or fight it by violence — we choose the latter," he said in his court address.

"This decision was not easily made."

He added that the Government had cut off all other forms of struggle against the principle of white supremacy and suppressed black demands by resorting to violence themselves.

"Violence was the only way to succeed against the oppression and tyranny of the whites," Mandela told the court.

He added that the ANC was committed not to undertake anything violent but was prepared to depart from its policy to the extent that it would no longer disapprove of properly controlled sabotage carried out by the newly formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

"It was to be sabotage," he told the court, "not terrorism."

According to Mandela it was in mid-1961, after the ANC had been banned, that the organisation decided violence was inevitable.

"It would have been wrong for African leaders to continue with a policy of non-violence while the Government met black demands with violence."

Mandela said at the time that responsible leadership was necessary to control feelings and prevent an outbreak of terrorism.

"I did what I did because of my people, because of my experiences in Africa."

But is the violence Mr Mandela was prepared to accept as inevitable in 1964 the same as the violence which haunts South Africa in 1985?

In the wake of the offer to Mr Mandela, the ANC high command in London issued a statement saying that its urban insurgency campaign in South Africa would be stepped up, a clear indication of that organisation's feelings about the offer.

In 1964, Mr Mandela was clear on the question of violence.

"Strict instructions were given to Umkhonto we Sizwe that, on no account, were people to be killed or injured during operations," he said in his court address.

He denied throughout the Rivonia trial that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe even had formal links. They were two separate organisations, he claimed.

Whatever the merits of that argument, Umkhonto we Sizwe is today regarded as the military wing of the ANC and has clearly departed from the instruction on deaths or injuries during sabotage operations.

So which measure of violence is Mr Mandela being requested to reject? The brand he espoused in 1964 or that which exists today?

In his own words Mr Mandela clearly rejected the latter in 1964. But would he have done so today or would he have seen it as merely a logical and inevitable escalation?

Whatever the answers, whatever the academic arguments about justifiable violence, of inevitable violence when a massive majority is kept in check by a minority, it will be a part of South African life for some time to come.

The fact is that, in 1964, Mandela told a court of law for all to hear that violence was the only way out for the black majority. For his part in that violence he was sent to prison for the rest of his life.

Twenty years later, the struggle for which he went to jail has not been won and it is unlikely that he will change his mind.

● The South African Institute of Race Relations has welcomed the Government's offer to release Mandela, reports Sapa.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the SAIRR's director, Mr JS Kane-Berman, said: "We welcome the State President's constructive offer. In particular, we welcome the apparent indication that, should Mandela agree to President Botha's proposals, his release would not involve confinement to the Transkei."

The SAIRR also hoped the offer would lead to the release of all political prisoners.

UK backs plan to release Mandela

ANC leaders included in freedom offer

RDM 1/2/85

11A
30/11/85

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.

AS THE CONSIDERABLE implications of the Government's offer to release Nelson Mandela and other jailed ANC leaders became apparent last night, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, called for the ban on Mrs Winnie Mandela to be lifted.

And in an unusually swift reaction, reports JOHN BATTERSBY from London, the British Government last night gave its backing to the offer, in terms of which the jailed ANC leaders would first have to unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument.

A Foreign Office spokesman said the release of Mandela "would be widely welcomed as evidence of the desire for reconciliation in South Africa."

"The British Government has consistently called for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa — including Nelson Mandela," the spokesman said.

Mrs Suzman said she believed Mandela's

● Symbol of the struggle
— See Page 7

decision on the offer would be favourably influenced should Mrs Mandela be unbanned.

The offer to release Mandela was made yesterday by the State President, Mr P W Botha, during the No Confidence debate in the House of Assembly.

Replying to a question from Mrs Suzman, he said the offer applied to other jailed ANC leaders as well.

"The Government is ... willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in the Republic of South Africa on condition that Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, but will

Still playing the traffic



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"The Government is ... willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in the Republic of South Africa on condition that Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, but will conduct himself in such a way that he will not again have to be arrested," Mr Botha said.

He said he was sure Parliament would understand that Mandela could not be released should he say that the moment he left prison he would "continue with his commitment to violence".

"It is therefore not the South African Government which now stands in the way of Mr Mandela's freedom. It is he himself. The choice is his.

"All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument. This is, after all, a norm which is respected in all civilised countries of the world," Mr Botha said.

On Wednesday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, seemed to rule out any possibility of Mandela's release. He said calls to free the ANC leader were "an old ANC story".

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, told the House that the offer would be conveyed to the jailed ANC leaders, and their reactions would be passed on to the Government.

A week ago, Mandela told a visiting British Peer: "The armed struggle was forced on us by the Government. And if they want us to give it up, the ball is in their court. They must legalise us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle.

"Of course, if there were to be talks

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'Proof of campaign against Dr Boesak,' say his supporters

'SMEAR' TAPES NOW IN CAPPE

Handwritten notes:
w/e ARSUS
2/2/81
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Weekend Argus

Reporters

TAPE-RECORDINGS containing material allegedly involving Dr Allan Boesak, chairman of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss Di Scott, youth leader of the SA Council of Churches, have been received by some clergymen and members of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk in the Peninsula.

A minister who confirmed this declined to discuss the contents of the tapes.

Supporters of Dr Boesak said today that the distribution of the tapes was further proof of a deliberate smear campaign against Dr Boesak.

Dr Boesak's congregation is the NG Sendingkerk in Bellville.

Several Pretoria dominies of the NG Sendingkerk and the NG Kerk have also received tapes, it is reported.

The tapes were accompanied by a letter written in "childish" handwriting.

Dr Boesak has denied allegations of an extra-marital association with Miss Scott.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, stated in Parliament this week that security police knew about the alleged affair. He denied that anyone in his department was conducting an anti-Boesak smear campaign with anonymous pamphlets.

Dr Boesak is expected to return to South Africa next Thursday from an overseas tour and to make a public statement about the matter in Cape Town next Saturday.

The Ecumenical Support Group, after a meeting in Athlone, has condemned Mr le Grange's parliamentary statement.

No secret

The group consists of churchmen including the Rev Lennie Maart of the Reform Presbyterian Church, the Rev David Russell of the Anglican Church, the Rev Russell Botman of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, the Rev Sid Luckett of the Board of Social Responsibility, as well as Dr Margaret Nash, Mr Essa Moosa of Grassroots Publication, Mr Jonathan de Vries, publicity secretary of the UDF, Ms Cheryl Carolus, joint secretary of the UDF, Sheikh Gamiel Gabier, chairman of the Muslim Judicial Council, and other community leaders.

Their spokesman, Mr Rashid Seria, said it had never been any secret that Dr Boesak and Miss Di Scott met often.

Mr Seria said: "She assisted him with essential research and documentation."

He said there was no doubt that certain people wished to "assassinate Dr Boesak politically by smearing his good name and character".

BY ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

Govt silent on names of 'other' jailed

THE Government was not saying yesterday which jailed ANC leaders other than Nelson Mandela would receive their offer of conditional freedom.

And a spokesman for the Mandela family said that if Nelson Mandela wanted to react to the Government's offer of conditional freedom, he should be allowed to do so directly and not through an intermediary.

It is believed that the offer will include at least

the seven men jailed with Mandela in the famous Rivonia trial.

When Mr P W Botha, the State President, made the offer in Parliament on Thursday, he said it applied to the other ANC leaders as well, but did not specify which.

Spokesmen for the State President, the Department of Justice and the SA Pris-

on Services were unable to say yesterday who was included in the offer.

However, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman on Law and Order, who originally asked Mr Botha in Parliament if the offer applied to the other ANC leaders, said yesterday that she thought it included at the very minimum those jailed with Mandela.

This would include:

- Walter Sisulu, originally from the Transkei and a former secretary-general of the ANC. Sisulu was a key leader of the ANC in the late 1940s and 1950s, who — like Mandela — moved from being a firm "Africanist" and anti-communist to a major proponent of broad political unity. He is 73 years old and his

health is rumoured to be uncertain.

- Govan Mbeki, also a former member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe High Command, is at 74 the oldest of the Rivonia trialists. His health is also reported to be uncertain. A former journalist, he is known for views that are more left-wing than many of the other ANC leaders.

- Denis Goldberg, 51, was the only white convicted during the Rivonia trial. A member of the Umkhonto High Command, he was also known for strong left-wing convictions.

- Ahmed Kathrada, 54, who played an important role in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. He served an earlier sentence and a se-

vere banning order, before going underground to join Umkhonto and being arrested at Rivonia.

- Elias Motsoaledi, 60, was a trade unionist who served briefly as chairman of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. He also sat on the Transvaal provincial executive of the ANC and joined Umkhonto in 1962.

- Andrew Mlangeni, 58, a former ANC regional secretary. At the Rivonia trial, he admitted carrying messages for Umkhonto, but denied being a member.

- Ramond Mhlaba, 64, from Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. He was an active trade unionist and a member of the Communist Party. He was a member of

the Cape executive of the ANC before its banning.

Mr Ismail Ayob, a Johannesburg attorney who acts for the Mandela family, said yesterday: "Surely Mandela should be entitled to be heard directly?"

Previously, Mandela has had to reply through his lawyer or a member of his family. He has not been allowed visitors from the

Press and until recently could not be quoted.

Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday issued a strong statement on the conditional offer to her husband.

However, Mrs Mandela is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa.

Mrs Mandela has received special permission in terms of her banning order to leave the small Orange Free State town of Brandfort tomorrow.

She will be in Soweto to attend the funeral of her sister, Mrs Iris Niki Xaba

'Cosas youths' fleece traders

A GROUP of youths claiming to be members of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), are going around Thokoza township, Alberton, "forcing" businessmen to donate R10 each.

A number of businessmen interviewed by The SOWETAN yesterday claimed that the youths also threatened to burn down their premises and their homes if they refused to give them the money.

According to the businessmen this has been going on for the past three weeks.

They said the youths, who claim that they were members of the Thokoza branch of Cosas, needed the money for transport to support families of their members who are in detention and that the rest of the money will help in case a pupil was "shot dead" during disturbances in the township.

A spokesman for Cosas denied the allegations. He warned the businessmen to report the youths to the police if they approached them again.

"If we need donations we will call a public meeting and appeal to the residents," he said.

A spokesman for the Katlehong police said the police could do nothing about the allegations because no one has reported the matter to them.



11A

Sowetan 1/2/85

CAPE Times

2/2/85

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UDF man buried in quiet funeral

By PETER DENNEHY

THE funeral of Mr Mandlenkosi William Kratshi, 25, the Beaufort West UDF youth leader shot by police who tried to arrest him, went ahead yesterday morning in a ceremony marked by discipline and restraint. The UDF and apparently the entire black community of Beaufort West decided on Thursday to comply with all the provisions of an order by a magistrate, which prohibited freedom songs, banners and speeches and effectively restricting the crowd to fewer than 300.

"The people decided to plan the ceremony as a peaceful one, and the word went out that most would have to stay indoors," said the Rev Paul Oliver of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who conducted the service in the tiny church.

Yet the service was an emotional one, and an exhortation by one of the church deacons that "no-

body must cry" could not be obeyed by several people who sobbed uncontrollably through most of the service.

Pall-bearers raised their fists briefly as they carried the coffin out of the church. Everyone climbed into 27 waiting vehicles, which included a bus the family had hired and several bak-kies and kombis.

At the dusty graveyard beside the township, a brief but moving ceremony was held and hymns were sung.

Several vehicles of the police reaction unit were parked discreetly at various vantage points, all several hundred metres away.

Major Eddie Snyman, police liaison officer for the Southern Cape, confirmed that police had been there in force, and had kept at a distance to ensure the maintenance of law and order without interfering with the funeral.

"It went off without incident," he said.

Sunday Tribune COMMENT

Mandela should accept

PRESIDENT P W Botha's offer to release Nelson Mandela on condition that the jailed leader of the African National Congress renounces violence is a tangible and welcome gesture of reconciliation. It should be accepted as such by those committed to peaceful change.

There should be no surprise that the offer is conditional. Violence as an instrument of political development is wholly repugnant in civilised societies. And in the climate prevailing in Mr Botha's own constituency where the ultra-right is eroding his power base, particularly in the Transvaal, he would be committing political suicide to let Mr Mandela out to command an armed struggle.

But it is not only the ultra-right that has to be considered. Moderates will find it impossible to support Mr Mandela's release without a prior promise to work peacefully for reform.

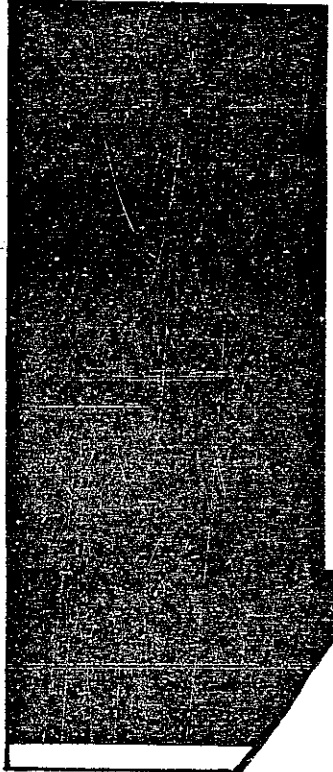
There is little doubt that Mr Mandela's assertion in his interview with Lord Bethell that "we will have to live with the armed struggle" until the government is prepared to legalise the ANC is the sole remaining reason for his continued imprisonment.

We hope that he is doing no more than posturing. A careful reading of Mr Botha's terms shows them to be reasonable. There is no suggestion that the ANC leader will be restricted in any way from a return to full and active political life provided it is non-violent. That could mean that were Mandela to persuade the ANC as a body to renounce violence it in turn would be unbanned.

The first essential is to break the impasse. The State Presi-

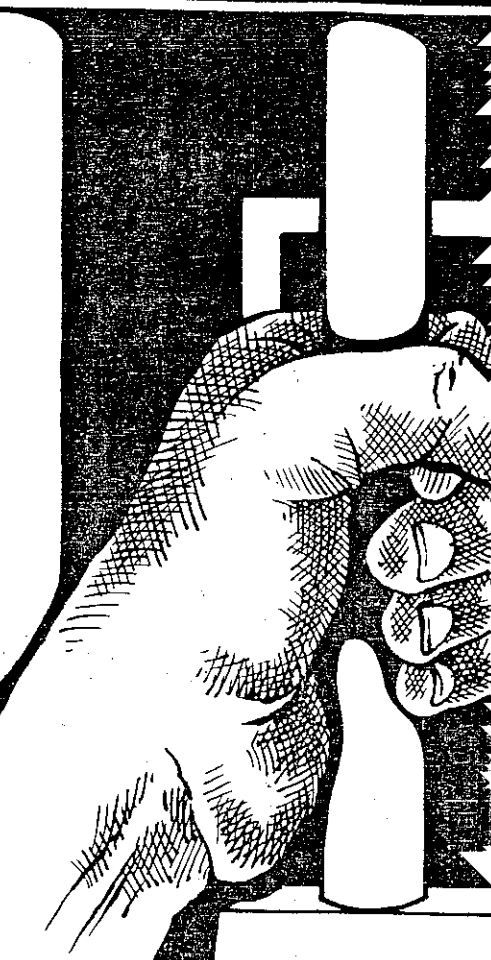


WINNIE MANDELA: The wife who waits



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An interview with has been in pris

I WAITED for the world's most celebrated prisoner in the governor's office of the maximum security block at Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison. Senior officers in khaki uniforms with gold stars on their epaulettes, some with peaked caps pulled over their eyes like Guards sergeant-majors, scurried in and out talking excitedly in Afrikaans. Three men entered and one came towards me. "How do you do," he said. "I'm pleased and honoured to receive you." It was a second or two before I realised

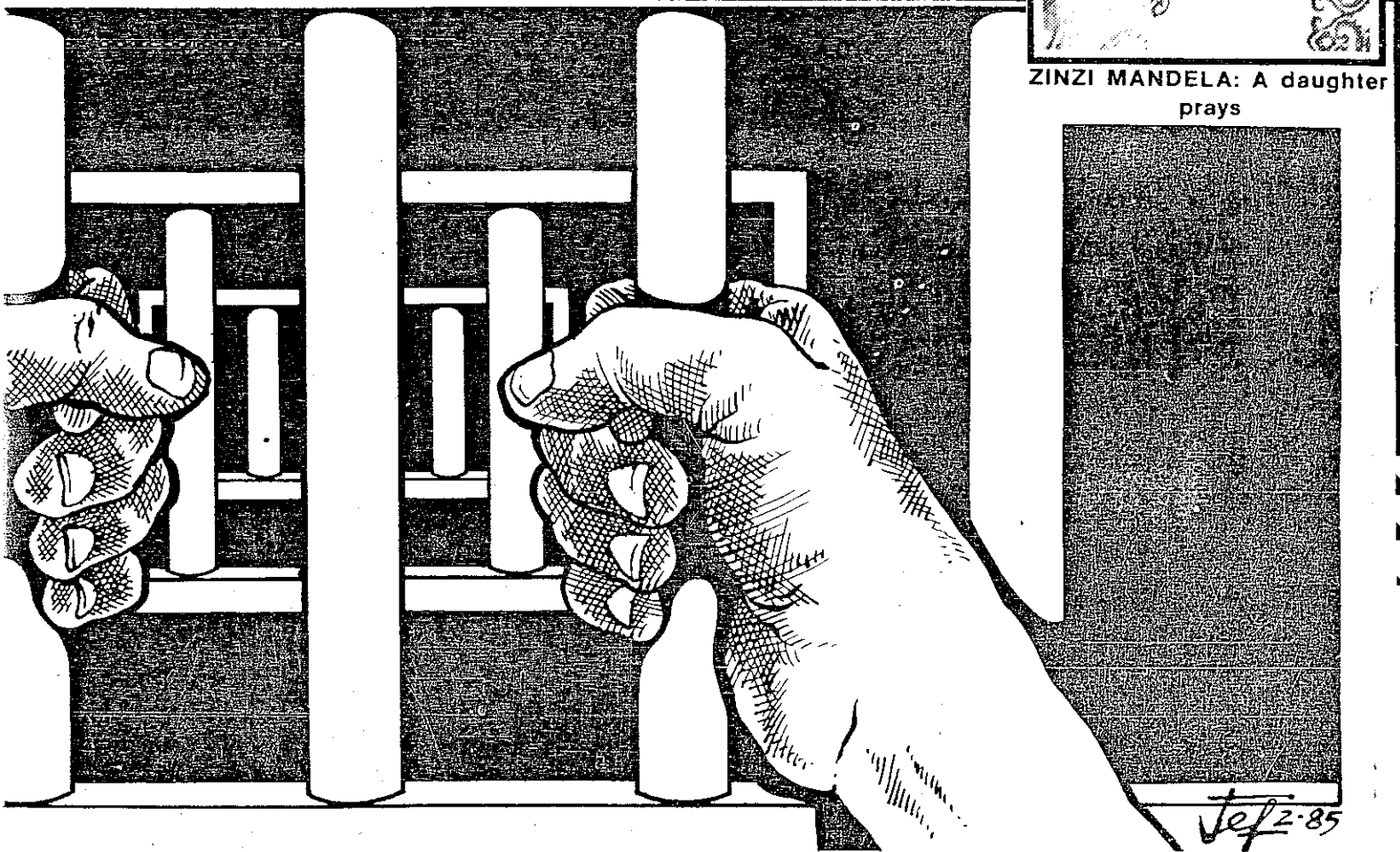
PW'S OFFER WH

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA stunned the nation and the world this week when he announced that the Government was prepared to consider the release of jailed ANC leader

NELSON MANDELA



ZINZI MANDELA: A daughter prays



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with the ANC leader who prison for almost 22 years

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change in South Africa.
Speaking during the closing stages of the No Confidence debate in the House of Assembly on Thursday, President

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ed it is non-violent. It could mean that were Mandela to persuade the ANC as a body to renounce violence it in turn would be unbanned.

The first essential is to break the impasse. The State President has taken a courageous step forward. If Mandela is the man Lord Bethell seems to think he is, he will give the lead now to the others who are with him in prison and accept his freedom.

Then indeed the road to reconciliation would be wide open.

Removals: about time

ONCE again the Government has announced it will suspend the forced removal of black communities until it has reviewed its policy on the issue which has been a major aspect of contention both in this country and abroad.

Such announcements are not new. They were made by Dr Piet "Promise" Koornhof when he was the Minister dealing with removals. They continued.

But the new Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has stated, for the first time, that the Government "is sensitive to the general critical attitude toward resettlement".

About time too.

For too long this Government has followed its ideology of separation with scant regard for the upheaval in the lives of those affected. Whole, viable communities have been destroyed in the name of resettlement and individuals have been uprooted from house and home merely because they happened to be living in an area which did not suit the Government.

The bitterness arising from removals will live for decades and the sooner the Government stops forcing its will on people who have no constitutional say in their own affairs, the sooner the tensions in this country — and the pressures from abroad — will be eased.

at Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison. Senior officers in khaki uniforms with gold stars on their epaulettes, some with peaked caps pulled over their eyes like Guards sergeant-majors, scurried in and out talking excitedly in Afrikaans. Three men entered and one came towards me. "How do you do," he said. "I'm pleased and honoured to receive you." It was a second or two before I realised that this was the man I had come to see. A 6ft (1,8m) lean figure with silvery hair, an impeccable olive-green shirt, black shoes and well-creased navy blue trousers. He could almost have been another general in the South African prison service. Indeed, his manner was the most self-assured of them all. He was, however, black. And he was a prisoner, Nelson Mandela, the man they write songs about and name streets after in London, the leader of the African National Congress, a body dedicated to the destruction of the Apartheid system, if necessary by force. He is the black man's folk hero, his fame made all the greater because he has been a prisoner for nearly 22 years. No one from the outside world has been able to see him or talk to him. Newspapers have speculated about the harshness of his prison regime, about his political views and his chances of release.

Good Health

Last week I met him, and am able to set the record straight.

"I am in good health," he told me. "It is not true that I have cancer. It is not true that I had a toe amputated. I get up at 3.30 every morning, do two hours' physical exercise, work up a good sweat. Then I read and study during the day. I get the South African newspapers as well as the *Guardian Weekly* and *Time* magazine. We have a radio in the cell. VHF only unfortunately, so that we can only get South African stations, not the BBC.

"I cultivate my garden. We grow vegetables in pots — tomatoes, broccoli, beans, cucumber and strawberries." He gestured expansively: "The major here has been tremendously helpful; he is really an excellent gardener."

The major, Fritz van Sittert, who guards Mandela and his five cellmates and was detailed to supervise our meeting, did not react. Indeed he didn't utter a word throughout the two-hour interview. We spent the time, just the three of us, in the functional office with its G-plan furniture overlooked by a portrait of President Botha.

Mandela had kind words too for Pollsmoor's Governor, Brigadier FC Munro. "The Brigadier does his best to solve our little problems. But, poor man, he has very little authority. Everything concerning us he has to refer to Pretoria. For instance, a year ago my sister died and I wrote to my brother-in-law about her funeral. They blocked the letter. Why? "They also blocked my letter to Bishop Tutu congratulating him on winning the

Ten years in the Rob

"IN my first 10 years on Robben Island conditions were really very bad," says Mandela. "We were physically assaulted. We were subjected to psychological persecution.

"We had to work every day in the lime

quarry from 7am to 4pm with a one-hour break, wearing shorts and sandals with no socks or underwear and just a calico jacket. It was hard, boring, unproductive work and on rainy days in the winter it was very cold.

"The guards pushed us

all the time to work harder, from dawn to sunset, and we could get solitary confinement if they thought we were slacking.

"The diet was maize porridge for breakfast with half a teaspoon of sugar, boiled grain for

PRESIDENT PW BOTSTUNNED the nation and world this week when he announced that the Government was prepared to consider release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, if he turned back on violence as a means



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Nobel Prize. A few days ago a friend here received a letter cut to ribbons." South African Minister HJ Coetsee had authorised my visit. He wanted the point be made that 66-year-old Mandela was in good health and being well treated.

I can confirm that, generally speaking, that is the case. Still, this does not lessen the basic injustice that keeps in prison for 21 years a man who is not a murderer, whose crime was to connive at the blow-up of electricity and water installations and of course to advocate the overthrow of the Apartheid system.

Pollsmoor looks like a 1970s comprehensive school or red brick university. The authorities boast that conditions there are as good as any in the world.

Mandela's quarrel with South Africa is, though, not about prison conditions. He says: "Things get exaggerated because of lack of communication. A little time ago I was wearing size eight shoes. They both erred me for a bit and I mentioned it to my wife.

"She was upset and there was a fuss in the Press. They even mentioned it in the song *Free Nelson Mandela*. I was sorry for all the trouble caused.

Privacy Wanted

"I wish that the senior men who make the real decisions would come to see us. It is worrying, because when the top men stay away it sometimes means a move towards a tougher policy. If they came could discuss our little problems.

"My other complaints are about cell conditions. There is a damp patch on the wall. And it is wrong for the six of us to

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change in South Africa.

Speaking during the closing stages of the No Confidence debate in the House of Assembly on Thursday, President Botha said it was not the Government which now stood in the

way of Mandela's freedom.

"The choice is his. All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument, a norm which is respected in all civilised countries of the world," Mr Botha said.



President PW Botha

TODAY we publish an interview with Nelson Mandela by LORD NICHOLAS BETHELL, a Member of the European Parliament and vice-chairman of that Parliament's human rights committee. The interview was conducted in the maximum security block of Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison

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be segregated. We would like more companions.
"I have not asked for more to be brought here as I am not sure that the other political prisoners on Robben Island — there are 230 of them — would like it here.

"I would like greater privacy, too, for my studies. In fact, our basic demand which we made in 1969 is for political status, for instance the right to keep a diary and to be visited by the family. I mean the African family, not just wives, brothers and children, which is the family in the European sense."

The problem is, therefore, not one of brutal prison conditions. It is that Mandela and his friends are in prison at all. They are in prison now, it is clear, not as an act of justice or punishment, but because it does not politically suit South Africa to release them. Their crime, if it was a crime, was expiated long ago.

The problem is that Mandela still supports the armed struggle. This is why some human rights bodies, *Amnesty International* for instance, will not campaign for his release. It means, too, that his case makes a bad impression on the South African parole board, since he shows no repentance for his past actions — rather the contrary.

He says: "The armed struggle was forced on us by the Government. And if they want us to give up, the ball is in their court. They must legalise us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle.

"It is useless simply to carry on talking. The Government has tightened the

screws too far. Of course, if there were to be talks along these lines, we in the ANC would declare a truce.

"Meanwhile we are forced to continue, though within certain limits. We go for hard targets only, military installations and the symbols of Apartheid. Civilians must not be touched.

"This is why I regret what happened in Pretoria on May 23, 1983. A bomb went off and more than a dozen civilians were killed. Something must have gone wrong with the timing. It was a tragic accident. "We aim for buildings and property. So it may be that someone gets killed in a fight, in the heat of battle, but we do not believe in assassinations. I would not want our men to assassinate, for instance, the major here. But all this can end as soon as talks begin. It would be humiliating though for us simply to lay down our arms unconditionally."

One way for Mandela to be released from prison has been put to him. He has been told that his nephew, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, would give him sanctuary in the semi-autonomous Transkei, if he gave up political activity.

"I completely rejected the idea," he says. "My place is in South Africa and my home is in Johannesburg. If I were released, I would never obey any restriction."

Classless society

"If they confined me, for instance, to the Cape area, I would break the order and walk to my home in Soweto to be with my wife and daughter."

Meanwhile, he wants to see the ANC develop as a widely-based national movement: "Personally, I am a Socialist and I believe in a classless society. But I see no reason to belong to any political party at the moment

"I appreciate the Soviet Union only because it was the one country that long ago condemned racialism and supported liberation movements. It does not mean that I approve of their internal policy.

"Britain has helped us, under Mrs Thatcher as well as under Socialist governments, by condemning Apartheid in principle. We may have different views about the methods that should be used, but the most

important thing is to condemn Apartheid outright."

Our talks drew to a close and I was invited to visit Mandela's cell. We walked in slow procession up flights of stairs with Mandela leading the way, as if showing me round his home.

Mandela's Cell

Sergeants opened doors with heavy keys after much saluting but always Mandela showed the way, inviting me through doors first and asking about Britain. Who was now Labour Party leader was one question.

We reached the "Mandela enclosure" on the third floor, a large room with six beds, plenty of books and adequate facilities for washing and toilet. The cell door is open almost all day. They have access to a long L-shaped yard surrounded by high white walls. As well as the vegetable pots there is a ping-pong table and even a miniature tennis court, apparently unused.

Mandela proudly showed me his vegetables, like a landowner showing me his farm. As for the yard, he wished only that it was less monotonously black, white and grey. As a countryman, he longed for green.

He understood, he said, what Oscar Wilde meant by "the little tent of blue that prisoners call the sky."

I prepared to say goodbye to this remarkable man, whom I have begged the South African Government to release, on humanitarian grounds if for no other reason.

A sergeant opened the grey, heavy steel door. Mandela said: "Well, Lord Bethell, this is my frontier and this is where I must leave you." We shook hands and I told him what I would be writing.

I walked through all the other steel doors, down the stone staircases and out into the fine Cape summer feeling poorer for being so suddenly deprived of this man's inner strength and exhilarating company.

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Prison spokesman

confirms Mandela visit

A SPOKESMAN from the Prison Department commented: "Due to various inquiries from the media it is confirmed that Lord Bethell, who is associated with humanitarian issues in Britain and Europe, visited certain prison institutions namely, Victor Verster at Paarl and Pollsmoor in Cape Town, on Monday January 21 where he acquainted himself with prison conditions and management policy.

In the course of his visit Lord Bethell had contact with a number of prisoners of various categories and spoke to individuals as well as groups, of whom Nelson Mandela was one."

Robben Island stone quarry

lunch . . . and porridge with vegetables in the evening. There was a lot of tension between guards and prisoners."

Helen Suzman, the campaigning opposition member of Parliament recalls with horror visits

to Robben Island.

"I remember one prisoner complaining he had been assaulted. I was noting details when the guard in question ran up saying: 'Ah, it was really nothing, Mrs Suzman, it was only a kick up the arse!'"



Mrs Helen Suzman

NEW DEAL? BIG DEAL!

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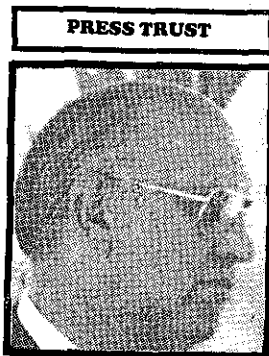
A CLOSE analysis of State President PW Botha's so-called new deal for African people shows that it is no deal at all.

3/2/85

This is the view of Joint Rent Action Committee secretary Ian Mkhize and senior UDF officials in Natal.

Mr Mkhize said the new deal emphasised that the white minority had no intention of sharing political power with the people who really matter — the two-million African people.

"From all accounts, Mr Botha's so-called new deal will make certain that political power continues to be dominated by the white minority," said Mr

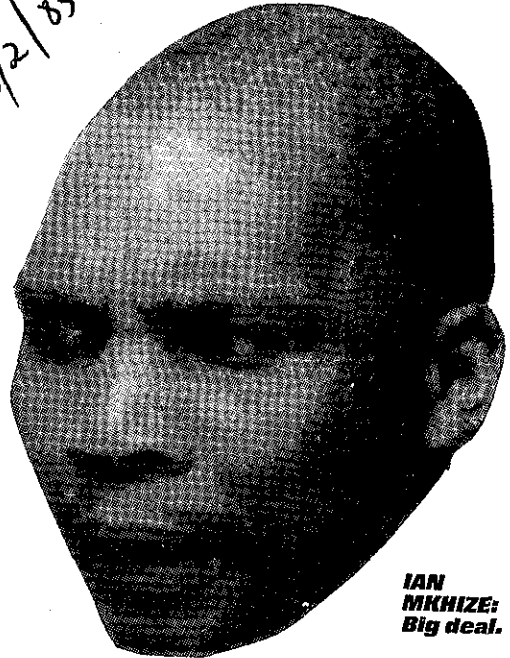


PW BOTHA: New deal.

Mkhize.

"Politics will still be streamlined according to race, with white, Indian and coloured people having their own ethnic parliaments and Africans their bantustans, and a negotiating forum.

"Botha's deal will also not only divide the African majority according to tribal and ethnic lines, but also into urban and homeland Africans.



IAN MKHIZE: Big deal.

"White South Africa is already a colonial power in its own right — because of the creation of so-called independent bantustans and the economic subjugation of countries such as Swaziland.

"Her new design to divide the African people into urban and homeland citizens would entrench her col-

onial position — not only to subjugate the African people but also to pursue her policy of divide and rule."

Mr Mkhize is strongly opposed to the incorporation of Durban townships into KwaZulu.

"We want a full say in the land of our birth," he said.

By MUDINI MAIVHA

TOWNSHIP "peace-keeping" forces could be used as personal armies to protect councillors.

This fear was spelt out at an Alexandra Residents' Association conference in Sandton, at which Dr P Frankel spoke on "The Politics of Police Control in South Africa.

Community guards would not benefit township residents in the South African context, he said.

They are being created with political considerations — they are intended to protect Government laws, most of

Guardians or guards?

which have been rejected by black people.

Although the South African police have black members, it is a white-controlled institution which enforces white concepts of order, said Dr Frankel.

The whole population does not accept the rules and values enforced by the police.

The Government uses the police to control people, he said.

The way in which the majority is controlled has changed with the change in character of Afrikaner leadership, said Dr Frankel.

Instead of "kragdadigheid" — the brutal application of power — the Government is now using subtle ways to divide and rule, not only along ethnic lines, but along class lines too, he said.

This new strategy de-

manded the creation of a strong black "middle class", who would be less militant and easier to control.

This strategy recognises that black people must be part of the economic structure and that they must have an outlet for political expression — the community councils.

But, because community councils don't enjoy legitimacy, are composed of "opportunists" and "don't deliver the goods to the community", they need direct police support to survive, said Dr Frankel.

It is believed that the SAP will have direct control over them.

Long live Cradora!

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C. P. ...

3/2/85

LEADING United Democratic Front members – including president Oscar Mpetha and spokesperson Terror Lekota – will be among the key speakers at the official launching of the one-year-old Cradock Residents' Association on Sunday.

The rally – to be held at Iingelihle Community Hall – will also mark the first anniversary of the

class boycott by more than 4 000 pupils in the area.

Cradora's official launching was initially scheduled for last April but had to be delayed because Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange banned all meetings in the area.

Cradora president Monwabisi Makuala said several other speakers will address the rally.

'ANC has always wanted to talk'

THE AFRICAN National Congress this week gave cautious backing for Nelson Mandela's statement that he was prepared to call a truce if the organisation was un-

banned. *11A* *3/2/85*
An ANC spokesperson told City Press that the organisation had always been prepared to talk to the South African Government, but it had resorted to the armed struggle because "we had nobody to talk to."

But the spokesperson said the ANC could not comment specifically on Mandela's statement because "Mandela is sitting there in Pollsmoor Prison and we are not certain what he really said."

"We would like to get it directly from him and, if possible, we would like to talk to him ourselves."

He said the ANC would issue a more detailed statement at the weekend.

But, he added, the ANC would only talk to this country's Government if the agenda for discussion was the total eradication of apartheid.

He said if the South African Government

3/2/85
From PRESS TRUST

C. Press
was prepared to discuss the dismantling of apartheid — and not just the cosmetics — the organisation would be willing to talk.

"We have always been prepared to talk. Our willingness to talk is history itself."

"We only resorted to the armed struggle because we had nobody to talk to."

He said the ANC viewpoint was that, because black people had been excluded from decision-making processes, it always considered the South African Government as an illegal regime.

"Liberation from apartheid and the creation of a democratic unitary state is our aim."

"But we do not believe that the South African Government has anything meaningful to discuss at this stage."

"We are not prepared to discuss bantustans and other divisive designs," he said.

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The smile on the face of TERROR

By WIM VANVOLSEM

A YOUNG widow who tried to smuggle subversive literature in her bra was jailed this week for aiding terrorism.

A smiling Ntombi Shope, 34, was convicted under the Internal Security Act of supporting ANC fighters through a women's organisation she had founded.

She was charged with recruiting members for the ANC, including military training abroad, supplying weapons or material for military warfare, sabotage and subversion and the deployment of trained and equipped personnel.

She was also accused of engaging in indoctrination and of mobilising individuals to support the ANC.

Earlier, her cousin, Emma Ntimbana, 37, was jailed for a year for refusing to testify against "her sister in the struggle".

This week they waved at friends and kissed relatives goodbye in a small courtroom in conservative Tzaneen as they went to serve their sentences.

A delegation of the Federation of South African Women was on hand to provide moral support.

The trial provided a glimpse into the activities of the banned African National Congress in a remote country area, far away from the publicity of the bustling townships in the country's metropolitan areas.

It began with a routine border post check by security forces in the Zeerust District of the Western Transvaal in March last year.

Active

Subsequent security police investigations revealed her to be an active supporter of the ANC.

She used the Pfunani Women's Organisation, which she had founded in Tzaneen's small township of Nkowakowa, for this purpose.

There were also many trips to Botswana and Swaziland to meet ANC contacts and to set up a system of "dead letter drops" in the Lowveld for exchanging secret messages and storing weapons and ammunition.

Shope, who studied law at the University of the North and through Unisa, had made confidential appeals to local women to "play their part in the struggle" by providing food and shelter for the "soldiers who come in to liberate

Jailed ANC 'mole' shows no remorse

S. Times 3/2/85



MR E D MOSENEKE
Blows alleged

Black lawyer lays charge of assault

A CHARGE of assault laid by a prominent black Pretoria advocate with the Tzaneen police after a hotel incident has been referred to the Attorney-General.

Mr ED Moseneke, who defended convicted ANC supporter Mrs Ntombi Shope in an Internal Security Act trial in the town, was staying at the officially designated multiracial hotel in Tzaneen.

He was confronted by a leading farmer from the district when he wanted to enter the ladies' bar.

"The man asked me rudely what I was doing there and when I replied that I was a resident of the hotel, he hit me with his fist.

"I had barely time to recover when he struck two more blows at me," Mr Moseneke said.

the country", the court heard.

The court heard that Shope asked another woman, Mrs Constance Mbewe, to make her car available to transport people and material for the ANC.

Mrs Mbewe said that after a party at Bushbuck Ridge, Shope buried a plastic bucket at the roadside.

The bucket was a "dead



EMMA NTIMBANA
Refused to testify

letter box" used to store documents, pamphlets, weapons and ammunition for ANC couriers.

Shope comes from a politicised family. Her father, Mark Shope, is one of the old stalwarts who has been an ANC member since its inception. He went into exile in 1963 and is now a member of the executive committee of the organisation based in Lusaka.

He spent some time in Tanzania and at one stage was "ANC ambassador" in Lagos, Nigeria.

"You have showed no remorse for what you did," the magistrate, Mr W G M van Zyl, told her as she stood in the dock, smiling as she had done throughout the trial.

He sentenced her to three years in jail, after which she greeted most of the crowd in court personally, exchanging quick goodbyes and kisses.

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Shope was arrested at the Kopfonteinhek border post on March 18 last year when police had asked a civilian worker at the post, Mrs C Whitfield, to search her.

In her bra was a plastic bag which contained ANC literature, including "Voice of Women", "Mayibuye", "Forward" and a poster "Welcome Dorothy", meant for a party she had organised to celebrate the release of Dorothy Nyembe, a detainee who was due to be released from prison.

Visited

Evidence was that Shope had visited Botswana and Swaziland on several occasions and had contact with ANC exiles and members there, including individuals called Archie and Dodo and one code-named "Angel".

During 1983 she established a local organisation called "Pfunani Women's Organisation" with the ostensible aim of teaching women in the area to manufacture goods. She then affiliated the organisation to the UDF.

The court heard that Shope tried to persuade women that the capitalist system was bad and based on class and race differences, and that the ANC would change that by introducing a socialist system.

She told women to provide "ANC soldiers" with board and lodging and tried to recruit people — including women — to go abroad for military training.

Pleading in mitigation, her advocate, Mr Moseneke, told the court that Shope's actions should be seen in the socio-political context of what was happening in the country.

"The sheer number of so-called terrorist trials, before the country's courts at the moment is an indication of the great number of people who felt like Shope. These people didn't fall from heaven — or from hell for that matter," he told the court.

Mr van Zyl said he agreed that there was a strong factor of personal conviction in the case. But he said it was a pity people got hot-headed and wanted to change the present order in a violent way.

"A lot of voices are heard these days to sit around a table and talk, also in connection with the ANC... maybe this is a good idea," he said.

RJM 4/2/84

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PW aide denies that SA talked to the ANC

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
MYSTERY surrounds a report — by the well-known freelance journalist, Mr Hennie Serfontein, in the Sunday Star yesterday — that Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, will be unconditionally released from prison within months.

The report reiterated claims that the ANC and the South African Government have been in direct contact over the past six weeks.

Yet the talk about talks has been repeatedly denied by the ANC and by President P W Botha, and was again denied yesterday.

A spokesman for the State President's office said: "President Botha has said to the ANC they should discard violence before the Government will talk to them. The State President does not talk to terrorist agencies who foment violence."

And President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the man named as the "key personality in the whole affair", told the Cuban magazine Prisma in December that it was not the right moment for the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to speak to South Africa.

"They should not try to talk with Oliver Tambo, because he is leading the

fighters, and it is not the right moment, because if he talks with Pretoria his followers will lose confidence in them.

"Anyway, I don't think Tambo is thinking of talking with them now."

Mr Serfontein said yesterday that the imminent release of Mandela and two other ANC leaders detained with him, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Walter Sisulu, followed "sensitive, hush-hush talks" between the SA Government and the ANC.

He said the matter had been discussed at length with President Kaunda, President Samora Machel of Mozambique, and Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe.

The report was credited to "impeccable, well-placed Frontline sources".

Rand Daily Mail sources in the Frontline States said yesterday that it was plausible that Frontline leaders had put pressure on South Africa over the continued imprisonment of Mandela and the other two leaders.

But they rejected out of hand reports that the ANC had had direct dealings with the SA Government.

Mr Serfontein has now claimed in three leading reports in different newspapers that the ANC is holding direct talks with South Africa.

Homeless squatters get tent relief

SEVEN SOWETO families whose backyard shacks were destroyed by West Rand Development Board officials last week are now living in three tents donated by the Azanian People's Organisation.

The tents were delivered at the weekend to the families living in Protea North by Dr Abu Asvat, Azapo's head of Health Secretariat.

According to the affected families, their six shacks and a Zozo were pulled down by Wradebo officials last Wednesday afternoon as a warning to other residents living in the area.

There are hundreds of shack dwellers in Protea, part of which is still zoned for coloured occupation, although it is owned by Wradebo. Last week's action and the start of a new housing scheme in Protea have raised fears that many shacks may be flattened.

Mr Lionel Ntseke, the owner of the yard in which the shacks had been erected, said yesterday he was surprised that the officials had chosen his place. He said he had asked one official why they had picked on his yard and he had been told he must not teach them their job.

He said two families were sharing each tent provided by Dr Asvat and the seventh family was being temporarily housed in his house. He said he was very grateful to the doctor who has also provided medical treatment to the children of the affected families. He said the families had lived peacefully in his premises and he would not like to see them suffer.



DR ASVAT . . . donated tents.

11A
Cape Times
4/2/85

Mandela — anti-apartheid symbol

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — After 22 years in prison, Nelson Mandela has become more than a political figure. He has become an international symbol of the fight against apartheid and suppression by the government.

Today, his face and his personality are hardly known to South Africans. For 22 years, none of his words have been published in the country and even his photograph may not be published.

Yet this has not prevented him from becoming

the subject of numerous local and international campaigns and the recipient of many international honours.

He was born into the Tembu royal house in Transkei in 1918. Like so many African leaders, he studied at Fort Hare University from 1938, but was expelled after two years for his part in a student protest.

He moved to Johannes-

burg where he studied law, first by correspondence and later at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Although Mandela at first played a subordinate role in the ANC Youth League, he was named national secretary in 1948 and in 1949 the youthful trio of himself, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu joined the ANC national executive committee.

Tom Lodge, an academic and author of a recent book on black politics, described him as "a tall, aristocratic-looking man with a remote but commanding personality. He had not been one of its (the Youth League's) main theorists, despite his intellectual abilities".

An American academic, Professor Gwendolyn Carter, described

him as "tall, athletic, with a commanding bearing and dominating personality".

In late 1950, he was elected national president of the Youth League and in the Defiance Campaign in 1952 was volunteer-in-chief.

As a result, he appeared in the dock at the first of his many trials. He was given a nine-month suspended sentence under

the Suppression of Communism Act and was banned for six months.

In spite of his banning, which prevented him from leaving Johannesburg or attending any public meetings, he accepted the position of national deputy president of the ANC under Chief Albert Luthuli.

However, a new banning in 1953 added to his restriction by forcing him

to resign officially from the ANC for five years.

From 1956, he was one of the accused in the massive Treason Trial and until 1961 until being finally acquitted.

During the 1960 emergency, the ANC and its rival off-shoot, the Pan Africanist Congress, were banned.

In December 1961, Umkhontwe We Sizwe

February 4, 1985 9

(Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC, began its campaign of sabotage.

In the Rivonia Trial of 1963 he, Sisulu and others admitted guilt and he was sentenced to life imprisonment for guerilla activity and for being a member of the high command of Umkhontwe We Sizwe.

Rumours that he might be released began when he was moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982. In the same year, the government introduced parole for political prisoners for the first time.

Buthelezi tells Americans of Kennedy's 'arrogance'

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has told a nationwide American television audience that Senator Edward Kennedy was arrogant for trying to prescribe to South African blacks something they did not want.

The Zulu leader was asked during a Sunday morning talk show on the NBC network yesterday what he thought of Senator Kennedy's stand on US disinvestment.

He replied that the majority of black people did not favour disinvestment and that this had been confirmed in a survey made by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Natal University.

It was arrogant behaviour for anyone to try to prescribe something the blacks themselves did not want.

Chief Buthelezi's TV appearance in front of millions of Americans came a day before his scheduled private meeting with President Ronald Reagan at the White House.

ARGUS 4/2/85 11A
It is expected that President Reagan will question Chief Buthelezi closely on his views about disinvestment and recent developments in South Africa.

The Zulu leader said that President P W Botha deserved credit for going farther than any previous white leader in offering concessions to blacks, but that he should move more briskly to avoid the violence that was being advocated by some.

Chief Buthelezi also gave conditional support to the Reagan policy of constructive engagement, describing it as a skeleton that needed to be fleshed out.

But most of the 30-minute discussion was devoted to disinvestment — which is to be the subject of a major debate in the US Congress, probably in March.

Chief Buthelezi was asked what he thought of the proposal by Congressman William Gray, new chairman of the US House of Representatives budget committee, that Krugerrand sales be stopped and new US loans and

investments in SA banned.

The Zulu leader said he respected the view that pressure should be brought against the SA Government for reform, but that black people would suffer most from sanctions. "Disinvestment is completely unenlightened. It does not contribute anything," he said.

Asked about recent statements by President Botha on urban blacks and freehold ownership, Chief Buthelezi said that these were concessions for which Mr Botha deserved some credit.

But blacks remained dissatisfied about having no say in Parliament. In terms of fundamental change, blacks believed that Mr Botha had not moved as much as was warranted by the support he enjoyed among whites.

President Botha had the potential for courage, he said. Apartheid was dying in South Africa and it was up to those in power to decide whether it would die peacefully or through violence.

Civil service discrimination slammed by Labour Party

HR 645 4/2/85 (11A) (11A) (11A)

Political Staff

MANY coloured civil servants are earning less than R300 a month, says a committee of the Labour Party calling for an end to discrimination in the Public Service.

While coloured civil servants must receive priority in appointments to "own affairs" State departments, more promotional facilities must be opened to coloured people in "general affairs" departments.

This is the recommendation of the five-man committee of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives, headed by Mr Abe Williams, MP for Mamre.

During debate in the House this week, members deplored the fact that thousands of coloured civil servants are thought of as "temporary" because they are working in jobs regarded as "white" posts.

League

The absence of coloured representation on the Commission for Administration — which determines civil service salary scales and conditions of employment — was also criticised.

The Labour Party committee noted that there was a Public Service Association for whites and a Public Service League for coloured civil servants, who number about 26 000.

The committee said that among the matters requiring urgent attention were coloured representation on the Commission for Administration, effecting a training programme designed to allow "each population group to manage its own department", greater opportunities for bursaries, and the elimination of racial discrimination in the Public Service.

ARGUS 4/2/85 (11A) [initials]

Muted black response to PW's 'forum' plan

GRAHAM LINSOTT reports on reaction so far by black newspapers to President P W Botha's announcement of steps to negotiate the political future of the black majority

BLACK newspapers have shown a spread of reaction to President P W Botha's announcement of a new forum to discuss the political future of blacks, ranging from qualified approval to outright rejection.

Ilanga said the establishment of a negotiating forum to involve blacks would be a step in the right direction and that it meant a fundamental change in the National Party's prior attitude which arrogated to itself the power to decide what was best for blacks.

The Sowetan Sunday Mirror said blacks should politely refuse to have anything to do with the so-called new deal. It was ridiculous that they should be let in through the back door when they were considered equal in the payment of the taxes necessary to bail the Government out of its mismanagement.

And City Press warned that although Mr Botha's speech caused a sensation in white circles, it raised very little enthusiasm in the black community.

As long as the Government

continued with unilateral decisions affecting blacks, the rejection would continue.

Ilanga said it was to be regretted that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development, had said the negotiating forum would be for urban blacks. This proved once again that the Government thought its homelands policy was viable and would eventually be accepted by the blacks living in the homelands.

"The ruling Nationalist Party must be living in a fool's paradise if it still hopes that some day all the homeland leaders will opt for the Pretoria-type independence."

The Sowetan Sunday Mirror said blacks did not wish to be part of the Government's new deal, even if it was made more palatable with a carrot of freehold rights.

"These things, if they had been granted to us as our right, and years ago, would have seen South Africa today perhaps equal in economic strength to some of the best Western countries. We have the people. We



President Botha

have the natural resources. All we need is an honesty to regard everybody in this land as rightful citizens with full rights. But that seems like a dream.

"If people do not wish to work towards the honest realisation of a dream, fate has a way of offering a nightmare. This is what we will be experiencing in South Africa. And the nightmare would be made worse because of the great po-

tential the country has," the newspaper said.

"Apartheid has lulled South African whites into the type of comfort they will die to protect. It has led numerous blacks to such bitter strains that they would be equally prepared to risk all to change it. That is the agony of apartheid. And it's a tragedy."

City Press said that under normal circumstances it would have seen Mr Botha's speech as a message of hope. Only 10 years ago he would have been branded a radical leftist.

Yet the Government had to take into account that the speech roused very little enthusiasm among blacks.

"We are at a time in our history when we reject decisions made for us - we want them made with us."

The newspaper added: "Mr Botha seems bent on pleasing President Ronald Reagan. He must accept that Reagan is irrelevant to the issue. If us he must please - and that is going to be his greatest challenge."

Sanet 5/2/85

New name for student body

(300)

(11A)

THE Sharpeville Students National Resistance Movement has changed its name to Vaal Students Resistance Movement in order to cover the interests and aspirations of all students in the Vaal Triangle townships.

The decision to change the name of the organisation was taken at an executive meeting held at the A M E Church, Sharpeville at the weekend.

The movement, formed at the height of the unrest in the Vaal Triangle, was aiming at uniting all students and to conscientise them about their rights, according to the newly-elected president, Mr Mandla Mahlangu.

He said that they were forced to change the name in order to cater for students in Bophelong, Boipatong, Sebokeng and Evaton.

The organisation, with the support of parents, has been able to urge students in the trouble-torn areas to return to school and, "it is now up to the Government to meet students' demands," he said.

"Students have a role to play in the liberation struggle and it is for this purpose that we seek the help of parents and other organisations to lead the student movement in a proper manner.

Spelling out the VSRM's future plans, Mr Mahlangu said they have held talks with the Azanian Students Movement with the aim of affiliating to the National Forum "because we find our ideas similar to those of the black consciousness movements.

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

Rector calls on Sendingkerk churches to support Boesak

MBW 5/2/85 (11A) (8) (8) (8) (8) (8)

Staff Reporter

THE rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, has called on Ned Geref Sendingkerk congregations to send petitions to the Moderature, showing members' true feelings about the Boesak affair.

Professor van der Ross, a member of the Wynberg congregation of the Sendingkerk, asks that congregations circulate five points round which petitions could be drawn up — asking, among other things, that Dr Allan Boesak be supported in "Christian charity".

The call is in the wake of allegations that Dr Boesak, Sendingkerk clergyman and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was involved in an extra-marital affair with SA Council of

Churches employee Miss Di Scott and follows the launching of a pro-Boesak support campaign in the Western Cape at the weekend.

Writing as a lifelong member of the Sendingkerk, Professor van der Ross said he believed moral values were "essentially based on the relationship between the individual believer and God" and that the believer should reconcile matters within his own conscience.

The five points he wants circulated among congregations are:

- Let us not be tempted to point the finger of blame and to cast stones.

- Let us regard this matter as an opportunity to unite the entire church in an act of humble admission of our own sin and transgression.

- Let us see this as an opportunity not to denigrate oth-

ers, but to re-examine ourselves and to re-dedicate ourselves to submission to the law of God and to upholding a moral order in relation to our fellow human beings.

- Let us call on the Sendingkerk and its respected councils to deal with this matter in this spirit and, whereas our brother has brought great honour to our church, let us similarly support him in "Christian charity".

- Let us pray and deliberate with the sole purpose of enriching the human spirit by our participation in the love of God.

If members signed petitions supporting these points and they were sent to the Moderature, it would become aware of the "sincere feelings of church members as to the true meaning and importance of this matter".

Abus

UDF organiser detained by security police

PRETORIA. — A ~~former~~ schoolteacher and principal who became an organiser for the United Democratic Front in the Northern Cape has been detained under security legislation.

Police here today confirmed the detention of Mr Abel Bushy Maape under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Maape was arrested in the Vryburg township of Huhudi on Friday, according to a spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. — Sapa.

ARGUS 5/2/85

INTERNATIONAL



11A



'Suffering of blacks' no political football — Gatsha

Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — Americans who are "making a political football out of the suffering" of black South Africans were attacked by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi when he met President Ronald Reagan at the White House.

The Inkatha leader asked the President to help take the question of help for black South Africans out of "the American party political arena".

Chief Buthelezi, who met President Reagan only a few weeks after Bishop Desmond Tutu, also appealed to the President to listen to "effective black leaders with real mass constituencies".

Asked at a news conference afterwards for his assessment of Bishop Tutu as a leader of black South Africans, Chief Buthelezi said: "He's one of our very powerful black spokesmen but of course he hasn't got a constituency because he's a bishop."

There was speculation here that the Reagan administration arranged the meeting to counterbalance the President's meeting with Bishop Tutu.

At his news conference outside the White House today the Zulu leader distributed the text of a statement he handed to President Reagan at their meeting.

Criticising "strident and dubious voices expressing radical rhetoric", Chief Buthelezi asked President Reagan to weigh America's responsibilities against what "effective black leaders with real mass constituencies have to say".

Chief Buthelezi said Americans should give weight to the views of "leaders who involve themselves in constituency politics where they sink or swim on their ability to gather demonstrable black support which can be directed towards political objectives".

Some Americans were using apartheid in South Africa as an issue with which to attack the

Reagan administration, the chief said.

"Some are making an American political football out of our suffering and I ask you to stand firm and to do whatever you can to depoliticise the question of what Americans can do to aid those who are involved in the struggle for liberation."

Criticising attempts to isolate South Africa from Western influences, Chief Buthelezi said this would "favour those who aim to bring about change by violent means and to establish a socialist or even communist state".

Chief Buthelezi said President Reagan had told him he was encouraged by what the Zulu leader had said in their half-hour meeting.

At his news conference the chief praised the demonstrations outside the South African Embassy here for bringing the apartheid issue before the American people.

Hansard dates the offer to Mandela

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

PRESIDENT P W Botha's formal offer to release Nelson Mandela, provided that he renounced armed struggle, would be conveyed to him as soon as the Hansard containing the offer was published, the Department of Prisons said last night.

When the relevant Hansard is published, copies will be made available to the heads of prisons where security prisoners serving life sentences are held, and the prison heads will, in turn, make them available to prisoners who have already served a "long time" in prison.

"Their reaction, if any, will be sent through the usual channels to the Government."

Bound and revised copies of Hansard are usually published between 10 to 14 days after a speech is made in Parliament.

Unbound, unrevised copies, however, are available almost immediately.

In another development, the Department of Prisons yesterday turned down a request by the Rand Daily Mail to interview Mandela.

The request was made immediately after Mandela was interviewed by Lord Bethell, the British politician, writer and freelance journalist, about a fortnight ago.

A long article was published soon afterwards in a London newspaper.

The Mail request was turned down because it was contrary to Prisons Department policy to allow journalists to interview individual prisoners, Lieutenant-Colonel D J Immelman, said.

It was put to Col Immelman that it was inconsistent to refuse the Mail's request in the wake of granting a British journalist permission to interview Mandela.

Col Immelman replied: "It must be pointed out that (Lord Bethell) conducted an orientation visit to prison institutions in his capacity as a member of the British House of Lords and as chairman of the European Parliament Human Rights Group."

He added: "The fact that Lord Bethell is a freelance writer and an occasional journalist is totally coincidental as far as this visit is concerned."

Mrs Helen Suzman, of the Progressive Federal Party, helped Lord Bethell get permission to visit Mandela.

She said last night: "To the best of my knowledge the department did not know that he was a writer. I urged the department to give him permission because he was chairman of the European Parliament Human Rights Group."

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UDF man
D. Maape
detained

PRETORIA A former school teacher and principal who became an organiser for the United Democratic Front in the Northern Cape has been detained under security legislation in Vryburg.

A police spokesman yesterday confirmed the detention of Mr Abel Maape.

Mr Maape, who lives in Kuruman, was a teacher and principal at a Bophuthatswana school before becoming a full-time UDF organiser. —
SAPA

Angola is backing ANC — Pik Botha

Cape Times
6/2/85

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANGOLA was actively supporting the violent overthrow of the South African Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, charged last night.

Botha rejects Kaunda's claims

By BARRY STREEK

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday rapped President Kenneth Kaunda over the knuckles for his outspoken criticisms of the South African Government's policies in Southern Africa.

At a specially-convened press conference to rebut President Kaunda's views — given in an exclusive interview published yesterday in Morning Group newspapers — Mr Botha said the Zambian leader had reflected "a deep misunderstanding of recent developments in Southern Africa".

Mr Botha also accused President Kaunda of wanting the "unconditional capitulation of the government to the African National Congress".

He said the government would attempt to find a way of conveying to President Kaunda information on the latest developments in its efforts to assist in bringing about a ceasefire in Mozambique, and the latest state of affairs in Angola and SWA/Namibia, particularly in regard to troop disengagement.

In the interview, President Kaunda said he saw no point in meeting President P W Botha because there had been "no progress" in the developments in Mozambique, Angola and SWA/Namibia.

● Kaunda's comments not fair — Pik Botha, page 4

He was reacting to an earlier statement by Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos alleging that the Unita movement was an "integral part" of the South African Defence Force and that the Republic was involved in a "vast destabilization plan which had as its main objective the overthrow of the Angolan Government."

'Plays host'

Denying these allegations, Mr Botha said in a statement last night that Unita was "an Angolan nationalist movement" and charged that "there can be no doubt that Angola is actively supporting the violent overthrow of the South African Government."

"It (Angola) plays host to several thousand members of the African National Congress and has put at their disposal several camps which are used for the training of anti-South African terrorists.

Swapo

"It has given indispensable support to Swapo in its terrorist attacks against SWA/Namibia," he added.

Mr Botha said the politburo of the ruling MPLA had made similar allegations on Monday and had called for the complete withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola.

Mr Botha said the Lusaka Agreement had

Swapo
"It has given indispensable support to Swapo in its terrorist attacks against SWA/Namibia," he added.
Mr Botha said the politburo of the ruling MPLA had made similar allegations on Monday and had called for the complete withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola.
Mr Botha said the Lusaka Agreement had not led to the total disengagement of South African forces because the Angolan Government had been unwilling or unable to comply with one of its central provisions — that "Swapo elements" should not be allowed into the area vacated by South African forces.

Mr Botha said there

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To page 2

had already been 120 violations of the Lusaka Agreement, almost 20 in the last month alone.
South African forces, he said, had been responsible for only three violations, but had nevertheless withdrawn to Ongiva, only 50km north of the border.
"Despite continuing violations of the agreement by Swapo", South Africa had offered to complete the disengagement process on November 19, 1984, he said.
Angola undertook to provide South Africa with a date for a ministerial meeting at which the process could be finalized. South Africa was still awaiting Angola's reply, he added.
Mr Botha said his government reciprocated the sentiment contained in an affirmation by the MPLA politburo that Angola's diplomatic activity would continue to be fundamentally directed toward "a just and peaceful settlement of the current conflicts in Southern Africa".

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Sendingkerk probe into Boesak-Scott 'relationship'

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Staff Reporter

ALLEGATIONS that Ned Geref Sendingkerk theologian Dr Allan Boesak had a relationship with Miss Di Scott, an employee of the SA Council of Churches, are being investigated by the Sendingkerk hierarchy.

The Ring van SA Gestig, the presbytery under which Dr Boesak's Bellville congregation falls, has already met to investigate the matter.

A statement by the moderation of the Sendingkerk today confirmed the investigation and appealed to church councils, presbyteries, members and "other concerns" not to meddle in the case or speculate on it.

The statement, signed by all members of the moderation except Dr Boesak, who is the assessor, said the moderation had learnt yesterday that "rumours in the media involving Dr A A Boesak were now enjoying the attention of the ring".

"In view of the fact that the ring is bound by laid-down church procedure, the moderation urgently calls on all church councils, rings, members of the Sendingkerk and other concerns (instansies) to in no way meddle in the case or busy themselves with speculation."

It was signed by the Moderator, the Rev Isak Mentor; the

actuary, the Rev N A Apollis, and the scribe, Dr A J C Erwee.

Dr Erwee said it was a matter for the ring to decide whether its findings would be made public.

UWC rejection

The chairman of the ring, Dr J C Adonis, was not available for comment.

● About 700 students of the University of the Western Cape resolved unanimously yesterday to "reject with contempt efforts by the State to discredit Dr Allan Boesak".

At the first mass student meeting called by the Students' Representative Council this year students heard Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the Ecumenical Support Committee, say that allegations of a relationship between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott were a "smear campaign conducted by the State to separate Dr Boesak from his people and set back the struggle to create a non-racial democracy in South Africa".

The Ecumenical Support Committee had been formed to counteract this propaganda campaign, Mr Manuel said.

"Dr Boesak is a leader known nationally and internationally for his fight for justice in our country. We believe that the oppressed and exploited masses will not be fooled by this racist Government that has no mandate from the majority of people in South Africa," the resolution said.

If he rejects, he's a revolutionary; if he accepts

How Botha's Mandela has put the ANC on th

LONDON — The conditional offer by South Africa's State President Mr P W Botha to release Nelson Mandela has put the African National Congress on the spot.

If Mandela rejects the offer, South Africa will say its case has been proved: Mandela and the ANC are Russian-backed revolutionaries interested only in the total subversion of South Africa.

If he accepts, the ANC will be forced to disown him or give up the armed struggle.

Either way the ANC would be racked by internal tensions.

Many observers be-

By Peter Mann,
The Star Bureau

lieve Mandela in jail is more of an asset to the ANC than if he were released.

He has become a martyr and a rallying point.

He has been in jail for 22 years and is an international symbol of black opposition to apartheid.

His continued detention has been condemned by the entire world, which has noted that other political detainees such as Colonel Mike Hoare have been released under Presidential amnesty.

But it would be disastrous for the ANC if Mandela were to be released to find himself in conflict with his colleagues.

Mr Solly Smith, the ANC's chief representative in London, said: "South Africa is trying to cause division between Mandela and the people."

The ANC is fighting back, saying Mandela is being held to ransom.

A hard-line statement issued in London by the ANC's external publicity director, Mr F Meli, ties Mandela firmly to the armed struggle.

"Nelson Mandela is leader of the ANC and the policy of the armed struggle was adopted by the ANC," said Mr Meli.

The ANC seems to have been caught slightly off balance by the South African offer.

Mr Meli's statement adds: "Nelson Mandela was not convicted alone but with Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg and others. Botha says nothing about them."

It was pointed out to Mr Smith that the South African offer would apparently also extend to Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ismail Kathrada and Dennis Goldberg.

"Those are only four," said Mr Smith.

"There are others. We want the unconditional release of all political prisoners."

The ANC claims South

Africa is trying to sow division in their ranks and confuse international opinion.

That, says Mr Meli, is behind President Botha's offer to free Mandela.

Mr Meli adds: "Mandela has been offered release on condition that he denounces the armed struggle — in other words he denounces the policies of the ANC or remains in jail."

Mandela, particularly in his recent meeting with Lord Bethell, seems to have come down on the side of ANC moderates.

For example, he expressed regret over the Pretoria bomb, saying it was a tragic accident

Let him out or keep him in? Here's w

Nelson Mandela should be freed from prison with no conditions attached to his release, say a clear majority of dozens of readers who telephoned *The Star Speak Out!* last night.

Of all the callers, 24 percent agreed with the conditions set by State President Mr P W Botha: that Mandela must renounce violence before he would be released.

Thirty percent felt Mandela should not be freed under any circumstances.

● Mr B Donald of Johannesburg said: "Release him unconditionally.

"It is absurd for a system which practises violence itself to expect to impose non-violent conditions on a man who has the right to his own convictions."

● Mr Eric Bruce said Mandela would find it impossible to accept the conditions.

He added: "I feel he should be released without conditions.

"Mandela has always wanted to talk. Blacks want to talk.

"Violence is an act of desperation when no one will listen."

● Miss D Watson of Johannesburg: "Release Mandela unconditionally

with all other political prisoners.

"It should be understood that while this Government follows its own line of violence, it must not expect Mandela to relinquish his."

● Mr C Booth said it was extremely arrogant of the State President to ask Mandela to renounce violence while the Government was instituting violence in the townships.

He went on: "Mandela said he had exhausted all avenues before resorting to violence.

"Even then he supported attacks only on installations and so on."

● Mr S Mulder from

Brakpan said: "Release him unconditionally.

"His stand is not against all whites. It is against a section of lawmakers with whom he disagrees.

"A lot of criminals are let out after shorter terms for far greater crimes than Mandela's."

Among those favouring a no-strings-attached release there was a strong feeling that the State President's offer was a political ploy to trap Mandela into staying in jail.

It was also felt Mandela now had the right to set his own conditions for release, or at least obtain

a commitment on the dismantling of apartheid.

● Beryl Ellis supported a conditional release, saying: "We want to hear what his latest views are and how he plans now to contribute to solving this country's problems."

● Mr K Levine felt Mandela should be released on the conditions set out by President Botha.

"I think Mr Botha is moving in the right direction," he said. "It's a noble step."

● Mrs J Cox said Mandela should be freed only on Mr Botha's conditions, adding: "He is only being asked to behave as a normal human being."

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For example, he expressed regret over the Pretoria bomb, saying it was a tragic accident

that civilians were killed and that it was not ANC policy.

President Botha believes the ANC is on the run.

The Nkomati Accord deprived it of bases in Mozambique.

General Magnus Malan has publicly said that 60 percent of all ANC attacks, including the Pretoria bomb, were planned and launched from Mozambique.

The ANC also finds it increasingly difficult to operate from Swaziland, where police are co-operating in arresting and deporting ANC guerrillas.

The ANC is also not welcomed in Lesotho.

South Africa has in the past closed the border and launched reprisal raids to keep the ANC out.

President Botha obviously believed the time was ripe to offer Mandela conditional release provided he denounced the armed struggle.

It is an astute offer and leaves the ANC with several dilemmas.

If the offer is rejected, it will weaken the ANC's international support.

If it is accepted, it will create uproar among ANC Communist hardliners and may split the movement.

The ball is firmly in the ANC's court.

keep him in? Here's what YOU say

with all other political prisoners.

"It should be understood that while this Government follows its own line of violence, it must not expect Mandela to relinquish his."

● Mr C Booth said it was extremely arrogant of the State President to ask Mandela to renounce violence while the Government was instituting violence in the townships.

He went on: "Mandela said he had exhausted all avenues before resorting to violence.

"Even then he supported attacks only on installations and so on."

● Mr S Mulder from

Brakpan said: "Release him unconditionally.

"His stand is not against all whites. It is against a section of lawmakers with whom he disagrees.

"A lot of criminals are let out after shorter terms for far greater crimes than Mandela's."

Among those favouring a no-strings-attached release there was a strong feeling that the State President's offer was a political ploy to trap Mandela into staying in jail.

It was also felt Mandela now had the right to set his own conditions for release, or at least obtain

a commitment on the dismantling of apartheid.

● Beryl Ellis supported a conditional release, saying: "We want to hear what his latest views are and how he plans now to contribute to solving this country's problems."

● Mr K Levine felt Mandela should be released on the conditions set out by President Botha.

"I think Mr Botha is moving in the right direction," he said. "It's a noble step."

● Mrs J Cox said Mandela should be freed only on Mr Botha's conditions, adding: "He is only being asked to behave as a normal human being."

● Mr Dave van Rooyen said: "When the Rhodesian Government released Mugabe, Sithole and later Nkomo on similar conditions, they ended up leaving the country and returning as fighters.

"Mandela is bitter and there is no way to get it out of him. Violence is inevitable."

● Mr W Wooldridge supported the release on condition Mandela did not engage in subversive activity.

"Violence won't solve the problem," he said. "The country will not survive with or without the whites if there is violence."

● Mr Ivan Mihailovich was one of those who wanted Mandela kept in jail.

He said Mandela was a Soviet soldier.

● Mr M Depaiva said Mandela's release would make a laughing stock of the legal system.

"They must not think these guys change," he added.

● Mr M Wright of Kensington: "Botha should have his head examined.

"Mandela is a terrorist who must live by the ANC code of violence against whites.

"In Russia the likes of Mandela are executed."

● Mr M Esterhuizen of Carletonville: "We have Bishop Desmond Tutu outside giving whites a lot of trouble already.

"We don't need a Mandela to join him."

● Mr C Charles: "You can't change a person's convictions. Mandela won't change his violent ANC convictions."

● Mr Victor Horner said people would understand it Mandela accepted the offer.

CAPL Times 6/2/85
**Six UDF
members
in court**

Court Reporter

SIX members of the United Democratic Front appeared in the Wynberg Regional Court yesterday on a charge of attending an illegal gathering in Eisleben Road, Mitchells Plain, on July 6 last year.

Mrs Theresa Solomons, 38, Miss Lucille Meyer, 23, Miss Belinda Newan, 18, Miss Sharon Davids, 20, Mr Faiek Rhode, 21, and Mr Basil Mashappi, 24, all of Mitchells Plain, pleaded not guilty.

Mr A M Omar, appearing for all six, said that they were prepared to admit that in terms of the Internal Security Act, gatherings other than those of a religious or sporting nature held outside the confines of four walls were prohibited. He said they were also prepared to admit that each had stood at a lamppost, 40 to 50 metres apart, holding a placard of a political nature opposing the August 22 elections.

He disclosed that the basis of their defence would be whether what they had done amounted to a gathering as defined in terms of the Act.

The hearing will continue on February 15. All were warned to appear.

Mr J C L Botha was the magistrate. Mr J Smit appeared for the State. Mr Omar was instructed by Mr R Vassen of Omar, Vassen, Sonn and Abercrombie.

LDNY 7/2/85 (11A) ~~11A~~

The armed fight will go on — Tambo

HARARE. — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo has warned that even if the ANC sat down for talks with the South African Government they would not abandon the armed struggle until apartheid was ended and Nelson Mandela and other black leaders were released.

In an interview published in the Zimbabwe Herald on Monday Mr Tambo insisted there was no alternative to armed struggle against the "Pretoria regime" and the ANC would intensify it as long as apartheid prevailed.

All the peaceful alternatives had failed in the past, he said.

"Therefore we say: to remove armed struggle, the regime should first remove apartheid which is the cause of armed struggle."

The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, he said, they were only queuing up for death.

The Bantustans were themselves an act of violence, so it was wrong to think his organisation would abandon the armed struggle.

"In any case, even if there were any talks, and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle. We would simply carry on."

"We would not talk to the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the other leaders imprisoned with him," Mr Tambo said.

On the recent offer by the President of South Africa, Mr P W Botha, to release Mandela on condition that he renounces the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new

Mr Tambo is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa. At the request of SAPA, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, exercised his right to give permission for this report to be published in South African newspapers. The Rand Daily Mail does not normally seek such dispensation because of the danger of news manipulation. It is obvious that permission may be given only because it suits the Minister and his Government.

However, in view of the significance of the report, the Mail has set aside these reservations in this case.

Readers should note that South African newspapers may be prohibited from publishing further statements or elaborations by Mr Tambo, no matter how relevant. Should this happen, the Mail will inform its readers of the situation.

condition, which Mandela would once again reject.

"Up to now, and for many years, Mr Mandela has been offered release on condition that he went to live in the Bantustans; to endorse and recognise the so-called independent Bantustans. But consistently he has rejected the condition."

Pretoria should know by now that Mandela was a man whose life was governed by strong principles and if they want to talk to him about armed struggle, Mr Tambo said, then they would talk to him as a free man.

It was not clear, he said, "why we, who are the victims of violence, are expected to abandon our violence when the regime pursues us with worse violence".

Of the recent proposal by Mr Botha that Africans living in the urban areas should have different status from those in the Bantustans, Mr Tambo said all this move represented was another idea for Bantustans in the urban areas.

He said that whatever the Government was trying to build — including its so-called constitutional reforms — was being built upon the crumbling foundation of apartheid.

Asked whether the apparent lull in the ANC's armed activities was because the Nkomati Accord was beginning to have some effect, he said there had been more military activity in South Africa by his organisation after the

□ To Page 2

'End apartheid to end fighting'

□ From Page 1

agreement than before. Armed struggle was only a part of the ANC's strategy which consisted of international mobilisation in support of the struggle, the internal activities of the people and their unity of action in resistance to apartheid.

Armed struggle needed all the three fronts in order to be successful.

"The recent upsurge of mass resistance, coupled with the numerous strikes, the resistance to the constitutional amendment and the opposition to the coloured and Indian election for the tricameral Parliament, form an essential part of the armed struggle," Mr Tambo said.

The ANC had never believed the neighbouring African states should offer their countries as rear-guard bases for the armed struggle in South Africa.

"We planned our military activities in the knowledge that the Frontline States were vulnerable," he said.

Asked what significance

he attached to the growing opposition to apartheid in the United States, Mr Tambo said it was significant for the future of the "racist regime" and was complementary to, and not a substitute for, the internal struggle against apartheid.

"It undermines the calculation the racist regime made that it was going to have another four years of uninterrupted blissful relations with the Reagan administration."

On the argument by some Bantustan spokesmen that economic sanctions against South Africa would bring more suffering to the African people, he said that that was an "old song" telling the Africans to accept enslavement to avoid suffering.

"It is an argument being repeated by people in South Africa who are by definition puppets of the regime whose word only has meaning to the exploiters and the companies which want to live off our cheap labour in the pretext of giving us jobs when they are reinforcing the apartheid system," the ANC leader said. — Sapa.

Talks ^{11A}

with SA
^{E. Post}
out till
^{7/2/85}
racism

goes

— ANC

HARARE — The African National Congress would not talk to the South African Government and stop the armed struggle against the Republic until apartheid was scrapped, the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, said in an interview published in the Zimbabwe Herald.

There was no alternative to armed struggle against the "Pretoria regime" and the ANC would intensify it as long as South Africa continued its racial policies, Mr Tambo said. All the peaceful alternatives in the past had failed.

"Therefore we say that to remove armed struggle the regime should first remove apartheid which is the cause of armed struggle," Mr Tambo said.

The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, he claimed, they were "only queuing up for death". The homelands were in themselves an act of violence.

Mr Tambo said he wanted to correct the impression created by the speculation about the possibility of talks between Pretoria and his organisation and of the ANC abandoning armed struggle.

"We would not talk to the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the other leaders imprisoned with him," he said.

On the recent offer by President P W Botha, to release Mandela on condition he renounces the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new condition, which Mr Mandela would again reject.

Pretoria should know by now that Mandela was a man whose life was governed by strong principles. "If they want to talk to him about armed struggle, they will have to talk to him as a free man."

It was not clear why those who were the victims of violence were expected to abandon their violence when the South African regime pursued them with worse violence.

Whatever "the regime" was trying to build was being built upon the foundation of apartheid which in any case was cracking. — Sapa

Forecast: Mandela will reject freedom offer

(11A)

S Jan

7/2/85

Armed struggle goes on, says ANC leader Tambo

Mr Oliver Tambo is banned and may not normally be quoted in South Africa. At the request of Sapa, however, the Minister of Law and Order has given written permission for this interview to be published.

The Star has already reflected the views of the African National Congress and its attitude to violence, but has decided to print extracts from the interview because of its relevance to the current debate.

The Star may be prevented from printing Mr Tambo's replies when this issue is discussed further.

HARARE — There was no alternative to armed struggle against the Pretoria regime, said

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in an interview reported in the *Zimbabwe Herald* on Monday.

And, he added, the ANC would intensify this as long as apartheid prevailed.

All alternatives of peaceful struggle in the past had failed, he said.

"Therefore, we say, to remove armed struggle the regime should first remove apartheid which is the cause of armed struggle."

Mr Tambo said the system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where they were only queuing up for death.

The bantustans were themselves an act of

violence, so it was wrong to think the ANC would abandon the armed struggle.

"In any case even if there were any talks and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle," said Mr Tambo. "We would simply carry on."

Mr Tambo added he wanted to correct an impression created by speculation about talks between Pretoria and his organisation, and the possibility of the ANC abandoning armed struggle.

"We would not talk to the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the

other leaders imprisoned with him," he said.

On the recent offer by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to release Mandela on condition he renounced the use of violence, Mr Tambo said this was significant only to the extent that it was a new condition — which Mandela would once again reject.

Pretoria should know by now that Mandela was a man whose life was governed by strong principles and if they wanted to talk to him about armed struggle, they would talk to him as a free man.

Asked whether the apparent lull in the ANC's armed activities was because the Nkomati Accord was beginning to

have some effect, Mr Tambo said there had been more military activities in South Africa by his organisation after Nkomati than before.

Armed struggle was a part of the ANC strategy: international mobilisation in support of the struggle, the internal activities of the people and their unity of action in resistance to apartheid.

Mr Tambo added: "The recent upsurge of mass resistance, coupled with the numerous strikes, the resistance to the constitutional amendment and the opposition to the coloured and Indian election for the tricameral Parliament, form an essential part of the

armed struggle."

The ANC had never believed the neighbouring African states should offer their countries as rearguard bases for the armed struggle in South Africa.

Mr Tambo said opposition in America to apartheid was beginning to involve people in the highest positions and was targeted against the policy of constructive engagement.

On the argument by bantustan spokesmen that economic sanctions against South Africa would bring more suffering to the African people, he said that was an old song — telling the Africans to accept enslavement to avoid suffering.

Cosas in drive for uniform education

By JEANETTE MINNIE

THE Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) have begun mobilising support for the drawing up of a national education charter embodying long-term demands for a democratic education system in South Africa.

A co-ordinating body, the Education Charter Campaign Committee (ECCC), which enjoys the backing of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas),

the National Education Union of SA (Neusa), several trade unions as well as various other organisations, has already been formed in the Transvaal.

The publicity secretary of the ECCC, Mr Cedric Kekana, said after a meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand on Monday that the ECCC was appealing to all "the freedom loving people of South Africa", especially the youth and the parents, to join in the campaign which would begin in a few weeks' time.

No option but arms, says ANC

CAPE TOWN 7/2/85

HARARE. — There is no alternative to armed struggle against the "Pretoria regime", and the African National Congress will intensify the struggle as long as apartheid prevails, the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said in an interview.

All peaceful attempts at change in the past had failed, he said.

"Therefore we say to remove armed struggle the regime should first remove apartheid which is the cause of the armed struggle."

'Violence'

The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, he said, they were only queuing up for death. The bantustans were themselves an act of violence, so it was wrong to think his organization would abandon the armed struggle, he said.

"In any case, even if there were any talks, and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle. We would simply carry on."

Mr Tambo said the ANC would not talk to "the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the other leaders imprisoned with him".

On the recent offer by President P W Botha, to

release Mandela on condition he renounces the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new condition, which Mandela would once again reject.

It was not clear why "we who are the victims of violence are expected to abandon our violence when the regime pursues us with worse violence".

On the recent proposal by Mr Botha that Africans living in the urban areas should have different status from those in the homelands, Mr Tambo said all that it represented was another idea for bantustans in the urban areas.

He said whatever the regime was trying to build — including its so-called constitutional reforms — was being built upon the foundation of apartheid which at any rate was cracking.

The "so-called urban Africans" would not be deceived by the ploy which only represented the regime's belief in apartheid and its determination to defend it.

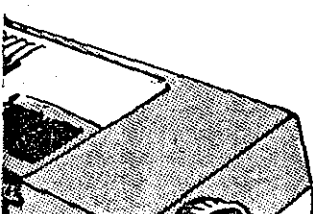
Asked whether the apparent lull in the armed activities of the ANC was because the Nkomati Accord was beginning to have some effect, he said there had been more military activities in South Africa by the ANC after the Nkomati agreement than before.

Armed struggle was a part of the ANC's strategy which consisted of international mobilization in support of the struggle; the internal activities of the people and their unity of action in resistance to apartheid.

"The recent upsurge of mass resistance, coupled with the numerous strikes, the resistance to the constitutional amendment and the opposition to the coloured and Indian election for the tricameral Parliament, form an essential part of the armed struggle," Mr Tambo said.

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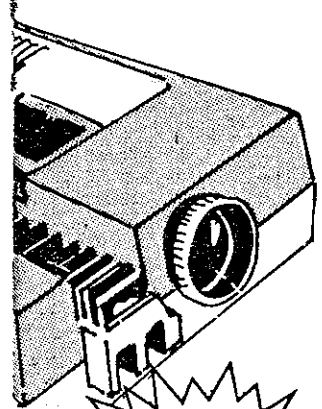
Suffering

"It undermines the calculation the racist regime had that it was going to have another four years of uninterrupted blissful relations with the Reagan administration."

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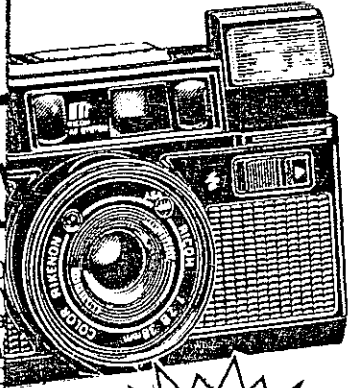
● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has given written approval for the publication of the interview.

— Sapa



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Suzman: the advantage of freeing Mandela

Veteran Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton Mrs Helen Suzman gives her views on the "Free Nelson Mandela" offer ...

Until last week Nelson Mandela, the world's most famous prisoner as he has been called by Lord Bethell, vice-chairman of the European Parliament's Human Rights Group, still faced an indeterminate number of years, his life span, in prison.

He has already spent over 21 irreplaceable years in jail, almost all on Robben Island.

And the first five years were under harsh conditions which would have broken the spirit of a

lesser man.

There were vindictive warders and there was hard labour.

In short he suffered under a system designed to punish beyond the loss of liberty.

Over the years physical conditions have much improved for political prisoners due to a change of attitude by the authorities, the influence of the International Red Cross, which visits such prisoners regularly, and to long and sustained nagging by myself since I first commenced prison visiting in the sixties.

Today Nelson Mandela and five other politicals are in Pollsmoor Prison on the mainland.

And privileges won on the island such as the all-important access to uncensored newspapers, a vital link with the outside world, have been extended to include contact visits with first-degree or close relatives.

But the essential factor of deprivation of liberty remains and will remain unless Mandela accepts the offer made by the State President, Mr P W Botha, in Parliament last week.

The offer in effect was release of Mandela and other prisoners in return for their undertaking to abandon violence to attain political objectives.

This offer can be seen as a trade-off to Mande-

la's statement to Lord Bethell when he visited him at Pollsmoor on January 21 that the African National Congress, of which Mandela is titular head, will call a truce, lay down its arms and negotiate with the South African Government if the ban on the ANC is removed.

(In 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre, the ANC and the Pan African Congress were declared unlawful organisations and went underground).

Which comes first: the unbanning or the undertaking?

Unless this is resolved, it is an impasse.

Clearly any offer other than his unrestricted re-

lease in South Africa is unacceptable to Mandela, and presumably the lifting of the banning order on his wife Winnie.

He totally rejected the offer by Chief Minister Matanzima to give his kinsman Mandela sanctuary in the Transkei.

Mandela does not recognise the independent black states of which Transkei is one

Can Mandela first accept the State President's offer before the ANC is unbanned?

This is highly unlikely because Mandela would not consider that he has a lawful organisation through which to pursue his unshaken determination to continue the

struggle against apartheid.

State President Botha makes his offer from a position of strength, but Nelson Mandela has bargaining power.

It would surely be to South Africa's great advantage if this man were to be freed.

He would no longer be a rallying point for hostility against South Africa in the rest of the world.

He would be a symbol of change.

And most important he would provide the Government with a true leader of the blacks with whom the dismantling of apartheid could be negotiated.

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Sten

7/2/85

Most urban
blacks (11A)

oppose (20/21)
7/2/85
boycotts Stan

Pretoria Bureau

An HSRC study among urban blacks has found that the majority are opposed to black school boycotts, feel that foreign disinvestment in South Africa would hurt blacks most and that economic pressure rather than apartheid itself was presently causing the most hardship.

In a wide-ranging poll, researcher Dr Nic Rhodie found that the majority of urban blacks who knew something about the new tricameral Parliament were strongly opposed to the new system because it excluded them.

Respondents said they felt the biggest problem facing them was economic pressure — including a lack of money and housing as well as unemployment problems — followed by apartheid measures like influx control and job reservation.

The survey, of nearly 1 500 blacks over 18 in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, found that:

PRESSURES

● A substantial 64 percent regarded economic pressures as their biggest problem at the moment while 21 percent said they felt apartheid measures were their most serious problem.

● Just over 56 percent felt black pupils were wrong to boycott classes. Only 35,8 percent approved of boycotts.

● About 27 percent believed white Government institutions and leaders were responsible for the boycotts while about a quarter laid the blame on the shoulders of pupils and their representative council members.

● Over 60 percent said they felt blacks would suffer most as a result of disinvestment while only 14 percent thought whites would be more affected.

● About two-thirds of the 48 percent who said they knew something about the new parliamentary system regarded it as a bad thing. However, about a third of the 23 percent of respondents in favour of the new system said they believed coloured and Indian participation would lead eventually to black representation as well.

BROWN'S HOME HIT



MR BROWN: Shattered window.

FIVE PETROL BOMBS were hurled into the Orlando East home of the Sofasonke Party public relations officer Mr Ambition Brown in the early hours of yesterday morning.

No one was injured in the attack. This is the second time within six months that Mr Brown has had his house petrol-bombed. In September last year three bombs were hurled into the house and the damage was minimal.

"My wife and I were asleep when we were woken up by a big explosion in the bedroom. My wife jumped out of bed and screamed when she saw the flames in the room. I woke up and looked for water to pour onto the burning curtain. I realised that the dining-room and my study were also burning", said Mr Brown.

His neighbours were extremely helpful because they quickly came to the family's rescue. It took about an hour to bring the fire under control.

Mrs Mary Brown said that shortly before the attack she was woken up by dogs barking "and when I looked through the bed-

room window I saw two men in balaclavas. They both had tracksuits on. One was wearing a red one and the other a white one. These men were pointing in the direction of our bedroom window and I got suspi-

cious, but I saw them pass and vanish".

Car

She also said that two hours after the attack there was a white small car with a CB radio that was driving around the street "and it always slowed down when it came in front of our house. I think these were the people responsible for the bombing", she said.

Mr Brown said it was

By SYD KHUMALO

"obviously those who are opposing me who have done this atrocious act. I don't want to blame anybody else because I am not a councillor, therefore anybody who would want

me killed is the one who is opposing me in what I am involved with now".

Damage is estimated at R3 000. Two bombs were thrown through the bedroom window, two through the dining-room window and one through the study.

The curtains in all

three rooms were burnt out and the lounge suite, dining-room suite, hi-fi set and television set were extensively damaged.

Police have confirmed that Mr Brown's house was petrol bombed at 1.30 am and that damage was extensive.

Barry 8/2/85 (11A) (BAA)

Whites 'will still have rights'

THE ANC accepts that white people have a right, for historical reasons, to be in South Africa.

And it would like white people to stay in South Africa, even if there is majority rule and ANC government.

The belief that an ANC government would want to drive whites into the sea was firmly rejected.

It was also denied that white people would lose their property and cars under an ANC government.

But, it was emphasised, no one would be permitted to retain their positions of privilege because of their colour.

Although there has been some division in ANC ranks about its open membership, the organisation remains committed to individual membership of all races.

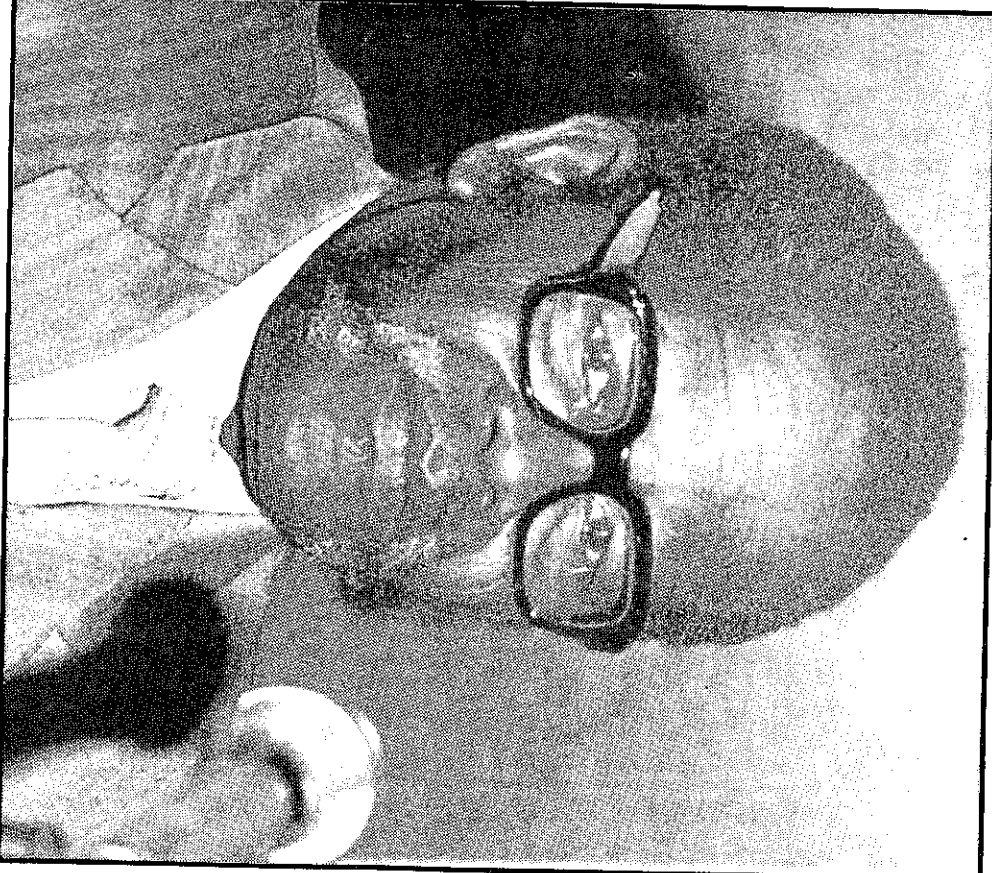
It has been argued that the ANC has to promote the concept of integration both within the body and at grass-roots levels.

It has also rejected the exclusive black politics of the black consciousness movement, but some ANC officials believe that, for the time being, the leadership of the organisation will have to remain in African hands.

The ANC remains committed to the Freedom Charter which was signed in 1955, and in that document it was stated that "key industries" would be nationalised.

However, the ANC position is that all decisions about future structures, including economic structures, would have to be taken by a government and parliament elected by all South Africans.

Only then would any decisions be taken about the possible nationalisation of industries.



OLIVER TAMBO . . . tough stand against dialogue

Strategy is to be reassessed

THE four-pronged strategy of the ANC to overthrow the South African Government is to be reassessed at a special congress of the organisation in the next few months.

The date and the venue of the congress have yet to be disclosed, but it will be the largest and most significant get-together of the ANC since 1969, when a similar conference was held.

Delegates from all ANC branches throughout the world are to attend the conference, which is expected to be held in Africa, possibly Tanzania.

A number of position papers and documents have already been prepared for discussion before the conference and, I was told by ANC officials, they are aimed at intensifying pressure on the

Oliver Tambo's ANC won't talk to SA . . .

THERE IS not the slightest chance, at present, of direct talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress, as far as the ANC is concerned.

Even the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the ANC's jailed leader, would not be sufficient for it to change its opposition to negotiations with the Government.

Leaders of the organisation — which was outlawed in 1960 — hold the Government responsible for both its banning and its campaign of violence.

And they believe the onus is on the Government to take steps to enable it and other political bodies to function freely and normally before there is any point to negotiations.

This tough stand against dialogue was emphasised to me last week in the Zambian capital of Lusaka in a

series of interviews with ANC leaders and officials. Among the people I saw was ANC president Oliver Tambo, who gave his first ever interview with a South African journalist working inside South Africa since he went into exile 25 years ago.

During the interviews, which — barring the one with Mr Tambo — were all conducted in a Lusaka hotel, it was emphatically denied that there had been any direct contact between the South African Government and the ANC.

There has been Press speculation that feelers for talks have been put out and one report claimed that two Government officials had seen ANC officials in Lusaka in December last year.

President PW Botha denied these reports in a statement last year . . . and this denial was unequivocally confirmed in the interviews.

It is also clear that the exiled organisation is totally unimpressed by recent reforms in Government policies because it sees no progress towards majority rule in which all South Africans have a vote in a single state.

Indeed, the ANC is planning a conference within the next few months, possibly in April, in which it will consider various means to intensify its campaign against the South African Government.

The exiled leaders also believe that Nelson Mandela will not accept any release offer unless it is unconditional.

From the interviews, it became clear that:
 ● It thinks recruiting for Umkhonto We Sizwe, its army, and its underground structure needs to be intensified.
 ● The organisation still bases its policies on the 1955 Freedom Charter.

In spite of Press reports that changes in the ANC's leadership were in the offing, it is expected that Mr Tambo will remain president and Mr Alfred Nzo will remain the secretary-general.
 Speculation that Mr Thabo Mbeki, the son of the jailed Mr Govan Mbeki, was the new "crown prince" in the ANC was dismissed.

'Contained' violence

THE ANC is coming under increased pressure from certain African countries to abandon its reluctance to use violence against "soft targets".

Although no particular countries were named in my interviews with ANC officials in Lusaka, it is apparently felt in some circles that the existing military strategies have not succeeded, although the ANC has been waging its campaign of violence since the early Sixties.

However, I was told, the ANC leadership had firmly rejected these pressures. The organisation, it was said, would not extend its activities into bombing school-children or cinemas or similar acts, but would continue to sabotage buildings and other strategic targets.

Indeed, the intensification of its military activities is one of the items to be considered at a special ANC conference in a few months' time.
 The ANC wants to extend its recruitment of guerrillas beyond young students who have fled South Africa and into work-

ers and people in the rural areas.
 It claims to have increased its recruitment of women into the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, over the past year.

It was made quite clear to me that the ANC would not give up its campaign of violence.
 And the South African Government's offer to talk to the ANC if it abandoned violence was firmly rejected.

It was argued that if the ANC laid down its arms, without the Government confirming the army to barracks and disarming policemen, this would amount to a surrender, not a truce, by the ANC.

In spite of newspaper reports to the contrary, I was told that Joe Slovo was not the commander of Umkhonto, nor was he a member of the ANC executive. Mr Slovo was an influential member of the ANC army, but he took orders like everyone else in the military wing.
 The Umkhonto commander, I was told, is Joe Modise.

Biggest meeting for 16 years

11/2
Cape Times Staff

THE four-pronged strategy of the banned African National Congress to overthrow the South African Government is to be reassessed at a special congress of the organization in the next few months.

The date and the venue of the congress have yet to be disclosed, but it will be the biggest and most significant get-together of the ANC since 1969, when a similar conference was held.

Possibly Tanzania

Delegates from all ANC branches throughout the world are to attend the conference, which is expected to be held in Africa, possibly in Tanzania.

A number of position papers and documents have already been prepared for discussion before the conference and, the Cape Times was told in talks with ANC officials in Lusaka last week, they are aimed at intensifying pressure on the South African Government.

The ANC's approach shows that it sees no hope in the government's recent policy reforms and that it does not believe there is any chance of any deal with the South African Government emerging even if its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, is released from jail.

Its four-pronged strategy is based on reinforcing its underground structures, promoting mass action by people inside South Africa, bolstering its armed attacks, and isolating the South African Government internationally.

Broad strategy

The various elements of this broad strategy are to be assessed at the conference.

Although it believes that some of President P W Botha's supporters are now realizing that majority rule is inevitable, it also believes the pressure on the government should be increased.

The only possible solution to escalating tensions and violence would be for the government to legalize the ANC and to negotiate directly with its leaders.

Unless there was a clear move towards majority rule, the ANC officials said, coupled with democratic rights for all political parties, the violence and conflict would continue.

And if the ANC is correct in its assessment, escalating conflict seems inevitable.

CAPE TOWN 8/2/88 (11A)

Whites 'have a right to be in SA'

Political Staff

THE banned African National Congress (ANC) accepts that white people have a right — for historical reasons — to be in South Africa.

And it would like white people to stay in South Africa, even if there is majority rule.

This was made clear in a series of interviews with ANC officials last week in Lusaka.

The belief that the ANC wanted to drive whites into the sea was rejected, and it was also denied that whites would lose their property under an ANC government. But no one would be permitted to retain any positions of privilege because of their colour.

The ANC also remains committed to individual membership of all races.

It has rejected the exclusive black policies of the black consciousness movement, but some officials believe that for the time being the leadership will have to remain in African hands.

The ANC remains committed to the Freedom Charter, signed in 1955, where it is stated that "key industries" would be nationalized.

However, decisions about future structures, including the economy, would have to be taken by a government elected by all South Africans.

UCC

ANC rules out talks with govt

CAPE TIMES 8/2/85 (119)

By BARRY STREEK

THERE is not the slightest chance at present of direct talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress, as far as the ANC is concerned.

Even the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the ANC's jailed leader, would not be sufficient for it to change its opposition to negotiations with the government.

Leaders of the organization, outlawed in 1960, hold the government responsible for both its banning and its campaign of violence.

'Onus on government'

They also believe the onus is on the government to take steps to enable it and other political bodies to function freely and normally before there is any point to negotiations.

This tough stand against dialogue was emphasized to me last week in the Zambian capital of Lusaka in a series of interviews with ANC leaders and officials.

Among the people I saw was the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who granted his first ever interview with a South African journalist working inside South Africa for local newspapers since he went into exile 25 years ago.

During the interviews, which, excepting the one with Mr Tambo, were all conducted in a Lusaka hotel, it was emphatically denied that there had been any direct conduct between the

South African Government and the ANC.

There has been newspaper speculation that feelers for talks have been put out and one report claimed that two government officials had seen ANC officials in Lusaka in December last year.

President P W Botha denied these reports in a statement last year — and this denial was unequivocally confirmed in the interviews.

It is also clear that the exiled organization is totally unimpressed by recent reforms in government policies, because it sees no progress towards majority rule in which all South Africans have a vote in a single state.

Indeed, the ANC is planning a conference within the next few months, possibly in April, in which it will consider various means to intensify its campaign against the South African Government.

ANC leadership

The exiled leaders also believe that Mandela will not accept any release offer unless it is unconditional.

In spite of press reports that changes in the ANC's leadership were in the offing, it is expected that Mr Tambo will remain president and Mr Alfred Nzo will remain secretary-general.

Speculation that Mr Thabo Mbeki, son of the jailed Mr Govan Mbeki, was the new "crown prince" in the ANC was dismissed.

P4F

CARE TINT 8/2/85 (112)

Pressure to abandon 'soft target' reluctance

THE banned African National Congress (ANC) is coming under increased pressure from certain African countries to abandon its reluctance to use violence against "soft targets".

Although no particular countries were named in a series of interviews with ANC officials in Lusaka last week, it is ap-

parently felt in some circles that the existing military strategies have not succeeded, although the ANC has been waging its campaign of violence since the early 1960s.

The ANC leadership, however, has firmly rejected these pressures.

The organization, it was said, would not extend its activities into

such actions as bombing schoolchildren or cinemas, but would continue to sabotage buildings and other strategic targets.

Indeed, the intensification of its military activities is one of the items to be considered at a special ANC conference in a few months' time.

The ANC wants to extend its recruitment of guerillas beyond young students who have fled South Africa, into workers and people in the rural areas. It claims to have increased its recruitment of women into the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, over the past year.

It was made quite clear that the ANC would not give up its campaign of violence. And the South African Government's offer to talk to the ANC if it abandoned violence was firmly rejected.

It was argued that if the ANC laid down its arms without the government confining the army to barracks and disarming policemen, this would amount to a surrender by the ANC, not a truce.

● In spite of newspaper reports to the contrary, the well-known communist Joe Slovo is not the commander of Umkhonto, nor is he a member of the ANC executive. The Umkhonto commander is Joe Modise.

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...they can have government cutbacks in loans to university students, in inflation adjustments to pension and veterans' benefits, in farm subsidies, in government revenue refunds to city governments and in income support for the "employable" poor. But they can't have both.

Reagan and his advisers (mainly former Treasury Secretary Donald Regan and his replacement James A Baker) chose this legislative strategy for reasons which have not been much discussed.

Always a keen reader of opinion samplings, Reagan is convinced that the hordes of younger American voters abandoned the welfare liberalism of the Democrats last year because Reagan Republicanism offered opportunities and a life unfettered by government intrusion.

To these Seventies college graduates, student loans are no longer needed and pension fund economies are still not threatening. A strong military presence excites these "young, upwardly mobile professionals," while the impact of the deficit-swollen dollar translates into European ski

This is why the President has shipped his most skilled legislative tactician and bargainer — Baker — to the frontlines at the Treasury, where he will have to fight the two-front war. It also is why Donald Regan was brought closer into the Reagan circle of advisers, so that he can continue the ideological restructuring of the US government.

Reagan's Budget accomplished one thing even on the first formal day of its publication: it caught the opposition Democrats without a positive alternative. The Democrats will have to oppose line by line spending cuts on social benefits issues. They will have to demand spending cuts from the Pentagon's swollen allocations, and they will have to threaten tax increases as an alternative.

As 1984 proved, none of those three appeals has much support among American voters. To that point, Reagan is convinced that by sticking to his budget-tax reform plan, the Republicans in 1986 can capture the House of Representatives for the first time in 35 years and build a durable power base.

NELSON MANDELA

An offer not to be scorned

We should be forgiven a little cynicism when organisations such as the ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF) wade in so assertively on behalf of Nelson Mandela. The world's most famous political prisoner will "never" accept release on P W Botha's terms; or so they say. Have they asked him?

Mandela will be released in South Africa if he renounces violence as an instrument of political change. He would then be free to, say, return to Johannesburg and practice law. Alternatively he can remain where he is, in Pollsmoor Prison — currently, in his words, growing "tomatoes, broccoli, beans, cucumbers and strawberries."

Above all, he would remain a symbol of the struggle against apartheid — and that, when all is said and done, is what the ANC, or factions of it, and the UDF apparently want him to do.

We suspect Mandela must be doing some serious heart-searching at the moment. There is a sense in which, if he accepts release, he gives up his name and all it has come to stand for. And yet his release could see the beginnings of a dialogue between Pretoria and the ANC — if a dialogue has not already begun. Botha must be given credit for making a rational and pragmatic offer which, if accepted by Mandela, could give impetus to the long process of reducing tension in our deeply divided society. It could be the beginning of a real constructive engagement.

Nor should acceptance run contrary to Mandela's own principles. Clearly, he is not a violent man unequivocally intent upon killing and maiming as a means of raising terror and thus, in his view, furthering his cause. His idea of violence, as explained to Lord Nicholas Bethell, is hardly likely to win favour with such extremists as Lebanese Christians or the Red Brigades.

11A

Mandela: "I regret what happened in Pretoria on May 23, 1983. A bomb went off and more than a dozen civilians were killed. Something must have gone wrong with the timing ..."

Trouble is that something always goes wrong with the timing. Violence, even if selective and symbolic, tends easily to run out of control. And this is most likely what has happened so far as the ANC is concerned.

Mandela also told Lord Bethell that the ANC did not believe in assassinations. All of which suggests that he does not know what the ANC — or its supporters — has been doing; or that the strike tactics of the military wing of the ANC are not as precise as in the old days, if they ever were; or that he is out of touch.

So there seems little reason to keep Mandela locked up. He has been in for almost 22 years — providing far more ruthless men with a useful rallying-point. Even if he is not prepared to "repent," he is 66 years old and one could well ask what role would be permitted him if he chose to leave the country for the back-stabbing ranks of the ANC-in-exile.

Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, the "father" of Swapo, was released from Robben Island to a brief flurry of publicity which has now abated. Mandela, free, would have less power than he does now. If he breaks the law there are always the courts. Overseas he might even have a moderating effect on the communists in the ANC.

The symbolism of his accepting Botha's offer could have an important political influence not only on domestic racial attitudes but on far-flung international opinion. If, on the other hand, Mandela were to adhere to an all-or-nothing stance, he will destroy his credibility in the minds of ordinary men and women of goodwill.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Now for the unthinkable

The country's largest employer, government, is about to try to lop 8% off the earnings of its employees in a brave attempt to curb its own excessive spending. It will be interesting to see how far it succeeds.

Of course, in the circumstances, we wish Pretoria every success. For substantial tax increases will be inevitable next month unless government spending is cut quickly.

Justifying the move to public servants is going to take a rare brand of sophistry. The last round of increases — a 30% increase in earnings, plus other adjustments — was timed to catch the "yes" vote in the referendum. Now they have to face a cut. The next general election is due only towards the end of the decade.

But for the serious situation in which the economy has been landed by government's own profligacy, and the need for rapid action, we would be the first to say that just to cut civil service pay is the very worst thing to do. What the country needs is a small but highly efficient and motivated public service. To achieve that, worthwhile remuneration is one of the essential ingredients.

What government needs also to be doing is retrenching civil servants so that the bureaucracy is slimmed down drastically. As the recession has been deepening, that is what has been happening in the private sector. And when attention needs to be paid to costs, that is the right and proper thing to do.

It is the duty of businessmen to maximise their profits, thereby contributing to a general increase in economic growth that will provide more jobs. If they attempt to preserve jobs at the expense of growth they become inefficient and uncompetitive and the economy shrinks, destroying even more jobs.

Likewise, efficient administration is the duty of the public service. Once it is used for political purposes or to provide a social security net for the out-of-work or simply unemployable, it becomes a millstone and inhibits the efficient working of the economy. That is precisely what has happened here. In the 12 months to last September, 20 000

new jobs were added to the bureaucratic machine.

Also, government has indulged in mental and verbal acrobatics as it sought ways to spare public officials, and politicians, from the excesses of its perks tax proposals.

As Assocom points out (see page 47), the proposed arrangements for a "phasing in" perks tax holiday for certain privileged individuals, many of whom just happen to be civil servants, is quite inequitable. Nor, in government's haste to tax the perks it had previously encouraged, has there been any sign of legislation to end the tax-free status of government gratuities, of which politicians are among the most prominent beneficiaries.

For too long the public service has been a burden on, rather than a help to, the economy. Legions of officials are employed for no other apparent purpose than to enforce ideological legislation which often hampers the movement of labour, the growth of entrepreneurship and the development of the informal sector.

Yet when cut-backs in the public service are raised with prominent politicians, some of them are capable of responding, and not in jest: "We can't do that. Those people vote for us."

Moreover, not even heads of state departments may take the decision to shed superfluous or inadequate staff.

Certainly SA does not need to follow the Israeli example where inflation reached 800% before government reluctantly agreed to cut 15 000 civil service jobs. Or that of Namibia where public service salaries exceed the administration's total revenue from its own sources.

We hope that the new government thinking on pay cuts presages an end to the public service's role as a provider of sheltered employment for loyal voters. Government will then have taken the first step towards a leaner and more efficient bureaucracy.

What we fear is that the proposed pay cut is a desperate measure that will not be followed through. Or that it will be achieved at the cost of a promise of further extravagant packages for public servants in the years ahead.

THE US DEFICIT

Cutting through to reform

Ronald Reagan has made a 25-year career out of confounding others' predictions of impending legislative doom. The new 1986 Budget proposal the President sent the US Congress on Monday is a clear challenge to that body to follow the mandate of the 1984 elections or ignore those results at its peril in 1986.

That mandate, Reagan argues, demands a continued military build-up and forbids tax increases as a way to cut

into those threatening Budget deficits which apparently do not threaten Reagan (or his electors) as much as they threaten everyone else (see page 55).

On a broader level, the Budget cuts which are proposed for next year are an uncompromising blueprint to reform the system of American government along Reagan's doctrinal lines for long after his presidency ends in 1988.

Importantly, the bulk of the \$38,8 billion in domestic

'Researchers aim to boost Govt'

Black leaders condemn HSRC's new findings

(log) *(11A)* *Stew*
8/2/85

Black leaders Dr Nthato Motlana and Dr Sam Saloojee have accused the Human Sciences Research Council of trotting out research aimed at boosting the Government's credibility.

They say there is growing suspicion in black communities about HSRC surveys.

The two leaders were commenting yesterday on a new Council survey of urban black opinion which found clear support for the new constitution.

The black leaders said these findings were totally unrepresentative of true opinion in townships.

The survey is the latest in a controversial Human Sciences

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

Research Council series which in recent months has turned its poll spotlight on the African National Congress, security laws, race laws, unrest and elections and even the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Dr Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, said the new survey was just another case of kite-flying on the Government's behalf.

"The Government needs some kind of respectable organisation to turn public thinking," he added.

"By clever phrasing of

meaningless questions, you get exactly the answers you want.

"This report is meaningless and brings the council into disrepute."

Dr Saloojee, national vice-president of the United Democratic Front, said the more politically aware township resident would no longer take part in such surveys, believing them suspect.

Past Human Sciences Research Council findings, he went on, had not been borne out by the ballot box.

However Dr Nic Rhodie, responsible for the new survey, said successive council surveys on attitudes to socio-political

issues had all yielded similar results and had been borne out by research elsewhere.

He denied that the council was chiefly concerned with producing research which would place the Government in a good light.

The council, he said, merely tested and recorded public opinion.

He admitted that his researchers had met a certain amount of suspicion in black communities and conceded that some questioning procedures did not yield easily decipherable results.

His new survey was carried out last July.

And here is what the researchers reported

Most urban blacks are against school boycotts, says a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

It also says that most urban blacks feel foreign disinvestment in South Africa would hurt blacks most and economic pressure rather than apartheid is causing most hardship.

In the survey researcher Dr Nic Rhodie found that most urban blacks who knew some-

thing about the tricameral Parliament were strongly opposed to the new system because it excluded them.

The survey covered nearly 1 500 blacks over 18 in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area. It found that:

● A substantial 64 percent regarded economic pressure as their biggest problem; 21 percent felt apartheid was their most serious problem.

● Just over 56 percent felt black pupils were wrong to boycott classes; 35,8 percent approved of boycotts.

● About 27 percent believed white Government institutions and leaders were responsible for the boycotts; about 25 percent blamed pupils and their representative councils.

● Over 60 percent said they

felt blacks would suffer most through disinvestment; 14 percent thought whites would be more affected.

● About two-thirds of the 48 percent who said they knew something about the new Parliamentary system regarded it as bad; about a third of the 23 percent favouring the new system believed coloured and Indian participation would lead to black representation.

1960s 8/2/85 (11A) (20) (4)

Boesak to speak at rally

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak is expected to discuss publicly — for the first time — allegations that he had an affair with SA Council of Churches worker Miss Di Scott.

Dr Boesak will speak at the Rocklands Civic Centre Hall at Mitchell's Plain tomorrow afternoon at 4pm.

The meeting has been called by the Ecumenical Support Committee, formed to counteract the "smear campaign" it alleges the State launched against Dr Boesak. It is the first of several pro-Boesak rallies.

A spokesman said it would go ahead in

spite of a call from the NG Sendingkerk for church members and "other concerns" not to "meddle in the case" until it had been fully investigated by the Sendingkerk.

The meeting will focus on "the crisis faced by the apartheid state" with speakers on unemployment, rising costs of transport, food and rents, recent unrest and alleged security police harrassment of community leaders.

Meanwhile the moderator of the Sendingkerk, the Rev Izak Mentor, today denied a report that he had called on Dr Boesak not to speak at the meeting.

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D

SA accused by Botswana

w/c ARGUS 9/2/85 12

Weekend Argus
Africa News Service

ceiving funds from
South Africa.

GABORONE. — South Africa is being accused of interfering in Botswana's domestic politics.

No one at the BDP offices will say that the South African Government is directly to blame, but they nonetheless think certain South African "interests" are supporting the main opposition party.

The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) is growing nervous about the increasingly good fortune of the rival Botswana National Front (BNF).

Dr Koma has strongly denied any South African backing, but BDP officials say he has not given satisfactory explanations for visits to Botswana before an important by-election recently.

And when senior members of the BDP speak about "good fortune", alleged South African backing in the form of cash enters their thinking.

The BNF has risen to a position of influence within a genuine multi-party democracy.

The BDP is convinced that Dr Kenneth Koma's left-leaning BNF is re-

Irritant

Initially, Dr Koma's party was a minor irritant to the independence movement founded by Sir Seretse Khama, who in 1966 became the country's first President.

But since Sir Seretse's death in 1980 the BNF has been steadily extending its power base. It now has five seats in Parliament, compared with the BDP's 32 (four nominated).

On paper this does not appear a threat to the ruling party, but since last year the BNF has been mounting membership campaigns on an unprecedented scale throughout the country.

The party has been concentrating on Botswana's urban and industrial areas.

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Beseiged by laws which restrict who may and who may not be quoted in terms of the country's security laws, South African newspapers walk a daily legal tightrope. SHERYL RAINE reports on the effects of these laws on two ANC leaders — Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.

The maze of laws which gags the ANC

IIA ~~3/2~~
Star 9/2/85

Present leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo was quoted extensively on television and in all major newspapers this week even though he has been legally gagged in South Africa for years.

Because he is a listed person in terms of the Internal Security Act, Mr Tambo, who lives in exile, may not ever be quoted unless special permission is granted by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

This week the Minister, for reasons best known to himself, gave that permission.

In contrast the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, presently serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor prison, MAY be quoted.

TWO LISTS

There are two lists of restricted people which newspapers consult almost daily.

The first includes a short list of people currently residing in the country who are banned under restriction orders which limit their movements and also silence them.

The second is one of listed communists and office-bearers of banned organisations stretching back decades and including some people who are dead and many others living abroad who may not be quoted, even after their deaths.

Apart from consulting these less than comprehensive lists and lawyers, newspapers tend to apply a rule of thumb: "When in doubt, leave it out."

It was only recently that newspapers and other media finally clarified Mandela's legal position and his right to be heard.

BY DEFAULT

Even now, authorities in neither the Department of Law and Order nor the Department of Justice are willing to go on record and state categorically that what he says may be published.

It appears that by default,

newspapers silenced Mandela for 17 years and four months longer than was stipulated in the letter of the law.

Mandela's is a complicated case involving a maze of security legislation. Five major acts, some of which have been incorporated into each other, must be scrutinised to explain how and why he was silenced and how he can now be quoted.

The acts include the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950,

the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960, the General Law Amendment Act of 1962, the Internal Security Act of 1982, and the Prisons Act of 1959.

Shortly before his imprisonment on November 7 1962, Mandela was prohibited for five years, in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, from attending gatherings.

From October 4 1962 to October 1 1967 it was unlawful, in terms of a clause in the General Law Amendment Act, to publish any speech, utterance, writing or statement by Mandela.

Because he was on Robben Island serving a life sentence when the prohibition expired, his banning order was not renewed. He could by law be quoted.

His name does not appear on a list of members of the Communist Party nor on any current Internal Security list of people who have been gagged.

It is interesting to note that he was also never listed as a member or active supporter of an unlawful organisation.

But the complex problem of quoting him does not end there.

Because he is a prisoner, permission must still be obtained from the Commissioner of Prisons, in writing, to publish any writing, statement, life story or biographical sketch concerning the offence which caused him to be jailed.

CONFUSING

Another factor involves the Unlawful Organisations Act (incorporated into the Internal Security Act). It is unlawful to promote a banned organisation.

The content of the ANC leader's speech must be carefully evaluated to ensure it does not promote the banned ANC.

Commenting on the confusing array of security laws, the head of the University of the Witwatersrand Law Faculty, Professor Johan van der Vyfer, said: "It is understandable and perhaps inevitable that in the present climate of security legislation, newspapers would end up unconsciously censoring themselves."

As of now, Mandela may be conditionally quoted — if his words filter out of his maximum security prison.

But it remains to be seen whether his name will appear on the consolidated list of silenced and restricted people being updated at present in terms of the Internal Security Act.

'We have a relationship'

Boesak

and Di

w/c Argus
9/2/85
11A
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[Handwritten scribbles]

'very close'

By PETER FABRICIUS, Weekend Argus Reporter

DR ALLAN Boesak today acknowledged he was having a "relationship" with Miss Di Scott, a church worker in the South African Council of Churches.

"I have notified my church that a relationship exists," Dr Boesak told about 2500 people in Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain.

"Miss Scott and I have been working very closely over the last few months. We have become very close and she has given me invaluable support.

"This is one of the most difficult moments of my life. I have wanted to speak to you because I believe I am accountable not to the Press or our enemies but to my church and my people."

Threatened

Dr Boesak launched an attack on his "church leaders" for their lack of support in the "very difficult" last 18 months. He said he had gone from crisis to crisis since the formation of the UDF.

He added: "In all these weeks and months of crisis and difficulty, even when my mother's life was threatened, I have never been called once by the leadership of my church and given support."

"There was never a single line in my church's newspaper to say let us pray for this man who is working so hard for the church."

He said that even now his church leaders were keeping "this filthy matter" on the front pages of the newspaper.

Suggested

Dr Boesak said this had caused him even greater distress than the way the story had originally been dragged through the Press.

Friends with the best intentions had suggested he leave the country after today's meeting.

"But I am not considering that for a moment. We have decided that there is no role for us in Europe or Great Britain or the United States. Our role is here in the Republic of South Africa."

(Turn to Page 3, col 8)



Dr Boesak at meeting at the Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain.

AT A MASS meeting yesterday, Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, spoke for the first time about the allegations that he has been conducting an extra-marital affair.

However, Dr Boesak did not spell out any details of his alleged relationship with Ms Di Scott of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

To loud cheers, chants of "Boesak, Boesak . . ." and standing ovations, he told a crowd of about 4 000 people :

"A relationship exists. Scott and I have been working together very closely over the past year.

Invaluable

"She has been invaluable support for my work."

At the meeting organised by the specially-formed Ecumenical Support Group, Dr Boesak said "no human being" should be forced to explain publicly what had happened between him and Ms Scott.

"I shall in no way try to explain the meaning of this relationship.

"The way in which this was made public, revealed once again the utterly sick society in which we live.

"Human vulnerabil-

ity is used to further the aims of repression.

"If this is South Africa, then God help us. Even the church has been used to further the aims of this smear campaign," he said.

Loud cheers

A prominent feature of the meeting was the loud cheers and chants each time Dr Boesak made what was considered to be a strong statement.

Since the alleged affair between him and Ms Scott, Dr Boesak's local church council at the Belhar congregation, near Cape Town, met to discuss the issue.

They issued a statement in support of Dr Boesak and it was recently read out to his church council.

The regional church authority, called the Ring, is currently considering the issue.

At yesterday's Ecumenical Support Group meeting, Dr Boesak spoke of the pressure he had been subjected to recently.

Crisis

"We have fallen from crisis to crisis. My life has been physically threatened and we had to give so much of ourselves," he said.

According to Dr Boesak, even his

"If this Government thinks they have done enough damage and that I will go crawling into some hole, and not be seen again, they have another thing coming," he said to another round of cheers, foot stamping and applause.

Dr Boesak told the crowd — they gave him a standing ovation at the end of his speech — there were three things the South African Government could never take away from him :

"My commitment to the struggle for freedom and justice.

"That joy and certainty that I remain a child of God, no matter what.

"And most precious is that I have the support of my people."

mother had been threatened with her life.

"Through the hours and weeks and months of difficulty — even when my mother's life was threatened — I have not been called once by the leadership of my church and given one single word of support," said Dr Boesak.

To supportive shouts of "shame" from the crowd, he told of church officials who tried to alert the leadership of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk of the pressures to which he was being exposed.

"Nobody responded... My support came from else-

where," he said.

Referring to the newspaper reports of the alleged extra-marital relationship, he said that there were certain elements in the media who were making sure that the "Government's smear campaign succeeds".

Dr Boesak claimed that not nearly as much Press attention was focussed on the discovery that the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging had plans to assassinate him.

According to Dr Boesak, people have advised him to leave South Africa in the wake of the media furore about his alleged relationship.

Boesak slams campaign to discredit him

BY SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

(11A) S. Times 10/2/85

UDF draws up
freedom charter

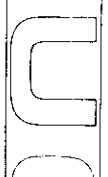
11A C.P.S.
10/2/85

A "FREEDOM Charter" calling on the Government to resign so that the people can govern is being drawn up in the Western Cape.

The charter was first proposed at a United Democratic Front conference against forced removals in Cape Town at the end of last year. It will be finalised at a follow-up conference in February.

The charter, which demands the scapping of pass laws and an end to influx control, is being compiled in much the same way as the ANC's Freedom Charter in the 1950's.

Demands have been collected from workers, residents, students and housewives by more than 20 community organisations, including the UDF-affiliated United Women's Organisation and the Cape Housing Action Movement.



S. 7 11A
10/2/85

Boesak hits out at SA's 'sick society'

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

AT a mass meeting yesterday, Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, spoke for the first time about the allegations that he has been conducting an extra-marital affair.

However, Dr Boesak did not spell out any details of his alleged affair with Miss Di Scott of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

To loud cheers and chants of "Boesak, Boesak" he told a crowd of about 4 000:

"A relationship exists. Miss Scott and I have been working together very closely over the past year. "She has been invaluable support for my work."

At the meeting organised by the specially formed Ecumenical Support Group, Dr Boesak said that "no human being" should be forced to explain publicly what had happened between him and Miss Scott.

Repression

"I shall in no way try to explain the meaning of this relationship.

"The way in which this was made public revealed once again the utterly sick society in which we live.

"Human vulnerability is used to further the aims of repression.

"If this is South Africa, then God help us. Even the church has been used to further the aims of this smear campaign," he said.

Dr Boesak's own Belhar congregation has already expressed its support for him, but the regional church authority, the Ring, is currently considering the relationship.

Dr Boesak continued: "We have fallen from crisis to crisis. My life has been physically threatened and we had to give so much of ourselves." Even his mother's life had been threatened, he said.

People had advised him to leave South Africa over the row, but he said: "I'm not even considering that for a single moment. My wife and I have decided our world is here in South Africa."

Expressing concern at the lack of support from his church authorities, he said: "Through the hours and weeks and months of difficulty I have not been called once by the leadership of my church and given one single word of support."

Referring to newspaper reports of the alleged affair, he said there were certain elements in the media which were making sure that the "Government's smear campaign succeeds".

TO SHARE . . . OR NOT TO SHARE?

SOUTH AFRICAN politics are edging towards a crossroads which, after centuries, could draw our divided and fragmented society together into a more cohesive and legitimate system for all groups.

It could also take a turn towards heightened conflict, polarisation, strife and economic decay. The wisdom of all political leaders in the next five years will be tested as never before.

This trend of events is most clearly crystallised in the President's conditional offer to release Nelson Mandela, and certain other political prisoners, held for almost 25 years.

This dramatic offer has been both welcomed and rejected (by both the CP, on the right, and Azapo on the left) amid considerable uncertainty and confusion. The diversity of possible implications can boggle the mind.

Before considering the uncertainties, the more rational and logical issues must be listed.

Robust

Political processes in South Africa can never become "normal" while the ANC and its leaders are in prison or in exile.

The South African political anatomy is very robust in the white, brown and black sectors, but with the ANC excluded there is a vital organ missing.

The ANC illustrates the persistence of history. As the longest-established nation-wide black political tradition, it cannot be replaced. This is not to say that very viable black leadership cannot be found elsewhere.

It is simply that the other parts cannot function properly and with full legitimacy while so symbolic a part is missing.

There are significant communities and classes in black South Africa which will refuse, in perpetuity, to be represented by anyone other than the ANC. 'Absent' leaders, like De Gaulle or Khomeini, acquire a mystique and charisma of baffling power.

Widespread international recognition of the ANC means that the credentials of other black leaders are constantly questioned abroad. Other significant spokesmen for black South Africa are not listened to as they should be.

While excluded, the ANC thus creates a vacuum in the political system which is filled by caretakers who are unable to accept full responsibility for the people they presume to lead.

Perhaps they themselves do not even know whether or not the attention they get from opponents of the South African Government both here and abroad is because of their own contributions, or because of the missing party they inevita-

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It is the question

(Handwritten: 10/2/85)
both Government

and the ANC will

have to decide if

the black vacuum

is to be filled



By LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal.

bly symbolise — the ANC.

All too easily, the South African Government can look at relatively small turnouts at their township meetings and condemn them as self-appointed leaders.

The symbolic replacements of the ANC, whether they wish to or not, operate with part of the historic image of the ANC. The UDF, for example, has had to deny publicly that it is an internal formation linked to the ANC.

With this image, such organisations can create excitement and expectations, but the question arises as to whether or not they have the coherence and the linkages with black communities to negotiate with the Government and gain acceptance for the compromises which negotiation will inevitably lead to.

Distorted

While the ANC and its leaders are exiled and imprisoned, it is left with very little alternative but to adopt a strategy of insurgency.

Its own leadership and traditions become distorted, if not hijacked by strategic necessity.

It is forced into a hot conflict, not only with the South African Government, but with other legitimate black leaders who, because they are internally located, have to adopt a totally different strategy.

In this sense it is probably very true to say that releasing the ANC to operate openly would or could

defuse the possibility of violent conflict.

In the same context (trap might be a better word) the Government is forced to harshly condemn the ANC for acts which no government can tolerate.

Dennis Beckett (Frontline, February 1985) summed up the consequences: "Every time Minister Louis le Grange opens his mouth to denounce the ANC, he leaves more people with the subconscious idea that the ANC is the ordained alternative."

"If the ANC had hired Le Grange as a public relations officer he could not have done a better job for them."

Reality

Public images of black politics are affected in other ways as well. Opinion polls are a political reality. These polls always show the ANC with very substantial support, and clear majority support in some areas of the country.

Yet, while it is banned and its leaders are excommunicated, serious analysts never know what this means. Opinion polls compare like with unlike.

The ANC is endorsed as a symbol and a promise; other leaders are judged as fallible organisers struggling against political constraints.

Thus there can be no doubt that very powerful, rational arguments exist for the unbanning of the ANC and the release and return of its legitimate leaders.

Furthermore, as a

society theoretically committed to Western democratic values, we have no moral right to exclude so significant an actor as the ANC.

What are the uncertainties that this prospect holds? They all relate to the fact that the framework of Government policy and that of the ANC are still very far apart.

Crucial

Is negotiation possible, even if the ANC rejects violence? To release Mandela and not negotiate with him and his colleagues would defeat the whole purpose of his release.

One may point out that, as yet, the Government has not negotiated on South African constitutional matters with the Buthezi Commission. It did not negotiate with the Urban Councils Association of South Africa on the new black municipal dispensation.

It has negotiated with Mozambique and other surrounding states and on the issue of Namibia. As yet, however, it has not negotiated on any issue impinging on the political power of whites in the common area of South Africa.

The closest it has come is some negotiation (through the President's Council and a Cabinet Committee) with coloured and Indian politicians regarding the recently-established constitution.

This, however, was within a framework of the non-negotiability of anything other than full white con-

trol over white affairs, and overriding white power in the common affairs of the country.

Since other black leaders, like Chief Buthezi and the Committee of Ten, have refused to negotiate within such a framework, it is hardly likely that the ANC would find it acceptable.

The crucial question, then, is whether or not the policy framework of the Government is shifting sufficiently to open the door to negotiations.

In essence, the question is whether the Government is willing to negotiate about real power-sharing (which is not necessarily one-man-one-vote).

The effective answer cannot be given at this juncture, not even by the Government itself. But the Government certainly has moved right to the very threshold of the decision.

A similar sort of question can be put to the ANC leaders, and all other black and brown leaders in South Africa.

Will they be prepared to negotiate within a framework which could imply real power-sharing in all South Africa, but which will preserve for a white ethnic bloc the coherence and ability to effectively limit threatening demands?

Limits

At this stage, the resolution of South Africa's conflicts, whatever the precise constitutional form might be, depends on both the white Government and significant black leadership — which must include the ANC — accepting a framework of real power-sharing, but with entrenched limitations on the overriding power of any group or class vis-à-vis any other.

This is the "politics of accommodation", to borrow a phrase from the Dutch political scientist Liphart.

It means simply that all groups have full political status and citizenship, and that all major groups are constitutionally and politically strong enough to have to be included in all common decision-making.

No group, however, is constitutionally and politically able to override any other group. From this framework, open non-ethnic democracy can gradually emerge, as it has done in the Netherlands, Austria and, in a sense, in the USA. The possibility of the release of Nelson Mandela has brought this issue right to the forefront.

To avoid the road that leads to gradual decay in our society, his release and inclusion in political negotiation is essential.

Equally essential, however, is that all major South African leaders, black and white, accept a framework of accommodation and compromise.

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Councillor Ambition Brown's wife Mary stands forlornly next to a broken window of her house.

PCI PETER SETUKE

Sofasonke man's home hit . 10/2/85

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

11A
C. P. Ros

SOFASONKE Party's publicity man Ambition Brown became the first petrol-bomb victim this year - five bombs blasted his Orlando East home this week.

This was the second petrol bomb attack on Mr Brown within five months. The first was on September 8 last year.

Damage to the house is estimated at R3 000. The SA Suicide Squad, which has

wrecked many homes of Government supporters in the past, has claimed responsibility for the blast.

Mr Brown, a professional boxing referee and judge and also chairman of the Reef Steering Committee, which is against the removal of shacks, said he was warned two months ago by a telephone caller that they

would "get him". "Although I had a quarrel with a senior councillor who threatened me, I cannot blame him for this," he said.

"There are many enemies - such as the underground elements and subversive movements - who would do this. I have won many battles for shack-dwellers and some people are getting jealous."

ANC prisoner accepts PW's release offer

By ELSABE WESSELS

A LONG-term political prisoner on Robben Island has accepted President P W Botha's conditional offer of release.

The man, whose name is being withheld, will be released soon, according to a spokesman for the Prison Services.

The man has served 20 years of a life sentence. His name will be made public only on his release, the spokesman said.

Public

The prisoner is the first to respond to an offer made 10 days ago to Nelson Mandela and other ANC prisoners granting them amnesty if they unconditionally rejected violence as a political instrument.

According to the spokesman, any reaction by prisoners to Mr Botha's offer would be handled through conventional Prisons Department channels.

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela's response to Mr Botha's offer will be made public at a United Democratic Front (UDF) rally in Soweto today.

He will also make known his position on negotiations with the Government, a UDF spokesman said.

The response will be read by his daughter, Zinzi, who received the text from her mother, Mrs Winnie Mandela, yesterday.

Mrs Mandela had travelled to Pollsmoor Prison to discuss the issue with her husband.

'Aluta continua'

"TO REMOVE the armed struggle, the regime should first remove apartheid — which is the cause of the armed struggle,"

African National Congress president Oliver Tambo said this week.

He said there was no alternative to armed struggle against the Pretoria regime, and the ANC would intensify it as long as apartheid existed.

All the alternatives of peaceful struggle had failed, said Mr Tambo. The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, they were only queueing up for death.

The bantustans were themselves an act of violence, so it was wrong to think

OLIVER TAMBO

his organisation would abandon the armed struggle, he said.

On the recent offer by SA president PW Botha to release Nelson Mandela on condition he renounces the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new condition which Mandela would once again reject.

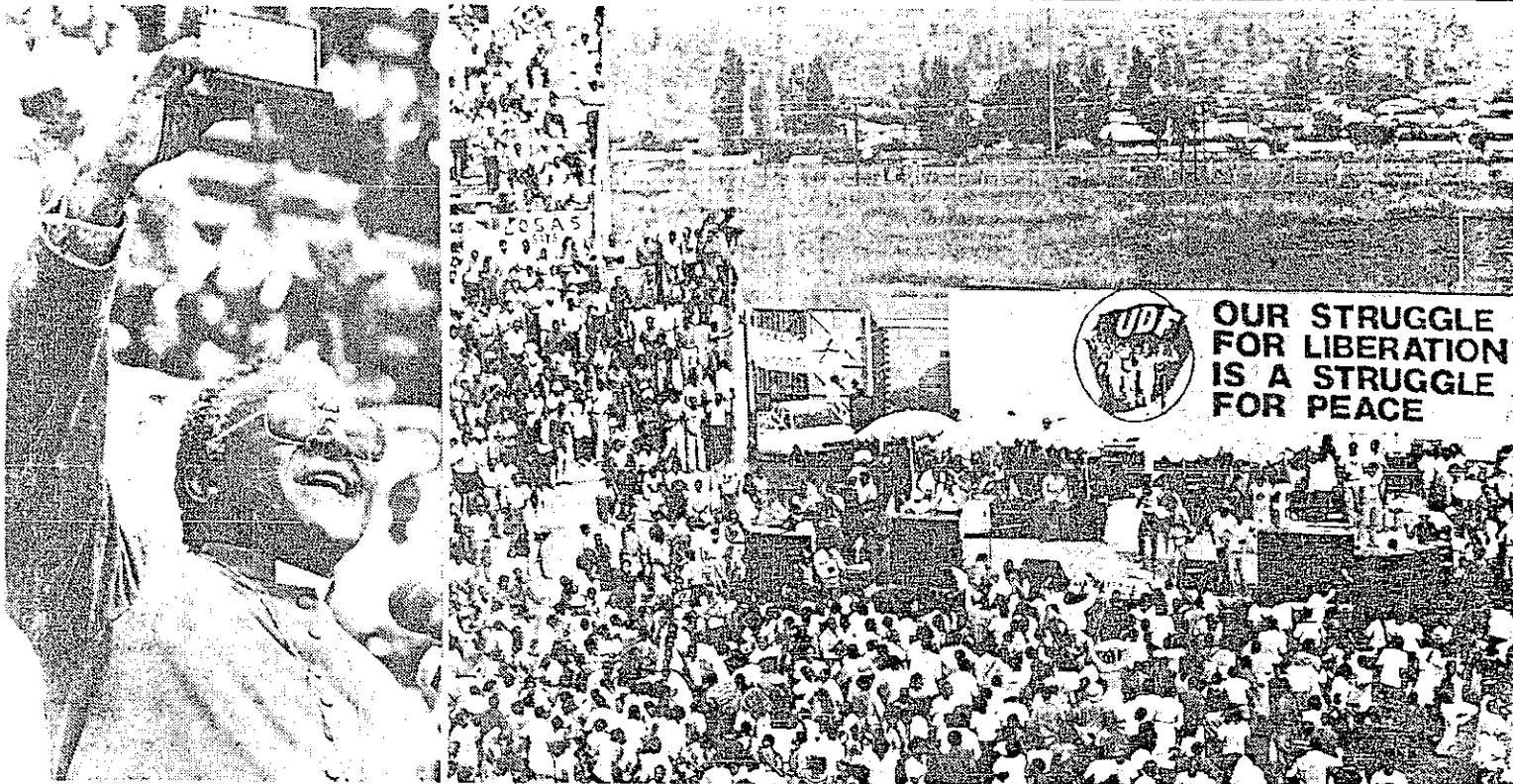
"If the regime wants to talk to him, they should know that they can only talk to him as a free man."

C. Press

10/2/85



11A



Moments of drama during the United Democratic Front's mass rally in Soweto at the weekend. Left: Nobel laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu holds the Peace Prize medal up to the crowd, saying: "Take it, it's yours." Right: Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela, says: "I will not sell my birthright, nor the birthright of my people."

First unban the ANC

This is the full text of Nelson Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha. It was read by his daughter Zinzi.

"On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorised by Pretoria to see my father without restriction yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly. He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother who also heard his words is also not allowed to speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you, the freedom-loving people of this, our tragic land in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

"He, with his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison, sends his very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you, who are the people. We salute him.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front, who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

"My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited. Throughout our struggle there have been

Rejection hits UK headlines

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela's rejection of President Botha's offer of conditional release is prominently reported in most Fleet Street newspapers today.

The Daily Telegraph, makes it front-page news under the headline, "Mandela rejects lure of freedom". *The Times* publishes a front-page photograph of Bishop Desmond Tutu with Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, and *The Guardian* places the same photograph on an inside page.

The statement was also featured on radio and television.

Several correspondents note that Mandela appeared to leave open the possibility of negotiations with the Government.

puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

"My father says: 'I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.'

"My father says: 'I am surprised at the conditions that the Government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round-table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country but that was ignored.

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.



... rally in Soweto at the weekend. ... up to the crowd, saying: "Take it ... it's yours." Right: Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson, brings her father's message from jail: "I cannot sell my birthright, nor the birthright of the people to be free." Pictures by Juda Ngwenya.

in the ANC — Mandela

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"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

'It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

'Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

'Let him renounce violence.

'Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.

'Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress.

'Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid.

'Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

'I cherish my own freedom dearly but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years.

'I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the African National Congress, which was banned. What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

'Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so.'

"My father says: 'I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return.' — Sapa.

A change of mind later?

Mandela freedom: door is still open

By David Braun and Jo-Anne Collinge

Nelson Mandela's apparent rejection of President Botha's conditional offer of freedom may not necessarily close the door. The African leader could change his mind later.

The feeling in senior Government circles today was that, should Mandela's reported rejection be confirmed officially,

the Government would still be prepared to consider his release at a later date — provided he unconditionally rejected violence as a political instrument.

However, a spokesman for the State President's Office said President Botha would not react to Mandela's reported decision — announced by daughter Zinzi in Soweto yesterday — until Mandela himself informed the Government officially.

Mandela apparently waited until he had officially received President Botha's offer on Friday before making his decision. Mr Botha will now also wait until he is officially notified.

Mandela made it known yesterday that he would not agree to freedom on Pretoria's terms, and challenge the Government to unban the African National Congress, renounce violence, allow free political activity, and commit itself to dismantling apartheid.

The views of Mandela (67) and other Rivonia trialists were relayed by his daughter Zinzi to about 9 000 people who attended a United Democratic Front rally in Soweto.

Miss Mandela based her announcement on interviews her mother, Mrs Winnie Mandela, and family lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob had with Mandela in jail.

What freedom?

She said: "My father says: 'I cannot and will not give any undertaking (to the Government) at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return.'"

He is said also to have declared that he would be a member of the ANC until he died.

Miss Mandela reported her father as saying: "I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the ANC, which was banned. What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned?"

● Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said today that he found it regrettable that Mr Mandela had not accepted the conditions for his release.

He believed he could do more outside in terms of his leadership capabilities than being in jail while allowing the community to be divided.

Irrespective of the conditions he could have been a unifying factor, he said.

● Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said Mr Mandela's reply was not entirely unexpected, but still regrettable.

● See Page 4.

Mandela's refusal no surprise to UDF, Sash

The refusal of conditional release by the leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, has come as no surprise to anti-apartheid organisations which are now looking to the Government to respond to Mandela's counter-demands.

The publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota said: "We are proud that Mandela remains so absolutely committed to a meaningfully negotiated settlement."

"We insist that the Government respond to his proposals that it abolish apartheid, release him and his comrades and allow exiles to come home so that a proper constitution can be worked out."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, UDF president and wife of Pollsmoor prisoner Walter Sisulu, expressed satisfaction that, for the first time in more than 20 years, the views of the Rivonia trialists had been put directly to the people.

This position was echoed by the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan.

Mandela's refusal of the Government's offer would not lessen the pressure for his release, Mrs Helen Suzman said today.

"South Africa would gain here and abroad if he were given an unconditional release."

"It is a grim reflection on the apartheid system that a man chooses to remain in jail after more than 21 years imprisonment rather than lead a life of limited freedom under that system."

The Sowetan today commented in an editorial after Mandela's rejection of the offer that "the Government is preparing to harden its attitude to any action by the ANC."

2 prisoners accept offer of amnesty

Two life prisoners on Robben Island have unconditionally accepted the State President's amnesty offer and are to be released shortly.

A spokesman for the South African Prison Service said today the two men had accepted Mr P W Botha's offer. He said they would not be named until they were released, and could not give their release date.

I'm a leader by default, says Tutu

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Two men dominated the gathering of thousands in Soweto yesterday when the Nobel Peace Prize was brought "home" to the people of South Africa.

They were Bishop Desmond Tutu, who stood before the crowd with the prize medal in his hand, and Nelson Mandela, more than a thousand kilometres away in a prison cell in Cape Town.

Bishop Tutu, head of the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg and patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said he and others like him were leaders by default — because the true leaders had been jailed or exiled.

"Many of you young people here have never heard the likes of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu or Oliver Tambo speak," he told the crowd in the massive UDF rally organised in his honour.

"These are the people the system says have been put into cold storage. But when I say to you: 'Who are your leaders?' — there is absolutely no doubt."

Applause and chanting made clear the support the jailed and exiled African National Congress men command.

The bishop said the popular leaders of South Africa were not bloodthirsty, and were honoured elsewhere in the world.

The bishop warned: "There is no hope for peace in this land until they (the present rulers) talk to our leaders."

CAPE TOWN (11A)
11/2/85

Man dies in police shoot-out

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The identity of an alleged insurgent who was killed in a fierce gun-battle with riot squad police in Alexandra township on Saturday morning has not yet been established.

This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for the police directorate in Pretoria.

The spokesman denied that police had arrested another man who was allegedly involved in the incident. Residents, however, said they had seen a man "being taken away by police".

The spokesman said a man, believed to be the slain man's brother, was "only questioned by police", not arrested.

Sapa reports that police received information on Saturday morning that a suspected ANC "terrorist" was hiding out in a house in Alexandra township.

A police spokesman said police surrounded the house and a shoot-out ensued. After about half-an-hour, police entered the house but found no one.

The spokesman said he had died from injuries caused by a hand-grenade, which police assumed had been set off by the suspected terrorist.

'Ish' outlines Azapo's course

ISHMAEL Mkhabela is a man who believes in community involvement — and that is the direction in which he hopes to lead the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

In an interview with *The SOWETAN*, Mkhabela, or Ish as he is popularly known among those close to him, spelled out his aims and what the organisation will be doing this year. He was unanimously elected president of Azapo during the organisation's congress in Cape Town in December, last year.

Mkhabela takes over presidency of the organisation after a disastrous 1984 in which the organisation was upstaged in all respects by the United Democratic Front.

Kennedy

While the organisation stormed into 1985 with a high profile campaign against the Kennedy visit, there is no doubt that much more is needed to cover ground lost last year.

Mkhabela is conscious of this and reminds all of the decision taken at congress last December and the slogan: resist, defence and advance.

He said: "This year we hope to intensify our efforts against the anti-collaborationist struggle. We have to fight attempts to co-opt our people into the systems' structures such as conscription, benefits for middle class blacks, community councils and

others. We hope to involve ourselves in more personal relationships with our people".

He feels the organisation is involved in total participation when it comes to labour movements, civic associations and other bodies. More and more of the organisation's members are in these bodies, but they do not fall back on Azapo.

Azapo criticised the two stay-aways last year, one in October organised by the Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) and another in November organised by a number of organisations including trade unions.

At the congress, Azapo criticised stay-aways and class boycotts in a paper that saw the UDF seeing red.

The impression has been that Azapo was against these stay-aways. Mkhabela claims that his organisation was not against these actions. But he believes that they must be used judiciously. A situation must be avoided where people just call boycotts or stay-aways at the drop of a feather.

"Stay-aways, boycotts and hunger strikes are acceptable strategic weapons to Azapo as a political organisation. These will in fact increase. But these are sacrifices that the system can exploit for propaganda aims so they have to be dealt with wisely and educationally so that they should not

have a negative effect against the liberation movement," he said. Azapo has now been in existence since 1978. The actual numerical strength of the organisation is still anybody's guess.

Cards

Azapo cannot give its strength in numbers but feels it is fairly represented throughout the country. Most members are against cards because they would be exposed to harassment and they believe figures are just a futile academic exercise. The organisation has always "accepted that the liberation struggle is larger than a single organisation and accepts differences without degenerating to the level of becoming enemies — this would divert our attention from the enemy."

According to him, last year could be described as a "quiet" period for Azapo.

On this issue, Ish said in that period Azapo reflected all the qualities of oppressed organisations in the country. There were campaigns to be undertaken but these needed money — which the organisation does not have, and the emergence of UDF raised the expectations of the masses and most people wanted to try it out.

A feature of black consciousness is that its old guard, former members and leaders, simply



ISHMAEL Mkhabela is the current president of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo). He was elected into office in December last year. In this article, he gives an indication as to the direction the organisation will be taking this year. He spoke to *The SOWETAN* reporter Sello Rabothata.

disappear from the scene or join rival organisations.

Also, leadership in the organisation changes every year with there being little continuity on occasion. We asked Mkhabela to comment on the above.

Mkhabela said the black consciousness' old guard were not necessarily disillusioned with the movement, but because of police repression, are lying low. Their absence should not be misconstrued as staying away because they still supported the movement. Some people say they do not want to be arrested when asked to join Azapo and this has had a negative effect.

On leadership Mkhabela said the organisation wanted to avoid creating a situation where specific people could be the movement



ISHMAEL MKHABELA: New Azapo president.

or figure heads.

The aim is to create broader participation and collective leadership. Each and everyone has to be given the opportunity to lead.

The 33-year-old Ish is married to Sibongile and the couple have one child, a girl. His wife, formerly Sibongile Mthembu, was the only woman to stand trial in the "Soweto Eleven" case held at the Kempton Park Magistrates' Court.

The couple has had numerous brushes with the law because of their open involvement in the liberation struggle.

Ish obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of the North (Turfloop) in 1975 and started on a University Education Diploma the following year. He did not complete his UED because "of the insensitivity of

the authorities at the campus to the students' needs. There were a number of curfews introduced against students' movements and the police were moving in and out, questioning and detaining students".

Ish says he was "thrown" into politics while still at high school and was a member of the Students' Christian Movement (SCM) executive committee. During this time they had to account to fellow students and the community on their activities and this led to dialogue with students who were more politically aware and in organisations like the South African Students Organisation (Saso) and the South African Students Movement (Sasm).

At Turfloop, Ish served on the SCM, but this time it was made to work hand in hand with

Saso and to become involved in problems facing the community. He was involved in a number of committees at the campus including the Students Aid Fund which looked into the affairs of those detained during the pro-Frelimo rally of 1975.

After the October 19, 1977 clampdown on black organisations by the Government, there was a vacuum in leadership and this led to the formation of Azapo two years later at Wilger-spruit. Ishmael Mkhabela is the fourth president following Curtis Nkondo, Khehla Mthembu, and Lybon Mabasa — in that order.

The organisation has also lined up a number of activities to honour the International Year of the Youth. A calendar of the activities will be issued to all branches shortly.

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Mandela's full reply to President Botha's offer

THIS IS THE FULL text of Nelson Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The response was read on Mandela's behalf by his daughter, Zindzi, at a function in Jabulani, Soweto, yesterday.

"On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorised by Pretoria to see my father without restriction yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly.

"He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother, who also heard his words, is also not allowed to speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you, the freedom-loving people of this our tragic land, in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

"He and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

"My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison, but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

"Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

"My father says:

"I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die.

"Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his

life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

"My father says:

"I am surprised at the conditions that the Government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country but that was ignored.

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored.

"When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

"It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

"Let him renounce violence.

"Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid."

"Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for the opposition to apartheid.

"Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

"I cherish my own freedom dearly but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom.

"I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these, long, lonely, wasted years.

"I am not less life loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free.

"I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation the African National Congress which was banned.

"What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned?"

"What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence?"

"What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort?"

"What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area?"

"What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work?"

"What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?"

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts.

"Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so."

"My father says:

"I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated.

"I will return."

● The Department of Prison Services was asked to comment on the allegation that it attempted to prevent Mandela making the statement, but had not responded by late last night.

President awaits formal reply from Nelson Mandela

PRESIDENT P W Botha was today awaiting a formal reply from jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to his conditional offer of release following an announcement yesterday that Mandela had rejected it.

A United Democratic Front meeting in Soweto was told that Mandela had made known that he would not accept freedom on Mr Botha's terms.

He in turn had challenged the Government to unban the ANC, to renounce violence, to allow free political activity and to commit itself to dismantling apartheid.

On Friday the Prisons Department presented Mandela with a copy of Mr Botha's statement in Parliament on January 31 as it was recorded in Hansard, the official record of Parliament.

A number of other long-term prisoners who are serving long sentences for security offences were also given such copies.

Not surprised

Two have accepted the offer. A Prisons Department spokesman said today that the names of the two would be made known when they were released.

The spokesman indicated that if a formal reply was received from Mandela it would be channelled through to the President's office.

The reply may also be presented to the President's office by Mr I Ayob, Mandela's lawyer who, with Mrs Winnie Mandela, visited him in Pollsmoor Prison on Friday.

Neither Nationalist politi-

cians nor anti-apartheid organisations were today surprised over Mandela's rejection of the offer.

Many Nationalists had expected this, they said, but thought it was worth making the offer as it showed the world that the Government was willing to negotiate on peaceful solutions.

The Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said Mandela's reply was not entirely unexpected, but still regrettable.

Anti-apartheid groups are now looking to the Government to respond to Mandela's counter-demands.

Pressure stays

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We are proud that Mandela remains so absolutely committed to a meaningfully negotiated settlement."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the UDF and wife of Pollsmoor prisoner Walter Sisulu, said: "Mandela's words are our feelings exactly. People must be released unconditionally."

Black Sash national president Mrs Sheena Duncan welcomed the fact that the release of the ANC men had become a matter of public debate and

that both parties had, for the first time, put their views.

Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party said Mandela's refusal of the Government's offer would not lessen the pressure for his release.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said today he found it regrettable that Mandela had not accepted the conditions for his release.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, head of the Anglican diocese of Johannesburg and patron of the UDF, told a rally in Soweto that he and others like him were leaders by default, since the true leaders had been jailed or exiled.

● Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement yesterday joined the call for Mandela's unconditional release at a meeting in Mathlehong, Germiston.

It is reported from London that Mandela's rejection of President Botha's offer of conditional release is prominently reported without comment in most Fleet Street newspapers.

Several correspondents note that Mandela appeared to leave open the possibility of negotiations with the Government and a suspension of the "armed struggle". — Political Correspondent, Argus Foreign Service and Sapa.

Nelson Mandela's full statement

JOHANNESBURG. — Nelson Mandela has responded to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The response was read on Mandela's behalf by his daughter Zinzi at a function in Jabulani, Soweto, yesterday.

"On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

'Strangers'

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorized by Pretoria to see my father without restriction, yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly. He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother, who also heard his words is also not allowed to speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you the freedom-loving people of this our tragic land, in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

"He, with his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

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comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone, and that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

"My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

'Puppets'

"Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

"My father says: I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is any one among you who cherishes my

freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

"My father says: I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round-table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored.

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored.

Challenge

"When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This too was in vain.

"It was only then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us, that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.

"Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid.

"Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

"I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your free-

dom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom.

"I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years.

"I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organization, the African National Congress, which was banned.

"What freedom am I being offered whilst the organization of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence?

'What freedom?'

"What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife, who remains in banishment in Brandfort?

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Mandela's response to Botha's offer

Nelson Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha was read on Mandela's behalf by his daughter Zinzi at a United Democratic Front rally in Jabulani, Soweto, yesterday

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Zinzi Mandela (foreground) surrounded by members of the crowd who attended the UDF rally at Jabulani yesterday.

no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

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"I am not less life loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the African National Congress which was banned. What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned.

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Mandela rejects govt offer

CARL TINKS
11/2/85

11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, has turned down the State President's offer of conditional freedom and has called on the government to renounce violence, dismantle apartheid, unban the ANC and guarantee free political activity.

Mandela's response to the government's offer was read out by his daughter Zinzi at a major United Democratic Front rally attended by about 9 000 people in Soweto yesterday.

Mandela said he could not and would not give any undertaking — the condition demanded by the government — when he and the people were not free.

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts," he said through his daughter.

'Birthright'

"I am surprised by the conditions the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

The government had offered to release him if he unconditionally rejected violence.

Asked to comment last night, a spokesman for the office of the State President. Mr P W Botha, said he had had no response from Mandela and had not seen a text of the statement delivered in Soweto.

At Jabulani Stadium in Soweto, Ms Mandela was carried shoulder high to



Zinzi Mandela reads her father's statement in Soweto yesterday.

will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the ANC.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them," he said.

He sent greetings to Bishop Tutu and thanked the UDF for making the platform available to him for his message.

The message ended with the promise "I will return", which brought the crowd to its feet.

The UDF rally was an all-day festival of speeches, dancing, singing and poetry. The crowd was treated to a mix of political speeches, break-dancing, gumboot dancing, Michael Jackson imitations, choral singing and prayers.

Tutu

Bishop Tutu, introduced as "the people's Bishop, the freedom fighter", said there was no hope for peace in South Africa until the government talked to the real leaders of the people.

He himself was not a political leader "We

Two accept offer

PRETORIA. — The Prisons Department announced yesterday that a second prisoner from Robben Island had unconditionally accepted the release offer by the State President to political prisoners.

Major A E van Vuuren said a second prisoner, who had served more than 20 years of a life-sentence, had

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At Jabulani Stadium in Soweto, Ms Mandela was carried shoulder high to the platform to read her father's first public political statement since he was jailed for life in April 1964 for treason and sabotage.

Tears

Ms Mandela said her father had given the message to his wife Winnie when she visited him in Pollsmoor Prison on Friday. Mrs Mandela could not read it because she is banned and confined to Brandfort in the Free State.

The crowd, who had come to celebrate the award of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, rose to their feet and cheered as she read the statement.

One man, shirtless in the 80-degree heat, sank to his knees and wept, and many others cried silently in the stands.

Ms Mandela said prison authorities had attempted to stop her father from making a statement, "but he would have none of this and made it clear that he



Zinzi Mandela reads her father's statement in Soweto yesterday.

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Major A E van Vuuren said a second prisoner, who had served more than 20 years of a life-sentence, had accepted the amnesty offer, "unqualified and unconditionally".

The Prisons Department announced on Saturday that a life-sentence Robben Island prisoner had accepted Mr Botha's offer, but did not disclose his name.

The name of both prisoners would be disclosed on their release, the statement said. — Sapa

would make the statement to you, the people".

● The Prisons Service was asked to comment last night on Miss Mandela's allegation that the prison authorities attempted to stop her father's statement being made.

A spokesman for the Prisons Service said: "The member of the SA Prisons Service, who handled the visit, acted correctly and in accordance with the regulations and he did at a stage, in light of the special circumstances which prevailed, decide to make certain concessions."

In the statement, Mandela said he was a member of the ANC and would remain so "until the day I die".

Emphasizing the unity between himself and the ANC leadership in exile, Mandela said through his daughter: "Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade of nearly 50 years. I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine."

He said he had asked previous prime ministers Dr D F Malan, Mr Jan Strijdom and Dr Hendrik Verwoerd to call round-table conferences and had only turned to armed struggle when all other forms of resistance were closed to the ANC.

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will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the ANC.

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Tutu

Bishop Tutu, introduced as "the people's Bishop, the freedom fighter", said there was no hope for peace in South Africa until the government talked to the real leaders of the people.

He himself was not a political leader. "We heard our leaders just now," he said.

Holding his Nobel Peace Prize in the air, Bishop Tutu said it had been given to him only in a representative capacity. "This award is not for Desmond Tutu, it is for all our people. I say take it, it is yours."

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, said the UDF was interested in a peaceful solution to the country's problems, "but not a half-cooked solution".

● Nelson Mandela's full statement, page 7

International Jockey Test

TOMORROW the Cape Times will publish a special supplement on the International Jockey Test. The test takes place at Kenilworth on Wednesday.

Cape Times 11/2/85

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Boesak says that 'a relationship' existed

By **EBRAHIM MOOSA**
Political Reporter

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Council for Reformed Churches, ended weeks of speculation by admitting to allegations in an anonymous "smear campaign" that "a relationship" did exist between him and a SACC employee, Miss Di Scott.

Speaking at a special meeting convened by the Ecumenical Support Committee (ESC) in Mitchells Plain on Saturday, Dr Boesak attacked the government for resorting to a "dirty campaign".

He criticized the leadership of the NG Sendingkerk for allowing themselves to be "used as an agent of the smear campaign", adding that certain sections of the media had attempted to make sure that the campaign succeeded.

'Desperate'

"We are facing a very desperate government ... they know that their time is over. It is an illegitimate government which is resorting to tactics like these.

"In all these times of crisis not once have I been called by the leadership of my church and given one single word of support."

Dr Boesak told an audience of more than 3 500 people that Miss Scott had been an "invaluable support" to his work over the past 18 months. He refused to explain the nature of the "relationship", adding: "I shall in no way try to explain the meaning of this relationship."

Cheers

The whole episode, he said, "revealed once again the utterly sick society in which we live" where "human vulnerability" was used to "further the aims of repression".

The audience reaffirmed their support for Dr Boesak to the familiar cheers of "Boesak ... Boesak ..." during his



Dr Allan Boesak addresses a crowd of more than 3 500 supporters during a special meeting held at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain on Saturday.

speech and as international and local messages of support were read out.

These included messages from the secretary of Lutheran World Ministers, the president of the Carnegie Corporation, the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Western Province Council of Churches.

Dr Boesak said the government was concerned that the United Democratic Front and its supporters — "you the people" — were effective in making disinvestment a "far greater possibility in the United States".

'Growing'

The campaign was also growing in Europe after a new group called the Parliamentarians of Europe had indicated to him their support for disinvestment, he said.

The UDF national publicity secretary, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said the key question was whether what Dr Boesak preached was "true or false".

"If Allan were to concede to the allegations made against him, the UDF must still be strengthened and the struggle against apartheid must continue to the very gates of Hell where it belongs."

The Rev Frank Chikane, director of the Institute for Contextual Theology, said that "if Christian values and Western civilization is what the government is, then we don't want these values".

'No comment'

"It is a shame on us that the preamble to the apartheid constitution talks about our God. I stand here accused of my church, my Christianity ... but I will not withdraw from the truth."

● A spokesman for the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk would not comment yesterday on the admission by Dr Boesak.

The Scriba of the NG Sendingkerk, Dr AJC Erwee, said the Church Moderation had decided at its last meeting not to comment on the situation for the time being.

4 'Islanders' accept offer

Cape Times 12/2/85

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's offer of conditional freedom applied to 15 political prisoners, four of whom have accepted it, according to an South African Prison Services spokesman.

He added that the offer would be given to all political prisoners to read — regardless of how long their sentence was or how long they had served — and the "spirit" of it would apply to all of them.

However, those who had served a "relatively short" part of their term would not be released immediately. Instead, the Release Board would take into account those who had reacted "positively" to the offer, the spokesman said.

He would not say who the four prisoners were, except that they were all given life sentences, had served 20 years or more and were on Robben Island. He added that they would be released "soon".

Eight serving life on Robben Island

It was established last night that eight of the 44 political prisoners serving life have served more than 20 years and are at present on Robben Island.

They include six members of the Pan Africanist Congress jailed in 1964 and two members of the African National Congress.

The six PAC members are Jeff Masemola, Dimaké "Pro" Malepe, Philimon Tefu, Isaac Mthimunye, Samuel Chibane and John Nkosi. The six are understood to have petitioned the State President for clemency last year.

One ANC member, Wilton Mkwazi, was jailed in 1964 for his part in the formation of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The other person who fits the description is one of the eight who were jailed in the famous Rivonia trial, although it is not certain which one he is.

Six of the Rivonia trialists — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Govan Mbeki — are known to be in Pollsmoor Prison and one, Dennis Goldberg, is in Pretoria Central Prison.

It is uncertain which one of the others — Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrey Mlangeni — is on Robben Island.

At least 15 of the 44 life prisoners are from SWA/Namibia. It has not been made clear whether these men have also had the freedom offer.

Africa's fastest growing city keeps its rural face

ARC 45 12/2/85 (12)

DONALD KNOWLER of The Argus Africa News Service reports on the quiet transformation of a dusty village into a bustling capital city which continues to grow

UNTIL recently, Gaborone had the distinction of being the most rural capital in the world. Now it claims to be Africa's fastest growing city.

In just 10 years the Botswana capital's population has grown from 8 000 to the unofficial figure of 80 000 today. The actual area covered by the city has increased about eightfold and the boom shows no sign of decreasing.

The capital's population is expanding by 14 percent per year and ranch and farming land for miles around Gaborone is being bought up for housing and factory development.

The general boom in Gaborone reflects a country which is enjoying relative prosperity, despite a four-year drought which has plagued most of the African continent.

But Botswana, a naturally dry country, has been in a better position to deal with natural calamity. From the first days of independence in 1966, the possibility of drought was taken into consideration in

Botswana's economic and development planning.

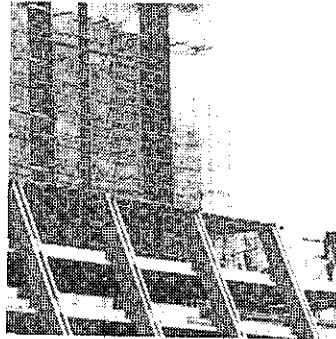
What has really spurred Botswana's growth, and the spin-off it has had for Gaborone, is the end of the Zimbabwe war of independence.

The seven-year war, spilling over Botswana's borders, retarded development in the country, particularly hitting the tourist industry, which is Botswana's biggest foreign currency earner after diamond mining and cattle.

Although tourism is centred in the North of the country, hundreds of miles from Gaborone, the revenue finally trickles back to the city and then gets redistributed through government agencies or private banks and other commercial institutions.

Gaborone as a city is only as old as independent Botswana itself. From the time Botswana became a British protectorate in the 1800s, the country was administered from Mafeking, in South Africa.

When independence loomed,



A building goes up in Gaborone

a capital was needed because the traditional tribal centre, Serowe, was off the beaten track and could not be expanded because of a shortage of water.

Gaborone, in fact, is only about 15 kilometres from the South African border and, at the present rate of expansion, the capital's suburbs will soon push up against the border fence.

Despite Gaborone's rapid development, the rural character of the capital is still evident

away from the main commercial centre.

"This must be the only capital in the world which has a cattle grill across its main highway," said a businessman, a former South African who has lived in Gaborone for 12 years.

"There was a time when you knew everyone — well, everyone in government and business — but that has changed.

The moment I could no longer go into a restaurant and chat to half a dozen people, that was the time Gaborone turned into what I call a real city."

That moment came four years ago. At that time Gaborone had only two restaurants, in hotels, and the businessman pointed out it now had 24, ranging from steak houses to Indian and Chinese eating houses.

Perhaps the most obvious change came to Gaborone in the middle of last year. That was when the city got its first set of traffic lights — the green light, residents say, for bigger and better things.

Govt 'must act' on Mandela

CAPL TIME
12/2/85

11A
SAPA

JOHANNESBURG. — The refusal of conditional release by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has come as no surprise to anti-apartheid organizations, which are now looking to the government to respond to Mandela's counter-demands.

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We are proud that Mandela remains so absolutely committed to a meaningfully negotiated settlement.

"We insist that the government respond to his proposals that it abolish apartheid, release him and his comrades and allow exiles to come home so that a proper constitution can be worked out."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the UDF and wife of Pollsmoor prisoner Walter Sisulu, said: "Mandela's words are our feelings exactly. People must be released unconditionally."

She expressed satisfaction that, for the first time in more than 20 years, the views of the Rivonia trialists had been put directly to the people.

This position was echoed by Black Sash national president Mrs Sheena Duncan. She welcomed the fact that the release of the ANC men had become a matter of public debate and that both parties had put their views.

Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday that Mandela's refusal of the government's offer would not lessen the pressure for his release. "South Africa would gain here and abroad if he were given an unconditional release.

"It is a grim reflection on the apartheid system that a man chooses to remain in jail after more than 21 years imprisonment, rather than lead a life of limited freedom under that system."

The Sowetan newspaper yesterday commented in an editorial that its

reading of the situation, after Mandela's rejection of President P. W. Botha's offer, was that "the government is preparing to harden its attitude to any action by the ANC, or by people or organizations perceived to be acting in furtherance of the aims of the organization".

'Appropriate'

● The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), a UDF affiliate, yesterday issued a statement "warmly welcoming Mandela's flat rejection of the offer.

"In a situation where the white minority continues to have a firm hold on political power, such a rejection is not only logical, but also the appropriate political response from the true leaders of the oppressed people in the country.

"The TIC fully supports the conditions outlined by Mandela before he will consider such an offer.

"We in the TIC believe the ball is squarely in P. W. Botha's court to prove that he is genuine about meaningful change in this country. He can do so by accepting the conditions laid down by Mandela," it said.

● John Battersby reports from London that according to Lord Nicholas Bethell, Mr Botha and Mandela are "moving slowly and carefully" towards the possibility of discussions.

'Concession'

The Tory peer and human-rights campaigner, who had an exclusive prison interview with Mandela last month, was speaking on a telephone programme on London Radio.

Lord Bethell said the fact that Mandela had been allowed to make a detailed statement from prison was in itself a "concession" by the South African authorities.

However, reforms would have to go "a lot further" before there could be a genuine political dialogue between the South African Government and the ANC.

'Not fundamental'

He said change in South Africa had moved beyond the point where it could be dismissed as "window-dressing" but had not gone far enough and was not yet of a fundamental nature.

Lord Bethell said South Africa had a relatively free press and the fact that newspapers had not been prosecuted for quoting from his interview with Mandela in The Mail on Sunday or for quoting from Zinzi Mandela's weekend speech was significant.

— Sapa and Own Correspondent

● 4 'Islanders' accept offer, page 2

Murder: ANC men confess

Own Correspondent
MARITZBURG. — Two men who admitted being trained terrorists and members of the ANC, confessed in the Supreme Court here yesterday to the murder of Mr Ben Langa at his Georgetown home in May last year because they alleged he was a police informer.

Mr Langa was the brother of a Durban advocate, Mr Pius Langa.

Following their pleas of guilty on all counts against them, Mr Justice Kriek, sitting with two assessors in the College Road Supreme Court, convicted the men — Sipho Bridget Xulu, 25, and Clarence Lucky Payi, 20 — of terrorism and conspiracy to murder.

The State did not accept the men's pleas of guilty to Mr Langa's murder with extenuating circumstances and is leading evidence in relation to this charge.

Additional charges of illegal possession of arms, ammunition and grenades were withdrawn by the State.

In statements handed in to the court, the two men admitted that on the night of May 20 last year

they were driven to the home of Mr Langa. Both had been armed.

The two accused accompanied by Mr George Martins went into Mr Langa's home.

After a discussion between Mr Langa and Mr Martins both the accused men confronted Mr Langa and each fired a shot at him.

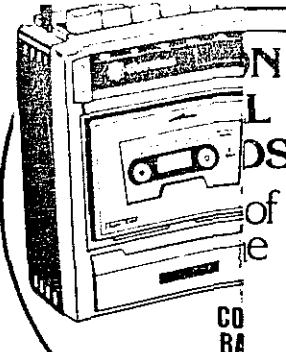
Xulu and Payi admitted that they intended to kill Mr Langa in compliance with their instructions from a high-ranking officer of the ANC before their re-entry into South Africa.

They said they had been given to believe that Mr Langa, although claiming to be an active supporter of the ANC and assisting the organization by recruiting potential members, was a police informer.

The men claim that Mr Langa was responsible for recruiting Xulu to join the ANC.

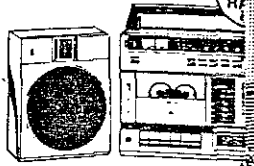
The men confirm in their statements that they also conspired to murder Mr Modise Faith Matlaopane, but decided not to proceed with their plan.

The trial continues today.



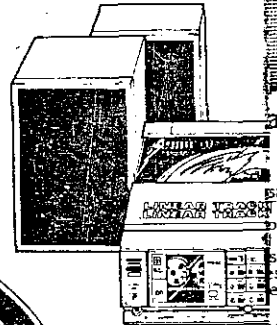
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ANC: was outright banning the answer?

I have argued earlier that malice, conflict and violence should not be attributed to only one party.

Similarly the mismanagement of conflict and negative destructive measures to accommodate conflict can be found in all parties, also in South Africa.

On the Government side I would single out in this respect the perception of the so-called Total Onslaught which has given birth to the development of the inevitable response: the Total Strategy.

"That South Africa is the prize objective in the Soviet bid to control Southern Africa is an established fact," claimed the SABC in an editorial on July 4 1983. This is the essence of the perception of the Total Onslaught: it is a Communist-inspired, ideologically-motivated struggle and the aim is the overthrow of the constitutional order and its replacement by a subject Communist-oriented black Government. To combat the total onslaught a total national strategy had to be formulated.

The 1977 White Paper defined total national strategy as the comprehensive plan to utilise all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern, in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies. Mass mobilisation of the

DAY THREE of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

public in support of the Government's total strategy is vigorously campaigned by mass media, especially the SABC:

"But, as emphasised by General Malan, the African National Congress terrorist has no conscience as far as his choice of targets or weapons is concerned. His goal is the whole country and the entire population.

"And it is the main advantage of the terrorist, his ability as a clandestine operator to strike unexpectedly at vulnerable targets, which must be recognised and countered by the adoption of security as a general public obligation. Realistically speaking, it is the responsibility of organisations and individuals at all levels to play their part towards the overall security of their country."

While the South African Government and conservative media continue with their efforts to mobilise public opinion against the total onslaught allegedly orchestrated from Moscow, respectable scholars warn against this delusion. In a concise, well-written and scholarly account of

Soviet policy in Southern Africa, published by the respectable, conservative Africa Institute of South Africa, Peter Vanneman and Martin James (1982)

argue that Soviet policy-making with regard to Southern Africa is largely the preserve of lower levels of the Soviet bureaucracy.

They point out that Soviet foreign policy does not emanate from a monolith.

On the anti-apartheid side I would single out what I would call the judgemental approach which is characterised by a boycott mentality.

It is understandable that such an approach would have developed.

The rigidity and intransigence of the white establishment and oppression of the system have led to despair and cynicism.

The result of this cynical attitude is a refusal to do or contribute anything positive or constructive; every action should be aimed at destroying the present evil, fighting apartheid, opposing the oppressor and bringing down the Government.

The primary motivating force is not the search for justice but the pronouncement of judgment, the wish to retaliate, to punish the

evildoer, to take revenge. Conditional sanctions, strikes, boycotts or such withholding actions are valuable and efficient strategies in political struggle.

But when boycott becomes an end in itself, a principle and not a strategy, it does not constitute a constructive, positive approach to the accommodation of conflict.

Economic boycott if successfully applied will bring economic regression and ruin, physical and mental suffering to millions in South Africa and all its neighbours.

Mozambique has argued that it would be tantamount to suicide to support an economic boycott against South Africa.

Let's face it: economic boycott, just like the objectionable system of apartheid, is a classical case of institutional or structural violence.

This was so well put by Dr Kenneth Kaunda in one of his latest books: "But economic sanctions if firmly applied are only more humane than war in the sense that starving someone to death is more humane than shooting him."

As in the case of war, politicians and even Christian leaders here and abroad justify this kind of violence.

What good could come out of this violence and suffering?

Some radicals argue that it will cause polarisation, hatred and protest and thus hasten the revolution.

As a white American academic glibly put it: "Suffering will result, but it could be justified because people will suffer for their freedom." These anti-apartheid propagandists fail to distinguish between two types of suffering.

On the one hand the suffering of local people which results from their own initiative and own action such as strikes or conditional boycotts against specific employers; on the other hand there is suffering caused by boycott campaigns initiated and orchestrated by overseas groups.

It seems in retrospect that the banning of the African National Congress in 1960 might not have been a very constructive way of handling the situation. Indications that the Government may now be willing to talk to them, given certain conditions, hold more promise for a settlement than outright banning.

New insights have contributed to a more positive and optimistic approach to conflict accommodation.

Given man's aggression and additional obstacles, social scientists have developed and promoted approaches and techniques that have made the resolution of conflict much more likely than usually anticipated.

Six of these new insights can be noted:

● While material resources may indeed be scarce and finite, a rational approach to

their optimal development and exploitation may yield higher returns than those that could be gained by means of destructive competitive processes.

● Non-material resources are not finite and need not be scarce. Resources such as skills, expertise and security indeed have the tendency to increase through use. Sharing, therefore, is a way of increasing one's benefits.

● The emphasis on the importance and satisfaction of needs, rather than interests and values is more likely to promote conflict resolution.

● Perceptions, opinions and attitudes are subjective and are determined by the social context of the observer. These subjective observations can be influenced and rectified and more accurate observations will facilitate conflict resolution.

● The prospects of improved communication have been a major source of a more positive and optimistic approach to conflict resolution.

● The experience of co-operative processes of conflicting resolution and the striving for win-win solutions have yielded encouraging results during the past decade or two.

NEXT

Violence; who will denounce it?; the cycle of violence; the Pretoria bomb.

11A Swick 12/2/85 [initials]

Inkatha calls for Nelson's freedom

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement yesterday rejoined the call for the unconditional release of African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela, at its East Rand regional meeting at the Kwesine hostel hall in Kettlehong, Germiston.

Regional executives told about 200 members that Chief Buthelezi was among the first leaders to ask the South African Government to release Mandela to his Soweto home without any restrictions.

"Inkatha respects Nelson Mandela as a leader. In fact, our movement and constitution are founded on the principles of the

ANC before it waged the armed struggles.

"The time has come for the Government to release all political leaders and recall those in exile so that all South Africans can choose leaders to run the country.

Our president, Chief Buthelezi, has made this call a million times before. But time is running out for South Africa," said the regional assistant secretary, Mr Stephen Mbatha.

The region also reaffirmed its support for the views being advocated by its national president, who is presently overseas to campaign against the call for foreign countries not to invest in

South Africa because of its apartheid laws.

Members said they believed disinvestment would only bring hardship to blacks because they formed a large sector of the employed.

One member told the meeting that he had lost his job four months ago and had not been able to get a job since. He said his family was in the throws of psychological, emotional and physical depression.

Attack

The Government came under heavy attack when members criticised the tri-cameral parliament because it did not cater for the interests of Africans.

They rejected hints by some Government officials that a fourth chamber be set up to cater for Africans.

"We believe the land belongs to us, and the only way to lasting peace and stability is to have one parliament that is chosen by the free will of the people," Mr Mbatha said.

The region's Youth Brigade planned to embark on a campaign to keep the environment clean as part of the International Youth Year project.

Cosas to hold rally

THE Congress of South African Students will hold a rally in Tembisa this weekend.

The rally will be held at the Nepo Cinema at 10 am on Saturday.

United Democratic Front (UDF) publicity secretary Mr Montshioua "Terror" Lekota will be the main speaker.

Other speakers will include Mr Cedric Kekana, an Azanian Students Organisation member.

Pledges

A spokesman for Cosas said the rally pledges solidarity with those who were out of classes "because of their legitimate demands".

Meanwhile, services to remember Atteridgeville's first unrest victim last year, Emma Sathekge, will be held today.

In Soweto, an afternoon service will be held at the St Francis of Assisi Church in Rockville.

In Kagiso another afternoon service will be held at the Roman Catholic Church in Kagiso 2.

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Soweto

Soweto

Soweto

PRESIDENT P W Botha announced today that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and a few other long-term "security" prisoners would remain in prison because they refused to give undertakings renouncing violence for political ends.

He said their continued imprisonment must now be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence. Four prisoners who had accepted the offer of conditional release would be freed.

Mr Botha referred to his statement last month in which he said the Government was willing to consider Mr Mandela's release provided he gave an undertaking to renounce violence as a political tool.

He added that Mr Mandela — not the Government — was standing in the way of his freedom.

Mr Botha said today: "As indicated then, this also applies to other prisoners of the same category who have spent a very long time in prison.

"I have now received the response of Mr Mandela and a few others to the effect that they are not prepared to give such commitments. Their continued imprisonment must, of now, be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence.

"My attitude"

"The Government's and my attitude on this matter flows on the one hand from a concern for men who have spent a long time in prison. On the other hand we cannot order their release if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism.

"The Government, however, remains prepared to consider the release of prisoners in this category under the given circumstances.

"It is heartening that a number of prisoners have responded to my statement by renouncing violence as a means of furthering their political aims.

Four freed

"I have today approved the release of four such prisoners," Mr Botha said.

A spokesman for the President's office said today it was unlikely that Mr Mandela's reply would be released.

● Mr Botha made his offer of conditional release to Mr Mandela and other long-term "security" prisoners in Parliament on January 31.

He said then that he and the Government were not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others had spent a great deal of time in prison, al-

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

(Cont from Page 1)

though they were duly convicted in open court.

The Government was willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in South Africa, provided he gave an undertaking that he would not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives. He would have to conduct himself in such a way that he would not be rearrested.

In his initial response, read out at a United Democratic Front meeting in Johannesburg last weekend, Mr Mandela rejected the offer for the first time.

He called on Mr Botha to renounce violence and to state that he would dismantle apartheid.

He wanted an end to the ban on the ANC and the release of "all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid".

He also demanded a guarantee of free political activity from President Botha, "so that the people may decide who will govern them".

● Earlier today the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, dismissed suggestions that Mr Mandela should be released unconditionally.

He said such suggestions were an attempt to give violence, lawlessness and criminality a cloak of respectability and to turn these into acceptable ways of attaining a political goal.

He said Mr Botha's offer was "quite justified and extremely fair".

All reasonable people would accept this, especially because ANC murder gangs had cold-bloodedly killed many people of all races. There had been twice as many black victims as whites.

The Government would not have a terrorist organisation as a negotiating partner, although it remained willing to talk to people who were prepared to take a stand against violence.

ARGUS 14/2/85

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Mandela will stay in jail, says Botha

11A

Former Mail man bombed in Botswana

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

A SOUTH AFRICAN exile and former Rand Daily Mail journalist, Mr Nat Serache, narrowly escaped death in Gaborone, Botswana, yesterday when unknown saboteurs planted a bomb in or near his house, destroying it completely.

Mr Serache and a friend were saved by alert neighbours, said to have confronted suspicious strangers near his house.

Mr Serache and his companion, who is understood to be a fellow South African expatriate, were woken by the row and fled from the house shortly before the blast. Had they been inside, they would almost certainly have died.

Mr Serache and his friend were nevertheless injured in the explosion and taken to the Princess Marina Hospital for treatment. Their condition, however, was understood not to be serious.

Police were still investigating yesterday, but a spokesman for the Office of the Botswana President told the Rand Daily Mail: "South African involvement cannot be discounted".

Mr Serache, who was a strong protagonist of black consciousness in the 1970s, left South Africa in 1977 and is now a BBC correspondent from Botswana.

The bomb explosion took place against a background of heightened tension between Botswana and South Africa over the infiltration into South Africa of African National Congress insurgents from Bo-

swana via Bophuthatswana.

Last month Bophuthatswana warned Botswana its security forces would launch hot pursuit operations unless acts of "terror and infiltration" from Botswana stopped.

Bophuthatswana's warning was reinforced by another from the SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who told Botswana: "This situation cannot continue".

Since September last year, Mr Botha said in a statement, seven insurgents had been arrested in Bophuthatswana, two had escaped across the border and three died in shoot-outs with security forces.

Botswana, which has been under strong pressure for nearly a year to sign a security pact with South Africa, was urged by Mr Botha to agree to an "effective and practical arrangement between the security forces of our two countries".

The Botswana Government has repeatedly stated that its policy was not to allow Botswana to be used as a base for attacks on any of its neighbours.

The South African Police have conceded that ANC fighters crossed Botswana "without the sanction of its government" and that the Botswana police had in the past arrested ANC men who fled there after guerrilla action in South Africa.

South Africa, however, is understood to want closer co-operation between its security forces and Botswana's police, to help forestall the clandestine use of Botswana by ANC fighters.

Handwritten notes:
10/2/85
S. Serache
11A

No freedom 'unless ANC leader accepts conditions'

Mandela will stay in jail, says PW

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

President Botha said today that he could not order the release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and others while they remained committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism.

But he said he had approved the release of four "security" prisoners who had accepted his offer of freedom by renouncing violence as a means of furthering their political aims.

He added that the Government was still prepared to consider the release of prisoners if they accepted the conditions.

Mr Botha said he had officially received the response of Mandela and "a few others" that they were not prepared to give such commitments.

Sabotage

Their continued imprisonment must now be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence.

"The Government's and my attitude on this matter flow on the one hand from a concern for men who have spent a long time in prison; on the other hand, we cannot order their release if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism," said Mr Botha.

He first made his offer of conditional release to Mandela and other long-term "security" prisoners in Parliament on January 31.

Undertaking

He said he and the Government were not insensitive to the fact that Mandela and others had spent a long time in prison.

He said the Government was willing to consider Mandela's release provided he gave an undertaking that he would not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, and conduct himself in such a way that he would not have to be arrested again.



Mr Mcuu convenor.

get book club

encouraging students and the exciting and eye-opening formed in Soweto this

ib, Mr Philip Mcuu, who it education field, has ino attend the launching of vited are educationists Dr nbule and author Dr D Z

d Dr J M Nhlapo-Selope ding and Debating Club, of the now-defunct The

amani Combined School, (2pm).

Podwill trip may flop

"Unless we raise the money as soon as possible, the trip may no longer take place," the group's organiser Mr Hughie Kannenberg said.

The group is appealing to the community, especially businessmen, to come to their rescue. The group can be contacted at the Northern Transvaal Sports Association for the Disabled, PO Box 1189, Garsfontein 0042 or tel. (012) 26-9711 Ext 290.

Vaal movement calls for release of pupils, leaders

SOWETAN Reporter

THE VAAL Students Resistance Movement has called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to release all students and leaders detained during the Vaal unrest last year.

The call was reaffirmed by the movement's president, Mr Mandla Mahlangu, who also said that the Minister should release them for the sake of peace in the trouble-torn Vaal Triangle townships.

At its meeting in Sharpeville on Tuesday the VSRM resolved to call on the Minister to release the leaders so they could join the people and students could write their examinations.

"We also appeal to the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, to consider student demands."

Mr Mahlangu said the

education minister has not addressed himself to the students' demands for a Student Representative Council, the abolishing of corporal punishment, sexual harassment at school and other demands.

Protest

He said students in the Vaal Triangle had gone back to school during January, but that did not mean everything was back to normal because "we went back under protest.

"We still want the improvement of our education. If the Government continues dragging its feet on our demands, we are afraid that this year might be wasted again," he said.

Demand

"We are not demanding heaven and earth — we demand what we believe is rightfully ours," he added.

Mr Mahlangu appealed to Vaal teachers to release students from school early next Tuesday so that they can honour Emma Sathekge, the first victim of the Atteridgeville school unrest last year.

Who is prepared to renounce violence?

Conflict in its broader sense should be seen as a natural, endemic condition of society which could also serve positive functions provided it is channelled, directed and accommodated constructively.

Conflict is therefore not seen as necessarily dysfunctional or as pathological.

Social conflict is the continuous process of redistribution of power and resources within a social system.

Violence is an extreme manifestation of destructive conflict.

It is a result of the failure to accommodate successfully, or to regulate conflict.

Violence is destructive and destabilising.

While it has the obvious advantage of obtaining immediate short-term gains, it cannot form the basis of a durable society.

Violence refers to behaviour which violates the dignity and integrity of a person.

For our purpose we define it as the application of force, act, motive or thought in such a way (overt, covert, direct or indirect) that the person or group is injured, controlled or destroyed in a physical, psychological or spiritual sense.

We used to think of violence only in physical terms and as acts committed by those who oppose authority.

Violence of a psychological or mental nature, however, is as harmful as physical violence.

In recent years we have come to the realisation that force used by the instruments of the State can be interpreted as institutional or structural violence.

This is violence committed through the institutions or the structure of the social system controlled by the rulers or the authorities. The effect of structural violence, such as discriminatory customs or legislation, is that the actual realisation of human beings is below their potential realisation.

DAY FOUR of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

The system prevents them from full development. In brief, then, this violence violates the person's integrity and dignity. While violence is usually abhorred in public rhetoric, especially in religious and respectable circles, it is true that it is almost as endemic as conflict. This is due to many factors, including the relatively aggressive human nature, the generally accepted view that violence *does* work and the fact that, with the exception of a minute percentage of genuine universal pacifists, war is accepted by all mankind as a legitimate instrument of last resort.

Violence as a manifestation of destructive conflict has a tendency to expand and escalate. It encompasses a shift away from conciliatory strategies of persuasion and accommodation toward strategies of power and tactics of threat and coercion. The extent to which conflict in South Africa becomes or has become destructive is of direct relevance to any attempts or programmes aimed at the accommodation and management of conflict. The impact of structural violence as experienced and perceived by blacks in South Africa constitutes the major basis of their opposition to the present establishment regardless of its ethnic composition. It is also seen as the major reason for their resort to what is known as political violence, sabotage, guerilla warfare or terrorism. In turn, the African National Congress's resort to violence is given as a major reason why the present Government cannot have negotiations with them. While violence seems to

be so obviously pathological and deplorable, the vast majority of human beings have come to accept it as if it is as endemic and normal as conflict. All our major churches argue that violence in its most destructive form, war, can be justified under certain circumstances. The theology of a just war dates back to the early history of almost all Christian churches. I belong to a very small religious community, the Quakers, that objects to violence in principle. I therefore do not believe that violence can be justified under any circumstances.

This stand especially applies to modern war. One of the criteria laid down to justify resort to war is that the army should discriminate between soldiers and non-combatants and not attack the latter. The killing of the innocent was always illicit. This kind of argument had some applicability in the time of personal physical combat. However, the means of warfare have changed radically in the meantime.

We need only look at the casualties in the two World Wars to understand the obsolescence of this criterion.

World War 1 claimed the lives of 8 million military staff and caused the death of 1 million innocent civilians.

World War 2, which made use of only two nuclear bombs, claimed the lives of 17 million military personnel and killed 34 million civilians.

Today the major Powers have stock-piles of sophisticated nuclear weapons not meant to kill the enemy but to exterminate whole populations. Americans believe they

now have sufficient bombs to kill every living Russian 40 times over. This situation has brought little change in official church policy in recent times.

Neither South African Christian churches nor our most prominent leaders, including Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, has adopted a pacifist stand.

This being the position of the churches it is unlikely that political parties and political leaders will support pacifism. Quite naturally they would, like their spiritual brethren, deplore violence, but they will not in principle renounce it.

They will reserve the right to use violence as a last resort.

If they are in power they will use it to maintain law and order or to squash protest, rebellion, armed revolution or invasion by foreign powers. If they are in opposition and they believe that all normal channels of protest have been closed and the Government is completely intransigent, they will resort to violence believing that justice is on their side.

And depending on the political and moral convictions of the clergy they will rally behind either those in authority or those in rebellion, arguing that God is on their side.

Who besides the handful of pacifists in our troubled country will renounce violence unconditionally?

It is not always easy for the population of a strife-torn society such as South Africa to avoid being drawn into the cycle of violence.

And once one has been sucked into this cycle it takes a lot of initiative and guts to break out of it.

And as long as our religious leaders, who form part and parcel of our political problems, believe that violence on either side could be justified under certain conditions, we have little hope of significant initiatives that will save us from the destructive effects of this evil spiral.

The increasing spiral of violence in Southern Africa was manifested in three major events in Lesotho, South Africa and Mozambique.

In December 1982 the South African Defence Force launched an attack in the suburbs of Maseru, killing 30 African National Congress members and 12 civilians including five women and two children.

On May 20 1983 African National Congress agents detonated a bomb outside the offices of the South African Air Force in Pretoria, killing 19 people and wounding more than 200, mostly civilians. On May 23 1983 the South African Defence Force launched a retaliatory attack on Maputo in Mozambique.

While the South African Government claimed that they had killed 64 people, including 41 African National Congress members, 17 Frelimo members and six civilians, overseas newspapers reported that six people had been killed, of whom five were Mozambican civilians. These events and the response to them in both white and black circles, among conservatives and liberals, made me intensely aware of the spiral of polarisation that is driving our country into rigidly opposed camps of mutual hatred and commitment to revenge.

This element of revenge was evident in the public statements of both the African National Congress and the South African Government. On Monday May 23 General Malan, Minister of Defence, stated in Parliament that the security forces of South Africa would revenge every drop of blood shed by the innocent, white, black, or brown, with all the force at its disposal. I saw these events as dramatic outbursts in a series of acts of physical mental and institutional violence, committed in this country by both the Government and its opponents. I believe these actions will increase in frequency and intensity in coming years and, with

it, hatred and animosity will grow.

Given this situation I saw it as my primary task to break this cycle and to build a middle ground.

I found inspiration and support for my intention in the silent meeting for worship of the handful of Quakers (Religious Society of Friends) in Cape Town on the Sunday morning after the attack on Maputo.

I proceeded to draft a statement expressing:

- My disapproval of violence on both sides.
- My sympathy with the victims of both sides.
- My belief in the elements of goodwill on both sides.

This statement accompanied a small financial contribution to the trustees of the State President's Fund in South Africa which was established to assist the victims of the Pretoria bomb and similar acts of terrorism.

I visited Lesotho to hand money to the Lesotho Christian Council which assisted victims of the South Africa attack in Maseru.

I also used this occasion to make contact with African National Congress leaders in exile.

I think I succeeded in conveying to them that there are in South Africa people who are neither ANC supporters, nor Government supporters, nor fence-sitters.

But how big, how significant, how influential is this group? Probably very small, judging from the response I got from many of my friends. By some I was accused of supporting apartheid and by others of supporting terrorism. This was the sad evidence of the extent to which we have become drawn into the cycle of polarisation.

Where have all the mediators gone?

NEXT

Third party intervention; face saving; there's something of God in each person.

11A
14 more
Stan
accept
15/12/85
release

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A further 14 "security prisoners" have accepted the President Botha's offer of conditional release.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced this today. The release of four was announced yesterday.

Mr Coetsee said it had been decided, on the request of certain prisoners and in the best interests of prisoners and their next of kin, not to release the names of those who had "reacted positively".

In his offer to Nelson Mandela and others, Mr Botha demanded they renounce violence as a political tool. The offer was aimed mainly at those who had served more than 20 years of a life sentence.

Mr Botha said those who had not served a substantive part of their sentences would get credit if they renounced violence.

The importance of letting the other side save face

editorial of October 27
The Star made a strong
for the "Vital Need for a
Party Force" in view of
polarisation between the
and No votes in the
referendum.

referendum was only one
example of polarisation in our
society.

arisation seems to be a
natural tendency in all conflict
situations since it meets
certain emotional needs of
mankind.

Eliminates the middle
groups, not only in each
conflict situation (such
as the referendum and the
apartheid bomb blast) but
especially in the broad sphere
of national political attitudes.
The fanatic emotionalism of
extremism has led to the
destruction in our society of
all-meaning (though often
false) moderate peace-making
groups such as white liberals,
liberals, pacifists, moderate
groups.

People who propagate gradual
change are rejected for
wanting cosmetic change.
Pacifists are rejected on the
ground that they are merely
passive.

Non-violence is rejected as if it
implies a failure to act.
A good example of this
emotional need to take
polarised sides was the 1983
referendum on the
constitutional proposals when
those who advocated a spoiled
electorate were attacked equally
fiercely by both sides.

DAY FIVE of the series in which Professor H W
van der Merwe, director of Cape Town Univer-
sity's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on
the search for a constructive accommodation of
conflict in Southern Africa.

Peacemakers are always
suspect on both sides and
unless there is a strong enough
support group most people do
not opt for the middle ground
for fear of falling between two
chairs.

The Rev Ian Paisley of
Northern Ireland has
expressed his aversion for the
middle group very clearly:
*Bridge builders and traitors
are alike,
They both go over to the
other side.*

Change-oriented groups have
indeed reason to be sceptical of
moderates advocating gradual
change because too often this is
the tactic of those who want to
retain vested interests.

Given the state of political
polarisation in South Africa
there is indeed a vital need for
third party intervention.

Third party intervention can
have one of two sources:

● Those who operate with
authority or from positions of
power and are able to enforce
decisions.

● Those who act merely in
advisory capacities.

The former category includes
governments, especially the
superpowers; and the latter
individuals such as academics,
church and community leaders.

One of the most important
roles of the third party is to
improve communication
between conflicting groups to
assure the flow of accurate and
reliable information.

It also needs to identify and
maintain contact with both
parties.

Third parties can help in
resolving disputes
constructively to the extent
that they are known, readily
accessible, prestigious, skilled,
impartial and discreet.

While we have made
significant progress in this
field in industrial relations,
nothing has been done to
develop such a professional
mediating group in the field of
politics in South Africa.

We have a long way to go.
The acceptance of incremental
progress has been identified by
social scientists as an
important condition for the
constructive accommodation
of conflict.

Many steps taken by the
present Government are little
more than what has become
known as cosmetic change.

But what should not be
overlooked is the fact that the
accumulation of many kinds of
minor or cosmetic changes
eventually may add up to

substantial, fundamental
change.

To the extent that superficial
change constitutes a form of
incremental progress, it should
not be dismissed completely.
Parties in conflict hold strong
subjective convictions and
beliefs about themselves, their
adversaries and about the
nature of society and of that
particular conflict.

Very often a precondition for
the resolution of conflict is the
adjustment of these opinions
and attitudes or even the
acceptance of completely new,
even contradictory, opinions
and attitudes.

This shift in beliefs publicly
held can usually be facilitated
greatly if the person or the
party is allowed to save face.

That is, it is better if the
change can be made in such a
way that all parties do not
have to suffer a loss in status
from having held the old ideas
but rather can experience a
gain in status for accepting the
new ideas.

Face saving allows the
individual or group to make
major concessions or
adjustments with their
self-esteem intact.

It greatly facilitates the
constructive accommodation
of conflict.

Needless to say, face saving is
not easily reconcilable with the
judgmental approach.

The Quakers have an
expression which has
constituted for centuries a
fundamental tenet of their

religious belief and has been a
primary motivating factor in
the commitment to
reconciliation, especially on an
international level.

It states: "There is something
of God in every person."

Adam Curle, international
conciliator and founder of the
School of Peace Studies at
Bradford University, argues
that in order to apprehend the
divine in others we must
recognise it in ourselves.
We are all members of one
body, as St Paul tells us so
 cogently.

If one is hurt, all suffer.

We are involved with all
humankind, because we are all
humankind.

The more we recognise God in
others, the closer we shall
grow to them.

This concern for all mankind is
expressed in Laurens van der
Post's argument that the only
hope for the future lies in an
all-embracing attitude of
forgiveness of the people who
have been our enemies.

He writes in his book "The
Night of the New Moon":

"Forgiveness, my prison
experience had taught me, was
not mere religious

sentimentality; it was as
fundamental a law of the
human spirit as the law of
gravity.

"If one broke the law of
gravity one broke one's neck; if
one broke this law of
forgiveness, one inflicted a
mortal wound on one's spirit
and became once again a

member of the chain-gang of
mere cause and effect from
which life has laboured so long
and painful to escape."

For the cynics among us who
are not convinced of the
goodwill on the part of the
enemy, there is some evidence
to prove that just as violence
breeds violence, goodwill also
breeds goodwill.

The famous social scientist
Deutsch called it the crude law
of social relations.

The characteristic processes
and effects elicited by a given
type of social relationship (co-
operative or competitive) tend
also to elicit the same type of
social relationship.

Thus the strategy of power and
the tactics of coercion, threat
and deception result from, and
also result in, a competitive
relationship.

Similarly the strategy of
mutual problem-solving and
the tactics of persuasion,
openness and mutual
enhancement elicit and also
are elicited by a co-operative
orientation.

All this may be summarised by
saying that co-operation breeds
co-operation, while
competition breeds
competition.

NEXT

The basis of conflict;
new decisions and alli-
ances; from race to
class conflict; the pro-
posed forum.

THE ANC

Behind the Mandela offer

Whether it is viewed purely as an exercise in manipulative propaganda or as a genuine attempt at compromise, there probably never was much chance of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela accepting government's conditional offer of freedom.

What is encouraging about the whole business is that neither side seems to have slammed the door to future negotiations — either between government and Mandela himself or between government and the ANC.

It is interesting that the offer came after months of increasingly open interest in the ANC by people with strong government connections — including contacts between the ANC and Afrikaans academics and an oddly temperate series of articles in *Beeld* — one of whose assistant editors visited Lusaka to interview ANC leaders.

Says Lord Nicholas Bethell, the British Conservative peer who was allowed to interview Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison: "It seemed almost impossible some months ago, but now I see some vague opening towards the ANC."

In a profusion of metaphor he describes the present situation as "shadow boxing" with government and the ANC "jockeying for position, both trying to put the other in an awkward situation and both trying to hit the ball back into the other's court."

If that is indeed the game, then Pretoria

is well ahead on points. Its offer of freedom to Mandela is a propaganda triumph. Who, after all, can blame a government for refusing to release a man who will not renounce violent means?

In making the offer, government was never at risk. Even if Mandela had accepted it would have been at the price of placing himself in opposition to ANC policy, as set out by Oliver Tambo, and of striking a severe blow at the morale of those who espouse "the liberation struggle."

Mandela's status as the symbol of the black liberation struggle would not have survived such an event.

Commenting on the offer, Tambo made it clear that even if the ANC decided the time was ripe for negotiations with Pretoria the "armed struggle" would continue in tandem with the talks.

This could be interpreted as no more than common sense. No one throws away the strongest card in his hand while the game is still in progress — but it could be anticipated that in the event of serious negotiations some kind of truce, though not a disavowal of violence, could be arranged.

The ANC leaders are as capable as anyone else of working out that a successful revolution is not on the cards for the foreseeable future. The most they can achieve through violence is to make conditions in SA uncomfortable and dangerous.

Government for its part must have calculated the long-term security implications of rapidly widening black:white ratios.

Indeed government has always taken the ANC's threat to security more seriously than many of its supporters. Hence the high defence budget, the extended call-up, the institution of the "area defence" system and the National Key Points Act.

An amending Bill to the National Key Points Act, just introduced in Parliament, emphasises Pretoria's serious view of the threat. It authorises government to designate groups of particular factories or undertakings as "national key points complexes" whose owners will have to pay for joint security measures.

The Bill creates a new revenue account to receive both government and private funds intended to pay for security measures. It provides for fines up to R20 000 (or imprisonment up to five years) for owners of key points who fail to comply with security directives.

Both government and the ANC therefore have their difficulties, and both appreciate that in the long term peace can only come through a negotiated compromise that will give each side something of what it wants.

For the moment, however, each side has

adopted a position that makes any short-term compromise highly unlikely. But neither explicitly rules out negotiations — and in that must lie the major hope for the future, however long it may be before it is realised.

ZIMBABWE

Electoral confusion

Last week's dissolution of the Zimbabwe House of Assembly generated a lot of confusion when it was announced that parliament might not resume until early September.

Why the delay, given the PM's assurance last month that the elections would definitely be held in March? The confusion is confounded by conflicting statements over the delimitation of constituencies and the registration of voters.

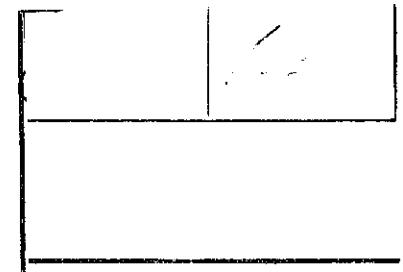
Registration has again been extended and is now due to be completed this week-end (February 15), which leaves little time to delimit constituencies and get voters' rolls printed and circulated for a March election. An April poll, or even later, begins to look likely. This could explain why parliament is not expected to resume until September.

That, too, is a cause for confusion.



ANC's Tambo ... the armed struggle will continue

Financial Mail February 15 1985



pieces of paper or other material to the examination room unless instructed.

Do not communicate with other persons or any person except the invigilator. Every book is to be torn out.

Examination material must be handed to the commissioner before leaving the examination room.

to possible exclusion from

Suzman plea for release of Mandela

Cape Times 15/2/85

114
30/1/85

Political
Correspondent

MRS HELEN Suzman yesterday called on President P W Botha to lift the ban on the ANC and break the deadlock between the outlawed organization and the government.

Her impassioned plea followed the President's announcement that the ANC leader would remain in prison.

Mr Botha announced yesterday that Mandela and a few other long-term political prisoners would remain behind bars because of "their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence".

Mrs Suzman countered by saying that unbanning the ANC—one of Mandela's key conditions — "would make it so much easier for Mr Mandela to accept the State President's offer, as he would have a lawful political organization — to which he is deeply committed — to advance his political objectives.

'Emasculated'

"Failing this, he and other long-term prisoners to whom the conditional offer was extended would have to emerge from prison politically emasculated," the PFP's veteran civil rights campaigner said.

A spokesman for the State President's office indicated yesterday that it was unlikely that the details of Mandela's for-

Cape Times 15/2/85

From page 1
Suzman's reply to Mr Botha would be made public

In announcing Mandela's refusal of Mr Botha's offer at the week-end, Mandela's daughter Zinzi told a rally that her father insisted that the government first unban the ANC, guarantee free political activity, dismantle apartheid and renounce violence.

Mr Botha's original offer to release Mandela was announced in Parliament on January 31.

The President noted in his statement yesterday that the continued imprisonment of Mandela and other prisoners who had formally turned down his offer "must of now be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence".

He added: "The attitude of the government and myself on this matter flows on the one hand from the concern for men who have spent a long time in prison.

"On the other hand, we cannot order their release if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism."

Mr Botha said the government remained prepared to consider the release of long-term security prisoners.

"It is heartening that a number of prisoners have already responded to my statement by renouncing violence as a means of furthering their political aims."

Mrs Suzman, who last month disclosed a dramatic "truce" offer by Mandela, yesterday emphasized that it was imperative that attempts to further dialogue between the government and the ANC be continued.

"The government ought to consider again the tremendous advantages to South Africa if Mandela and his co-prisoners were released.

"It would immediately have the effect of defusing the hostility towards South Africa abroad and would provide the government with a true leader with whom to negotiate."

However, statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, yesterday appeared to rule out a softening of the government's stand at this stage.

Mr Le Grange last night emphasized that the government was prepared to talk to anyone who rejected violence, but would clamp down on those who did not, and Mr Nel said suggestions that Mandela be released unconditionally were an attempt to give violence, lawlessness and criminality a cloak of respectability.

● Release Mandela or face revolution — Kaunda, page 11

Mandela 'right to reject offer'

MAPUTO. — Nelson Mandela "did the right thing" by rejecting the South African Government's conditional offer of freedom, declared Dr Allan Boesak on his arrival here yesterday.

Dr Boesak, a patron of the United Democratic Fund and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, is visiting Mozambique at the invitation of the country's Friendship and Solidarity Association, as the guest of honour for a day of solidarity between the people of Mozambique and South Africa.

Speaking to journalists, Dr Boesak said: "It is not so much the ANC or Nelson Mandela that have to pledge not to use violence.

"It is the South African Government that must prove to the people of South Africa that it is willing to renounce violence, that it will no longer use policies that hurt and discriminate against our people, that it will dismantle apartheid, which is in itself a violent system, and that it will talk to the genuine representatives of our people."

If the government was prepared to take these steps, then it might be possible to talk about "a new beginning", he said.

Asked about the possibility that the UDF may be banned, Dr Boesak said one never knew what the government would do.

"We have always felt that the South African Government is afraid of the UDF, because the UDF is a danger to apartheid, since it is such a clear mass movement of our people." — AIM

Committee wants ^{CAPE TIMES,} 'real ^{15/2/83} leaders' released

11A ~~25~~ ~~1983~~
Staff Reporter

THE Release Mandela Committee this week called on President P W Botha to dismantle apartheid, release "our real leaders" Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally, and unban banned organizations and people.

Their statement follows the rejection by the leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, of the government's offer of conditional release.

The statement said: "We fully congratulate Comrade Mandela for his firm stand after 22 years languishing in a racist prison.

"We believe that this is a brave stand they have taken and they show us that they are our real leaders who are prepared to die for their convictions.

"We of the RMC feel that Botha's offer is an insult and a torture to our leaders."

The statement said that Mandela and others were in prison not of their own choosing and that was no negotiation when they were jailed.

"Botha's offer is meant to confuse the world and those South Africans who believe that the Botha regime is going in the right direction for change but we, the majority of South Africans, cannot be bluffed by this action. We demand:

"The unconditional release of Mandela and other racist political prisoners;

"The unbanning of banned organizations;

"The return of banished people including all those in exile;

"The unbanning of banned people.

"We further demand that Botha must dismantle apartheid and denounce violence."

Govt sinks hopes for ANC negotiations

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The Government yesterday shattered what little hope there may have been of negotiations in the near future with the African National Congress.

In a statement in Cape Town, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said the rejection by Nelson Mandela and other jailed ANC leaders of his offer of conditional freedom meant that their continued imprisonment would now be attributed "to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence".

And in a speech at a function in Cape Town yesterday the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said it was "unrealistic and naive" to demand Mandela's unconditional release.

In a statement in Parliament last month, Mr Botha offered to release Mandela and other prisoners in similar categories if they rejected violence as a political tool and undertook not to act in any way that could lead to their re-arrest.

Mandela rejected the offer and made counter demands, including a rejection of violence by Mr Botha, the unbanning of the ANC, and the dismantling of apartheid.

After Mr Botha's offer, there was hope in some quarters that a more meaningful debate on the country's political future could be starting.

But yesterday's statement by Mr Botha and speech by Mr Nel indicated that the polarisation between the two opposing forces was as serious as ever.

Mr Botha said the Government could not release the men "if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism".

Mr Nel said Mr Botha's offer to the

prisoners had been deliberately twisted in some quarters.

The "only condition" demanded by Mr Botha was that the jailed men reject violence. The condition was "completely justified and extremely reasonable".

This was particularly so in the light of actions by "ANC murder gangs" over the past two decades against innocent South Africans of all races.

Calls for the unconditional release of the prisoners were nothing more than an attempt to give violence and lawlessness a cloak of respectability and make them acceptable as a means for reaching political goals.

"It is an attempt to make partners in negotiation of a terror organisation and the Government," Mr Nel said.

The United Democratic Front yesterday reacted to Mr Botha's statement on Mandela by saying that it was the Government's policy of apartheid and its arbitrary banning of organisations like the ANC that drove Mandela and others to armed struggle, reports ANTON HARBER.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, said the Government would have to remove these obstacles and release Mandela "if it is genuinely committed to a negotiated settlement".

"The continued detention of Mandela and the Government's reluctance to convene a convention that will allow for full participation by black and white South Africans in the drawing up of a democratic constitution can only lead to a deeper scale of racial, violent conflict," the UDF said.

"The UDF will continue to invite black and white people to join in the demands for such a national convention," he said.

Govt, ANC will play hard to get, says editor

11A
S047

By Andrew Beattie,
Pretoria Bureau

The Government and the African National Congress would probably continue to "play hard to get" and, although they would probably not have talks in the near future, at least they were prepared to listen to each other, said the assistant editor of *Beeld*.

Dr Piet Muller, who interviewed ANC leaders in Lusaka recently, gave the Pretoria Press Club his personal views and observations gleaned from the interviews.

"There is little real hope for any discussions between the two

parties at this stage as they have problems with their own constituencies," he said.

He did not elaborate on the National Party's problems (which had probably received much publicity anyway), but said he perceived a rift between ANC leadership and its militant youth.

"The top ANC leaders are all over 55. There is one man on the central committee of about 43, Mr Tabo Mbeki (son of Govan Mbeki, imprisoned for life), and then a gap of about 15 years before you get the younger generation, many of whom fled in the wake of the 1976 unrest.

"Some of the younger generation in the ANC are trying to push for more effective military operations inside South Africa, including striking so-called soft targets."

He said in his opinion the older leaders would remain in power in the foreseeable future, and that the ANC's military strategy would remain one of sabotage directed against strategic and military installations rather than against civilians.

An ANC strength was its diplomatic position in the outside world, and that could be seriously jeopardised if it mobilised its forces against civilians.

U G F

Three more prisoners ^{AGG 5} refuse ^{15/2/85} P W's offer ^{(11A) ~~2000~~}

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three more Rivonia trialists have refused the offer of conditional release from life imprisonment and have submitted a six-page memorandum to the State President, Mr P W Botha.

This was confirmed by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of the former African National Congress general-secretary Walter Sisulu, one of the three signatories to the document rejecting Pretoria's release offer.

The other signatories are Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni.

THEIR LAWYER

The three ANC men were visited yesterday in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town by their lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, according to Mrs Sisulu.

Mrs Sisulu said the main thrust of the document was "quite simply that they don't want any condition attached to their release".

She said the men believed that the offer was a political ploy, an attempt to gain credibility for Pretoria.

Mrs Sisulu will visit her husband in prison next week.

The Release Mandela Committee, which has until now refrained from comment on the release offer, said yesterday: "Far from being a humanitarian gesture, it is a transparent ploy calculated to undermine Mandela's integrity."

The committee said its campaign was not simply the physical release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, but involved them returning to take their place in the freedom struggle.

UDF WARNS

The United Democratic Front warned today that the continued detention of leaders like Mr Mandela and the Government's refusal to call a national convention of all peoples in the country could lead only to increased violence.

"If the Government is genuinely committed to a negotiated settlement in South Africa then it must release Nelson Mandela and dismantle apartheid," the UDF said in reaction to the announcement by Mr Botha yesterday that Mr Mandela would not be released unconditionally.

PW: I'll talk to ANC if it rejects violence

ARGGS 15/2/85 (114)

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE President, Mr P W Botha, said today that if the ANC and other organisations decided to reject and renounce violence the Government would be prepared to talk to them.

Mr Botha's speech in Cape Town appeared to indicate a shift in the Government's previously more intransigent attitude to talks with the



Mr P W Botha

banned organisation.

Previously the Government attitude was that it would not talk to the ANC because of its policy of violence. Today Mr Botha said the Government would talk to the ANC and other organisations if they were willing to renounce and reject violence.

Speaking at an Order of the Star of South Africa medal parade at the Castle, he said there were many threats against the country and onslaughts on the political, economic, cultural, religious and other fields.

The challenges of the future called for a new dedication to loyal service in the interests of peace and progress.

(Cont from Page 1)

of the world did South Africa no good.

While welcoming an indication of the Government's greater willingness to negotiate, she said the Government had to remember that not only the mistakes of Africa had to be corrected, but that it had also to look at its own mistakes.

Years of implementing apartheid and the violence that went with it was a major cause of the reaction of the ANC.

It was also incumbent on the Government to make absolutely clear its firm intention to desist from the offending practices.

Much could be gained by South Africa through the release of Mr Mandela, because he had become such a symbol of oppression.

Mrs Suzman pointed to the possibility of the unbanning of the ANC and the calling of a truce at the same time as the release of Mr Mandela.

In a reaction to the Mandela announcement, before Mr Botha's speech today, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said it was important that the President's offer still stood.

He also called for it to be extended to other organisations such as the ANC so that they could choose to operate legitimately.

In addition, a clearly spelled-out programme for reform would demonstrate the Government's bona fides to create a climate conducive to negotiation, Dr Slabbert said.

An offer

It was in this spirit that he had made an offer to Mr Mandela and other similar prisoners who had been involved in crimes against the State and who had served long prison terms.

If they were prepared to renounce the planning, intention and the acts of violence their release would be favourably considered.

Those who had not yet served a substantive part of their sentences would get credit if they renounced violence.

He said: "I am willing to go even farther. I have in the past warned that an ever-growing number of people in all communities in South Africa are no longer prepared to tolerate the perpetration of senseless violence. We cannot allow forces of evil to commit murder and wanton destruction in this country."

"Safe future"

"If the ANC and other organisations concerned also decide to reject and renounce violence, the Government is willing to talk to them, as with any other organisation that strives for

True peace and development for the peoples of our land.

"We should heed the lessons of history and build a safe future on the wisdom of experience. We must not repeat the mistakes made elsewhere in Africa."

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, who asked for the release of banned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela after yesterday's announcement that he would stay in jail, said today that Mr Botha's statement was a significant shift in Government policy and showed a greater willingness to enter into negotiations.

While describing his statement as "fine words that must be applauded", Mrs Suzman said that an image of intransigence in the eyes

(Turn to Page 3, col 8)

Let Mandela

CARE Times 15/2/85

out or face revolution

— Kaunda

Own Correspondent

STOCKHOLM — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has made another emotional plea to the South African government to release the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and lift the 25-year ban on the ANC.

At a press conference following a meeting with the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr Olaf Palme, Dr Kaunda also urged the United States and other Western countries to impose economic sanctions on Pretoria to avoid a revolution.

President Kaunda's appeal for the release of Mandela was made on the basis that he was "a recognized South African leader" and not just a leader of blacks.

Constructive engagement

"Nelson Mandela is in jail, others are in detention, yet others are outside. So the movement is going on undirected. When there is a situation like that, an explosion becomes inevitable," he said.

"They need Nelson Mandela out. They need to lift the ban on the African National Congress so that leaders can be elected openly," the Zambian leader said.

Dr Kaunda called on the US administration to abandon its policy of "so-called constructive engagement" and instead lead a Western economic boycott of South Africa before a violent insurrection started.

"It is the only instrument we have for comparatively peaceful change in South Africa today," Kaunda told reporters.

He predicted that, without such outside foreign pressure, there would be "an explosion in South Africa within two years".

He dismissed Western arguments against such sanctions as "an excuse for not doing what is right" saying Western nations lacked courage.

Time running out

"Unless the Americans act, unless the British act, and the Germans, French and Italians, I don't see anything that can avoid this revolution," the Zambian president said.

"Such an insurrection would make the French Revolution look like a Sunday children's picnic," he said. "Let's work to avoid that in the name of God and his people. Time is running out."

Dr Kaunda met reporters after talks with Mr Palme, who told him Sweden was writing off a R10 million Zambian debt to help ease the country's economic problems.

Dr Kaunda, whose delegation was drastically cut from more than 60 to 17 following diplomatic pressure from his Scandinavian hosts, was to leave yesterday for visits to Norway and Denmark.



ARGUS 15/2/85

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A good idea for PW to see Mandela personally

PRESIDENT P W Botha's attempt at "dialogue politics" seems to have suffered a setback through Mr Nelson Mandela's rejection of the offer of conditional release and the cold reception which the suggestion of a forum to help find constitutional solutions has had from in black quarters.

It would, however, be wrong to dismiss Mr Botha's dialogue efforts on the strength of these reactions.

Along with other Nationalist politicians he probably did not expect Mr Mandela to accept his conditions; at least not on the first occasion.

Mr Botha has made it clear that the offer remains open. So far four long-term "security" prisoners have accepted and in all 33 serving long sentences could qualify.

Mr Botha's offer was that the release of Mr Mandela and others would be considered if they gave a commitment that they would not make themselves guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives but that

they would conduct themselves in such a way that they would not again have to be arrested.

In his initial reply to the offer Mr Mandela laid down his own conditions.

Among them were demands for the unbanning of the African National Congress, the freeing of all those imprisoned, banned or exiled for their opposition to apartheid and a guarantee of free political activity.

Although deadlock now seems to have developed in this dialogue which has been conducted in such a ponderous way, the most important fact remains that some contact has been made.

Any suggestion of Mr Mandela's release under any circumstances has met only with a chilly refusal in the past.

Although Nationalist politicians did not really expect Mr Mandela to accept the offer Mr Botha clearly felt that it was worth making such a gesture at this sage.

He could not have expected Mr Mandela to cut himself off

from the ANC by accepting his conditions.

On the other hand the door may now have been opened on possible further contact between Mr Botha and Mr Mandela.

One wonders if it is not important for the two to meet personally at some stage. What may sound far-fetched now may not be so at some future stage.

The whole question of possible contact with the ANC also still remains.

Here, too, Mr Botha, is adamant that he is not prepared to deal with the ANC because of its commitment to violence.

The ANC's Mr Oliver Tambo remains defiant in his stand on violence — stating recently that there was no alternative to the "armed struggle against the Pretoria regime."

At one stage there were tentative plans for some exploratory talks between a group of Nationalist MPs and some ANC figures. France was mentioned, as the country where such a meeting could be held.

Speculation about such a

meeting leaked out prematurely and Mr Botha put his foot down.

Some verligte Nationalists have grave doubts about too intransigent an attitude to some kind of talks, however exploratory, with the ANC. Their doubts go right back to the banning of the organisation in the first place.

Meanwhile Mr Botha's forum idea is becoming fuzzier through the wordy explanations of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

It now seems as if it will not be confined to talks between the Government and black community leaders but that other race groups can also take part.

Mr Botha originally mentioned the idea in connection with the special Cabinet committee on blacks.

More clarity is needed on a concept he obviously regards as an important component in the idea of "co-operative co-existence" which he expounded in his speech when he opened Parliament on January 25.

Residents to discuss increases

INCREASED service charges in Atteridgeville/Saulsville will be discussed at a mass meeting on Sunday.

The meeting is being organised by the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation (Asro) to fight the implementation of the R8,40 tariff increase next month. Thousands of people are expected at the Anglican Church, Ramokgopa Street, at 2pm.

Residents in the area have already expressed anger at the council's move to increase tariffs and have resolved not to attend ward meetings which are to take place at different venues on Sunday morning.

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... of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

SA's new deal and the emergence of a new opposition

11A (201A) SLOW 16/2/05

The new tri-cameral Parliament has set South African political parties on new paths. The new politics in South Africa have cut across traditional race lines of conflict and have brought new divisions within race groups.

The essential values and motivating forces that are holding together the major political configurations are changing and these processes lead to new alignments. The establishment used to be motivated by the wish to retain white purity and privilege and used to be exclusively white.

The emerging establishment is less motivated by the traditional apartheid ideology and is more motivated by a business ideology of a free market and efficiency. It is thus incorporating interest groups that share these values, regardless of their racial characteristics.

Opposition groups that used to rally support on the grounds of anti-apartheid platforms are increasingly basing their policy on more economic issues.

Opposition parties

As the nature of the establishment is changing, the nature of the traditional opposition is changing and a new opposition group is emerging to its place.

Present, parliamentary (most legal) politics is contained within a broad socio-economic system, which has been allowed to continue to be accepted uncritically by both essential and parliamentary opposition parties.

The legitimacy of this system and the groups operating within it is increasingly being questioned by the majority of the population.

This opposition is being articulated by interest groups that are operating outside the parliamentary system.

As this system is itself becoming the basic issue, the opposition within the framework becomes less relevant and becomes merged with the establishment in defence against the onslaught to the system.

The establishment used to be exclusively white and the opposition black, indicating a conflict of race.

This situation is in flux with the incorporation of black elements in the economy and other areas in the establishment. The basic issue is changing in character and so are the components of both the establishment and the opposition.

It is useful to handle this state of flux within a framework that distinguishes between three major alliances of interest groups:

(a) The establishment — predominantly white and caters for white interests but is gradually incorporating black components and is increasingly catering for the interests of blacks as well as whites who have a commitment to and a vested interest in the protection of the prevailing socio-economic system.

It includes the major white parties and to an increasing extent the coloured and Indian parties participating in the new constitutional dispensation.

In a peripheral sense it also includes African bodies such as Community Councils operating under relatively rigid government auspices.

(b) The official or traditional opposition, including parliamentary opposition and other groups such as business and trade unions who have opposed the Government on race issues.

are willing to co-operate within the broad socio-economic system of the free market. As the major thrust of the Government is shifting, this group is also undergoing change. Some elements within this group find themselves more in sympathy with the Government as it removes race discrimination and takes a firmer stand in favour of free enterprise.

To an extent this includes the PFP and the coloured and Indian parties and African councils mentioned above. It also includes the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha. Seen from within the current political system they constitute the official opposition to the ruling National Party. But seen within the total setting in South Africa, they are becoming part of the establishment.

Political structures

(c) Opposition operating outside the current socio-economic and political framework. They fall outside the framework in two respects:

(i) They are excluded from and/or refuse to participate in the current political structures created by the Government, such as the Parliament, the President's Council, Community Councils and homeland governments.

(ii) They reject the predominant free market socio-economic system and favour a more socialist system. Industrial democracy or

related systems.

This category includes organisations such as the UDF, the National Forum, Azapo and the ANC.

They see the basic issues not so much in racial terms but in economic terms. They want a fundamental change of the socio-economic system along somewhat socialist lines. They see the PFP, TUCSA, Inkatha and such organisations as part of the capitalist establishment.

The third group is emerging as the major future opposition group in South Africa which, in time, will oppose the regrouped establishment which will probably include Nationalists, Inkatha leaders and the PFP.

The incorporation of coloured people and Indians into the central Parliament and the prospects of some kind of accommodation of Africans in the Government are evidence that race ceases to be the major criterion for discrimination and division in our society.

New alliances across racial lines and new divisions within racial groups suggest that there are other issues than race that constitute sources of division among some and grounds for common cause among others.

It is my distinct impression that those blacks who give cautious consideration to some kind of compromise and participation are those relatively favourably disposed towards the socio-

economic system of the free market.

This will include those groups that I classified as "opposition willing to operate within the present socio-economic frame-

work. They will assist in fundamental political change but will not demand a switch to a socialist economic system.

Equally, those who are relatively more favourably disposed towards a more socialist system (or who are merely anti-capitalist) will be less inclined to participate in the system. Thus the major political division of the future will not be between whites and blacks but between those who adhere to or propagate the free market ideology and the proponents of a more socialist ideology.

The extent to which their policies, practices and strategies will conform to their ideologies will remain a matter of ongoing debate.

The proposed Forum:

The State President's recent public statement that no negotiations with the ANC had taken place or will take place and will not even be allowed was interpreted by many critics as evidence of the intransigence of the Nationalist Government and the rigid adherence to white "baaskap".

This specific pronouncement should be interpreted within the wider context of his opening address in Parliament in which he suggested bold new initiatives and opened up new channels for communication.

These were followed by suggestions about the possible release of Nelson Mandela — a possibility stated more positively than before.

The proposed establishment of the Forum and the possible release of Mandela are evidence of a genuine element of reform in the establishment. I am convinced that there is a movement afoot within the Nationalist Party to accommodate Africans in the Government of South Africa.

What form will this new system take? Not even the Nationalists know. They have ruled out a fourth chamber in Parliament and they have ruled out "one man, one vote". Unless they find a face-saving device which will allow them to go back on their words they will have to devise a new formula.

I anticipate the establishment of some kind of superstructure or confederation with initially only nominal powers. Such a body, just like the new tricameral, multiracial Parliament, will develop its own internal dynamic and could pave the way for a body with real teeth.

This projection suggests some kind of hidden agenda on the part of the Nationalists. I am not so sure. I think it is more correct to say that they are cautiously searching for new formulae which would enable them to promote justice and at the same time retain as much power as possible.

NEXT

Negative black responses; the Freedom Charter; Adam's six principles.

Release: Prisoners believed to be PAC

Political Staff

TWO of the four Robben Island prisoners who are to be released after accepting President P W Botha's offer of freedom provided they renounced violence are believed to be former members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

It is understood that they are John Nkosi and Dimake "Boy" Malepe, both of whom were jailed in 1964 for life for plotting to overthrow the state.

There has been press speculation

that a third person who has accepted President Botha's offer is Wilton Mkwayi, jailed in 1964 for his part in the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the African National Congress's military wing.

President Botha announced on Wednesday that he had approved the release for four security prisoners who had agreed to renounce violence as a means for achieving their political objectives, but he did not name them.

A spokesman for the prisons ser-

vice said the names of the four prisoners would be released "in due course", but earlier in the week a prisons service spokesman said the four men were all being held on Robben Island.

It is understood that none of the people jailed in the Rivonia trial in 1964 have accepted President Botha's offer.

There has been some speculation that Govan Mbeki, a former leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape, might be released because of his age, along

with Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC.

Last year the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, confirmed in an interview that the release of Mbeki and Sisulu was under consideration because of their age.

But it is understood that Mbeki, who is imprisoned on Robben Island, and the other Rivonia prisoners have rejected President Botha's offer.

They include Nelson Mandela, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathadra, Raymond Mhlaba and Sisulu, who are

in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town.

A sixth political prisoner at Pollsmoor is Patrick Maqubela, the former Maritzburg attorney who was jailed for 20 years.

The other person jailed for life at the Rivonia trial is Denis Goldberg, who is at Pretoria Central Prison.

In his statement, President Botha did not refer to the 15 prisoners from Namibia who are serving life sentences on Robben Island, although there has been speculation that they will be released this year.

Blast exiles to flee Botswana

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W.S/MGAS 16/2/88

Argus Foreign Service

GABORONE — Two South African exiles who narrowly escaped death in a bomb blast this week are to leave Botswana, the office of the Botswana President has disclosed here.

The bomb wrecked the exiles' home in a suburb of Gaborone early on Wednesday morning, but the two men escaped with minor injuries. Six other homes were damaged by the force of the blast.

The office of President Quett Masire said in a statement that Mr Nat Serache, a journalist, and Mr Gabriel Pule were seeking political asylum in another country. The country was not named, but is believed to be Zambia.

The President's office said the men had decided to leave Botswana quickly because to remain there would pose a "serious threat to their lives".

The statement said that Mr Pule had arrived in Gaborone from South Africa only the day before the bomb blast. He came to seek political asylum.

Mr Serache was formerly a journalist employed by the Rand Daily Mail before leaving South Africa at the time of the Soweto riots in 1976.

In its statement the office of the President expressed the "great concern of the Botswana Government at the attempt on the lives of two refugees and strongly condemns those responsible for this callous and treacherous act".

Meanwhile, police spent this week sifting through the wreckage of the house looking for fragments of the bomb. Police sources said a detonation cable had been found.

Immediately after the blast, in the small hours of Wednesday morning, police and army units sealed off main roads leading from the city but, so far, no arrests have been made.

The Botswana Government has not indicated where it thinks the men who planted the bomb came from but, privately, Government officials believe that the men came from over the border with either South Africa or Bophuthatswana.

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HUNDREDS of pigeons
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Buthelezi becoming 'Muzorewa of SA'

The Star's Foreign
News Service

MAPUTO — Kwazulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was becoming the "Muzorewa of South Africa", South African church leader Dr Alan Boesak said in Maputo yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference, Dr Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, warned the West "not to make the same mistake with South Africa that they did in Zimbabwe".

"You can't pick a leader in Washington or London and then thrust him down the peoples' throats," Dr Boesak said.

South Africa's new three-chamber Parliament was a "cruel joke" which was already coming under pressure and it was likely that the Government would start talking about a fourth chamber for blacks, he said.

But to make a fourth chamber work the South African Government would turn to Chief Buthelezi.

"On all of the major issues Buthelezi finds himself more on the side of the South African Government than on the side of the South African people.

"No one who is willing to work within the South African system can be a legitimate representative of the South African people," said Dr Boesak.

Asked if there were any grounds for belief that Pretoria would honour agreements signed with neighbouring states, Dr Boesak said that "history shows that the South African Government cannot be trusted.

"It is a government based on injustice. They cannot be trusted to keep any promises — except the promise to maintain white minority rule."

Dr Boesak said that while in Mozambique he would "seek ways and means whereby Mozambican churches can show their solidarity with churches in South Africa".

He said that Pretoria would not succeed in its attempts to drive a wedge between the people of Mozambique and the people of South Africa.

Dr Boesak also scorned the idea of a conditional release of ANC prisoners.

Jury named him as her killer. In spite of a worldwide hunt, no sign of the peer has ever been found. Detectives are satisfied there is no direct connection.

CAL Times 16/2/88

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WINDHOEK. — A captured Swapo special unit commander said yesterday that in moving southwards through Angola to SWA/Namibia, his group of insurgents had not encountered any forces of the Angolan-South African Joint Monitoring Commission.

Mr Josef Nikodemus Kalenga, 29, told a news conference in Windhoek that Swapo's armed wing — the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) — was aware of the Lusaka accord between South Africa and Angola.

Plan fighters had been told to stay away from positions of the Free Angola Peoples Liberation Army (Fapla), which is the regular government defence force.

Mr Kalenga was taken prisoner after being

Swapo fighter tells of Russia

wounded in the foot on his second day in SWA/Namibia after crossing the border from Angola. The rest of his section had been wiped out by the territory's security forces.

Mr Kalenga said he had been abducted one night in June 1980, by three Swapo insurgents from his home in Ovambo.

He took part in an infiltration campaign into SWA/Namibia at the beginning of 1983 before being sent to the Soviet Union in June of that year to study economics, phi-

losophy and "scientific communism."

He returned to Angola in August last year.

Mr Kalenga said he had been trained as a youth organizer for Swapo but he could not fulfil his function because of Plan's "manpower shortage."

His latest military mission into SWA/Namibia was to do recruitment for Swapo in the central Ovambo-speaking region and to commit sabotage.

Mr Kalenga said armed struggle was one of Swapo's methods, but he did not believe Swapo would

achieve military victory.

A solution to the SWA/Namibian conflict would have to come through negotiation, he said.

Two black members of the SWA Territory Force have been killed in action against insurgents in northern SWA/Namibia, the SWATF announced in Windhoek yesterday.

The SWATF yesterday also announced the death in action of a third member of the force. Their names have not been released.

In the past nine days, security forces in the territory have shot dead 30 insurgents, bringing to 130 the number of Swapo fatalities since the beginning of the year.

The security forces lost seven men. — Sapa

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CMC Times 16/2/85
(NY) (255)

'Freedom offer stands' — Botha

Defence Correspondent

THE State President's conditional offer of freedom to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and others still stands, in spite of their recent rejection of it.

This came through quite clearly in Mr P W Botha's speech yesterday at an investiture ceremony at the Castle, where four senior military officers and four civilians were admitted to the Order of the Star of South Africa.

In addition, Mr Botha made it clear that he was willing in principle to talk with the ANC if it renounced violence.

He also said that his release offer extended not just to long-term prisoners but to those "who have not yet served a substantial part of their sentences".

He warned: "We should heed the lessons of history."

Addressing more than 200 people — among them cabinet ministers and members of all three houses of Parliament — Mr Botha said:

"There are many threats to our country — attacks on the political, economic, cultural, religious and other terrains — and with people of the quality of those who were presented with the order today these challenges can be faced.

"The challenges of the future therefore demands a new dedication from all of us, not just in words but in practice: A dedication to loyal service for peace and progress ...

"It is in this spirit that I made my offer a few days ago to Mr Nelson Mandela and other similar prisoners who were involved in misdeeds against the state and



Mr P W Botha

have already served long terms of imprisonment.

"If they will renounce the planning, instigation and commission of violence, their release will be given favourable consideration.

"That is what I told them. Those who have not yet served a substantial part of their sentences will receive credit if they renounce violence. It will be taken into account along with other factors which normally apply when the prison authorities consider their release."

● **BARRY STREEK** reports that there is little likelihood at present that the ANC will accept President Botha's offer to talk if the banned organization renounces violence.

Not only have its leaders recently publicly endorsed violence as one of its strategies for change in South Africa, but they argue that only a negotiated truce between both sides could end violence in South Africa.

If they accepted an offer to talk, on the gov-

ernment's terms by laying down their arms, this, it is argued, would amount to a surrender not a truce.

Moreover, there are a number of other minimum conditions, such as the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on the ANC, which, it is argued, have to be fulfilled before any negotiations can begin.

It is also argued that it was the government's actions against the ANC which forced it to turn to violence in 1961 and the onus is therefore on the government to remove those conditions which lead to that decision.

In the recent interview with Lord Bethell, the Tory MP in the European Parliament, Mandela endorsed the ANC's strategies of violence.

And in the interview with the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, in a Harare newspaper, which the government permitted to be published in South Africa, an unequivocal commitment for continued support to violence was given.

Unimpressed

This stand was confirmed in a recent interview with Mr Tambo in Lusaka.

What is clear is that the ANC has, to date, been unimpressed by government offers to talk provided it renounces violence.

The recent decision by ANC leaders in Pollsmoor and Robben Island prisons not to accept offers of freedom provided they renounce violence has effectively endorsed that stand.

In the circumstances, it is highly unlikely that any positive response will come from the ANC to Mr Botha's offer.

Mandela urged to talk

AKG 5

16/2/85 Weekend Argus Correspondent

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JOHANNESBURG. — Most black people in Johannesburg and Soweto believe Nelson Mandela should discuss President P.W. Botha's offer of release instead of accepting it or flatly refusing it, according to a survey.

Of those polled, 58 percent said Mr Mandela should discuss the offer with President Botha, 25 percent said he should refuse it and 12 percent said he should accept it. Five percent were unsure.

Mr Mandela proved to be the most popular black leader by far, getting the support of 73 percent of those polled.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had been expected to emerge as the second choice but was beaten by Bishop Desmond Tutu who polled 14 percent to Chief Buthelezi's five percent.

Even among the 156 Zulu respondents, Mr Mandela received 68 percent support compared to Chief Buthelezi's 13 percent and Bishop Tutu's 12 percent.

Opposed

Asked in the confidential survey whether the African National Congress should continue to use violence or whether it should talk to the Government to try to end apartheid, most of the 459 respondents (66 percent) opted for talking.

On disinvestment, the survey confirmed results obtained by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer with most blacks — 51 percent — opposed to disinvestment.

In the five-question survey respondents were asked to rank six objectives.

Final rankings, from most important to least important, were equal education, the vote, more jobs, scrapping the pass laws, allowing people to live in any area and housing.

This differs from previous surveys where the order was generally education first and followed by housing, transport and only then the vote.

18 prisoners accept P.W.'s conditional release offer

(11A) (S Jan) 16/2/85

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Eighteen long-term security prisoners have accepted the State President's offer of conditional release, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, announced yesterday.

Four of the men were released yesterday.

Mr Coetzee said it had been decided, at the request of certain prisoners and in the interests of the prisoners and their next of kin, not to release their names.

In his initial offer to Nelson Mandela and other security prisoners, Mr Botha demanded that they should renounce violence as a political tool. This was aimed mainly at people who had served more than 20 years of a life sentence.

Mr Botha also said that those who had not served a substantive part of their sentences would get credit if they renounced violence.

This would be taken into account with other factors which normally counted with the Prisons authorities when releases were considered.

Mr Coetzee said that in the case of those who

had only served a relatively short period of their sentences, the Release Board would take cognisance of the attitudes in this regard.

The Star's London bureau reports that Lord Nicholas Bethel, the British peer who interviewed Nelson Mandela in Cape Town, has said that if the South African Government had any feeling for justice or humanity, it would unconditionally release Mandela.

And Bishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, has written to Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher asking her to intercede with Mr Botha to secure Mr Mandela's unconditional release.

They were reacting to Mr Botha's statement that the imprisonment of Mandela and others "must, of now, be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence".

The Foreign Office said: "The British Government has consistently called for Mr Mandela's release. It would be welcomed as evidence of your desire for reconciliation in South Africa."

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14 more *Cape Times 16/2/87* renounce *14/2/87* violence

Political Staff

ANOTHER 14 political prisoners have renounced violence and stand to have their sentences cut in terms of an offer by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to Nelson Mandela and others during the no confidence debate.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and now brings to 18 the number of prisoners who have rejected violence in exchange for shorter sentences.

Four Robben Island prisoners are to be released, but their names have not been disclosed and the names of the 14 who have now taken up the offer are also not being disclosed, at their own request.

The Cape Time's Johannesburg correspondent reports that it is now almost certain that the four life-serving political prisoners from Robben Island who have accepted the offer are from the Pan Africanist Congress.

This follows yesterday's confirmation that three more ANC leaders — Govan Mbeki, Elias Motsoaledi and Wilton Mewayi — had refused the offer.

TO THE LIBERATED ZONE



'We're here to praise our leaders'

17/2/85
11A
C.P.M.S.

They called it Bishop Desmond Tutu's day — but the image of Nelson Mandela shared the Nobel Peace Prize winner's celebrations at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre on Sunday.

The bishop didn't seem to mind at all, though. As he told the crowd: "I am not a leader — people like Mandela are our leaders . . ."

And the crowd roared their appreciation when the imprisoned African National Congress leader's speech from Pollsmoor Prison was read to the masses by his daughter, Zinzi.

The 9 000-plus people who attended the celebration had more than leaders to think about — there were also thousands of copies of the Freedom Charter to read and some great jazz from, among others, veteran sax-man Ntemi Piliso.

As one excited member of the audience said: "It's like being in a liberated zone . . ."





IT'S THOSE MEN AGAIN

SUSPICIOUS-looking men wearing balaclava caps were seen walking near exiled South African journalist Nat Serache's house in Botswana before it was hit by a massive bomb explosion this week.

very common in Botswana — during the past five years, many bombings on South African exiles' homes have been linked to balaclava-clad men.

Neighbours at first mistook the men for thieves who wanted to break into Mr Serache's house, and called the police.

But the cops took more than an hour to get to the scene, and when they arrived it was too late — the bomb had struck.

Mr Serache and another exile had been taken to hospital to be treated for multiple leg injuries.

Mr Serache is said to have sur-

AGAIN

vived by a miracle because he was sleeping in the house when the bomb struck.

The blast was so great that it rocked houses situated about five kilometres away.

The presidents's office in Gaborone said they had not ruled out the possibility that South Africa was involved.

Police are still investigating.

★ Mayors on money ban
 THE mayors of all big South African cities will gather in Cape Town next week to talk about disinvestment and how it will affect cities.

D...ll





PW'S OFFER WHICH STUNNED THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD

PRESIDENT PW BOTHA stunned the nation and the world this week when he announced that the Government was prepared to consider the release of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, if he turned his back on violence as a means of

change in South Africa

Speaking during the closing stages of the No Confidence debate in the House of Assembly on Thursday, President Botha said it was not the Government which now stood in the

way of Mandela's freedom. "The choice is his. All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument, a norm which is respected in all civilised countries of the world," Mr Botha said

Handwritten signatures and initials: "Muller" and "IA"

17.2.85

FOSATU BULLETIN

WHY TALKS...



HOWARD BARRELL in Lusaka

Why Pres 20/1

VOICES north of the Zambezi see a relatively simple explanation for the many rumours about – and calls for – talks between the SA Government and the African National Congress.

It boils down to this: If 1984 showed anything, it was that President P W Botha's Government is fast running out of options.

So it is no wonder that elements within the Afrikaner intelligensia and big business should either call for talks (like food tycoon Tony Bloom) or try to create channels for talks (as Prof Harvey van der Merwe and journalist Piet Muller have done).

The voices in Zambia point out that:

- The Nkomati Agreement has not significantly blunted the ANC's activities – but has, if anything, enhanced its political profile as a threat to apartheid.
- The new constitution did not divide blacks but stimulated the formal re-building of a united black resistance – probably more powerful than ever before.

● By the end of the year, outposts of apartheid administration – like black local authorities within an hour's drive east of Johannesburg – had completely collapsed and the Government had to use troops to win a battle it had lost hopelessly at a political level.

● Using troops on the East Rand and in the Vaal brought about exactly what Government security services had been trying to avoid for years – united action between political and organised labour groups.

● All this took place in the midst of the worst economic crisis in South Africa since the 1930s – with a shrinking market for goods, three million unemployed and still more being laid off, white farmers in debt to the tune of a staggering R6.4-billion, the rand only small change against the US dollar – and, God forbid, the world's largest bank, Citicorp of New York, said South Africa had only just "entered" its recession.

No wonder Tony Bloom and his business colleagues said they felt "the wheels have begun to fall off"

No wonder also that there should be the first moves towards a completely different set of options – talks with the ANC.

Tony Bloom – a butter-not-guns man usually a few years ahead of his colleagues on po-

litical issues – seems to be saying: For capitalism to survive, let's sacrifice most of the white faces in Government if we have to.

For Muller and Van der Merwe the realisation has dawned that, whereas apartheid is supposed to be a recipe for Afrikaner survival, it is rapidly becoming Afrikanerdom's suicide note.

And powerful liberal and social democratic tendencies in the West would like to see in South Africa something like the Lancaster House agreement which brought Zimbabwe to independence.

Lancaster ensured that the Mugabe government, whatever its socialist rhetoric, would have to rely on a capitalist economy for a number of decades. The balance of forces did not allow him to do otherwise.

The last thing any of these forces want is a revolution in South Africa – which would overturn not just the state structure but the entire economic structure as well. And that is, realistically, a possibility in the next decade or two.

So these fears have given birth to hopes – hopes which have sometimes over-extended themselves to fantasy

The white hoppers are hoping they can keep the momentum about "talks" going and that the whole thing will snowball.

But these white hoppers

dread, almost as much as anyone else, the moment when the military and security men and assorted hawks decide enough is enough – and then mount another raid on the exiles or another township, declaring that the vision of our future can be seen only down the barrel of a gun.

Nevertheless, a very important stage has been reached: advanced elements among the rulers are finding it difficult to rule in the old way

It now appears certain there have been no talks between the Government and the ANC.

But certainly a channel has been opened through which the postures of each side can be told to the other. And conveniently for the Government and the ANC, both sides can quite correctly deny any involvement in talks.

"We have a department of information and publicity and any individual can talk to them, and they can talk to anybody," said one ANC source.

"That is their job. But that should not be confused with talks"

Pres P W Botha has also strongly denied that any Government representative has held any talks with the ANC.

So all South Africans will have to distinguish between their hopes for a peaceful future and their fantasies.

Behind the Mandela offer

Extract from FM 15/2

Indeed government has always taken the ANC's threat to security more seriously than many of its supporters. Hence the high defence budget, the extended call-up, the institution of the "area defence" system and the National Key Points Act.

An amending Bill to the National Key Points Act, just introduced in Parliament, emphasises Pretoria's serious view of the threat. It authorises government to design-

nate groups of particular factories or undertakings as "national key points complexes" whose owners will have to pay for joint security measures.

The Bill creates a new revenue account to receive both government and private funds intended to pay for security measures. It provides for fines up to R20 000 (or imprisonment up to five years) for owners of key points who fail to comply with security directives.

Mandela's full reply to President Botha's offer

THIS IS THE FULL text of Nelson Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The response was read on Mandela's behalf by his daughter, Zindzi, at a function in Jabulani, Soweto, yesterday.

"On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dosh from the United States have in recent weeks been authorised by Pretoria to see my father without restriction yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly.

"He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother, who also heard his words, is also not allowed to speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you, the freedom-loving people of this our tragic land, in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

"He and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

"My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison, but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

"Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

"My father says: 'I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die.'

"Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.'

"My father says: 'I am surprised at the conditions that the Government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country but that was ignored.'

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored.

"When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

"It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

"Let him renounce violence.

"Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid."

"Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for the opposition to apartheid.

"Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

"I cherish my own freedom dearly but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom.

"I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these, long, lonely, wasted years.

"I am not less life loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free.

"I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation the African National Congress which was banned.

"What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned?"

"What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence?"

"What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort?"

"What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area?"

"What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work?"

"What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?"

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts.

"Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so."

"My father says: 'I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. 'I will return'."

An extract from an interview with Nelson Mandela by Lord Nicholas Bethell S Ts 2/2/85

He says: "The armed struggle was forced on us by the Government. And if they want us to give up, the ball is in their court. They must legalise us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle.

"It is useless simply to carry on talking. The Government has tightened the

screws too far. Of course, if there were to be talks along these lines, we in the ANC would declare a truce.

"Meanwhile we are forced to continue, though within certain limits. We go for hard targets only, military installations and the symbols of Apartheid. Civilians must not be touched.

"This is why I regret what happened in Pretoria on May 23, 1983. A bomb went off and more than a dozen civilians were killed. Something must have gone wrong with the timing. It was a tragic accident. "We aim for buildings and property. So it may be that someone gets killed in a fight, in the heat of battle, but we do not believe in assassinations. I would not want our men to assassinate, for instance, the major here. But all this can end as soon as talks begin. It would be humiliating though for us simply to lay down our arms unconditionally."

One way for Mandela to be released from prison has been put to him. He has been told that his nephew, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, would give him sanctuary in the semi-autonomous Transkei, if he gave up political activity.

"I completely rejected the idea," he says. "My place is in South Africa and my home is in Johannesburg. If I were released, I would never obey any restriction.

Classless society

"If they confined me, for instance, to the Cape area, I would break the order and walk to my home in Soweto to be with my wife and daughter."

Meanwhile, he wants to see the ANC develop as a widely-based national movement: "Personally, I am a Socialist and I believe in a classless society. But I see no reason to belong to any political party at the moment...."

"I appreciate the Soviet Union only because it was the one country that long ago condemned racialism and supported liberation movements. It does not mean that I approve of their internal policy.

"Britain has helped us, under Mrs Thatcher as well as under Socialist governments, by condemning Apartheid in principle. We may have different views about the methods that should be used, but the most important thing is to condemn Apartheid outright."

Exclusive

HOWARD BARRELL
in Lusaka

Banned movement is going to reconsider tactics

ANC: We may hit civilians

City Press
20/11

THE ANC is reconsidering its policy of not attacking "soft targets" like white civilians.

Senior ANC sources in Lusaka told City Press the movement is preparing for a new guerilla offensive — and that part of that preparation is to reassess its hesitancy to hit soft targets.

The current lull in guerilla activity following the Nkomati agreement will be relatively short-lived, the sources added.

"Preparations are being made, and it will not be long before they come to fruition," a senior source told City Press during discussions on the ANC consultative conference to be held this year.

His disclosures were backed up by ANC president Oliver Tambo in an interview with me last week.

The sources said the conference would closely examine ANC military strategy over the past eight years, and major changes in method were likely.

This would probably include an end to hesitancy about hitting white civilians.

Sources also rejected a suggestion in some Press circles that the ANC might abandon armed struggle following its Nkomati setback.

The conference — the first major meeting of delegates from all sections of the ANC since the Morogoro consultative conference in 1969 — will also focus on the need to extend the ANC's underground machinery inside South African, he said.

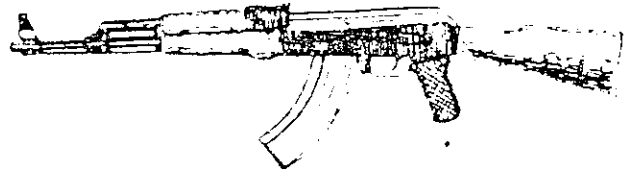
Overall ANC political strategy — as drawn up at Morogoro in the

document Strategy and Tactics of the ANC — is unlikely to change fundamentally.

But there are signs that some delegates will push for a much closer examination of the relationship between the working class and the black nationalist components of "the struggle".

About 200 delegates are expected to attend the conference, the date and venue of which are being kept ~~secretly guarded~~ secret.

The source said scores of reports, discussion pap-



A few non-African members have served on other top bodies for some years.

If the conference does decide to open NEC ranks, it will be "a reflection of the ANC's attempt to bring together like-minded people of all races in united action as the nucleus of a future South Africa", according to the source.

"We will be testing the views of the membership on this point," the source added.

"There is a widespread belief that the ANC cannot mark time on a matter like this. People of other races have also been making great sacrifices."

A set of new operational and other structures could also arise out of the conference, according to sources

ers and recommendations for the conference had already been received from ANC units inside South Africa. These were being combined with reports from exile sections of the movement in preparing the agenda.

An important feature of the conference is expected to be the progress through the ranks of the ANC of a number of the young men and women who joined the movement in the upheavals of 1976 and later.

New elections for the national executive committee — the ANC's top administrative body — will also be held at the conference.

One result of the conference could also be the opening up of the committee to all races. Until now, membership has been restricted to African people.

Pressure to abandon 'soft target' reluctance

THE banned African National Congress (ANC) is coming under increased pressure from certain African countries to abandon its reluctance to use violence against "soft targets". Although no particular countries were named in a series of interviews with ANC officials in Lusaka last week, it is ap-

parently felt in some circles that the existing military strategies have not succeeded, although the ANC has been waging its campaign of violence since the early 1960s.

The ANC leadership, however, has firmly rejected these pressures.

The organization, it was said, would not extend its activities into

such actions as bombing schoolchildren or cinemas, but would continue to sabotage buildings and other strategic targets.

Indeed, the intensification of its military activities is one of the items to be considered at a special ANC conference in a few months' time.

The ANC wants to extend its recruitment of guerillas beyond young students who have fled South Africa, into workers and people in the rural areas. It claims to have increased its recruitment of women into the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, over the past year.

It was made quite clear that the ANC would not give up its campaign of violence. And the South African Government's offer to talk to the ANC if it abandoned violence was firmly rejected.

It was argued that if the ANC laid down its arms without the government confining the army to barracks and disarming policemen, this would amount to a surrender by the ANC, not a truce.

● In spite of newspaper reports to the contrary, the well-known communist Joe Slovo is not the commander of Umkhonto, nor is he a member of the ANC executive. The Umkhonto commander is Joe Modise.

Whites 'have a right to be in SA'

Political Staff

THE banned African National Congress (ANC) accepts that white people have a right — for historical reasons — to be in South Africa.

And it would like white people to stay in South Africa, even if there is majority rule.

This was made clear in a series of interviews with ANC officials last week in Lusaka.

The belief that the ANC wanted to drive whites into the sea was rejected, and it was also denied that whites would lose their property under an ANC government. But no one would be permitted to retain any positions of privilege because of their colour.

The ANC also remains committed to individual membership of all races.

It has rejected the exclusive black policies of the black consciousness movement, but some officials believe that for the time being the leadership will have to remain in African hands.

The ANC remains committed to the Freedom Charter, signed in 1955, where it is stated that "key industries" would be nationalized.

However, decisions about future structures, including the economy, would have to be taken by a government elected by all South Africans.

Biggest meeting for 16 years

Political Staff

THE four-pronged strategy of the banned African National Congress to overthrow the South African Government is to be reassessed at a special congress of the organization in the next few months.

The date and the venue of the congress have yet to be disclosed, but it will be the biggest and most significant get-together of the ANC since 1960, when a similar conference was held.

Delegates from all ANC branches through-

out the world are to attend the conference, which is expected to be held in Africa, possibly in Tanzania.

A number of position papers and documents have already been prepared for discussion before the conference and, the Cape Times was told in talks with ANC officials in Lusaka last week, they are aimed at intensifying pressure on the South African Government.

The ANC's approach shows that it sees no hope in the government's recent policy reforms and that it does not believe there is any chance of any deal with the South African Government emerging even if its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, is released from jail.

Its four-pronged strategy is based on reinforcing its underground structures, promoting mass action by people inside South Africa, co-

ordinating its armed attacks, and isolating the South African Government internationally.

The various elements of this broad strategy are to be assessed at the conference.

Although it believes that some of President P.W. Botha's supporters are now realizing that majority rule is inevitable, it also believes the pressure on the government should be increased.

The only possible solution to escalating tensions and violence would be for the government to legalize the ANC and to negotiate directly with its leaders.

Unless there was a clear move towards majority rule, the ANC officials said, coupled with democratic rights for all political parties, the violence and conflict would continue.

And if the ANC is correct in its assessment, escalating conflict

No option but arms, says ANC

HARARE. — There is no alternative to armed struggle against the "Pretoria regime", and the African National Congress will intensify the struggle as long as apartheid prevails, the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said in an interview.

All peaceful attempts at change in the past had failed, he said.

"Therefore we say to remove armed struggle the regime should first remove apartheid which is the cause of the armed struggle."

'Violence'

The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, he said, they were only queuing up for death. The bantustans were themselves an act of violence, so it was wrong to think his organization would abandon the armed struggle, he said.

"In any case, even if there were any talks, and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle. We would simply carry on."

Mr Tambo said the ANC would not talk to the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the other leaders imprisoned with him.

On the recent offer by President P.W. Botha to release Mandela on condition he renounces the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new condition, which Mandela would once again reject.

It was not clear why "we who are the victims of violence are expected to abandon our violence when the regime pursues us with worse violence".

On the recent proposal by Mr Botha that Africans living in the urban areas should have different status from those in the homelands, Mr Tambo said all that it represented was another idea for bantustans in the urban areas.

He said whatever the regime was trying to build — including its so-called constitutional reforms — was being built upon the foundation of apartheid which at a rate was cracking.

The "so-called urban Africans" would not be deceived by the ploy which only represented the regime's belief in apartheid and its determination to defend it.

Asked whether the apparent lull in the armed activities of the ANC was because the Nkomati Accord was beginning to have some effect, he said there had been more military activities in South Africa by the ANC after the Nkomati agreement than before.

Armed struggle was a part of the ANC's strategy which consisted of international mobilization in support of the struggle; the internal activities of the people and their unity of action in resistance to apartheid.

"The recent upsurge of mass resistance, coupled with the numerous strikes, the resistance to the constitutional amendment and the opposition to the coloured and Indian election for the tricameral Parliament, form an essential part of the armed struggle," Mr Tambo said.

The ANC had never believed the neighbouring African states should offer their countries as rearguard bases for the armed struggle in South Africa.

Asked what significance he attached to the growing opposition to apartheid in the United States, Mr Tambo said it was significant for the future of the "racist regime" and was a complement, not a substitute to the internal struggle against apartheid.

Suffering

"It undermines the calculation the racist regime had that it was going to have another four years of uninterrupted blissful relations with the Reagan administration."

On the argument by some bantustan spokesmen that economic sanctions against South Africa would bring more suffering to the African people, he said that was an "old song" telling the Africans to accept enslavement to avoid suffering.

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louw, to announce his resignation upon approval of the publication of the report by the

State

ANC is in no hurry to lay down its weapons

... and it doesn't please Frelimo at all

J H P Serfontein

Star
17/2

THE Mozambican Government has serious differences with the banned African National Congress (ANC) about its strategy and analysis of the political situation inside South Africa.

These views were spelled out clearly and forcibly earlier this week in Maputo by senior Frelimo officials to Joe Slovo, a white member of the ANC and a leader of the banned South African Communist Party (SACP).

Slovo was bluntly told that Mozambique disagreed fundamentally with the ANC on its strategy, including its total commitment to the "armed struggle".

"For years we have automatically accepted the advice of the ANC and their draft resolution on South Africa at international gatherings," one senior Frelimo source told me. "However, we are no longer prepared to do so blindly and to be led by our noses.

"Over the last 25 years there have been some fundamental changes in South Africa, some good, some bad. Whilst the apartheid structure remains unchanged, South African society is changing. There are also new realities which did not exist in 1960.

"The propaganda of any liberation movement should take into account such realities. But we find that today the ANC still uses many of the outdated cliches and propaganda phrases from the Sharpeville era. It is ineffective and counter-productive."

The source said: "One cannot simply ignore some of the policy moves and changes introduced by the SA Government over the past year — even if one accepts the argument that they may have no intention of abandoning power or abolishing fundamental apartheid structures."

In this regard he mentioned the various recent statements by President Botha in Parliament and the planned scrapping of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts.

"These developments, and the greater political fluidity open up new opportunities to explore. Effective political action inside South Africa could exploit the contradictions now appearing in the apartheid edifice."

A senior Minister told me: "Over the past 24 years the ANC has achieved comparatively very little with sporadic sabotage attacks. As a propaganda weapon, it kept the idea of the ANC alive, and boosted morale and helped to create a political awareness.

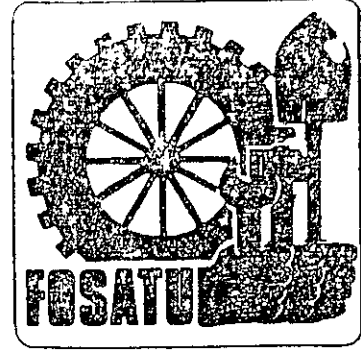
"However, the ANC is no nearer to taking over power physically.

"With a new political awakening in South Africa among black political organisations, it is clear that the armed struggle should be seen merely as an instrument in helping to achieve liberation, and not an end in itself."

The Minister warned that strategy should not be elevated to an inflexible ideology.

Mozambican and other Frontline sources have in recent weeks made it clear to me that they believed that blacks should devise a new internal political struggle. "Openness" means sometimes using apartheid platforms to oppose the Government."

PRESS STATEMENTS



MAWU AND DUNLOP SETTLE

DUNLOP SA Durban yesterday agreed to pay an ex-gratia payment of R15 000 to the Metal and Allied Workers Union in respect of employees dismissed in October 1983.

It was the unfair dismissals of these employees and the company's refusal to refer their cases to independent arbitration or the court which led to a strike of over 2 000 Dunlop employees at 4 plants in September/October 1984.

In terms of the settlement the union will disburse the money to the dismissed workers in amounts as are decided by MAWU's members. All the employees concerned had opted for financial reimbursement for their wrongful dismissals rather than reinstatement because they feared victimisation by the company.

The finding that the four employees concerned had been unfairly dismissed was made by Professor Blackie Swart of the University of Stellenbosch who acted as advisory mediator in the matter.

The effect of the settlement is that members will now not pursue their planned industrial action and the union is hopeful that the company may begin improving its industrial relations practices which have been extremely unsatisfactory and which have in the past provoked immense worker frustration and anger.

The discussion at yesterday's meeting also touched on existing efficiency levels at the plant as well as disciplinary and procedural matters. No agreement was reached in respect of these issues but the parties have agreed to negotiate same at a future date to be agreed.

Metal and Allied Workers Union 14.2.85

Doors open to ANC talks

11A
S-Times
7/2/85

PRIVATE attempts to bring about a meeting between ANC executives and Afrikaner academics — possibly including a few National Party members — have been given a boost by the State President's political amnesty offer.

The moves — being undertaken with great circumspection — could become the first step towards a more meaningful debate between the South African Government and the ANC.

This week President Botha opened new possibilities for discussion with his offer of dialogue with the ANC if they renounce violence as a means to achieve political ends.

The offer came amid reports that at least 18 political prisoners had accepted the amnesty offer — although indications are that they are mostly members of the

By BRIAN POTTINGER

smaller and politically weaker Pan Africanist Congress.

Key ANC members in prison have declined the amnesty offer along with their leader, Mr Nelson Mandela. But the original offer by President Botha and the response by the jailed ANC leader have not closed the door on possible future developments.

The central problem — beyond the rhetorical cloud — is the question of legalisation of the ANC. The Government insists it will not legalise the ANC until it renounces violence.

But ANC members claim they cannot renounce the armed struggle until they are legalised; in other words, until they can take part in the political process.

The beginning of the new and extremely tentative rapproche-

ment between the leaders of the two most powerful South African political groupings began almost casually.

Last year President Botha denied reports that members of his party had met the ANC. He said then it was not possible to talk to an organisation which espoused violence.

Two weeks ago Mr Botha offered Mr Mandela and other political "lifers" their release if they agreed to renounce violence. The offer was rejected by Mr Mandela and other key ANC leaders.

This week President Botha received the ANC's leader's official response. In a remarkably conciliatory reply on Friday, President Botha again offered dialogue with the ANC — and any other organisation — which was prepared to reject violence.

Why
Azapo
rejected
senator

11A
E. Post
18/2/81

Post Reporter

THE Azanian People's Organisation regarded Senator Edward Kennedy as "a symbol of imperialism" and felt it correct to mount a vigorous demonstration against his recent visit. The annual meeting of the Port Elizabeth branch of Azapo in New Brighton was told yesterday.

The liberals, the UDF, Black Sash, Nusas and City Press, a Johannesburg weekly, were also criticised.

Mr Peter Jones, of Cape Town, former Cape president of Azapo, said the organisation had been criticised because of the organisation's active opposition to the Kennedy visit.

"Kennedy is a symbol of imperialism. We will not allow our struggle to be abused by all kinds of leaders and self-appointed spokesmen," he said.

Mr Jones said the black people's total struggle was against racism and capitalism and against apartheid.

He said anyone who attempted to diminish their struggle, who attempted to demote it to the level of a struggle for human rights, had to take responsibility for this.

People in the hall loyal to organisations affiliated to the UDF staged a walkout during question time when the UDF and liberals were criticised.

Soweto 18/2/85 (11A)



CANDIDATE: One of the candidates for the vacant Ward 18 in White City Jabavu which was vacated by the late Mr Edward Manyosi, Mr Victor Prince Mbatha, greets the people he is likely to lead though he was booed.

Rumpus at Sofasonke

By SYD KHUMALO

THE battle for the late Councillor Edward Manyosi's seat took a dramatic turn when an election meeting turned into violence at the Mavis Isaacson Hall, White City Jabavu, yesterday.

The meeting was called by Councillor Charles Lengene who had invited other councillors to attend. The main aim of the meeting was to report back to his ward about the latest from the council and to introduce the two candidates contesting for the seat.

Councillors in attendance included the deputy mayor, Mr Lucas Tshabangu, Mr M A Ramaite, Mr Lazarus Nhloko, Mr Siegfried Manthata, Mr Joseph Khumalo, Mr Voli Klaas and Mr M K Kgadi.

About an hour after the meeting had started, the Party mem-

bers entered the hall with their chairman, Mr Johnson Mokoena. When they walked in, Councillor Manthata was on the floor. The mood changed when Mr Manthata made reference to councillors who promised to bring down the rent to five rands.

The Sofasonke women started screaming and shouting insults at Mr Manthata. "You are a sell-out and you don't know what you are talking about, sit down", they yelled.

Guns

Things got out of control when some of the Sofasonke members jumped onto the stage and manhandled some of the councillors.

As the meeting was gradually getting out of control, some of the officials and councillors were seen brandishing guns. But Mr Mokoena assisted by the controversial Cleophus "Oupa" Motlana managed to "quell the storm" and pleaded with the people to get back

into the hall "and behave".

When the police arrived at the hall, the violence had subsided with most of the people back in the hall after Mr Mokoena had pleaded with them to "cool down".

Mr Victor Mbatha (35), an independent candidate, and Mr Moses Ditshego (52), Makgotla Party under

Mr Manthata's leadership, were introduced to the house. They were both booed and told "we don't want you, there's nothing you know about Jabavu".

When the Sofasonke candidate for the ward, Mr Mokoena, was officially announced the hall nearly came tumbling down with ululating and shouts of "Inyaniso, Sofasonke".

Soweto 18/2/85

Soweto council revokes indaba's decision

THE Soweto City Council has revoked its controversial ban on political meetings in the area.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Soweto mayor, Mr Edward Kunene, who added that "as far as I am concerned that ban is no longer in existence."

Last November, the council's management committee resolved that all political meetings in the area be banned unless permission from the council and the police has been granted. In terms of the resolution, which would have resulted in a bureaucratic snarl-up before permission for meetings to be held in Soweto is granted, applications for meetings were to be forwarded to local councillors, senior superintendents and police station commanders.

Recommendations from the officials would then be forwarded to the chief magistrate of Johannesburg.

Mr Kunene said yesterday the resolution — although adopted by the management committee — had never been implemented, quoting as an example the recent UDF rally held in the area to honour Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu.

"But we would expect political organisations to, at least, inform us beforehand whenever they are to hold meetings in the area," the mayor said.

Initially, the committee said it carried the motion because of "the continued tense situation threatening lives of everybody which flows from — among other things — the coming into existence of the UDF."

Mercury 21/2/85 114

Commuters

urged to end bus boycott

Labour Reporter

THE Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, made a strong plea to commuters in the Empangeni townships yesterday to end their month-long bus boycott.

He also issued a veiled warning to pirate-taxi operators and others using illegal forms of transport that steps would be taken by the Department of Transport to ensure compliance with requirements of the Transportation Act from Monday.

Police are expected to crack down on unregistered taxis which have been kept busy over the past month transporting the bus boycotters.

At present various forms of transport including tractor-driven trailers are being used to ferry workers between the townships and the Richards Bay industrial complex, infringing transport regulations.

Disruption

Mr Schoeman's plea comes in the wake of a two-man committee of inquiry into the boycott of Empangeni Transport buses. The State-appointed committee, comprising the commissioner for urban transport, Mr E F Niksch, and Mr M J van Zyl, handed its report to Mr Schoeman on Friday.

He said in a statement to the Mercury yesterday that the 'serious bus boycott being experienced in the Empangeni/Richards Bay and the adjacent KwaZulu areas since January 15 is giving rise to appreciable disruption'.

'It is also causing great discomfort to all concerned. This state of affairs can obviously not be allowed to continue indefinitely,' he said.

It was imperative that the present unsatisfactory situation be normalised as a matter of urgency.

Mr Schoeman said he had been told the bus company was negotiating to provide for black participation in the affairs of the company.

He suggested that a joint transport liaison committee be constituted consisting of representatives of various bodies to ensure continuing communication between all concerned on the bus passenger transport front.

sday February 21, 1985

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Ni Mercury

71 MPs protest UDF arrests

London Bureau

SEVENTY-ONE Labour Party MPs have signed a motion in the British Parliament urging the recall of Britain's ambassador to South Africa in protest against the arrests of the United Democratic Front leadership.

A further Labour motion tabled in the House of Commons yesterday calls on the British Government to send an observer to the treason trial of 14 activists of the UDF — expected to open in Durban next month.

The move indicates mounting domestic pressure on the British Government to make a more forceful show of displeasure at the UDF arrests and the fatal shooting of black civilians at Crossroads.

Another indication of the strength of feeling in Labour ranks was the appearance of 20 Labour MPs outside South Africa House on Tuesday to protest the arrests and shootings.

The anger aroused was reflected in an editorial

in the left-of-centre Guardian yesterday which had taken seriously President Botha's latest reform signals.

Dismissing the high treason charges as 'ludicrously inappropriate and trumped-up', the Guardian also hits at the 'lame excuse' for withdrawing charges against Archbishop Denis Hurley and the 'relocation' of Africans in the Western Cape and juxtaposes these developments with Mr Botha's speech to the opening of

Parliament.

'The credibility gap between the presidential address and a long — and still continuing — tradition of kaffir-bashing has been widened to a bottomless chasm by this week's police initiatives.

'The President should tell his repressive right fist what his conciliatory left hand is doing.

'Will the real Mr Botha please stand up — and then sit down with Mr Mandela?' The Guardian editorial concluded.

Border homes and offices raided but no

EAST LONDON — Homes and offices in various Border towns were raided as part of a nation-wide swoop on the United Democratic Front yesterday.

However, nobody was reported detained in the region, although numerous detentions were reported from other parts of the country.

One man was held briefly for questioning and then released, according to Mr Andrew Hendricks, regional UDF publicity secretary.

Mr Deacon Mathe had been visiting Mr Hendricks when the security police arrived with a search warrant at 5 am, Mr Hendricks said. After searching the house for about five hours, they had said they were taking Mr Mathe for identification purposes.

He had been released later, Mr Hendricks said. Police had also confiscated "most of my documents and notes on the UDF."

The luggage and car of his visitors had also been searched. The homes of Miss Lucille Meyer, a regional UDF executive member, and Mr Elvin

Fredericks, a member of the East London Friends of the UDF, were also searched, they said.

Miss Meyer said the police had been "incredibly thorough, looking in fridges, opening mattresses and checking behind photographs."

Mr D. Smoko, an official of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAWU), said the union's East London office had been searched for over six hours. "Many documents and minutes were confiscated," he said.

The union's offices in Grahamstown and Queenstown were also searched. Mr Shepherd Mayekiso, an organiser in Queenstown, said police had produced a search warrant which said they were seeking evidence for the trial of Mr Mewa Ramgobin and seven others in Pietermaritzburg for high treason.

Mr Mayekiso said police had requested those present not to leave the town without police permission, as affidavits on the material confiscated might be needed.

In Grahamstown, three houses were raided, as well as the campus office of the Black Students' Movement (BSM), and the residence room of Mr Thabiso Ratsomo, the BSM president.

Mr Roland White, Eastern Cape regional UDF treasurer, said police had confiscated four black refuse bags of material from his house.

Dr D. Henderson, the vice-chancellor of Rhodes University, confirmed university authorities had opened the BSM office for police.

"We aren't in a position to obstruct the police in their duties," Dr Henderson said.

He said, however, that if the police were "merely engaged in a fishing expedition, then they are exploiting their powers in a deplorable manner."

"If police had prior information that was highly likely to uncover illegal activities, they have to proceed in their duties," he added.

In East London, offices of the East London Youth Congress in St Johns Road, North End, were

searched.

The group's organiser, Mr Richard Klaas, said four security policemen arrived at about 11 am and searched the offices for two hours.

Seventeen documents were confiscated, including a file of letters, Release Mandela Campaign membership cards and handbooks for organisers of the UDF million signature campaign.

Receipts were issued, and he and another member present, Mr Pule Ralana, were subjected to a body search.

Another member in the office at the time, Miss Nombulelo Nxonki, was not searched.

Photographs of those present were taken, Mr Klaas said. He added members felt they were being harassed. They were a youth organisation which aimed to unite the youth regardless of colour, sex or religion.

Security police have confirmed the searches. —
DDR

Treason trialists NOW 15

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Police yesterday added Mr Sisa Njikelana, general secretary of the SA Allied Workers' Union, to their list of treason trialists, taking to 15 the number who will appear in court in Durban.

Seven of these — all arrested and charged on Tuesday — will appear in the Durban Magistrate's Court this morning. They are expected to be remanded to appear on March 18 with the eight who were charged last month.

Charges

The trial, expected to begin in July, will be the most high-profile trial for nearly 25 years.

The charges relate to activities between 1981 and 1984, which dates back to before the formation of the UDF in 1983.

There continued to be strong reaction yesterday to Tuesday's raids, arrests and detentions.

The seven accused who will definitely appear today are Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the UDF; Mr Cas Saloojee, UDF treasurer; Mr Frank Chikane, UDF Transvaal vice-president; Professor Ismael Mohammed, chairman of the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, and Mr Sam Kikine, Mr Isaac Ngcobo and Mr Njikelana, all of Saawu.

Inkatha backs UDF on leaders' detentions

**Political Reporter
and Own Correspondent**

DR Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of the Inkatha movement, yesterday said he had been "shocked" to learn of the arrest of the United Democratic Front (UDF) leadership, adding that his movement "deplored" such action.

The statement by Dr Dhlomo, who is the Kwa-zulu Minister of Education and Culture, warned

that: "These rash actions of the government will in the long run authenticate the views of those of our people who maintain that violence is now the only option open to the oppressed people."

Inkatha's support for the UDF comes as a surprise to many political observers, following several isolated incidents of violence leading to tensions between the two organizations.

Dr Dhlomo added that "since the UDF was founded, we have come to regard it as a movement that subscribes to the peaceful resolution of socio-political problems in South Africa".

"By its actions against the UDF, the government is making it virtually impossible for extra-parliamentary groups to oppose its policies peacefully and democratically.

"We exhort the remaining leadership of the UDF not to be intimidated and to continue the non-violent struggle for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial system of government in South Africa."

● In London, 71 Labour Party MPs have signed a motion in the British parliament urging the recall of Britain's ambassador to South Africa in protest against the arrests of the UDF leadership.

Cleared doctor asks: why accuse me?

11A
S Far 21/2/85
Pretoria Bureau
Dr Aubrey Mokoape, cleared of charges of disgraceful conduct, yesterday hit out at the South African Medical and Dental Council for bringing the case against him.

"They should be embarrassed at calling the case in the first place," he said.

The charges were brought against Dr Mokoape because of his conviction and sentence under the now-defunct Terrorism Act in 1976.

"It is obvious my conviction was of a political nature," he said.

"This could never fall under

the jurisdiction of a medical council."

Dr Mokoape said he strongly believed doctors should have a social conscience, adding:

"Doctors as guardians of health need to concern themselves not only with the removal of disease, but also with the removal of social ills."

He said South Africa's political system contributed to malnutrition and alcoholism.

"If I had been found guilty," he went on, "it would have posed a threat to all doctors

who hold political views, whether rightwing or left.

"I am not unique; my views are shared by many others in the young intelligentsia. Any of them could get convicted."

The South African Medical and Dental Council's disciplinary committee decided to drop the Mokoape charges.

It accepted an application for acquittal brought by his advocate, Mr Ismail Mohamed SC.

Mr Mohamed had argued that the disciplinary committee was not legally competent because it had acted without

receiving a written complaint.

Also, he said, it had not proved disgraceful conduct.

Professor H Coovadia, executive member of the National Medical and Dental Association, welcomed the acquittal.

The South African Medical and Dental Council has received a spate of unfavourable criticism lately regarding its political motives.

Recently it was ordered by the Supreme Court to investigate the conduct of Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker, who attended Steve Biko before his death.

Beyond the stethoscope and the syringe

People such as Dr Aubrey Mokoape see medicine as involving more than the stethoscope and the syringe, it was said yesterday by the Rev Joe Seoka, deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation.

He was commenting after disgraceful conduct charges against Dr Mokoape were dropped.

The charges were brought by the South African Medical and Dental Council against Dr Mokoape, a member of the Azanian People's Organisation, ap-

parently because of his political activities in the 1970's.

Mr Seoka said the attempt of the South African Medical and Dental Council to conduct an inquiry into Dr Mokoape's political activities gave content to a belief that in South Africa, apartheid medicine was designed to oppress, exploit and subjugate the black people.

He added: "It confirmed our belief that the Council is nothing but an arm of the South African oppressive system."

"It is people like Dr Mo-

koape who are being truly faithful to their calling to preserve human life.

"We call on all medical practitioners of conscience to dedicate themselves to the liberation struggle."

Dr Mokoape was one of Steve Biko's former close associates in the Black Consciousness movement in the 1970s

While doing his internship in 1974, Dr Mokoape was arrested for political activities and held for two years.

In 1976 he and eight other South African Students' Organisation and Black People's Convention men were sentenced to six years jail on Robben Island.

The head of the Azanian People's Organisation health secretariat, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, who led a demonstration outside the South African Medical and Dental Council's offices in Pretoria, said the allegation against Dr Mokoape was significant because it related to political activities that took place more than 10 years ago.

Homes of former Pewo head and minister stoned

By JIMMY MATYU

20/2/85

THE homes of a minister and a former president of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (Pewo) were stoned early today.

These were the homes of the president of the Inter-denominational African Ministers Association of South Africa (Idamasa), the Rev D Soga, in New Brighton, and the Zwide home of Mrs Buyiswa Siwisa.

Mr Soga, who is the priest-in-charge of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Mhlaba Street, said window panes were smashed at about 2.30am.

Mrs Siwisa said the attack on her Mndani Street home took place at about 2.20am.

"I heard footsteps in the yard and saw a flicker of torchlight. I was expecting a knock," she said.

Two window panes were smashed and another shattered after its window frame was slightly damaged, apparently by a blunt object.

Then she heard a car starting and speeding off.

Mrs Siwisa said on two previous occasions, men wearing Balaclava caps and driving a minibus had thrown stones on her roof and knocked hard on her windows and doors before they left.

Both incidents have been reported to the police. Nobody was injured in the incidents.

Police hold 14 leaders in countrywide swoops

ROM
20/2/85
11A

Big SA treason trial on the cards

By ANTON HARBER and PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE massive countrywide swoop on opposition leaders and organisations yesterday has laid the ground for South Africa's largest and most high-profile treason trial in almost 25 years.

At least 14 people are believed to have been held in the more than 70 nationally co-ordinated pre-dawn raids launched on homes and offices of leaders of the United Democratic Front, its affiliate organisations and others.

Centres hit by the raids included Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Oudtshoorn, East London, Queenstown, Grahamstown and Bloemfontein.

Police confirmed that six of those held will appear in court in Durban tomorrow to face charges of high treason. They will be tried along with eight other prominent leaders who were charged late last year and are due to appear next month.

Those charged yesterday are Mrs Alberta Sisulu, a president of the UDF; Mr Cassim Saloojee, UDF treasurer; the Reverend Frank Chikane, a UDF Transvaal vice-president; Professor Ismail Mohammed, of the Transvaal Anti-President's Council Committee; and Mr Sam Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo, of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu).

Others believed to be held included Mr Thozamile Gqweta and Mr Sisa Njikelana, of Saawu; Mr Regie Oliphant and Mr Humphrey Joseph, two UDF activists; Mrs June Mlangeni, a worker at the SA Council of Churches; her daughter, Mrs Sylvia Mkhize and her son-in-law, Mr Nicholas Mkhize; and Mr Tom Manthata, of the SACC.

The Police Directorate of Public Relations confirmed that Mr Manthata was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, but could not confirm the other detentions.

In Johannesburg police searched the UDF's headquarters at Khotso House for almost four hours, clearing the offices of documents and publications.

Ten Saawu offices countrywide — in Johannesburg, Tembisa, Pretoria, Rustenburg, two in East London, Queenstown, Grahamstown, Cape Town and Ladysmith, Natal — were raided simultaneously.

Numerous private homes were hit and late yesterday police were still searching the home of Prof Mohammed, which they had begun before dawn.

In Braamfontein police waited outside the empty and locked offices of the Release Mandela Committee for nine hours until 4pm, after which they broke in.

Other organisations to be raided included the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association, the SA Council of Higher Education (Sached), the Black Students' Society at Wits University, the Federation of Transvaal Women and the General and Allied Workers' Union.

~~324 11A~~

Six UDF men charged

From Page 1

The TIC and the Natal Inca Congress were particularly badly hit with 29 private residences being raided.

Police said the six charged would be driven to Durban where they are to appear in court tomorrow morning on charges of high treason.

Their case will be combined with that against Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Paul David, Mr Curtis Nkondo, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Dr Essop Jassat, Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr M J Naidoo.

If the case proceeds, it will be the largest treason trial since the mammoth five-year-long trial of about 156 opposition leaders which lasted from 1956 to 1961, and ended in all the accused being acquitted.

It includes some of the most prominent and high-profile anti-Government leaders and is likely to attract massive international publicity.

In Bloemfontein yesterday the offices of the UDF, the Retail and Allied Workers' Union, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa) and five private houses were raided.

To Page 2

SA prepares for biggest treason trial in 20 years

ARGUS 20/2/85 (117) (12811)

Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — In the face of international concern and condemnation, the South African Government is preparing for its largest treason trial in more than two decades following yesterday's crackdown on United Democratic Front leaders.

The dawn raids and subsequent arrests of six leaders brings the number who will appear in court in Maritzburg later this year to at least 14, police have confirmed.

Legal sources say that a 15th trialist is in custody, but this has not been confirmed.

The arrests have drawn international reaction, with the American State Department declaring them to be an act of confrontation. "Stated bluntly, we regret the use of the type of legislation called upon to detain leaders of the UDF", said Mr Frank Wisner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

"Show trial"

The British Foreign Office expressed concern, but noted that trialists would have a chance to defend themselves. The Labour Party has countered that a lengthy "show trial" is in the offing, during which leaders will be immobilised.

Two of the three national presidents of UDF are among the trialists: Mrs Albertina Sisulu, held at dawn yesterday, and Mr Archie Gumede, who has been in custody for nearly three months since he emerged as one of the "Durban Three" from the British Consulate.

Others added to the list of trialists yesterday are Mr Cassim Saloojee, the UDF's national treasurer; the Rev Frank Chikane, a Transvaal vice-

president of the front; Professor Ismail Mohamed, Transvaal leader of the Anti-President's Council Committee; Mr Sam Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo, leaders of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu).

According to a lawyer who visited John Vorster Square yesterday afternoon, another Saawu man, Mr Sisa Njikelane, is also to stand trial for treason.

Five of the seven were held in Johannesburg and Soweto, and two are Durban residents.

In Durban

It is understood that the trialists from the Reef will be taken to the coast today in preparation for their first court appearance in the Durban Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

The trial is expected to begin in the middle of the year and to continue for a number of months. The first eight accused have already been refused bail, but an appeal against this ruling is expected to be heard soon in Bloemfontein.

Mr Tom Manthata of the South African Council of Churches, who was also taken into custody at dawn yesterday, has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, police have confirmed. This section of the Act provides for indefinite solitary confinement for purposes of interrogation.

A leading member of the Federation of Transvaal Women, Mrs June Mlangeni, her daughter Mrs Sylvia Mkhize and her son-in-law Mr Nicolas Mkhize were released yesterday afternoon after several hours in police custody.

The arrests were accompanied by extensive searches of scores of homes and offices of activists, as well as the premises of organisations.

CAPE TOWN 20/2/85 (22) (14) (22)
Boesak: No prosecution (18)

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— Dr Allan Boesak and Ms Di Scott will apparently not be prosecuted under Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

This emerged yesterday when the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, answered questions by the Conservative Party MP for Brakpan, Mr Frank le Roux.

Although neither Dr Boesak's name nor Ms Scott's were mentioned it was clear that they

were the couple referred to by Mr Le Roux.

Mr Vlok said no action was intended against "certain persons" whose names were supplied by Mr Le Roux.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, told Mr Le Roux that in spite of "extensive inquiries" no representation to his department could be traced regarding alleged contraventions of Section 16 of the Immorality Act by "persons whose names had been furnished" by Mr Le Roux.

At least 14 to stand trial for treason

30/11/85
11A Star
20/2/85

By Jo-Anne Collinge

In the face of international condemnation, the South African Government is preparing for its biggest treason trial in more than two decades after yesterday's crackdown on United Democratic Front leaders.

The dawn raids and subsequent arrests of six leaders brought the number who will be tried in Maritzburg later this year to at least 14, police have confirmed.

Legal sources say that a 15th person is also in custody but this has not been confirmed.

REACTION

The arrests have drawn international reaction, with the US State Department declaring them to be an act of confrontation.

"Stated bluntly, we regret the use of the type of legislation called upon to detain leaders of the UDF," said Mr Frank Wisner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The British Foreign Office expressed concern but noted that the accused would be able to defend themselves.

The British Labour Party said that a lengthy "show trial" was in the offing, during which leaders would be immobilised.

Two of the three national presidents of UDF are among those who will face trial — Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede, who has been in custody for nearly three months since he emerged as one of the

"Durban Three" from the British Consulate.

Others who were arrested yesterday were the UDF's national treasurer, Mr Cassim Saaloojee; a Transvaal vice-president of the front, the Rev Frank Chikane; the Transvaal leader of the Anti-President's Council Committee, Professor Ismail Mohamed; and South African Allied Workers' Union leaders Mr Sam Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo.

A lawyer who visited John Vorster Square yesterday afternoon said that another Saawu man, Mr Sisa Njikelane, was also to be tried for treason.

It is understood that the accused will appear in the Durban Magistrate's Court tomorrow and that the trial will begin in the middle of the year.

INTERROGATION

Mr Tom Manthata, of the South African Council of Churches, who was also taken into custody at dawn yesterday, has been detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, police have confirmed. This section of the Act provides for indefinite solitary confinement for purposes of interrogation.

There are unconfirmed reports that Saawu's Mr Thozamile Gqweta is also in custody.

Yesterday's arrests were accompanied by extensive searches of scores of homes and offices of activists as well as the premises of organisations.

● See Page 13.

Being free again 'not easy'

11A Pretoria Bureau
Mr Isaac Mthimunya and Mr Philemon Tefu, Robben Island prisoners who were released late last week after serving 22 years for high treason, have spoken guardedly about the difficulties of adjusting to freedom.

Interviewed in their homes in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, the men would not, however, be drawn into answering questions about prison life, their politics or their terms of release.

The two men, who were both members of the Pan Africanist Congress, said they would be willing to talk about their experiences only once they had settled down to a normal life.

A former clerk for the then Bantu Administration, Mr Mthimunya spoke of the trauma of adjusting to township life, saying he sometimes felt "as if I

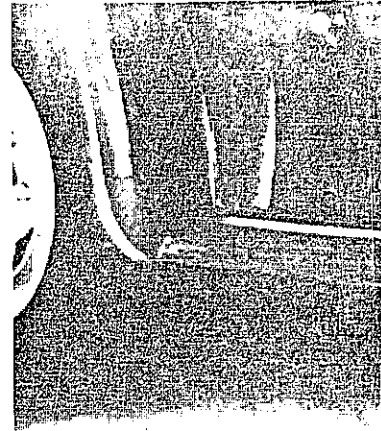
Star 19/2/85
am still on Robben Island".
He added that he had completed a BA through Unisa while in jail and was now studying towards a law degree.

Mr Mthimunya said that he and other prisoners had kept in touch with the outside world and political developments in South Africa.

He was keen to talk about international issues and was particularly curious about the Third World, an area which he said received little coverage in South African newspapers.

Starting a new career at this stage would be difficult, he said. But he would leave that for later. Right now he just wanted to be with his family.

Mr Tefu was cordial but added he did not want to be interviewed by the Press until he had considered all the implications of his release.



 **CADDETS "25"**

Boesak affair: He will not be charged

Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — No charges under the Immorality Act will follow the recent allegations that Dr Allan Boesak recently had an extra-marital affair with a white woman.

In answer to questions put by Mr Frank le Roux (CP, Brakpan) in the House of Assembly yesterday, both the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, said no action would be taken in the case.

Mr le Grange recently told Parliament that the Security Police had discovered the nature of the relationship between Dr Boesak, a patron of the United Democratic Front, and Miss Di Scott, an employee of the SA Council of Churches, "during the course of their normal duties".

Dr Boesak himself later admitted at a public rally in Cape Town that he had a relationship with Miss Scott.

LP walks out on De la Cruz

CAPE TOWN 20/2/85 (114) ~~114~~



Mr Dennis de la Cruz

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — Proceedings in the House were temporarily suspended yesterday after nearly all the governing Labour Party members walked out of the chamber while the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, was speaking in a debate on the House's Own Affairs Part Appropriation Bill.

When all but a handful of LP members had walked out, the Minister

of the Budget, Mr Andrew Julies, rose on a point of order and asked the Speaker of the Houses of Parliament, Mr Johan Greeff, if there was a quorum in the House.

Mr Greeff declared there was not a quorum and in terms of the Standing Rule and Orders, suspended proceedings. The bells would be rung for two minutes summoning members back to the

chamber.

The Speaker then asked Mr De la Cruz for his precise words again.

"I said I am glad to see you here today, Mr Speaker," Mr De la Cruz said. "It was not intended to reflect on anyone in the House."

Mr Speaker asked whether it did not reflect on the worth of anyone who occupied the Speaker's chair.

"Are you giving the House your word it was

not a reflection on anyone?"

Mr De la Cruz said he gave his word, it was merely a welcome to the Speaker of the Houses of Parliament.

"It is the custom and convention that every Honourable Member here is under an obligation to accept the word of another member," Mr Greeff said and asked Mr Les Abrahams (LP Diamant), who was leaving the chamber, to ask the

other members to return. Mr Greeff then ordered the bells to be rung again and left the chamber.

When Mr Speaker returned the chamber was just as empty and this time Mr Godfrey Leeuw (LP Southern Free State) asked the Speaker whether there were 25 members in the House.

"As there is no quorum I adjourn the House until tomorrow," Mr Speaker said. — Sapa

(117) (277) 329
CARE Times
20/2/85

Political parties condemn UDF raids

Political Reporter

THERE was widespread reaction denouncing yesterday's arrests and detentions of United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders and raids on the front's offices and affiliated bodies from most parliamentary political parties yesterday.

The strongest reaction came from the National People's Party's justice spokesman, Mr Ranji Nowbath, an NPP nominated member. He said that yesterday's raids indicated that the Minister of Law and Order intended to "terrorize people into submission".

Collecting evidence

"Arrests are taking the place of detentions," he said, making a demand for a comprehensive statement as to why these people were arrested and how long it would be before they stood trial. "Are we to understand that the security of the State is in jeopardy because of these 11 to 12 persons?"

Mr Mahmud Rajab, Solidarity MP for Springfield and Law and Order

spokesman, said he questioned why warrants of arrest had been issued for collecting evidence in the form of raids, which was contrary to the principle of South African law. Action should only be taken when there was a prima facie case.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, said the arrests "smack of government intimidation" which was aimed at "destroying any extra-parliamentary opposition".

'Charge or free'

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, Cabinet Minister without Portfolio and Labour Party leader, urged that those arrested must be charged or released.

"If the Minister of Law and Order has reason to believe that people or any organization are acting contrary to the interests of all the people of the country then these people must be brought to trial," he added.

Mr Denis de la Cruz, leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, said he "deplored" the "kragdadigheid" of the government in yesterday's arrests and raids.

UDF crackdown: the anger and the scorn

The fresh crackdown on United Democratic Front leaders has drawn anger from local anti-apartheid organisations and scorn for the Government's latest reform moves.

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We view this act of repression as a blow to President Botha's pretensions of a search for negotiation with opposition groups.

"The State offered an informal forum for consultation and yet it is determined to smash the people's organisations before it even sets in motion that process.

"With this swoop the fragile image of reasonableness created by the offer of release to imprisoned leaders has been cracked."

Mr Lekota vowed that the United Democratic Front would bide its time but continue to build a strong voice of

Staff Reporters

protest and resistance inside the country.

The executive committee of the South African Council of Churches said: "Against the background of the manifest hostility of the State toward the United Democratic Front heightened by constant attacks on it by SABC-TV and accepting the general support given to the United Democratic Front by a large section of the black community, the current raids, detention and arrests can only make worse the already alarming level of tension in this country."

The South African Council of Churches urged the Government to attend instead to the basic causes of unrest than detain leaders who articulate the aspirations and grievances of the people.

Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of

Transvaal Women, whose patron, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, is among those arrested, pointed to the contradiction between the Government's release offer to Nelson Mandela and the jailing of leaders of a peaceful, open political grouping.

"The timing of all this seems bizarre," she said.

"To detain a woman like Albertina Sisulu is deplorable since she has concerned herself most of her life with the plight and rights of ordinary people."

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front, said: "By removing our respected and acknowledged leaders the Government is opening the way for an escalation of conflict.

"We express our solidarity with and support for those arrested and raided.

"We are convinced that their only crime is their commitment to peace and justice."

Mr Jonty Joffe, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee executive member and past president of the National Union of South African Students, told 450 first-year Wits University students that the activities of the Security Police made it obvious that apartheid was very much alive in South Africa.

"When we talk of intimidation, the disregard for human rights and violence," he said, "there is no greater culprit than the South African Government itself."

Mr Mohamed Dangor, a spokesman for the non-racial housing organisation Actstop, whose chairman, Mr Cassim Saloojee, is held, said the State had once again shown that its first concern was not justice but the silencing of opponents of apartheid.

"We demand the release of detainees and political prisoners," he added.

America sees it as a setback

WASHINGTON — America sees the arrest of United Democratic Front officials as a setback to its efforts to persuade the South African Government to start dialogue with black leaders.

At a public hearing Mr Frank Wisner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, compared the arrests with the promise by the State President, Mr P W Botha, of a kind of forum for discussing the political future of the blacks.

Mr Wisner recalled that President Ronald Reagan's Ad-

By Gerald L'Ange

ministration was trying to encourage a dialogue in South Africa.

He said the Administration had been particularly struck by the reference to a new forum in President Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament.

"We liked that statement of commitment," Mr Wisner added. "We want to see some flesh put on those bones and to see it acted on.

"For it to be acted on, South African leaders of many stripes, certainly black and

white political leaders, need to come together.

"If that forum is denied, the key objective, which is political dialogue, will be lost.

"Therefore, stated bluntly, we regret the use of the type of legislation called upon to detain some leaders of the United Democratic Front."

A State Department official repeated the American belief in what he called: "The need for a genuine dialogue between the Government of South Africa and recognised black leaders as part of the reform process already under way."

Botha's opposition fronts

LONDON — South Africa's Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, says his country is in a classic reform situation in which the reformer, State President Mr P W Botha, is opposed on two fronts.

Dr Worrall said on TV yesterday that Mr Botha was opposed on one hand by people fearful and resentful of his process of evolutionary reform.

And he was opposed on the other hand by people who wanted to polarise society.

Dr Worrall's remarks were preceded by a five-minute film clip from South Africa of police

seizing United Democratic Front documents in yesterday's raid and police action at Crossroads squatter camp.

In the film a black bystander said: "When I see people dying like that I feel something burning inside me."

Dr Worrall was asked whether he believed United Democratic Front leaders were not interested in confrontation.

He replied: "Well, there are certainly people in the South African situation who are committed to polarising the society, who don't want reform.

"I'm quite sure these people

arrested will be charged as the State has indicated."

With whom would South Africa consult if the leaders of protest were in jail?

Dr Worrall replied that they were not in jail.

He said South African society represented many conflicting interests and points of view, all of which were being clearly articulated.

Would opposition to apartheid ever be part of the legislative establishment in Parliament?

Dr Worrall replied that blacks were not excluded from the legislative process.

'Back to familiar repression'

LONDON — Police actions in South Africa this week have widened to a bottomless chasm the credibility gap between Mr P W Botha's presidential address and a long and still continuing tradition of kaffir-bashing, says *The Guardian* newspaper.

It adds: "Even by South African standards it did not take long to replace the hesitantly proffered hand of reconciliation with the more familiar mailed fist of repression.

"Ready at all times to shoot the destitute and lock up dissidents, the Government balked at taking on the Roman Catholic Church.

"The head of its local hierarchy, the white Archbishop Denis Hurley was set free when the State decided not to prosecute him for allegedly defaming police.

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11A ~~SP~~ Star 20/2/85

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'No red carpet at UWC'

Tygerberg Bureau

A RIOT policeman told a Bellville magistrate that demonstrating students at the University of the Western Cape last year "didn't exactly roll out the red carpet" to the police.

Warrant Officer Patrick Murdock was one of 10 members of the riot unit who gave evidence yesterday at the trial of 11 UWC students charged with attending an illegal gathering at the university entrance on August 27.

Mr Richard Flores, 22, Mr Lloyd Abrahams, 19, Mr John Johnson, 20, Mr Manuel Heyn, 22, Mr Noel da Silva, 18, Miss Estelle Piit, 28, Miss Rose Samuel, 18, Miss Lillian Buckton, 24, Miss Gail Reagon, 18, Miss Nishani Harry, 19, and Miss Brenda Lakay, 22, have pleaded not guilty.

The State alleges that those charged were part of a crowd of students singing, holding posters and giving black-power salutes.

Warrant Officer Murdock said the police "tried to do the operation as peacefully as possible".

"The students were playing a game with us, demonstrating outside the

university and then going into their 'den'.

"We arrested only students we saw demonstrating. I am not paid to arrest innocent people."

Warrant Officer Hendrik Roos said he thought he heard students singing "Botha is a terrorist".

Constable Johannes Pieterse, who arrested Miss Reagon, said he confiscated a United Democratic Front badge she was wearing. The UDF was "communistic", he said.

Mr E Moosa, representing some of the students, said Miss Pitt would testify that the incident happened at lunchtime when she was "walking around with colleagues and got drawn into the crowd". Mr Abrahams would say he was on the scene to take pictures for a campus photographic club.

The hearing was postponed to April 16. Bail of R50 each was extended.

Mr A G du Plessis was on the Bench. Mr W Welgemoed appeared for the State. Mr E Moosa, Mr E Mohammed and Mr A Adams represented the students.

Ngul 20/2/88

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CAPC Times 20/2/85

Boesak: 'Basic rights' denied

Staff Reporter
DR ALLAN BOESAK, head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, has accused the government of being prepared "to turn Crossroads into a bloodbath" in order to execute its policies.

Dr Boesak said last night the government had come up against "the determination of people

to make their own decisions about their lives in the Western Cape".

"The government will always run into this kind of resistance while it continues to pursue policies which deny the people of South Africa their basic rights."

Dr Boesak said he was "shocked but not surprised" at the action of police at Crossroads.

"The international

community will judge the government accordingly."

● Dr Boesak slammed the arrest yesterday of UDF leaders and accused the government of "trying to shift attention away from its own obvious inability to control the situation in this country and from the growing protest against its policies abroad".

"In the face of continuing resistance to its poli-

cies, and the growing respect for the UDF in South Africa and in the international community, the government is responding in the way most natural to it — namely with repression and violence."

The UDF leaders had done nothing more than resist and challenge the government to change fundamentally the disastrous policies which it continued to follow.

Charges against Mokoape dropped

By Colleen Ryan,
Pretoria Bureau

Star

20/2/35

The South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) today dropped charges of improper conduct against Durban doctor and political activist Dr Aubrey Mokoape.

The charges were brought against Dr Mokoape because of his 1976 conviction under the now defunct Terrorism Act.

The council's disciplinary committee accepted an application for Dr Mokoape's acquittal brought by his advocate, Mr Ismail Mohamed, SC.

Mr Mohamed argued that the disciplinary committee was not legally competent because it had acted without receiving a written complaint.

He said the SAMDC's action had exceeded its powers in terms of the Medical, Dental Supplementary and Health Services Act.

The SAMDC had not led any specific evidence to prove that Dr Mokoape had acted in a disgraceful manner.

After a short adjournment, the president of the SAMDC and of the disciplinary committee, Professor F J Geldenhuys, said Dr Mokoape was free to go.

In earlier evidence it was revealed that Dr Mokoape had re-registered as an intern and later been registered as a doctor, after he had completed his prison sentence.

After the hearing Dr Mokoape said he was elated with his acquittal.

Massive crackdown on UDF

Police hold 13 black leaders

(11A)

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S for
19/2/85

By Jo-Anne Collinge

At least 13 prominent black leaders were arrested in countrywide raids by Security Police today in a massive crackdown aimed at the United Democratic Front and its affiliates.

Among eight held in the Transvaal were UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, national treasurer Mr Cassim Saloojee and Transvaal vice-president the Rev Frank Chikane.

They and three others are to be sent to Natal to face charges of high treason, swelling the number of accused in the forthcoming Maritzburg treason trial to 14, according to legal representative Mrs Priscilla Jana.

In the Johannesburg offices of the UDF, as 12 policemen completed a five-hour search, Mrs Jana named the other three to be charged as Natal trade unionist Mr Sam Kikine, Transvaal leader of the Anti-President's Council Committee Professor Ismail Mohamed, and Mr Isaac Ngcobo.

Mrs Jana said police had confirmed that the six would face a charge of treason and that the others held today were required only for police questioning.

Those held for questioning in Johannesburg are: Mr Tom Manthata of the South African Council of Churches; women's movement activist Mrs June Mlangeni; her daughter, Mrs Silvia Mkhize; and her son-in-law,

Mr Nicolas Mkhize.

From the Cape, UDF sources reported the arrests of two members of a community newspaper in Oudtshoorn — Mr Reggie Olifant and Mr Humphrey Joseph, both affiliates of the UDF.

Mr Sisa Njikalane, of the South African Allied Workers' Union, was also on the list of those held for questioning. It is not known where he was held.

There were wide-ranging police searches at the homes of at least 19 UDF activists in Johannesburg, Lenasia, Laudium and the East Rand as well as at offices. Police started calling at homes with warrants to search and arrest as early as 3 am.

The Johannesburg offices of the TIC and the UDF were searched, as was the Media and Research Services (Mars) building in Braamfontein. Piles of documents were removed.

In Natal the offices of trade unions and the Committee of Concern were raided, as were homes and offices connected with UDF members in the Cape.

Other raids took place at the offices of several trade unions, the offices of the Black Students' Society on the Wits campus, the Mowbray offices of the UDF and the Grassroots Community newspaper in Cape Town, the Saamstaan community newspaper in Oudtshoorn, the offices of the Media and Resources Centre in Freeway House, Braamfontein, and the Federation of Transvaal Women.

PFP, TIC slam police action

Political Staff

The Progressive Federal Party today slammed the latest police crackdown on the United Democratic Front and warned that the action would fuel the campaign to isolate South Africa.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman on law and order, said the countrywide raids against the UDF showed that the Government was determined not to allow extra-parliamentary opposition to develop.

"The Government takes no cognisance of the fact that a large number of people belonging to the UDF have no means of political expression through parliamentary channels.

"This is exactly the sort of act by the Government which once again puts us on the front pages of every newspaper in the Western world and adds fuel to the campaign for isolation," Mrs Suzman said.

UDF AFFILIATES

● Today's crackdown on the United Democratic Front and its affiliates, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, was the perfect reply to all those who spoke of reform in South Africa, a TIC spokesman said today.

"At a time when Botha is talking to Nelson Mandela and telling him to renounce violence he is arresting and charging with treason leaders of the UDF and the other organisations who are, and always have been, totally committed to peaceful change," the TIC spokesman said.

He added that the actions of the police made a mockery of the freedom offer to Mr Mandela and others.

"Even if they had accepted the offer, how on earth would they have been able to campaign and work for peaceful change in this repressive climate?"

Small start to talks on South Africa's future

AAE Tnt's 111
18/2/85

LONDON. — The year 1985 has a very inward and meaningful significance in modern African history — it follows a quarter of a century after the “year of wonders, 1960”.

It was the year when the trickle of independence, which began in the 1950s, turned into something like a flash-flood.

Nigeria, the continent's most populous state, took over its own government, and at the other end of affairs the Republic of South Africa walked out of the Commonwealth.

Things didn't go so well after that. Nigeria and South Africa turned into phenomena of prosperity while Africa eventually went broke in the background, and was finally overwhelmed by drought and disaster.

Now, in the strange way the world develops, although hunger still stalks 24 countries of this continent, a certain amount of common sense seems to be steeling over the affairs of some 26 of the remaining states.

Dismantling apartheid

“It may even be,” say observers on this continent, “that Nigeria may resist final madness and stay a member of Opec.”

And there are even those who dare to think that South Africa will start to dismantle apartheid.

For instance, a man regarded as the leader of South African blacks has started something almost resembling a dialogue with the top men of the South African whites.

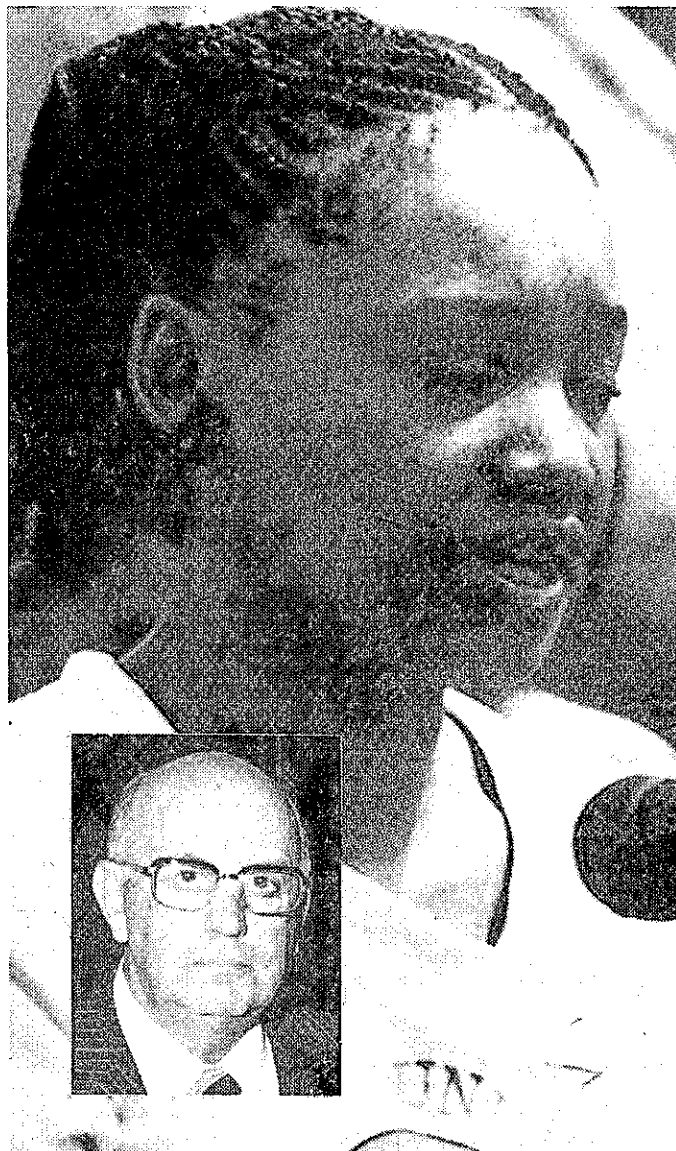
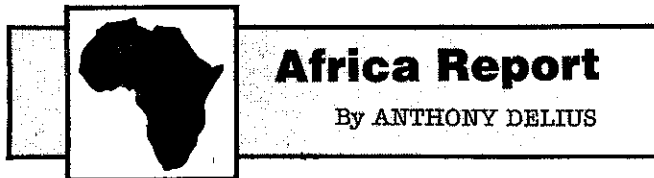
As everybody realizes, this latter process can be a very nervy and tricky business.

Of course, there are quite a few figures in the background who will be offering advice from their own particular viewpoints, or possibly military angles.

For instance, Mr Botha's ear will be cocked for opportunistic murmurings of the South African army via General Magnus Malan, or possibly others with less sensible ambitions.

Possibly Mr Nelson Mandela will get eventual messages from somebody known to the security service as Colonel Joe Slovo, of, they claim, the KGB.

The political leaders in either camp may not be overwhelmingly convinced by political experts from either direction. It all depends on how such advice fits either Mr Botha's or Mr Mandela's informal view of their own circum-



Miss Zinzi Mandela . . . conveying her father's answer to the offer by President Botha (inset).

stances. Both have fairly tough minds of their own.

These circumstances will be very new and probably very strange to both Mr Botha and Mr Mandela and the different congeries of advisers behind them.

I daresay that Mr Botha is not going to make it very easy for the black leader to receive the vast amount of advice from Africa and the rest of the world being assembled for him.

Neither leader may be either very used to, or very willing to, listen to some sensible advice being offered. However, at least a start of an exchange appears to have been attempted and a fairly open one it can be said to have been under the blue skies over the Soweto sports ground.

There the beautiful young Miss Zinzi Mandela, speaking from beside the purple-gowned Archbishop Tutu to a representative crowd of Africans,

gave her imprisoned father's answer to Mr Botha's offer to free him from jail.

The message to the crowd — and to Mr Botha — was: “I am not prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people. Only free people can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts.”

This must be the plainest and most honourable political announcement made to South Africans since Hendrik Bibault declared: “Ek is 'n Afrikaander!” in 1707 at the beginning of politics in this country.

So direct a statement was a most dignified commencement of what should or could be the most fundamental public debate in our modern history.

If this present negotiation goes on to be such, then, as I've suggested, it could make its two main leaders the two greatest politicians in our story.

Nevertheless, should this colloquy break down into the same dreary claims of the past, with inflated demands for this or that colour, race, or culture, and weasel-propositions to achieve the power-hungry ambitions of some race, tribe or class, a great moment for the future of this corner of the world and of Africa will have passed into further futility and misery.

Gutter politics

I must say that one development in South Africa over the last few days did frighten me for the possibilities of the future. I understand that some or other agency has been offering information for publication about the sexual diversions of a certain black leader.

If this information is used, for the suspected purposes of smearing political leadership, South African politics will be dragged nearer the gutter than ever before.

The ruin of Parnell wrecked much in Irish politics that it might have been the better for retaining in the long run. South Africa needs as much to influence its politics for the good as can possibly be maintained.

While a debate on the love life of this or that important individual is not going to help much at the present juncture, or at any other, moves to settle the Namibian argument, and the relationship with Mozambique will obviously be healthy for the central South African problem.

CAPC Trials 18/2/85
Four PAC prisoners released

JOHANNESBURG. — Four convicted members of the outlawed Pan-African Congress became free men this weekend, newspaper reports said yesterday.

The reports said the freed PAC men were Philemon Tefu, Dimake Malepe, Samuel Chibane and Isaac Mthimunya. All four live in Pretoria and were sentenced in 1963 to life terms for sabotage.

There was speculation earlier in the week that Wilton Mkwayi, 61, an ANC leader, would accept the offer, but when his lawyer saw him on the island yesterday, he emphatically denied it. This means that seven life prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, have so far spurned President P. W. Botha's offer — Sapa

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ESB

Section 19/2/85 (114)

Rent issue: Molefe speaks

THE Atteridgeville people's refusal to pay increased rents was "a fight for survival against the Government that denies us the right to live in the country of our birth," Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary of the United Democratic

Front, told a residents' meeting at the weekend.

Speaking at the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' (Asro) protest meeting at the St Paul's Anglican Church on Sunday, Mr Molefe said people were fight-

ing for a democratic South Africa where basic necessities such as housing would be available for all. People also wanted to ensure that the apartheid regime did its own "dirty work" without the black man's contribution, he said.

Scores injured as funeral disrupted

11A ~~2/1~~ By Chris More ^{Skw} 19/2/87

Scores of mourners were injured and some were arrested yesterday when police interrupted the funeral service of unrest victim Joseph Matches (17) at the Stilfontein cemetery near Kroonstad.

Police told a group of mourners to disperse and fired rubber bullets and tear smoke cannisters into the crowd.

They arrested Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), and Mr Dennis Bloem, a UDF activist. Both men were later released.

Mr Lekota was handed a court subpoena and told to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on March 4 or submit an affidavit to the court before that date.

● The houses of two policemen were yesterday burnt down in Duduza, near Dunnottar.

No one was injured in the incident and no arrests have been made.

Two youths were arrested after a stone-throwing incident in the township.

● Angry residents of the Ekangala township near Bronkhostpruit burnt down the offices of the East Rand Development Board (ERDB) and allegedly assaulted a representative of the kwaNdebele Government at the weekend.

A spokesman for the Northern Transvaal CID, Brigadier H A du Plessis, said a group of about 50 township residents entered the local offices of the ERDB and stole diesel, using it to set the building alight.

Hardline ANC losing support ^(IA) ~~Le~~ ^{slow} ^{19/2/85} Grange

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress was losing support in South Africa and the Government would not talk to it as long as it was a militant organisation, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said in an interview published here today.

He said he had the impression that there was a lessening of support for the ANC within South Africa, but he would not say to what extent.

Mr le Grange was interviewed in Cape Town by Michael Sullivan of the *Washington Times*.

Asked about the level of support the ANC was getting in South Africa, Mr le Grange said he had the impression support was declining for a number of reasons — ANC operations that killed or injured its own people, and the ANC's refusal even to consider laying down arms and getting involved in a political debate.

Mr le Grange said there was a difference of opinion within ANC ranks on the question of violence. A younger faction wanted more "activities" but some older and more experienced members were seriously considering whether it was worthwhile.

Asked if the South African Government could have a dialogue with the faction that might be moderate, the

Minister said: "I would rather say there is a faction within the ANC that is not as enthusiastic as it used to be — that is how I would identify them."

"I definitely won't identify them as moderate because the ANC officially is a militant organisation."

Mr le Grange said the SA Police had learned a lot since the 1976 riots "and today we have adapted to what we have learnt".

charges in Durban
Black leaders arrested in dawn raids; six to face treason

Police swoop on UDF

ARGUS 19/2/85 11A

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ten prominent black leaders were arrested in dawn raids by security police countrywide today in a crackdown aimed at the United Democratic Front, the Natal Indian Congress and the United Committee of Concern.

A senior Pretoria police spokesman confirmed that six of them would become additional accused in a treason trial to be resumed in Durban Magistrate's Court on March 29. They would appear in the Durban Magistrate's Court on Friday, he said.

The search warrant specifies that documents and other material relating to activities of the UDF, TIC, Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Release Mandela Committee (RMC), Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco) and Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) are being sought "with regard to the commission of the offence of treason".

A lawyer said his client had been taken on "an ordinary warrant of arrest". He expected a court appearance to take place in Johannesburg soon and said it was possible his client might then be transferred to Durban for trial.

In Natal security police raided the homes of members of the UDF, Natal Indian Con-

(Turn to Page 3, col 2)

P.T.O.

affiliated organisation of offices were also searched today in connection with the investigations concerning this case," said Lieutenant-Colonel Vic Heyns, a Pretoria police spokesman.

In dawn swoops eight UDF leaders were arrested in Johannesburg and two in Oudtshoorn as police raids continued in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal. It was learnt that Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the UDF, is not among those arrested as was reported earlier.

There were more than a dozen raids in Durban today on homes and offices of officials of the UDF, NIC and the United Committee of Concern, but no arrests.

Police confirmation

Colonel Heyns confirmed that UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, national treasurer Mr Cassiem Saloojee and Transvaal vice-president Mr Frank Chikane, Anti-President's Council Committee leader Professor Ismail Mohamed, former general secretary of the SA Allied Workers' Union Mr Samuel Kikine and a sixth man, Mr Isaac Ngeobo, had been arrested and that their names would be added to the list of seven other people accused of treason.

The case, heard in the Durban Magistrate's Court earlier this month, was postponed to March 29.

Police confirmed the Cape raids and UDF sources reported the arrests of two members of a community newspaper in Oudtshoorn, Mr Reggie Olifant and Mr Humphrey Joseph, both affiliates of the UDF.

Homes and offices connected with UDF members in the Cape were also raided.

The arrests in the Transvaal were accompanied by wide-ranging searches of homes of members of the Transvaal Indian Congress in Johannesburg, Lenasia, Laudium and the East Rand and the Johannesburg offices of the TIC and the UDF.

Arrived at 3am

Police started calling at homes with warrants to search and arrest as early as 3am, families of the arrested people say. Five hours later police were still searching the UDF offices and homes of arrested men in Fordsburg and Newclare.

Crackdown on UDF

016-65 19/2/85
Cont from Page 1

14

gress and the United Committee of Concern.

The home and office of Mr Mewa Ramgobin, who is facing charges of high treason and is being held in custody, was also searched today.

Mrs Ela Ramgobin confirmed that their home and her husband's office were thoroughly searched by security police.

The homes of Dr Farouk Meer, Mr Yunus Mohammed, Mr Praveen Gordhan, Mr Roy Padaychee, Mr Zac Yacoob, Mr Ramlall Ramesar and Mr Virgil Bonhomme were searched by teams of security police who took away documents, copies of speeches, posters and leaflets.

The home of freelance photographer and artist Mr Omar Badsha was also searched.

Dr Meer said the security police called at his house at about 5am with a search warrant which was dated December 12.

He said the three security policemen took him to his rooms from his Clare Estate home for another search.

The Progressive Federal Party today slammed the police crackdown on the United Democratic Front and warned that it would fuel the campaign to isolate South Africa.

Mrs Suzman, PFP spokesman on law and order, said the raids on the UDF showed the Government was determined not to allow extra-parliamentary opposition to develop.

"The Government takes no cognisance of the fact that a large number of people belonging to the UDF have no means of political expression."

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Can. Times 2/12/83

Apology to LP from De la Cruz

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, yesterday apologized to Labour Party members and the Chairman, Mr Phillip Sanders, for a statement he made in the chamber on Tuesday that might have given the impression he was casting a reflection on Mr Sanders's authority.

Nearly all the LP members walked out of the chamber during the second reading debate of the Own Affairs mini-budget when Mr De la Cruz said during his speech that he was glad the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, was present.

They maintained this statement was an insult to Mr Sanders, who officiates when Mr Greeff is not present, and the Speaker adjourned the House after two attempts to gain a quorum of members failed.

Mr De la Cruz said yesterday that he had meant his remark as an expression of welcome to the Speaker, and not as a re-

flexion on the Chairman.

● Meanwhile Members of the Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates threatened to walk out of the House yesterday after objecting to a remark by the Minister of the Budget, Mr Ebrahim Abramjee.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr J N Reddy, and members of his party began walking out of the house while Mr Abramjee was speaking in the second reading debate of the Part Appropriation Bill.

Dr Reddy took exception to a remark by Mr Abramjee that the behaviour of some people in Pelican Park could be compared with the "activities of a Durban sea-front hotel".

Dr Reddy and his members began walking out of the House but Mr Abramjee agreed to withdraw the remarks and they returned.

After a division the Part Appropriation Bill was passed through the second reading stage. — Sapa

21/2/85
UDF call
to protest
against
arrests

The United Democratic Front (UDF) has called a meeting to protest against the arrest on Tuesday of several of its members, Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) members and trade union leaders, a UDF spokesman said today.

The meeting will be held tomorrow at 1 pm at Khotso House and will be addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu and spokesmen from various trade unions, the Congress of South African Students and the TIC.

The meeting has been called to protest against the arrest of six UDF leaders who are to stand trial for high treason and against the widespread raids on the offices and homes of other community leaders.

CHALLENGED

The TIC will hold a meeting in the Nurul Islam Hall in Lenasia on Sunday to protest against the arrests.

The meeting will take place at 3 pm on Sunday. The TIC has challenged members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives to quit their positions in protest against the "assault" on the leadership of the UDF.

The resignation call has also been directed at members of the President's Council and the Cabinet.

● The Government had assisted the disinvestment campaign against South Africa by detaining UDF leaders, Mr Ahmed Arbee (Solidarity, Eastern Transvaal), said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Mr Arbee described the arrests as an act of desperation by a Government which had shown it could not tolerate extra-parliamentary opposition.

Njikelana to face treason charge, too

JOHANNESBURG — Police yesterday added Mr Sisa Njikelana, general secretary of the South African Allied Workers Union, to their list of treason trialists, taking to 15 the number who will appear in court in Durban.

Seven of these — all arrested and charged on Tuesday — will appear in the Durban magistrate's court this morning. They are expected to be remanded to appear on March 18 with the eight who were charged last month.

The trial will be the biggest and have the highest profile for nearly 25 years. It is expected to start in July and last months. It is likely to involve up to 150 state witnesses.

There continued to be strong reaction yesterday to Tuesday's raids, arrests and detentions.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, said in the long run the government's rash actions would authenticate the views of those who maintained that violence was the only option open to oppressed people.

"We deplore these arrests. Since the UDF was founded we have come to regard it as a movement that subscribes to the peaceful

resolution of socio-political problems in South Africa.

"By its actions against the UDF, the government is making it virtually impossible for extra-parliamentary groups to oppose its policies peacefully and democratically.

"We exhort the remaining leadership of the UDF not to be intimidated and to continue the non-violent struggle for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial system of government in South Africa," he said.

Mr Thozamile Gqweta, president of Saawu, has not been detained.

A Saawu spokesman in East London denied reports published yesterday that Mr Gqweta was among those arrested in the nation-wide security police swoop on the UDF and its affiliates on Tuesday.

Another man reported detained yesterday, Mr Themba Mangqase, said he had only been held for an hour and then released.

Mr Mangqase, a Cosas regional organiser, said from Grahamstown he had been at one of the houses raided. Police had questioned him about his personal activities, he said.

Meanwhile, the UDF

headquarters in Johannesburg were deserted yesterday as the remaining officials — some of whom are lying low for fear of arrest — tried to assess the consequences of this week's swoop.

However, UDF officials remained confident that the arrests would only temporarily impede their organisation.

They made it clear that the raids and arrests caught them by surprise and had left them uncertain of their future.

"But it won't take us long to get going again. It will be only temporary," one official said.

In London, 71 Labour Party MPs have signed a motion in Parliament urging the recall of Britain's ambassador to South Africa in protest against the UDF arrests.

A further Labour motion tabled in the House of Commons yesterday calls on the British Government to send an observer to the treason trial of the UDF members.

The moves indicate mounting domestic pressure on the British Government to make a more forceful show of displeasure at the UDF arrests and the shootings at Crossroads.

A group of 20 Labour MPs protested outside South Africa House on Tuesday night against the arrests and shootings.

The latest round of detentions and police raids have also been condemned by the opposition Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates.

"While Solidarity pursues the constitutional path of opposition to apartheid, it believes that other views are also entitled to be heard," the party's law and order spokesman, Mr

Mahmoud Rajab, said in a statement in Cape Town yesterday.

"Attempts at silencing such dissent are immoral, unjustifiable and harmful to the true interests of South Africa."

Dr Allan Boesak, a patron of the UDF, has reacted to the raids and arrests by accusing the government of "trying to shift attention away from its own obvious inability to control the situation in this country and from the growing protest against its policies abroad."

"In the face of continued resistance to its policies, the government is responding in the way most natural to it — namely with on-going repression and violence," he said. — BBC

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Suspended prison sentences for two NIC members

DURBAN — Two of a trio of members of the Natal Indian Congress were given suspended jail terms after being convicted here of conspiring to further the aims of the banned African National Congress.

Sundrasegarade Koothisamy Thevar, 29 — described by the magistrate as playing the major role in the offence — was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, 18 months of which was suspended for five years. He was later released on bail of R1 000 pending an appeal.

His younger brother, Kanogran, 21, received an 18-month jail term suspended for five years and Tholsiamah Pillay, was given a 12-month sentence also suspended for five years.

The three were found

guilty of writing letters threatening death or injury to people helping candidates in the general election for the House of Delegates.

The letters stated that candidates had made themselves targets that had to be eliminated and unless the people assisting them ceased to be agents of the "criminal Pretoria regime," they would also become targets.

Sundrasegarad admitted to the court that the aim of the letters was to scare people involved in voting for the House of Delegates.

His younger brother stated that he and his co-accused had wanted to stop candidates from using unfair methods to get votes.

Pillay, a university student, told the court dur-

ing the trial that some people had been intimidated to give special votes.

It was decided to write threatening letters to candidates using the name of the ANC to instill more fear into their hearts.

Passing judgment, Mr K. S. Knox said all three accused had been in custody since August last year.

A period of their imprisonment was spent as detainees under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"All three belonged to an anti-election group," Mr Knox said.

"It is a person's democratic right to be able to vote, and it is also his right not to vote.

"Any person is entitled to influence another, but as long as he is making use of intimidation, that democratic right has been taken away from him.

"A democratic right is one of the most valuable things in the world and the court must protect it."

Mr Knox said the accused had intended to force their views on others in an unlawful manner.

"But the accused did not belong to the ANC, nor were they active members of the organisation. Not one had a motive to further the interests of the ANC."

He said the older Thevar brother had been the "father of the letter" and had influenced his two co-accused.

"Konogran Thevar was his younger brother and Pillay a very special friend.

"Pillay is a woman and a very special friend of Sundrasegarad Thevar and might have been even more easily influenced." — DDC.

— DDC.

— DDC.

11A
P. Elizabeth
21/2/85

Stoning of homes slammed

PORT ELIZABETH — Several black organisations have strongly criticised the stoning yesterday of the homes of a prominent New Brighton minister and a member of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (Pewo).

The organisations were responding to two separate incidents involving the Mhlaba Street home of the Rev D. Soga, president of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association, and the Zwide home of Mrs Buyiswa Siwisa, the former president of Pewo.

Mr Soga's home was allegedly stoned at 2.30 am and Mrs Siwisa's home was attacked at about 2 am yesterday.

— DDC.

Merry 22/2/85 (11A) (11A)

'Boycott' bus delegation to meet minister

Labour Reporter

A THREE-MAN delegation representing boycotting Empangeni bus commuters will fly to Cape Town on Monday for an urgent meeting with the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, to try to find a solution to the five-week-long bus boycott.

The delegation will include, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Mr Simon Conco, trade unionist Mr Jeffrey Vilane, and their lawyer, Mr Chris Albertyn.

In another development yesterday, Mr Schoeman informed Mr Rob Barbour, chairman of the Zululand branch of the Natal Chamber of Industries — which has been playing a major role in finding a peaceful solution to the problem — that law enforcement measures would not be introduced on Monday

until after the outcome of the meeting.

Mr Conco said last night he was pleased the minister postponed the 'tough action' because forcing boycotters to use the buses would be 'courting disaster'.

'People are clearly not happy about using Empangeni Transport buses and we fear an outbreak of violence if undue pressure were brought to bear on them,' he warned.

Boycott

The bus boycott, which started on January 14, triggered off a wave of unrest in the townships in which four people were seriously injured, and two Empangeni Transport buses and a number of private vehicles were gutted by fire.

On Wednesday Mr Schoeman urged commuters to end their protest and resume using the Empangeni Transport buses.

CAP T-10-15 22/2/85

SA under fire in US papers

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — South Africa's leaders came under scathing attack in major American newspapers yesterday — their tactics called "wretched" by the Washington Post and a throw-back to Sharpeville and Soweto by the New York Times.

"What kind of thuggery is going in South Africa?" the Washington Post demanded in an editorial that fiercely chastised the South African Government. "Its performance is wretched and short-sighted and can only produce further grief and bloodshed."

On the front page, the New York Times correspondent Alan Cowell charged that after talk of reform, "the sinews of raw, white power remain as taut as they were before the advent of "constructive engagement", raising questions as to the effectiveness of the Reagan administration's policy.

He assessed the United States response to the bloodshed as a "mild reprimand".

The Washington Post charged that the government "only toys" with the idea of releasing Nelson Mandela and that "it accepts, partly for considerations of international display, a United Democratic Front and then loses its nerve and manufactures a 'treason' conspiracy against it".

Swoop on UDF leadership shatters optimism over SA

THE security police swoop on the leadership of the United Democratic Front this week — in apparent preparation for a major treason trial — has brought hopeful South Africa watchers here down to earth with a bump.

A mood of cautious hope and optimism that a change of heart was in the air has been shattered by this week's events:

□ The last-minute withdrawal of charges against Archbishop Denis Hurley has been widely interpreted here as an admission of guilt by Pretoria that Koevoet — a South African police unit — continues to commit atrocities in SWA/Namibia.

□ The use of live ammunition to quell the manifestation of tension over the threat of forced removal to the barren sands of Khayelitsha — only weeks after President P W Botha's government announced a provisional moratorium on forced removals — has been met with revulsion by all shades of political opinion here.

□ The arrest of the non-violent UDF leadership and the charging of six leaders with high treason — only weeks after President Botha's offer to release the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, if he renounced violence — has exposed the offer as a cynical political manoeuvre in the minds of even the most sympathetic observers.

Nightmare

Collectively these events have projected the image here of a government that is losing its grasp as it is increasingly trapped between right-wing white resistance and black impatience for real change.

The nightmare at the back of the minds of those foreign investors prepared to resist the mounting calls for disinvestment is: What happens if President Botha's programme of controlled reform goes off the rails?

The horrifying scenes of young white doctors surrounded by the bloody corpses of the dead at Crossroads does little to allay these nightmares.

After a period of tense calm in Anglo-South African relations, the British Foreign Office is once again under domestic pressure with 71 Labour MPs signing a House of Commons motion demanding the recall of Britain's ambassador to South Africa and 20 of them joining in a picket outside South Africa House to protest against the UDF arrests.

Mandela



London Dateline

By STANLEY UYS

CARL Times 22/2/85
~~UDF~~ ~~UDF~~ ~~UDF~~

mentioned which has grown into a big organization

One cannot help but feel for the astute Dr Worrall who has been devoting much of his energies lately to convincing politicians here — and not only the converted — that they should read even more into President Botha's reformist speech to the opening of Parliament — particularly his signals of a new approach to the black problem.

Dr Worrall and his staff appeared to be making some headway in driving this message across even to critical Labour politicians such as the front-bench spokesman on Southern Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, who left this week as part of a inter-party delegation to SWA/Namibia.

Thaw

Within hours of the private briefing, police cracked down on the leadership which Mr Anderson and his colleagues see as the last hope for negotiating an inter-racial accommodation in South Africa.

The ambassador's efforts to speed a post-Coventry thaw in Anglo-South African relations by briefing the British Foreign Office in advance of President Botha's speech appears not to have achieved the desired result.

South Africa House was less than pleased with Mr Rifkind's questioning of South Africa's bona fides in the Coventry affair and in international negotiations over Namibian independence in a recent press interview — particularly after it had taken the trouble to emphasize the importance of President Botha's reformist signals in his pending speech to the opening of Parliament even before the speech was made.

Impasse

My sources tell me that this resulted in the South African government's decision to cold-shoulder Mr Rifkind's offer to make himself available for bilateral talks in Johannesburg earlier this month during his Southern Africa visit.

Hence, an opportunity to seek a resolution to the bilateral impasse over the Coventry affair was lost at a time when the British domestic climate for promoting economic pressure — rather than direct sanctions — to speed change in South Africa is stronger than ever before.

All this is to illustrate how difficult a task is faced by South African missions abroad in trying to keep ahead in the all-important international



President P W Botha . . . cynical political manoeuvre



Dr Denis Worrall . . . uncomfortable exchange on TV



Mr Malcolm Rifkind . . . "wide area" in South Africa's treason laws



Mr Donald Anderson . . . to visit SWA/Namibia soon

would at least provide a political structure in which an unconditionally released Mr Mandela could function and still maintain his political credibility.

The fact that the UDF leaders are to be charged with high treason — rather than be thrown arbitrarily into a preventative detention cell — cuts little ice with a sophisticated British audience which regards the definition of treason in South Africa with deep scepticism.

The Guardian referred to the charges as "the ludicrously inappropriate and trumped-up charge of high treason".

Whitehall would be more cautious in its approach, emphasizing that the judicial process must be allowed to take its course.

But the South African government has got to make up its mind: The UDF cannot simultaneously be an example of democratic opposition and an extension of a revolutionary movement advocating the violent overthrow of the state.

It is one thing for the UDF to support the political objectives of the ANC — so, by his own admission, does Bishop Desmond Tutu. So do millions of blacks and some white South Africans.

It is another thing, however, to accuse the UDF of advocating violence.

The government's dilemma was perfectly captured in an uncomfortable exchange on British television this week between South Africa's ubiquitous ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, and his Channel Four interviewer

lent UDF leadership and the charging of six leaders with high treason — only weeks after President Botha's offer to release the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, if he renounced violence — has exposed the offer as a cynical political manoeuvre in the minds of even the most sympathetic observers.

Nightmare

Collectively these events have projected the image here of a government that is losing its grasp as it is increasingly trapped between right-wing white resistance and black impatience for real change.

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The horrifying scenes of young white doctors surrounded by the bloody corpses of the dead at Crossroads does little to allay these nightmares.

After a period of tense calm in Anglo-South African relations, the British Foreign Office is once again under domestic pressure with 71 Labour MPs signing a House of Commons motion demanding the recall of Britain's ambassador to South Africa and 20 of them joining in a picket outside South Africa House to protest against the UDF arrests.

Mandela

The left-of-centre Guardian — which has not been unsympathetic to President Botha's reformist rhetoric — reflected the sense of puzzlement felt by British observers.

"The president (Mr Botha) should tell his repressive right fist what his conciliatory left hand is doing. Will the real Mr Botha please stand up — and then sit down with Mr Mandela?"

Perceptive observers of President Botha's reformist foray will privately concede that the emergent pattern of alternating conciliation and repression is inevitable in a situation where the identified oppressor attempts to usher in a new order.

But what Britons cannot understand is that one week President Botha offers to release Mr Mandela if he renounces violence and the next week his government arrests the leadership of what is identified as the peaceful and democratic opposition to government policy — the UDF.

If President Botha was sincere about the offer he would be actively ensuring the survival of the UDF which — if the ANC remained banned —

President P W Botha . . . cynical political manoeuvre



Mr Malcolm Rifkind . . . "wide area" in South Africa's treason laws

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Whitehall would be more cautious in its approach, emphasizing that the judicial process must be allowed to take its course.

In an interview with me after the Durban three quit the British Consulate in December, the British Foreign Office Minister Mr Malcolm Rifkind conceded that the "wide area covered by treason legislation in South Africa" was a cause of international concern.

In the rules that govern bilateral protocol, the British government has to distinguish very clearly between arbitrary detention without trial — which it has consistently denounced in forthright terms — and arrest on charges of contravening a law.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable body of opinion here which sees the switch from detention without trial to arrest on treason charges as a cynical manoeuvre aimed primarily at taking the sting out of the diplomatic protests from Washington and Whitehall.

In the eyes of many the government's objective remains the same: neutralizing the UDF opposition by paralysing its leadership while still being able to hold it up as a shining example of how democratic opposition is allowed to function in South Africa.

Dr Denis Worrall . . . uncomfortable exchange on TV



Mr Donald Anderson . . . to visit SWA/Namibia soon

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The government's dilemma was perfectly captured in an uncomfortable exchange on British television this week between South Africa's ubiquitous ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, and his Channel Four interviewer.

Consultation

Dr Worrall: President Botha is opposed, on the one hand, by people who are fearful and resentful of his commitment to evolutionary reform and he is opposed, on the other hand, by people who don't want the beneficial effects of reform — people who want to polarize the society.

Interviewer: Is that your allegation against the leaders of the UDF — that they are not genuinely interested in consultation?

Dr Worrall: There are certainly people in the South African situation who are committed to polarizing the society — who don't want reform and who want to play it their way. I am quite sure that these people who were arrested this morning will be arraigned and charged as the state has indicated.

Interviewer: . . . Will the system ever allow opposition to the system of apartheid rather than protest against it?

Dr Worrall: Well, you've got the opposition there . . . you've got the UDF as you have just

in South Africa.

The ambassador's efforts to speed a post-Coventry thaw in Anglo-South African relations by briefing the British Foreign Office in advance of President Botha's speech appears not to have achieved the desired result.

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My sources tell me that this resulted in the South African government's decision to cold-shoulder Mr Rifkind's offer to make himself available for bilateral talks in Johannesburg earlier this month during his Southern Africa visit.

Hence, an opportunity to seek a resolution to the bilateral impasse over the Coventry affair was lost at a time when the British domestic climate for promoting economic pressure — rather than direct sanctions — to speed change in South Africa is stronger than ever before.

All this is to illustrate how difficult a task is faced by South African missions abroad in trying to keep ahead in the all-important international propaganda war.

The events of the last week make that task well nigh impossible.

Death threat to Azapo leader after stoning

(TA) ~~SA~~ ^{Jan}
The Rev Joe Seoka, whose Soweto home was stoned early yesterday morning, was today threatened with death. It was the fourth such threat he had received in two months.

Mr Seoka, the deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), said the caller identified him-

22/2/85
self as "Oupa" and told him should resign from Azapo.

"The caller said he had been told by 'the people's movement' to instruct me to resign before noon. If I did not, something would happen to me."

"Before my house was stoned yesterday the same man called to convey his greetings."

Civil Rights League — 'Release

CAPE TIMES 22/2/85

AP IIA

Mandela'

Political Staff

A PETITION calling for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC leader, has been submitted to President P W Botha by the Civil Rights League.

The petition, signed by Sir Richard Luyt, former Principal of the University of Cape Town, says Mandela and other political prisoners should be released unconditionally, in the same way as Mr Andimba Ja Toivo, the Swapo

leader.

The petition says: "Since the law of the land makes violent political activities crimes punishable in the normal way, it is unnecessary to impose further conditions for amnesty to political prisoners."

If the decrees banning the ANC and other political organizations were lifted and the freedom of assembly as well as other political activities were permitted, this would facilitate the transition to normal parliamentary politics,



Sir Richard Luyt

the petition said.

"All of us South Africans pay the price for continued criminalization of lawful, peaceful activities by banned political parties; the resultant polarization and violence.

"All of us South Africans share the responsibility for, and will enjoy the benefits of, an imaginatively-negotiated return to peaceful politics."

It also said the swift and unconditional release of Mandela and other political prisoners, as well as the unbanning

of suppressed organizations was "the prerequisite first step to return to the politics of negotiation".

The petition, which was submitted to President Botha this week, was signed by the League's chairman, Mr Keith Gottschalk; the former MPC, Dr Oscar Wollheim; Professor E N Keen; the chairperson of the Black Sash in the Western Cape, Mrs Mary Burton; N A Cox; M L Lindsay; Mrs Dot Cleminshaw; Mr Brian Bishop and Mrs Di Bishop, MPC.

WATSON
February 22, 1985

Sowetan

MKHABELA, SEOKA'S HOMES ATTACKED

Pressure on Azapo

THE homes of the president and deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were damaged by unknown stone throwers early yesterday morning.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

Ishmael Mkhabela, the president, and his deputy, the Reverend Joe Seoka, both confirmed the incidents.

utes later they received the report that Reverend Seoka's home had also been attacked.

This is the second time Reverend Seoka's house has been stoned since he received death threats.

In a statement, the organisation condemned the stoning of the two houses. The organisation further said it suspected the system and its allies who did not agree with Azapo's socialist stance for being responsible for "these attacks".

The divisional CID Chief of Soweto, Brigadier J J Viktor, said he had received no reports concerning the stoning of the two officials' houses.

The home of the former president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, was also stoned a number of times last year.

Mr Imraan Moosa, the publicity secretary of Azapo, said he had been with Mr Mkhabela when his house was stoned. He said the roof was damaged and a number of windows broken.

The flat of the organisation's former deputy president, Mr Saths Cooper, was also petrol bombed last year.

He added that 20 min-



ROCKED: Home of Ishmael Mkhabela.

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Unionist
tells of
handover
to SAP (11A)

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE national president of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu), Mr Thozamile Gqweta, has been arrested on a charge of high treason and is to stand trial with 15 other opposition leaders, seven of whom were arrested this week.

A police spokesman said Mr Gqweta would appear in court on Monday and that his case would be combined with the other 15 leaders of the United Democratic Front and its affiliate organisations.

His arrest brings to four the number of Saawu officials in the UDF trial.

A spokesman for Saawu said yesterday that Mr Gqweta was arrested while driving with two colleagues, Mr Melvin Mapunye and Mr Jeff Wabena, through Mdantsane, Ciskei, at 7.30pm on Thursday.

About midnight the Ciskei police took them out of Mdantsane on to the King William's Town road, where they were flagged down by a minibus that had followed them at high speed.

Mr Mapunye and Mr Wabena said there were seven white and one black security policemen in the minibus, who said they had a warrant for the arrest of Mr Gqweta.

He at first refused to be arrested and was allegedly threatened with force. Mr Wabena and Mr Mapunye said they were then taken home to Mdantsane about 3.30am.

Botswana no to pact

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Pretoria Bureau

Sten

23/2/85

South Africa had accepted an assurance by Botswana that it would not allow "subversive elements" to travel through it en route to South Africa, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking after a fresh round of top-level talks between the two countries, Mr Botha said there was, therefore, no reason for a formal agreement in this regard.

South Africa has been pushing for a formal security pact — along the lines of those concluded with Mozambique and Swaziland — in order to prevent African National Congress guerillas being granted passage through Botswana to its border with South Africa.

However, yesterday's Botswana delegation, led by new Foreign Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe is understood to have re-iterated Botswana's opposition to any formal pact with South Africa.

ton legation

DR ALLAN Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and assessor of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, has been suspended while his church investigates his relationship with Miss Di Scott.

This means he cannot perform pastoral duties, preach or give Communion until a final decision is taken on the matter, according to church sources.

Sources said it was a temporary measure designed to take Dr Boesak "out of the cross-fire" until all is settled and it should not be seen as disciplinary action.

The controversial chairman of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and assessor of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk recently admitted to a relationship with Miss Scott, a former official of the SA Council of Churches, but refused to reveal what he termed his "deepest feelings".

"Dirty tricks"

The admission followed allegations of a "dirty tricks" campaign in which pamphlets and tape recordings bearing alleged details of Dr Boesak's relationship with Miss Scott were sent to newspapers and other organisations.

The Ring Commission, under whose authority Dr Boesak falls, took the decision to suspend him on February 13 and advised the pastor and the Ned Geref Sendingkerk's Bellville South congregation, where Dr Boesak is pastor with responsibility for students.

The Ring is now awaiting "advice" from the church council before taking a final decision within the next few weeks.

Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), said Dr Boesak's suspension should not be seen as a "drastic step", or a condemnation of him.

It was a "normal procedure" followed by a church body when there were rumours circulating to ask the member to stop his ministerial functions temporarily until the matter had been investigated.

Under the circumstances, there was little else the church could have done, he said.

"The important thing is to wait for the outcome of the final findings of the Ring for SA Gestig," he said.

The findings of the Ring are expected early in March.

Dr Naude said he had not seen the contents of a document which Dr Boesak had submitted to the Ring this month.

DR ALLAN BOESAK SUSPENDED

Temporary measure to take him out of crossfire during investigation

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23/2/85

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The spotlight falls once more on the

Mandela - symbol of defiance



● BORAINÉ — Ruse failed when Mandela set his own conditions.

Is the debate about to start?

FOR the last 20 years his home has been a prison cell — first at Robben Island, now at Pollsmoor. And it is an offence to quote him, to campaign for his release, even to carry his photograph ...

Yet, through all this time, the spirit of Nelson Mandela lives on in the hearts of thousands of South Africans. Indeed, he has become the symbol of defiance which unites the thousands who cannot or will not participate in State President PW Botha's vision of a new South Africa.

Events in recent months — both internally and internationally — have pushed the jailed African National Congress leader firmly into the spotlight.

The fast growing United Democratic Front, although hotly denying Government accusations that they are a front for the ANC, have kept him in the public eye at every mass meeting they have held.

"Who is our leader? Who is our leader?" asks UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak.

"Mandela is our leader, Mandela is our leader," roar thousands of people from Rocklands and New Brighton in the Cape to Jabulani in Soweto.

And then they launch into renditions of the most popular freedom song doing the rounds these days: "Mandela Will Be Free, Amandla. Mandela Will Be Free."

So what is the reason for this aura around a man, who, after all, has not been seen or heard

Report: DOUGIE OAKES



● BOTHA — We'll release him, on condition he rejects violence.

when he was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia trial and, more recently, his response to PW Botha's conditions for freeing him, were hallmarks of a great statesman. It showed him to be a man of great intelligence and steadfastness. I am convinced that he will be freed soon."

Pie-in-the-sky? Or is there a real chance that Mandela will indeed be allowed to walk out of prison a free man?

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In a significant development recently, State President PW Botha departed from the granite-like stance of his predecessors, when he announced that consideration would be given to freeing Mandela pro-

right. And, instead, set down conditions of his own. Through his daughter, Zinzi, he called on the state to:

- renounce violence
- dismantle apartheid
- unban the ANC
- guarantee free political activity.

Men and women in the huge crowd wept openly as Miss Mandela read out what amounted to a rousing

once more on the jailed ANC leader

a - symbol of defiance

Report: DOUGIE OAKES



● **BOTHA** — We'll release him, on condition he rejects violence.

speech by her father. There were roars of approval when it was announced that he would rather remain in prison than submit to the President's demands.

Mr Botha reacted to Mandela's reply last week, by stating that since the ANC leader refused to reject violence, he would remain in prison.

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However, knowledgeable observers believe a train of events has been set in motion which will eventually lead to the release of the ANC leader.

Says Dr Boraine: "I'm not in the least disillusioned by the State President's reaction. The moment he brought up the subject of Mandela, he put the ANC on the agenda. Remember, the Government had previously refused to even think about speaking to this organisation. But now, I believe, that even in the National Party, there are many people who realise that they will eventually have to talk to the ANC."

"So, I see the Government's proposals and Mandela's



● **BOESAK** — Imagine THEM telling our leaders to renounce violence.

counter-proposals as the opening rounds of a far larger debate.

"Certainly, the UDF has played a part in this process but I believe the international community has also put a lot of pressure on the Government.

"I think PW thought he was being clever by making a conditional offer of freedom to Mandela. He probably thought he'd be able to say to the international community: 'Look, I've offered him freedom under reasonable conditions, but he's turned it down.'

"The ruse failed when Mandela set his own conditions — and now there's no turning back."

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Botha's vision of a new South Africa.

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So what is the reason for this aura around a man, who, after all, has not been seen or heard for more than 20 years?

Says Progressive Federal Party MP, Dr Alex Boraine: "Well, he is a rather special man. The speech he made



● **BOTHA — We'll release him, on condition he rejects violence.**

when he was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia trial and, more recently, his response to PW Botha's conditions for freeing him, were hallmarks of a great statesman. It showed him to be a man of great intelligence and steadfastness. I am convinced that he will be freed soon."

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In a significant development recently, State President PW Botha departed from the granite-like stance of his predecessors, when he announced that consideration would be given to freeing Mandela provided he gave an undertaking to reject violence in all its forms.

The President's offer was greeted with derision in some quarters and welcomed in others. Most of the media urged the ANC leader to accept the offer, arguing that for the first time and opening to the impasse bedevilling South African politics had been provided by the State.

But at a meeting at the Rocklands Civic Centre on Saturday February 9, UDF patron, Dr Boesak, reacted to the offer with ridicule: "THEY are telling our leaders to renounce violence."

When the ANC was formed, said Dr Boesak, it was committed to working towards peaceful change. But they were harrassed by the State and their leaders detained. It was only when all peaceful means were closed to them, that they resorted to an armed struggle, the fiery cleric said.

On February 10, Mandela's response to the offer was read out at a rally in Soweto attended by almost 10 000 people.

He rejected the

right. And, instead, set down conditions of his own. Through his daughter, Zinzi, he called on the state to:

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motion which will eventually lead to the release of the ANC leader.

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WA/Par 24/2/85



Doc may sue SAMDC

DR NCHAUPE Aubrey Mokoape (above) may take legal action against the SA Medical and Dental Council, who dropped charges of improper and disgraceful conduct against him this week - without giving any reasons.

Dr Mokoape will consult his lawyer on whether he should claim for time wasted, financial loss and strain suffered.

Dr Mokoape claims he was victimised by the SAMDC. "They played the role of an extension of the repressive regime, which harasses

WE are relieved and grateful that Dr Aubrey Mokoape has been vindicated and cleared of the charges hanging over his head.

But we still want to know why these charges were brought against him in the first place.

The SA Medical and Dental Council has lost whatever vestige of credibility it may have had after this affair.

For a body that closed its eyes to the cruel and terrible way black consciousness leader Steve Biko died at the

By **DERRICK LUTHAYI**

and intimidates blacks who disagree with them," he said.

He regards the verdict as "a victory for black people in their fight for an equitable society".

The SAMDC based its charges against Dr Mokoape on the fact that he was imprisoned for six years on Robben Island - from December 1976 to December 1982 - after being convicted under the Terrorism Act.

"That means the

SAMDC should inquire into every conviction among its members - even into dog licences and traffic offenses," advocate Ismail Mahomed told the three-member inquiry committee in Dr Mokoape's defence.

Chants of "Amandla" vibrated in the chambers of the SAMDC building in Pretoria when SAMDC president F G Gildenhuys ruled that the council had no jurisdiction in the matter.

Dr Mokoape was a close associate of the late black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

Press COMMENT

February 24 1985

hands of the police while in the care of two of its members, it was scandalous for it to act against Dr Mokoape.

The SAMDC had to be forced by a Supreme Court judge to initiate an inquiry into the behaviour of the two doctors - eight years after the event.

How can such a body be entrusted

How dare they talk of ethics?

with the enforcement of ethical standards in the medical profession?

And how can the public have confidence that the highest codes will be safeguarded?

In the light of the Biko affair and Dr Mokoape's acquittal, can anyone blame us for being cynical about that body?

We won't sit back quietly, Indians are told

South Africa's democratic movement will not sit back quietly and wait months for courts to say whether its leaders have been correctly held for treason, says Natal Indian Congress leader Mr Zac Yacoob.

He told 1 000 people in Lenasia yesterday that the 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders to be tried in Maritzburg Supreme Court were victims of a new system of detention with trial which replaced the widely-criticised practice of detention without trial.

Mr Yacoob accused America and Britain of maintaining a blinkered

By Jo-Anne Collinge

view that justice was taking its course. What justice was there, he asked, when the accused were refused bail by executive order and subjected to a three-month adjournment because the State was not ready for the trial?

"There is no bridge between law and justice in South Africa," Mr Yacoob insisted.

"The courts here may very well have a high reputation but the laws which they administer have no reputation at all."

He suggested there had been a change in the Government's approach

to the United Democratic Front after the Durban Consulate sit-in and international criticism of detentions without trial.

The first warnings against the United Democratic Front issued by Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange in August had resulted in detentions, not treason charges.

But, argued Mr Yacoob, the Government would surely have known at this point whether treasonable activities had taken place.

"And if there were something really treasonable," he said, "do you think they would have waited two or three months to charge United

Democratic Front leaders?"

Only after the Consulate drama and widespread outcry against detentions had the claims of high treason been made, Mr Yacoob went on.

He said the treason trial was an indication of the strength of popular movements and a sign of the weakness of the State.

"If the Government had everything under control there would be no need for a treason trial," he added.

Vowing that the UDF would use its strength to campaign for withdrawal of charges and unconditional release of its leaders, Mr Yacoob demanded:

● That the administrations of Britain's Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and America's President Ronald Reagan act immediately if they had any power at all to secure release of the 16 and the dropping of charges, thereby safeguarding the peaceful struggle against apartheid.

● That coloured and Indian Members of Parliament resign forthwith since it had been clearly demonstrated they had no power to undo the wrongs of apartheid. The Lenasia audience was reminded of the marathon 1956 treason trial (in which 156

accused were finally acquitted after more than four years) by trade unionist Mr Samson Ndou . . . and by the presence of Mrs Helen Joseph, one of the marathon trial accused.

Poet and member of the Anti-Presidents' Council Committee Mr Achmat Dangor said he hoped the State President, Mr P W Botha, would learn in time that it was impossible to reform a police state; the solution was to dismantle it.

"No one wants to go down in history as the one who led his country in an abyss of chaos and destruction," added Mr Dangor.

Crackdown . . . the criticism is growing

The security crackdown on United Democratic Front leaders and the forthcoming treason trial continue to draw widespread criticism.

And there are indications that the moves could tip the scales in the disinvestment debate.

American Ambassador Mr Herman Nickel said on SABC TV, before leaving for a briefing session in Washington, that his Government would do everything possible to avoid sanctions against

South Africa.

But it expected a tough battle because of recent events.

Mr Nickel said, while there had been a good deal of progress in reform in the last few weeks, events such as the Crossroads unrest and the arrests totally blocked out the story of reform in the American media.

Tougher disinvestment measures are expected to come before America's Congress shortly.

In West Germany, European Parliament member Mrs Barbara Simons told the German newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* that a recent visit to South Africa had convinced her apartheid could not be removed piece by piece; the whole regime had to go.

Mrs Simons said since her return from South Africa some of the people she had met there had been arrested, including United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina

Sisulu, treasurer Mr Casim Saloojee and Transvaal vice-president the Rev Frank Chikane.

Mrs Simons said she believed official European Government boycotts were an effective weapon against the South African Government and she would campaign for the European Parliament and West Germany to introduce them.

In Canada major religious denominations such as the Presbyterians, the Anglicans, the United

Church and the Catholic Organisation for Development and Peace have protested to the Canadian Government about the arrests.

The Southern African Bishops' Conference has pointed out that the treason trial is likely to be protracted and to mean lengthy imprisonment.

It says: "This means that whether innocent or guilty the trialists are effectively removed from active life and involve-

ment for a lengthy period."

The Conference asked whether this was a repetition of the tactics of 1956, when 156 people were put on trial for treason.

It said: "If this turns out to be the case, and there is the strongest expectation that it will, the South African Government will have proved itself guilty of using the process of justice to perpetuate injustice."

Lawyers hit out over UDF

25/2/85
Star

The Lawyers for Human Rights group has attacked an executive order subjecting treason trialists to detention without bail.

And it has called on the Attorney-General and those instructing him to let a court decide whether those presumed innocent should languish in jail.

"The Attorney-General is a litigant in the courts and should not make decisions which would have the effect of punishing those he decides to prosecute," said Lawyers for Human Rights national chairman Mr Jules Browde SC at the weekend.

A certificate has been issued by the Attorney-General under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Act involving eight United Democratic Front and trade union leaders arrested three months ago.

Another certificate has been applied for involving United Democratic Front leaders arrested last week.

"The Attorney-General has decided they will remain in custody until conclusion of the trial and has no doubt made his decision on information placed before him by police," said Mr Browde.

"Those who believe in the rule of law and reject arbitrary use of power accept that no one should be punished except by a court of law after a fair trial."



Mrs Helen Joseph . . . at yesterday's meeting in Lenasia.

Hand-grenades

thrown during weekend violence

Crime Reporter

There were outbreaks of violence in three separate areas at the weekend including hand-grenade attacks in Huhudi, a black township near Vryburg in the north-eastern Cape.

Three simultaneous hand-grenade attacks on the houses of prominent people in Huhudi left a woman badly injured and two houses extensively damaged.

The attacks occurred early on Saturday at the homes of community council members and a member of the South African Police.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said two grenades were thrown at the house of the policeman. One exploded in the bedroom and the other in the street outside.

No one was at home at the time of the attack. The house was badly damaged.

At the same time, a grenade was thrown into the bedroom of the home of the chairman of the Huhudi Council, Mr J Dikole. His 42-year-old wife, who was

asleep, was badly injured.

She was taken to Vryburg Hospital where her condition has been described as satisfactory.

In the third attack, a grenade was thrown at the home of a councillor, Mr P Thiba. It exploded outside the house and damage was minimal.

In Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, the home of the mayor, the Rev Sam Buti, was stoned by a group of 300 mourners who were attending the funeral of Mr Vincent Tshabalala, a former member of the Alexandra Youth Congress.

No one was injured in the attack.

In Thabong, near Welkom, two houses belonging to members of the SAP were gutted and others stoned when a group of youths went on the rampage last night.

According to Captain J Fouche, police public relations officer for the Northern Free State division, the group dispersed before the police arrived.

There were no arrests.

25/2/85

Ston

'Confession to God' by Boesak

Staff Reporters
A ONE-PAGE statement by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in which he "confessed to God — mea culpa (my guilt)" that a relationship existed between him and SACC em-

ployee Ms Di Scott, and in which he sought God's forgiveness, formed the grounds for his suspension from the church.

A senior member of the Sendingskerk Ring (presbytery), who did not want to be named, confirmed yesterday that Dr

Boesak's suspension followed his submission of the written confession to the Ringskommissie.

The suspension order was issued on February 13, on the recommendation of the Ringskommissie after its inquiry into the affair.

The full Ring would have to meet to "consider precedents of such incidences in church circles and the circumstances of the case" before reaching a final decision on the matter, the Ring member said.

He added that there were differences among senior members over Dr Boesak's popular political role.

Dr Boesak would be called in by the Ring during its sitting next month if there was "more evidence against him", he said.

According to a Sunday Afrikaans paper last week, Ds Davie Botha, editor of the Sendingskerk newsletter Ligdraer, apparently held talks with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, following Mr Le Grange's disclosures to Parliament regarding Dr Boesak's case.

The full Ring, an umbrella-body for 10 congregations, will meet on March 11 to consider the findings of the commission.

● The chairman of the Ringskommissie, the Rev E B Faure, emphasized last night that the suspension of Dr Boesak from all clerical duties was "only a temporary measure".

Chaplain

He declined to comment further, saying the news of Dr Boesak's suspension was not supposed to have been made public until the full Ring had met.

● Dr Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, of which Dr Boesak is chaplain, said yesterday: "It is unfortunate that Dr Boesak's duties as chaplain are to be interrupted.

"Dr Boesak has been our chaplain for several years and I have no reason to be displeased with the manner in which he has discharged his functions as chaplain."

LIVE TIME 2:55

Councillors' homes hit by grenades

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating a series of hand-grenade attacks on the homes of two members of the Huhudi Community Council and a policeman at the weekend.

Huhudi township near Vryburg in the Northern Cape was struck by a series of hand-grenade attacks early on Saturday.

One of two grenades thrown at the home of the chairman of the Huhudi Council, Mr J Dikole, exploded and injured his 42-year-old wife, Mrs M Dikole, police said.

Policeman

At the same time, two hand-grenades were thrown at the house of a police sergeant and another at the home of council vice-chairman Mr P Thiba.

There were no other injuries, and Mrs Dikole was reported in a satisfactory condition in a Vryburg hospital.

● Sapa reports that two buses were burnt and the house of the Mayor of Alexandra, the Rev Sam Buti, was stoned on Saturday after the funeral of an ANC man killed during a shoot-out with police two weeks ago.

A police spokesman confirmed the burning of the buses and said a few others which had ferried mourners to the cemetery had been stoned.

Mr Buti's teenage daughter Rebecca said all the windows at her home were smashed by a crowd on Saturday night.

"It was only us children in the house at the time," she said. "We heard the smashing

stones and saw the crowd."

The funeral of Mr Vincent Tshabalala, a former student leader who died during a gun-battle with police in Alexandra Township on February 9, was attended by about 2 000 mourners, most of them students.

Mr Tshabalala, 20, died in a hand-grenade explosion in what is believed to have been a suicide to evade capture when police raided a house where ANC insurgents were believed to have been hiding.

● A man was arrested and police took possession of a car after a group of four people had stoned the house of a Kwanobuhle town councillor and funeral-parlour owner, Mr T Kinikini, in Uitenhage on Saturday night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said Mr Kinikini received a message at his house that some people would like to see him at his funeral parlour.

Stoned

Mr Kinikini drove to his business premises where he found a group of people waiting — but none wanted to see him.

When he returned home he saw a group of four men stoning his house. They jumped into a waiting car and sped off.

Mr Kinikini fired several shots at the vehicle but the men escaped.

Later on Saturday night a man was arrested and police took possession of a car. Damage to the house was estimated at R500.

Apartheid under fire from unions

THE new alliances which emerged last year between the trade unions and the popular "community" organisation indicate a new phase of resistance to apartheid, said Professor Eddie Webster of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Speaking in a panel discussion on the topic, "Who called the tune in the East Rand stayaway and election boycotts

last year — the trade unions organised working or the broadly-based national democratic resistance organisations?" Professor Webster said he did not believe the East Rand stayaway was specifically the work of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"With the overall depth of the economic recession and high levels of unemployment," said Professor Webster, "trade union membership steadily grew. In fact, South Africa is the only country in the world where trade unions have grown during the current recession."

Power

"Workers' location and daily access to members in strategic centres of the economy have given trade unions greater capacity for the mobilisation of power than any other organisation within the black population."

"The situation in the economy though has also catapulted the trade

unions from factory floor organisation into other terrains, which was not worker-controlled," said Professor Webster.

Strength

Mr Saul Gelb, of the African Studies Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand, said one has to examine both the communities and trade unions involved in a particular situation of resistance — "for example the community in the East Rand is a working class community, where the connection between the popular organisations and the trade unions is extremely close."

"Workers movements are becoming increasingly sophisticated," said Dr Duncan Innes, of the Industrial Sociology Department at Wits, "they understand the need to get more involved in community issues and to use the strength of their strength on the factory floor to resolve these community issues."

PE plan for 3 days of protest

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A capacity crowd at New Brighton's Rio Cinema yesterday called on police to keep out of the townships during a stayaway planned for March 16, 17 and 18.

The stayaway, described as a long black weekend, is in protest against increased prices and bus fares.

Called by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization and Port Elizabeth Women's Organization and attended by about 2 000 people, the meeting unanimously expressed the view that police interference provoked violent and uncontrolled situations.

The planned stayaway will involve the boycott of PE Tramways buses on these dates, no shopping in the city on the Saturday and Monday, and African workers — excluding doctors, nurses and hospital staff — are called on to stay away from work.

The meeting resolved that police escorting delivery vehicles should travel in separate vehicles rather than in the delivery vehicles as the latter provoked violent clashes with youths.

Asked to comment, the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said police would protect vehicles in the manner they thought best. He did not wish to comment on other claims.

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UDF activists attacked

(11A) ~~(S)~~ Star 26/2/85
A violent campaign is being waged against United Democratic Front activists in towns as farflung as Soweto, Kroonstad and Welkom — where five people have been injured as houses have gone up in flames.

The latest attacks took place early this morning at the Soweto homes of Mr Sydney Rapu Molekane (23), the vice-president of the Soweto Youth Congress, and Mr Kenny Fihla (18), a former national organiser of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

In Welkom two members of the UDF-linked Congress of South African Students and their families fell victim to firebombers who injured five people.

Tambo quote did not promote ANC' (114)

A newspaper report quoting the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Oliver Tambo, on the Prime Minister's offer of freedom to Nelson Mandela did not promote the aims of the ANC, a Johannesburg magistrate heard today.

The report, published in *The Star* on February 7 with the special permission of the Minister of Law and Order, was discussed during the cross-examination of a Rand Afrikaans University political science lecturer during the hearing of an

26/2/85 Star
Alexandra youth charged under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Edward Masuku Ngobeni (21) has denied charges of taking part in activities of the banned ANC.

It is alleged that he recorded extracts of ANC publications and played these to people to create sympathy for the ANC.

Mr Ngobeni of 4th Avenue, Alexandra, has also denied possessing four publications dissemin-

ated by the ANC. (231) (237) (243)

The lecturer, Mr ID de Vries, said that the transcription of the recording showed that it "showed the military arm of the ANC in a favourable light".

The report, which was written from Harare and quoted Mr Tambo as saying there was no alternative to the armed struggle, did not show the aims of the ANC in a positive light, Mr de Vries said.

The hearing continues.

Forrest 'linked to ANC' *Star*

11A The Star's Foreign
News Service *[initials]*

MBABANE — A British woman who was arrested in Swaziland last week and released yesterday without explanation was understood to be involved in South African "revolutionary politics".

Diplomatic sources said Mrs Felicia Forrest was thought by the Swazi

authorities to have close connections with the African National Congress (ANC) in her work as an administrator of scholarships for Southern African refugees.

Sources said Mrs Forrest denied involvement in South African politics but agreed that ANC members were among those who had received the scholarships she ad-

ministered.

The sources said that Mrs Forrest had not been deported but had agreed to leave the country by Thursday.

She is planning to go to Zimbabwe.

About 700 scholarships a year are handled by Mrs Forrest's office, about 300 of them involving Swazi citizens.

26/2/85

RPM 26/2/88 (11A) 2

I was consulted about Mandela, says Mangope

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

IF THE imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was released without restrictions on the exercise of his political rights, he would seek fulfilment of his political aims through non-violent means, President Lucas Mangope, of Bophuthatswana, has predicted.

Chief Mangope disclosed in an interview with the Rand Daily Mail that he had been consulted by the SA Government on whether it should release Mandela from jail.

"When the SA Government spoke to me on this issue, they didn't mention that conditions would be laid before Mr Mandela to accept," he said.

"My view was that Mr Mandela should be released ... That would still be my feeling."

When the release offer was discussed with him last year, Chief Mangope understood that Mandela would be free to engage in political activity once released.

President P W Botha has since made the release offer conditional on Mandela formally renouncing violence as a means of achieving political ends, a condition rejected by Mandela partly because it was not based on a similar renunciation by Mr Botha.

Commenting on the apparent impasse, Chief Man-

gope, officially recognised leader of South Africa's more than two-million Batswana, said: "I don't see the need for Mr Mandela to renounce violence. If he is free to engage in political activity, he would automatically not see the need for violence."

It was put to Chief Mangope that Mandela would only come to that view if the ban on the ANC were lifted (a condition which the ANC leader himself laid down in an interview with the British peer, Lord Bethell, as a necessary prerequisite for ending the ANC's armed struggle).

Chief Mangope, however, saw Mandela's release as the catalyst which could lead to the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

"The freeing of Mr Mandela would make it possible for the SA Government and the ANC to talk and that would result, in my view, in the unbanning of the ANC," he said.

"One would lead to the other ... If he were allowed to engage freely in political activity, in what capacity would he do that, other than as head of the ANC?"

Asked for his assessment of the ANC, President Mangope replied: "I have said on several occasions that any reasonable black man would subscribe to its policy, minus the violence ... They have always stood for what we stand for. But perhaps our way to achieve the end result is different."

11A

26/2/85

March decision

on Dr Boesak

Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN Boesak's future with the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk will be decided at a meeting of the Ring van SA Gestig on March 11.

Dr Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and vice-chairman of the Sendingkerk executive, has been suspended from his clerical duties pending the ring's decision.

The ring chairman, Dr J C Adonis, confirmed today that the meeting would take place but said the 20 members, drawn from 10 congregations, had agreed not to comment on it.

An earlier meeting of a ring-appointed commission decided the matter should go to the ring after it received a letter from Dr Boesak admitting to a relationship with former SA Council of Churches employee Miss Di Scott.

Dr Boesak has also been temporarily suspended from his duties as chaplain of the University of the Western Cape.

Rifkind concern at UDF arrests

CAPT TMB 26/2/85

111/10/329

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British Government yesterday voiced its concern that the arrest of leading United Democratic Front activists would undermine efforts to open dialogue with the black community.

British concern was conveyed to the South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, by Foreign Office Minister Mr Malcolm Rifkind during a 45-minute exchange yesterday called for by Mr Rifkind.

Dr Worrall said there had been a substantial exchange over the UDF arrests but said the meeting was amicable.

Dr Worrall said Mr Rifkind had expressed concern that the arrest of UDF leaders on charges of high treason would have a negative impact on President Botha's commitment to dialogue with the black community.

'Helpful'

Dr Worrall said he had reminded Mr Rifkind of his statement in Parliament that no bilateral representations would be made on arrests until the judicial process was completed.

He also told Mr Rifkind that the South African Government regarded the arrests as a domestic matter and that it was aware of the implications of its action.

In a BBC radio interview, Mr Rifkind described the meeting as very helpful and very useful.

Mr Rifkind said he had expressed his concern about the arrests of members of the non-violent UDF, "particularly, that some of them have been detained without charges so far being brought".

APPC Times 28/2/85 11A

Boesak challenges govt to 'arrest me'

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak last night challenged the government to arrest him and charge him with treason if it thought his opposition to apartheid was treasonous.

Dr Boesak was reacting to a speech by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, this week in which the minister accused the UDF of creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa.

Speaking to a packed hall of about 4 000 people at a UDF rally at the University of Natal, Dr Boesak said: "I say to Louis le Grange that I am getting sick and tired of all

his threats, and the people of South Africa are sick and tired of all his threats."

The climate of revolution was created by a government which oppressed people and refused to listen when people called for their legitimate rights.

"From its inception the UDF has been committed to non-violence and we have called on people to peacefully express their legitimate po-

litical aspirations." The UDF had created a unity not seen in decades and had made it possible for white and black to work together against apartheid.

"If I have committed treason by resisting the South African Government in this way then it must arrest me, charge me and put me in jail."

Dr Boesak said the country had entered a decisive phase.

Those who had warned

that the government could not be trusted and that its changes were cosmetic had been proved right by the events of the past weeks, he said.

"The South African Government is in trouble. There is no sense of direction and not since Sharpeville in 1960 has the government been so confused and so vulnerable to pressure."

Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu pledged the meet-

ing's "total, undivided support" for the 16 leaders charged with high treason.

"The authorities ought to know they are touching not one or two individuals but the people of South Africa."

Archbishop Dennis Hurley, chairman of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, protested against the arrest of the 16 leaders on treason charges which did not specify what acts were committed.

"When people are arrested on blanket, unspecified charges, leaving the details to be filled in later, it is difficult to reconcile this with the rule of law. It is injustice masquerading as law."

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Outrage

11A

Mandela 'would not choose violence'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — If the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, were released without restrictions on the exercise of his political rights, he would seek fulfilment of his political aims through non-violent means, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has predicted.

Chief Mangope disclosed in an exclusive interview that he had been consulted by the South African Government on whether it should release Mr Mandela from jail.

"When the South African Govern-

ment spoke to me on this issue, they didn't mention that conditions would be laid before Mr Mandela to accept," he said.

"My view was that Mr Mandela should be released ... that would still be my feeling."

When the release offer was discussed with him last year, Chief Mangope understood that Mr Mandela would be free to engage in political activity once released.

President P W Botha has since made the release offer conditional on Mandela formally renouncing violence as a means of achieving political ends, a condition rejected by

Mandela partly because it was not based on a similar renunciation by Mr Botha.

Commenting on the apparent impasse, Chief Mangope, officially recognized leader of South Africa's more than two-million Batswana, said: "I don't see the need for Mr Mandela to renounce violence. If he is free to engage in political activity, he would automatically not see the need for violence."

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leader himself laid down in a interview with the British peer, Lord Bethell, as a prerequisite for ending the ANC's armed struggle).

Chief Mangope, however, saw Mandela's release as the catalyst which could lead to the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

"The freeing of Mr Mandela would make it possible for the South African Government and the ANC to talk and that would result, in my view, in the unbanning of the ANC," he said.

"One would lead to the other ... If he were allowed to engage freely in political activity, in what capacity

would he do that, other than as head of the ANC?"

Asked for his assessment of the ANC, President Mangope replied: "I have said on several occasions that any reasonable black man would subscribe to its policy, minus the violence ... They have always stood for what we stand for. But perhaps our way to achieve the end result is different."

After he was inaugurated as president for a second term late last year, Chief Mangope said that if the Nkomati Accord were possible, it should be possible for negotiation with the ANC and Swapo.



President Mangope

Three people seriously injured in Welkom attacks

UDF HOMES

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THREE people — including a one-year-old baby — were seriously injured when two houses belonging to members of the United Democratic Front were petrol bombed by unknown people in Thabong township, near Welkom early yesterday morning.

The houses belong to Mr Itumeleng Mokobo and Mr Freddy Vanga, both executive members of the organisation's Welkom branch. The incidents happened between 12.30 am and 1 am.

BOMBED

Those injured were Mr Mokobo and his sister Ms Mangi and their nephew, one-year-old Melvin Kgabutla. The three sustained serious body burns when two petrol bombs which were thrown in their home exploded, causing damage estimated at R4 000.

They were admitted to the local hospital where their condition was described as serious but "improving". Ms Felicity Vanga (15) sustained minor injury when three petrol bombs were thrown at her parents' home. She managed to escape through a window but injured her leg.

Rioting

The petrol bombing of the two houses follows rioting in the township which started on Friday after two high schools, Lebogang and Thutagauta, were allegedly closed by the Department of Education and Training after pupils had been boycotting classes since last Wednesday.

The Transvaal region of the UDF yesterday said the past few weeks had seen an intensification of campaigns against the UDF by people who wanted to perpetuate apartheid: "We have seen violence in black areas all over and today's incident is another attempt to intimidate our leaders."

"We have been vilified and denigrated by the enemy and now they resort to violence when all has failed. We will not be deterred," a spokesman said.

Soweto 26/11/85

Civic bodies will talk to bus company about fare hikes

A DELEGATION from the various Soweto Civic Association's branches will be elected to tell Putco officials and the Road Transportation Board that residents will be unable to pay the proposed November bus fare increases.

The resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Meadowlands Civic Association attended by more than 500 people and representatives of other branches in Soweto. The president of the SCA, Dr Nthato Motlana, urged people to unite for their common rights.

"The Government is duty bound to pay for the transportation of blacks between townships and towns or industrial areas because it removed black people from these places and dumped them in the townships," he said.

A speaker said Putco will be declaring "war" on the unemployed, pensioners and cripples if it increases fares.

Other matters to be taken up with Putco officials were:

- Seasonal tickets be made out on a trip basis and not daily;
- Pensioners and cripples to be exempted from paying bus fares; and
- Bus timetables be posted at bus stops in the townships.



Dr Nthato Motlana

DOES Nelson Mandela's rejection of the State President's conditional offer of release from jail leave the door open for negotiations?

Two Afrikaans newspapers offered strikingly different interpretations of the ANC leader's reply to Mr Botha.

"Not prepared to abandon violence: arrogant Mandela says no to freedom," ran Die Transvaler's headline. Beeld's readers, in contrast, were told: "Not a flat no to PW: Mandela leaves door open."

In an editorial, Beeld said it was disappointing that Mandela was unwilling to fore swear violence, but it was significant that in his reply to President Botha's offer he had not taken Oliver Tambo's view that violence was unavoidable.

"In this respect, in fact, it could be deduced that the door is still open — even if only slightly ajar — for further dialogue with someone who, when all is said and done, is a leader in a position to exert a significant influence for good or ill on the course of political events in the black community."

Die Transvaler said that from whatever angle one looked at Mandela's reply to the State President, the upshot remained that he refused to accept the conditions for his release.

In Rapport, Anne-Marie Mischke said quite a number of expert political observers believed that the exchange between the State President and Mandela was anything but a blind alley and in fact "carried the germ

Mandela's 'No': is there room for negotiation?

of negotiations".

According to Die Burger, Professor Willie Esterhuysen, head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, told a women's club in Sea Point that an unconditional release of Mandela and a lifting of the ban on the ANC — combined with strong action against any violence — would help greatly to improve attitudes in South Africa.

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e-Post 26/2/85

(11A) (2/1/85)

Struck off attorney loses appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court here yesterday dismissed the appeal of Mr Shunmugan Nnganasamanthan (Shun) Chetty, a Johannesburg attorney who fled South Africa in 1979, against the rejection of an application for the rescission of the order that struck his name from the roll of attorneys.

Mr Justice Miller, with the concurrence of the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rennie, Mr Justice Kotze, Mr Justice Viljoen and Mr Justice Galgut (acting Judge of appeal), was satisfied that the application for rescission of the order must fail on its own demerits.

It was thus unnecessary to decide on the correctness or otherwise of the conclusion of the Transvaal Supreme Court that Mr Chetty was to be regarded as a fugitive from justice who, on

that account, lost his right to apply for the relief he sought.

Mr Justice Miller said the reason why it was said Mr Chetty's application failed on its own demerits was because he was unable to find in Mr Chetty's lengthy founding affidavit, or elsewhere in the papers, any reasonable or satisfactory explanation of his default and total failure to offer any opposition whatever to the confirmation on September 16, 1980 of the rule nisi issued on April 22, 1980.

Mr Justice Miller said it was clearly incumbent on Mr Chetty to disclose, with a degree of particularity, what it was that prevented him from achieving his avowed object to oppose confirmation of the rule nisi.

He was a practising

attorney, not at all unfamiliar with the procedure in South African courts, who although physically absent from the seat of the court, was represented in Johannesburg by his attorney with whom he could readily communicate and, moreover, had available to him the services of an attorney and a barrister in London.

In the light of the finding that Mr Chetty's explanation was unsatisfactory and unacceptable, it was unnecessary to make findings or to consider the arguments that related to his prospects of success on the merits of the removal.

His counsel had laid considerable stress on the finding of the court that confirmed the rule nisi to the effect that Mr Chetty had misappropri-

ated trust funds and he contended that it was apparent from the judgment that, but for such finding, the court would not have ordered the removal of his name from the roll, whatever other form of disciplinary action it might have taken.

The judge said it was clear that Mr Chetty had failed to keep proper books of account, as he was required to do.

It now appeared, however, that despite irregularities and impropriety in the keeping and administration of the accounts, there was no misappropriation of trust funds by Mr Chetty.

It might be that even if this had been shown on the return date of the rule nisi, the court would have ordered the removal of Mr Chetty's name from the roll.

It was reasonably possible that the court might have considered that a less severe disciplinary measure than removal from the roll be taken.

To that extent Mr Chetty

might have satisfied the second of the two essential requisites for rescission. But that did not assist him in the final result because of his failure to satisfy the other essential requisite. — SAPA

'Give SAP green light'

Cape Town 2/12/82
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. Crossroads gave the impression that the country's rulers were giving in to pressure from intimidators, Mr Casper Uys (CP Barberton) said during the Crossroads debate.

Black people did not respect rulers who vacillated but preferred strong men who had the courage of their convictions, he said.

"It is time that the South African Police are given the green light to enforce the laws of the country and not have to bend the laws in some instances for political reasons."

● The UDF had threatened the government with a bloodbath over the Crossroads issue. Mr Jan Hoon

(CP Kuruman), said in the House.

Referring to a newspaper report on a UDF meeting in which a doctor at the Crossroads clinic, Dr Ivan Toms, was quoted as saying that there could be a bloodbath at Crossroads if demolition squads were sent in, Mr Hoon asked the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, if he approved of "this UDF threat".

The young whites in the audience at the meeting were not supporters of the NP, and certainly not of the CP. He asked Dr Slabbert if he denied they were members of the PFP, and whether he condoned their "emotional stoking up of violence" in South Africa. — Sapa



Violence against UDF reported

CAC Times 27/2/85

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JOHANNESBURG. — A violent campaign is being waged against United Democratic Front activists in centres as far apart as Soweto, Kroonstad and Welkom, the Star Africa edition claimed yesterday.

● In Soweto, the home of Mr Rapu Molekane, vice-president of the UDF-affiliated Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco), was petrol-bombed early yesterday.

● In Welkom, the homes of two members of the UDF-linked Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and their families fell victim to firebombers. Five people were injured.

● In Kroonstad, Mr Dennis Bloem, a community leader and UDF activist, had his shop stoned and his car van-

dalized.

Soyco leader Mr Rapu Molekane, 23, who was released last week from detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, said his home had been petrol bombed about 3.45am yesterday.

Outside he found pamphlets, with an Azapo letterhead, which read: "We will not be intimidated any longer."

Mr Molekane said he was doubtful whether the pamphlets originated from Azapo.

Five people were hurt in the Welkom township of Thabong when petrol bombs were hurled at the homes of Teacher Vanga, 16, an executive member of Cosas, and Mr Billy Mokoko, a Cosas member, sources in the township said.

Among those injured in the Vanga and Mokoko homes were Nofona Vanga, aged 4, and 18-month-old Melvin Mokoko, who was reported to have been admitted to the provincial hospital with serious burns.

The government's decision to close Lebogang and Thuthagauta high schools last year appears to have sparked the latest violence in Thabong.

In Brendpark, Kroonstad, vandals shattered windows of the shop belonging to Mr Bloem and damaged his car.

Mr Bloem has played an important role in the funerals of the first two unrest victims in nearby Seeisoville township. He was arrested with UDF publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, last Monday. — Sapa

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Boesak challenges Govt on treason

Own Correspondent

United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak and other prominent UDF members last night challenged the Government to arrest them on charges of high treason.

Addressing a protest meeting attended by more than 5 000 people on the Durban campus of Natal University, Dr Boesak said that, if what he had done in founding the UDF and in speaking out against apartheid and the Government was treason, then he should be charged and put in jail.

He was joined in the challenge by Dr Farook Meer, Professor Jerry Coovadia, advocate Mr Zac Yacoob, attorney Mrs Victoria Mxenge and former Robben Island prisoners Mr Billy Nair and Mrs Dorothy Nyembe.

Dr Boesak said the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had singled out the UDF as responsible for creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa.

"But it is not being created by the UDF, but by those people like Mr le Grange who refuse to listen to people who want their rights," he said.

Top UDF man held by police

Prominent United Democratic Front figure Mr Dennis Bloem was held by police at his Kroonstad home this afternoon.

Police had not confirmed whether he had been arrested or detained at the time of going to Press.

Mr Bloem, whose shop and car were damaged by vandals this week, has played a leading role in co-ordinating UDF activities in the Northern Free State.

CME Tints 28/2/85

11A
3077

Lift ANC ban, says chamber

By ROBERT GREIG

THE president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Mr Philip Krawitz, has called for the eventual unbanning of the African National Congress and for the government to negotiate with it.

He also said that this would facilitate the release of Nelson Mandela "who is undoubtedly today still regarded by the vast majority of South African blacks as their true leader".

Mr Krawitz was speaking in the City yesterday

about the role of business in the reform process to the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business Association.

The chamber believed that the time of whites prescribing solutions to blacks was over and it was "incredibly pleasing" to note the government's willingness to hear blacks' views.

Mr Krawitz said he believed that the chamber's efforts with government had helped lead to recent changes in policy.

But he added: "I must

state quite categorically that the credit for these changes must fall squarely on a courageous initiative grasped by the State President and evidently following through to his parliamentary caucus."

Conceding that he was entering an "extremely sensitive area", Mr Krawitz outlined the ANC's origins and history.

He referred to the Youth League faction within the ANC, formed by Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela.

Violence

Mr Krawitz said: "It is evident that violence — something which our chamber will never condone — was chosen as an alternative route to negotiation and conciliation simply by virtue of the fact that the government at that time did not seem well-disposed to negotiated change."

The situation had changed, he said, and therefore he felt it "perhaps appropriate" for the ANC and the government to both "recommit themselves to a process of change through peaceful negotiation, thereby allowing the ANC to become unbanned, and facilitating the release of Nelson Mandela".

"If commerce can act as honest brokers in this endeavour, you will certainly not find us shying away from this responsibility."

114 355

Bombers under attack

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have lashed out at the "South African masters, agents and beneficiaries of apartheid" as the ones responsible for the bomb attacks on the homes of several UDF members.

The reaction from the two organisations also follows the fire-bombing yesterday morning of the home of the vice-president of the Soweto Youth Congress, Mr Sydney Rapu Molekane (23), who was released from detention last week. Mr Molekane was being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. His home in Central Western Jabavu was bombed at about 3.45 am and outside pamphlets with Azapo letterheads, reading "we will not be

intimidated any longer", were found.

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, said it is noteworthy that the bomb attacks on the homes of several UDF members coincide so closely with the arrest and charges of treason against their leaders. "The UDF has no enemies in the black townships. At no stage have our members and officials been targets of mass anger, but the UDF has been a source of grave discomfort, only to South Africa's masters of apartheid. Hence, only agents of apartheid and its beneficiaries can engage in acts of terrorism against the UDF. We are confident that the people of South Africa will identify the culprits in the deepening conflict in this country and vindicate the UDF," he said. Azapo, in a state-

ment, said: "We deplore acts of violence which are aimed at weakening the liberation movement and turning black people against themselves. We know that the system has mastered the art of divide and rule. Pamphlets which emanate

from the system and its agents and which purport to be from various elements in the liberation movement, have been used to foment conflict in the past (August 1983 - UDF launching, June 1984 in Regina Mundi) and it is up to all

elements in the liberation movement to be vigilant at these attempts at sowing fratricide. Now more than ever, it is time for us to forget principled unity and mobilise all our forces against our common enemy, namely racism and capitalism."

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier Jan Coetzee, confirmed that his men were investigating the petrol bomb attack on the home of Mr Molekane. He said a pamphlet purporting to

be from Azapo, was also in the possession of the police.

Five people have been injured in the bomb attacks on the UDF activists' homes which have taken place in Welkom, Kroonstad and Soweto. In Welkom, the homes of Mr Itumeleng Mokobo and Mr Freddy Vanga. In Kroonstad, Mr Dennis Bloem had his shop vandalised and his car stoned.

(2) the possibility of allowing the use of cordless telephones has been considered on several occasions, but the matter could not be taken further as field tests carried out on several available models, all of which operate in frequency bands below 100 MHz, were disappointing. It was namely found that poor transmission performance, the occurrence of blind spots within a dwelling, noise interference and limited range restrict the general use of this generation of cordless telephones and it was consequently not considered in the interests of the Post Office's clients to expose them to a service that does not operate satisfactorily. A recent innovation is the development of cordless telephones that operate in the 900 MHz band. This development is being watched closely and should it be found that these cordless telephones prove to be of satisfactory quality, further consideration will be given to the matter.

- (a) In cases of communities with traditional leadership the successor is determined by means of genealogical tables and in consultation with the elders concerned. In case of communities without traditional leadership election or appointment takes place by ballot, the showing of hands or in a manner determined by the community itself.
- (b) The first-mentioned procedure is followed in all communities with traditional authorities, or where an authority similar to the traditional exists. In other communities one of the other procedures is followed.

(2) Other procedures will be considered if and when any such need should arise.

Handwritten: Hausand Q. 61. 272 Black spots 26/2/85
 *34. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education:

- (1) How many Black spots remained to be removed as at 31 December 1984;
- (2) whether he is reconsidering the decision to remove Black spots; if not, why not; if so, which Black spots are being reconsidered?

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION:

- (1) 67.
- (2) Yes. All 67 are being reconsidered.

Handwritten: Banning of members of organizations from townships/refusal of permits Hausand Q. 61. 272 26/2/85
 *35. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education:

- (1) Whether he and/or the Deputy Minister of Co-operation issued any instructions in 1984 regarding the (a) banning of members of any organiza-

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION:

- (1) In communities with traditional leadership succession takes place according to genealogical rank. In communities without traditional leadership leaders are elected in a democratic manner or appointed in a manner determined by the community itself.



tions from any Black townships and (b) refusal of permits to any persons; if so, (i) (aa) when, (bb) to whom and (cc) why were these instructions issued, (ii) which organizations were included in this ban, (iii) (aa) what are the names of the persons to whom permits were to be refused and (bb) for what reasons were they to be refused permits in each case, (iv) in respect of which townships were these instructions issued and (v) in terms of what statutory provisions was this action taken;

- (2) whether the persons affected by these instructions were notified of the instructions; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) in what manner were they informed in each case;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on this matter?

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION:

- (1) (a) No.
- (b) Yes.
 - (i) (aa) On 21 August 1984.
 - (bb) The East Cape Development Board.
 - (cc) In view of the unrest prevailing in certain Black townships and to prevent possible violence.
- (ii) No organization was affected.
- (iii) (aa) Mrs Molly Blackburn MPC and Mrs Di Bishop MPC.
 - (bb) Security reasons in the particular circumstances that prevailed at the time justified it.
- (iv) Lingelihle, Cradock.

(v) The Development Board was requested to take steps in terms of Regulation 19 of Chapter II of the regulations promulgated by GN R1036 of 1968.

(2) No, because applications to enter urban Black townships are considered by the local authorities concerned on merits pertaining to each application.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(3) No.

Concessions to personnel

*36. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Communications:

Whether any personnel of his Department receive any concessions in regard to telephone services; if so, (a) what is the nature of such concessions and (b) which personnel members qualify for, and (c) how many personnel members benefit from, such concessions?

The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:

Yes;

- (a) exemption from the payment of—
 - installation and transfer costs;
 - monthly rental; and
 - of a number of metered call units varying from 50 to 300 per month depending on salary level of the official;
- (b) all officials in promotion grades regardless of period of service, other staff members occupying posts on the fixed establishment with at least 5 years government service (employees on contract inclusive), security personnel, and any other member of the staff who in the opinion of the Regional Director or Deputy Postmaster General under whom he or she serves