

# BLACK POLITICS 1985

## MAY MONTH

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CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET AT 31ST DECEMBER 19-3

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CONSOLIDATED INCOME STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER 19-3

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# May Day meetings planned for

By SELLO RABOTHATA

A SERIES of meetings have been planned to celebrate May Day throughout the country with others scheduled for today and others set for Saturday, the May Day Co-ordinating Committee announced yesterday. *Sowetan*

A statement released by a spokesman for the committee said the committee experienced difficulties in securing venues in some areas. "Various authorities, both church and State, including the Johannesburg City Council, have refused permission for the use of halls for meetings connected with the celebrations. The committee condemns this action as interference with the rights of workers to organise," the statement said. *11/5/85*

Today's meetings will be held at Khotso House, Johannesburg, at Morena Stores, Katlehong, both start at 1pm to 4pm. Other meetings will be held at Tembisa, Alexandra, Pretoria, Secunda and Pietersburg — venues for these meetings are still to be confirmed. On Saturday rallies will be held at Regina Mundi, Soweto, starting at 1pm,

Tembisa, Morena Stores, Katlehong, Klerksdorp, Vaal and Pretoria. ~~11/5/85~~

Speakers at the meetings will be from the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), unions affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), Azanian Council of Trade Unions (Azactu) and independent unions. The committee made a special call on all workers to attend the May Day celebrations in all areas. "We need to unite now, like never before," the statement said. *11/7*

## Demands

The May Day Co-ordinating Committee said it has formulated a number of demands which will be the focus of attention. The demands include: May Day be recognised as a paid holiday; the right to full employment at a living wage; 40 hours working week to reduce unemployment and create better working conditions; the unbanning of all banned organisations and individuals and the release of all political prisoners.

The Soweto branch of the Azanian People's

Organisation (Azapo) will hold a May Day meeting at the Dube YWCA at 7pm today.

The Lenasia branch of Azapo will also hold a meeting on Sunday starting at 2pm at the Jiswa Centre. Lunch-hour addresses at companies where unions affiliated to Azapo have access will also be conducted today, Mr Zithulele Cindi, an Azapo official, said.

Meanwhile the Transvaal regional congress of Fosatu resolved to call on employers not to punish those who cannot go to work today because of township problems — workers should be allowed to celebrate May Day without any harassment from the employers and the State.

Fosatu also expressed its support to the people in the Vaal townships because "it supports the people's fight against suppression, repression and apartheid caused by an undemocratic government. Fosatu will do all it can to support the Vaal Triangle people and other South African township people's struggle".

Fosatu also called upon all progressive unions to attend a meeting at their offices in Germiston on May 18 to discuss the proposed new super federation and to iron out any possible differences that could impede other unions not to be involved in the federation.

## 'Bury the hatchet' pleads chief

117 African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has appealed to members of the PFP to 'bury the hatchet' following the row which has erupted between Inkatha and the PFP over a paragraph in a report which six MPs drew up following the Langa shootings of March 21. NM 11/5/85

At the same time he has called on the MPs to be man enough to apologise for 'wittingly or unwittingly' distorting this matter.

The MPs reported that black residents of the Uitenhage townships felt resentful that 'Gatsha's impi's' or 'Shaka's' had been used against them. They emphasised this was the terminology employed by the residents.

In a statement in the Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi welcomed the 'vindication' by Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, in Parliament this week that Zulu police involved in quelling unrest in the Eastern Cape were in a minority and that none were involved, in fact, in the Langa incident.

ANC view  
of blasts

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) said today that its guerillas were probably responsible for bomb attacks on two of South Africa's leading gold mine companies in Johannesburg yesterday.

An ANC spokesman said: "Our assumption is very strongly that these attacks were carried out by Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the ANC's military wing)."

The spokesman said that members of the group act from within with wide discretion and he was, therefore, unable to state categorically that ANC guerillas were responsible. — Sapa-Reuter.

# LP tells govt. Talk to ANC

## Political Reporter

THE government had five more years in which to reach an agreement with the ANC before it became impossible to negotiate with the more militant leadership of the organization, Mr Desmond Lockey (LP nominated) said yesterday.

Speaking during the co-operation and development budget vote in the House of Representatives, he also called for a moratorium on the enforcement of influx control laws.

"The Tambo generation" of the ANC would soon be replaced by younger militants with whom the possibility of reaching a settlement would be more remote.

Referring to the unrest and killing of black community councillors, he said community councils had become "living monuments of the failure of apartheid".

## Reality

Moving people from Crossroads to Khayelitsha to live there for a period of 18 months "created further unrest and insecurity".

"Even the Conservative Party has become sufficiently intelligent to accept that black urbanization is a reality."

● Mr Lockey was joined by Mr Peter Mopp (LP Border) in criticizing the government for blaming the growing nationwide unrest on the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"Let me say who is responsible for the problems of SA — the National Party."

The NP policy of apartheid was one of "greed and avarice," he added.

The migrant labour policy was also criticized by Labour MPs.

11A ~~301A~~

# Mabuza calls for talks with ANC

By NKOPANE MAKOPANE

ment to KaNgwane last year.

He said the delay to bring about the desired political dividends has resulted in the unfortunate mood among the young people to sacrifice their academic and professional future on the altar of school boycotts if their actions will help bring immediate reform.

For the evolutionary process to be associated, he said, laws such as the influx control, Group Areas Act, the pass laws

and many others must go. It is the substance and not the spirit of apartheid that should be removed, he said.

He called on the Pretoria Government to show boldness and not look over its shoulders in fear of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party. The two parties, he said, were not South African and should not be allowed to hold the country to ransom.

Turning to the African National Congress

(ANC), he said whether South Africa liked it or not, and whether it advocates violence or non-violence, the organisation is and will remain a factor with regard to the constitutional future of the country, just as SWAPO is the case in Namibia.

"It is our submission that the ANC should be unbanned and then allowed to operate as a legal political organisation, as well as take part in the dialogue and process of political reform.

"If there is any substance in the allegations that the ANC may be behind the current unrest in urban areas, then this is more than the reason why it should be banned. By doing so, the Government will be able to judge the extent of its support and negotiate with its leaders accordingly. We also appeal that Nelson Mandela should be released without preconditions," he said.

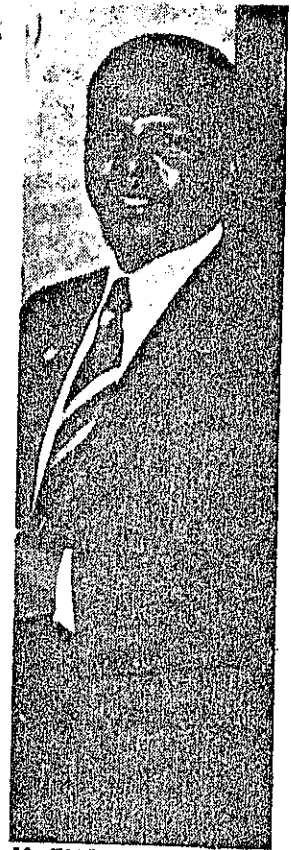
Mr Mabuza also said internal political organi-

sations such as Inkatha, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) have a role to play and should be in the forefront of negotiation process. By the same token, he said, "we do not underestimate our role and contribution towards a peaceful future of our country."

## Unrest

The Chief Minister further said the disinvestment campaign being waged against the country should not be underestimated. He said any argument that disinvestment will hurt the African people does not hold water. An insinuating and arrogant approach towards disinvestment campaign "on our part" will not help the cause.

On the continuing urban unrest and school boycotts, he said, these caused great concern. He said whereas the authorities have attributed the unrest to agitators, they believed that urban communities and school pupils have



Mr ENOS MABUZA ... KwaNgwane leader.

genuine grievances. He appealed to the Government to stop all forced removals. The country, he said, can do without them and the resultant bad image they create about the country internationally.

# Minister hits at police and 'greedy' transport company

African Affairs  
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The KwaZulu Minister of the Interior, Dr Dennis Madide, has called on the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, to curb the 'monopolistic and greedy' tendencies of Empangeni Transport.

He has also appealed to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to stop his 'bloodthirsty police' from harassing commuters in the Empangeni area.

Dr Madide was taking part in a snap debate on the Empangeni bus boycott and its aftermath in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday.

Police have been arresting black taxi and bus owners in the area during the past week and have been issuing spot fines.

The minister said the initiation of the Empangeni bus boycott at the beginning of the year had

been part of a general 'plot' on the part of the United Democratic Front.

There was evidence that the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) had become disenchanted because Empangeni Transport had recognised a trade union not affiliated to it but friendly towards Inkatha.

'In a purely personal feud between Fosatu and Empangeni Transport, the whole community has been made to suffer for three months,' Dr Madide said.

The minister said that, while Fosatu had a personal grudge, the UDF wanted to make the area ungovernable. They had found allies.

He conceded, however, that Fosatu had discovered Empangeni Transport to be 'greedy, acquisitive and monopolistic'.

The company had alleg-

edly been harassing taxi-owners long before the boycott,' Dr Madide said.

'Free enterprise is being vigorously assaulted by Empangeni Transport and its mother body, United Transport, at Putco,' he said.

The minister claimed that the South African Police force was burdened by a type of individual who was 'by nature aggressive and itching to put his force into practice'.

He said it was the duty of Mr le Grange, as minister in charge, to sweep the police clean of these elements.

Inkatha was caught between two 'bloodthirsty' groups, Dr Madide maintained. These were the UDF on one hand and the S A P on the other.

The role of the police in the bus dispute at Empangeni was severely criticised by several speakers during the debate.

Mr Mike Forder, acting general manager of Empangeni Transport, said last night: 'The senior management of Empangeni Transport regrets the statements made by the Minister of the Interior as we have made many concessions to help the commuters in a negotiated agreement with the Commuters' Committee.

'The situation is very much more complex than what the snap debate seemed to indicate.

'We look forward to being able to continue working towards a solution to the present boycott which is causing so much hardship to the community that the company has served since 1946.'

Inquiries to the police were referred to either Mr le Grange or his Press secretary, Col Leon Mellet, but both were unavailable last night.

# Rajbansi asks for probe into 'bribery'

NM. 2/5/85

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14A

**Mercury Reporter**  
THE Chief Minister in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has asked the police to investigate allegations of bribery against him.

Speaking from Cape Town last night, Mr Rajbansi confirmed that on his own initiative he had asked the Minister of

Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to have the 'wild allegations' investigated.

The move follows claims in the House of Delegates by Opposition Solidarity chairman, Mr Pat Poovalingam, that Mr Rajbansi had allegedly taken bribes in the allocation of trading sites.

Mr Rajbansi told the Mercury he immediately rejected the allegations as 'utterly false' when they were made on April 26 and challenged Mr Poovalingam to repeat them outside Parliament.

'On April 30, I stated that the ball is now in Mr Poovalingam's court and I repeated the challenge that he make the allegations outside the House of Parliament in writing.'

'On April 22 he said in the House the majority of Indians have no faith in Mr P W Botha and 24 hours later he stated that

Mr Botha had been accepted as the State President of all the people of South Africa.

'In order to cover up for the embarrassment he made wild allegations against me and he was further subjected to humiliation by being ordered to leave the House,' he said.

Mr Rajbansi also claimed Mr Poovalingam had withdrawn the allegations and had apologised, but Mr Poovalingam denied this. He confirmed that he walked out of the House.

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# Blasts: ANC may be responsible

*Sowetan 2/5/65*  
*11A*

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday its guerrillas were probably responsible for bomb attacks on two of South Africa's leading gold mine companies in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

An ANC spokesman said: "Our assumption is very strongly that these attacks were carried out by Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the ANC's military wing).

The spokesman said members of the group "act from within with very great discretion, "and he was therefore unable to state categorically that ANC guerrillas were responsible for the blasts.

The attacks took place after the two companies, Anglo American Corporation and Anglovaal fired over 16 000 black miners in the nation's biggest mass sackings ever.

Johannesburg police said windows in the buildings were shattered by two Soviet-made limpet mines, weapons frequently used by the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter.



ARGUS 2/5/85  
Bishop Tutu  
**Tutu's Soweto  
peace talks  
fizzle out**

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— The proposed peace talks arranged by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, in Soweto last night fizzled out when executive members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) did not turn up.

Members of Kwazulu's Inkatha movement and the UDF-affiliated Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco), attended the meeting.

The UDF sent a letter to Bishop Tutu saying that it could not attend the meeting because it was called at short notice and affiliates could not be contacted to give the mandate to attend the meeting.

Azapo said it received no formal invitation to attend the meeting and was already committed to May Day meetings which it had organised.

ARGUS 2/5/85

# Seven plead not guilty to public violence

Staff Reporter

SEVEN people alleged to have disrupted a People's Congress Party (PCP) meeting in February last year pleaded not guilty in the Wynberg Regional Court today to charges of public violence.

They are Mrs Theresa Solomon, 39, of Orpheus Crescent, Woodlands; Mr Logan Wort, 21, of Chiat Road, Rocklands; Miss Lucille Meyer, 24, of Beltingham Road, Westridge; Mr Trevor Manuel, 29, of Seventh Street, Kensington; Mr Vivian Petersen, 26, of Capricorn Road, Rocklands; Mr Marius Solomon, 46, of Orpheus Crescent, Woodlands, and Miss Shahieda Issel, 28, of Kraai Road, Rocklands.

The incident allegedly took place at a PCP meeting at Westridge Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain, on February 25.

The State alleges that they refused to adhere to procedures by marching to the stage, turning over tables and ordering the speaker to leave.

It is alleged further that a United Democratic Front poster was displayed and UDF slogans chanted; that they damaged PCP property by upturning tables and breaking banners and a glass, and destroying a flower arrangement.

They are also alleged to have assaulted Peter Marais, Marc Matebe, Charlotte Delacruz and others.

Mr Peter Marais, national leader of the PCP and member of the President's Council, told the court that at the meeting to inform Mitchell's Plain residents of the positive aspect of the House of Representatives election, a group of people caused "pandemonium".

He said he had been warned to expect trouble at the meeting and a group of about 60, many wearing UDF T-shirts, entered the hall.

Before the meeting could begin Mr Solomon stood up and demanded to ask a question.

Mr Wort led the whole group to the platform where they overturned tables and threw a flower arrangement on the floor.

Mr Marais was led away by his assistants. He said that Mr Wort and Mr Solomon were among a small group close to him when he was hit on the head and back.

As he left the hall Mr Frank van Horst, president of the South African Council on Sport, shouted at him "to get out".

"I lost my temper and struck Mr van Horst in the face.

"He fell between chairs. Some of the UDF group came towards me to try to get revenge but my helpers protected me," said Mr Marais.

(Proceeding)

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# UDF and Azapo in clashes

MA [scribble]

Evening Post 2/5/85

Post Reporter

A SIMMERING confrontation between affiliates of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation in Port Elizabeth has broken into the open.

The homes of the leadership of both groups have been attacked. Some leaders are missing.

The Kwazakele home of the president of the Eastern Cape regional committee of the UDF, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, was petrol-bombed last night, and the home of the former chairman of the local branch of Azapo, Mr Ngcobo Nguna, was raided on Tuesday night.

Mr Ngoyi told the Evening Post that at 1am today he was awoken by people hacking away at his front door.

"My door is made of strong wood and when they could not break it they broke the lock. I pushed the couch against the door to prevent their entry.

"As I was blocking their entry, one managed to hit me on the forehead with an iron rod," he said.

"They then threw three petrol bombs but I have a fine-mesh type of burglar proofing and the bombs could not come in. They threw stones and broke some household items," he said.

Mrs Maggie Nguna, 61, mother of Mr Ngcobo Nguna, said a large group arrived at her Kwazakele home on Tuesday at 8pm.

"They said my son's organisation was interfering with the struggle. My son fortunately was not at home. They were armed with an assortment of dangerous weapons," she said.

Mrs Nguna said her son was now missing and did not know whether he was still alive.

In another case, Mr Oscar Makinana, of Kwazakele, said today at 4.30am he opened his door after a knock at the window and more than 40 people — one of whom had a gun — came in. Most of the people were children. "They said they wanted Azapo people."

The mob poured petrol on the floor but Mr Makinana and a neighbour managed to force them out of the house.

# Rajbansi wants (1A) probe *Soweta* after *2/5/85* allegations

**HOUSE of Delegates —**  
The Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said in the house on Tuesday that he had called for a police investigation into "wild allegations" that he had been taking bribes for the allocation of trading sites.

Speaking in the House's budget debate, he said he had written a letter to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, asking that the allegations made by Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity, Reservoir Hills), in debate last Friday should be investigated.

He said it was time to put a stop to wild allegations as the dignity of the House of Delegates was at stake.

Mr Rajbansi said that on the order of the acting chairman at the time, Mr Poovalingam had not only withdrawn the allegations but had also apologised for making them.

He had obtained a transcript of the Hansard recording of the debate indicating the withdrawal and apology and had forwarded a copy of it to the Minister, he said.

Interjecting, Mr Poovalingam said he had not apologised, but had walked out, and there were more interjections from opposition benches calling for a commission of inquiry. — Sapa.

11A  
D. Dipinto 2/5/85

# Nigerian accuses ANC of economic sabotage

CAPE TOWN — A visiting Nigerian preacher has accused the African National Congress (ANC) of "economic sabotage" in his country and vowed to take legal action against the organisation.

The Reverend Noel Mahmud Okereke, who described himself as a preacher, journalist and publisher, alleged that the ANC served as a "conduit for billions of dollars in foreign exchange from Nigeria during the government of Mr Shehu Shagari".

Mr Okereke said he had documented evidence that money apparently intended for the ANC from corporate institutions and individuals found its way into the accounts of prominent Nigerian individuals.

He said he was going to take the necessary legal steps to have warrants of arrest issued to prosecute ANC officials when they entered Nigeria.

The present Nigerian military government feared the "embarrassment of playing into the hands of the apartheid gallery" and therefore did not take up the matter, he said.

South Africa's inclusion in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was essential in terms of pan-African solidarity.

The country was in the most important stage of its political evolution as a confederation and for this reason black Africa would have to be seen as a partner in the process, he said. — DDC.

# Attacks on Azapo, Azasm men flayed (11A)

THE "ATTACKS" yesterday on the homes of senior members of the Azanian People's Organisation and the Azania Student Movement have been condemned by two anti-Government organisations. *Sowetan 2/5/85*

The home of the former Azapo president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, was attacked shortly after midnight on Tuesday with two petrol bombs. A few minutes later windows at the home of the Azasm vice-president, Thami Mcerwa, were broken and the front door damaged. Attackers also damaged the home of Azapo deputy president, the Rev Joe Seoka, of St Hilda's Church in Senaoane, Soweto.

In a statement the United Democratic Front (UDF) says it strongly believes that the people who were responsible for putting out pamphlets which purported to be from Azapo attacking the UDF and vice versa are likely to be responsible for the attacks.

"We condemn the attack on the homes of Azapo and Azasm activists," a UDF spokesman said.

The National Forum Committee said the act was a "systematic campaign by a dirty tricks department which has its origins in the corridors of power."

# Workers are under siege, says Azapo

South African workers are under siege from the forces of capitalism and racism, a capacity audience of 800 was told at a May Day meeting yesterday.

The message was given at Johannesburg's Khotso House in a statement from the Azanian People's Organisation. The meeting was organised by the Joint May Day Co-ordinating Committee representing 31 trade unions to show solidarity with the world's working class in celebrating May 1.

Most speakers spoke in Zulu and identified capitalism as the enemy of the black working

By Michael Tissong  
class in South Africa. Others spoke of the fight for an eight-hour working day and the abolition of overtime as exploitative.

Mr Sipho Radebe, of the 250 000-member Council of Unions of South Africa, said the meeting was historic because they had achieved a unity which surpassed even their own expectations.

"Our solidarity and unity will leave the oppressors trembling with fear," he added.

"No other class can set us free from our bondage, but we ourselves in the working class."

Mr Zolile Mcelwane, representing unions affiliated to the United Democratic Front, said workers were not only oppressed at work.

"When we leave work," he added, "we have to carry our dreaded passes."

"Sometimes when we get home we find our doors locked because we cannot afford rent."

A speaker from the Federation of South African Trade Unions, introduced only as Ntsamani, brought most of the audience to its feet when he said capitalism was the enemy of the workers and sang and hummed: 'Capitalism, capitalism is our enemy.'

A speaker from the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions said: "We are fighting against the forces of capitalism.

"We are not fighting to remove whites and replace them with blacks.

"We are fighting for a complete change in the political and economic spheres.

"We are fighting for the end of the system of exploitation based on capitalism.

"Workers have been divided by the different views of the union leadership, but workers' demands and sentiments are the same and we must help formulate structures for the revolutionary change."



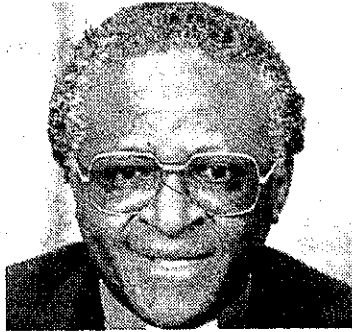
# Azapo and UDF not at Tutu peace talks

By Michael Tissong

The proposed peace talks which were to be hosted by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, in Soweto last night fizzled out when executive members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) did not turn up.

Members of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and members of the UDF-affiliated Soweto Youth Congress attended the meeting.

The UDF sent a letter to Bishop Tutu saying that it could not attend because of the short notice.



Bishop Tutu

Affiliates could not be contacted to give the mandate to attend the meeting.

Azapo said it received no for-

mal invitation and was already committed to May Day meetings which it had organised.

Bishop Tutu who was at the Ipelegeng Community Centre for the meeting with about 10 other clergymen from different churches, said another meeting would be called soon, but the strategies adopted would be different.

Details would have to remain confidential so as not to jeopardise its success.

The immediate problem was the internecine strife among the organisations, but also the general situation in the country. "Too many innocent people are dying," Bishop Tutu said.

CRIC TIME 2/5/78

# Unionists get bail, then held

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Thirty-nine trade unionists of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union were rearrested soon after they had been released on bail yesterday by a Johannesburg magistrate.

The arrests occurred when the 39 marched through the city soon after their release.

The trade unionists all faced a charge under the Internal Security Act for attending an illegal gathering but were not asked to plead.

They were released on R100 bail each and the hearing was adjourned to July 2.

After leaving the court, friends and relatives of the unionists joined them in a march from Johannesburg Magistrate's Court building down Market Street.

About 30 security and uniformed police who had gathered outside the courtroom hours before the accused made their appearance followed the unionists, all wearing T-shirts bearing slogans, and then rearrested them two blocks from the court.

The appearance of the 39 in court was a sequel to an arrest on Monday at Johannesburg's Selbourne Hall following wage talks.

At Khotso House, in De Villiers Street, Braamfontein, about 200 police — some with dogs — monitored a gathering by the Federation of South African Trade Unions from a street.

After the gathering police made an attempt to move into the crowd which was chanting freedom songs but the crowd then moved back into the building.

People then started moving out silently after an order was given to the police to allow the crowd to move out.

Tearsmoke was used to disperse a group of people who had gathered in the street, waiting for the meeting to end.

## AWB

● Meanwhile in Pretoria, a police spokesman said yesterday that police had not acted against 1 000 supporters of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who marched on police headquarters in Pretoria on Tuesday because the crowd had dispersed on request.

The march, organized by the AWB leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, set out from the city hall, where the supporters had attended a meeting to protest against the government's moves to scrap apartheid laws.

The spokesman said police were unaware of the march until the crowd arrived at police headquarters, three blocks from the city hall.

# Death sentence appeals refused

NM 3/5/85

Pietermaritzburg  
Bureau (11A)

TWO ANC terrorists sentenced to death earlier this year for the killing of a man suspected of having supplied the banned organisation with false information, were refused leave in the Supreme Court here yesterday to appeal to the Appellate Division.


Mr Justice Kriek dismissed the application brought on behalf of the two men, Siphso Bridget Xulu, 25, and Clarence

Lucky Payi, 20, for leave to appeal against their sentences and the finding that there were no extenuating circumstances.

The two were sentenced to death on February 26 this year for having shot and killed Mr Ben Langa at his Georgetown home near Pietermaritzburg on May 20 last year.

They were also convicted on additional charges of terrorism and conspiracy to murder, for which they were each sentenced to an effective 12 years' imprisonment.

# Chief Buthelezi views article as mischievous

NM 3/5/85  
  
 SIR — On Friday, April 12 you re-printed an article under the heading 'Botha's bid to widen his black support' written by Mr Patrick Laurence which had appeared in the Rand Daily Mail.

I presume, Sir, that it was the Natal Mercury's judgement that the article was worth re-printing and I would appreciate the opportunity of informing your readers just how wrong your judgement in fact was.

The burden of the article is that the role of Inkatha and the Zionist Christian Church can be equated in that they both give evidence of supporting apartheid and working with the Government to maintain law and order in the face of widespread black rejection of apartheid in other quarters.

This view of Mr Laurence is mischievous in the extreme and I simply cannot understand how your newspaper could support this view by displaying Mr Laurence's article prominently on the editorial page.

In his article Mr Laurence makes the points that:

- 'The ruling National Party, and even its ideology of separate development, has not been unsuccessful in winning black support'.

- The State President's attendance at the 75th anniversary celebrations of the Zionist Christian Church indicated a 'sympathetic alignment of the NP and the ZCC'.

- 'The ZCC is unquestionably a politically conservative force' preaching obedience to authority.

- 'The ZCC, then, has been receiving prominent NP leaders over two decades and assuring them of its backing and its opposition to subversion'.

- 'The support of the ZCC in the present crisis is of obvious importance'.

Mr Laurence then concludes that 'in some situations it may facilitate the emergence, with official connivance and/or encouragement, of black

to speculation of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance of convenience as the dominant political force in the 1990s'

The picture painted is one in which Inkatha and the ZCC are allies of the National Party in the most abhorrent ideology on the continent of Africa. Mr Laurence casts myself and Inkatha in the role of co-oppressors with the National Party. He sees my politics and Inkatha as ethnic politics, and he sinks to the level of making insulting and maligning remarks at my and Inkatha's expense.

Inkatha draws the largest political following any liberation movement has ever drawn in the history of this country because it does precisely the opposite to what Mr Laurence maintains it does.

Inkatha is supported by millions of blacks because it opposes apartheid and because I refuse to participate in any Government schemes aimed at the subjugation of black South Africa.

I refused to join the Black Advisory Council which the State President tried to set up to support the President's Council.

I refused to sanction Inkatha's official participation in black local authority developments within the framework of the new constitution.

I vehemently oppose the new constitution.

I have publicly rejected the value of the State President's informal non-statutory forum.

And above all, I and Inkatha have ensured that KwaZulu will never be manipulated into so-called independence.

I demand that the State President issue a joint statement of intent with black leaders in which there is common acceptance of future Black-White power-sharing. The State President himself and other Cabinet Ministers have from time to time admonished me for beating war drums because I warn South Africa repeatedly that the use of violence by blacks would in the end be justified if white South Africa remains adamant in its re-

have to reconsider my whole position.

I preach defiance of apartheid to Inkatha and to black South Africa, and I plead constantly for white South Africa, and the National Party in particular, to recognise that if every strategy based on non-violence is exploited and fails, then and then only will black South Africa be justified in resorting to violence.

I point out that there are stones left unturned and that there are political opportunities left unexploited, and that, because this is so, there is as yet no moral justification for the use of violence to bring about change in this country.

Mr Laurence is blind and deaf when he does not hear me when I say these things and when he does not see what Inkatha does; and you, Sir, through re-publishing his article, are asking your readers to follow this man's blindness and to be deaf to what I am saying.

I am appalled at The Natal Mercury behaving in this way, and sincerely hope you agree with me that you owe it to your readers to publish this letter in full.

MANGOSUTHU G  
BUTHELEZI

Chief Minister: KwaZulu  
President of Inkatha  
Ulundi

*FOOTNOTE: We certainly are not asking readers to follow anyone's 'blindness', nor are we deaf to what Chief Buthelezi has been saying. The article was published because Mr Laurence is an experienced political observer and the analysis, while not pretending to be the last word on the subject, made some contribution to the debate. Chief Buthelezi's is another — Editor.*

Mr Laurence is mischievous in the extreme and I simply cannot understand how your newspaper could support this view by displaying Mr Laurence's article prominently on the editorial page.

In his article Mr Laurence makes the points that:

- 'The ruling National Party, and even its ideology of separate development, has not been unsuccessful in winning black support'.

- The State President's attendance at the 75th anniversary celebrations of the Zion Christian Church indicated a 'sympathetic alignment of the NP and the ZCC'.

- 'The ZCC is unquestionably a politically conservative force' preaching obedience to authority.

- 'The ZCC, then, has been receiving prominent NP leaders over two decades and assuring them of its backing and its opposition to subversion'.

- 'The support of the ZCC in the present crisis is of obvious importance'.

Mr Laurence then concludes that 'in some situations it may facilitate the emergence, with official connivance and/or encouragement, of black vigilantes in favour of upholding 'law and order' against the threat of anarchy'. Having drawn this conclusion, Mr Laurence then says: 'Mr Botha's attendance at Zion City should be viewed in the same context as his recent discussions with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi'.

Having established a false base from which to proceed in making an analogy between Inkatha and the ZCC in terms of a perceived similarity, Mr Laurence then goes on to further compound his misanalysis by making the following points:

- President Botha and I continue 'their political quarrel, (and) have faced a common and growing challenge from both the banned ANC and the extra-parliamentary but legal United Democratic Front'.

- Both the State President and I have accused the UDF of being an ANC front.

- Both the State President and I are leaders of large ethnic groups.

- That the State President and I put aside our differences to explore the possibility of partial agreement. And he concludes that the talks led

cause it opposes apartheid and because I refuse to participate in any Government schemes aimed at the subjugation of black South Africa.

I refused to join the Black Advisory Council which the State President tried to set up to support the President's Council.

I refused to sanction Inkatha's official participation in black local authority developments within the framework of the new constitution.

I vehemently oppose the new constitution.

I have publicly rejected the value of the State President's informal non-statutory forum.

And above all, I and Inkatha have ensured that KwaZulu will never be manipulated into so-called independence.

I demand that the State President issue a joint statement of intent with black leaders in which there is common acceptance of future Black-White power-sharing. The State President himself and other Cabinet Ministers have from time to time admonished me for beating war drums because I warn South Africa repeatedly that the use of violence by blacks would in the end be justified if white South Africa remains adamant in its refusal to share power with blacks.

I demand an open, race-free society which is based on Western principles of democracy. I have said both here and abroad that the African National Congress' Mission in Exile was driven underground by the white National Party Government.

While I reject violence, I have warned Mr Botha and white South Africa that the process of polarisation is heading this country towards bloodshed, and I have said publicly both here and abroad that if the masses in South Africa ask me to 'go to the bush', as a democrat I would

through re-publishing his article, are asking your readers to follow this man's blindness and to be deaf to what I am saying.

I am appalled at The Natal Mercury behaving in this way, and sincerely hope you agree with me that you owe it to your readers to publish this letter in full.

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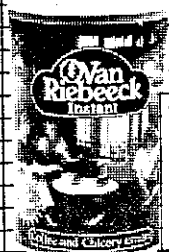


Cup-A-Soup  
All Varieties

79

Fuerte  
Avos  
Large  
Each

24c



Cremora  
Coffee  
Creamer  
319  
1 kg

Van Riebeeck  
Instant  
Coffee  
389  
750 g

Everything's OK.

OK

OK is everything.

*Capt. Thors 3/5/85*  
**PCP leader tells  
court of 'chaos'**

**Court Reporter**

A NOMINATED member of the President's Council, Mr Peter Marais, yesterday told a Wynberg regional magistrate that members of the United Democratic Front had disrupted a meeting of the People's Congress Party, and had called him a "sell-out and government stooge".

This was said in the trial of Mrs Theresa Solomons, 39. Mr Logan Wort, 21, Miss Lucille Meyer, 23, Mr Trevor Manuel, 28, Mr Vivian Petersen, 26, Mr Marcus Solomon, 45, and Mrs Shahieda Issel, all of Mitchells Plain, on charges of public violence.

They all pleaded not guilty.

The State alleges that they disrupted a PCP meeting at Westridge Civic Centre on February 2 last year, and maliciously damaged property of the PCP including a flower arrangement, a drinking glass, posters and registration cards.

They also allegedly assaulted Mr Marais, Mr Marc Matebe and Ms Charlotte Delacruz.

Mr Marais, national leader of the PCP, told the court that a group of people had caused chaos at a meeting called to inform people of the more positive aspects of the new constitution.

About 70 people wearing yellow UDF sweaters had entered the hall and Mr Solomon had then began asking questions, Mr Marais said.

Mr Wort led the group to the platform where some overturned the table and upset a flower arrangement.

He told the court he had lost his temper and hit Mr Frank van der Horst (president of Sacos) as he was leaving the hall, because Mr Van der Horst had shouted at him to "get out".

Mr A S McCarthy was the magistrate. Mr M A Broeksma was the prosecutor. Mr A M Omar, instructed by E Moosa & Associates, appeared for the accused.

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The move towards shifting taxation on the black worker has got its

for better rights in the workplace for workers in South Africa.

11



FM 3/5/85

the aegis of the National Forum (NF), and InKatha yeNkululenko yeSizwe (Inkatha). All three organisations profess to have the same ultimate goal: black majority rule and the end of all apartheid. But ideologically they are sharply divided.

Inkatha stands out as the predominantly Zulu-oriented "cultural" organisation rallying around Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. They "oppose the system from within."

UDF and Azapo fight from the outside with varying degrees of militance. But they are sharply divided. The origins of the division go back to 1959. In that year young leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) who considered themselves "Africanists" and who were suspicious of the role white radicals played in the organisation, broke away to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

To this day, the UDF's loyalties have remained with the ANC, while Azapo remains committed to the PAC both in ideology and in practice. For example, almost all the patrons of the UDF have strong ANC leanings, while Azapo excluded all other organisations from organising the funeral of PAC leader Robert Sobukwe in 1978.

Azapo is the political home of the Black Consciousness (BC) movement, which adheres to a radical, racially exclusive philosophy. The first overt BC grouping was the Black People's Convention of 1972. Almost all BC leaders and organisations were banned in 1977. Azapo came in its place. The Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) is Azapo's student body. Little is heard nowadays of the NF.

The UDF is a broadly based movement consisting of several hundred organisations and trade unions. Unlike Azapo, it has many white members. It actively lobbied whites to vote against the new constitution at the time of the 1983 referendum, and urged coloureds and Indians not to vote in the inaugural

elections under the constitution.

The UDF's ideological and philosophical base is the same as that of the ANC: the Freedom Charter of 1955, which advocates an SA "which belongs to all who live in it, black and white." The UDF-affiliated student bodies are the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso). Most recent attacks were reportedly by Azaso members on Azasm members.

Cynics believe that the split between the "Charterists" and "BC," as has so often happened with African opposition movements, will grow as SA gets closer to majority participation in government. They believe it will get even worse once the ANC and the PAC are unbanned, and will develop into a type of Zimbabwean Zanu-Zapu or Angolan MPLA-Unita conflict once there is majority rule.

In the immediate future, much depends on what Bishop Tutu can achieve when he chairs the peace meeting between the UDF, Azapo and Inkatha. Tutu is in a favourable position to mediate: he is patron of both the UDF and Azapo. ■

## BLACK POLITICS

(11A)

### Divide and revolt

Differences between SA's main black political organisations have erupted in violence several times in recent weeks. This could seriously hamper their efforts to get SA to move from white minority rule to majority participation in central government.

South Africans of all races have been shocked by news of the murder of blacks by blacks in recent unrest. The victims were mainly black community councillors, policemen and other "collaborators with the system." But in the last two weeks there has been bloody conflict between rival factions of black activist organisations.

Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu this week called for an urgent meeting between the warring groups. He has offered to act as chairman.

The three organisations involved are the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), under

## PCP leader tells court of assault

Staff Reporter

PEOPLE'S Congress Party (PCP) leader Mr Peter Marais told the Wynberg Regional Court that a public meeting of his party was disrupted by a group who assaulted him and others.

He was giving evidence in the trial of Mrs Theresa Solomon, 39, and Mr Marius Solomon, 46, of Woodlands, Mr Logan Wort, 21, Mrs Shahieda Issel, 28, and Mrs Vivian Petersen, 26, of Rocklands, Miss Lucille Meyer, 24, of Westridge and Mr Trevor Manuel of Kensington.

They have pleaded not guilty to public violence.

The State alleges that they disrupted the meeting, damaged PCP property and assaulted Mr Marais, Mrs Charlotte de la Cruz and Mr Marc Matebe.

Mr Marais said the aim of holding the meeting on February 25 last year at Westridge Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain was to inform people of the advantages of participating in the House of Representatives election.

### YELLOW UDF T-SHIRTS

The meeting was attended by about 170 people, including a group of about 60, many of whom wore yellow United Democratic Front T-shirts, Mr Marais said.

Mrs Solomon, Mr Wort, Mr Solomon and Mrs Issel were among the group.

This group got on to the platform, chanting slogans such as "We don't want sellouts", "Peter Marais is a collaborator" and "Power to the people".

He said they overturned a table on top of him and hit him.

The hearing continues today.

# Tutu bids for new peace talks

Sowetan 3/5/85

11A

THE ANGLICAN Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday said after a meeting of the clergy a decision was made to meet the different black political organisations separately in a bid to obtain unity and reconciliation.

Bishop Tutu was speaking after the proposed peace talks meeting which were supposed to have been held at the Ipelegeng Community Centre, in Soweto, on Wednesday night, had failed to materialise. Two of the organisations which were to attend, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) did not turn up, due to other commitments.

Bishop Tutu said: "We have decided that the church should be in the forefront of the unity and reconciliation talks. After a meeting of the clergy on the same night, a decision was reached that we would meet the different organisations separately. The meeting will be held very soon as time is running out and things are getting worse and worse."

Organisations which turned up for the Wednesday meeting were Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement members and those of the UDF affiliate, Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco). Azapo said they had not received a formal invitation and

By SELLO RABOTHATA

were already committed to May Day meetings which had been arranged for the day.

Mr Sidney Mafumadi, the UDF's Transvaal publicity secretary, said the organisation was invited to attend the meeting in order to discuss tension and conflict in the black community. "We welcome the gallant effort of Bishop Tutu to create a situation of harmony, peace and unity among our people. Conditions of peace among ourselves is no doubt a clear requisite for a successful struggle against apartheid," he said.

## Violence

He said the UDF condemns the use of violence against freedom-loving organisations. It must be stated emphatically that the common enemy of the UDF and Azapo is the apartheid system. The UDF will make common cause with organisations like Azapo over matters of mutual interest. The differences between the UDF and Azapo are non-antagonistic.

The UDF said: "Unfortunately, due to the short notice received, we have been

unable to conduct adequate consultations with our affiliated organisations. In consequence we are unable to take part in such a meeting at this stage."



BISHOP Desmond Tutu.

(11A) (11A) S. 1000 3/5/85  
**RAU student chief backs talks with ANC**

By Susan Fleming

The chairman of the Rand Afrikaans University Student Representative Council, Mr Frank Kilbourn, has agreed with the University of Stellenbosch's Student Parliament that there should be unconditional talks between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Government.

The Stellenbosch student body yesterday said it supported talks with any group which sought a solution to South Africa's political problems.

Mr Kilbourn said last night that communication between all groups was of "the utmost importance".

Although violence was not a means of solving

South Africa's political problems, the ANC's views would have to be taken into consideration.

"If we do not talk to the ANC then violence will be used for ever. The time has come for us to meet," he said.

The University of the Orange Free State (UOFS) has reacted strongly to the call for

unconditional talks with the ANC.

The president of the UOFS Student Representative Council, Mr Heerden van Niekerk, said last night:

"I stick to the State President's principle that we must not speak to those groups who support violence."

ANC man <sup>11A</sup>  
dies in crash <sup>3/5/85</sup>

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

HARARE — Mr Judson Khuzwayo, chief representative in Zimbabwe of the African National Congress (ANC), was killed in a car accident yesterday while travelling between Zimbabwe and Zambia.

ANC sources in Harare said Mr Khuzwayo died when the car overturned on the Zimbabwe side of the border.

The 44-year-old former Robben Island prisoner had been chief ANC representative in Zimbabwe since last year. He kept a low profile here.

He leaves a widow, Beauty, and three children.

In 1981 the representative of the ANC in Harare, Mr Joe Gqabi, was assassinated by an unknown gunman.

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# Azapo, UDF in violent clashes

MK  
3/5/85

From KEN VERNON

Weekend Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — At least one man and two children are reported to have died in violent clashes between Azapo and UDF supporters that threaten a bloody war in a black township here.

Several other people from both sides have been beaten or stabbed and the homes of leaders of both organisations have been attacked.

## Children die

In the worst incident the two children of an Azapo member, Mr M Mayekiso, died in a petrol bomb attack on his home.

According to an Azapo statement, two youths attacked Mr Mayekiso's house with petrol bombs and his two children, aged three and five, were burnt to death.

Mrs Mayekiso escaped and is reported to be in hospital in a serious condition.

According to Azapo, another of its members, Mr Mareksi Tshisa, 35, was found yesterday in the Kwazakele township after having been stabbed and stoned to death, while another member, Mr Mbulelo Ngwendu, is in a critical condition in Livingstone Hospital after allegedly being stabbed by a group of UDF supporters.

## State of siege

"Azapo is in a state of siege," Mr Mbuyeli Dukumbama, chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of Azapo, said today.

"The UDF is out to eliminate Azapo entirely."

There have also been retaliatory attacks on UDF members and last night the president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, was hit on the head with an iron bar when a group of alleged Azapo supporters attacked his home.

In another attack on a UDF member, Mr Mono Badela, a journalist and chairman of the Media Workers' Association, was allegedly kidnapped, beaten and stabbed by Azapo supporters.

## Cooler heads

But while supporters of the two groups are attacking each other, cooler heads are trying to stop the conflict.

"We regret this conflict happening at a time when we are fighting a common enemy," said Mr Mkhusele Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, a UDF affiliate organisation but he said Azapo had launched an offensive against UDF members.

"Our door is still open for negotiations," countered Azapo's leader, Mr Dukumbama. He admitted that Azapo and the UDF did have deep ideological differences.

# Govt urged to meet ANC

~~20/12~~  
IIA  
SOWETO 3/5/85  
APPEALS have been

made to the Government to come to grips with the causes of black unrest and to make further attempts to negotiate with the African National Congress.

These and other issues were raised in the House of Representatives during the Budget Debate on the Co-operation and Development Vote on Wednesday.

Speakers of the majority Labour Party launched a new attack on apartheid laws and policies affecting black people and called on the Government to stop forced removals, to declare a moratorium on influx control, and to abandon the migrant labour system.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, responded with an assurance that he would give serious attention to the appeals.

He said he wanted to get away from the idea that black communities were "a problem". He would rather see them as an asset, Dr Viljoen said.

In a fiery speech Mr Desmond Locky (Labour, nominated) said May Day celebrations were not aimed at overthrowing the government but symbolised the hope of oppressed people to escape from their miseries.

He said he would have liked to have his "black brothers" with him in the house.

Marais 3/5/85 (11A) ~~2001~~

## PCP leader tells court of assault

Staff Reporter

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Mrs Solomon, Mr Wort, Mr Solomon and Mrs Issel were among the group.

This group got on to the platform, chanting slogans such as "We don't want sellouts", "Peter Marais is a collaborator" and "Power to the people".

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The hearing continues today.



# Azapo in a state of siege' in townships

11A

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**VIOLENT** confrontations between members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) continued last night.

Chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of Azapo, Mr Mbuyeli Dukumbama, claimed today Azapo members came under sustained attack in PE's townships and three people were killed, several injured and homes burnt down in attacks.

The police were unable to confirm the incidents. Commenting on the attacks, Mr Dukumbama said the UDF had "overwhelming support" in the Eastern Cape and Azapo was "under siege".

Mr Dukubama said it was believed supporters of the UDF were responsible for several of the incidents.

He said an Azapo member, Mr Mareksi Tshisa, was found stabbed to death yesterday morning in Zwide.

Mr M Mayekiso, of Kwazakele, a member of the organisation, lost two of his children when they were burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack on his home last night in which his wife was critically injured.

He said other attacks on Azapo members were:

- Mr Mbululo Mgwendo is in a critical condition after being stabbed by a mob claiming to be UDF supporters.

- An executive member of Azapo's PE branch, Miss Nosiphiwo Tyatyaza, a nurse, was attacked "by a mob of more than 50 UDF supporters" at the surgery of Dr M F Maqina in New Brighton, yesterday afternoon. Her condition was reported to be serious, he said.

- Another Azapo member, Miss Pindiwe January, was beaten up by a mob of about 100 youths yesterday. She suffered lacerations and a possible broken jaw.

- The home of a former Azapo treasurer, Mr Vuyisile Gqomo, was raided last night and his possessions taken outside and burnt.

- The home of two brothers, Mr Nceba Salemntu and Mr Ncedo Salemntu, both of the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm), was burnt down last night by a mob "claiming to be UDF supporters", Mr Dukumbama said.

- Another Azasm member, Mr Welile Ningi, also had his Kwazakele home burnt down, he said.

The UDF was attempting to "destroy and eliminate Azapo". Mr Dukumbama said that there were probably "other forces" involved, which were trying to divide the organisations.

"It is our belief that the UDF has fallen for the trick."

He said there were ideological differences between the two organisations, with Azapo being a black consciousness organisation and the UDF non-racial.

However, he said, the Azapo door was still open for talks with the UDF. The UDF had decided to call off Wednesday's planned meeting with Azapo after Azapo officials had requested that a "neutral venue" other than the offices of Pebcu in New Brighton be used for the meeting.

"Azapo urges the UDF and all parties concerned to meet as soon as possible to prevent further and unnecessary bloodshed," he said.

He denied that Azapo had been responsible for a petrol bomb attack on the president of the UDF's East Cape Region, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, this week.

He admitted that a UDF supporter, journalist Mr Mono Badela, was taken to the home of Rev Ebenezer Maqina, where he was stabbed twice with a knife by an Azapo

supporter -- "not the 10 times mentioned in a newspaper".

- Attempts to contact various spokesmen of the UDF proved unsuccessful today.

Ill feeling between the rival political groups has been simmering all week.

Yesterday a former Azapo member was chased and attacked near his home in Dubula Road, Zwide, by five youths claiming to be UDF supporters.

The attackers accused Mr Luvoya Qeqe, a former Robben Island prisoner, of being a member of Azapo. They then pulled out a knife and threatened to attack him.

Mr Qeqe assured them he was no longer interested in politics and had resigned from Azapo over a year ago. When his attackers refused to listen, he fled.

Later the same crowd stopped a car in which he and his brother were travelling. He was warned that he would be beaten if he was seen with Azapo affiliates in the future.

"I am not a member of any political organisation and am no longer interested in politics. Members of these organisations have become reactionary and are now attacking ordinary people in the street," Mr Qeqe said.

In a separate incident, Mr Thembekele Maqina, 24, of Mangxaki Road, Kwazakele, arrived home from work on Thursday night to find his house stoned and all the windows broken.

"My neighbours told me the gang who stoned my house would return to burn it down as I was a member of Azapo." He maintained, however, that he was not a member.

Mr Maqina, a nephew of Azapo member the Rev Mzwandile Maqina, said he was not interested in politics at all and belonged to no organisation.

## COURTS

### Street gathering: Azaso 15 released on bail

Fifteen members of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) were granted bail of R100 each yesterday by a Johannesburg magistrate after allegedly attending an illegal gathering in Commissioner Street on May 1.

The magistrate, Mr J B van der Merwe, warned them to reappear on July 8. They were not asked to plead.

The Azaso members were: Mr Joseph Nxusane (23), Mr Dali Mpofli (22), Mr Patrick Motshabi (25), Mr Mlungisi Mtsolongo (20), Mr Jacob Khumalo (22), Mr Eddie Tihotlalemaje (24), Mr Thami April (20), Mr Arnold Letwaba (23), Miss Vendi Skweza (25), Mr Vusi Khumalo (22), Mr Sondile Dikeni (19), Mr Simpiwe Nanise (26), Mr Qondi Jali (23), Mr Pascal Moloï and a 17-year-old whose name may not be published.

Mr A Soman appeared for the 15 and Mr M Millers appeared for the State.

# UDF 16 finally out on bail

## Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Sixteen United Democratic Front leaders charged with treason were released one-by-one last night from the new Maritzburg prison after bail of R170 000 had been posted.

For some of them it was their first taste of freedom since their detention on the eve of the tri-cameral parliamentary elections in August last year.

Their release came after an agreement was reached during the first day of their bail application hearing in the Maritzburg Supreme Court before the Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne.

By late last night, prison authorities were still processing

their release papers and handing back personal belongings.

According to *The Star's* Durban correspondent, the bail money arrived in large cash sums during the early evening after the bail had been granted.

Leaders of the UDF welcomed the Maritzburg Supreme Court decision for granting bail to their members.

The Judge President of Natal called for the repeal of the section of the Internal Security Act which gives the Attorney-General power to prevent courts granting bail.

The accused and their families and friends smiled broadly as their legal team received accolades for their court triumph.

Mr Justice Milne said he could not understand why the authorities had considered it necessary to by-pass the courts.

"It is the function of the courts and not the Attorney-

General to grant bail. I cannot give the reason for this curtailment of ancient and fundamental rights. I can see even less reason why Section 30 of the Internal Security Act should be invoked. Serious consideration should be given for its repeal," he said.

Mr Justice Milne said the courts could exercise their power to grant bail free of Government control. The Attorney-General was subject to the power of the Minister of Justice, and had to take orders from him.

He said that information given to the Attorney-General to by-pass the court granting bail might be honest or factually in correct.

"The Attorney-General hears only one side. He cannot test the information he is given. The accused must be given a chance to test the information," he said.

Mr Justice Milne said he was granting bail and it was right and proper that the accused should be released on bail.

Bail for each accused varied from R5 000 for most of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) members to R15 000 for many of the Transvaal-based accused.

The State and the Defence agreed to the following bail conditions:

- Each accused would report twice daily to a police station.
- Each accused would refrain from leaving his magisterial district except with the permission of the Attorney-General or the investigating officer. Permission would not be refused for the accused to attend legal consultations.
- Each accused would surrender his/her passport or any travel document.
- Each accused would refrain from communicating with any

State witnesses.

● Each accused would refrain from taking part in activities of any organisation mentioned in the indictment.

● The accused would not attend any gatherings organised by named organisations.

UDF Transvaal publicity secretary Mr Sidney Mufamadi welcomed the release of the 16 but pointed out that the conditions of bail meant that they would only be relatively free.

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), with which several of the accused are associated, hailed the move.

Spokesman Mr Isu Chiba added that while the TIC would have been happier to see charges completely withdrawn, it nevertheless viewed the release of the 16 as a victory for democratic forces in South Africa.

Mr Billy Nair, vice chairman

of the Natal region, said: "I welcome the statement of the Judge President that Section 30 of the Internal Security Act be repealed and agree with him that it undermines the prerogative of the judiciary to decide on bail," he said.

The 16 accused are: Mrs Albertina Sisulu (66), the Reverend Frank Chikane (34), Mr Cassim Saloojee (49), Professor Ismail Mohammed (54), and four members of the SA Allied Worker's Union (Saawu), Mr Sisa Njikaleni (29), Mr Sam Kikine (36), Mr Isaac Ngcobo (36) and the national chairman Mr Thozamile Gqweta.

Mr Mawalan Ramgobin (52), Mr Chanderto Sewpershad (43), Mr Moorogih Jayahajapathy Naidoo (53), Dr Essop Essack Jassat (52), Dr Dundubela Aubrey Mokoena (52), Mr Ephraim Curtis Mkondo (56), Mr Archibald Joseph Gumede (70) and Mr Devadas Paul David (40).

# 'Azapo man dies' in feud with UDF

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A 19-year-old member of the Azanian People's Organization was reportedly killed yesterday after a week of bitter feuding between members of United Democratic Front affiliates and Azapo supporters.

The Kwazakele home of Mr Edgar Ngoyi, president of the UDF's Eastern Cape region, was petrol-bombed early on Thursday. The former regional chairman of Azapo, Mr Ngcobo Nguna, was reported missing after his home was raided on Tuesday night.

And in a week of repeated confrontations several homes were stoned and many people injured, culminating in the reported death of the 19-year-old yesterday when UDF and Azapo supporters clashed on several occasions in New Brighton and Kwazakele.

However, a police spokesman in Pretoria was unable to confirm the death last night.

Mr Mono Badela, a UDF supporter and the Eastern Cape correspondent for a Transvaal weekly newspaper, yesterday said about 100 people claiming to be Azapo members had hacked their way into his house at Limba Street, New Brighton.

He said he was abducted in a panel van and taken to the Rev Ebenezer Maqina's house, where he was assaulted and axed on the head. He was admitted to Livingstone Hospital with ten deep cuts in his head and lacerations on his body.

Mr Maqina said yesterday's conflict began after members of his family apprehended four boys who were allegedly sent by Mr Badela to attack his house.

He admitted raiding Mr Badela's house and said the youths had repeated in front of Mr Badela that they were sent by him to stone Mr Maqina's house.

When these allegations were put to Mr Badela he denied having sent youths to attack Mr Maqina's house. He said the four boys had made the confession after being assaulted for four hours.

# Aspects of commission to be considered

NM 4/15/85



## Political Correspondent

THE Government is to consider certain aspects of the Buthezi Commission's report which it rejected when it was first published.

This was revealed in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, in reply to questions by the Opposition's chief spokesman on Black Affairs, Mr Ray Swart, MP for Berea.

Dr Viljoen said the Government was prepared to consider 'certain aspects' where further discussion 'might be useful'.

'This will be taken up with the Chief Minister.'

Though closely questioned by Mr Swart on the possibility of a new approach towards the future relationship between the so-called white Natal and black KwaZulu, Dr Viljoen did not reply directly.

The Government, he said, accepted the interdependence of the two areas was 'an incontrovertible fact'.

A joint committee of

KwaZulu and South Africa was at present planning future development points and were co-operating on the planning of the development of the Tugela Basin.

Replying to Mr Swart about consolidation of KwaZulu, he confirmed that the latest proposals were now being studied by the Cabinet.

'The consolidation of KwaZulu was the most difficult and most complicated of all the national states,' he said.

Mr Swart said there was 'an absolute interdependence between black and white in the region' economically, culturally and socially.

'The region cannot be administered on the basis of totally separate white and black administrations and I believe that even Government members realise that is idle to speculate that what is considered to be KwaZulu can operate on a basis independent of Natal and the rest of South Africa,' he said.

# Natal Indian and coloured polls 'frozen'

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NM 4/15/85

## Mercury Reporter

INDIAN and coloured Local Affairs Committee elections in Natal had been frozen until 1988 to coincide with the establishment of Regional Service Councils, it was announced yesterday.

Mr Baldeo Dookie, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Delegates, and Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, decided on the freezing of local elections in spite of the lifting of the moratorium on white and Indian local authorities.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had originally announced that all municipal, LAC and management committee elections would be frozen until 1988, but later lifted the moratorium.

However, Mr Dookie said that if there were vacancies on an LAC, a by-election would have to be held.

Mr Albie Stowman, chairman of Durban's coloured LAC and head of the Association of Natal LACs, said although elections for coloured LACs in Natal had been postponed until 1988, elections for management committees in the Cape would go ahead.

Mr Dookie also said that while proposals were being considered by the Government for the transfer of local government power to the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in each House, all decisions affecting Indians would in the meantime be made by the administrator of each province in consultation with him.

He said new proposals released could have far-reaching implications for local government. They were aimed at tailoring the local government system to the new Parliament.

Proposals included the upgrading of LACs and management committees.

## Unrest ;

APR 7 1978  
4/5/88 (11A)

# Harare envoy of ANC dies

From MICHAEL  
HARTNACK

HARARE. — The chief representative of the African National Congress in Zimbabwe, Mr Judson Diza Khuzwayo, 43, died in a road accident on Wednesday, according to the semi-official news agency Ziana.

The agency said he was travelling between Chinhoyi and Karoi when his car overturned at 3pm. Ziana quoted a statement from the ANC branch in Harare saying he had been on his way to Lusaka for consultations when the accident happened.

## Prison

Born in 1941 at Adams Mission in Natal's Mbumbushu district, he was arrested in June 1963 and served ten years on Robben Island. He was detained in December 1975 and released in February 1976.

He fled South Africa the following year and was appointed chief ANC representative in Lesotho, being transferred here last year. He is survived by his wife and three children.

Since the assassination in August 1981 of Mr Joe Gqabi, who had come to establish an official ANC office, the ANC has maintained the lowest of profiles in Harare.

Relations between the ANC and the Zimbabwe Government became strained soon after independence.

Cape Times 4/5/85 11A 21

## Students continue boycott

Education Reporter

THEOLOGY students of the University of the Western Cape yesterday continued their boycott of classes after holding a brief placard demonstration in support of a demand that a part-time lecturer in the Theology Faculty be dismissed.

Students, who are demanding the replacement of the Rev David Botha, a former moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, marched this

week to the Church Centre in Belhar to hand over a letter informing the Curatorium that lectures would be boycotted until Mr Botha was relieved of his post.

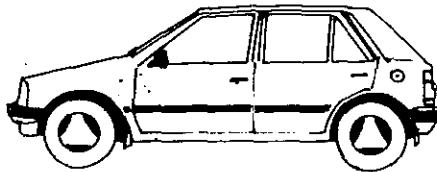
The Curatorium, which is the governing body of the faculty, has not yet responded to the students' letter.

Mr Botha, who lectures final-year students in church law, said this week he did not wish to discuss the matter.

# ST JOHN AMBULANCE

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# sunrise woman

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# Winnie's life is a lo

Marika Sboros

Once she was just "Nelson Mandela's wife". Today the accoiade "Mother of a nation" is rightly hers.

Far from relegating her to dim obscurity, banishment to the ultra-conservative Free State dorp of Brandfort has made Mrs Winnie Mandela an international phenomenon.

Recently the world's literary eyes focused on a long-awaited, authorised biography of this implacable opponent of apartheid by South African journalist Nancy Harrison, now living in London.

Those who know Winnie Mandela well speak in reverent tones. The words "regal", "autocratic", "enigmatic" pop up as often in conversation as "powerful", "honest" and "uncompromising".

She has her detractors — she is only human. But the community in which she now lives considers her a saint.

Nancy Harrison's biography, *Winnie Mandela, Mother of a Nation*, paints a portrait of her as the living example of the maxim: when you strike a black woman, you have struck a rock.

The book will not be available to those who should read it most — Mrs Mandela's fellow South Africans — as she is banned and cannot be quoted.

Prophetically her parents named her Nomzamo (she who strives), adding Winnie for a church christening, and imbued her with unshakeable moral convictions and a caring nature that has made her reject injustice and care passionately for the well-being of her people in her Pondoland birthplace.

References to her physical attraction and graceful demeanour

**'If freed,  
she'd stay  
on in tiny  
Brandfort'**

nour are legion. Harrison gives warm and human insight into the beautiful young Winnie's inexperienced handling of an ardent suitor — Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Chief Matanzima, a nephew of Nelson Mandela and now Transkei's State President, was fascinated by her, though she did not return his affections.

Undaunted by her rejection, he flooded her with romantic letters.

Then aged 20, she caught the eye of 38-year-old Nelson Mandela, a lawyer and member of the great house of Thembu, beloved by millions.

Scarcely able to believe that the revered Mandela was seriously interested in her, she failed to mention his nephew's infatuation. This led to an amusing incident in which Mrs Mandela met uncle and nephew together, each unaware the other was in love with her.

She reacted by bolting, leaving the two men to sort it out.

If Winnie Mandela was unbanned tomorrow, she would probably find it difficult to leave the small Free State dorp of Brandfort, to which she was banished in 1977, says her daughter, Zinzi Mandela.

"The community depends on her," says Miss Mandela, who is studying for a BA degree at the University of Cape Town.

The example of courage and determination set by her mother has kept the Mandela family ties strong, Miss Mandela says.

"We have not been destroyed by the disruption to the family caused by my father's imprisonment and frequent separations from my mother when we were very young," she says.

Miss Mandela describes her mother as a "truly remarkable humanitarian", with a warm sense of humour.

"I am always amazed at how much time she has to give in helping others. She runs a mobile clinic in Brandfort, a creche, Operation Hunger projects and a sewing circle. Yet she always has time to give us all the love and attention we need," Miss Mandela says.

Needless to say Mandela won the day.

She was captivated by him and his dream of a free and democratic South Africa.

"The chance to help Nelson realise that dream was the opportunity for which she had been searching since those days in Pondoland, when she had listened with such youthful indignation to the tales of all the wrongs suffered by blacks in South Africa over generations.

"She was utterly committed with a strength of purpose from which nothing has been able to shake her through (25 years) of harassment," says Harrison.

After their marriage in the Bizana Methodist church, the Mandelas returned to Johannesburg with the wedding cake, to be cut, traditionally, at the bridegroom's home in front of his elders.

There has been no opportunity to carry out this custom, says Harrison. Mrs Mandela still has the cake, waiting for her hus-

band's release.

"Miraculously, and perhaps symbolically, the cake has never crumbled away," she writes.

The couple's married life together was brief and punctuated by police raids and harassment from the authorities.

For Mrs Mandela, the first police raid was the most traumatic. Thereafter she was injured to truncheons banging on the door, heralding another unwanted intrusion.

Her first incarceration, when pregnant with her first child, was also the worst, the shock of arrest and confinement in a prison cell almost causing her to miscarry.

Only the timely intervention of cell-mate Albertina Sisulu, a trained midwife, saved the child.

Later, when she became the target of frequent arrests, she had her little suitcase packed, ready at the door, like a pregnant woman waiting to go to the nursing home.

by  
Marika Sboros



# love story

If Mrs Mandela was unbanned, her views would not change.

"The oppression she has suffered has served only to strengthen her convictions," she says.

Dr Beyers Naude, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches says Mrs Mandela's unbanning would be proof of true reform moves. "Government leaders are always saying they want to talk to authentic leaders of the black community. They should start with Mrs Mandela," says Dr Naude, who described Mrs Mandela's banning as "totally unjustified".

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton and a long-time friend of Mrs Mandela, is of course a fierce opponent of the system of banning. She considers it is "inhumane that a vibrant, intelligent person like Winnie is cooped up in a dreary little Free State dorp, in an even drearier black township".

Mrs Mandela's connections with the African National Congress mean that the Government continues to view her as a threat to state security, says Mrs Suzman.

"The sensible thing for the Government to do is to unban the ANC, unban Winnie and start talking."

When Mrs Mandela decided to learn to drive, with characteristic impulsiveness, she offered a friend a lift and set out in rush-hour traffic to learn this new skill. She was oblivious to her passenger's wide-eyed consternation and motorists' angry hooting.

In 1962, Nelson Mandela's speech from dock at the Rivonia trial gave his wife the strength to face a long, lonely and bleak future with stoic resolve.

That future has included living in a twilight world surrounded by informers, among them former journalist and BOSS spy Gordon Winter, and the white wife of an Indian man. Winter revealed in a book that he liked Mrs Mandela and deeply admired her spirit, though this did not prevent him from betraying her.

The future included banning, detentions, bomb attempts, threats on her and her daughter's lives and a series of attacks in 1972. One night she

woke to find three men in her bedroom, one advancing on her with a wire noose in his hand.

It has included scurrilous rumours designed to drive a wedge between her and her husband, a man for whom she has such love and respect she has to stop herself from calling him Madiba Mhlekazi (chief) in his presence, says Harrison.

And finally the future included a police visit at 2 am one bitterly cold morning in 1977 to announce banishment from her Soweto home to far-away Brandfort.

Harrison recalls Mrs Mandela's wry amusement when movers swore and pushed and finally gave up attempts to get her furniture through a narrow kitchen door — the only point of entry to the tiny shack allocated to her in Brandfort.

Now she waits to receive the gift her husband has painstakingly made in prison — "using grass in the traditional manner of his people, he made her a tea set and tray, expertly woven", which he hopes to give her on her 50th birthday next year, says Harrison.

Nancy Harrison's biography is a riveting account of South Africa's troubled political history. Most of all it is an endearing love story and testimony to the courage and determination of this "mother of a nation".

● Winnie Mandela, Mother of a Nation by Nancy Harrison. Published by Victor Gollancz.



WINNIE MANDELA — An endearing love story and testimony to the courage and determination of this "mother of a nation".

# LP bid to control local govt

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party is heading for a major confrontation with white local authorities in a bid to take full control of local government for coloureds.

Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, has disclosed that the LP wants to wrest power from white local authorities.

In terms of the new constitution, local government powers were to be transferred to their respective ethnic groups as an own affair.

Mr Curry warned this week that failure to comply to this demand of coloureds will lead to the total breakdown of the ethnic local government structure.

The result would be anarchy as it was in the case of black community councils, he said.

During the local government budget vote in

the House of Representatives, he said: "We are entering the power game . . . and we are going to take the powers into our own hands."

Mr Curry criticised the metropolitan city councils for refusing to enter into meaningful co-operation with management committees.

He admitted that the mancoms were inadequate but added that these were interim structures until direct representation for all could be achieved at local government level.

He added that "white liberal" municipal councils had used separate structures for their own benefit but objected if coloureds did so.

"What mandate do white liberals have to speak for coloured people," he asked.

Mr Tommy Abrahams, (LP Wentworth) said during a debate in the House of Representatives that the management committee in his constituency was totally ineffective. Even the simple administrative needs of the people could not be met by the people serving on the body because they were not equipped for the task.

The committee's recommendations to the city council on matters affecting the coloured community were given a hearing. "but that is where it ends."

Mr Arthur Stanley (LP Liesbeeck) said if he had been given a choice in the new constitution between sharing power in central or on local government level, he would have chosen to have power in local government.

Coloureds had short-term needs that could only be dealt with by local government.

The resentment and upheaval against the city councils developed, he said, because they bypassed the management committees when decisions that affected coloureds were made.

Mr Jac Rabie (LP Reigerpark) said that although regulations existed for liaison and consultation between the coloured community and the white local authorities, they were not being observed, especially in the rural areas.

"We stand for direct representation on local government," he said. "We are not asking for autonomy."

He said if coloureds were given power on local government, the coloureds' greatest need, housing, and the necessary infrastructure would be provided.

Mr Patrick McKenzie (LP Bonteheuwel) said the coloured people were "fed up with the present local authority system . . . where a white town or city council can decide what is good for our people."

The issue of segregated local authorities also came up in the House of Delegates.

Indian MPs should reject segregated local authorities Mr Y. Moolla (Sol Stanger), said.

"We all came here to dismantle apartheid and we must be seen to be doing that," he said.

Proposals to get voting rights on town councils for Indian management committees should be supported in the short term because, although that system was not perfect, "at least it will start to crack the granite face of apartheid."

The proposed Regional Services Councils bill was based on nothing but race and race alone. — DDC-SAPA

# ANC has entered a new era

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**THE LIMPET mine attacks early on Tuesday morning, which rocked the Johannesburg offices of the Anglo American Corporation and Anglo Vaal group, represent an important extension of the African National Congress' guerilla struggle.**

The ANC has now clearly added to its list of targets companies which, in its opinion, run roughshod over the interests of workers.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka confirmed early on Tuesday that Umkhoto we Sizwe units were responsible.

And a different ANC source, also in Lusaka, confirmed the extension of the ANC's armed struggle.

"Our action signals our intention to intervene on the side of our workers in the battle against employers and the State — our intention to come to our workers' defence.

"We will punish those elements, be they State or business institutions — or even individuals — who continue to show that they regard workers and black people in general as fair game for any repressive action in defence of profits and privileges," the ANC source said.

The attacks came on the eve of May Day and followed five days after the ANC National Executive Committee released one of its most aggressive and confident state-

**From HOWARD BARRELL in HARARE**

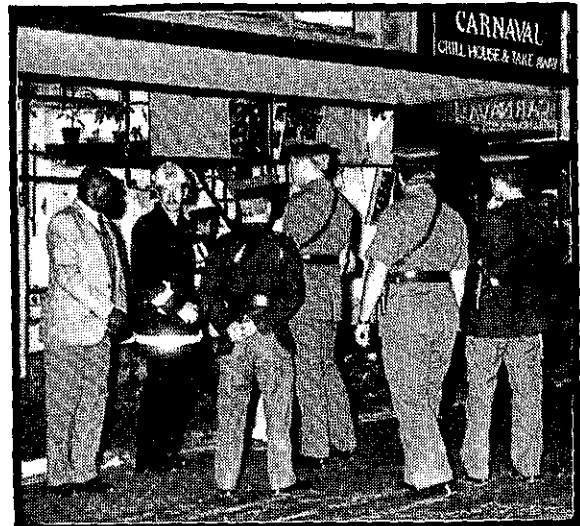
ments ever — containing a set of explicit instructions to the movement's supporters in South Africa.

The statement was partly in line with President PW Botha's recent accusation against the ANC in Parliament, that the ANC has set out to make the country ungovernable through a combination of closely organised workers' stayaways and the organisation of people into groups to attack community councillors, homeland governments and other State institutions and officials.

It is clear that the ANC views the current state of generalised unrest inside South Africa as the onset of a new era in which tens of thousands of ordinary people have chosen to involve themselves in direct confrontation with the State, and are themselves developing ways in which to do this.

An official ANC spokesman described the present situation as "our developing people's war".

The attacks on the offices



**Police keep watch outside the Anglo Vaal offices this week.**

of the two mining giants are not without precedent.

A few years ago, ANC guerillas bombed the showroom of the Sigma and Leyland companies in Durban when motor workers were locked in battle with these two companies.

But there are several notable aspects to Tuesday morning's attack.

Firstly, the ANC has declared war on South Africa's largest company — Anglo American Corporation — and another of the major conglomerates, Anglo Vaal, and has clearly stated its reason for doing so.

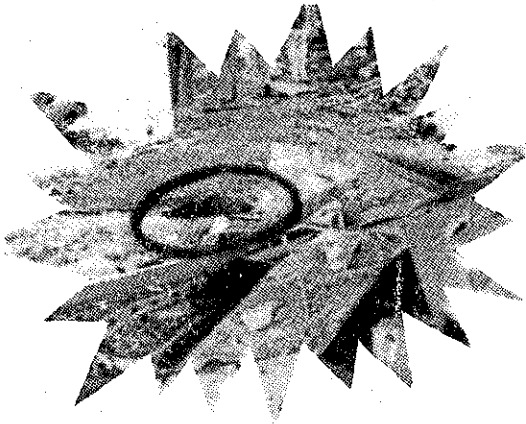
This has important political and ideological implications, not only within the ANC, but within the broader context of the conflicts now threatening to develop on a national scale.

Secondly, the ANC was able to respond quickly to a developing situation on the labour front — indicating that the guerillas and their arms were "in place" inside the country.

This, together with other recent attacks, may indicate that the ANC is succeeding in overcoming some of the problems caused by the Nkomati Accord which resulted in something of a lull in guerilla activities.

Continued —>

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# Durban: Bay of Plenty bombs

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DURBAN is fast getting a name as the city of beaches — and bombs.

### CP Correspondent

During the last week alone, three bombs were found in the city — one of them blew up the man who discovered it.

The two most recent incidents were carbon copies — only the venues were different.

And in 1984 there was an average of more than one serious sabotage or bomb attack every month.

In both cases the bombs were placed in busy areas, heavily populated with working people.

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December 1983 had a record number of bombs — there were four blasts in less than a week.

On Monday, it was planted on Warwick Avenue, and on Tuesday outside a post office in Mombeni.

In each incident, a Durban Corporation cleaner was about to empty a rubbish bin when he noticed a strange metal box inside.

The cops were called and defused the bombs.

They then discovered two tins packed with pamphlets and stickers allegedly put out by the SA Communist Party.

The cops said the two bombs were "of low intensity and were considered harmless".

agents  
and

(1) During the year the company purchased a tract of land in Parow. A new factory is to be built on this land.

You are the auditor of Bunker Manufacturing Ltd, a company which manufactures and sells furniture. The company's year end is 31 December.

THERE WE

# TOP ANC

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# rep

# killed

THE chief representative of the African National Congress in Zimbabwe, who worked under the name Judson Khuzwayo, alias Mthetwa, died in a car smash in Zimbabwe on May Day.

Mr Khuzwayo, who spent 10 years on Robben Island for ANC military activities, died when the car in which he and another ANC member were traveling, overturned on the main Harare-Lusaka road near the Zambian border.

The other ANC member escaped without injury.

Khuzwayo is the second chief ANC representative to die in Zimbabwe.

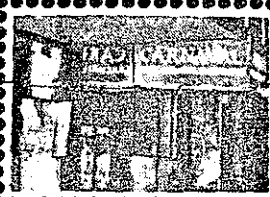
On July 31, 1981, ANC chief representative Joe Gqabi was assassinated — allegedly by a South African hit team — in the driveway of his Harare home.

Zimbabwe authorities are investigating the exact cause of Mr Khuzwayo's fatal accident.

Mr Khuzwayo was an ANC activist inside South Africa in Clermont, Durban, before his jailing and subsequent escape into exile in the early seventies.

He is survived by a wife and two daughters who are also in exile. He was also a former chief ANC representative in Lesotho and Swaziland.

He became ANC's chief representative in Zimbabwe in late 1983.



Anglo bombs — ANC enters a new era

— Page 4

# Why did





MABASA

# MABASA FREED

## ON ARMED ROBBERY RAP

By MARTIN NTSOELNGOE

FORMER Azanian People's Organisation president Lybon Mabasa was acquitted in the Benoni Regional Court this week on charges of armed robbery.

Two others charged with him were found guilty.

Mr Mabasa, 32, Peter Morobe, 38, and Pule Pule, 32, all from Soweto, had pleaded not guilty before Magistrate L C Kotze.

Before acquitting Mr

Mabasa and sentencing Morobe and Pule, the magistrate said the two had planned the robbery because Morobe was in financial difficulties.

The two were each sentenced to two years imprisonment or a R2 000 fine - R1 000 had to be paid immediately and the rest before May 15.

Pule and Morobe robbed Eric Motlhabane, Morobe's co-worker at a tobacco exporting company of R2 500 in cash and cigarettes worth R5 000 on May 15 last year.

11A  
C. Press  
5/5/85

NPSL's P



'South African refugee' blown to pieces as giant explosion rocks

Gaborone

# Killer car boom

ARGUS  
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Argus Africa Service

GABORONE. — A man said by police to be a black South African refugee was blown to pieces today when a bomb exploded in his car outside a block of flats in central Gaborone.

The man's identity was not immediately available from police sources.

A police spokesman said the bomb apparently went off when the man tried to start the car. Pieces of the car were scattered widely.

The explosion took place near a primary school but no injuries were reported there or in the flats — most of whose occupants were at work.

The roof of the block of flats was left hanging two metres above the walls and four of the flats were severely damaged. All the windows were blown out of two houses opposite the flats.

### "Felt nothing"

Only small pieces of the dead man's body have been found. Some were blown 20m into the garden of a nearby house. Other parts were hanging in nearby trees.

"The man was blown apart," a police spokesman said. "He could have felt nothing."

The scene of the blast was cordoned off and was being closely inspected by policemen and members of the Botswana Defence Force.

This is the second bomb explosion in the Botswana capital this year.

### Responsible

Two South African refugees narrowly escaped death when their house was demolished and 16 other houses and a shop complex were severely damaged on February 13.

Government officials said they believed those responsible came either from South Africa or Bophuthatswana.

Today's explosion, which went off shortly after 10am, was heard throughout Gaborone.

The Botswana Government recently sent a number of South African refugees out of the country "for their own safety".

# 'PEACE TALKS' STUTTER



TUTU: Only Inkatha turned up.

By MUDINI MAIVHA  
and MONO BADELA

(I)A)C Press

5/5/85

**THE MUCH-AWAITED** unity talks among leading black political organisations didn't get off the ground on Wednesday night — only Inkatha turned up.

Neither the Azanian People's Organisation nor the United Democratic Front arrived for the talks — the UDF said it had received the invitation late and therefore could not consult its constituencies, and Azapo said it had received no formal invitation.

Azasm and Azaso were also absent from the talks, organised by Johannesburg Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu.

As a result of the poor turnout, nine clerics held a meeting at Ipelegeng Centre in Soweto with the few people who were there.

It was agreed at the meeting that the church should "shoulder the responsibility" of reconciling the warring political organisations.

After the meeting, the churchmen met again behind closed doors, and Bishop Tutu announced later that another unity meeting will be called later.

He said various organisations were going to be consulted individually on strategies worked out at the meeting.

This week's meeting was prompted by recent confrontations involving members of Inkatha, Azapo, the UDF and student organisations.

The latest attack took place yesterday morning, when 30 men — claiming to be from Azapo — surrounded the Kwazakhele home of UDF Eastern Cape president Edgar Ngoyi, and threw at least three petrol bombs.

"They hacked down the door and hurled bombs," Mr Ngoyi told City Press, adding that his house had been extensively damaged.

On Sunday, a Cosas member claimed he was attacked by Azapo followers at a funeral in Port Elizabeth.

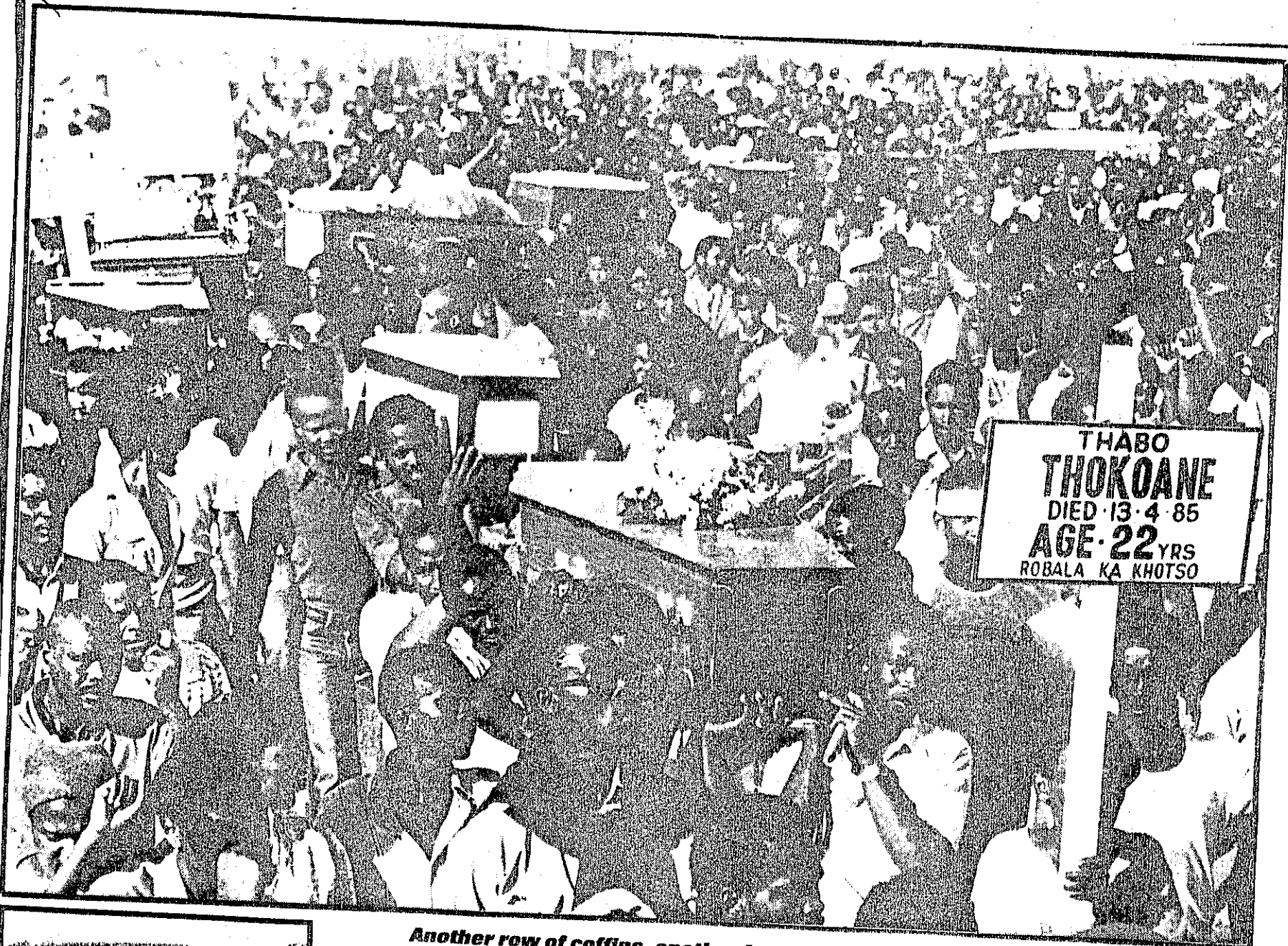
On Tuesday, Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation president Ivy Geina's home was attacked.

In the Transvaal, attacks started two weeks ago when Azapo executives were assaulted.

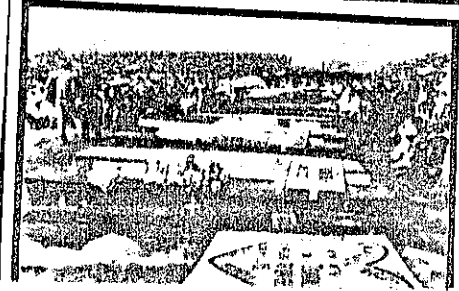
This week former Azapo president Lybon Mabasa's home was petrol-bombed. Azasm vice-president Thami Mcerwa and Azapo vice-president Joe Seoka were attacked.



11A  
5/5/85



*Another row of coffins, another funeral.*



# End the





A victim of a terror attack is assisted by a bystander.

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress (ANC) signed with blood a vow to step up their fight against South Africa's white-minority Government, political analysts say.

A consensus exists among analysts and official sources that an unprecedented spate of recent bombings across the country was the work of the ANC.

The ANC this week emerged from its first crucial policy debate since 1969 and resolved to step up the campaign, warning that there could be many more civilian casualties.

A senior political analyst said: "Only the ANC is capable of sabotage on the scale witnessed in South Africa over the past few weeks. Clearly, a new policy directive has come out and the ANC is going on the offensive."

Another political expert, Professor Robert Schrire, of Cape Town University, said the intensifying warfare in the country indicated the mobilising effect on blacks of relentless unrest which has claimed over 9 lives since February,

# Vow 'signed with blood'

11A E. Post 28/6/85

1984. He said the intensity of violence was the result of growing sophistication among the politically powerless black majority combined with increasing ANC organisational capacity.

"It has been a learning process on both sides: South Africa's handling of black unrest and blacks' tactics in retaliating," Prof Schrire said.

He said this week's attacks on townships near Johannesburg and in Transkei may have been partly intended as retaliation for a South African raid on alleged ANC targets in neighbouring Botswana 13 days ago.

The senior political analyst, who did not want to be named, said this

week's incidents indicated a growing willingness among young blacks inside South Africa to join the "armed struggle".

A police statement said six of the eight killed by grenades and bombs near Johannesburg lost their right hands, suggesting they were poorly trained. They were mounting attacks on black policemen seen by many blacks as Pretoria's collaborators.

"Any attempt to co-ordinate such an attack by established ANC members would probably have been uncovered by the State's intelligence network which spreads all the way to ANC bases abroad," the analyst said.

"The fact that numerous grenades and explosives were distributed si-

multaneously, and the disastrous results for the perpetrators, indicates they were people previously not clearly associated with the ANC," he added.

Prof Schrire said a noticeable switch of unrest tactics over the past few weeks, as grenades have increasingly replaced petrol bombs in township violence, underscored a growing despair among blacks of securing better civil rights under white domination.

"Blacks no longer see an evolutionary process that will lead to majority rule," he said.

A leading expert on the ANC, Witwatersrand University lecturer Tom Lodge, told a seminar this week that the ANC, many

of whose founding members are jailed in South Africa, had moved the battlefield from black townships to urban areas.

What has surprised experts was the apparent abundance of sabotage material inside South Africa, even though Pretoria last year secured a peace accord with neighbouring Mozambique which had served as a major ANC base.

Political analysts are divided on the durability of the present cycle of violence, one of the longest in memory.

Some say it will continue indefinitely while others, like Prof Schrire, expect the ANC to "reach a point of exhaustion and pause to recharge batteries".

# 'Only inquiry will get my evidence,' says Poovalingam

**Mercury Reporter**  
SOLIDARITY chairman Pat Poovalingam yesterday said he would not hand evidence he claimed to have of alleged corruption by National People's Party leader Amichand Rajbansi to the police or the Advocate-General.

'I want to make the evidence I have available to a judicial commission of inquiry,' Mr Poovalingam said.

Mr Poovalingam was last week temporarily expelled from the House of Delegates after refusing to apologise for accusing Mr Rajbansi of taking bribes for the allocation of trading sites.

Mr Poovalingam repeated his party's call for a full judicial commission to investigate the allegations and counter-allegations by Mr Rajbansi.

'Rajbansi made allegations of corruption

against Mr J N Reddy, who asked the State President that there be a full commission of inquiry.

'The President is now in a position where a member of his Cabinet has not only made allegations against others, but serious allegations have also been made about the same Cabinet member.

'If he does not respond he will put himself in a very awkward position.'

A commission under a judge would be able to ensure freedom from victimisation.

Mr Poovalingam said there were senior civil servants who were in a position to either incriminate or acquit Mr Rajbansi.

They would not volunteer evidence but would have to testify if requested to do so by a commission, Mr Poovalingam said.

## Solidarity charges called 'sour grapes'

**Mercury Reporter**  
THE Chief Minister in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, yesterday described bribery allegations levelled against him by the opposition Solidarity Party as 'sour grapes'.

Speaking in Durban shortly before his return to Cape Town last night, Mr Rajbansi said the allegations were 'wild and unfounded'.

In February, the House of Delegates had adopted a resolution on his suggestion that if any member had complaints about bribery and corruption they should direct them to the Advocate-General, whose powers were very wide, in fact wider than those of the police, he said.

'Mr J N Reddy's Solidarity Party, which has been responsible for making the wild allegations, has not lodged a single complaint to date.

The Advocate-General was appointed after the information scandal.

'Twice in Parliament I placed Solidarity, especially its chairman, Mr Pat Poovalingam, in an embarrassing position when I asked them not to hide behind parliamentary privileges but to repeat allegations outside Parliament in writing.

'I even taunted them to do so, but they have failed to respond. If they did, I would give them an opportunity to test it in the Supreme Court, because I would sue them for defamation.

'By their inaction their allegations will remain unfounded. For Solidarity it's sour grapes. Even Solidarity members appear to be fed up with Mr Poovalingam's conduct.

'This is quite clear in Parliament. They play to the United Democratic Front and are apologetic to the Government,' he said.

# UDF, Azapo battle it out

11A

Sowetan  
6/5/85

**THE "strained" relationship between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation heightened at the weekend when members of the two organisations got involved in skirmishes, including throwing of stones and assaults.**

In a separate incidence in Soweto, the windows of the mecca of political arenas, Regina Mundi Church, were found painted "UDF hates Azapo" and leaders of both organisations have disassociated themselves from what they termed "the work of the system."

A senior member of Azapo was killed and another is reported to be in a serious condition as the hostility between the two political organisations took a tragic turn at the weekend.

In the past members of both parties have been injured.

In a statement to The SOWETAN yesterday, Azapo's president, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, claimed that the

relationship between Azapo and the UDF supporters are at their worst.

He said that supporters of UDF attempted to disrupt the funeral service of a Fosatu member who was a victim of the unrest in the Eastern Cape yesterday.

According to reports, he added, members of UDF allegedly shouted that they wanted to attack Azapo members. After the funeral there was an exchange of blows and stone throwing.

However, the Transvaal publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Sidney Mafumadi, said the organisation disassociated itself from the graffiti on the Regina Mundi Church. He could not comment on the situation in the Eastern Cape.

The attacks on supporters of the organisations take place in the wake of attempts by the Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, to make peace between the two factions.

*Argus 6/5/82*  
**Arsonists set  
homes of UDF  
members alight**

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Six houses, all belonging to members of the United Democratic Front, were set alight in Hambanathi township near Tongaat on Natal's North Coast, last night.

A police spokesman said the fires were started by unknown persons. "We are investigating the position," he said.

He said police fired teargas to disperse crowds at the fires. No one was arrested. He emphasised that the arsonists had not used petrol bombs to start the fires, the last of which broke out at 12.20am today.

He said the extent of the damage was not known and he was aware that all the houses belonged to members of the UDF.

#### FAMILIES FLEE

Mr Ian Mkhize, treasurer of the Joint Rent Action Committee, Mr Richard Gumede, chairman of Jorac, Mr H Hadebe, Mr R Sithole and Mr Isaac Mxumalo and a Mr Khoza fled their homes with their families when a group of people started setting fire to them. They took refuge in Mahatma Gandhi's old home at Phoenix.

● The home of an executive member of Azapo in the Vaal Triangle was petrol-bombed in the early hours today.

Mr Charles Mabitsetla, vice-chairman of Azapo's Southern Transvaal regional executive committee, said several petrol bombs were thrown at his home in Zamdela township about 2am.



Bishop Tutu — abandoned second bid for peace talks.

# UDF-Azapo peace bid fails

Staff Reporters  
Star 6/5/85  
Peace talks between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) lay in ruins as new incidents of violence flared in the Eastern Cape leaving at least three dead and several injured.

Nobel Peace Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu was forced to abandon a second bid for peace talks between the rival groups at the weekend as news of the Cape violence reached the national leadership of Azapo.

Those who died in the Eastern Cape this week-

end are Azapo's Mr Tshisa Marekisi, who was allegedly stabbed to death by UDF supporters, and two children of another Azapo man, Mr Gerald Mayekiso, who were burnt to death when his house was petrol-bombed.

The UDF claims the weekend attacks were the latest in a week of violence which started with assaults on leading members of the Congress of South African Students last Monday.

According to Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela his organisation withdrew from

"peace talks" planned by a group of Soweto clerics when they heard about the upsurge of violence in the Eastern Cape.

And in the Eastern Cape — the scene of the worst clashes between Azapo and the UDF — the front's regional publicity secretary Mr Stone Sizani said there were no local peace talks in sight.

Both sides claim that inflammatory pamphlets, falsely issued in their names, have exacerbated the situation.

They believe that apartheid forces are responsible for these documents.

## Desecrated church to appeal for Tutu's help

By Chris More

The rector of Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto, said today that his parish council would appeal to Bishop Desmond Tutu to help solve the mystery of the desecration of this traditional headquarters of political gatherings in the township.

Slogans, purporting to be by the United Demo-

cratic Front (UDF) and denouncing the front's political rivals, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), were spray-painted in red on the walls and windows of the church last week.

Both Azapo and the UDF have denied knowledge of the desecration and have denounced the paintings as the work of "the system whose aim is to destabilise the libera-

tion struggle".

The rector of the church, the Rev Matsubisi Shumang, said his parish council was extremely concerned about the incident, the second since the Easter weekend.

He added that he and the council did not believe it was the work of either of the organisations. But he said that he was also concerned that

neither of them had approached the church about it.

"Although we believe the paintings were done by people who benefit from conflict between Azapo and the UDF, we have had no word from either organisation. At least we expected them to come and explain their stand on the matter," he said.

Azapo man's  
<sup>5/10/81</sup>  
home bombed

~~11/11/81~~  
The home of an executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) in the Vaal Triangle was petrol-bombed early today.

Mr Charles Mabitsele, vice-chairman of Azapo's Southern Transvaal executive committee, said several petrol bombs were thrown at his home in Zamdeba township at about 2 am.

● See Page 3.

# Infighting between Azapo and UDF spreads to U'hage

11A



Post Reporter

THE week-long infighting in the Port Elizabeth black townships between the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front spread to Uitenhage at the weekend.

A member of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu), an affiliate of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), Mr Yedwa Dyantjie, was murdered.

Members of Fosatu have been accused in Uitenhage of taking sides with Azapo.

Meanwhile, Mr Stone Sizani, of Port Elizabeth, the publicity secretary of the East Cape Regional Committee of the UDF, today denied that his organisation had ever instructed anyone to launch an attack on members of Azapo.

"We have come to realise that this conflict has some personal elements and people engaged in it are wrongly using the name of our organisation, and not acting on

behalf of it," he said.

"I wish to stress that UDF has not declared any war against Azapo."

However, he claimed that some leading Azapo members were "in the forefront" of attacks on UDF members.

Mr Sizani said UDF was calling upon Azapo to stop "this reign of terror" before it was too late. He also called upon the police not to "turn a blind eye" on the escalating attacks.

Mr Fikile Kobese, national organiser of Macwusa and Gwusa, claimed today that people in Fosatu and Azapo T-shirts, armed with dangerous weapons, conducted a "reign of terror" in Kwanobuhle on Saturday against members of organisations affiliated to the UDF.

Mr Sam Makhaya, Uitenhage's acting regional secretary of Naawu, rejected any suggestion that Naawu members had taken sides in the dispute.

S. Post

6/5/85



CAPE TOWN 6/5/83 11A 210

## ADE worker fired for wearing UDF badge

Labour Reporter

A WORKER at the State-owned Atlantic Diesel Engines factory in Atlantis was fired last week after refusing to remove a United Democratic Front badge from his clothes.

After initial attempts to have him remove the badge, he was finally dismissed in terms of a regulation prohibiting the "promotion of any political cause or organization" introduced the day after he was first asked to remove the badge.

Mr Isaac Phooko, 23, of 35 Magnet Road, Atlantis, who had worked at ADE since April 1983, said he had first been asked to remove the badge on Tuesday.

Mr Phooko, who was an assembly operator, said

he had refused as there were no company rules against it.

He was eventually given a written warning for "abuse and misuse" of company property — his overall — and refusing to obey a legitimate instruction.

On Wednesday, the company introduced its new rule and he was again asked by a company official to remove the badge.

Despite further meetings with company officials, Mr Phooko decided he wanted to continue wearing the badge to work and was eventually fired on Friday morning.

Mr Wally Rautenbach, ADE's chief executive of marketing and public affairs, confirmed the incident.

# As Bishop Tutu's second peace campaign fails, the violent confrontations go on

5-TAR 6/5/88 (11) (12)

By Jon Qwelane

It was inevitable that the deep ideological differences between the two main black groups opposing the Government outside the system would end in violent confrontation.

At the weekend Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu got a group of priests together and tried to heal the widening rift between the United Democratic Front and its affiliates on the one hand and the Azanian People's Organisation and its sister groups on the other.

Meanwhile serious clashes took place in the Eastern Cape, ending in death for at least three people.

A brief background to the ideological war between the groups shows that divisions in the black struggle have always centred on one point: participation by whites in black politics.

★ ★ ★  
The differences between the United Democratic Front and Azapo are exactly the same as those which split the African National Congress in 1959 and resulted in the birth of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The purists or Africanists of those days believed the ANC was dominated by white Communists and broke away because they felt white participation diluted black politics.

The United Democratic Front believes in a liberation struggle which pulls in all the forces opposed to apartheid regardless of colour.

Azapo and its affiliates believe in a struggle by blacks alone.

This group espouses the Black Consciousness ideology.

Azapo and sister groups have often been accused of practising racism in reverse, but they always point out that their black exclusivism is not anti-anybody.

★ ★ ★  
The United Democratic Front, or at least many of its supporters, believes in a national convention in which all black and white political groups must take part.

Black Consciousness adherents say the issue is not apartheid but restoration of the land to its rightful owners.

Only when that condition is met can the groups get down to se-

rious business.

But they make no bones about their ideal being a people's socialist republic of Azania.

Bishop Tutu's attempt to meet the warring factions and reconcile them on Saturday was the second in a week.

It ended like last Wednesday's... in failure.

Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said: "We were due to meet the Bishop and other clergymen on Saturday afternoon.

"In the evening the group would have met United Democratic Front groups.

"But shortly before our meeting we received many calls from the Eastern Cape that things down there were very bad for our members.

"We decided not to meet the Bishop and asked one of the clergymen, Mr Lebamang Sebidi, to tell him why we could not attend the talks at St Paul's Church in Central White City Jabavu."

The calls which Mr Mkhabela received from the Eastern Cape read like a communique from a war zone:

● A petrol bomb hurled by people said to be United Demo-

cratic Front supporters set alight the home of Azapo member Mr Gerald Mayekiso.

★ ★ ★  
His two children were burnt to death and his wife Noluntu was seriously injured.

● Senior Azapo member Mr Tshisa Marekisi was badly beaten up and stabbed to death by a mob claiming membership of the United Democratic Front and chanting Freedom Charter slogans.

● The Eastern Cape's regional Azapo secretary, Ms Nosiphiwe Tyatyaza, was dragged screaming from the surgery where she works as a nurse, beaten and stabbed.

She is in a serious condition in hospital.

Her employer said he was scared out of his wits when the mob raided the surgery and mauled his employee because she was a member of Azapo.

● A senior member of Port Elizabeth's Azapo branch, Mr Phindile January, was attacked by a mob chanting Freedom Charter slogans and "Death to Azapo and its members."

He was beaten up; his injuries include a

suspected fractured jaw.

● The home of Port Elizabeth Azanian Students Movement branch chairman Mr Neeba Salimtu was burnt down by rampaging mobs.

So was the home of Azanian Students Movement member Mr Welile Mcingi.

● The home of an extreasurer of the Port Elizabeth branch of Azapo, Mr Vuyisile Gqobo, was raided while he was out.

The raiders took all his personal belongings and made a bonfire in the street.

● An unknown number of Azapo and Azasm members were under siege in the New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, home of the Rev. Mzwandile Maqhina.

★ ★ ★  
Mr Maqhina said that outside the house United Democratic Front supporters chanted slogans from the Freedom Charter, sang Nelson Mandela's praises and said they were out to eliminate all Azapo members.

Mr Maqhina added that members of Azapo managed to grab attackers who, under questioning, said the man behind the violence was Eastern

# Top Tutu's second peace campaign The violent confrontations go on . . .

5-TAK 6/5/88

By Jon Qwelane

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Mr Maqhina added that members of Azapo managed to grab attackers who, under questioning, said the man behind the violence was Eastern

Cape journalist Mr Mono Badela, a member of the United Democratic Front.

But there have been counter accusations from the Front.

It claims its Eastern Cape president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, was badly beaten up by Azapo members.

★ ★ ★  
Mr Dennis Meer, secretary of the Front-affiliated Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union of South Africa, said Mr Ngoyi single-handedly warded off an attack on him by 100 Azapo supporters said to have tried to force their way into his home.

Mr Ngoyi said petrol was thrown into his house and set alight.

Mr Badela was said to have been beaten and stabbed by Azapo supporters.

Yesterday he claimed his house and car were badly damaged; he also claimed to have been seriously injured.

Azapo's Port Elizabeth executive, while conceding serious ideological differences with the UDF, adopted a conciliatory tone during the weekend fracas.

"Our door is still open for negotiations," they said.

The Bishop carries on trying to end clashes between

# Now Tutu blames Senator

11A ~~11A~~

*Star 7/5/85*  
Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, leading mediation efforts aimed at ending bloody clashes between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, said yesterday that this year's controversial visit by America's Senator Edward Kennedy was a factor in the conflict.

Differences between the two organisations have erupted in the past few days into open war, especially in the Eastern Cape.

Mediation attempts by Bishop Tutu have so far failed to heal the rift between the organisations, which political analysts say boils down to wheth-

er whites should take part in the fight against apartheid.

Bishop Tutu blamed the flare-up of long-standing differences between the organisations on the general unrest in the country plus the visit by Senator Kennedy.

This visit, sponsored by United Democratic Front patron the Rev Allan Boesak, sparked criticism from Azapo.

It said that while purporting to be aimed at fighting apartheid the visit was in reality an image-building venture.

Bishop Tutu said yesterday: "There has always been tension between the two organisations.

"Senator Kennedy's visit did not exactly increase love between them."

The United Democratic Front was formed in 1983 to oppose the new tricameral Parliament.

It believes all regardless of colour should take part in opposing racial segregation.

Azapo excludes whites from its ranks, arguing that the fight against apartheid is only a point of departure in the struggle for an anti-racist socialist Azania.

Black Consciousness in South Africa began in the late 1960s as a reaction to what was seen as white liberal paternalism.

It provided much of the impetus for the Soweto riots of 1976 in which more than 500 people died, say political analysts.

Completing the split is antagonism towards Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha party which has come under fire for its tribal base and militaristic image.

The United Democratic Front says Chief Buthelezi's stand against apartheid is weakened by his acceptance of tribal homeland status for kwaZulu, of which he is Chief Minister.

But most of the anger has focused on the United Democratic Front and Azapo; and homes of supporters of both organisations have been burned down in black townships across South Africa and members attacked.

In one of the worst incidents, two children of Azapo member

Mr Gerald Mayekiso, were burned to death at the weekend.

It happened in an Eastern Cape township after a petrol bomb was hurled into Mr Mayekiso's house by what local newspapers said were United Democratic Front supporters.

The violence between the two organisations comes after a year of general unrest which has seen the deaths of more than 350 people, all but one black.

Sociologists blame the rioting generally on grievances related to apartheid and the recession that has led to a sharp rise in unemployment. — Sapa-Reuter.

● It is undeniable that there have been differences between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, said a United Democratic Front spokesman in a statement to Sapa last night.

But, he added, the United Democratic Front could not accept that these differences needed to be destructive.

The spokesman was quoting from an open letter to Azapo decided on at a United Democratic Front national executive meeting at the weekend in a bid to heal the breach between the two organisations.

The letter said: "Surely our common repugnance for the system under which we live far

supersedes the differences between us?"

"History has shown us that minority governments and their imperialist friends will stop at nothing to deflect our struggle.

"It is therefore imperative that we take decisive action to resolve the conflict."

The United Democratic Front, said the letter, was prepared to meet Azapo if necessary and was already discussing the question of discipline within its ranks, trusting Azapo would do the same.

The letter added: "We are confident that you will view this matter as seriously and with the same urgency as we do."

# Buthelezi rejects results of survey

African Affairs  
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says 'snatched opinions' of 406 respondents on street corners cannot be presented as serious research.

Chief Buthelezi was commenting in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on a weekend report which said that 48 percent of black people interviewed in this way in KwaMashu, Umlazi and in the Central Business District of Durban in March felt that the jailed political figure, Nelson Mandela, was the best leader for South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi was preferred by 28 percent of those polled and Bishop Desmond Tutu by 12 percent.

The survey found that Mandela's support was

strongest in KwaMashu where he was favoured by 64 percent of the respondents.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said research was 'prostituted' when it was undertaken to prove points of view, or when it was undertaken to create newsworthy items for publication in the daily Press.

## Assessed

'Research is far more than just head-counting among a group of anybodyes,' he said.

Opinion surveys, like all pieces of research, should be assessed within the context which they attempted to explore, Chief Buthelezi said.

They should also be assessed by other researchers who were not involved in the study.

He said research workers made statements

within ranges of probability that they were true, whereas the Press reported them as factual findings.

## Favour

'It would be churlish of me to reject every bit of research that does not sing my praises but, on the other hand, it would be foolish of me to put my reputation at the mercy of incompetent research,' the Chief Minister maintained.

He said the findings on disinvestment in respect of people who lived in Umlazi were 'incomprehensible'.

The survey showed that 50 percent of the Umlazi residents polled were in favour of disinvestment. Yet 46 percent of Umlazi dwellers preferred him to Nelson Mandela and his own stance was strongly against disinvestment, Chief Buthelezi said.

11A

NM 7/5/85



Natal Indian Congress leaders Mr Mewa Ramgobin (left) and Mr Paul David outside their offices in Verulam yesterday. Mr Ramgobin is a financial consultant and Mr David is an attorney. They were among those who took refuge in the British Consulate in Durban last year.

## Bailed leaders' have first weekend at home in nearly nine months

NM 7/5/85

LIA

### Mercury Reporter

THE United Democratic Front and Natal Indian Congress leaders who were released on bail on Friday night after a five-month battle spent their first weekend in nearly nine months with their families.

And yesterday it was back to business for some as they returned to their offices to catch up with the backlog of what used to be their routine day-to-day duties.

Of the 16 who are facing charges of high treason, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Paul

David and Mr M J Naidoo were arrested by police and taken into custody as they walked out of the British Consulate in Durban where they had taken refuge for almost three months last year.

For the four, it was their first time back home this weekend in nearly nine months. The 16 were released on bail totalling R170 000 by Natal's Judge President, Mr Justice Milne, in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, on Friday.

Mr Paul David, who is an attorney in Verulam and who was among the consulate four, said he

was delighted to be back home. For the past five months he has had only very limited contact with his wife and children.

Recalling life in the consulate, he said it was 'fun in the first few months' but in the later stages their movements were severely restricted to such an extent they were stopped from using the seventh floor corridor of the Barclays Bank Building for exercising.

Mr David said he had been touched by the moral support given to his family while he was in jail.

'People unknown to my

family would send fresh vegetables and groceries from time to time.

'People would often take my children to the beach. This really reassured my family and filled in the vacuum created by my absence,' he said.

Mr Ramgobin, who was also back at his office yesterday, was reluctant to speak to the Press.

The UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, who is also a lawyer, has given up his practice in Pinetown. He could not be reached yesterday.

Resign

NM 7/5/85

call  
divides

the LP

Parliamentary  
Correspondent

SERIOUS differences within the Labour Party surfaced yesterday over the party's demand for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange to resign, following the shooting by police of several blacks during unrest at Uitenhage in March this year.

The LP yesterday reiterated its demand for the minister to resign during the law and order budget vote in the House of Representatives.

Mr Peter Mopp (LP Border), whose original demand for the minister's resignation in March was supported by the LP leader and Cabinet Minister the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday reiterated the LP's position and told Mr le Grange: 'You have lost control of the police force therefore ministerial responsibility demands that you resign.'

### No mention

However, Mr le Grange's version of the LP demand was different.

He read to the House a LP statement which he said was given to him by his Cabinet colleague and LP leader Mr Hendrickse which made no mention of the LP's demand for him to resign.

That statement was apparently issued by the LP law and order spokesman, Mr Don Mateman and caused considerable controversy. It was subsequently withdrawn, after Mr Hendrickse responded to Press reports at that time denying that the LP had backed down from its original demand for the minister's resignation in the wake of events at Uitenhage.

The leader of the House, Mr Miley Richards, immediately objected to Mr le Grange's interpretation of the LP's demand in the House yesterday, adding that he was not aware of any change in the party's position.

'What the minister says is untrue,' Mr Richards said.

Certain LP MPs did not hide their remarks in an attempt to make it apparent that the party was divided over the issue.

# Call for link between Natal and kwaZulu

May 1985

~~South~~ Political Staff ~~Star~~ (11A)  
PARLIAMENT The chairman of the Indian Council of Ministers, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has called for a political link between Natal and kwaZulu.

Speaking in the House of Delegates in the Co-operation and Development Vote, Mr Rajbansi said Natal could show South Africa the way to unity.

The Buthelezi Commission report and the Lombard plan could be used as a basis for a separate deal for Natal, he said.

Replying in the debate, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said that several parts of the Buthelezi Commission report merited further study and could form a useful basis for consultation.



*Mous 7/5/85*

# Arson bid on Oudtshoorn newspaper

Tygerberg Bureau

AN attempt was made to burn down the offices of an Oudtshoorn community newspaper.

Major Eddie Snyman, police liaison officer for South Western Districts, said the incident occurred early today at the premises of Saamstaan newspaper in Bridgton, Oudtshoorn.

He said the outer door was badly burnt but no other damage was caused and people on the premises extinguished the fire.

No arrests have been made.

## SLEEPING BAG

The full-time organiser of Saamstaan, Mr Humphrey Joseph, said today a petrol bomb was thrown at the offices about 1.30am.

"There was smoke all over the place but a member of the newspaper in the offices at the time managed to put out the fire with a sleeping bag."

He said that before the incident the chairman of the newspaper, Mr Reggie Oliphant, had twice received threats that his house would be burnt down.

Mr Joseph said he did not know who was responsible for the attack or the threats.

Argus 7/5/85 (110) *[Signature]*

## Petrol bomb attacks on UDF leaders

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The homes of two prominent United Democratic Front (UDF) men, Mr Aubrey Mokoena and the Rev Frank Chikane, were attacked with petrol bombs in the early hours today.

Mr Mokoena is the chairman of the UDF-affiliated Release Mandela Committee and Mr Chikane is the immediate past Transvaal vice-president of the UDF.

Mr Chikane, whose home was badly damaged, said the attack took place at about 2am.

### BEDROOM HIT

"My brother-in-law stopped studying at about 1.45am and went to bed. Fifteen minutes later the bedroom was hit by a petrol bomb. The curtain caught alight and there was an intense fire in the room.

"A second petrol bomb hit the front room. The curtain, ceiling, furniture and carpet were damaged. Neighbours helped us put out the fire."

Mr Mokoena said it was only when he wakened at 6am that he found that his home had been attacked as well.

"There is no damage to the house but my car was damaged. The petrol bomb was thrown against the windscreen."

# Black movements (11A) Star 7/5/85 try to patch up their differences

The first moves to halt the bitter violence between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were made yesterday.

The UDF met Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu and other churchmen to discuss peace strategies.

Before yesterday's talks, the UDF sent an open letter to Azapo, saying: "It is imperative that we take decisive action to resolve the conflict."

The letter, signed by Mr Samson Ndou on behalf of the UDF national executive committee, states emphatically that pro-apartheid forces are fuelling the inter-group conflict.

"Pamphlets have been distributed, purportedly in the names of our groups, attacking each other. Homes of our members have been attacked and petrol-bombed by these (pro-apartheid) forces," it said.

UDF sources said the meeting at Soweto's Ipelegeng Centre had been fruitful and that UDF representatives had agreed with the clerics about the basic approach to reconciliation.

## PETROL BOMBED

The homes of two prominent United Democratic Front (UDF) men, Mr Aubrey Mokoena and the Reverend Frank Chikane, were attacked by petrol bombers in the early hours of this morning.

Mr Mokoena is the chairman of the UDF-affiliated Release Mandela Committee and Mr Chikane is the Transvaal's immediate past UDF vice-president.

Mr Chikane, whose home was badly damaged, said the attack took place at about 2 am. Neighbours helped them put out the fire. Mr Mokoena said he had only discovered in the morning that his car was slightly damaged.

Mr Mokoena and Mr Chikane emphasised that the attacks were the work of "the system" and not organised by members of the Azanian People's Organisation as some people believed.

● See Page 15.



Mr Aubrey Mokoena,  
chairman of the Release  
Mandela Committee.



The Rev Frank Chikane,  
former Transvaal vice-  
president of the UDF.

# Bishop Tutu fails to heal the rift

Sowetan 7/5/85

(11A)

**NOBEL Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, leading mediation efforts aimed at ending bloody clashes between the UDF and Azapo, said yesterday a controversial visit this year by US Senator Edward Kennedy was a factor in the conflict.**

Differences between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have erupted in the past few days into open warfare, especially in the troubled Eastern Cape.

Mediation attempts by Bishop Tutu have so far failed to heal the rift between the groups which political analysts say boils down to whether whites should take part in the fight against apartheid racial separation.

Bishop Tutu, who

said he would continue mediation efforts, blamed the flare-up of long-standing differences between the groups on the general unrest in the country plus a visit in January by Senator Edward Kennedy.

Mr Kennedy, whose visit was sponsored by UDF patron, the Rev Allan Boesak, sparked criticism from Azapo. It said that while purporting to be aimed at fighting apartheid his trip was in reality an image-building venture for the senator.

Bishop Tutu told reporters yesterday: "There has always been tension between the two organisations. Senator Kennedy's visit did not exactly increase love between them."

The UDF was formed in 1983 to oppose the

new tricameral parliament. It believes all regardless of colour should take part in opposing racial segregation.

Azapo excludes whites from its ranks, arguing that the fight against apartheid is only a point of departure in the struggle for an anti-racist socialist Azania.

Black Consciousness in South Africa began in the late 1960s as a reaction to what was seen as white liberal paternalism and provided much of the impetus for the Soweto riots of 1976 in which more than 500 people died, political analysts said.

Completing the split is antagonism towards Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Party which has come under fire for its tribal base and militaristic image.

# Inkatha, UDF act to end violent clashes

PRAS 7/5/85  
11A

MAJOR moves have been launched by black organisations to end violence between black political factions. The moves also involve Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu and other clerics who have assumed the role of peace brokers.

Staff Reporter

Inkatha passed a resolution at a weekend meeting calling on the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front (UDF) to condemn the use of violence as a political weapon among blacks.

The organisation's central committee expressed "grave concern" at growing violence between blacks and called on patriots to condemn actions which attempted to "fan the flames of black strife".

"We express the shock of black South Africa that there are some black political activists who encourage blacks to kill blacks," the resolution read.

## Apartheid

The UDF has appealed to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) for unity in the fight against apartheid.

In an open letter to Azapo, the UDF said that in recent weeks conflict had intensified between the two groups, with "violent clashes" in the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape.

The UDF accused "agents of apartheid", acting in the names of the two organisations, of distributing pamphlets, attacking members and petrol-bombing homes in an effort to stir up the situation.

Appealing for unity, the letter said differences between the organisations did not have to be destructive.

The UDF was prepared to meet Azapo to resolve the conflict.

Its statement followed a meeting in Soweto last night with Bishop Tutu and other ministers to discuss peace strategies.

Bishop Tutu told Sapa today he was "very thrilled" about the meeting.

● See Page 3.

# UDF asks Azapo <sup>CAPL TIME 7/5/85</sup> for united effort <sup>11A</sup>

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has appealed to the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo) to reconcile their differences and unite against apartheid.

The appeal, made in an open letter to Azapo, was issued after a national executive committee meeting of the UDF in East London at the weekend.

It said the past few weeks had shown an escalation of conflict between members and supporters of both organizations.

Violent clashes had been reported in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape and the situation in the Eastern Cape was particularly serious as simmering tensions had resulted in "bloody confrontation".

## SABC

"It is patently clear that the agents of apartheid have been trying their utmost to fuel the conflict. Pamphlets have been distributed, purportedly in the name of our organizations, attacking each other; homes of our members have been attacked and petrol-bombed by these very forces; certain sections of the mass media have played up this conflict in their own interests and thereby exacerbated the tension."

The letter blamed the SABC in particular for exaggerating and distorting the real situation.

It was imperative that decisive action be taken to resolve the conflict.

The letter said the UDF was prepared to meet Azapo. They would also address the question of discipline within their ranks and asked that Azapo do likewise.

They had also instructed their legal advisors to explore the possibility of instituting legal action against the SABC.

# The UDF's power — myth or real menace?

PIPPA GREEN of the Political Staff assesses the structure and influence of an organisation which has faced increasing denunciation from Government spokesmen

CAUGHT in the vortex of the worst social turmoil that South Africa has seen for more than a decade, the United Democratic Front — the target of several scathing Government attacks — is steeling itself for further state crackdowns following strong criticism of the UDF by the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

But members of the Western Cape executive of the UDF, while regarding State action as an occupational hazard of intra-parliamentary politics, warn of the consequences of an outright ban on the body, which incorporates about 600 affiliates and spans a wide range of political opinion.

"It will be a declaration of total war," says newly elected publicity secretary, 28 year old Ms Zo Kota.

"It would close the last option for peaceful political action in the country," warned Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary.

Mr Le Grange has accused the UDF of carrying out ANC strategy to make South Africa's black townships "ungovernable".

While the UDF allows for a wide, informal organisation throughout the country, it is unlikely that it has the organisational strength accorded it by Mr Botha and Mr Le Grange.

There are perhaps three principles which UDF affiliates are united on — a commit-

ment to non-racialism; equal political rights for all; and a belief in a unitary South Africa.

"The UDF is a front, not a monolith. There are tactical differences within it. There is also a different emphasis on the importance of class in South African society," Mr Manuel said.

In contrast to the highly organised precipitant of the unrest depicted by Mr Le Grange, it is still decidedly unclear who and how many the UDF represents, and what the content of their future political programme is likely to be.

Faced with increasing Government accusations that it is an internal wing of the ANC, the UDF has said publicly on several occasions that it has no links with the banned body.

It is no secret that among its leadership are former ANC members — in the Western Cape, these include the president, Mr Zoli Malindi and vice-president, Mr Christmas Tinto.

It is also no secret that one of the patrons of the UDF is jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, or that UDF supporters are broadly supportive of the Freedom Charter, a document drawn up in 1955 and supported by the ANC.

The Freedom Charter is a very wide-ranging document, recognising the existence of "national groups" and stating a

belief in political rights for all South Africans.

It is as difficult to give the Freedom Charter a recognisable political stamp, as it is to give one to the UDF.

It is also clear, that for its own reasons, the UDF is careful to avoid being a substitute — or to use Mr Botha's phrase, "the internal wing" — of the ANC.

"Anyway we are a democratic organisation and there is no way that anyone in Lusaka or London can issue instructions to us," Mr Manuel said.

UDF leaders in Cape Town — Mr Manuel, Ms Kota and Mr Tinto (Mr Malindi may not be quoted as he is listed) — describe the current Eastern Cape unrest as largely "retaliatory".

"The events of March 21 in Uitenhage built into the Eastern Cape a dynamic which could not be anticipated," Mr Manuel said.

"There is no way that the UDF can stay aloof from the unrest and many of our affiliates are responding to it, but the root cause of the whole thing is the apartheid system," Ms Kota said.

When the UDF was born in 1983, specifically to oppose the new constitution, it almost immediately fired the public imagination.

Not since the 1950s had there

been such publicly outspoken opposition to apartheid involving people of all races.

The enormous following it generated was mobilised into conducting a high profile campaign against the coloured and Indian elections.

There can be little doubt of the success of the campaign, but the UDF reached a turning point at that stage.

At least from the outside, its future direction was not clear.

Public campaigns on immediate issues — like bus fare increase — have largely formed the direction of the UDF since the election.

The success of the campaigns has depended only partially on UDF organisation. Substantially it has depended on the economic and political climate at the time.

And it is clear testimony to the inadequacy of the "conspiracy" theory of political turmoil that last year's Western Cape bus boycott was a conspicuous failure despite mammoth efforts on the part of UDF activists, whereas last month's stayaway in the Port Elizabeth black townships, organised by UDF affiliates, has been claimed as a success.

Whether the UDF will survive a security crackdown, or even internal pressures within the broad spectrum of internal opposition politics will probably depend on the real strength of its affiliates.

# Postponement of LAC elections

W/M 7/8/85  
SUSA Mercury Reporter

ALL coloured local affairs and management committee elections throughout South Africa have been 'frozen' until 1988 to coincide with the establishment of the regional service councils.

The announcement was made yesterday by Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives.

Elections for Indian LACs and management committees have also been stopped until 1988.

Mr Curry said he had agreed to the ban after consultations with local authorities and the LACs and management committees concerned.

He denied a claim by Mr Morris Fynn, a Wentworth LAC member, that elections had been frozen to protect the Labour Party controlled LACs and management committees.

Mr Fynn said that if elections took place the Labour Party would lose its control of LACs.



By SHIRLEY PRESSLY  
 S.A.P. Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier C. K. Swart, today reacted sharply to rumours that the police were ignoring the power struggle and fights between various factions in the black townships.

**Police deny turning a blind eye to fighting**

Brig Swart did not refer specifically to the fighting between the United Democratic Front and Azapo (African Peoples' Organisation) but in general to dissension and fights between "various factions".

He said rumour had it that the police were ignoring these fights.

He pointed out that police thoroughly investigated all cases which were brought to their attention.

"The fact that a person or persons belongs to one or other organisation

plays no role in the police actions," he said.

He said the fact that in the past week there had been scores of arrests and dozens of petrol bombs confiscated was proof of police impartiality.

Brig Swart said one of the problems being experienced by police was that some of the people who were involved in incidents did not make complaints to the police.

He appealed to anyone who had complaints to come forward so that the complaints could be put

in writing and could receive the necessary attention.

He pointed out that a temporary police station had been established in Zwide, near the swimming bath, for the convenience of residents in the area.

Brig Swart said it should be clear to all by this time that deeds of violence which were being committed were "restricted to certain radical elements and criminal elements".

He appealed to the

black community to work together with the security forces to put a stop once and for all to the activities of those individuals who disrupted the lives of others.

He said the community could assist by supplying information to the police.

He stressed that all information supplied to the police would be treated as confidential.

Police have arrested two men in connection with a fire on the Kirkwood farm of Mr Ray

Riggs which destroyed buildings and implements, valued at hundreds of thousands of rands, and many young fruit trees at the weekend.

Damage estimated at half a million rands was caused to neighbouring farms at Kirkwood at the weekend in incidents believed to be linked to unrest in the Eastern Cape.

Police have arrested a further 34 people in connection with unrest and arson in the Kirkwood district in the past 10 days, including incidents

in which Divisional Council roadmaking equipment was damaged.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, leading mediation efforts aimed at ending bloody clashes between the UDF and Azapo, said yesterday a controversial visit this year by US Senator Edward Kennedy was a factor in the conflict.

Mediation attempts by Bishop Tutu have so far failed to heal the rift between the groups.



**Bishop TUTU**  
 ... mediation

Archie 7/5/85  
**Petrol bombing:  
Three arrested**

(11A) ~~270~~  
Crime Reporter

THREE woman were arrested after a petrol bomb was allegedly thrown at the home of a New Crossroads community councillor, Mr John Balisi, early today.

Police liaison officer, Captain Calitz said Mr Balisi told detectives he had been awakened by loud noises.

"Mr Balisi discovered his front door and lounge curtains alight but managed to douse the flames before extensive damage took place," he said.

Captain Calitz said police arrived soon after the incident at 2.40am and arrested the women a few blocks away from the damaged house.

The women are expected to appear in the Wynberg Magistrate's court tomorrow.

# Blast hits Mamelodi civic leader's home

Pretoria Correspondent

~~8/5/85~~ ~~Star 1/17~~  
A bomb exploded at the home of a Mamelodi businessman and civic leader at about 5 am today causing damage estimated at more than R10 000.

The home of Mr Louis Khumalo, a local pharmacist and chairman of the Mamelodi Parents' Association, was extensively damaged by a bomb which was apparently planted in his wife's car.

"When Louis and I rushed out of the house to see what had happened, we found that my car was a

complete wreck. All the windows on the western side had been broken," said Mrs Nancy Khumalo.

The explosion was so powerful that a number of windows of the Khumalos' neighbour's house were also broken.

Police confirmed no-one was hurt when three petrol bombs were hurled through a window of the Atteridgeville house of Mr Andrew Masete (45), just after midnight last night.

Mr Masete is an assistant superintendent at the Atteridgeville Town Council.

# Homes of UDF men attacked

~~UDF~~ (LIA) NM 8/5/85

**JOHANNESBURG**—Violence in the townships took a new turn yesterday when the Soweto homes of two leading United Democratic Front men, Mr Aubrey Mokoena and the Rev Frank Chikane, were petrol bombed.

The home of a New Crossroads community councillor was fire-bombed early yesterday although only slight damage was caused.

Police arrested three women, aged between 20 and 23, shortly after the incident.

Sapa, quoting a police report in Pretoria reported that in the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton, 'extensive damage was caused to the home of a member of the UDF' by petrol bombs, and a police guard opened fire with a shotgun when a group stoned a councillor's house.

The police report also said that a man had been forced to drink a vast amount of soapy water and then was stabbed to death after he had re-

fused to take part in an act of intimidation in Graaff-Reinet yesterday.

'As it now appears that the unrest situation is stabilising, malicious crime is showing its head,' said the report, naming the victim as Mr James Smit.

Police fired tear-gas and rubber bullets to disperse groups in Soweto, and police, Post Office and private vehicles were stoned on three occasions but there were neither injuries nor arrests, the report said.

Later, about 50 youths stopped a milk delivery vehicle in Meadowlands, Soweto, robbed the driver of his load and R500, and set the van alight.

In Kwathema, near Springs, an illegal gathering of about 300 people was dispersed by police, and a beer-hall and administration board vehicle were set alight, while at Kwazakele, near Port Elizabeth, a private home was gutted in a petrol bomb attack by about 20 people, it said.

And police reported that two men, aged 35 and 39, who had been stoned unconscious, were then doused with petrol and burned to death by about 250 people in Tsakane, near Brakpan.

Police dispersed the mob with tear-gas and rubber bullets when they arrived on the scene.

Mr Mokoena and Mr Chikane were among 16 UDF members released on R170 000 bail in Pietermaritzburg on Monday after being held on a charge of high treason.

The attack on Mr Chikane's house occurred about 2 a.m. after three strangers had been seen leaving and running to a nearby car.

Mr Chikane's six-month-old baby escaped uninjured when the house was badly damaged.

Mr Chikane said: 'There was an intense fire in the room in which we had been sleeping soon after a curtain caught alight. I jumped up and ran to save the baby who was sleeping in a cot near the window.'

**Mercury**  
**Correspondent**

## Woke up

'A second petrol bomb hit the front room in which furniture, curtains, carpets and the ceiling were badly damaged. Neighbours helped us put out the fire.'

Mr Mokoena, chairman of the UDF-affiliated Release Mandela Committee, only realised he had been attacked when he woke up, but only his car was damaged.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that an attempt was made to set alight UDF offices in Oudtshoorn early yesterday.

**ATTEMPTS** at bringing together major black political organisations for peace talks received a major boost on Monday night when the UDF accepted a peace package from Bishop Desmond Tutu.

And last night Azapo was due to meet with members of the peace mission to discuss the package. Though Bishop Tutu left for the United States yesterday, the other members continue the peace initiatives.

The other priests in the peace mission are the Reverends Lebamang Sebidi, David Nkwe, Enoch Shomang, Jacob Maleke, Dan Dinkebugile, Tom Mbabane, Tsele and Mbande.

Last night's meeting was confirmed by Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, president of Azapo, who said his organisation had also tried to get in touch with the Rev Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF. This was to try and get the UDF to the negotiating table.

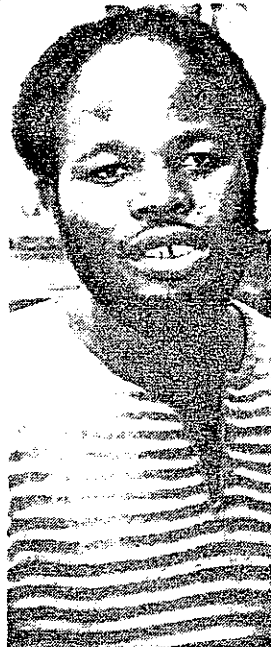
## Aborted

The third organisation involved in the peace initiatives, Inkatha, has already committed itself. Last Wednesday it was the only major organisation to attend the first round of talks — aborted when Azapo and the UDF did not turn up.

Though Bishop Tutu's peace package was not spelt out, it includes:

- A commitment by the organisations that they will discipline their members;
- A commitment to publicly denounce the violence that has engulfed the organisations; and
- A willingness to be in the talks with all af-

# PEACE TALKS



AZAPO: Mkhabela.



PACKAGE: Tutu.



UDF: Chikane.

fectured organisations.

The UDF has agreed to these proposals.

Bishop Tutu also announced yesterday that an interdenominational service would be held at Regina Mundi in Soweto conducted by the ministers to entrench peace within the organisations.

The service, which will start at 2pm, will also be aimed at praying for peace and reconciliation in South Africa. Most ministers involved have pledged their sup-

port and all organisations would be invited.

## Enemy

The current peace initiatives take place in the background of homes of UDF leaders having been petrol-bombed only yesterday morning. Instead of fuelling anger, the organisations have instead united to blame a common enemy. UDF leaders yesterday blamed the "system", and not political rivals. Azapo.

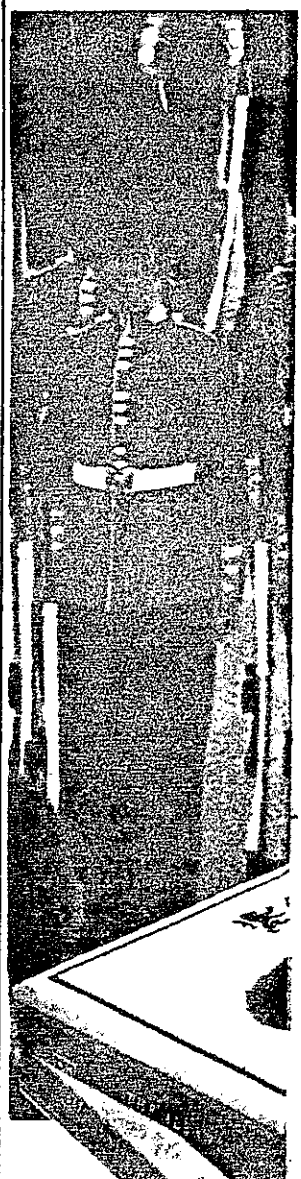
On Monday night the

UDF released an open letter to Azapo where it called for restraint and peace talks.

"That there are differences between our organisations in our understanding, interpretation and possibly methods of struggle is undeniable. But we cannot accept that these need be destructive.

"Surely our common repugnance for the system under which we live far supercedes the differences between us," the letter said.

## The Guards. Lo



# Rival groups move to end friction

By Michael Tissong

The three organisations linked to politically motivated violence in the black community have taken steps to end the friction among themselves. *Star 8/1/87*

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, last week called for the organisations to meet to solve their differences but only Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement turned up for the meeting.

The other two organisations — the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) — did not attend the meeting.

Both organisations said the meeting was called at too short notice.

The inter-party friction since

January this year has resulted in:

- The deaths of two Azapo members and two children of an Azapo member in the Eastern Cape allegedly caused by UDF members.
- The petrol-bombing and stoning of 13 Azapo members' houses allegedly by UDF members in Soweto and the Eastern Cape.
- The burning down of six UDF members' houses allegedly by Inkatha in Hambanathi in Natal.
- The disruption of an Inkatha meeting allegedly by UDF members in Duduza.
- The disruptions of Azapo meetings allegedly by UDF members at the University of the North and Tembisa.

The houses of prominent UDF members Mr Aubrey Mokoena and the Reverend Frank Chikane were petrol-bombed this week but

both accused pro-Government forces of the attacks.

During the meeting between Inkatha and a group of clergymen including Bishop Tutu, Inkatha pledged itself to restrain its members from violence.

On Monday the UDF met Bishop Tutu and other churchmen to discuss peace strategies. UDF sources said representatives had agreed with the clerics on the basic approach to reconciliation.

Last night, Azapo's executive members met 11 clergymen in a bid to bring about peace. The meeting went on without Bishop Tutu who left for America yesterday.

Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said today the discussions has been "frank and open".

broke the law.

CAPE TOWN 8/5/85  
**Reform**  
(11A)  
**'sabotage'**

**Political Reporter**  
**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.** — An angry MP yesterday said in the House that he was told to use a non-white entrance at a George police station at the weekend.

Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo), the son of the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said that he was told by a Sergeant Meiring on Friday evening to use the non-white entrance of the police station as he left it to get some documents from his car.

Entering the station for a second time, Mr Hendrickse said he used the entrance which was closest to him — the white one. He told the sergeant that he did not intend to obey his instruction.

"This is the kind of action that sabotages the efforts for reform," said Mr Hendrickse.

THE Urban Foundation yesterday claimed it has been granted a Supreme Court interdict barring the executive director of the Society of Young Africans (Soya) and the African Enterprises Institute from further interrupting the operations of the Funda Centre in Diepkloof, Soweto.

In a statement released by Mr Tony Ngwenya of the Urban Foundation it is said the interdict against Mr Meshack Mabogoane was granted on Friday. It was served on him on Monday.

Activities at the Funda Centre had been disrupted since last Friday after a series of incidents which necessitated increased security.

The Urban Foundation said Soya and AEI held a meeting at the centre and during the course of this meeting a

## Court order against Soya leader

group of Mr Mabogoane's followers forced other staff users of the centre to cancel their programmes and vacate the premises.

These staff members returned to their places of work in the afternoon after which security was stepped up.

On Saturday morning, Mr Mabogoane and a group attempted to gain access to the centre, but this was denied him by Mr Stan



SOYA LEADER: Mr Meshack Mabogoane Suma.

Kahn, the centre's director.

Mr Mabogoane and his followers forced entry on to the premises and Mr Kahn suffered physical injury as a result. On Monday about 150 of Soya and AEI students and staff arrived at the centre and were again refused entry in terms of the interdict.

Police were called to the scene and the group dispersed after being asked to do so.

Mr Mabogoane, who has changed his surname to Suma, said Soya has taken over Funda Centre from the Urban Foundation.

He said a general meeting of 300 Soya members, all of who are full time trainees and workers of the Africanist movement, had decided to expel all Urban Foundation staff and occupy the entire building. He also accused Mr Kahn of being against Soya and trying to destroy its projects from the onset.

Mr Mabogoane Suma said he was presented with a Supreme Court order by Mr Kahn but said he "did not recognise a piece of irrelevant paper.

Soya/AEI is to hold a meeting at the Dube YWCA starting at 6 pm today.



# Azapo smoke peace pipe

AZAPO has accepted peace proposals expected to end the violence between its supporters and those of the UDF.

The organisation met a group of priests led by Father Lebamang Sebidi on Tuesday night.

President of Azapo Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said the two parties, Azapo and the clergy, decided not to release

details of the meeting at this "delicate stage".

He said: "We had a very frank and open meeting at which a number of issues were addressed and Azapo committed itself to assist the process of resolving the conflict and to create a climate conducive for progress in the liberation struggle."

The peace talks, ini-

iated by Bishop Desmond Tutu, followed one between the clergy and the UDF on Monday night at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in White City, Soweto, when the UDF also accepted the package. Mr Mkhabela yesterday said possibility of the two organisations meeting on the issue were "bright".

# Well-used strategy that has become a liability

Star 8/5/85

Now that it has become fashionable for the Government to admit the error of policies it has followed for 37 years, it should reconsider what is arguably the most grievous error of all.

This is the policy of manipulating the selection of black leaders so that it gets those it is prepared to deal with, rather than those who are authentic representatives of their communities.

It was a strategy that served the Government well while it was constructing its apartheid system and needed quiescent black leaders to operate it.

But it is proving a liability now that the Government is becoming aware of the need to begin real negotiations. You can't negotiate with unrepresentative leaders and you can't draw real leaders into your negotiating forum when you have tainted the whole system with a collaborationist image.

Some of the manipulations taking place over the removal of "black spot" communities show how deeply ingrained the method of operation has become.

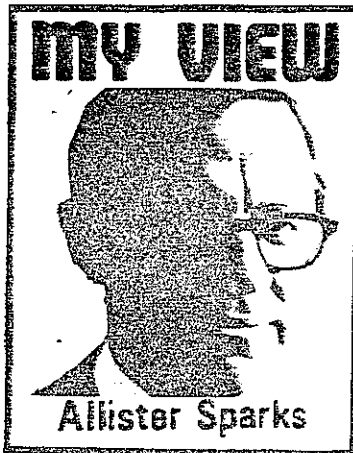
Take the contrasting cases of the kwaNgema community near Wakkerstroom in the Eastern Transvaal, and the Mathopestad community near Koster in the Western Transvaal.

KwaNgema has an elected council which is strongly opposed to Government plans to move the community either to the kwaNgwane or kwaZulu "homelands".

To overcome this opposition, officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development arranged a meeting last October at the home of a discredited community member called Cuthbert Ngema, whom they knew was prepared to agree to the removal.

Eight close relatives gathered at Cuthbert's house while the rest of the 5 000-strong community were attending another meeting, and elected him "leader" of the community. Soon afterwards the authorities recognised Cuthbert as acting chief.

Appalled by this, the Ngema council sought a court order declaring Cuthbert's appointment invalid, but lost the case because of a law



empowering the Government to appoint whoever it pleases as chief of a tribe.

Anyone who has visited kwaNgema can be in no doubt that the overwhelming majority of that community is passionately opposed to being removed from land they have owned for more than 125 years. Yet they may indeed be uprooted in what will be officially regarded as a "voluntary" removal, because a chief is deemed to speak on behalf of his tribe and Chief Cuthbert is willing to give his assent.

Mathopestad is the mirror image of this. There the recognised chief, a young man named Solomon Mathope, aided by his tough-minded uncle, John Mathope, is strongly opposed to Government plans to move them to a resettlement camp in Bophuthatswana. So suddenly the principle that a chief speaks for his tribe disappears.

Instead the department is bussing dissidents to see the new site and officials are already claiming that Solomon and John Mathope are not representative of their tribe.

It is not difficult to find these dissidents. Twenty-two black families bought the Mathopestad farm in 1910 and it belongs to their descendants who have allotments to cultivate. Over the years the landowners have taken in "tenants". Some tenants stay on a sharecropper basis; others lodge there without having any land to work.

It is mainly the tenants who are being bussed to the new site in Bo-

phuthatswana. All seem to have been given the impression that if they agree to the move they will be given farmland there. Not surprisingly, the idea appeals. Everything points to a Government plan to declare that a majority have "volunteered" to move as soon as there are more tenants saying yes to the removal than landowners saying no. And to biases with what the chief says.

The cynicism of it is breathtaking, but then this is the way the Government has always conducted black affairs. Beginning with the Transkei in the early sixties, homeland constitutions were loaded to give ex-officio chiefs, who were as anxious as the Government to preserve the old order against the new forces of black nationalism, a built-in majority over elected members.

Urban black councils were elected by 10 percent of eligible voters; the coloured and Indian parliamentarians by less than a fifth of their electorates.

In only one instance that I know of has the Government negotiated with authentic leaders freely chosen by their own communities. This was when the much-maligned Mr Timo Bezuidenhout was prepared to talk to the Crossroads and other squatter leaders in Cape Town. It is also a rare example of a viable agreement being reached with a black community.

● Allister Sparks, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, writes this regular column and reports for several overseas newspapers.

# UDF plea <sup>(IA)</sup> in E. Post 8/5/85 peace move

Post Correspondent

THE plans for talks to end the in-fighting between the supporters of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, particularly in the Eastern Cape, have been welcomed by leaders of the two organisations in Port Elizabeth.

The tentative date for the talks organised by the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, and members of the Inter-denominational Ministers Association of Southern Africa, to be held at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, Johannesburg, is May 19.

Mr Stone Sizani, publicity secretary of the UDF's East Cape Regional Committee, said the UDF was concerned with the spreading of the in-fighting.

It felt the escalating violence could be stopped.

"While we are engaged in this in-fighting our common enemy is laughing at us. We appeal to our fellow supporters who have found themselves trapped in this in-fighting to refrain from using violence," he said. "We appeal to Azapo to do the same."

The Rev Mzwandile Maqina, a member of the local Azapo executive, said he welcomed the peace talks.

# Banned leader's house attacked

ARGUS 8/5/45

Labour Reporter

THE Athlone home of banned community leader Mr Johnny Issel was attacked early today. A brick was thrown through the front window of the house and the windscreen and one window of a car standing outside were smashed.

# Another Star grab, says Buthelezi

By Susan Fleming

The scrapping of provincial councils is another far-reaching, dictatorial grab of decision-making powers by central government, says the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

He was speaking at the annual conference of the Centre for the Investigation into Revolutionary Activities annual conference at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday.

He said the dismantling of provincial administrations without consulting blacks demonstrated that whites incorrectly believed they knew what was right for everyone in South Africa.

"When provinces were set up at the time of Union," he said, "the black majority was ignored and not consulted."

"In 1985 Mr P W Botha is demonstrating to us the white thinking which existed in 1910.

"The voicelessness of the black majority is very much alive.

"In this period of escalating conflict the placing of provincial governments in the claws of the tricameral Parliament makes those Indians and coloureds who participate in it even more vulnerable than they have been up to now."

Chief Buthelezi vehemently rejected the new Constitution because it had gone further than any other constitution in denying blacks the right to be involved in central decision-making.

Under the new dispensation, he said, blacks were dependent on political handouts by a white State President who had awesome powers which were unparalleled in the Western civilised world.

Said Chief Buthelezi: "It is bad in principle to establish the paramountcy of one individual and use his awesome powers to dictate what should be done and how it should be done."

He appealed to the Government to issue a declaration of intent which black leaders could sign.

It was untrue, he said, that the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress were making South Africa ungovernable.

# New advisory system 'sick relic of past' says Buthelezi

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the decision to replace the provincial council system with a new second-tier government to be staffed by officials appointed by President Botha is another blow to the process of bringing about change through negotiation and non-violent means.

Responding in detail to this week's announcement by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, Chief Buthelezi said the announcement was 'obscure in the extreme.'

'What hope is there for the future if the South African Government hurtles into the politics of obscurity, leaping from one expedient to another in desperate attempts to make the new constitution work?' he asked.

Commenting on the announcement that advisory councils would advise the executive, the Chief Minister said such councils were 'sick relics of the past'.

He said he had rejected the Black Advisory Council which would have legitimised the President's Council.

He had refused to take part in the deliberations of the Special Cabinet Committee because the Government construed such participation as support for the notion that black South Africans should express their national political aspirations through the kind of structures which apartheid had created.

## Revised

'I now reject the notion that the executive and administrative arms of apartheid within the confines of the new constitution can be legitimised by "advisory councils",' Chief Buthelezi said.

'Advisory councils can only advise on how to do what the executive in the tri-cameral Parliament has already decided to do.'

The Chief Minister said he had long argued that second-tier government politics needed to be radically revised.

However, he had also argued that there should be no revision of the format of South African politics without consultation with blacks.

'Black South Africa was not consulted about the scrapping of the Provincial Council,' Chief Buthelezi said.

'The announcements affect every South African, but, for every one white South African who is affected, there are five black South Africans who are affected.'

He said white South Africa itself had not been informed during the referendum campaign that the provincial council system would be scrapped.

Chief Buthelezi said it was about time that the National Party learned that it had made mistakes because it pursued unilateral decisions outside democracy.

# Township situation is sickening, says PFP

~~11A~~ Star 9/5/85

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The death of a prominent trade unionist in mysterious circumstances after being detained by the police was raised during the Manpower Vote in the House of Assembly yesterday.

The Official Opposition's chief spokesman on Manpower, Dr Alex Boraine, said the death of Mr Andries Raditsela, the Transvaal vice-chairman of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, was like "putting a match to dry grass".

"It is shocking that there seems no end to persons dying while in custody of the police and of the authorities," Dr Boraine said.

There was something "serious and sickening" going on in South African townships.

"If this man had not been a trade unionist we might not have heard anything at all about his death."

Referring to the recent dismissal of 17 000 striking mineworkers, Dr

## Call for investigation

11A

Political Staff

Star 9/5/85

PARLIAMENT — The Labour Party has called for a top-level police investigation into the death of trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela who allegedly died of head injuries after being arrested at the weekend.

In a statement issued at Parliament yesterday the party expressed the "deepest concern".

An investigation should be held "as soon as possible and should be as comprehensive as possible".

The statement continued: "If any person or groups of persons, including the police, are found to have had a hand in the injuries, which allegedly led to his death, then they should be brought to trial at the first opportunity."

Boraine said the incident was "extremely worrying and disturbing".

The giant mining industry was particularly vulnerable in the economy, and it was important that both management and labour kept cool heads.

Black union leaders on the mines had an "awesome responsibility" in the present situation.

"With their newly earned power and status, they can decide whether

there will be a slide towards chaos or a steady march towards the settling of grievances and the scrapping of discrimination."

Issues should be resolved at the bargaining table — not in lock-outs or wildcat strikes, Dr Boraine said.

The Government could assist by "taking its courage in its hands" and scrapping job reservation on the mines, Dr Boraine said.

Referring to staggering figures on black unemployment, Dr Boraine said the situation fanned the flames of anger and resentment in the townships.

Because mainly voteless black people were affected, there were serious political implications.

An employment opportunities commission should be appointed, growth of the informal sector should be encouraged, influx control should be scrapped and a social security system implemented as measures for dealing with the problem, Dr Boraine said.

Attacking Dr Boraine, Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP, Jeppe) said he found it "upsetting" that the police had been "attacked" again.

He added that the politicisation of black trade unions was a serious problem and warned the Government against "nurturing" their development.

The debate continues today.

Letters to the Editor

11A Azapo hits at critics Sowetan 9/5/85

SIR — Having listened to a lot of spurious arguments, misdirected criticism, comments and verbiage directed at the Azanian People's Organisation over the Kennedy visit, I hope there will be enough room to address myself to this misinformation.

The general impression gathered (at such social places as shebeens, sports clubs, trains, etc) is that people have an axe to grind against Azapo because they wrongly believe it is the in-thing to do! In so doing they have fallen prey to reasoning with their hearts rather than with their heads.

It is often said that out of a conflict situation the first casualty is invariably, the TRUTH. I hope to deal with this misinformation that abounded in the media coverage of the Kennedy saga — including your paper.

I believe we owe it to those people who — through no fault of their own — have to rely exclusively on press reports/analysis for an interpretation of contemporary events to safeguard the correct recording of our history.

**Democratic rights**

I would like to take issue with your editorial (1985-01-09) which reeked of the highest form of platitudinous pontification wherein you enthused about democracy, unity and some such profundities. Let us begin by agreeing that there is division within the black community as represented by the oppression. This division did not come about because of the Kennedy visit but was existent for some time.

Secondly, we did not deny anybody his/her democratic right (if there was any) to sup with whosoever he/she wishes. A brief look at the catalogue of events will show that we — from Azapo — were unflinching and unambiguous about our opposition to the Kennedy visit and neither did we disrupt any meeting between Kennedy and his hosts. You only need to ask CUSA, Bishop Hurley, Bishop Tutu and Dr Boesak. Y. S. Chinsamy of the Reform Party, Gatsha Buthelezi and the Western Cape faction of the U.D.F. that hosted Kennedy, should be able to attest to the fact that they went ahead with their meetings — in exercising their democratic rights! — and we only registered our opposition to the Kennedy presence prior to any such meeting taking place, if this information came to our notice beforehand.

Before you get carried away on this binge on democracy you should be reminded that democracy is not practised in isolation. By implication, democracy presupposes some form of interaction within a given society which will be facilitated by consultation, persuasion and not coercion.



ZITHULELE CINDI

To come to the nub of the matter, I would like to aver that Azapo did not disrupt the Regina Mundi rally nor did we force its cancellation as alleged in a number of newspapers including yours. Throughout the week there was a buildup in the media coverage of a supposed clash looming between Azapo and the UDF.

On the Monday/Tuesday after Kennedy had arrived in this country the UDF issued a statement wherein it distanced itself from the Kennedy visit and set out pre-conditions under which it would be involved in the organising of the itinerary for Kennedy. Some of the conditions were that it (UDF) would not talk to or share a platform with Kennedy if he were to speak with Bantustan leaders; if he met with P W Botha he should also meet with N Mandela; etc.

On Thursday the UDF issued another statement where it gave guarded support to the Kennedy visit and instructed its affiliates to lend support to the rally. Again it issued another statement on Saturday saying that it will play a low profile on the Kennedy visit but pledged its support for the Kennedy hosts, Bishop Tutu and Dr Boesak, who are its patrons. On the same Saturday, our President, comrade Ish Mkhabela reiterated our standpoint that we will picket the rally but that this was directed at Kennedy as representing imperialism and was not aimed at fellow blacks.

Come Sunday, the thirteenth (January 13th) and the organisers of the rally called it off to look for a scapegoat to take the blame for the cancellation. When Bishop Tutu was called upon the podium to deliver his speech as one of the speakers, he did what I regarded as an uncalled for piece of mischief. He knew from the time Kennedy landed here that there were those who were opposed to his visit (he even told Kennedy this at the airport). He claimed that he was a democrat and that he would be guided by the will of the people by asking for those who wanted to have Kennedy

address them and those who did not (that ghost of democracy with us again!)

If the majority of the people inside the cathedral wanted to hear Kennedy, why didn't the organisers go ahead with the rally? The answer is simply to be found in the fact that the rally had already been cancelled by Bishop Tutu himself before it even started. He told the audience that "he had advised Kennedy against addressing a meeting that was likely to be disrupted". Those were his words. More than anyone Bishop Tutu should know that meetings at the cathedral have always been rowdy and characterised by heckling but they (meetings) have gone ahead in spite of the rowdiness.

When people were asked to leave the hall peacefully, they did so and many reports of near physical clashes between Azapo and the UDF simply astound me.

**Private guest**

Let me turn to some of the letters written by your readers accusing Azapo, among other things, of being jealous because they were excluded from the Kennedy itinerary. Let me point out here that we met with the organisers of the Kennedy tour before he arrived here and it was made clear to them that we were opposed to the tour. However, seeing that they were miles ahead with their arrangements and that Kennedy was primarily their private guest, we advised them not to give him any public platform where he would gain undue prominence. It was made abundantly clear that our stand on the Kennedy issue was not directed against any individual but was a Congress decision which we were simply carrying out.

Bishop Tutu, at that meeting admitted to criticism that the whole trip was arranged without any proper consultation and pointed out that the invitation was done on the spur of the moment. Hence the submission that Kennedy remain a private guest.

*This letter has been shortened: ED.*  
ZITHULELE CINDI

Diepkloof



# Naude: Lift ban on ANC, PAC

CAPE TOWN 9/5/85 (11P) (10) (30) (18)

Staff Reporter

THE TIME had come for the government to lift the banning order on the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC), to allow these movements to operate as political parties inside South Africa, Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in Cape Town last night.

Dr Naude, whose seven-year banning order expired in September last year, was given a standing ovation by an audience of more than 2 400 people at the University of Cape Town last night.

## Exiles

The Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr Stuart Saunders, presented Dr Naude with a festschrift containing contributions by more than a dozen leading South African theologians, to mark his 70th birthday.

In return Dr Naude presented the university with the original banning order he received in 1977.

Dr Naude called for all exiles to be invited to return to South Africa and for all political prisoners to be released, as "this

alone would enable meaningful negotiation to deal with the present crisis as a basis for the establishment of a society of justice and peace in South Africa."

He said there was another way to reduce conflict and enhance peace.

Dr Naude said black industrial workers were among those who had been severely exploited in the Republic although they had contributed in a massive way to the building of the economy. In so doing they had, however, received minimal financial return on their labour.

## Academic freedom

Surely those black trade unions which represented the rights of black workers must be among the most potent forces for peaceful change in our time, he said.

"I appeal to both government and the business sector to respond to their demands in a creative and imaginative manner. It is quite clear that if their support is not ensured, any attempt to persuade the outside world of industrial reform will rightly fall on deaf ears," Dr Naude said.

Educational institutions had become target areas for political action and debate. Universities needed to respond creatively to this challenge, he said. Universities did not belong to privileged white minorities but they belonged to all the people of South Africa, and academic freedom should become a basis for freedom from injustices both on and beyond the campus.

## Trade unions

Universities which affirmed academic freedom were obliged to reach beyond the customary debate on who shall teach, who shall be taught and what should be taught.

Dr Naude said there was a need for an alliance of freedom to be established between those universities, trade unions and political groups which affirmed justice and equality for all people before the law.

"I appeal to those universities in this country, such as the University of Cape Town, which have traditionally supported the freedom of association, to take the initiative in this regard."

## Churches

The churches in South Africa had been torn apart by political division, ideological conflicts and doctrinal disputes and it was time for unity of purpose, grounded in the total rejection of the heresy of apartheid.

Unless the church was prepared to do this, it would be rejected as irrelevant by the people of God who reached out for his gift in Christ of justice, freedom and life.

He appealed to the churches of this land "to practise the faith we confess" in a more courageous and meaningful manner.

"Where we go from here is the right of all the people of this land to decide. If this right is denied to some, it will, I fear, ultimately be taken from all, as the country is plunged into total chaos," Dr Naude said.

ARGUS 9/5/85 (117)

## Student organiser dies after being held by police

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A young student organiser has died in the Free State within days of being held by police for questioning.

Mr Siphon Mutsi, 20, the Odendaalsrus branch organiser for the Congress of SA Students, was taken to Odendaalsrus Police Station on May 4.

The superintendent of Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein, Dr B Arenson, confirmed that Mr Mutsi was dead on arrival on Sunday afternoon.

He is the second public figure to become fatally ill this week while in police custody.

The first was East Rand trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela.

Mr Mutsi was held in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act for questioning in connection with charges of public violence, according to Lieutenant Henry Beck of the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria.

Lieutenant Beck said that while Mr Mutsi's particulars were being taken at the police station, he began to have convulsions.

The lieutenant would not comment on whether Mr Mutsi's family had been notified and could not say when the post-mortem examination would take place.

# Student dies in police custody

By Jo-Anne Collinge and  
Don Holliday

A young student organiser has died in the Free State after being taken into police custody for questioning.

Mr Sipho Mutsi (20), the Odendaalsrus branch organiser for the Congress of South African Students, was taken to the Odendaalsrus police station on Saturday May 4.

## CONFIRMED

The superintendent of the Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein, Dr B Arenson, confirmed he was dead on arrival at the hospital on Sunday afternoon.

Mr Mutsi is the second public figure to become fatally ill this week after being taken into police custody.

The first was East Rand trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela, who

died in hospital after being detained under section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Mutsi was held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act for questioning in connection with charges of public violence, according to Lieutenant Henry Beck of the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria.

Lieutenant Beck said, that while Mr Mutsi's particulars were being taken, the young man had started to have convulsions.

Police said Mr Mutsi was taken to Welkom Hospital and then transferred to the Bloemfontein Hospital where he died.

Lieutenant Beck would not comment on whether the family had been notified nor could he say when the post-mortem would take place.

Cape Times  
9/5/85

11A  
~~11A~~  
~~11A~~

# Crisis in SA: Where do we go from here?

THE crisis which I have seen grow during the years of my banning order continues. I close with a comment on four interrelated areas within this crisis, areas within which I have been engaged for the larger part of my life.

The political crisis of our land intensifies daily. The time has come for the government to lift the banning order on the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, allowing these movements to operate as political parties in the country. At the same time all exiles must be invited to return to the country and all political prisoners released.

This alone will enable meaningful negotiation to deal with the present crisis as a basis for the establishment of a society of justice and peace in South Africa. There is no

other way to reduce conflict and enhance peace. There is positively nothing to be gained by anyone in prolonging white minority rule. I appeal to the government to face this reality and to act accordingly.

Among those who have been severely exploited in a systematic way in this country are black industrial workers. Their families have been separated from them by group areas legislation and exploited by migratory labour practices while they have contributed in a massive way to the building of the economy.

Yet, in so doing they have received minimal financial return on their labour.

Now, as this country stands in a perilous economic situation, those trade unions that represent the rights of black workers must surely be among the most potent forces for peaceful change in our time. I appeal to both the government and the business sector to respond to their demands in a creative and imaginative manner. It is quite clear that if their support is not ensured any attempt to per-

suade the outside world of industrial reform will rightly fall on deaf ears.

Educational institutions have become a target for political action and debate. Universities need to respond creatively to this challenge.

Universities do not belong to privileged white minorities. They belong to all the people of this land. Academic freedom must become a basis for freedom from injustices both on and beyond the



**THE Rev Beyers Naude spoke at the University of Cape Town last night about his seven years as a banned person. He concluded his speech with these remarks about where South Africa should go from here.**

campus. This means universities which affirm academic freedom are obliged to reach beyond the customary debate on who shall teach, who shall be taught and on what will be taught.

There is a need for an alliance of freedom to be established between those universities, trade unions and political groups which affirm justice and equality for all people

before the law. I appeal to those universities in this country, such as the University of Cape Town, which have traditionally supported the freedom of association, to take the initiative in this regard.

The churches of this land are torn apart by political division, ideological conflicts and doctrinal disputes. Now is the time for unity of purpose grounded in the total rejection of the heresy of apartheid. Unless the church is prepared to do this it will be rejected as irrelevant by the people of God who reach out for his gift in Christ of justice, freedom and life.

## Right denied

I appeal to the churches of this land — let us practise the faith we confess in a more courageous and meaningful manne

Where we go from here is the right of all the people of this land to decide. If this right is denied to some it will, I fear, ultimately be taken from all as the country is plunged into total chaos.

# UDF 'too concerned with its politics'

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front was more concerned with using communities for their own political ends than with solving community problems, Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, said yesterday.

Addressing a seminar on unrest and urban terrorism and its effects on industry and commerce at a Woodstock hotel, Mr Curry said the UDF's housing action committees were "very clever".

"People flock to their meetings but as soon as they get there the UDF turns to politics, telling them the reason they haven't got houses is the 'system'", Mr Curry said.

## 'Structures'

The government had to proclaim the right for everybody to own property and industry had to play a major role in alleviating the housing backlog.

"We have to create structures that will deliver the goods and have status among the people," Mr Curry said.

In some areas of the coloured community, despair on a par with many blacks, was creeping in.

Criticizing the rental system for making communities susceptible to exploitation, Mr Curry said nothing changed a man's status as much as home-ownership.

A coalition government in South Africa was inevitable but steps had to be taken to create an atmosphere in which debate could take place.

"It's been said that this country is one of economic miracles and political disasters — but those days are over with the economy in a slump", Mr Curry said.

ARGUS 9/5/85 11A

# UDF versus Azapo — the prospects of peace

PIPPA GREEN and MIKE ROBERTSON of the Political Staff examine some of the differences between extra-Parliamentary political rivals and their attempts to achieve peaceful co-existence

THE recent outbreak of violence in the Eastern Cape between opposing black political organisations has highlighted the complexity of anti-apartheid politics in South Africa.

Differences between Azapo, the major black consciousness grouping on the one hand, and the United Democratic Front, a loose affiliation of organisations broadly supporting the Freedom Charter, on the other, have long been brewing.

While both organisations accuse the State of fostering hostility between them with the use of bogus pamphlets, particularly in the Transvaal, there is little doubt of the deep-rooted antagonism between the two.

But both organisations seem determined to end if not the antagonism, then the violence. If it is not stopped, they believe, the organisations could become a "political sideshow" in South Africa.

The rivalry between the UDF and the National Forum, which consists of a peculiar mix of black cons-



The emblems under which the two rival extra-Parliamentary organisations are campaigning for support — the UDF's is on the left, Azapo's clenched fist is on the right

sciousness organisations like Azapo, and political bodies to the left of the UDF that are avowedly anti-racist, centres around race and economics.

"We believe," says Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF executive member, "that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

This statement — lifted directly from the Freedom Charter — is translated into the UDF's membership which consists of a wide and disparate spectrum of organisations of all races.

Azapo, national publicity secretary Mr Imran Moosa says, believes the struggle in South Africa is for the "re-possession of the land which has to be in the hands of the black-working class"

This, translated, results in Azapo being an exclusively black organisation.

A prominent non-Azapo member of the National Forum, says black consciousness reflects the "real consciousness" of the majority of South Africans.

"The struggle in this country is perceived as a struggle against whites. The task is to change that consciousness into a class consciousness."

The relationship between class and race in South African society is one that has long been hotly debated in opposition politics.

Within the UDF, the prickly question of economic policy has not been raised publicly — supposedly to maintain the unity of a diverse anti-apartheid grouping.

It has led to criticisms from certain left-wingers within the UDF, but the current Western Cape executive shows no sign of seriously considering these.

Azapo, on the other hand, is vocally socialist, stating that the struggle against apartheid is merely the "departure point for the South African liberation effort."

According to Mr Moosa, the black working class is central in the struggle for socialist society in South Africa.

However, while Azapo's socialist rhetoric is strident, there is little evidence that this permeates the ranks of its membership.

There has recently been the formation of a number of black consciousness trade unions but they have yet to

show any significant shop floor strength.

A leading intellectual in the National Forum has described the leadership of the new unions — the largest of which is the Black Allied Mining and Construction Union — as the among the "clearest and most articulate in the country".

Others, like the UDF, charge that these people are not in tune with those they claim to represent.

Mr Manuel says: "It is dead easy to be theoretically clear when one has a small basis of support. When one is dealing with a wide range of people, then issues are far more complex."

It is ironic the best organised voice of the black working class — most of the powerful grouping of independent trade unions — have maintained a deliberate distance from both groupings.

There is little doubt that, although its organisation is tenuous, the UDF has been able to muster greater public support than either Azapo, or the other leading organisation in the National Forum, the Cape Action League

However, a CAL member, says political support cannot be gauged by "episodic numerical support."

"The smallest organisation, provided it is well organised, can be powerful. And if you count activists and structures, rather than a media impression of strength, there is little to choose between Azapo and the UDF."

The National Forum claims that its role in last year's anti-election campaign was underplayed by the media.

At the end of the day, though, one of the political realities of South Africa, is not what is said at meetings, but how many were there.

In that sense, the UDF has proved itself.

Whether the UDF will be able to sustain the momentum which climaxed in the anti-election campaign is questionable, as is the National Forum's ability to translate its more definite political line into a strong movement capable of challenging the State.

# Naude urges Government to lift ban on ANC and PAC

NM 9/5/88 (117) (304)

CAPE TOWN—The time had come for the Government to lift the bannings on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to allow these movements to operate as political parties inside South Africa, Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in Cape Town last night.

Dr Naude, whose seven-year banning order expired in September last year, was speaking at the University of Cape Town.

He said all exiles should be invited to return to South Africa and all political prisoners should be released.

This alone will enable meaningful negotiation to deal with the present crisis as a basis for the establishment of a society of justice and peace in South Africa.

There is no other way to reduce conflict and enhance peace. There is

positively nothing to be gained by anyone in prolonging white minority rule. I appeal to the Government to face this reality and to act accordingly,' Dr Naude said.

## Exploited

Dr Naude was presented with a book of essays, contributed by more than a dozen leading South African theologians, by the University's vice-chancellor, Dr Stuart Saunders, to mark Dr Naude's 70th birthday.

Dr Naude said black industrial workers were among those who had been severely exploited.

'Their families have been separated from them by Group Areas legislation, and exploited by migratory labour practices, while they have contributed in a massive way to the building of the economy. Yet, in so doing, they have received minimal financial return on their labour.'

'Now, as this country stands in a perilous economic situation, those trade unions that represent the rights of black workers must surely be among the most potent forces for peaceful change in our time.'

'I appeal to both Government and the business sector to respond to their demands in a creative and imaginative manner. It is quite clear that if their support is not ensured, any attempt to persuade the outside world of industrial reform will rightly fall on deaf ears,' Dr Naude said.

## Disputes

'Educational institutions have become a target area for political action and debate. Universities need to respond creatively to this challenge. Universities do not belong to privileged white minorities. They belong to all the people of this land. Academic

freedom must become a basis for freedom from injustices both on, and beyond, the campus.'

Dr Naude said the churches in South Africa were torn apart by political division, ideological conflicts and doctrinal disputes.

'Now is the time for unity of purpose, grounded in the total rejection of

the heresy of apartheid. Unless the Church is prepared to do this, it will be rejected as irrelevant by the people of God who reach out for his gift in Christ of justice, freedom and life. I appeal to the churches of this land — let us practice the faith we confess in a more courageous and meaningful manner.' — (Sapa)

# UDF member's house attacked

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON.— The East London branch publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Andrew Hendricks, said stones were thrown at his Buffalo Flats home early yesterday morning.

Mr Hendricks said he heard the noise of an object being hurled against his house at about 1 30am. He went outside but saw nobody.

He went back to bed and, 15 minutes later, a stone was hurled through the bedroom window, narrowly missing his bed.

He said he went out again, but found no trace of the culprit.

Me Hendricks said he called the police, who told him they would patrol the area.

Police confirmed they were called to Mr Hendricks' home.

They said they were told a stone had been thrown through a window, but were not shown the broken window.

The police looked for clues in the surrounding bush and told Mr Hendricks to lay a charge. He had not yet done so, a police spokesman said.

Mr Hendricks said he did not intend laying a charge. He said complaints he made after his home had been shot at last year had been "fruitless".



# Four more die as black faction violence rages on

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Police today reported four more violent township deaths, while unconfirmed reports put the death toll in the Tsakane faction violence on the East Rand at 16.

Violence flared in Soweto overnight, leaving two dead — one shot by police — while a black girl was burnt to death near Springs and a man was stoned to death at Welkom.

According to the police situation report for the 12 hours to 8am today, eight people were injured and more than 100 arrested.

In another incident a serviceman was killed and two were injured when two army vehicles crashed head-on in Katlehong near Germiston last night.

The two Hippos were carrying members of the Alberton Commando, who were on standby to control unrest in the township.

Mr Piet Theron, 24, died of multiple injuries.

In Soweto, police said, mobs of up to 300 stoned private vehicles, buses and police on eight occasions.

In one case the driver of a private vehicle lost control when his car was stoned. A young black girl was killed in the ensuing crash.

Police used birdshot, rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse the mobs. A black man was killed and four were injured.

At Duduza near Springs a 19-year-old black woman was killed when arsonists set fire to a house.

In Welkom's Thabong township a black man was stoned to death and tyres were set alight when a crowd of about 400 marched through the streets after a funeral.

A councillor was attacked by the same mob and stabbed 22

times. He is in hospital in a critical condition.

The police report said councillors wounded three black men. Aided by local inhabitants, 101 of the mob were arrested and handed over to police.

Meanwhile, 1 800 migrant workers were "evacuated" from the Tsakane men's hostel in Brakpan late yesterday in what residents claimed as "a victory" after five days of violence between them and migrant workers that left at least 16 dead. It is not yet known where they have been taken.

A senior member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Mandla Mtsweni, is in hospital with serious burns after his home in Kwa Thema home was petrol-bombed early today.

Another executive member of the organisation, Mr

Themba Solwandle, escaped serious injury when his home in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, was petrol-bombed today.

● See Page 9.

## R4,5-m papers theft

JOHANNESBURG. — A 17-year-old girl of Kempton Park has appeared briefly in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court in connection with the disappearance of a briefcase containing documents worth R4,5-million. The hearing was postponed to May 21. — Sapa.

## Big Soviet parade

MOSCOW. — Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev presided over a major military parade in Red Square today at the climax of Moscow's celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of nazi Germany. — Sapa-Reuter.

UDF TREASON TRIAL (11A) (221)

## Marathon hearing

Legal representatives for the 16 United Democratic Front (UDF) treason trialists are busy pouring over a mammoth, 600-page indictment of charges their clients will face under the Internal Security Act and its predecessor, the Terrorism Act.

The State has cast its net wide. The indictment details the main count as treason, followed alternatively by terrorism, supporting terrorist activities, furthering the aims of a banned organisation in the form of the SA Communist Party or the ANC.

The weighty document is the result of 10 months of preparation in which the State's submissions have been painstakingly detailed. But, as in the 1956 treason trial, legal sources maintain the authorities might have difficulty in making the charges stick.

In essence, the State contends that the 16 gave succour to a "revolutionary alliance" comprising the SA Communist Party, the ANC, the SA Congress of Trade Unions, the Congress Movement and the Congress Alliance. It alleges the UDF was used as an instrument of this alliance.

Hard evidence of actual terrorist activity appears to be conspicuously lacking. But in a subtle shift of emphasis, the prosecution draws attention to a "sinister web" of overlapping organisations which, through non-collaboration, boycotts, labour unrest, calling for the release of imprisoned and exiled leaders, conspired with the "revolutionary alliance" to bring about the downfall of the State.

The accused are implicated in the conspiracy through their involvement with the various organisations cited in the indictment. The State attempts to show common cause through extracts from their speeches and writings.

Other activities cited as treasonable include the calling of a national convention at which the people, including their revolutionary leaders, would confer to draw up a new constitution based on a truly non-racial society; the mobilisation of the people, and the popularisation of their leaders, the Freedom Charter and the people's organisations.

The main argument of the defence will be that none of these activities is treasonable. They will contend they represent the legitimate right of the accused to campaign in SA for a new order and a freer society. They will say, for example, that other people have called for a national convention without being indicted for treason. And that the con-

Em 195185  
cept is now openly debated at all levels in society.

Says a legal spokesman: "As far as we are concerned these are things we have always done and will continue to do. There is no way that they are treasonable. Nobody planted bombs or distributed pamphlets."

According to legal advisers, much of the evidence in the indictment in support of the State's case has been quoted out of context. One of their first jobs will be to "contextualise" the speeches and literature it has been taken from so that it may be seen in its proper perspective.

All this is expected to take time. The first trial date on May 20 is expected to see a number of applications filed in this respect. Spokesmen for the defence expect they won't be in a position to have the State lead evidence until at least after the July court recess. And then the trial is expected to drag on for several years.

Too many die  
10/5/85  
Star  
care — LP

~~204~~ Political Staff  
PARLIAMENT (11A) Too many people were dying under suspicious circumstances while in police care, the Labour Party said in a statement last night.

Reacting to the death of Mr Sipho Mutsi, the Odendaalsrus branch organiser of the Cosas, after he was held by police, the party said:

"It is imperative at this time when feelings of anger and frustration have reached an all-time high in the black community, that nothing should be done to worsen the position."

# Post mortem on dead student

Star 10/5/85

By Jo Anne Collinge

A post mortem on a Free State man who died a day after being taken into custody revealed severe haemorrhaging from the top of the brain, said lawyers acting for the dead man's family.

The lawyers' statement is based on the report of an independent physician who represented the family at the post mortem.

Mr Siphon Mutsi (20) of Odendaalsrus — a part-time student, organiser for the Congress of South African Students and a free-lance commercial artist — was taken to the local police station for questioning on Saturday and, from there, to Welkom Hospital.

He was transferred to Pelonomi Hospital, Bloemfontein, on Sunday but, according to a hospital spokesman, was dead on arrival.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has announced that a police investigation into the circumstances of Mr Mutsi's

● To Page 3, Col 1 ●

## Student died from brain haemorrhage

From Page 1.

death is already under way. Yesterday, Lieutenant Henry Beck, of the Police Directorate of Public Relations, said Mr Mutsi experienced convulsions while his particulars were being taken at the police station.

The independent physician who attended the post mortem on behalf of the Mutsi family had reported that he was unable to detect signs of epilepsy, the family's lawyer said.

Following the deaths of

Mr Mutsi and Mr Andries Raditsela — both of whom died shortly after being transferred to hospital from police custody — the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) has called on Mr le Grange to resign.

A spokesman for the DPSC said: "The time has come for the Minister to resign. It is obvious that he is no longer in control of the actions of his police force, particularly the security and riot police, and that they are operating with a degree of licence that is dangerous in the extreme."

# Area of vital concern to all South Africa

Star 10/5/85

A trip along the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage freeway gives any traveller a precursory impression of what he can expect to find in the Uitenhage area. One passes the Algoa Park police station where a temporary police base with tents, a helicopter, Casspirs and military vehicles serve as a reminder of the abnormal situation which exists. Further on miles of black townships ringed by shanty-towns are visible.

Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, recently spent several weeks in the Eastern Cape as the Progressive Federal Party legal representative at the Kannemeyer Commission investigation into the Uitenhage shootings. In this article Mr Gastrow gives his impressions of the situation in the strife-torn area and suggests solutions.

Life in Uitenhage appears to carry on as usual, but to the visitor the effect of the recession and the tensions which exist are apparent. Casspirs with armed police or the smaller Buffels carrying soldiers are a common sight in the street.

The town's sports complex has been turned into a tented police camp. The attitude of whites is hardening. Many demand firmer action by the police.

The almost daily reports of unrest in the surrounding townships of Langa and kwaNobuhle, of people being shot by police, of attacks on black policemen, of burnings and of violence between blacks certainly contribute to the feeling that Uitenhage is a town under siege.

Where will it all end? A show of force or strong police action will, on its own, certainly not solve the problems. The situation is far too complex for such a simplistic approach to succeed. Blacks in the Eastern Cape are probably more politicised than anywhere else in the country; their political sophistication is a reality which has to be addressed in any attempt to stabilise the region.

The recession has affected the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area more than any other part of the country. Some put the unemployment level among blacks as high as 25 percent.

Thousands are flocking to the townships from the Ciskei and other rural areas with the hope of finding jobs.

There is an alarming lack of communication between leaders of the black community and the authorities. The Government regards black community councillors and no one else as the spokesmen for their communities. Besides the fact that the council system does not have

the support of the community as a whole, it has now collapsed without anything replacing it.

Only recently when the mass funerals were about to be held were the police prepared to meet recognised community leaders to discuss arrangements.

A large section of the black community does not view the police force as a protective agency. It is perceived as a law enforcement agency, with the emphasis on enforcement.

The many laws which prop up the political system are identified not only with the Government but also with the police.

The ordinary uniformed policeman sometimes has to handle unrest situations which result from questionable decisions taken by the security police.

Police action at funerals has led to deaths, which has led to more funerals and more police action. The spiral has just continued. The recent mass funeral attended by between 30 000 and 40 000 took place without incident mainly because police kept a distance and because of their prior meeting with the organisers of the funeral.

What clearly complicates matters for the police is the fact that criminals and tsotsi elements thrive in times of unrest.

Instances of mindless violence, arson and some barbaric acts such as burnings of bodies have taken place not necessarily in terms of a particular political strategy but as a result of impulsive thuggery.

A recent further complicating factor which contributes to instability in the black townships is the rivalry between the UDF and Azapo and between trade union movements such

as the Federation of South African Trade Unions and the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union.

The war of words is now turning into physical attacks on individuals.

Taking all the above factors into account, what can be done to defuse the situation?

● The new Constitution has left blacks, particularly the urban blacks, with a feeling of rejection and frustration. When the State President, therefore, talks about negotiating with real leaders he should start doing so in the Eastern Cape. When he talks about future black participation at all levels of decision-making he should spell out what he has in mind.

● The Government should take urgent steps to stimulate economic growth in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area. The incentives which are provided for areas such as East London should also apply to this area.

● At local levels channels of communication should be opened between community leaders and white local authorities, police, government departments and other institutions.

● The Government needs to go back to the drawing board to look afresh at black local government. In spite of good intentions the existing community councils system has failed in the Eastern Cape.

● The police should act with greater appreciation of the sensitivity of the area.

● There is an urgent need for the establishment of a legal aid clinic or a legal resources centre through which victims of the unrest can seek redress or channel their complaints.

● Essential services should be restored as soon as possible.

● Local community leaders should attempt to put an end to the clashes between rival black groups.

Not only the Eastern Cape community has a stake in the stability of the region. Political events among blacks in that part of the country have in the past often served as a pointer of what can be expected elsewhere. Uitenhage should therefore be of vital concern to us all.

## 100 Years Ago

From The Eastern Star

Mr William Hay opened the session of the St Andrew's Literary Society in King Williamstown with a lecture on "Colonial Newspapers, the Colonial Public, and their mutual obligations". He showed the fallacy of cutting down advertisements, the effect of which was to lessen the amount spent upon the literary portion of the paper, and consequently to injure its circulation.

# Police free hostages of Azapo

11A

E. Post

10/5/85

## Post Reporter

A LARGE group of SA Police, security police and soldiers today secured the release of four young hostages held on the orders of the Rev Mzwandile Maqina, a member of the Azanian People's Organisation.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, confirmed police had escorted people to Mr Maqina's house today to secure the release of three youths and a fourth youth who was traced to hospital.

He said the youths were not held at the home of Mr Maqina, but elsewhere and were traced to another address and released.

It is believed they had been assaulted and their hands were badly swollen from lack of circulation through being tightly tied up.

Reliable sources told the Evening Post that Azapo and UDF members who were holding hostages from opposing groups had entered into an agreement to release their hostages.

But it is believed Mr Maqina refused to release the youths to the UDF, but was prepared to release them to the police.

Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, which is

affiliated to the United Democratic Front, said today he was awoken before dawn by a crowd of 2 000 who had gathered in Dora Street, New Brighton.

He said he was instructed to demand the release of the four schoolboys who were being held "hostage" in the home of Mr Maqina.

Mr Jack said a large combined force of soldiers, police and security police had appeared on the scene.

"This force then went in and informed Mr Maqina of this and secured the release of the boys".

Mr Jack said Azapo members had been called to attend a meeting with the community and explain their position.

Mr Maqina today confirmed three youths had been held hostage at his home and a fourth one was at hospital. He said the youths were apprehended yesterday on their way to attack a home in Grattan Street.

He said police, in the company of Mr Jack and Mr Andile Yawa, of Cosas, arrived early today and demanded the release of the youths and he refused.

He said they released the three youths to the police later this morning and Mr Jack and Mr Yawa were also present. The fourth youth was released later to his mother.

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# Second man dies 'after questioning'

CAPE TOWN'S 10/5/85  
SAPA  
11A

**PRETORIA.** — A student organizer who was detained and questioned last week, died after he was admitted to a Welkom hospital with head injuries at the weekend, a spokesman for the hospital said yesterday.

Police in Pretoria confirmed the death of Mr Siphon Mutsi, a 20-year-old branch organizer for the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in Odendaalsrus, and said they were investigating his death.

Mr Mutsi was the second person to die in the past week soon after being detained by police. Two days ago, police confirmed the arrest and later release during the weekend of Mr Andries Raditsela, a Transvaal trade unionist whose death was declared by a private pathologist to have been caused by a head injury.

## Previous night

A police spokesman said yesterday afternoon that a post-mortem had already been conducted on Mr Mutsi. A private pathologist represented his family. The findings were not released.

The police spokesman said Mr Mutsi had been detained in Odendaalsrus on May 4 under the Criminal Procedures Act for questioning on charges of public violence. However, Cosas has alleged that he was detained the previous night.

The police spokesman said: "While his (Mr Mutsi's) particulars were being taken in the police station, he went into convulsions."

He said Mr Mutsi was taken to a Welkom hospital then transferred to Bloemfontein.

According to the superintendent at the Welkom Provincial Hospital, Dr R P Colyn, Mr Mutsi was admitted on Saturday night with head injuries.

Dr Colyn told Sapa by telephone that Mr Mutsi had to be transferred to Pelonomi Hospital because the Welkom hospital was not equipped to handle patients with head injuries. The patient was transferred the next morning, he added.

Mr Mutsi was certified dead on arrival at the Pe-

lonomi Hospital on Sunday, the hospital's superintendent, Dr B Arenson, confirmed.

The announcement of Mr Mutsi's death yesterday was met with more angry calls for a police investigation.

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said it was "too amazing for words" that deaths in detention continued to occur despite the "so-called precautions" set up after the death of unionist Dr Neil Aggett.

"It is clear that as long as the due process of law is not followed, and people are at the mercy of the security police and held incommunicado, we are going to have incidents of this kind."

The United Democratic Front (UDF) yesterday condemned the death of Mr Mutsi and expressed fears about the safety of its imprisoned leadership. Cosas is an affiliate of the UDF.

The Western Cape branch said the UDF leaders were "not safe in the hands of people who have a licence to be out of control".

The secretary-general of Nusas, Mr Nic Borain, said: "The death of Mr Mutsi is yet another tragedy and yet another warning of the violence apartheid has brought to our country."

## Suspicious

Mr Borain said the government had "declared war" on Cosas: "Nusas expresses its grief and anger at the death of yet another student leader and we pledge our support to Cosas. Their cause is our cause."

The Labour Party last night said that too many people were dying in suspicious circumstances whilst in police care and called for an urgent investigation.

"It is imperative at this time when feelings of anger and frustration has reached an all-time high in the black community that nothing should be done to worsen the position." — Sapa, Own Correspondents and Staff Reporter

● Leading article, page 10

## BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) .....	\$315,65
Rand .....	\$0,5025/35
FT index (close) .....	991,10
JSE .....	998,60
Dow Jones .....	1 260,38

# Soldier dies in unrest accident

CAPE TIMES 10/5/85

279

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Five deaths were reported by police yesterday as the death toll in the Tsakane faction violence on the East Rand rose to 16, and a national serviceman was killed in a head-on crash between two army Hippos on standby to control township unrest.

A UPI reporter saw UDF supporters stab a 17-year-old youth to death in the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton about noon yesterday.

The report said that the youth, a suspected member of the rival Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo), was stabbed repeatedly when he tried to escape from the UDF crowd that earlier had abducted him.

Meanwhile a senior member of Azapo, Mr Mandla Mtsweni, is in hospital with serious burns after his Kwa-Thema home was petrol-bombed early yesterday.

Another executive member of the organiza-

tion, Mr Themba Solwandle, escaped serious injury when his home in New Brighton was also petrol-bombed yesterday.

Azapo's general secretary, Mr Eric Mahlali, said Mr Mtsweni, head of the national culture secretariat, was admitted to the Far East Rand Hospital yesterday.

Violence appeared to be easing in the Eastern Cape in the wake of the combined SAP/SADF "Operation clean-up" which was yesterday extended to the townships of Fort Beaufort and Adelaide.

Forty-four people were arrested — 22 at Fort Beaufort and the same number at Adelaide — in the 5am to 11am snoop, police liaison officer Lieutenant Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen said.

Most of the arrests were in connection with public violence, he said.

The three areas were cordoned off by the SADF as police moved in on foot and in vehicles, and house-to-house searches were conducted "to search for people the police were looking for," Colonel Van Rooyen said.

## Soweto

Unrest flared in Johannesburg's sprawling Soweto township on Wednesday night, leaving two dead, one shot by police, while a girl was burnt to death near Springs and a man was stoned to death at Welkom.

Also in Soweto, a 27-year-old man died in hospital from injuries sustained in a stoning incident on Wednesday, police reported in their noon situation report.

Eight people were injured and more than 100 arrested in incidents re-

ported on Wednesday night and yesterday.

On the East Rand 1 800 migrant workers have "moved out" of the Tsakane hostel at Brakpan, after clashes with township residents left 16 people dead in five days of fighting.

The Chief Director of the East Rand Development Board, Mr Frahz Marx, said the hostel, which had been extensively damaged, "was empty this morning".

He said an agreement had been reached between the South African Police and Tsakane residents that the hostel dwellers should leave.

This week's unrest in Tsakane "cannot be seen in isolation as only a conflict between hostel inmates and township residents, but it forms part of the unrest pattern in other parts of the East Rand and other areas," Mr Marx said in a statement to Sapa.

Police yesterday reported incidents of unrest:

- In the Cape from Graaff-Reinet, New Brighton, Kwazakele and Zwide in Port Elizabeth, Brickfield near Oudtshoorn, Adelaide and Galeshewe near Kimberley.

- In Natal arsonists caused extensive damage when they set fire to three buses in the Tatane township near Kwambonambi, in northern Natal.

- In the Transvaal reports of unrest came from Zola and Tlandi in Soweto, Alexandra, Tsakane and Duduze on the East Rand, Atteridgeville near Pretoria, and Kwa-Thema.

- In the Free State reports came from Parys, Batho near Bloemfontein and Thabong near Welkom. — Sapa

Too late for classification

DEATHS



Cape Times 10/5/85

Political Staff

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.**  
— More than a hundred members of township community councils in black residential areas, which were elected in November 1983, have resigned.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in Parliament that many of these councillors had resigned because of "pressure within the community".

The worst-hit areas were the Eastern Cape where 36 councillors had resigned and the Free State where 26 councillors had resigned.

Dr Viljoen's figures, given in reply to a question from Mr Peter Soal

11A ~~21~~ ~~33~~  
**Black councillors quit under 'pressure'**

(PFP Johannesburg North), have raised serious doubts about the black local authorities, most of which were elected on low polls less than two years ago.

Mr Soal commented on the reply: "How can you reach consensus with people like this?"

"They don't represent anyone.

"Local government for people of colour is in a state of shambles."

The township councils are a key element in the government's policies for urban black people, as reflected by President P W Botha's pledge in January for black people in the urban areas to have a greater say over their own affairs.

But the legitimacy of these councils, already in doubt because of low polls, has suffered as more and more councillors quit.

In many areas, elected

local government has all but collapsed.

Dr Viljoen said that at Sobantu near Maritzburg, where six councillors had resigned because of "pressure from within the community", no by-elections had been held because the "community refuses to take part in elections".

Dr Viljoen said it was uncertain when the vacancies would be filled because "the community is subject to negative in-

fluences".

He gave a similar reply in the case of Ratanda near Heidelberg in the Transvaal, where seven councillors resigned because of "pressure within the community". By-elections had also not been held because of "negative influences".

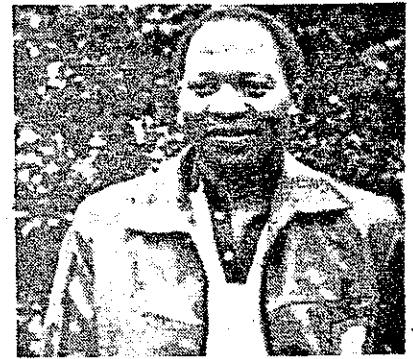
By-elections at Bothaville and Vredefort in the Free State were also being delayed because negative influences were "impeding nominations".

Dr Viljoen also listed a number of council seats which had been filled in various areas, but he did not indicate whether by-elections had actually been held or what the polls were.

# ANOTHER

# DEATH

*Sowetan 10/5/85 (MIA)*



RADITSELA: Haemorrhage.



BEREAVED FAMILY: Their home was petrol-bombed in Tsakane. (See story on page 2).

**A YOUNG student organiser has died in the Free State within days of being taken in police custody for questioning.**

Mr Siphso Mutsi (20), the Odendaalsrus branch organiser for the Congress of South African Students, was taken to the Odendaalsrus police station on May 4.

The superintendent of the Pelonomi hospital, Bloemfontein, Dr B Arenson, confirmed he was dead on arrival at Pelonomi on Sunday afternoon.

Mr Mutsi is the second public figure to become fatally ill this week while in police custody. The first was East Rand trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela, who died in hospital after being detained under section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

### Public violence

Mr Mutsi was held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act for questioning in connection with charges of public violence, according to Lieutenant Henry Beck of the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria.

Lieutenant Beck said that while Mr Mutsi's particulars were being taken at the police station, the young man had started to have convulsions. He was allegedly seated on a chair at the time.

Police said Mr Mutsi was taken to Welkom hospital and then transferred to the Bloemfontein hospital where he died.

Lieutenant Beck would not comment on whether the family had been notified nor could he say when the post-mortem would take place.

The Detainee's Parents support committee has described the State's withdrawal of the detention order in respect of Mr Raditsela just hours before the unionist's death as "a feeble and cynical attempt to suggest that Mr Raditsela did not die in detention".

The DPSC has posed several questions about the circumstances of Mr Raditsela's death. It asks:

- Why the indecent haste with which the detention order was retracted shortly before he died;
- Why did it take several hours to get him to hospital when he was obviously in a serious condition;
- Noting that it understands that Section 50 of the Internal Security Act is intended to com-

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ODDS TO CLEAR

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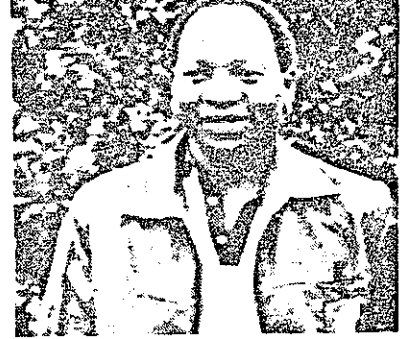
LADIES  
**Salvatore**  
**NOW**

## What's in your

**SOWETAN SUNDAY MIRROR**

**BAG**  
THIS SUNDAY

# DEATH



RADITSELA: Haemorrhage.

**A YOUNG student organiser has died in the Free State within days of being taken in police custody for questioning.**

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- Why the indecent haste with which the detention order was retracted shortly before he died;

- Why did it take several hours to get him to hospital when he was obviously in a serious condition;

- Noting, that it understands that Section 50 of the Internal Security Act is intended to combat a state of unrest: what unrest was there when Andries Raditsela was detained;

- And finally noting that any policeman of the rank of warrant officer or higher may issue such a detention order: "who was the police officer who arrived at the conclusion that Mr Ra-

To Page 2



BEREAVED FAMILY: Their home was petrol-bombed in Tsakane. (See story on page 2).

## What's in your BAG

**SOWETAN SUNDAY MIRROR**

THIS SUNDAY

- WAS your baby born on May 20 last year — the day The SOWETAN Sunday MIRROR was born? We will be giving away R1 000 in prizes to babies who will be one year old on May 20. Details in The MIRROR on Sunday.

- If this week's Chicken Licken Soccerpot is not won, the prize leaps by R100 to R1 700 in the Sunday MIRROR this Sunday.

- You don't have to live in Soweto to enter our R65 000 house competition. The house is the prize in a simple competition in The SOWETAN Sunday MIRROR. Buy your copy this Sunday. You might be the lucky winner of this dream house in Protea North, Soweto.

If you cannot own a house in Soweto, a sale of the house will be permitted.

# BES

# BEN SHO

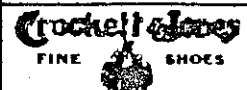


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NOW FROM R

Mister Imported from Spain

NOW FROM R



From Page 1

### Unconscious

Raditsela contributed to the unrest (and ordered his detention)?

- AN independent pathologist yesterday gave the cause of death of trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela as a subdural haemorrhage to the right side of the head.

According to a statement to Sapa from the Chemical Workers Industrial Union, the pathologist said this injury was consistent with trauma.

The statement said Mr Raditsela had been admitted to the Far East Rand hospital at 18.45 on Saturday, some eight hours after he had been lying unconscious at the Tsakane Administration Board offices — Sapa.

# Reform moves 'cocooned in <sup>30/11/85</sup>apartheid web'<sup>Star 10/5/85</sup> (11A)

## Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Government's reform initiatives were cocooned in a web of apartheid, Mr Yunus Moolla (Solidarity, Stanger) said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Mr Moolla said in the debate on the Constitutional Development and Planning Vote that if the Government continued creating local authorities that were racially segregated unrest would not only continue but spill over into Indian and coloured areas.

Members of the House, he said, had

made tremendous sacrifices to come into the new system.

If what the Government meant by reform was merely adapting white domination, then it would fail hopelessly to solve South Africa's problems.

Instead of implementing its proposals for local government, he said, the Government should rather place local government as the first item on the agenda of the Cabinet Committee dealing with black affairs.

It should be left up to the committee to come up with a solution to the problem of working out a formula to give all race groups representation at local government level. This would be far better than at present when the government was prescribing what would happen.

In the meantime local affairs and management committee members should be allowed to participate in city councils with a vote.

Mr Moolla told the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that in Stanger white councillors and Indian Local Affairs Committee members had asked to be allowed to form a multiracial council.

## BLESSING

"They are suggesting that there be nine white and nine Indian members on the council. They wish to come together. The Minister should give them his blessing instead of stopping them."

Mr Salaam Abram-Mayet (NPP, nominated) said significant changes to apartheid were still conspicuously absent.

He said the Government should appoint a joint committee to consider which legislation should be done away with and in what order.

# Anti-apartheid protests 'embarrass the South African Government'

## Thank you for giving us hope again, Tutu tells US students

stay 10/5/85

UJA

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LOS ANGELES — Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday praised students for their protests against apartheid and said: "Thank you for giving us hope again."

He added that he represented all the victims of apartheid who could not be present to offer their thanks.

And he told the students: "Don't let anyone delude you into thinking that what you are doing doesn't embarrass the

The Star's Foreign News Service

South African Government."

Bishop Tutu spoke in the University College of Los Angeles Pauley Pavilion, the site of last year's Olympic gymnastic competition.

The pavilion was ringed by uniformed police both inside and outside.

As he entered, escorted by Los Angeles Mayor

Tom Bradley and university Chancellor Charles Young, 2 000 students stood and cheered, giving him a hero's welcome with chants of "Tutu! Tutu!"

He told them: "What you are doing here is of very considerable significance.

"If it were not of such significance the South African Government would not have sent someone to Washington whose sole brief is to do

something about this disinvestment campaign."

Bishop Tutu was referring to mounting anti-apartheid protests on California campuses, by city governments and in the state legislature.

The protests have concerned disinvestment only briefly.

But on university campuses especially they have broadened into daily attacks on the race policies of the South African Government.

Bishop Tutu was intro-

duced to the students as "The moral leader of South Africa, of our campuses and of our corporations."

He said: "There's no way that injustice will prevail over injustice.

"We say to the perpetrators of apartheid: 'Come on, join the winning side.'

"There is absolutely no doubt at all that we shall be free."

"The real issue is how that will happen, and that

we want it to happen now.

"We want it to happen for all of us in South Africa, for black and white together."

At an earlier Press conference, Bishop Tutu backed away from endorsing the concept of disinvestment in American banks and companies doing business in South Africa.

He said he would be arrested in South Africa for publicly endorsing any such plan

Bishop Tutu is scheduled to address clergymen, Democratic Party activists and students at Berkeley and Davis universities.

Earlier this week at the University College of Los Angeles 75 anti-apartheid protesters carried coffins in a mock funeral procession to mark the deaths of black South Africans killed by the police

About 100 students have been camped out in more than 50 tents on a lawn opposite the university's administration building

They have called the area Mandela City, after jailed black South African leader Nelson Mandela.

Between the anti-apartheid banners and signs, the protesters have built a mock cemetery with wooden crosses splattered with red paint and marked with the names of blacks killed by South African police

At California University's Berkeley campus where a sit-in began a month ago six anti-apartheid protesters have been arrested, all Americans with links to the American Indian Movement.

## Jesse Jackson finds the embassy door bolted

BONN — US civil rights campaigner Rev Jesse Jackson could hear the steel bolts slithering shut as he walked up the steps of the South African Embassy yesterday, leading reporters.

He was demonstrating after a Press conference in a Bonn hotel and a prayer with 50 men and women in the street.

Mr Jackson said he visited West Germany at the invitation of a group of Lutheran pastors who had organised two weeks of protests against plans to try 16 leaders of South Africa's United Demo-

By Wellington Long, The Star's Foreign News Service

cratic Front.

The organisers said a petition had been signed by at least 1 000 people.

They declared: "We cannot on May 8 remember those who helped free us from the Nazi regime without embracing those who are imprisoned in the apartheid system."

Mr Jackson declared that when the Nazi regime was defeated in Europe 40 years ago, Fascists and Fascism simply moved to South Africa

and South America.

"It was not enough for David to slay Goliath.

"For Goliath had descendants. And Fascism has descendants."

Mr Jackson noted the controversy surrounding Sunday's laying of a wreath by American President Ronald Reagan in a German military cemetery at Bitburg.

"There are relatively few dead SS troops at Bitburg," he said, "but there are many alive in Johannesburg."

Mr Jackson renewed earlier calls for disinvestment in South Africa.

Before going to the South African Embassy he met Social Democratic Party chairman Mr Willy Brandt.

Mr Jackson was accompanied to the Embassy by Social Democratic Parliamentary deputies Mr Karsten Voigt and Mr Guenther Verheugen and Parliamentary deputy Miss Petra Kelly.

Police said they would allow only two demonstrators plus reporters as witnesses to proceed to the Embassy front door.

At Mr Voigt's suggestion, Miss Kelly accompanied Mr Jackson; the

others stayed behind a police line singing "We shall overcome."

At Miss Kelly's suggestion, Mr Jackson rang a small bell on the door.

Eventually, a man inside the building operated an intercom to ask what he wanted.

Mr Jackson said he wanted to see the Ambassador; Miss Kelly said she wanted to present further signatures to the petition the Embassy had received.

The man inside reminded them that the Embassy had said it would receive the peti-

tion only once; he recommended Miss Kelly to send the extra signatures by post.

The man told Mr Jackson that he should register any complaint in Washington.

The man inside turned off the intercom.

Mr Jackson went on to call on the US Ambassador, Mr Arthur Burns, and told supporters outside the US Embassy that he expected a strong statement to be made.

But a US Embassy spokesman said Mr Burns would make no statement on the affair.

# Fired - over a UDF badge

The Cape Herald 11/5/85

(Base) (11A)

By GARY VAN DYK  
AN employee of Atlantis Diesel Engines was fired by the company last week for wearing a United Democratic Front badge to work.

Isaac Phooko, 22, a UDF supporter and committee member of the Atlantis Residents' Association, had been working at ADE as an assembly operator since April 1983.

Last Tuesday, when he wore a UDF badge to work, he was told by his production superintendent to take it off.

"I did not answer him but just kept wearing the badge," Mr Phooko recalled this week.

## WARNING

"Later he called me to his office and tried to issue me with a written warning. I pointed out that there was no such rule in the company's conditions of employment but he told me I was wear-

ing the badge on my overall which was company property. This he said, constituted 'abuse and misuse' of company property."

"I then moved the badge to my shirt collar and he let me go back to work."

## OUTLAWING

But the next day the company issued a memorandum outlawing the wearing of badges at the factory.

Said Mr Phooko: "I still refused to remove the badge and the general manager called me into his office. He asked me to remove it but I told him that because the rule had just come in that day I would wear it until I left work.

"They left me after that but later I decided that I had to stick to my convictions and wear it the next day no matter what," he said.

When he arrived at work on Friday morning he was

told that he had been sacked.

● UDF spokesman Trevor Manuel said: "The dismissal of Isaac Phooko is an attempt by the ADE management to control the thinking of workers and to browbeat them into submission.

"The introduction of new laws prohibiting 'the promotion of any political cause or organisation' is indeed strange at a state-owned plant like ADE where candidates participating in the elections last year were given a free hand and where workers are denied freedom of association by the enforced liaison committee system.

## POLITICAL

"All of these examples are the 'promotion of a political causes' — the one chosen by management.

"The UDF is proud of Mr Phooko's commitment and we are investigating the matter with a view to challenging the dismissal."

# Violence widens rift between black movements

BISHOP Desmond Tutu's weekend attempt to heal the widening rift between the United Democratic Front (UDF) on the one hand and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and its sister groups on the other failed as serious clashes took place in the Eastern Cape.

The violence ended in death for at least three people.

## DIFFERENCES

The differences between the UDF and Azapo are exactly the same which split within the African National Congress in 1959, resulting in the birth of the Pan-Africanist Congress. The "purists" or Africanists of those days believed the ANC was dominated by (white) communists, and broke away because they felt white participation diluted black politics.

The UDF believes in a liberation struggle which pulls in all the forces opposed to apartheid, regardless of colour. Azapo and its affiliates, on the other hand, believe in Black Consciousness and a struggle by blacks alone.

## SOLUTION

The UDF, or at least many of its supporters, believe in a National Convention at which all the black and white political groups in the country must participate to find a solution.

Black Consciousness adherents say the question is not apartheid but "the restoration of the land to its rightful owners." That prerequisite met, only then can it be down to serious business. But the groups make no bones about the fact that their ideal is a people's "socialist republic of Azania".

Bishop Tutu's attempt to meet the warring factions and reconcile them on Saturday was the second in a week. It ended like last Wednesday's — in failure.

Explained the president of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela: "We were due to meet the bishop and other clergymen on Saturday afternoon. In the evening the same group of clerics would have met the UDF groups. But shortly before our meeting we received many calls from the Eastern Cape that things down there were very bad for our members.

"We decided not to meet the Bishop, and asked one of the clerics, Mr Lebamang Sebidi to tell Bishop Tutu why we could not attend the talks at St Paul's Church in Central White City Jabavu."

# Peace bid despite deep UDF, Azapo differences

By KIN BENTLEY

ATTEMPTS are being made to end the ongoing violence between supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) which in the past couple of weeks has cost several lives in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere in South Africa.

This week the UDF's national executive committee sent an open letter to Azapo calling on them to unite in "mutual repugnance of apartheid" which "supersedes the differences between us".

Three UDF leaders, including their national publicity secretary, Mr Patrick Lekota, are in police detention. Sixteen are out on bail facing treason charges.

The general secretary of the Transvaal region of the UDF, Mr Mohammed Valli, said yesterday that although they had received no formal response from Azapo on the call for a meeting, they were optimistic that this would soon occur.

Both organisations this week met separately with clergymen in Soweto, where, he said, they condemned the violence and expressed a willingness to meet.

Mr Valli said there was not a "war" between the two organisations.

"In fact what is happening is a carefully orchestrated campaign on the part of the agents of apartheid to perpetrate certain acts of violence against members of both organisations," he said.

Bogus pamphlets containing attacks by both on each other had been distributed and attempts to foster the division further had been made on SABC-TV by Mr Cliff Saunders, he said, who had read from the pamphlets.

He said differences did exist between the two organisations. The UDF was not a political party, but a front which had been established "to mobilise opposition to Mr P W Botha's so-called reforms".

Azapo, he said, was a political party with its own policy. He would not discuss the UDF's attitude to the Azapo standpoint that the removal of apartheid constituted the first step in the establishment of a "socialist republic of Azania", saying the front's detained spokesman, Mr Lekota, should comment on that.

He would also not give the UDF's attitude on participating in a national convention.

Azapo's national secretary-general, Mr Mbuyseli Mahlati, confirmed the meeting with clergy in Johannesburg and also expressed optimism that the two organisations would meet soon.

Meanwhile, the local regional chairman of Azapo, Mr Ashrif Karodia, said the UDF was making a "concerted effort to destroy us". The Azapo membership was defending itself.

The differences between the UDF and Azapo appear to be basic to the history of black politics, and are related to the split by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) from the ANC — a "purification" process not dissimilar to the breakaway from the National Party of the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party.

Tracing the history of black politics in South Africa, Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Imraan Moosa, a Durban advocate, said the South African Native National Congress was formed in 1912. It later became the ANC.

A more militant wing, the Youth League, was formed during the Defiance Campaign in the 1950s under Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe.

He said the ANC adopted a "multiracial" approach through the formation of the Congress Alliance, wherein it was linked to the SA Indian Congress, the SA Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats (white liberals and radicals).

The white-controlled SA Communist Party worked with the alliance.

The "Africanist" group in the alliance became dissatisfied with the white influence and broke away to form the PAC under Sobukwe.

This, Mr Moosa said, represented the "true spirit" of the ANC. He criticised the adoption by the alliance of the Kiptown Charter (Freedom Charter) which, he said, was not an ANC but an alliance document.

The charter said South Africa "belongs to all who live in it, black and white". For this reason the PAC — like Azapo today — did not view it as a "freedom" charter.

The Sharpeville shootings of March 21, 1960, occurred during an anti-pass campaign waged by the PAC. Mr Moosa said the ANC, under Albert Luthuli, later associated with the campaign and called for a day of mourning (burning of passbooks).

Both organisations were banned that year.

Militant wings of the ANC (Umkhonto we Sizwe — Spear of the Nation) and the PAC (Poqo — pure) arose during this period.

Their tactics differed, with the ANC attacking strategic installations and the PAC white people. The ANC's strategy had not changed, he said.



Mr HARRY  
OPPENHEIMER



Mrs HELEN SUZMAN



Mr STEVE BIKO



Senator EDWARD  
KENNEDY

Both were crushed internally in 1963, with the last pockets of Poqo operating until 1969.

For the next few years white liberals like Helen Suzman and Alan Paton spoke for blacks — a "bleak period" in black politics, Mr Moosa said.

Then in 1969, he said, the South African Students Organisation (Saso), under Steve Biko, Barney Pitso, Aubrey Mokohe, Saths Cooper and others, broke with Nusas under the slogan "black man you are on your own" — the birth of modern black consciousness.

This movement, he said, emphasised the "psychological liberation" of blacks; the "dispelling of the inferiority complex". With it came the "non-collaboration" policy and the rejection of homeland leaders.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, once a member of the ANC, was rejected by Saso.

Organisations like the South African Students Movement, the Black People's Convention and others were formed under the banner of the black consciousness (BC) movement.

It permeated, he said, all facets of black society, from health to theology.

The 1976 "uprising" in Soweto and elsewhere, he said, was a direct result of the BC movement.

It was, he said, "a protest against gutter education and against the apartheid system and capitalism".

In September, 1977, Steve Biko died in detention.

On October 19, 17 black consciousness organisations were banned.

But he said, unlike after Sharpeville, the BC movement "never receded".

A meeting of organisations which had survived the banning appointed a sub-committee under Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, current president of Azapo, to investigate "national possibilities".

In 1978 it reported back and suggested the formation of Azapo, with an emphasis on the "black workers' situation".

Mr Moosa said "whereas Saso and the BPC emphasised the psychological liberation aspect", the new movement was saying that black workers, who were numerically the biggest group in SA society, were "oppressed and exploited the most".

Leadership of the movement was to be in their hands. Azapo was formally launched in 1979.

He said the National Forum Committee was formed in June, 1983, in an attempt to get the "widely divergent streams in black politics" together.

Physical attacks on Azapo had already been occurring since its formation, he said.

The National Forum's manifesto claimed that "the struggle against apartheid is a departure point in the struggle for liberation".

Mr Moosa said they believed the "struggle is not merely a civil rights campaign, which won't achieve the repossession of the land or the establishment of a workers' republic of a socialist Azania [South Africa]."

Mr Moosa said the UDF was formed in 1983 — after the National Forum was called.

Some of the UDF's affiliate organisations had an "ethnic" composition, like the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, "with which we disagree".

He said Azapo believed in total black solidarity and the rejection of tribalism and ethnicity, "which is the basis of apartheid".

While they weren't anti-white, they believed the role of liberal whites was to work within the white community to bring about change.

He said he believed the UDF had many affiliates who believed in the Azapo cause. The struggle was a leadership struggle — during which lives were tragically being lost.

Attempts to physically annihilate Azapo were being made by "those in the UDF with hegemonic intentions and the police and Government".

The SABC was "promoting this division", he said.

An example of this was their coverage of the Azapo rejection of Senator Edward Kennedy's UDF-organised visit last year.

He said the reason Azapo rejected Senator Kennedy was because he was an "imperialist and a capitalist".

Azapo rejected a national convention, even if the scrapping of apartheid was a concomitant condition.

(Spokesmen of the UDF have expressed support for a national convention.)

Mr Moosa said South Africa no longer needed apartheid laws on its statute book, "because they exist already by convention".

For this reason, Azapo saw the struggle against apartheid as a "first step" in the "black workers' struggle".

On the other hand, he said, the UDF "cannot afford an ideology".

This was borne out by Mr Jacob Mtshali, an administrator at the UDF's head office, who said the front had "managed to bring together all who abhor apartheid".

Mr Mtshali said among the UDF's 700 affiliates were trade associations, trade unions, businessmen, civic associations, lawyers, doctors, church groups and so on.

The UDF was a "non-racial" front and believed in the principle of "equal participation of all people, regardless of race, class, etc".

"All people should decide collectively on the future of their lives."

The UDF remained committed to disinvestment, he said, "until such time as the people's demands for equal participation, the scrapping of apartheid and equal laws are responded to positively".

Mr Moosa said Azapo was committed to a local adaptation of socialism. It would be "based on the realities of society" and was a rejection of "non-racial capitalism".



# sunrise world

## Kinnock wants to cut economic ties, downgrade diplomacy

# Labour toughens up on SA

by  
John D'Oliveira,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock will shortly announce a tougher policy on South Africa.

The policy has been re-drafted in the light of recent developments in South Africa and it will reflect La-

bour's belief that the British electorate is ready for a harder line on the republic.

It is almost certain the policy will involve cutting some economic links with South Africa, restrictions on South African diplomatic activity in Britain and official recognition for "liberation movements" like the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the United Democratic Front and Swapo.

Labour spokesmen refused to comment today on the new poli-

cy, but it is understood that its national executive's international committee, decided in April that Mr Kinnock should hold a media conference to announce it.

A date for the conference has not yet been announced, but observers believe it must be held before Mr Kinnock addresses a rally organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Trafalgar Square on June 16.

He will be the first opposition leader to address an AAM rally since Mr Harold Wilson spoke in

1963 — the year before he became Prime Minister.

It is understood Labour activists believe the violence in South Africa and especially events like the Uitenhage killings have disillusioned many Britons and that it can now win support for economic sanctions.

However, these would involve specific measures like a ban on new investment in South Africa and a ban on the sale of Kruggerands in Britain.

Mr Kinnock has already endorsed publicly the AAM's radi-

cal, 10-point programme of action against South Africa and it is clear the new Labour policy will have to make provision for most of these measures.

The AAM's programme includes:

- Downgrading diplomatic relations with South Africa.
- A ban on new investment, bank loans and the sale of North Sea oil to South Africa, a ban on the purchase by government departments of South African goods and on the sale of Kruggerands in Britain.

- The cessation of government promotion of trade with Africa.

- The strengthening of mandatory arms embargo

- The termination of trade agreement between countries.

- An immediate ban on the sale of coal and uranium from South Africa, together with a programme to eliminate dependence on South African strategic minerals.

cut economic ties, downgrade diplomacy

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dependence on South African  
strategic minerals.



Mr Neil Kinnock . . . taking a tougher line on SA.

# Some say it's SA's only solution — others say it's just adding to the problem

## NATIONAL CONVENTION?

### 'We will have to talk to save us from chaos'

TALKS of a National Convention do not impress top Azapo man Peter Jones. "It is instructive to note," he says, "that historically, calls for a National Convention always become popular during periods of national crises, when black anger and dem-

### UDF says ja-nee to convention

THE United Democratic Front is not against a National Convention — but neither is it in favour of one. If this sounds like a classical example of sitting on the fence, it can be easily explained, according to UDF Western Cape publicity secretary, Zoe Khota.

"Although the matter has been discussed, we haven't taken a definite stand," she said last week. "Therefore reports that the UDF is in favour of these round table discussions are not true.

"Our attitude is that we'd consider a National Convention only if certain preconditions are met. And these are: ● the release of all political prisoners; ● the unbanning of all banned organisations and persons; ● the dismantling of the South African Defence Force."

According to Miss Khota these conditions are non-negotiable. "We don't see the Government agreeing to these conditions just yet, so the formulation of our attitude towards a Convention is not all that urgent at this stage," she says. Miss Khota added

onstrations are at their most intense. "The first call made by subscribers to the Klipfontein Freedom Charter was followed by another (by the Black Sash) in 1956. "Since then it has become such an acceptable, fashionable stance, that it has now been adopted by a mixture of individuals and organisations such as the United Democratic Front, the Progressive Federal Party, Bishop Desmond Tutu and certain church groups."

SOME political parties and organisations opposed to the Government have become much more vocal recently in calling for the convening of a National Convention to solve the country's problems. These appeals are coming at a time of:

- increased unrest among South Africa's voteless masses;
- grave economic problems and
- open revolt by white right-wingers to some of the political solutions being offered by the Government.

Those in favour of a National Convention see it as an opportunity for all genuine leaders to sit together and thrash out a new constitution for South Africa.

Mr Jones believes that these calls arise out of fears of an explosive situation, where the country would be plunged into a "nightmare" of confrontation with disastrous results (total liberation). "And he points out: "A National Convention is seen to provide an 'immediate and positive measure' to defuse this crisis and to provide a climate favourable to peaceful change."

"The primary concern of proponents of a National Convention is therefore the extension of bourgeois democratic rights to the black masses — in other words, the cosmetic dismantling of apartheid and the incorporation of blacks into the mainstream of the reformed South African economic and political system."

So what is wrong with this? "The biggest lie contained in this argument," says Jones, "is that the country's capitalist system can under a benevolent management team satisfy the needs of the black working class."

And he points out: "In any capitalist society, private ownership of property (by the few) depends on a brutal pursuit of exploitation of workers."

The present constitution, they all agree, has already failed. But there is an equally strong conviction among others that a National Convention would never work.

The Azanian People's Organisation, for instance, claims that whatever comes out of talks at such a Convention, the lot of the working class would not change in any way. The purpose of a National Convention would be to protect the capitalist system (big bosses making huge profits at the expense of underpaid workers).

Cape Herald staffer DOUGIE OAKES looks at the arguments for and against a National Convention.

question of transferring complete power and the land to the indigenous owners."

Mr Jones pointed out that historical grievances of blacks centred on land. The primary goal of the struggle in this country, he said, was the repossession of the land.

So what will Azapo strive for in the years ahead? "The position statement by the National Forum during the signing of the Nkomo accord captures the political reality of our struggle when it says: "Our struggle is one for national self-determination which is

characterised by: ● the reconquest of the land; ● the building of an Azanian nation through an ongoing process of struggle; ● the leadership of the black working class; ● a socialist character and content; ● anti-imperialism."

"But how does one go about creating a new constitution? Does one do what the Nats have done — have a cabinet committee draw one up, push it through their caucus and provincial congresses — and then 'sell' it to the Indians and coloureds?"

"We believe that this is the wrong approach. That is why the present constitution lacks credibility."

"We have only one prerequisite," he said. "And that is, whatever leaders are chosen, they should reject the use of violence."

"We believe that a National Convention will only work on consensus. There should be no way that one group can be allowed to force its will on another."

THE Progressive Federal Party, official opposition in the House of Assembly, believes a National Convention is absolutely necessary if South Africa is to be saved from chaos. And Professor Nic Olivier, one of the constitutional funds of the Party, says: "South Africa is in need of a new constitution. The tripartite system, for a variety of reasons, does not provide the answers to South Africa's problems."

"A constitution, if it is to provide peace and stability, has to involve all the people of the country," says Professor Olivier. "The PFP believes that a National Convention should be the instrument whereby accepted leaders, and I stress, those people accepted in their communities as leaders can get together to formulate a new constitution."

But he didn't see all of this being done overnight. "I see a National Convention as an ongoing thing. For instance, it could last for years."

"We do not believe the negotiating process can be properly carried out if some people stand behind others with guns."

Mr Jones said he was surprised that that people inside the liberatory movement who leaned towards a National Convention had not learnt from recent events in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Economic and other pressures by the West had removed the initiative from the guerrillas in Zimbabwe, he said. And similar attempts were being made to force the South West African Peoples' Organisation to compromise. "The most important argument against a National Convention is that, irrespective of minor differences, all white political parties or groups who wish to accommodate Blacks will only do so if they are not deprived of their (white) control. "There is no way in which those in a posi-

# Unity Movement

The

## How does the NUM characterise South African society?

Dudley: South Africa is dominated by capitalism but there are distortions that have appeared in the political, economic, cultural and educational face of the country which cannot be defined, by any stretch of the imagination, as capitalist in content or nature. The homelands, for example, have out of date tribal systems of rule.

But when we talk of building a nation in South Africa, we do not take a nationalistic stand. We mean the elimination of colour and territorial divisions, the re-unification of South Africa.

## What are the main classes NUM identifies in South Africa?

Dudley: South Africa has undergone so many distortions in its development that the traditional classification of classes has to be revised. The working class in South Africa, for example, is divided.

In terms of enjoyment of political and other rights, white workers are a privileged section of the labour force. They don't see very much conflict between their own interests and that of capital.

On the other hand, the conflict between disfranchised workers and unemployed and the capitalists is irreconcilable, although there are certain privileged layers among them who think they can live quite comfortably within capitalism.

## THOSE DISPOSSESSED

We also see a peasantry, again not defined in classical terms. For us, the peasantry are all those dispossessed of their land and engaged in subsistence farming. Some farmworkers on the white farms could also be called peasantry.

It is a mistake to regard the wage as a deciding factor. Although many of these workers are paid wages, their relationship to the farmers is serf-like. We estimate them to total about 2.5-million. There are also about half a million tenant farmers in various parts of the country who could be classified as peasants.

## What is the nature of the struggle in South Africa, for the NUM?

Dudley: We are struggling for full citizenship in a non-racial South Africa and for elimination of exploitation. But we see the struggle as a continuous one.

If the elimination of apartheid is going to have content it must be combined with a society where exploitation of people does not exist. The final form that a democratic South Africa must take to achieve this, we cannot specify.

The Minimum Programme is the bottom line and the objectives and demands in it will have to be revised as the struggle progresses.

## Which class or classes do you see as leading the struggle?



MR RO Dudley, president of the New Unity Movement.

Continue

IN an area already filled with its fair share of political tendencies, another group has emerged in public in the Cape. The New Unity Movement, a new national political organisation, was launched in Cape Town recently. At the launch attended by more than 40 delegates from organisations throughout the country, a national executive was elected, a list of demands was accepted provisionally and a "Declaration To The

People Of South Africa" was agreed on.

Active from the 1940s to 1960s, the Unity Movement disappeared from the public political scene, although the ideas of the organisation were kept alive by those who remained loyal to it. The public emergence of the New Unity Movement follows discussion since 1983 between remnants of the old organisation.

Regional Unity Committees are to be set up to carry out the work of

Dudley: The working class, rural and urban workers, must give direction to the struggle. Organisations of the people in South Africa have to become the vehicles for democracy and will have to become the vehicles to set up governing structures.

## Could you elaborate on your position regarding the land?

Dudley: We call for complete revision of land use and would like to see economic use of the land which fulfils the needs of the people. We do not call for redistribution of the large capitalist farms as this would not be economically viable. Ownership might change, however.

## Who do you identify as the allies of the working class?

Dudley: The influence of Black Consciousness has tended to confine the struggle to the disfranchised. We don't see things in this way, it conflicts with our view of building the nation.

## DRAW ON ALLIES

We feel the working class must draw on allies who identify themselves with the working class struggle from all other classes, regardless of "race".

Some of the sons and daughters of the ruling class have thrown in their lot with the disfranchised intelligentsia and they would form part of the group of allies.

We see no wholesale alliance between the middle class and working class. Just as the freedom struggle has to try to retain the loyalty of the intelligentsia, the ruling class is just as busy getting them to defect.

The success with which the liberatory movement is able to recruit the working class and its legitimate allies will affect its progress to a large extent.

An important development during the last decade, is the extent to which large numbers of workers have developed the necessary ideological equipment and militancy to build independent organisations.

## The NUM had called for the building of "national unity of democrats". Does this include an organisation like NUSAS?

Dudley: By democrats we mean those who are unequivocally dedicated to liquidation of exploitation and oppression and who support prosecution of the struggle on the basis of a minimum programme and non-collaboration with the ruling class and its agencies.

## FIND A HOME

We do not regard NUSAS as falling into this camp, although there may be individuals in it who could find a home with us.

## Your organisation has said that the trade unions must "find their way into the broad liberatory movement". Can you elaborate on this?

Dudley: The trade unions, by themselves, cannot satisfy the economic and political demands of workers. They will make an important contribution to the struggle but the disabilities of workers flow from their lack of political rights and their exploitation.

We will conduct an ongoing exchange of views with the progressive trade unions aimed at cementing the alliance between the trade unions and the liberatory movement. We will also encourage unions outside the new trade union federation to enter it. We see a lot in common with the new federation.

## You have always taken a strong stand on non-collaboration and have called for a "war" on collaborators. What is your view on events in the Eastern Cape?

Dudley: The Eastern Cape represents a tre-

Robbins.  
Norman Bromberger.  
A Socio-Economic Survey: Mark Gandar and Norman Bromberger.  
id Webster.  
ending Welfare and Development Services in a ...

Herald 11/5/85

nt

(11A)

# Mark II

the organisation at local level. In the Western Cape, five are planned, in the Eastern Cape and Natal, three and one each in the North Western Cape and Transvaal.

There will also be branches of the Unity Movement in various areas to accommodate individuals who want to join. They will work with the Regional Unity committees.

A national body of officials and a national Head Regional Com-

mittee will co-ordinate work nationally.

That is what the organisation has in mind for its "re-entry" into the political marketplace. But what is the Unity Movement, and where does it come from, and how does it fit in with the broad struggle for the liberation of the oppressed and exploited in South Africa? Estelle Randall put questions to the organisation's president, Mr RO Dudley.

an organisation, only a forum. But we see there has been some refining of the composition since and recent discussions between us and them have been very promising.

## ARE ANTI-RACIST

Our other difficulty with them is that although they are anti-racist the discussions in the National Forum have been Black Consciousness oriented. We are not at one with the prevailing ideology of the National Forum but it is a matter of time and growth.

We have had no organisational dealings with the UDF. We see them as a populist front who do not agree with our policy of non-collaboration and our minimum programme.

### What about alliances with other groups?

Dudley: We regard ourselves as a catalyst to bring together the democratic tendencies in South Africa so that a genuine united front of democrats can be formed where working class interests dominate.

Our overriding purpose in forming alliances is to broaden the base of democratic forces so that the liberatory movement can progress.

In the immediate future we see the possibility of alliances on the following issues:

- a campaign against the tri-cameral parliament and the homelands policy
- negating the work of community councils and management committees
- the development of mass-based working class organisations
- education

### What immediate practical projects are planned?

Dudley: Mainly propaganda work, circulating our documents. We want to internationalise our viewpoint to generate as much support for the struggle here in the rest of the struggling world.

## DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLES

We will also take part in day-to-day struggles. No doubt immediate issues such as the rugby and cricket tours will allow organisations to find one another.

### The NUM has often been criticised for being out of touch with grassroots feeling. Could you comment on this?

Dudley: In the past we had much active contact at grassroots level. For a long time we had a potent influence in the rural areas, especially during the 1950s and 1960s. We were able to generate a great deal of popular support during periods of heightened activity, for example, during the against the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Group Areas Act.

We have never presented ourselves as a populist organisation and to this extent we can't claim to have the mass following of the UDF of today or the ANC at one time.

The numbers game has never been our prime concern. Our ongoing aim has been to try to give political direction. One of the consequences of this has been the universal acceptance of the concept of non-collaboration and the building of a single South African nation, as opposed to the rulers' division.

The effect of the pressures we've set up for ideological clarity and maintenance of clear political direction has borne strength quite disproportionate to the numbers that support us.

mendous sharpening of the struggle against collaborators and the agencies through which they function. The inescapable fact today is that the system of community councils is dying out. They are hardly likely to be revived with any success by the rulers.

## HAVE RESIGNED

In a comparatively short time, more than 170 councillors have resigned. This emphasises the fact that people don't want the community councils, still less the community councillors.

The management committees never got under way in the Eastern Cape and again recent events have shown that the management committees and the Labour Party are working contrary to the interests of the people.

When we talk of non-collaboration we mean a boycott of the tri-cameral parliament and those serving on it, a boycott of local and regional structures and the creation of the instruments with which to oppose them and with which to maintain our own political independence in our own organisations.

### What differences does the Movement have with the National Forum, the Cape Action League (CAL) and the United Democratic Front (UDF)?

Dudley: There are probably more points of agreement between the CAL and us. The CAL has supported non-collaboration up to the hilt. Our differences, if you can call them this, are that we insist that a minimum programme be spelt out and alliances be based on acceptance of these. The CAL has not done this but we will try to reach agreement with them on it.

One of our major difficulties with the National Forum was in the way it was first constituted. It tried to bring together a number of tendencies which were not all favourable to us. It is also not

**We see the UDF as a populist front who do not agree with our non-collaboration stand and our programme.**

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Cape Times 1/5/85 (11A)

# Azapo to discuss PE feud, deaths

PORT ELIZABETH. — Azapo and community representatives will meet here today to discuss ways to resolve the bitter feud which has resulted in the deaths of two Azapo members and a member of the UDF-affiliated Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco).

Peyco president Mr Mkhuseleli Jack said the meeting was organized after four youths who were being held hostage at the home of the Rev Mzwandile Maqina, an Azapo member, were released early yesterday.

The four were admitted to hospital after their release. One youth was still receiving treatment last night.

Mr Jack claimed that the UDF was not linked to the fighting, but said the community was tired of Azapo's "criminal band" which terrorized the townships day and night.

Mr Maqina was reported to have claimed that

the youths were apprehended on their way to attack a house in New Brighton and also claimed that two Azapo youths were still held as hostages by UDF supporters.

Mr Jack denied this.

### Set alight

Meanwhile, the Pietersburg home of the secretary of Azapo's northern Transvaal region, Miss Monhla Hlahla, was set alight on Thursday night.

She was woken by smoke and woke her mother and younger sisters. They extinguished the fire, apparently started by using petrol.

Police reported that the home of a member of the UDF in Seisoville near Kroonstad was set alight and extensive damage caused.

Police said unrest flared in eight Eastern Cape townships overnight, but that in almost all the incidents, the groups involved were

"considerably smaller" than in recent weeks.

No more unrest deaths were reported, but the death toll in Thursday's collision between a police vehicle and a heavy truck near Port Elizabeth has risen to four.

There were also isolated incidents in the Free State and Transvaal.

Police reported incidents of unrest in:

● The Cape: Njandi (Somerset East), Kwazakele, New Brighton and Zwide (Port Elizabeth), Humansdorp, Paterson (Grahamstown), Duncan Village (East London) and Kroonvale (Graaff-Reinet).

### Stoning

In stoning incidents in New Brighton a policeman was "slightly injured", while 63 arrests were made. Those arrested, aged between 13 and 30, "will face charges of public violence".

● Free State: Thabong (Welkom), Brent Park and Seisoville (Kroonstad).

● Transvaal: Tembisa, Soweto, Kwa-Thema and Alexandra.

● In Natal, the police have launched a drive against illegal taxi operators in Empangeni, in an effort to put an end to bus boycotting. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

# Matanzima: 2 held for having ANC literature

*(11A)*  
*D. R. R. 11/5/85*

## Dispatch Reporter

UMTATA — Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, who is also the Minister of Police and Defence, announced in the House of Assembly here yesterday that two people had been detained by the police for possession of African National Congress literature.

Chief Matanzima, who did not mention the date and place of the detentions, said Mr Seitshiwe Sejoseng and Mr Thabang Marate, both from Jozana's Hoek administrative area, Herschel, were being held under Section 47 of the Transkei Public Security Act. The period of detention was authorised for 14 days.

Chief Matanzima also tabled a report on the state of emergency, proc-

laimed in terms of the Public Security Act.

The state of emergency was introduced in June, 1977.

Chief Matanzima told the House that 189 persons had been detained in terms of regulations under Section 45 of the Public Security Act.

The Prime Minister announced the names of 20 people who had been deported or removed from one area to another.

An Umtata attorney, Mr General Prince Madikizela, and a chief of the Hlubis in the Tsolo district, Chief Sobantu Mafu Mabandla, were among the people who had been banished.

Mr Madikizela was banished to Mbonge Mbongweni administra-

tive area, Bizana, last October and banished again to Sifonondile administrative area, Cala, in the Xalanga district early this year.

Chief Mabandla was banished from Tsolo to the Zangwa administrative area, Butterworth.

All the deported and banished people had been ordered not to leave their areas unless they obtained written permission from the Commissioner of Police.

All banishment orders, were signed by President Matanzima.

The other people affected by deportation and banishment orders are: Mr Matatu Kapayi of Idutywa, who was banished to Indawana administrative area,

Umzimkulu, Mrs Novili Joyi of Mputi administrative area, to Mtingwevu administrative area, in the Cofimvaba district, Mr Gweti Basi, of Readsdale administrative area, Umzimkulu, to Engwe administrative area, of Ngqamakwe, Mr Gengelele Ntinde of Mputi administrative area, to Mhlabunzima location, in the Mqanduli district, Mr Xagalegusha Bisiwe of Mputi administrative area, Umtata, to Qamata administrative area, in the Cofimvaba district.

Mrs Notemba Joyi of Mputi administrative area, to Banzi Port administrative area, Cofimvaba, Mr Mcilizwa Hangxa of Mtambalala administrative area, in Lusikisiki, to Lota administrative area, in the district of Idutywa.

Mr Nqangi Herbert Dlamini of Readsdale administrative area in the district of Umzimkulu, to Takazi administrative area, in the district of Kentani, Mr Pahlana Basi of Readsdale administrative area, Umzimkulu, to Colosa administrative area, in the Idutywa district.

Mr Anderson Dalaguba Joyi, of Mputi administrative area, to Banzi Poort, Cofimvaba, Mr Major Dikeni, of Elliotdale to Mzizi administrative area, Bizana.

Mr Dingindlela Basi of Readsdale administrative area, Umzimkulu to Ndofera administrative area, Herschel, Mr Thembekile Nwelende of the Mputi administrative area, Umtata, to Sidoyi admi-

nistrative area, Umzimkulu.

Mr Kakazela Kapyi of Sundwane administrative area, to Blikana administrative area, Herschel, Mr Johnson Gxoloti Doko, of Readsdale administrative area, Umzimkulu, to Gqebanya administrative area, in the district of Cacadu.

Mr Zelapele Mbele of Readsdale administrative area, Umzimkulu, in Mhlopekazi administrative area, in Engcobo, Mr Bangilizwe Mbeki Marelane Joyi of Mputi administrative area, to Mtingwevu administrative area, Cofimvaba, and Mr Xagalegusha Bisiwe of Mputi administrative area, Umtata who was banished to Qamata administrative area, Cofimvaba.

11A

2 Cape Times, Saturday, May 11, 1985

## ANC call for unity

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress this week urged anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa to bury their differences which have resulted in violent clashes in recent weeks.

The ANC said unity was essential in carrying out the struggle against minority rule, and that the Pretoria government was exploiting differences between rival groups.

The UDF and more radical black consciousness groups are deeply divided over whether whites should take part in the fight against discrimination.

The ANC, which is also multi-racial, said the careful preservation of unity had become one of its main priorities.

The ANC said that as a result of riots in which more than 150 people have died this year, the wisdom of perpetuating the most pernicious aspects of apartheid was being questioned by South African businessmen.

"Even within the National Party, voices are heard declaring that apartheid has failed and that the regime has no coherent solution to the problems facing the country," the statement said. — Sapa-Reuter



# Outrage mounts at deaths of detainees

CME Tim P 11/5/85



**JOHANNESBURG.** — In the wake of the deaths of unionist Mr Andries Raditsela and student organizer Mr Sipho Mutsi after being detained by police, the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) has called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to resign.

The call followed the announcement yesterday by lawyers acting for the Mutsi family that Mr Mutsi had died of a brain haemorrhage.

The lawyers' statement is based on a report by an independent physician who represented the Mutsi family at the post-mortem on Mr Mutsi performed in Bloemfontein on Thursday.

Lieutenant Henry Beck of the police directorate of public relations said on Thursday that Mr Mutsi had experienced convulsions while his particulars were being taken at the police station.

## Brain damage

However, the independent physician who attended the post-mortem on behalf of the family reported that he had been unable to detect signs of epilepsy.

The family lawyers added that there was vital eyewitness evidence available on the circumstances leading to Mr Mutsi's death.

Mr Mutsi is the second person to have died this week after being detained by police.

The first was Mr Raditsela, of Tsakane near Brakpan, who died at Baragwanath Hospital on Monday afternoon.

Both men were arrested

separately on May 4. Reports of post-mortems carried out on their bodies indicate that both died of subdural haemorrhages (brain injuries) consistent with trauma caused by a blow to the head.

Mr Le Grange has said that the investigation by a senior police officer into the cause of Mr Raditsela's death was regarded as a matter of urgency.

Police in Pretoria said an urgent investigation into Mr Mutsi's death had already started.

However, a DPSC spokesman, calling for the resignation of Mr Le Grange, said it was obvious that he was no longer in control of the actions of the police, particularly the security and riot police, who were "operating with a degree of licence that is dangerous in the extreme".

## Union call

The DPSC spokesman added that responsibility for "the toll of death and shame" lay not with one minister but "with the government and its apartheid system which it defends at all costs".

Meanwhile, at a meeting held on Thursday night, major trade unions urged all workers to call for the withdrawal of riot police and the De-

fence Force from townships.

The unions also called on workers to stop work between 11am and 1pm on Tuesday in memory of Mr Raditsela, who will be buried on that day in Tsakane township near Brakpan on the East Rand.

Mr Piroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa, said a meeting of more than 40 trade union and community representatives had called for the work stoppage. Workers were asked to wear black armbands on Tuesday to signify mourning.

Mr Raditsela was senior shop steward of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union and an executive committee member of the Federation of South African Trade Unions.

Outrage at the deaths and calls for an inquiry continue to mount.

● The Trade Union Council of South Africa said it was horrified and demanded that "the circumstances surrounding the deaths of both Mr Raditsela and Mr Mutsi be made public without delay".

● The United Democratic Front yesterday called on the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi to resign from their cabinet positions for being "co-responsible in this week's two deaths in detention".

## Solidarity

● The Federation of Cape Civic Associations said they were "deeply shocked and angered" at the deaths of the two men

● Solidarity, Official Opposition in the House of Delegates, yesterday called for a judicial commission of inquiry into deaths in detention

11A  
21/5/85  
3 Pebco  
leaders  
missing

C. Press  
THREE Port Elizabeth  
Black Civic Organisation  
members have been reported  
missing by their wives.

A concerned Mrs Grace  
Hashe told City Press that her  
husband, Pebco secretary  
Sipho Hashe, was last seen on  
Wednesday night when he  
went to the airport to fetch  
someone.

He was accompanied by  
Pebco president Qawuqauli  
Gogolozzi and committee  
member Champion Galela

# Tutu's peace talks off the ground

12/5/82  
P. 008  
11A

By **MONO BADELA**  
and **SIBUSISO MNGADI**

**PEACE** talks among warring black political organisations went smoothly this week after Azapo, the UDF and Inkatha met a group of priests in separate meetings.

• First to meet a group of priests led by Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu and Father Lebamand Sebidi was Inkatha.

• The United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation delegations met the priests at separate meetings in Johannesburg this week.

• The three groups expressed satisfaction at the outcome of the meetings, pledging to report back to their membership.

• They said they would commit themselves to resolving the conflict and creating a climate conducive for progress in the struggle against apartheid.

• The possibility of Azapo and the UDF meeting to resolve their differences is now reported to be "very bright".

• The UDF wrote an open letter to Azapo.

• Part of the letter read: "That there are differences between our organisations in our understanding, interpretation and possibly methods of struggle is undeniable.

• "But we cannot accept that these need be destructive. Surely our common repugnance for the system under which we live far supercedes the differences between us."

• KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi has applauded Bishop Tutu's peace initiatives to stop the infighting among black political organisations.

• He said: "It is important for us to encourage Bishop Tutu to play a peaceful role as befits a Nobel Prize laureate. That is why I encourage Inkatha members to respond to Bishop Tutu's call for a meeting.

• "I did this despite the fact that the bishop is not an impartial peace broker, since he is patron of both the UDF and the National Forum."

• While the peace talks continue, the infighting has left a trail of destruction in Soweto, East Rand and Port Elizabeth.

At least four people, including two children, have been killed and nearly 20 homes burnt since the feud between Azapo and UDF members started in Port Elizabeth last week.

More than 50 members of both organisations have been arrested by police in Kwazakhele, Zwide and New Brighton townships.

Two children aged between three and five were burnt to death when petrol bombs were thrown at the house of a Azapo member.

The father of the children is



**TUTU:**  
Met three groups this week.

believed to be M Mayekiso, a leader of a cultural group called Roots, which is headed by the Rev Mzwandile Maqina.

Port Elizabeth Youth Congress member Mzukisi Ngxale died on Monday night after being abducted by men travelling in a combi.

His younger brother, Cosas member Mabutisi Ngxale,

who watched the horror killing of his brother, told City Press that he had also been kidnapped by Azapo members.

He said he was taken to a secluded place outside the township of Soweto, where he saw his brother being hacked to death.

His other brother, Paper, is a member of the Azanian Students' Movement.

Meanwhile, Bishop Tutu announced early this week that an interdenominational service would be held at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church to entrench peace among the organisations.

**★**  
CITY Press' Advice Column works — just ask Enkelbult resident Tihareseole Forane, who appealed for help when he lost his travelling bag at Park Station.

City Press' adviser went to the railways' lost office to track down Tihareseole's bag — and there it was, complete with his reference book, driving licence and other personal documents.

Now, if you've got a problem, contact the adviser.

Advice Column  
— Page 7

# UDF on the run

12/5/85 C. Press

(11A)



By PHINDA KUZWAYO

EIGHT houses in Hambanathi were extensively damaged when Inkatha supporters allegedly went on the rampage this week, forcing 80 UDF supporters to flee for their lives.

Six of the houses were petrol-bombed and two stoned.

Natalia Development Board housing manager A H Wolgaard told City Press that some residents — most allegedly Inkatha supporters — were "expelling" the UDF group.

Township manager Alex Ngwenya said over 400 people, carrying all kinds of weapons marched through the township on Sunday looking for houses of UDF supporters.

They demanded that they leave the township after local Inkatha branch secretary Nomthandaze Dlamini's car was stoned.

# Tutu hits out at US government

11A Soweton  
13/5/85

LEXINGTON, Kentucky — Bishop Desmond Tutu, in Lexington to see his daughter receive her Master's Degree and to pick up an honorary doctorate himself called on Americans to back up their "marvellous rhetoric" on apartheid with action.

The 1984 Nobel Peace Prize Winner told a news conference that the US sends a confusing message to "oppressed" blacks in South Africa.

"The West is marvellous in its rhetoric in opposition to apartheid. It warms the cockles of my heart. Yet you really don't match that splendid rhetoric. What we get is constructive

engagement", he said.

"If we were to jettison constructive engagement as applied to South Africa (for) the policies applied to Nicaragua, apartheid would not end overnight, but it would end very, very quickly."

Bishop Tutu's 24-year-old daughter, Mrs Naomi Tutu-Seavers received a Master's Degree in diplomacy at Lexington University. The university, which last week decided to sell convertible bonds in the Boeing company because of the firm's South African policies, conferred honorary doctorates on Bishop Tutu and Governor Martha Layne Collins — Sapa.

# Black workers pledge to work for more unity

THE unity of the black working class is growing rapidly.

Workers have vowed to come together, support and pledge solidarity with each other on numerous issues, despite their political differences.

This new twist in the labour movement in South Africa was announced by Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, a leading unionist, who is the secretary of a co-ordinating committee of 31 major trade unions seeking unity.

The committee, formed by trade unions to celebrate May Day recently, is hoping to achieve more power and unity among the unions by supporting the working class struggle against injustice, exploitation and other forms of oppression.

Mr Ngcukana explained that May Day signified an important day when workers of the world celebrate and share with each other their demands and rights regardless of their political differences.

In South Africa, he says, separate unions have been working and organising on their own until "we felt we had to unite forces."

"This desire has inspired us to join hands. So ride on . . . we shall fight the oppressors in one voice."

## Division of workers

He says the aim of the co-ordinating committee is to avoid issues that divide the workers. "Once we have been able to identify our differences, we shall be able to achieve greater unity."

"During the union's discussion it emerged that there were different approaches towards the controversial issue of disinvestment.

"This delicate issue has raised serious problems which we will iron out in due course. There are unions which have different perceptions about the disinvestment issue."

Mr Ngcukana added that they will support each other on issues such as boycotts, campaigns, strikes and other forms of opposition.

"We have supported each other at Simba, Spar and other boycotts because we are fighting a common cause.

"These actions will grow rapidly in future and employers who become intransigent in their behaviour and refuse to negotiate in good faith, will face tough action from the unions."

He says the unity that the co-ordinating committee is envisaging will not deter the progress of these unions currently involved in unity talks. The committee supports their moves towards greater unity.

"We are also encouraging those unions which are presently out of the unity talks to join us because we have a common objective."

He issues a stern warning to arrogant managers, who at the drop of a hat, fire striking workers. Unions will take a serious view and may support workers who have been dismissed because of any industrial action.

Militant workers will continue to fight for their rights.

**Tucsa uninvited**

Unity, to a certain extent, has been achieved by the committee. It has been able to bring together unions from the wide political spectra. Unions affiliated to the UDF and Azapo have been brought under one body by the committee.

However, Mr Ngcukana appealed to those involved in the unity talks not to set time for the completion of the talks. The unity of the workers should always be maintained throughout.

Mr Ngcukana admitted that most of the unions affiliated to the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) were not invited to the unity talks nor to join the committee.

But, he added, Tucsa always has a tendency to support the Government that unregistered unions be outlawed. "We can't see ourselves operating with such unions," Mr Ngcukana added.

He says it is their wish that the current in-fighting between Azapo and UDF can be resolved without bloodshed.

"The two groups should be able to realise that we are fighting imperialism, racism and capitalism and we need each others support despite our political differences," said Mr Ngcukana.



TRADE UNION leader.

# An aristocrat who went Red

Ten years ago on May 12 1975 women's leader Mrs Lilian Ngoyi stood at the funeral of that unorthodox Afrikaner communist Bram Fischer and predicted that the children of South Africa's majority would remember him as a son of their land and would carry further the non-racial political struggle he had waged. In the next few years, as Black Consciousness became the prevailing ideology in liberation politics, there might have been moments when Mrs Ngoyi doubted her prediction. But even among adherents of Black Consciousness Bram Fischer made his mark. And in the '80s a new generation of activists came to hear from United Democratic Front leader Terror Lekota how, while he sat in prison accused in the marathon Saso trial, the slow death by cancer of jailed Bram Fischer had jolted him and become a factor in his rejection of exclusively black politics in favour of the non-racial approach. But then Bram Fischer, an Afrikaner aristocrat and underground communist leader,

By Jo-Anne Collinge

seemed throughout his life to have been able to maintain support and loyalty from the most unexpected quarters. He was born in 1908, grandson of a Prime Minister of the Orange River Colony and a son of a Free State Judge President.

Bram started life in an orthodox enough fashion: Grey College schooling, followed by a law degree at Grey University College and a Rhodes scholarship to New College, Oxford.

To complete the almost perfect picture he played rugby against the All Blacks.

In the '30s the conventional image was shattered when Bram took the irrevocable step of joining the Communist Party of South Africa.

It was a move legal at the time, but hardly acceptable in the mainstream of white South Africa. When the Nationalist Government outlawed Communism in 1950, Bram Fischer did not leave the party. He went underground,

while overtly functioning as a respected advocate. He developed close links with the African National Congress leadership and, after the organisation's banning in 1960, helped plot a sabotage campaign. When members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, were arrested at Rivonia and tried for sabotage, Bram Fischer QC led the defence team. Within days of the end of the Rivonia trial in mid-1963 Bram himself was behind bars, charged with contravening the Suppression of Communism Act and committing sabotage. Because of legal commitments abroad he was let out on bail of R10 000. And although he returned to South Africa he estreated bail. While the police searched high and low for this Red Pimpnel, Bram lived discreetly for 10 months as Mr Black. He was recaptured in November 1965, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment. A clenched fist salute to the public gallery was the last public vision of Bram Fischer until May 1974 when he went to Pretoria's H F Verwoerd

Hospital for tests. A year later, reduced to 45 kg and still a prisoner, he died of cancer at his brother's home in Bloemfontein. His family was ordered to hand over his ashes to the Department of Prisons. Mourners at his funeral were as mixed a bag as campaigners for his freedom had been. Fellow Afrikaner dissident Andre Brink paid tribute. ANC leader Oliver Tambo sent a wreath. The liberal legal establishment was there in force. An anonymous tribute read at the funeral addressed Bram Fischer as the man who fought a struggle for equality, for freedom from domination, for freedom from control by imperial powers... who fought a battle to end racism and to implement socialism. It is difficult now as then to find words to adequately describe this winner of Moscow's Lenin Prize who kept on his desk at Innes Chambers a paperweight bearing the last orange and white fragment of the last flag flown over the old Free State Republic.

## New report calls for urgent reforms in education

# Apartheid seen as key to unrest and boycotts in black schools

11A Star 13/5/88

Unrest and boycotts in black schools will continue, says a report by Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

And, it adds, they will probably escalate so long as the Government continues to enforce general apartheid.

The report recommends urgent reforms to black education to alleviate black grievances, but says:

"Ultimately education, like all other South African institutions, will only gain full legitimacy once the issue of African rights in the central system of decision-making is resolved."

Reforms most urgently needed, the report says, include:

• Unification of educational systems.

• Improving communication between pupils and teachers.

• Developing greater local responsibility for education in schools and communities.

• Improving educational facilities and diversifying extracurricular activities.

● Introducing management courses for principals.

● Introducing political education for teachers as well as pupils.

The report says the Government has begun to introduce reforms in black education, for example a plan to form a new Department of National Education responsible for a general education policy.

But these reforms still fall short of a major demand by black pupils: formation of a single education department for all races.

"Even changes such as these may not be sufficient," the report says.

"The educational system cannot be viewed in isolation from the wider society.

"A partially desegregated educational system within the wider segregated society may still generate dissent in an increasingly politicised African school population."

The report, entitled "School

Boycotts 1984: the crisis in African education," was written by Monica Bot, an education researcher.

It is based primarily on field research she conducted in Pretoria's Atteridgeville/Saulsville townships.

Her sources include representatives of the Congress of South African Students, a school principal and two officials of the Department of Education and Training.

She rejects as inadequate claims by Government spokesmen that outsiders were responsible for intimidating pupils to boycott schools for their own political ends.

She says: "These simplistic allegations cannot explain the involvement of extremely large numbers of pupils, especially during the second half of 1984.

"Would pupils be willing to risk their education and thereby their future prospects when they could collectively resist

attempts at intimidation by a minority?"

The announcement of intended rent increases in the Vaal Triangle and East Rand last September provoked a boycott by some 140 000 pupils, growing to 220 000 in October.

Six pupils were among 77 people who died in unrest reported from the Vaal Triangle in September alone.

Miss Bot says there is general consensus among researchers, educationalists, pupils' representatives and the Press that the boycotts were an expression of discontent on a much wider level than simply perception of inferior black education.

Pupils said one of the principal causes of the boycotts was the Government's initial refusal to allow formation of democratically elected student representative councils, a consistent demand by the boycotters.

The report identifies other

crucial grievances by pupils as excessive corporal punishment by teachers, poor marking of scripts, sex harassment, textbook shortages and age restrictions on school enrolment.

Added to this, spending on white education continued to be disproportionately higher than that for blacks.

In 1982 the Government spent R1 385 on each white child, compared to R192 for blacks.

The report said that apart from deaths, injuries and damage to property in last year's unrest, the loss of education for thousands of blacks would have serious consequences for an already overloaded school system as those denied teaching for five months tried to catch up in the new year.

It could also worsen unemployment leading to conditions for renewed social unrest, the report added.

Miss Bot traces the history of dissatisfaction in black edu-

cation from formation of the National Union of African Youth in 1939 to the declaration last November of the Education Charter Campaign.

At the same time she notes a growing solidarity between pupils, parents and workers in spite of the widening gap between proponents of black consciousness and Freedom Charter adherents.

Miss Bot says the student movement has accepted school boycotts as one strategy within a wider struggle for democracy.

The Congress of South African Students president, Lulu Johnson, is quoted as saying: "Through these demands we are laying the basis for the long term demands.

"The demand for democratic student representative councils is part of the process of preparing ourselves and building a future South Africa where representation will be genuine and democratic."



# UDF-Azapo truce is welcomed

11A 8. Post  
13/5/85

By JIMMY MATYU

THOUSANDS of mourners in Zwide yesterday applauded enthusiastically after they were told that a truce ending the 14-day feud between the Azanian People's Organisation and affiliates of the United Democratic Front had been reached.

Addressing the funeral of three unrest victims, Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), said the decision to bring a stop to the infighting was taken at a meeting of representatives of both groups held in St Stephen's Church Hall on Saturday.

Mr Jack said it had been decided that acts of violence had to stop.

Mr Jack said that during the infighting, which he described as a "petty disturbance", it was noticeable that not a single member of the Kayamandi Town Council had

resigned.

"During this period Kayamandi and its leader, Mr Thamsanqa Linda, felt safe and went on to threaten the residents of Veeplaas with removal to Motherwell," he said.

Mr Jack said Peyco called on the police and the South African Defence Force to withdraw from the township.

"We will never be deterred by threats of guns. If a change is to come to South Africa, it must start with the release of our leaders from jail, and with whom the Pretoria regime must talk to achieve peace, hope and harmony in our country," he said.

Tearsmoke was used by police in Zwide yesterday to disperse mobs of chanting mourners returning from the burial of three unrest victims at the Zwide cemetery

The first occasion tearsmoke was used was

in Johnson Road when mourners who were singing marched back to Soweto.

Mr Henry Fazi, vice-president of Peyco and UDF (East Cape), wept as he told the mourners of the disappearance of three colleagues, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, president of Pebco, Mr Siphon Hashe, secretary-general, and Mr Champion Galela, organising secretary, last week.

He said if they had been arrested, the people demanded their immediate release.

Mr Fazi blamed the Government and the agents of the system for the problems between the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"We must return to our fight against the Kayamandi Town Council and our plans to demonstrate against the All Black tour of South Africa," he said.

ARGUS 13/5/85

# Churchmen step in — and Azapo, UDF declare truce

Argus Bureau

11A

PORT ELIZABETH. Intervention by churchmen has apparently halted violent clashes here between supporters of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation.

A truce was agreed at a meeting between representatives of the two organisations at the weekend after four youths held hostage by Azapo were released.

More than 2 000 people had marched on the home of the Azapo leader, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, to demand the release of the four youths, and it seemed that only the intervention of the police prevented violence.

Later, under the auspices of the Interdenominational Ministers' Association, the truce was accepted when Mr Maqina and Mr Mkhusele Jack, leader of the marchers, swore to heed the truce.

However, Mr Jack said today that the situation was still delicate.

He said the UDF remained concerned about the absence of three officials of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), who have been missing since last Wednesday. Pebco is an affiliate of the UDF.

The missing men are the president, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozi, the secretary-general, Mr Siphon Hashe, and an organising secretary, Mr Champion Galala.

# Prayers for peace

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

IN a further step towards defusing the in-fighting among major organisations in the black community, services are to be held throughout the Pretoria-Witwatersrand — Ver-eeniging townships on Sunday, May 19. *Start*

This was announced by Mr Lebamaing Sebidi, one of the churchmen in the peace mission led by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Johannesburg Anglican bishop, to solve the clashes.

The service in Soweto will be at Regina Mundi Church on Sunday at 2pm and will be conducted by Bishop Tutu and leaders of the organisations involved in the fighting.

Since the in-fighting started some weeks ago, five people have died. Several others were injured. Most of the victims were members of the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front.

Other services will be held in Kwa-Thema on the East Rand, the Vaal Triangle, and Mohlakeng near Randfontein. They will start at 2pm.

Mr Sebidi said Azapo and UDF officials will be asked to address the meetings.

Bishop Tutu will also address the people. All the clergy have been invited to attend because we will also be praying for peace, Mr Sebidi said.

Bishop Tutu will

11A  
speak in Soweto only.

Meanwhile, Azapo and the UDF in the Eastern Cape at the weekend agreed on a truce after a feud that has cost at least three lives and left many injured in the area.

13/5/85 Sowetan  
The truce came just when Progressive Federal Party MPs in the province were offering to mediate after a request by a senior Black Sash official.



REV SEBIDI . . . one of the organisers of the peace talks.

# Missing trio: Pebco concern mounts

~~SA~~ IIA  
E. Post  
14/5/82

By JIMMY MATYU

CONCERN is rising for three top members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation who disappeared mysteriously last week.

The police have denied any knowledge of the whereabouts of the three missing men, Pebco's president, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Siphon Hashe, and the organising secretary, Mr Champion Galela.

Mr Henry Fazi, vice-president of Pebco and the East Cape Regional Committee of UDF, said they left their homes on Thursday.

They were on their way to the H F Verwoerd Airport in a panel van belonging to Mr Hashe.

Mr Hashe's van has not been seen since.

A telex message from the SA Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said the police had no record of detaining any of the men.

But Mr Fazi told the Evening Post today his organisation thought the men had been detained.

After the disappearance of Mr Hashe, 64 people who had been guarding his home were arrested.

They include Mr Hashe's wife, Elizabeth.

All 64 people, including several children, appeared briefly in the New Brighton Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with public violence. Their trial was postponed to July 10.

There have been several clashes in the townships in recent weeks between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples Organisation. Pebco is affiliated to the UDF.

Mr Fazi referred to the mysterious disappearance in 1982 of a student, Mr Siphiwo Mthimkhulu, after he had been released from detention. He had been hospitalised with a mysterious ailment which paralysed his lower limbs.

"The unsolved disappearance of Mr Mthimkhulu is still fresh in our minds. We can't accept that people can just disappear into thin air without a trace," he said.

Mr Fazi said his organisations had been in touch with the authorities but without any result.

"It's alarming to have a situation where people can just vanish."

Mr Fazi appealed to the State to bring the three leaders before a court if they had been arrested.

# Rajbansi replies to salaries critic

SIR — In response to an article in The Natal Mercury under the heading 'Salaries "outrageous" says Opposition', I wish to refer to some erroneous statements made by the Hon Member for Stanger.

● He states that I and the Hon Rev A Hendrickse earn almost R80 000 a year while Mrs Thatcher is paid R68 796 at current rates of exchange. The Hon Member appears to be grossly misinformed, as I am remunerated at the same rates as any other minister of the Government, that is —

● A salary of R59 000 per annum, to be reduced by 3 percent with effect from April 1, which leaves me with R57 230, and I am also receiving an additional amount of R19 000 per annum to cover *inter alia* expenditure incurred on entertainment.

Salaries of British MPs converted to rand value based on an exchange rate of R2,247180 to the £ as at March 18: All British MPs get a secretarial and research allowance of R12 000:

MP £16 904 = R37 986  
plus £12 000 = 26 966  
R64 942

Junior Minister  
£28 120 = R63 190  
plus £12 000 = 26 966  
R90 156

Cabinet Minister  
£42 980 = R96 583  
plus £12 000 = 26 966  
R123 549

Prime Minister  
£53 600 = R120 449  
plus £12 000 = 26 966  
R147 415

The British Prime Minister has, however, decided that she will take the salary of the Cabinet Minister only, that is R123 549 per annum.

● The allowances paid to the Hon Rev Hendrickse and myself are not decided on by our respective Houses, but by the Cabinet.

● It is a fact that we are provided with official chauffeur-driven cars for official purposes, are allowed rail and air travel privileges on the same basis as any other minister and our homes, like those of other ministers all over the world, are guarded by policemen, but we do not determine numbers.

In regard to the so-called low interest loans for motor vehicles, these rates of interest are the same as that applicable to the Hon Member himself and he too enjoys certain free air journeys.

We are not provided with servants. These we employ ourselves.

● All Ministers are provided with official residences at their headquarters areas — mine is Durban. Seeing

that the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs has not as yet built or bought a suitable house for me in the Durban area, it has to rent a house for my use, and that department has decided to rent my house from me for this purpose at a rent which was determined by a proper valuator and not by me.

A RAJBANSI  
House of Delegates  
Cape Town

## Henshaw's TV crit

SIR — Recently we had the best laugh for a long time while watching *Three's Company*. We were amazed the next morning to read Dennis Henshaw's TV column and find he went overboard to lambaste this programme in a more violent way than I can remember his treatment of any other programme. Everyone I spoke to thoroughly enjoyed it, both young and old.

With the amount of time we are presented with bloodshed and horror episodes both in news as well as fiction, it is a sheer delight to be given something that is pure simple fun to watch.

Dennis Henshaw must be out of touch with reality to condemn the delightful sequences that we enjoy in *Three's Company*; I consider them like the British humour films of the past in a modern American setting.

It would be interesting to know what the general public rating would be; it could even be a project for the Mercury to issue a questionnaire to judge the various films as *Maude* and other favourites with us all.

As far as the 'half-wit SABC minion' is concerned, I would promote him and have Dennis Henshaw 'thrown down the nearest mineshaft'.

HUMOROUS

# Labour Party rejects 'liberal paternalism'

From D M G CURRY, MP  
Houses of Parliament:

ALLOW me to comment on your editorial 'Lead don't follow' of May 6. To put the case bluntly, we are tired of knocking at the white man's door, National Party or "liberal", begging for admission.

The Cape Times unfortunately does not understand the white municipal councils, particularly the Cape Town City Council. Of course, we agree that the Nationalists took the coloured people off the voters' rolls of municipal councils. Like the city council, we stand for direct representation on non-racial councils.

The city council has taken the "vow" to fight for a non-racial council and therefore they will not work with or co-operate with management committees. It wants to preserve its links with past councillors such as Mr Norman Daniels, who was forced out of the city council because he was classified coloured.

The city council of Cape Town became a white separate development council in terms of government policy. Not one white city councillor resigned in protest when coloureds were removed. We who also use a separate local government structure, the management committee, are not "kosher" in the eyes of the city council. Whites can use the "system" but coloureds or Indians cannot. If you're white you're right,

but if you're coloured, you must stand down.

We do not support management committees, neither do we offer them to our people. We have consistently stated our case for direct representation and we are using separate structures to obtain that goal.

Some liberals remind me so much of the colonel who said to his troops: "Tell me my man, which way you want to go because I want to lead you". These liberals accuse us of using government platforms. They say we operate from these structures and use them to obtain "status" as leaders. But this is exactly what the liberals have done. They have used apartheid structures to become leaders in the white community.

It is politically expedient for them but not for the Labour Party. The liberals have consistently used coloured, Indian and African voters to get into parliament and provincial and local government councils.

The old SA Communist Party used the African voters, on separate voters' rolls to get into the House of Assembly. Both the Labour Party and the liberals are therefore guilty of the same "sin" but the city council climbs on a high moral platform and refuses to co-operate with management committees. Interim measures were promulgated so that councils and management committees could find ways and means of working together. The city council

refuses to co-operate with us because of the "vow".

Housing is an important part of the life of our community. We want to upgrade the quality of life in the townships. We want to sit with the city council in all its committee systems to work out with them programmes to solve the housing problems in Cape Town. This the council refuses to do. We are left with no option but to take coloured housing away from the city council of Cape Town in order to do the job ourselves.

We have no intention of becoming "ethnic". There are other local authorities in the Peninsula area with whom we can liaise to do certain functions on our behalf. There are other private institutions who are willing and who continuously offer help to us. We certainly will not establish a coloured city council in Cape Town. We want to bring our people into the decision-making process. The Labour Party's strategy is that we use separate structures.

We are also people with dignity. We have tried to liaise and negotiate with the Cape Town City Council. We cannot become reconciled with this kind of liberal paternalism. It is tragic that this relationship is ending this way but we are just tired of crawling to white people, no matter what their choice of politics may be.

Too long have others spoken for us. We intend doing that ourselves.



David Curry . . . no to management committees.

Cape Times  
14/5/85  
11A

CAPE TOWN 14/5/85 (11A)

# Homes of two Azasm men petrol-bombed

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — The homes of two members of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) were damaged by petrol bombs in Welkom's Thabong township at the weekend.

Yesterday damage was still being assessed at Mr Mongezi Thukane's house, at which four petrol-bombs were hurled.

Mr Thukane is a former vice-chairman of Azasm.

A spokesman for the organization yesterday said a petrol bomb exploded at almost the same time at the home of Mr Herman Bohloko. The

house was extensively damaged.

Nobody was injured in the explosions.

In KwaThema, on the East Rand, two men were seriously injured when they were run over by a car which was being stoned by a crowd of about 200 people.

The driver jumped out and escaped, leaving his car which was later set alight.

Five men were arrested after police fired birdshot at a crowd of about 800 stoning a house, a police vehicle and a local hostel.

In another township on

the East Rand — Katlehong — a man fired shots at a crowd that tried to set fire to his house.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said that in Soweto about 125 stonethrowing pupils of Emadwaleni High School in Orlando West were dispersed by police using birdshot.

At the Teacher Education College, police dispersed a mob of about 400 students with tear-smoke, rubber bullets and birdshot after an illegal gathering.

There were no reported injuries or arrests.

Realty

# 'Totally dedicated to the workers' struggle'

MIKE SILUMA and JO-ANNE COLLINGS report from Johannesburg on the esteem with which Andries Raditsela, the trade union leader who died last week after having been in police custody, was regarded by his fellow unionists

THE death last week of trade unionist Andries Raditsela may be just another faceless statistic to many South Africans. But to thousands of workers throughout the country it symbolises an almost irreplaceable loss.

Mr Raditsela (29) was arrested ten days ago at the East Rand township of Tsakane and died at the Baragwanath Hospital last Monday. An independent pathologist said the unionist's death had been caused by brain injury consistent with trauma.

But who is he, this man whose death has left employers faced with the likelihood of a nationwide work stoppage today, one that could be even bigger than the stoppage called to mourn the death of unionist Dr Neil Aggett in 1982?

At the Germiston offices of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU), of which Mr Raditsela was a senior official, former colleagues mourned the death of a man "totally dedicated to the workers' struggle".

Said union organiser, Mr Meshack Ravuku: "I first met Mr Raditsela 1982. At that time I was a shop steward at Sasol and the union was still very weak there. Andries and other union leaders patiently nurtured

the union into the force it is today.

"It was hard work building the union and we had to work until all hours. But he never complained.

"One of his greatest dreams was to see the unity of the union movement. Andries felt that division among workers was wrong because they faced the same enemy."

To this end Mr Raditsela represented the nearly 300 000-strong Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) at the union talks to form a "super federation".

"He had a very close relationship with the workers, especially those at Dunlop. They had total confidence in him. Many of them wept when we held a meeting at Dunlop on Thursday," Mr Ravuku.

Indeed, it would be difficult to replace a man who simultaneously was:

- A senior shop steward
- A member of both the regional and national executive committees of the CWIU, and
- A member of the national executive and central committee of Fosatu.

A telling picture of Mr Raditsela is contained in the new book, "Working Women" (Sached Trust/Ravan Press).



Andries Raditsela

At the launch of the book this weekend, fellow unionist Ms Adrienne Bird described Mr Raditsela as a fighter in the daily battle against "normal" exploitation.

She highlighted his contribution to the book — an account of the fight against jobs-for-sex. "The idea that women have to buy their jobs not only with their labour but also with their bodies is so commonplace as almost to be normal," said Ms Bird.

But at Dunlop, members of the Chemical and Industrial Workers' Union challenged this normality — and the story is told in Andries Raditsela's words.

"Jobs for sex is something being done in many factories by personnel officers and training officers to our sisters, girl friends and wives. Managements know about it but they don't do anything about it since it does not affect them as much as it does us workers.

"We keep complaining about it but do nothing ourselves since our sisters are not willing to help us out. They are afraid of victimisation and scandals."

Mr Raditsela explains that it is common practice for women to be employed "outside working hours, even weekends". At lunch hour the personnel officer's room might be seen locked and a woman worker would later emerge from the locked office.

When this occurred at Dunlop the union kept watch for an opportunity to trap the training officer and then summoned a manager to catch him in the act.

"The training officer was caught and got fired on the spot," he relates, adding: "The woman did not get fired.

"This was far better than allowing the workers to assault the training officer as they wished. We just refused and promised them that we would solve the problem. And now they are all happy."



# Houses stoned

By ALI MPHAKI  
SOWETO 14/1/85  
TWO houses were stoned and two trucks looted and burnt as unrest continued in Soweto yesterday.

The two houses belong to families whose sons allegedly killed a

pupil at the Morris Isaacson School in White City, Jabavu at the weekend. Pupils from the school yesterday went out looking for the suspects in a "revenge mission".

When the rampaging pupils arrived at the houses to be told the "suspects" were not there, they broke windows causing little damage.

Both families were late last night worried trying to fix the windows because of the threatening rain and icy weather.

The two trucks were stopped at Senoane township by pupils allegedly from the Sekano Ntoane High School, who stoned the truck and later set it alight.

Police arrived minutes later and the pupils dispersed but nothing

could be done to save the two trucks.

A police spokesman from the Police Directorate in Pretoria confirmed the incidents.

## Homes bombed

THE homes of two members of the Azanian Student Movement were petrol-bombed in Welkom's Thabong township in the early hours of yesterday morning.

General secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Mbuyiseli Mahlati, said yesterday that one room of the house where Mr Mboobo Herman Bohloko stayed, was damaged.

Four petrol bombs were thrown at Mr Mongezi Thukane's home in the attack at about 10 pm. Nobody was injured in either of the attacks.

## Exert pressure on South Africa, Tutu urges Americans

SACRAMENTO — Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday urged American politicians to exert pressure to win equality for South African blacks.

He avoided specifically calling for legislation requiring disinvestment in companies doing business in South Africa.

He told a packed session of the California legislature: "Please help us exert pressure . . . political pressure, diplomatic pressure, but above all economic pressure."

"Help us bring about this tremendous new society." — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 11/5/85

# Rajbansi's probe call referred to police chief

15/5/85 NM  
11A  
Mercury Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has received a letter from the Chief Minister in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, asking that allegations of bribery against him be investigated.

A spokesman for Mr le Grange's department, Col Leon Mellet, confirmed yesterday that Mr Rajbansi's letter had arrived last week.

'The minister has referred the letter to the Commissioner of Police, Gen Johann Coetzee, for his attention. The commissioner will then have to decide what is to be done,' said Col Mellet.

Mr Rajbansi's letter follows claims in the House of Delegates by the chairman of the opposition Solidarity party, Mr Pat Poovalingam, that Mr Rajbansi was guilty of taking bribes in the allocation of trading sites.

Mr Poovalingam has said he would not hand over his evidence to the police or the Advocate-General, but that he would make it available to a judicial commission of inquiry.

He was temporarily expelled from the House of Delegates after refusing to apologise for accusing Mr Rajbansi of corruption.

Mr Rajbansi has called the charges by Mr Poovalingam 'sour grapes'.

But major political groupings in the Indian community have also called for a judicial inquiry.

These include Dr Farouk Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr Mamoo Rajab, Solidarity MP for Asherville, Durban, and the Reform Party leader, Mr Yellan Chinsamy.

15/5/85  
**Boy on  
hunger  
strike**

Crime Reporter

A 17-YEAR-OLD Oudtshoorn youth who went on a hunger strike after police arrested him on public-violence charges on May 9 is in hospital to prevent his condition from deteriorating, according to police.

The youth, who cannot be named because he is a minor, was admitted to hospital four days ago. A police spokesman in Pretoria said he was to have appeared in court on Monday on charges of public violence.

One of the charges related to the setting alight of a community councillor's car, the spokesman said.

The spokesman said the youth had refused to eat since his arrest on May 9. Police had admitted the youth to hospital two days later, he added, "to prevent his condition from deteriorating further".

The youth, who is under police guard at an Oudtshoorn hospital, would appear in court when his condition allowed, the spokesman said.

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# Meeting may help ease SA-Kwazulu tensions

## Political Staff

A MEETING in Cape Town between President P W Botha and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, is expected to lead to a further easing of tension between Kwazulu and the Government.

Details of yesterday's talks have not been released but an agreement — that President Botha will visit development areas in Kwazulu soon — was seen as significant.

A spokesman for the President's Office said after the meeting that the talks were part of continuing discussions with population groups.

## Aspects

It is likely that issues such as the Buthelezi Commission report could have been on their agenda.

Recently the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, told Parliament that the Government was studying certain aspects of the report. He did not say what these aspects were.

The Government has also remained silent on calls that it should treat Natal and Kwazulu as a separate case from the rest of the country in establishing a new provincial system.

## Rejected

Following a meeting last year between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Botha at the Stellenbosch home of industrialist Dr Anton Rupert, it is understood that the President gave instructions for the Buthelezi Commission report, which deals with the socio-political and economic interdependence of Natal and Kwazulu, to be dusted down.

When the report was first published three years ago it was rejected out of hand by the then leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Owen Horwood.

Since the first meeting it has also been announced that a joint development body would be formed which would investigate industrial development in various parts of Kwazulu.

# MP calls for 'urgent steps' in bid for Kloof police station

UFA

~~UPI~~

NMA 15/5/85

## Mercury Reporter

CALLS for a police station to be opened in Kloof have received the backing of House of Delegates MP for Mariannhill/Pinetown, Mr Manilall Naranjee.

Speaking from Cape Town, Mr Naranjee said he had written to the Commissioner of Police, Gen Johann Coetzee, calling for urgent steps to be taken to establish a police station in Kloof fol-

lowing the recent spate of armed attacks on residents.

In his letter to the commissioner, Mr Naranjee wrote: 'Recently an Indian family in neighbouring Wyebank was terrorised by a mob of armed blacks and three members of the family were seriously injured and had to be taken to hospital.'

'In the past few weeks there had been no fewer than three reported cases in which white residents

of Kloof were attacked in their homes by armed black men and in one case, black gunmen threatened to kill a white woman after she had been held up and robbed in her home.

'I wish to draw your attention to the urgency of the matter and advise that for some time the Kloof municipality, through its council, has made strong and motivated recommendations for

a police station.'

He went on: 'The crime rate in this area is on the increase. The community is living in fear, particularly old people who cannot really defend themselves.'

'The Wyebank/Kloof area is very large. The nearest police stations are at Pinetown and at Hillcrest and it appears that these stations do not have the manpower to look after Wyebank and Kloof,' he wrote.

# Azapo homes raided

U.P. 15/5/85  
The homes of two senior Azanian People's Organisation members and two members of the Azanian Students' Movement at Langa, near Uitenhage, were searched by Security Police this week. Sowetan 15/5/85

Documents were confiscated from the home of Mr Xolisile Mnyaka, the Azasm regional organiser in the Eastern Cape, an Azapo spokesman told Sapa.

He said Security Police also searched the homes of Azasm executive member Mr Buyile Sali, Azapo's regional publicity director, Mr Tyelinzima Depabeka, and that of Mr Xolile "Byna" Festile, a former vice-chairman of Azapo's Uitenhage branch.

Police said they were looking for dangerous weapons, the spokesman said. — Sapa.

# Labour's Mopp shoots straight from the hip

11A

Star 15/5/85

The Labour Party's justice spokesman, Mr Peter Mopp, is a politician who believes in straight talking.

His idea of consensus politics is: "Cut the red tape and don't fiddle while the country is burning."

It was Mr Mopp, MP for Border, who caused a stir in the House of Representatives last week when he called for the resignation of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, following the recent Uitenhage shootings.

When Mr le Grange questioned the validity of Mr Mopp's demand in the light of apparent differences of opinion within the Labour Party, Mr Mopp shot back that his statement reflected the official attitude of the party.

The party had discussed the matter again and as far as he was concerned there was no doubt that the call for Mr le Grange's resignation was the party's official viewpoint.

Mr Mopp's straight talking in this matter was typical of his performance in most of the major debates on civil rights issues in the House of Representatives so far this session.

A lawyer by profession, his arguments are to the point, and he certainly does not mince his words.

Of consensus politics he says this is something that means different things to different people.

"My own idea of consensus differs from that of the National Party. The NP's idea is to follow the red tape. My idea is to come straight to the point."

Mr Mopp explained that on the issue of the sex and marriage apartheid laws the NP had followed a long-winded process of investigations, committees and other "red tape" procedures before finally announcing that the laws would be repealed.

This also applied to other concessions which had to be "dragged out of them".

That was why the NP was often

**To Peter Mopp, government by consensus means "don't fiddle while the country is burning", writes Frans Esterhuyse of The Star's Political Staff.**

accused of always giving "too little too late".

When he called for Mr le Grange's resignation, Mr Mopp emphasised that his party was not making a personal attack on the Minister but an attack on the post he held.

"We as a party believe in division of power and the honourable Minister, as a member of the executive, is responsible for each and every policeman that patrols a beat," Mr Mopp said.

Although that Minister could not ensure the safety of passengers who had died, it was his duty as the Minister in charge to tender his resignation because he had "failed the people".

On the issue of unrest in black townships, Mr Mopp said during the interview that petrol-bombing and the destruction of human life could never be condoned.

However, it appeared that stone-throwing took place when police were present in townships.

When the police were not there such incidents did not seem to occur.

Mr Mopp said he believed the real problem behind unrest in townships had to be sought in attitudes of white local authorities towards people of colour.

The Government went wrong when it created black community councils without giving them financial muscle to alleviate problems of black communities.

As a former executive member of the National Association of management Committees, Mr Mopp gained first-hand experience of local government problems.

He said that years ago he saw how people throughout the country were becoming frustrated as a result of the

system and the attitude of white local authorities.

Mr Mopp said he became disillusioned with the management committee system in 1979 and resigned from positions he held.

Born in East London in 1939, educated in East London and Kimberley, Mr Mopp studied at the old University College of Fort Hare where he obtained a BA degree, majoring in philosophy and Roman Dutch Law.

In 1979 he obtained a B Proc at Unisa and was admitted as an attorney in 1980.

He served in the old Coloured Representative Council (CRC) for two years and stood as an independent against the Labour Party in 1975.

Later he rejoined the Labour Party and was elected as MP for Border in the House of Representatives.

Mr Mopp is married and has three sons. His wife, Sonia is a teacher in East London.



# Tutu well liked in townships

5/1/85 15/5/85  
While a recent poll revealed that few whites support Bishop Desmond Tutu, a survey of 780 black urban women shows he is well liked in the townships.

As few as one in 10 urban whites believes Bishop Tutu deserves the Nobel Peace Prize and supports his appointment as Bishop of Johannesburg.

Among those black women who have heard of him, however, 55 percent like the bishop very much and 31 percent like him a little. Only nine percent say they do not like him at all.

Those who have never heard of Bishop Tutu comprise mainly low-income earners, the poorly educated and those over 50 years of age.

Support for Bishop Tutu is consistently greater among the more affluent and better educated blacks. — Sapa.

● See Page 9.

# The Government is just playing games, says Tutu

5 TAR 15/8 BS



LONDON — Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu has told Britons that he sees no sign that the Government of South Africa is up to the task of returning it to the road of peaceful evolutionary change. "They are past masters at semantic games while the country is burning," he said on BBC TV last night.

"They are playing games with the future of this country.

"They know that their homeland policy is a dismal failure.

"They know that this tricameral thing is a charade.

"All they are trying to do is to prolong white minority rule.

"In the end it is self-defeating because it means that you are going to get to a point when the people are genuinely leaderless."

Bishop Tutu asked who was going to have enough authority to say "Desist!" to the people in times of unrest?

"Removing credible leaders may mean that we are going to descend to a chaos which the authorities will not be able to control," he said.

Bishop Tutu spoke at the end of a 40-minute programme devoted to the dilemma of South Africa's white population.

Last week the programme dealt with upheavals in the black community.

Earlier BBC reporter Michael Robinson, who compiled the programmes, asked Constitution Minister Mr Chris

## The Star Bureau

Heunis how he defined a leader.

Mr Heunis said the obvious leaders were those who had been elected. These people had some following.

He did not regard the United Democratic Front as leaders in any way. They were self-appointed.

Mr Heunis was asked if the fact that they seemed to have quite a lot of support did not make them worth talking to. He answered: "I'm prepared to talk to any leader who is prepared to renounce violence and accept that peaceful change should come."

Reporter Robinson spoke to Professor John Diggenaar, of Stellenbosch University, who said that so long as the Government did not talk to the United Democratic Front it might as well be talking to itself.

He was convinced the Government's present course could lead only to dangerous self-delusion.

Mr Robinson played a recording of Mrs Helen Suzman addressing a meeting. He said: "Helen Suzman's speeches have the backing of a large section of South African industry who, in recent years, have come to the conclusion that separate development and its attendant mechanisms of the homelands, the Group Areas Act and influx control

are an undesirable luxury the country can no longer afford." He quoted an official of the South Africa Foundation as saying 250 000 new jobs a year were needed to keep pace with population growth, but none was being created. South Africa's strength, he said, was being sucked by apartheid's ever-growing bureaucracy.

He added that the State President, Mr P W Botha, wanted to find a gradual, evolutionary path for South Africa, but his reforms were being fiercely resisted by traditional Afrikanerdom.

Mr Robinson went on: "The Government is now in danger of falling between two stools: promising too much reform for conservative whites to stomach and too little to satisfy increasingly militant blacks. "Excluded by the country's new constitution, they are in angry mood and impatient for political power."

Mr Robinson said that after attending a Conservative Party rally in Pretoria he was told by MP Mr Koos van der Merwe that the Government was like an antelope which had been shot through both lungs: it was still on its feet, but its lifeblood, its grassroot support was draining away. Soon it would collapse and die. But, said Mr Robinson, only a massive revolt by backbenchers could bring about the Government's downfall.

# Disinvestment 'will be silly'

WASHINGTON — Senator Barry Goldwater, doyen of Republican conservatives in America's Senate, has told Congress it would be silly to stop American investment in South Africa.

"If Congress is silly enough to disallow investment by American firms in South Africa, who is it really hurting?" he asked.

"Does Congress think it is hurting the well-off white man in South Africa?"

"Does it think it is hurting the Government of South Africa?"

"No. What it is doing is eating massive unemployment among blacks who have been hired by American firms

## The Star Bureau

investing in South Africa."

Senator Goldwater, Republican choice for President in a 1960s race against President Lyndon Johnson, said he did not like apartheid.

"I have been to South Africa five or six times," he said, "and I have told the rulers of that Government that I do not like apartheid."

He suggested that similar blunt talk to South Africans would achieve more than the sanctions being considered by Congress.

Of anti-apartheid demonstra-

tions near Washington's South African Embassy which he saw every evening on his way home from work, Senator Goldwater said every American had a right to freedom of speech.

"But," he added, "our people are wrapped up in human rights.

"Nobody can fault them for that, but they sometimes overlook the harm they might do in arguing for rights.

"Let us think this whole thing out carefully because, just as sure as the sun is coming up tomorrow, if we make American investors withdraw from South Africa, we are going to do more harm than good."



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# Azapo homes raided

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THE homes of two senior Azanian People's Organisation members and two members of the Azanian Students' Movement at Langa, near Uitenhage, were searched by Security Police this week. *Sowetan 15/5/85*

Documents were confiscated from the home of Mr Xolisile Mnyaka, the Azasm regional organiser in the Eastern Cape, an Azapo spokesman told Sapa.

He said Security Police also searched the homes of Azasm executive member Mr Buyile Sali, Azapo's regional publicity director, Mr Tyelinzima Depobeka, and that of Mr Xolile "Byna" Festile, a former vice-chairman of Azapo's Uitenhage branch.

Police said they were looking for dangerous weapons, the spokesman said. — Sapa.

WEDNESDAY, 15 MAY 1985  
LANGE, EASTERN CAPE  
SEARCHING THE HOMES OF



# UDF warns against new law enforcers

Staff Reporter

THE appointment of law-enforcement officers in black townships would serve to worsen tensions there, a United Democratic Front spokesman said yesterday.

Transvaal publicity secretary Mr Sydney Mafumadi said in a statement: "The current unrest was sparked off by the imposition of undemocratic black local authorities.

"To appoint policemen empowered to carry guns to enforce the rules of these discredited structures will be viewed as an act of provocation."

● The UDF offices in Cape Town were

searched yesterday by security police who confiscated some documents, the Western Cape secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, said last night.

"The police claim that the UDF committed an offence by its choice of Western Cape president, namely Mr Zoli Malindi, who is a listed person. We view that as harassment," Mr Manuel said.

Captain Jan Calitz, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said last night that police had searched the offices, but would not confirm the confiscation of documents.

Cape Times 16/5/88  
11A

# Victim was ANC member

GABORONE. — The man killed in a powerful bomb blast here on Tuesday was yesterday identified as a South African political refugee and member of the African National Congress, who worked for a Canadian aid organization.

The head of the Canadian University Services Overseas in Gaborone, Mr John van Mossel, said Mr Moagi Moeketsi, 29, was married and had worked for CUSO since last October.

A senior police spokesman said no arrests had yet been made and declined to say who police thought were responsible for the attack.

Mr Moeketsi's body was mutilated almost beyond recognition and the car was completely destroyed, said a statement by Botswana's President, Dr Quett Masire.

The blast was the second in Gaborone in three months.

On February 13, a bomb exploded at a house occupied by a South African journalist, Mr Nat Serache. — Sapa

# Nujoma briefs Mugabe on struggle

11A

Sowetan 17/5/85



SWAPO's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma.

HARARE — South Africa's plan to install an interim government in Namibia was another attempt to impose a neo-colonialist solution in the territory, the South West Africa People's Organisation president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said in Harare yesterday.

"South Africa has decided to impose an interim government on the people of Namibia next month without any elections or even a bogus referendum such as Ian Smith used to do in this country," he told Zimbabwe's *Herald* newspaper.

"This will be done by proclamation of the so-called state president of South Africa through the colonial governor in Namibia."

Mr Nujoma arrived on Wednesday to brief the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, on Swapo's military and diplomatic progress. He left the same night for Lusaka.

Swapo's strategy was "To intensify the armed struggle to dislodge the racist forces of oppression," he said.

He called on the Reagan administration to abandon its policy of constructive engagement "which really supports South Africa in practical terms and covers up the regime's criminal activities in

Namibia and its invasions of the neighbouring independent African states, especially the Republic of Angola."

Despite South Africa's announcement that it was withdrawing its troops from Angola, it was now threatening to invade the country once more on the pretext that Swapo fighters were crossing into Namibia from there.

Its real aim, however, was "to unseat the Angolan government and replace it with a puppet regime of the Unita leader Jonas Savimbi."

Mr Nujoma said South Africa was aware that the "puppets in Namibia" did not enjoy the support of the people and that was the main reason behind attempts to circumvent United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which called for free and fair elections under UN supervision.

"Ultimately the South Africans want to push further north the process of liberation," but that strategy was bound to fail "as all the puppets will be crushed." Mr Nujoma said — Sapa.



CONTACT  
between  
moderates  
AND — PW

PARIS — Conflict in South Africa was between blacks who accepted evolutionary change and revolutionaries backed by the SA Communist Party and the African National Congress, President P W Botha has said in an interview published here.

He also publicly told President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, to mind his own business.

Mr Botha was interviewed on Wednesday in the Conservative daily "Figaro", by special writer Marianne Lohse.

She asked what he thought of Mr Kaunda's recent suggestion that Nelson Mandela should be released to prevent a blood bath.

Sowdan 17/5/85  
**Advise**

Mr Botha replied: "I know Mr Kaunda well. His country's economic situation is so disastrous that I would advise him to give all his attention to his own problems rather than mine."

Asked whether he would ever release Mr Mandela, he said: "It would be crazy for me to free a man knowing that he would then call for insurrection."

The President said: "I cannot understand the negative attitude of American businessmen wanting to disinvest in South Africa.

"But if it ever happens we have enough wealth to supply sufficient capital to make up for the loss."

He continued: "If you were the leader of the free world and wanted to keep the Soviet Union out of South Africa, would you then weaken the existing government there?"

**Soviet**

"If this country toppled into the Soviet sphere of influence, then the world's largest reserves of strategic minerals would be controlled by the communists."

He added: "South Africa is of vital importance to the free world."

Mr Botha pointed out that Swapo, which he said was linked to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and "We have proof of that," was serving as "a tool of Soviet expansion".

Asked if he planned urgent measures over apartheid, he said: "I consider that priority should be given to create jobs, to train and educate. That is why this year we have spent more on education than in the whole of our history."

laid the basis for a reconciliation — if not exactly kissing and making up.

Neither camp relishes the internecine violence which *has* occurred, for example, at the University of the North recently. Both say they are determined to end it, just as the verbal crossfire between them two years ago was contained. Further, both reckon they can and have co-operated on certain anti-government campaigns.

But in the wake of a sudden spate of clashes, both sides are united in pinning the blame largely upon "an orchestrated campaign by agents of the State to sow division, conflict and confusion among liberatory forces."

The emergence of *agents provocateurs*, it is said, is part of a state campaign against political dissidents of which the coming treason trial is part.

The UDF has taken legal advice with the view to possible action against the SABC which, in a recent television documentary on the feud, used what both sides describe as entirely bogus pamphlets in which the two groups purportedly vilify each other.

The two sides naturally have fundamental differences of approach to the "struggle" and in their visions of a future SA. This has at times broken out into open confrontation, though nothing like the recent violence which includes bombs flung into activists' homes and which both sides see as mischief-making from outside their ranks.

Part of the problem in the rioting townships is, of course, that nobody is in complete control. Both organisations also acknowledge

that isolated political clashes may well erupt — but without their approval. Certainly the UDF has now embarked on a campaign of discipline among its widespread ranks and hopes that Azapo (which appears to have suffered most of the attacks) will do the same.

Azapo's reply to the UDF peace offer is keenly awaited. "Peace amongst ourselves is a prerequisite of the struggle," the letter says. Azapo has said that it has attempted to secure a "joint declaration" of peace with UDF patron Allan

Boesak "or anyone of some consequence" in the UDF — but to no avail.

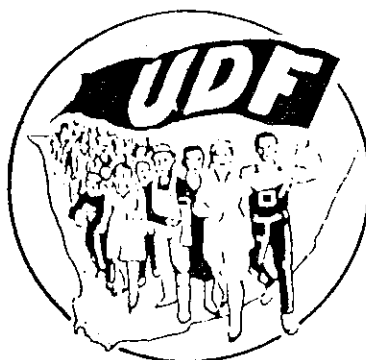
Its claim that there is "no one of stature to speak to" in the UDF seems odd in view of the fact that the UDF executive committee sent Azapo an olive branch and that a dozen of the UDF's top figures, facing treason charges, have been effectively silenced.

However, as Azapo president Ishmael Mkhabela says, "if common sense prevails, the chances of resolving the matter are high." ■

AZAPO



One People One Azania



UDF and Azapo officials met separately last week with Tutu's group of priests in Soweto. The Nobel laureate, who was in the US this week, is respected by both organisations and is deeply concerned about a reconciliation.

UDF Transvaal secretary Mohammed Vally, says his side is "very hopeful" of some kind of resolution following the meeting with the priests. And Azapo president, Ishmael Mkhabela, tells the *FM* their meeting "gave us a number of possibilities for arranging to meet (with the UDF) and set up a process for the exchange of messages." However, Azapo seemed somewhat wary last week because it was still receiving messages of attacks on members by UDF people in the eastern Cape townships.

UDF VERSUS AZAPO

11A

## Ending the feud

Moves to end the acrimony between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its rivals on the Left, the more avowedly socialist Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), seem likely to succeed — if only for the moment.

Establishing a *modus vivendi* is, however, taking rather a long time in view of both camps' "urgent" desire to end the feuding. The UDF last week sent an open letter to Azapo declaring its willingness to meet over the matter. But Azapo's response had not appeared as the *FM* went to press. Despite a measure of political gamesmanship, efforts by Johannesburg Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu and a group of priests, appear to have

# Youth burnt to death in PE

PRETORIA. — A black youth was burnt to death in the Port Elizabeth township of Soweto yesterday.

The SA Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria said the 18-year-old son of a Soweto community councillor had been found dead under a pile of burning tyres.

In the same township, a Defence Force vehicle was petrol-bombed, but there were no injuries and damage was slight.

In other incidents yesterday, police fired birdshot, rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse crowds of stone-throwers in Soweto and New Brighton (Port Elizabeth), Duduza (Nigel) and Zamdela (Sasolburg).

Police yesterday reported stone-throwing and incidents of arson in several black areas on Wednesday night, including Soweto (Reef), Kwazakele (Port Elizabeth), Duduza, Tinus (Fort Beaufort) and Mongweni (Cookhouse).

The spokesman said two black men were arrested at Katlehong on the East Rand on Wednesday night after an incident in which a lorry was stoned.

At Tinus, a petrol bomb was thrown at the home of a local councillor. No damage was reported and there was no police action.

## Mob

In Soweto near Johannesburg on Wednesday night, two private vehicles were badly damaged when a mob of about 350 people set them alight.

The group was dispersed by police firing birdshot.

There were no injuries in any of the incidents.

Considerable damage was caused to a private house in Soweto, Johannesburg, when it was set on fire by a group of blacks yesterday afternoon. There was no police action.

At Kwazakele, Port Elizabeth, police dispersed a group of about 60 blacks with quirts after they stoned a police vehicle.

In New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, a black man in his late 20s was arrested after a group of blacks threw a petrol bomb at an SADF vehicle. There was no damage or injury.

— Sapa

## Two-year-old boy drowns in Paarl pool

Staff Reporter

THE two-year-old son of a Paarl policeman drowned when he fell into a swimming pool at a neighbour's home.

Laboux Stander, the youngest of three children of Constable and Mrs L J Stander of Panorama Street, was dead when found at 5.30pm yesterday.

● A man died when his bicycle and a car collided on the Stellenbosch arterial road near Elsie's River at 10.30pm.

● Miss Angela Sheron of Cook Street, Bothasig and Mr SE van Niekerk of Hope Street, Cape Town, were admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital last night after a collision in Bothasig.

# Azapo doubts about 'peacemaking' service

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — While the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is unhappy about certain aspects of Sunday's prayer service designed to make peace between it and the United Democratic Front (UDF), they will nevertheless attend for the sake of peace.

The Rev Joe Seoka, vice-president of Azapo, said his organisation was unhappy because they were not a party to the drafting of the programme.

Another strong objection Azapo has is about the inclusion of Inkatha. Mr Seoka said they had ideological differences with Inkatha but had not clashed physically.

Mr Seoka said Azapo would meet the organisers of the prayer service later today to try to change the programme.

The prayer service, at 2pm on Sunday in the Regina Mundi Catholic church in Soweto, will be led by Father Lebamang Sebidi.

Father Sebidi said the Anglican Archdeacon of Johannesburg, Father David Nkwe of St Paul's Church in Jabulani, would open the service with a prayer.

"Father Enoch Shuomang, who is the parish priest of Regina Mundi, will also conduct prayers. The Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, will be the main speaker," he said.

"I have undertakings from both organisations that representatives of Azapo and the UDF will speak to the people and spell out their aspirations. It is important that we learn to live together despite our ideological differences."

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# Teenager 'enticed from home', killed and burnt

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A community councillor's son, who was allegedly "enticed" from his home, has been killed and incinerated beneath a pyre of burning tyres.

The remains of 18-year-old Mr Sergeant Putu, son of Kayamnandi councillor Mr Z H Putu, were found by police yesterday.

Mr Putu said today his son had been enticed from the safety of his home and murdered.

He said: "It is a very dirty incident indeed. I have again suffered and I'm feeling distressed and grieved."

However, Mr Putu was adamant that the gruesome death of his son would not force him to reconsider serving on the community council.

## Incidents

"I have done nothing except serve the community which elected me, but I warn those responsible for this outrage that what has happened to me could easily happen to them."

A police spokesman in Pretoria reported that there have been few incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape in the past 24 hours.

In Tinus township outside Fort Beaufort the home of a community

councillor was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack, while in Langa, near Uitenhage, a man was arrested on charges of public violence.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that police said they had "enormous success" in arresting people in connection with criminal acts.

The police public relations division in Pretoria said 95 percent of 62 cases of arson, public violence and malicious damage to property reported at Kirkwood since March 27 had been solved.

## 99 held

The last incident was reported on May 6 when a Post Office cable was damaged in Bontrug township, police said.

A situation report said: "Ninety-five percent of these reported cases have now been solved by the police and 99 people arrested in the process."

In addition to these cases, a further 10 — one of murder, five of arson and four of malicious damage to property — which at first appeared to have been related to the unrest, were reported.

"All these cases have been successfully solved and 14 people arrested in connection thereto," the situation report said.

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# Police raid on UDF a 'harassment'

Sowetan 17/5/85

THE SECURITY Police raid on the United Democratic Front offices in Cape Town boils down to unashamed harassment, the Western Cape secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, said yesterday.

The UDF offices were searched on Wednesday and some documents confiscated, Mr Manuel said.

According to Sapa, the police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said police had searched the offices but would not confirm that documents had been taken.

"The police claim the UDF committed an offence by its choice of Western Cape president, Mr Zoli Malindi, who is a listed person. We view this as harassment," Mr Manuel said.

Mr Malindi was listed in the early 60's "and as such has no recourse to the courts. The people did not list Mr Malindi. He was listed by the State," Mr Manuel said.

He said it was clear that the government was using this as an attempt to influence the people's choice of leadership and to render the UDF administratively ineffective.

Two months ago Security Police conducted raids on several homes of anti-apartheid organisations, trade unionists and civic organisation members.

Last month three prominent UDF leaders, publicity secretary, Mr "Terror" Lekota, general secretary, Mr Popo Molefe and former Transvaal secretary, Mr Moss Chikane were detained by the Security Police.

Two weeks ago sixteen leading South African anti-apartheid activists were released from prison under tough bail conditions.

Meanwhile, the

## By SEFAKO NYAKA

Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, said the UDF was more concerned with using communities for their own political ends than solving community problems.

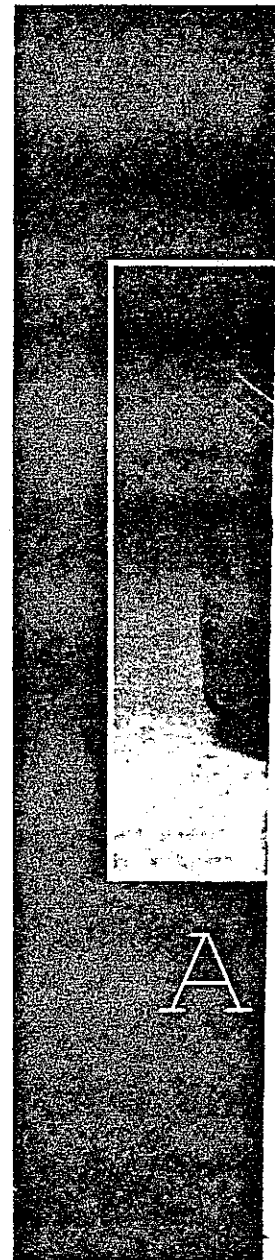
Addressing a seminar on "Unrest and Urban Terrorism and its Effects on Industry and Commerce" in Cape Town this week, Mr Curry said the UDF's housing action committees were "very clever".

"People flock to their meetings, but as soon as they get there the UDF turns to politics, telling them the reason they haven't got houses is the system," Mr Curry said.

Mr Manuel said, the UDF sees no need to apologise to Mr Curry or anybody else about explaining "this fundamental truth to the people".

He said the living conditions of the people flow directly from the system of government in this country.

"We will continue to organise our people in order to liberate our country," Mr Manuel said.



17/5/85  
rands over the last few years.

Judge Thirion wanted to investigate the mining sector right from the start and formally asked his Commission's brief — to investigate irregularities and maladministration by government bodies — to be widened to include the mines. After pressure from certain quarters and consultations with SA, Van Niekerk refused. As a result, Judge Thirion confined his investigations to the Diamond Board, a state body that is supposed to monitor the diamond mining industry.

Now it seems as if a new "loophole" has been found to investigate mining without changing the terms of reference of the Commission. Asked how, a terse Judge Thirion told the *FM*: "The Mines, Works and Minerals Ordinance, Number 20 of 1968 of SWA, gives the state certain duties as far as mining is concerned, and our further investigation must be seen in that light."

The judge seemed surprised when the *FM* told him that Van Niekerk has announced that a comprehensive government report on "overmining" is to be published soon — in CDM's scientific journal. The gist of it will be that "overmining" is a technical term and does not necessarily mean over-exploitation. This has been CDM's main argument since the allegations made to the Thirion commission about the mine's dramatic stepping up of production in the late Seventies.

Namibians may well ask why Van Niekerk did not wait for the Thirion Commission's findings before publishing this report — it comes very close to being *sub judice* — and why is it published in the journal of the mine that stands accused of overmining?

Judge Thirion would also not be drawn on recent remarks by Van Niekerk that waiting so long for the Commission's final report "has been a tremendous frustration." The judge merely pointed out that he has been on the bench all the time and that he is going to use his long leave from July to hear further evidence and complete his final report. The report should be ready by the end of September, he added. ■

UDF VERSUS AZAPO

## Ending the feud

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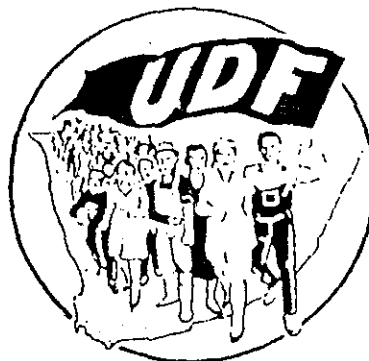
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SUGAR INDUSTRY

## A bitter dilemma

If they weren't so serious, the labour problems faced by C G Smith Sugar as a result of multi-level bargaining would be almost comic.

Inter-union rivalry at Smith's sugar mills has reached such a pitch that it has become impossible to implement effective wage agreements. As a result, management has thrown away the rule book and has resorted to crisis measures to keep industrial peace.

Observes personnel director Barrie Horlock: "This is one problem where you won't find the solution in a university business school library."

The problem stems from inroads made by Fosatu's Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union (SFAWU) at Smith's mills where it is squeezing out the larger National Sugar and Refining and Allied Industries Employees Union (NSRAIEU).

The NSRAIEU, headed by Selby Nsibandé, negotiates at industrial council level and SFAWU negotiates at a corporate level on behalf of unskilled and semi-skilled workers at Noodsberg, Umzinkulu and Pongola mills. To implement agreements struck with SFAWU, exemption from the industrial council agreement is required.

Last April agreements were reached with both parties. While the packages differed in details, the cost of the awards was roughly comparable. Exemptions from the industrial council agreement were granted — except at Pongola where the NSRAIEU claims to be representative. Rival union claims at the

Probe into  
student's  
11A death  
NM 18/5/85  
nears end

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—  
Police have almost completed investigations into the death of trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela, who died in police custody two weeks ago.

This was confirmed by the Commissioner of Police Gen Johann Coetzee.

Gen Coetzee said: 'Investigations into the death of Mr Raditsela are almost complete except for certain forensic tests.

'A departmental inquiry has also been completed and has resulted in certain steps being taken.'

Meanwhile investigations are continuing in the case of Mr Sipho Oupa Mutsi, the student organiser who died after being held by police in Odendaalsrus in the Orange Free State.

Postmortems on both men showed that the cause of their death was a subdural haemorrhage (brain injury).

Mr Mutsi, who was to have faced a charge of public violence, will be buried at his home town today. Thousands are expected to attend.



# Hurley responds to accusations of anti-S A campaign

N.M. 18/5/85

## Political Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban and president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, has responded to allegations made in the House of Assembly last month that he was a key-figure in an anti-South African campaign in Germany.

On April 24 the National Party MP for Klip River, Mr Tino Volker, said Archbishop Hurley had played a key role in launching the anti-South African campaign through the Catholic organisation Misereor — a campaign later condemned by the Catholic Bavarian Prime Minister, Mr Franz Josef Strauss.

As part of the campaign a pamphlet equating apartheid with oppression had been circulated to schoolchildren showing a monster crushing a black underfoot, said Mr Volker.

Archbishop Hurley, who has just returned from a private holiday in

Australia, said yesterday the Misereor campaign of 1983 that had focused on South Africa had not been anti-South African but anti-apartheid.

'It depends on which way you look at it,' he said. 'By focusing on the need for more human rights and justice in South Africa the campaign was aimed at improving South Africa's image.'

Misereor, apparently the world's largest Christian charitable organisation, was established in Germany in 1948 and funds development projects throughout the Third World. Each Lent it makes a collection drive throughout Germany to fund these projects.

Each year, too, it focuses its attention on a particular country.

'The organisation consulted the South African Conference of Bishops on the 1983 campaign. We found the Germans exceedingly thorough in their research, drawing up and presentation of material,' said Archbishop Hurley.

The South African Conference of Bishops had helped with the preparation of material, he said.

In 1984 Misereor focused on India and had undertaken projects in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Kenya, among other countries, he said.



# Tension but no incidents at Azapo funeral

S. Post (11A)  
18/5/85

By JIMMY MATYU

THE national president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said at a funeral service in Port Elizabeth today that the fight for territorial and psychological influence by the United Democratic Front was posing a danger to the "national struggle".

He was addressing a funeral service for Mr Milton Zolile Tshisa, 37, of Fifth Avenue, Veeplaas, who was stoned to death on May 5 at the height of the confrontation between Azapo and UDF supporters.

A group of UDF supporters gathered at the main Zwide cemetery gate while the graveside service was on. The atmosphere was tense as the Azapo mourners, singing and with clenched fists raised high, walked past the group.

Mr Mkhusele Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, told Weekend Post that the UDF supporters had gone to check a rumour that there was an unmarked row of more than 30 graves in the ceme-

tery.

Speeches at the funeral, conducted by the Rev Mzwandile Maqina, an Azapo member, were punctuated by freedom songs.

Police kept a very low profile.

Mr Mkhabela said the killing of Mr Tshisa and another Azapo member, Mr Mzukisi Ngxale, showed that the black man's struggle was being diverted and subverted by the "agents of blind activism and ruinous actions".

"In the spirit of constructive developments elsewhere in the country, I hope to approach the members of the Inter-denominational African Ministers Association of South Africa to join in the prayer meeting to be held tomorrow, and convey the sentiments and concern of the priests and other sections of the communities."

Among other prominent Azapo officials who attended were Mr Imran Moosa, national publicity secretary, who about a year addressed the United Nations, and Mr Phambili Ntloko, Cape president of Azapo.

# Bread ban as shops hit back at bakeries

E. Post 18/5/85

By MIKE LOEWE

ABOUT 450 shops in the Eastern Cape, mostly in the black and coloured areas, could be involved in a boycott of bread produced by five Port Elizabeth bakeries which began today.

This follows an announcement today by the Eastern Cape Traders Association (ECTA), which claims to have 200 member outlets, that they were joining the boycott called on Thursday by the Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce (ECACOC), which says it has 250 retail members.

The organisations listed reasons for the boycott as:

- Negative profit margins on the retail price bread. The African chamber claims its members are selling bread "as a charity".

- Allegedly grimy bread baskets, uncovered and stale bread, and dirty delivery vans.

- Delivery of loaves which traders claim are leftovers from major chain stores.

- Delivery of confectionery which allegedly still carries price tags from major chain stores.

- Delivery of allegedly dirty and damaged bread by untrained workers who handle bread "like bricks".

- Delivery vans used in the black and coloured areas which are "different" from those in the white areas and which are allegedly dirty.

In a statement today the vice-president of ECACOC, Mr Churchill Siwisa, said the traders demanded:

- Delivery of bread fit for human consumption.

- Delivery vans should be cleaned up.

- Workers should be given clean overalls and should not smoke in the vans.

- Outlets should be allowed to make some profit on the sale of bread.

Four bakeries were today unable to say whether they had been affected by the boycott.

Mr Max Hoppe, secretary of the Master Bakers Association (MBA) comprising the five major PE bakeries, today rejected a number of the claims.

He said the association had heard grievances from the associations, but he doubted whether they were representative.

He blamed narrow profit margins on Wheat Board controlled pricing and said traders should approach the board with their problems.

The MBA employed someone to conduct spot checks on delivery vans and to control conditions.

It was possible some workers wore dirty overalls and smoked in the back of vans and the issue had been discussed at meetings. It was regrettable that the retail organisations should feel nothing had been done.

He said complaints should be raised with the bakeries concerned.

Mr Hoppe denied that bakeries accepted bread back from large chain stores and then delivered it to smaller outlets.

The MBA could not lower its retail prices because "if we had accepted this for their organisations, we would have to be giving kick-backs and discount prices to the whole city at great cost".

Mr Hoppe believed the boycott did not have the support of all outlets. Bread was a staple food and he did not believe the community could cut back on consumption.

Mr Ebrahim Soomaf, president of ECTA, said the association had decided last night to join the boycott.

"At a meeting with the bakers last month we raised the question of the condition of the bread. We gave them a month to respond, but we have seen no improvement."



# THIS GREAT DIVIDE

... and how we can cross it

**I**N THE quest for peace, what steps should be taken by South Africans who stand bristling with hostility on opposite banks of a great divide?

Those who seek freedom and an end to conflict watch with dismay as the State ensnares itself further in the tangled web of racism which conspires to turn innocence into guilt, misrepresent opposition as crime, erode the rand — which makes food, shelter and clothing attainable — fray the tolerance of ordinary people and drive democrats to the edge of despair.

Before the first hesitant moves to bridge this gulf can be taken, there needs to be a clear understanding of the causes of the current unrest.

At the centre of all the death and destruction is the baneful influence of the doctrine of apartheid, which is far too gross and much too malignant to be disguised by the cosmetic polish of freehold rights for urban blacks, acceptance of their permanent position in the metropolitan areas of this country, a moratorium on forced removals and the condoning of marriage and sex between whites and people of colour.

The fundamental policy of President Botha and his party has the effect of deepening the divisions rather than healing the rift between the races.

These changes, which are said to require the exercise of significant political effort by the National Party, produce insignificant effects on the majority of the black population.

This government cannot solve their problems.

Apartheid is not only monstrous and evil, but wasteful as well. It is the cause of structural contradictions in the economy which aggravate inflation and massive unemployment.

Basic rights become the focus of a desperate struggle — for food, homes-affordable-rents and employment.

**A**ttempts at extricating their families from this vicious trap are frustrated by inferior education and poor training for their children.

The residential environment of black areas is bleak and unfulfilling.

The arid landscape of black existence is rooted in the collapse of family life and social structures which leads to community upheaval and terror in the townships.

The need to determine their own destinies is thwarted by a system which compounds the denial of political rights with the imposition of false leaders.

Therefore any prelude to peace must self-evidently require a serious attempt by the Government to remove the factors responsible for such severe social and political dislocations; and no matter how un-



**By H M COOVADIA**  
 Professor Coovadia is a member of the executive of the Natal Indian Congress and Natal executive of the UDF

imaginably complicated remedies are made out to be by the apologists of apartheid, the answer is simply an elimination of race discrimination and exploitation.

Pragmatism in this context must not be used as an escape from harsh reality and a pallid alternative to radical solutions which demand the prodigious energy, sensitivity and creativity of all South Africans.

Before an engagement for peace can take place, the State needs to give a lead by addressing the real causes of unrest.

It must stop being a prisoner of its own propaganda by first admitting its responsibilities for the nadir that has been reached in the life of this nation.

It is not the UDF, nor the NIC, RMD or TIC, not the progressive trade unions, not Azapo or Cosas, not the ANC nor the SACP, but this government which must bear the burden of liability.

In the final analysis it is the State's use of repressive machinery — the police, the Defence Force, the Security Branch — which maintains apartheid.

It must recognise that in its obsession to emulate so-

called Western norms it has built a country which emphasises form rather than content.

So it is that we have a constitution and government without democracy, schools without education, hospitals without health, law without justice, wealth without equity, defence without security and police without protection.

They have lurched from blind arrogance to blunder to mismanagement. It is time to return the country to the people.

**A**ccordingly, as a prelude to any engagement between the State and extra-parliamentary organisations of the people (which has as its express purpose the establishment of democracy) the following steps have to be undertaken by President Botha and the National Party:

- An immediate end to the damaging police presence in black townships; severe restrictions on the political role of the SAP; an impartial inquiry into deaths in detention and appropriate punishment for the guilty; disbanding Koevoet and the Security Branch.

- Withdrawal of the SA Defence Force from black townships and an immediate end to police activity by them.

- Scrapping harsh and unjust "security laws" which violate fundamental freedoms. Release of all political, community and trade-union activists arrested under these laws.

- Release of all political prisoners, return of exiles, unbanning of banned organisations and individuals, lifting all restriction on freedom of speech and assembly.

- Repeal of all laws pertaining to the migratory labour system and forced removals, including pass laws.

- Recognition of the

rights of workers to organise freely in trade unions, to bargain collectively and to strike without penalty;

- Dissolution of the tricameral system, community councils and other bodies created under the Black Local Authorities Act and the Bantustan system, and scrapping the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and Group Areas Acts.

There has been a sustained campaign to imply that the UDF is a violent organisation and a front for the ANC and the SACP.

The epidemic of violence in this country is the result of the brutality of racial oppression. If 17-million blacks have been arrested for pass laws, if 3.5-million have been forcibly removed, if men die in detention, if they rule with the sword it is surprising some take to violence?

We do not glorify, romanticise or oversimplify violence; it is a reality. Violence will always be used by some to lance the abscesses of those societies where few means exist to prevent or treat contagion.

If the Government creates democratic conditions, violence will diminish, if not disappear.

**D**espite all this, we in the UDF, NIC and all our affiliates are committed to peaceful change.

In fact, we bear the mantle of all those organisations which have peacefully resisted and confronted apartheid throughout our history.

In the face of extreme provocation, our people have challenged racial oppression non-violently, through worker and industrial trade unions, in the Passive Resistance Campaign against the forerunner of the Group Areas Act in 1946, in the Defiance Campaign against the unjust laws, in numerous community struggles during the late '70s and '80s, and in the anti-SAIC and

anti-Constitution campaigns of the '80s.

We in the Congress have mobilised people of all persuasions to present an alternative formula to apartheid and a prescription for peace in the Freedom Charter.

We said 30 years ago that we were not racists, as we spoke for "the people of South Africa both black and white" — and we declared our aims when we said "there shall be peace and friendship".

Now we stand once again accused of violence, because, although we have decided for peace, we do not condemn the armed struggle conducted by the ANC.

This is the illogic which says that a vegetarian who does not revile non-vegetarianism is himself a flesh-eater.

This is the absurd projection of the National Party, which sees life only at its polarised and extreme edges, ignoring the middle ground.

They do not appreciate that in a democracy there are gentle nuances between "yes" and "no" and infinite shades of grey between black and white.

**W**e recognise that the ANC, for most of its life, used peaceful methods for change and took up armed struggle when nearly all avenues of non-violent struggle became blocked by white intransigence.

What steps have we taken for peace so far? It is best if I let some close observers of the NIC, UDF and its affiliates speak for us:

We have worked "to unite, mobilise and politicise the masses; to propagate the unconditional release of all political prisoners and revolutionary leaders in jails inside the Republic; to popularise the Freedom Charter; to campaign for the ending of bannings, banishments, detentions and all repressive legislation, and finally the return of all exiles; all culminating in a National Convention for the creation of a true, nonracial, democratic society, where all people, including their revolutionary leaders in exile and in prison, can have a conference to work on a new constitution".

Admirable, non-violent, peaceful, all part of the democratic process, you say? We agree! Yet these are the actual words from the indictment of the NIC, UDF 16 on charges of treason!

No bombs, limpet-mines, sabotage or AK47s, but "uniting, mobilising, politicising...". This is the perversion of politics.

The minimum path to engagement between opposing South Africans lies in a withdrawal by the State from such absurdities and in establishing meaningful conditions for opposition.

If it fails to do so, it will be a tragic recurrence of intolerance, a narrowing of the terrain for non-violent resistance and an unstoppable descent into disorder and bloodletting.

2 SUNDAY TIMES, May

# ANC to attack civil targets

By STEPHAN  
TERBLANCHE

THE banned African National Congress plans to intensify infiltration into South Africa in order to attack civilian targets, senior officers in the Security Branch of the SAP stated yesterday.

They said this represents a shift away from previously declared ANC policy that only "hard" targets such as political, military, and police installations should be attacked.

Interviewed in Pretoria, the Security Branch officers said the public should be alerted to the new strategy.

They added, however, that the SAP had hitherto enjoyed an almost 100 percent success rate in its internal fight against terrorism and that the ANC was rated as one of the most unsuccessful terrorist organisations in the world.

Many ANC operatives had been killed or arrested before they reached their targets in South Africa.

## Stresses

Moreover, the ANC had little or no internal logistic infrastructure and had been denied bases in neighbouring countries.

For the first time since 1969 the ANC plans to convene a full conference somewhere in Africa.

This shows that there are stresses within the organisation, police said.

Among topics believed to be slated for discussion is the opening of all ranks in the ANC to people of all races.

At present whites, coloureds and Indians are admitted only to the external wing.

Greater attention will also be given to combining the armed struggle with mass political and labour action, said the police sources.

At present the ANC claims to have 7 000 trained cadres, but it aims to increase this number.

However, the Security Branch officers pointed out that the ANC had no internal wing which could be enlarged.

"We believe international fund-raising and its internal political dimension will remain the ANC's priority business," one officer said.

**THE Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, yesterday appealed to all people to attend services for peace among black organisations. The services will be held on Sunday in several churches.**

In a statement released by Mr Lebamang Sebidi, one of the clergymen in Bishop Tutu's peace mission, a call that all black people adhere themselves to the peace initiative was made by Bishop Tutu.

The organisations involved are Azapo, Inkatha and the UDF.

The services, which all start at 2pm will be held in Soweto, Kwa-Thema, near Springs, Sebokeng, near Evaton, and Mohlakeng,

# TUTU PLEA

*Soweto*  
*5/5/85*  
*UFA*

**Services**

**arranged**

**to pray**

**for peace**

**in SA**

near Randfontein.

They have been organised by about 10 priests, led by Bishop Tutu.

The service in Soweto will be at Regina Mundi Catholic Church and will be conducted by Bishop Tutu. Other services will be held at:

- KwaThema Civic Centre and will be conducted by Bishop Nkoane;
- Mohlakeng's St

Paul Anglican Church and will be conducted by the Rev Siphon Masebola; and

• Sebokeng's Anglican Church by a priest still to be named.

Leaders from the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha will also address the services.

These are the main organisations involved in the fighting.

Meanwhile Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela yesterday announced that he had just returned from the Eastern Cape where he found that supporters of the Freedom Charter were not committed to the peace initiative. He said while a truce had been agreed upon in Port Elizabeth, this was being strained to the limit by "the provocative and ambivalent of UDF elements in the area".

He however, said Azapo would fully support Bishop Tutu's

peace initiative and would be represented at all services planned for Sunday. He would be in Port Elizabeth where two victims of UDF-Azapo clashes were being buried.

So far at least four people from Azapo have been killed. Two of those killed were children aged three and five, whose parents were members of Azapo.

"At least 33 houses of Azapo members were attacked, stoned and burnt since early May. Seven were completely gutted. In addition to this 19 members of Azapo were mercilessly attacked and sustained serious injuries.

"Thirteen Azapo members have been arrested in connection with the UDF-Azapo conflict," Mr Mkhabela said. He said funeral arrangements for their members were made under the most trying of circumstances.



**BISHOP TUTU: To speak at the Soweto service.**

# IT WAS NKADIMENG JR.

By HOWARD BARRELL

THE MAN killed in Tuesday's bomb blast in Gaborone was Vernon Nkadimeng, the son of SACTU general secretary and ANC National Executive Committee member John Nkadimeng, say exiled sources.

Mr Nkadimeng, 27, died instantly when he started his car outside a block of flats in Gaborone at 10am on Tuesday.

*(11A)*  
The bomb completely destroyed Mr Nkadimeng's car, badly damaged the nearby block of flats and broke windows in houses 30m away.

Mr Nkadimeng's car was parked next to a block of flats alongside a road used by children walking to and from school.

A senior police spokesman said Mr Nkadimeng had been "blown apart - he

*C.P. Press 17/5/85*  
could have felt nothing". The explosion - the second in four months in Gaborone - was heard over town.

On February 13, two South African refugees - journalist Nat Serache and Gabriel Pule - had a miraculous escape when their Gaborone house was blown up.

That explosion damaged 16 houses, two cars and

shattered the windows of a nearby school.

The explosion follows threats from South Africa and Bophuthatswana to conduct hot pursuit raids into Botswana against refugees allegedly involved in ANC activities.

It is reliably understood that the SA Government gave a list of refugees it wanted removed from Botswana to Botswana.

Pebco Three still  
**missing**

Another

~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ 11A C. Press

# Mtimkhulu?

By **MONO BADELA**

THE mystery <sup>19/5/85</sup> surrounding the disappearance of three Port Elizabeth Black Civil Organisation leaders who went missing last Wednesday is deepening day by day.

Pebco president Qaqawuli Godolozzi, secretary-general Siphon Hashe and organising secretary Champion Galela were last seen before they left for the Port Elizabeth airport to meet a passenger at 9pm.

More than a week after they disappeared, parents, relatives and friends are starting to panic. Port Elizabeth police say they have no knowledge of the whereabouts of the three.

The mysterious disappearance of the three Pebco leaders has revived memories of Port Elizabeth student leader Siphon Mtimkhulu who went missing on April 14, 1982 after he was released from detention.

Mr Mtimkhulu was in hospital at Groote Schuur in Cape Town with an ailment which paralysed his lower limbs.

Before he disappeared he had instituted legal proceedings against Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange — suing him for R150 000 for allegedly having been poisoned while in detention.

Mr Mtimkhulu has not been seen since.

UDF vice-president Henry Fazio told City Press that Mr Mtimkhulu's disappearance



Siphon Hashe: Missing



Qaqawuli Godolozzi: Missing

is still troubling people. "We cannot accept that people can just vanish without trace. We are concerned about the fate of the three Pebco leaders," he said.

Eastern Cape police spokesman Lieutenant A Laubscher this week said the three men had not been detained by police.

"We do not know where they are. The family should come to the police and report the matter and we will gladly help in trying to find them."

Mr Bode's mother told City Press she had received an anonymous phone call from

someone who said she would never see her son again as he had been burnt alive.

● The wife of one of the missing Pebco leaders, Mrs Elizabeth Hashe, was arrested by police last Saturday — only two days after her husband went missing.

Mrs Hashe was arrested at the Sanlam building — where she had gone to look for her husband at the security police headquarters.

She spent the weekend in police cells and appeared in court on Tuesday, charged with public violence with 64 others.

## Uitenhage man found

THE body of Mthuzuzeli Mlihlwana, 30 — who disappeared more than two months ago — was found in the New Brighton mortuary this week.

Kwanobuhle civic leader Emson Banda said the family identified the body after searching for Mr Mlihlwana for two months.

Three other Uitenhage families are still looking for missing people.



# Paper faces boycott

THE Border region of the United Democratic Front is to begin a boycott of East London's *Daily Dispatch* newspaper from today.

The regional secretary of the organisation, Andrew Hendricks, said the boycott was to protest against the editorial content of the paper.

He said that at its last general council meeting the Border UDF had identified three complaints about the paper's editorial coverage:

- That the UDF and other "progressive organisations" were not given an opportunity to give their side to reports that affected them;
- That the present editor, George

Farr, was antagonistic towards the UDF;

- That Mr Farr had attacked the leadership of the "progressive organisations" on several occasions, and was reported to have called ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu criminals.

"The editorial policy of the *Daily Dispatch* since the departure of Donald Woods has been astounding", said Mr Hendricks.

"Mr Woods stood up for the poor and destitute, whereas Mr Farr seemed to be an apologist for the Government.

Mr Farr was unavailable for comment yesterday.



PEACE TALKS: Part of the people who attended the indaba among black political groups at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto yesterday.

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

## Cops tearsmoke peace-talk crowds

# UNITY APPEAL

~~11A~~  
11A  
Sowetan  
# 20/5/85

**POLICE FIRED** tear-smoke to disperse crowds returning from the Azanian People's Organisation-United Democratic Front-Inkatha peace talks which were held at the Regina Mundi Church, Soweto yesterday.

The situation remained calm but tense around the church after the service as police in vans and hippos patrolled the area.

Several hundreds of people attended interdenominational church services in Soweto and other parts of the country to pray for peace and reconciliation among black political groups.

Violence between the Azapo and UDF has led to the death of two Azapo officials and two children of an Azapo man.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, paid tribute to the people who organised the services and appealed for unity among the organisations.

He said the organisers of the

**By JOSHUA RABOROKO**

services were concerned about the struggle of the black people against oppression, exploitation and apartheid. Black people would be liberated in this country and "there is nobody who will stop them from getting their freedom."

"The fighting among the groups is caused by apartheid which is dividing black people in this country. Our freedom is in our hands and we are delaying our own liberation by fighting amongst each other," Bishop Tutu said.

### Differences

UDF's representative Mr Matthew Morobi blamed the current in-fighting among the groups on the "system."

"Let us bury our differences and realise that we have a common enemy."

Amid applause from the crowd, Mr Morobi said the police and members of the South African Defence Force were constantly occupying black townships and "our people cannot afford this kind of thing."

He condemned the Black

Local Authorities' Act the tricameral Parliament and other laws which divide and exploit the black masses.

Azapo's George Wauchope said the two organisations should appoint a committee that will work on strategies of making peace in the areas where their members have been involved in violent clashes. There should be peace among black organisations because "our problem is capitalism and imperialism".

He said black consciousness means solidarity among the black people and this was the line "we should take to unite blacks."

Inkatha's Mr Sipho Magubane said the fighting between the groups should stop for the sake of peace.

Meanwhile various organisations and trade unions have agreed to hold a mass funeral for the victims of the unrest in Kwa-Thema which has resulted in the deaths of at least eight people. The funeral will be held on Saturday.

The KwaThema meeting has resolved that collections be made at the factory floors and by people who have been appointed to do so.

20/5/85 (11A) D. Dispatch

# Mandela victimisation denied

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG — A South African Prisons Service spokesman denied yesterday that Nelson Mandela was being victimised by prison authorities.

Reacting to allegations published in a London newspaper yesterday, he said Mr Mandela's treatment did not differ from other prisoners in the same category, namely the A

The weekly newspaper, The Observer, claimed that the jailed leader of the African National Congress was being victimised in prison because he re-

jected President P. W. Botha's offer of conditional release three months ago.

It also alleged that Mrs Winnie Mandela was searched for the first time by prison guards when she went to visit her husband earlier this month and that her daughter, Zinzi, was subjected to a body search soon afterwards.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was asked about the allegations during an international telephone-in programme on BBC Radio yesterday.

He said he could not comment on them since he was not acquainted

with the facts, but referred to a visit to Mr Mandela by the British peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, earlier this year.

While Lord Bethell did not want to comment on the contents of yesterday's newspaper report, he said: "If Mrs Mandela or anyone else asks me to take up the allegations in the report, I will do so."

The prisons spokesman said Mr Mandela's visitors were not treated differently to other visitors and rejected the allegation of harassment as "far fetched and a figment of the imagination".

See also page 11.

PRG 45 20/5/85 NR

# Hendrickse, Buthelezi may resolve differences

Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, and the leader of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, may meet soon to patch up political differences.

Such a meeting would be the first since the Labour Party left the Black Alliance with Inkatha and Indian parties in 1983 after it had decided to take part in the new constitutional system.

Labour Party and Zulu leaders clashed sharply at the time but lately there has been rapprochement moves between the two groups.

There has for some time been dialogue between Mr Hendrickse and influential members of Inkatha. Recently Chief Buthelezi wrote to Mr Hendrickse.

Confirming this today, Mr Hendrickse said he would soon be answering on behalf of his party.

## IMPRESSED

He said he was impressed by the present approach of Chief Buthelezi who recently met President P W Botha.

Chief Buthelezi had given clear indications that he sought political solutions within a peaceful context.

As he and the Labour Party were on the same wavelength with this he felt that it was essential that they should meet, Mr Hendrickse said.

He could not give an indication of when this could be because, as he said, he did not want to "squeeze matters ripe".

# Seized Azapo leader free

11A ~~277~~

By JIMMY MATYU

THE regional chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Erds Mbuzeli Dukumbana, who was abducted yesterday, has escaped unharmed.

He said today he was told by a group of 16 who captured him that he would be killed, but he managed to escape when they were disturbed in bushes near Redhouse by an approaching car.

"They questioned me about Azapo. I could see they knew very little about my organisation because they thought I was working for Kayamnandi Council and that my organisation was also involved with the system."

He said the people put a tyre round his neck. A tyre on the ground was already burning.

They were waiting for a youth who had gone to fetch petrol.

"There was the sound of a car approaching and when it got nearer they ran away.

"It was then I got a chance to escape.

"I sought shelter at a shack in Soweto and the people there were kind to me. Later, in the early hours of the morning, I managed to get a lift back home."

Mr Dukumbana said his back was injured.

He said it appeared the spot he was taken to was where people had been burnt before.

Earlier Mr Stone Sizani, publicity secretary of the UDF, had appealed for Mr Dukumbana's release.

The Rev De Villiers Soga, president of the Inter-denominational African Ministers Association (Idamasa), said today: "This is very distressing, specially after so much effort had been made to reach a truce. I feel that perhaps there is a section we are failing to reach."

Mr Dukumbana was forced into a minibus yesterday after the annual combined prayer service of the Inter-denominational African Ministers Association at the Dan Qeqe Stadium.

Eyewitnesses who spoke to the Evening Post in Johnson Road said Mr Dukumbana was taken away crying: "Please help me. They are going to burn and kill me."

They added that people who tried to intervene were threatened by the youths holding him.

Frantic efforts to find him by Mr Soga and two of his executive members, the Rev H Dandala and the Rev M Mjekula, failed.

Mr Mkhusele Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, said today he also searched for Mr Dukumbana in Soweto.

The Rev Mzwandile Maqina, executive member of Azapo, said he believed the abduction had been well planned.

In another incident, three Azapo members, Mr Nelson Joyi, Mr Eric Makhasi and an unidentified youth, were hurt when a panel van was attacked. All three were admitted to the Livingstone Hospital.

# 7 000 attend student leader's funeral

IV M 20/5/85  
Mercury Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG—  
About 7 000 mourners at-  
tended the funeral of  
student organiser and  
artist Mr Sipho Mpho  
Mutsi at Odendaalsrus on  
Saturday.

Mr Mutsi, founder mem-  
ber of several community  
organisations in the Free  
State, including the stu-  
dent movement Congress  
of South African Students  
(Cosas), was described as  
having been a 'hero' and  
not a terrorist.

The service was held at  
the Kutloanong Hall  
where hundreds of school  
children and residents  
joined in the singing of  
'freedom songs'.

The service was inter-  
rupted for about 15 min-  
utes when two men  
alleged to be informers  
were asked to leave the  
hall. They left after being  
warned not to remain  
near the hall or be seen  
at the graveyard.

Speakers criticised the  
manner in which Mr  
Mutsi and unionist Mr  
Andries Raditsela and  
other people had died in  
detention after being tak-  
en from their homes.

## Shoulder-high

Members of the differ-  
ent organisations called  
on all parents to unite  
and stand up against  
what they termed 'the ha-  
rassment, assaults and  
deaths of our children  
while in detention'.

After the service, mem-  
bers of the different  
organisations, including  
the United Democratic  
Front (UDF) and the  
Azanian Students' Orga-  
nisation (Azaso) carried  
Mr Mutsi's coffin shoul-  
der-high for about 6 km  
from the hall to the  
graveyard.

Although police kept a  
low profile, several po-  
licemen at strategic  
points outside the town-  
ship watched as residents  
of the Kutloanong town-  
ship filed through the  
streets singing praises in  
honour of Mr Mutsi.

Mr Mutsi was detained  
in Odendaalsrus on May 4  
and later died in the  
Welkom Hospital from se-  
vere brain injuries.

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# 16 UDF men to answer treason charge

Political Reporter

THE treason trial of 16 United Democratic Front members begins in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, today with international Press coverage.

The 16 accused, recently released on bail totalling R170 000 after a five-month court battle, are charged with high treason.

They face alternative charges under the Terrorism Act and the furtherance of unlawful organisations.

The 16 treason trialists are: Mewalal Ramgobin, George Sewpersad, M J Naidoo, E Jassat, A Mokoena, C Nkondo, Archie Gumede, Paul David, A Sisulu, F Chikane, Cassim Saloojee, I Mohamad, T Gqweta, S Njikelana, S Kikine and I Ncgobo.

## Bloodshed

Yesterday, the UDF held a lively meeting attended by more than 1 000 people in Pietermaritzburg, to pledge support for the trialists. None of the 16 accused was able to attend the meeting because of their bail conditions.

Prof Jerry Coovadia, an executive member of the UDF, told the meeting the apartheid system had had many opportunities to transform from tyranny to

democracy, and it still had that opportunity.

He said if this chance was turned down now, the system would be narrowing the scope for protest and peaceful activity and broadening the scope for violence and bloodshed.

'We have never glorified, romanticised or sanitised violence. We accept violence for the reality it is,' he said.

It was not the organisations of the people but apartheid itself that was responsible for the death and destruction in the country's townships, he said.

## Authentic

'In spite of all the provocation, we are still committed to non-violent, peaceful change in this country.'

Earlier, another UDF official, Mr Billy Nair, said the organisation had warned the Government that its 'so-called reforms' would not be sold to the people.

'Only when the Nationalist Government is prepared to negotiate with the authentic leaders of the people will there be a solution to our problems,' he said.

'Any solution that is worked out on the drawing boards of the Nationalist Government and foisted down people's throats will not work.'

11A

NM 20/5/85

N.M. 20/5/85

# Mandela report

FROM PAGE 1

comment on it since he was not acquainted with the facts.

But he referred to a visit by Lord Nicholas Bethell to Mandela and a subsequent Press report by the peer which appeared in Britain.

Mr Botha said Lord Bethell quoted Mandela as saying that he was 'very well treated and his conditions were of the best under the circumstances'.

According to Mr Botha's offer, Mandela would be released if he renounced the use of violence as a means to attain political goals. His daughter, Zinzi, announced his rejection of the terms at a rally in Soweto three months ago.

Lord Bethell, who serves on the European Parliament's sub-committee on human rights, said Mandela's case was under continual scrutiny by the committee.

While Lord Bethell did not want to comment on the contents of yesterday's newspaper report as such, he said: 'If Mrs Mandela or anyone else asks me to take up the allegations in the report, I will do so.'

Lord Bethell added it would be 'very disturbing' if Mandela's conditions of imprisonment had become worse since he had visited him at Pollsmoor.

A South African Prisons' Service spokesman said yesterday that Mandela's treatment did not differ from other prisoners in the same category, namely the A category.

He said Mandela's visitors were not treated differently to other visitors and rejected the allegation of harassment as 'far-fetched and a figment of the imagination'.

The allegation of bodily searches of any visitors was also rejected.

# Report claims Mandela 'victimised' since refusal

Mercury Correspondent

LONDON—Allegations that Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress, was being victimised in prison because he rejected President Botha's offer of conditional release three months ago, appeared in the British Sunday newspaper, the

Observer, yesterday. The allegations were rejected by the South African Prisons' Service.

The report claimed that life for Mandela and his fellow ANC prisoners was being 'made very difficult' since they rejected the offer.

Yesterday's report said Mrs Winnie Mandela was

searched for the first time by prison guards when she went to visit her husband earlier this month. Her daughter, Zinzi, was subjected to a body search soon afterwards, according to the report.

It said Mandela's letters were being heavily censored since his re-

jection of the offer.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was asked about the allegations of victimisation during an international telephone-in programme on BBC Radio yesterday.

He said he could not

TURN TO PAGE 2



# Clashes follow prayer meetings

JOHANNESBURG. — A prayer meeting for peace between rival opposition groups ended in bloodshed at Port Elizabeth yesterday and police used teargas after a similar service, led by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu, outside Johannesburg.

More than 70 000 people gathered in the Dan Qeqe sports stadium at Zwide, Port Elizabeth, to pray for peace between warring United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organization members.

At least five people have died, many have been injured and dozens of houses have been torched in a bloody month-long battle between UDF and Azapo supporters in the Transvaal and Cape provinces.

The meeting in Port Elizabeth was called to mark a seven-day truce between Azapo and UDF affiliates after three weeks of tension.

The prayer meeting remained peaceful despite

allegations by Azapo leader Mr Ishmael Mkhabela that members of the UDF were exclusively responsible for the violence, but the mood turned sour as the crowd left the stadium.

About 50 youths wearing UDF T-shirts briefly closed the gates, threatening to kill Azapo leaders, and tried to overturn and torch an Azapo member's car. Priests and a local businessman restored order.

Moments later, however, youths also wearing UDF shirts stoned a pick-up truck carrying Azapo leaders from the scene and dragged four men from the back as it passed.

Mr Eric Makhasi, 18, and Mr Nelson Juri were injured in the confrontation and admitted to Livingstone Hospital.

Another man, Azapo local chairman Mr Mbuluzeli Dukumbana, was abducted by UDF supporters. An Azapo organizer, the Rev Ebenezer Mafina, said later the move-

ment feared for his life.

In Soweto, Bishop Tutu led about 2 000 people in prayers for peace between the rival black political movements.

"Our freedom is in our own hands and we are delaying our liberation," he said. "The only reason we are not yet free is that we have allowed ourselves to be divided."

He led the crowd of UDF and Azapo members in pledging together: "We are one. We are united. We shall be free, one and all together."

The service ended without incident, but police later used a truck-mounted teargas dispenser, the "sneeze machine", to disperse about 1 000 people gathered near the church.

A crowd of about 3 000 listened to impassioned pleas from ministers and the political leaders for unity. All of them blamed the "system" for the divisions and violence. — UPI and Own Correspondents

Call to Tim S 20/5/85

# Life for Mandela 'made difficult'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Lord Nicholas Bethell, the Tory peer who visited Nelson Mandela in jail in January, is likely to take allegations of the ANC leader's victimization by prison authorities to the European Parliament's human-rights committee.

Allegations that Mandela is being victimized in prison because he rejected President P W Botha's offer of conditional release appeared yesterday in the British Sunday newspaper The Observer.

The report claimed that life for Mandela and his fellow ANC prisoners was being made "very difficult".

It said Mrs Winnie Mandela was searched for the first time by prison guards when she visited her husband this month, and claimed Mandela's letters were being heavily censored.

Lord Bethell said yes-

terday: "If Mrs Mandela or anyone else asks me to take up the allegations in the report, I will do so."

He added that it would be "very disturbing" if Mandela's conditions of imprisonment had become worse since he had visited him at Pollsmoor. He said he kept in contact with the Mandela family, adding: "I will do anything to help them."

He reiterated his call for the unconditional release of Mandela, saying it was unrealistic to impose conditions for his, and his colleagues', release.

A report he drew up after visiting Mandela is being considered by ministers at the European Parliament.

A South African Prisons Service spokesman said yesterday that Mandela's treatment did not differ from other prisoners', and that his visitors were not treated differently from other visitors.

# Petrol bombs hit Azapo homes

11A  
8/17/83  
2015/83  
THE homes of two members of the Azanian People's Organisation in Zamdela, near Sasolburg, were petrol-bombed by unknown elements in what is believed to be the work of "the system" at the weekend.

The homes are those of Mr Rampai Mabit-sela, of 2003 Lelakabe Street, chairman of Sasolburg branch of Azapo, and Mr Lucas Nare, a member of the Azanian Students'

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

Movement and a pupil at Nkgozoleng, High School. *Sowetan*

No official confirmation could be made by the police directorate in Pretoria yesterday, according to a police spokesman. The matter was probably not reported to the police, but if the incident did occur then the police would investigate.

Mr Mabit-sela told The SOWETAN yesterday that they were asleep at home when they heard "something like a bomb." They went outside to see and discovered that their dining-room door was in flames.

"Quick action by members of the family saved what could have cost us thousands of rands. A sofa and part

of the dining room items valued at about R1 000 were destroyed by the fire," he said.

Mr Nare said they were awakened by police who informed them of the fire. They were surprised by cause of the fire, but later discovered a petrol-bomb.

Damage was estimated at over R1 500. They did not know who caused the fire but believed that it was the work of "system agents."

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Article 20/5 BS (11A)

# Scrap management committees — Essop

Staff Reporter

A VETERAN civic affairs campaigner, Mr EM "Babs" Essop, has called for the scrapping of the advisory management committee system in coloured and Indian Areas.

Four management committees — Athlone and District, Kensington, Rylands Estate and Wittebome/Wynberg — fall under the jurisdiction of the Cape Town City Council.

Mr Essop, a member of the Athlone and District Management Committee for 15 years, said the committees should be scrapped as they were "merely voices in a wilderness".

"They can only make recommendations to local authorities and these are frequently shelved or ignored.

"The right to vote and to stand for city council elections is something we once enjoyed in District Six and elsewhere in the Cape.

"I have kept an eye on local affairs affecting our community for many years and now want the restoration of the municipal franchise with full rights in local affairs for our people.

"I want the Government to disband the committees and reinstate committee members in expanded municipal



Mr Babs Essop

pal and divisional councils until such time as the delimitation of additional wards for municipal elections can be arranged.

"I think the concept of separate municipalities in non-white urban and rural areas is not economical.

"It will double running and maintenance costs all round and even with heavy subsidisation, some of it will have to be passed on to the rate-payers."

ARG 6/5  
20/8/85

# Three die in unrest, UDF and Azapo clash

11A 11A 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — A shopkeeper killed a man by firing on a crowd, a charred body was found, a man died in police action and members of two anti-apartheid organisations clashed, in continuing unrest.

Police said a man died yesterday in Duduza on the East Rand when a shopkeeper

opened fire on a crowd who looted and burnt two shops and a garage.

At Port Alfred, the body of a man "who had apparently been burnt" was found in a street yesterday.

It was not known if the man had burnt to death or had been killed and then set alight, a police spokesman said.

No other injuries were reported in yesterday's Duduza shooting, which a police spokesman said occurred after a crowd "numbering thousands" went on the rampage and looted the shops.

Police fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets as unrest continued in Duduza yesterday evening, and a police "situation report" said a home was destroyed by fire and a bottle store looted.

On Saturday night, another man was killed in Duduza when police used shotguns, rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse a crowd after seven homes — four of them belonging to policemen — were burnt, according to police reports.

Two youths were injured and the regional chairman of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation was allegedly abducted yesterday at Zwide, near Port Elizabeth, minutes after a prayer meeting to mark a truce between feuding United Democratic Front affiliates and Azapo members.

## Sneeze machines

Mr Mbuzeli Dukumbana, chairman of Azapo's Port Elizabeth branch, was allegedly abducted, while Mr Eric Makhasi and Mr Nelson Juri were admitted to Livingstone Hospital with injuries.

In Soweto, police yesterday used sneeze machines to disperse about 1 000 people who gathered illegally at the Regina Mundi Church, where Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel laureate and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, was addressing a prayer gathering.

A police spokesman could not confirm that the "illegal gathering" was connected with the service — also called to mark the UDF/Azapo truce. — Sapa.

ARGUS 20/5/85 (10)

# Call to have non-racial council for

By SHARKEY ISAACS  
Staff Reporter

CALLS have been made for the reinstatement of the municipal franchise and its extension to all urban citizens.

A Government decree removed "non-whites" from common municipal voters' rolls in urban areas and unseated six Cape Town city councillors 15 years ago.

Five of them — Mr Norman Daniels, Mr Gulzar Khan, Mr Jack Heeger, Mr E F "Ned" Doman and Mr H J M Holmes — walked out of the last "mixed" City Council meeting two years later, on August 31 1972.

Four of the councillors — Mr Daniels, Mr Gulzar Khan, Mr Heeger, and Mr Dawood Khan — have now called for the abolition of the substitute advisory management committees and have urged an extension of the municipal franchise to all urban citizens.

## No dignity

Mr Daniels, who served on the former mixed city council for nine years, said local government on racial lines was in effect discrimination on a basis of colour.

"You cannot have dignity in racial group thinking and there is no dignity in separate local authorities or advisory management committees," said Mr Daniels.

Mr Daniels, who is secretary-general of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, has devoted his energies to the union since leaving the council.



Mr Gulzar Khan — "there is no dignity".

He said the taking away of the municipal franchise was a denial of a right which had been enjoyed for more than 100 years by District Six residents.

"The common franchise is a golden rule of democracy and all citizens should have a fundamental right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections," he said.

"I was elected on a basis of merit and not on the colour of my skin and I represented people in my ward irrespective of their race, colour or religion."

He believes the time has arrived to



Mr Jack Heeger — "should include every citizen".

extend the municipal franchise in urban areas to all citizens, including black people, as the Government has also recently extended freehold rights to residents in Cape Town's black urban areas.

"It must be remembered that residents in Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga, New Crossroads and Khayelitsha have as much right to the municipal franchise as anybody else," he said.

Mr Gulzar Khan, an insurance consultant who represented District Six ratepayers on the council for more than eight years, said: "It should be kept in



Mr Norman Daniels — "denial of a right".

mind that we were not defeated in an election and but that a stroke of a pen removed us from the council 13 years ago.

"The people's birthright was taken away and should be reinstated. There is no separate citizenship in one country, so why separate people on a basis of colour?"

"There is no economic sense in creating separate local authorities and rights for all is still the issue."

Mr Heeger, a city councillor for 10 years, said management committees

were poor substitutes

for direct representation. Direct representation would be meaningful once the franchise had been broken down into direct representation for every citizen.

Mr Heeger's service as a councillor was "challenging" as he represented Ward 17 stretching from the City to the Cape Flats, including the areas of James, Maitland

## Never

"I was never defeated but was removed by Government action on the colour of my skin."

Mr Heeger, a former secretary of the South African Workers' Union, is the secretary of the South African Workers' Union, the Chemical and Allied Industries Union.

"I have made a contribution in many fields and in various ways."

Mr Dawood Khan, who represented ratepayers in Maitland and Kenilworth, said: "It is certain to be a major issue in municipal affairs."

He rejected a Government proposal that the move had been a source of friction among racial groups.

Mr Khan said he had been elected on one local authority

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

ARGUS 20/5/85 (263)

# all to have non-racial council for city

by SHARKEY ISAACS  
Staff Reporter

have been made for the reinstatement of the municipal franchise and extension to all urban citizens. A recent decree removed "non-racial" common municipal voters' areas and unseated six city councillors 15 years

ago — Mr Norman Daniels, Mr Gulzar Khan, Mr Jack Heeger, Mr Doman and Mr H J M — walked out of the last City Council meeting two years ago on August 31 1972.

The councillors — Mr Daniels, Mr Khan, Mr Heeger, and Mr Han — have now called for an end to the substitute advisory committees and have demanded extension of the municipal franchise to all urban citizens.



Mr Gulzar Khan — "there is no dignity".

He said the taking away of the municipal franchise was a denial of a right which had been enjoyed for more than 100 years by District Six residents.

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Mr Norman Daniels — "denial of a right".

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"The people's birthright was taken away and should be reinstated. There is no separate citizenship in one country, so why separate people on a basis of colour?"

"There is no economic sense in creating separate local authorities and rights for all is still the issue."

Mr Heeger, a city councillor for 10 years, said management committees

were poor substitutes for direct representation.

"Direct representation can only be meaningful once the apartheid structure has been broken down and we will never want direct representation until it includes every citizen," he said.

His service as a councillor was "very challenging" as he represented all races in Ward 17 stretching from Retreat to Clovelly, including the areas of Kalk Bay, St James, Muizenberg and Strand-

## Never defeated

"I was never defeated in an election but was removed from office when the Government defaulted me through the colour of my skin," he said.

Mr Heeger, a full-time trade unionist is the secretary of the Western Province Sweet Workers' Union, South African Canvas and Rope Workers' Union, and the Chemical and Allied Workers' Union.

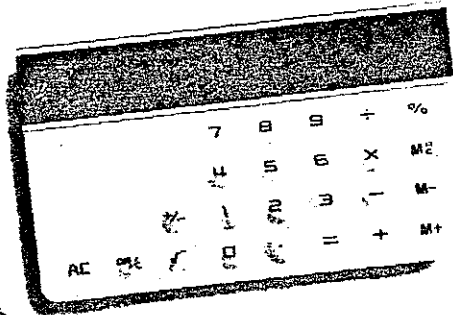
"I have made a contribution to society in many fields and still serve the people in various ways."

Mr Dawood Khan, a businessman, who represented ratepayers in the areas of Maitland and Kensington, said he was certain no friction would occur when all citizens, including blacks, discussed municipal affairs.

He rejected a Government claim that the move had been introduced to avoid friction among race groups.

Mr Khan said he believed all citizens, including blacks, should serve together on one local authority.

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FOURTY FOUR AND JOHN NESBERG, 1985

**Mandela  
claims  
rejected**

By SELLO  
RABOTHATA

THE South African Prisons Department yesterday rejected allegations of harassment against imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, as far fetched and figments of the imagination.

A spokesman for the department, Lieutenant-Colonel Danie Immelman, was reacting to a story which appeared in the Observer newspaper at the weekend. The story said Nelson Mandela is being victimised in prison for rejecting President P W Botha's offer of conditional release three months ago and he told this to his wife, Winnie.

**Treatment**

According to the report, Mandela claimed that he and the other ANC leaders imprisoned at Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison were being continually harassed in an indirect way and their lives have been made "very difficult." This, they claimed has been happening since they refused the President's offer telling the South African leaders they would not accept conditions until their people were free of apartheid.

Leitenant-Colonel Immelman said Mandela's treatment did not differ from any other prisoner's in the same category (namely the A-category). The prison services treatment policy is a policy of long standing. He also dismissed claims by Mrs Mandela that she and her daughter, Zinzi, were subjected to body searches on their two visits there recently, saying they were not treated differently from visitors to other prisoners

*Sowdan 21/5/85*



# ANC may attack soft targets

THE AFRICAN National Congress could soon start attacking "soft" civilian targets in South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange said yesterday.

*Sowetan*  
"We have information which shows that the ANC may attack civilian leaders as well as officers in the police and the military defence force," he said.

Mr le Grange said the ANC was not strong, but had been active in recent months, committing 30 to 40 acts of sabotage since January.

"We know that the leader of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, has instructed his people also to go for certain soft targets," the Minister said.

The ANC has been banned since 1960.

Mr le Grange reaffirmed the Government's belief that the ANC, the banned South African Communist Party and the internal United Democratic Front were behind the rioting in black townships in which more than 400 people have died during the past 15 months.

Most victims have been shot dead by police.

*2/5/85*  
He conceded that the problem of black political rights was also a factor. "One of the reasons for the recent unrest flows from black political frustrations," he said.

Calls from opposition groups for Mr le Grange's resignation redoubled after police shot dead at least 20 blacks at Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape on March 21, but he remains un-

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*Sowetan*  
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*UJA*  
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*28/11*  
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Calls from opposition groups for Mr le Grange's resignation redoubled after police shot dead at least 20 blacks at Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape on March 21, but he remains unrepentant about police tactics, saying the police must contain the "revolutionary climate" in South Africa — Sapa.

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# Call for more ANC support

LONDON — Zimbabwe information minister Nathan Shamuyarira yesterday called on the international community to support the African

national Congress and the armed struggle against apartheid." <sup>SOWETAN 21/5/85</sup>

He told high commissioners and senior officials of 49 Commonwealth countries: "The revolution is in the making in that country."

Mr Shamuyarira accused South Africa of waging a war against Zimbabwe on the radio waves. He mentioned Radio Truth, Radio Venda "and other clandestine radio stations

operating inside South Africa" aimed at creating disaffection in South Africa's neighbouring countries, distorting and slanting the news about Africa.

In addition, a propaganda war was being waged through The Mail with thousands of letters posted in South Africa.

And he accused South Africa of infiltrating armed groups, arms supplies and funds to dissident Zimbabwe groups

in advance of the coming Zimbabwe elections.

Speaking at the opening of a Commonwealth secretariat media workshop on countering "Apartheid Propaganda", Mr Shamuyarira said Zimbabwe would be launching an external Zimbabwe radio service next year, to be run by the South African liberation movements.

Zimbabwe would be willing to join with other Commonwealth coun-

tries in launching the station, and he appealed for Commonwealth funds to support it.

Sir Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth secretary general, and Mr Donald Treford, editor of the London Observer, told delegates that South Africa was spending millions of rands on an international propaganda campaign to win time for the Pretoria administration and support for its

policies.

Sir Shridath said the campaign projected South Africa as an oasis in a continent of squalor, and as a bastion of the West. The overseas media was being used to project the new constitution and other adjustments in the apartheid policy as advances, when, he said, they were designed to perpetuate the civil inferiority of the Republic's black and coloured peoples.



Mr OLIVER TAMBO... Zimbabwe Minister has pledged support for his organisation the ANC.

# Bill fails to impress



Dr NTHATO MOTLANA  
... too little too late.

By ALI MPHAKI

Sowetan

21/5/85

A BILL which gives greater freedom of movement to blacks with, or in the process of qualifying for Section 10 rights, was introduced in Parliament yesterday.

In terms of the proposed Bill, blacks will be able to legally follow their employers or employment opportunities and move to any prescribed black township in South Africa without losing Section 10 rights.

This will also apply to a black still in the process of qualifying without loss of qualifying years.

A spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development said that blacks would now be able to qualify for Section 10 rights in 10 years if he worked continuously for a single employer in any number of the prescribed urban areas in "white" South Africa.

Or within 15 years if he continuously worked in any number of these areas without breaking service by returning to his homeland for employment.

But black leaders and organisations said they were not impressed with the proposals to amend the laws on Co-operation and Development

Bill which governs influx control laws.

Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, said: "It is too late in the day for the Government to tamper with the influx control laws. This is the kind of action that will satisfy nobody."

"We urge the Government to move boldly forward to abolish forthwith the pass laws and the Group Areas Act so as to give blacks the kind of freedom of movement that is given to other citizens whose colour is not black."

## Abolish

A United Democratic Front spokesman in Johannesburg said: "The Bill is nothing new. It is an old divide and rule tactic of the Government.

"We insist that black people are one and that there is no urban or rural black person and that no one should be limited in his/her movements in the country."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, director of the Black Sash, said that the Government should abolish the whole influx control laws instead of playing

around with provisions of such laws.

"If the Government is to give any measure of freedom of movement to urban blacks then they should abolish totally these laws which restrict the freedom of movement to both blacks and whites in this country."



POLICE WATCHING spectators chanting freedom songs as they leave the Rand Supreme Court building yesterday. They had attended the treason trial of three men who were convicted after pleading guilty.

FIG. ROBERT MAGWAZA

# 'ANC men' found guilty

By NKOPANE  
MAKOBANE

A SELF-CONFESSED African National Congress member and two East Rand men were yesterday convicted in the Rand Supreme Court after they pleaded guilty to high treason.

They are Marines Jabu Ngobese (21), address not given, Meriman Xolani Nduma (24), of Daveyton, and

Mvula Zane Mapela (25), also of Daveyton.

The three men were originally charged with 11 others whose cases were yesterday postponed to later this year by Mr Justice L le Grange.

After the men had entered their pleas, Mr D Kuny, SC, for the three, handed in statements to the court in which the three made certain admissions.

They admitted that between July 1982 and June 1984 (in the case of Ngobese) and March 1984 and June 1984 (in the case of Nduna and Mapela) they unlawfully intended to, among other things:

- Overthrow or endanger the State authority in the Republic and/or achieve, bring about or promote any constitutional, political, social, industrial or econ-

omic aim or change in the Republic.

Ngobese also admitted that he was, at all relevant times, a member of the ANC and associated himself with its aims to promote hostile and treasonable intent against the country.

Both Nduna and Mapela denied that they were ever members of the ANC and said they only associated them-

selves with its aims and objectives.

There was drama both inside the courtroom and outside the court building when friends, relatives and spectators started singing freedom songs while raising clenched fists. Security was tight and police only allowed a certain number of people to enter the courtroom.

(Proceeding)

119 Sowetan 21/5/85

# Drama at UDF trial

11A



Sowetan 2/1/85

**THERE** were scenes of drama at the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday as chanting mobs of people converged on the College Road Supreme Court building for the treason trial of 16 United Democratic Front activists.

The case was remanded to July 11 and the 16 are out on bail.

Hundreds of blacks, some wearing green, gold and black scarves, chanted freedom songs at the entrance to the

court, which was heavily guarded by police.

College Road was practically shut off by hoards of spectators who ran up and down the road blocking traffic.

Before the court are: Mr Mawalan Ramgobin (52), Mr Chanderdo Sewpershad (43), Mr Moorogih Jayahajapathy Naidoo (53), Dr Essop Essack Jassat (52), Dr Dundubela Aubrey Mokoena (52), Mr Ephraim Curtis Mkondo

(56), Mr Archibald Joseph Gumede (70), Mr Devadas Paul David (40), Mrs Albertina Sisulu (66), the Rev Frank Chikane (34), Mr Cassim Saloojee (49), Professor Ismail Mohammed (54), and four members of the South African Allied Worker's Union, Mr Sisa Njikaleni (29), Mr Sam Kikine (36), Mr Isaac Ngcobo (36) and the national chairman Mr Thozinale Gqweta.

After the court adjourned about 300 people continued chanting and singing in College Road outside court.

Police arrested about seven people who were demonstrating and singing outside the court. The arrests were made with the help of police dogs and the people were loaded in a large van and driven off. They had been protesting 30 metres from the one corner of the court building and they were outside the security fence. The arrests silenced the crowd standing outside the court.

# ANC <sup>11A</sup> attacks Woods' media study

By JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The African National Congress has launched a thinly-veiled attack on exiled South African editor Donald Woods — the key figure in a Commonwealth symposium on countering "apartheid propaganda" which began yesterday.

The ANC and Woods are at odds over the Woods study — a 30-page booklet on South African propaganda, accepted by the steering body of the 48-nation Commonwealth as its working document for the three-day workshop.

The ANC has presented its own document which contradicts the study in several respects.

The ANC chiefly hits out at the "racism" of Western media which selects "liberal whites" to interpret developments in South Africa.

The ANC urges the Commonwealth to allow those committed to the liberation struggle to "speak for themselves".

The ANC document dismisses as an "incorrect assumption" Woods' contention that the major part of Pretoria's propaganda is directed towards Britain and the United States on the basis that they are the only countries exercising their veto against sanctions in the UN Security Council.

The ANC said that the Muldergate scandal revealed Western Europe as a major target area, while the propaganda offensive in Africa had grown enormously.

Both documents acknowledge Pretoria's new style of propaganda as "sophisticated soft-sell", giving as examples the appointment of the impressive Dr Denis Worrall as ambassador in London the more subtle approach of the South Africa Foundation.

● Sixty-odd invited workshop participants include Commonwealth High Commissioners, representatives from the churches, the ANC and Swapo, journalists, and United Nations experts.

CAP- Times 21/5/85  
Three ~~men~~ <sup>(11A)</sup>  
convicted  
of treason

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An African National Congress member who underwent military training in Angola and two of his helpers were convicted of high treason in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday after pleading guilty.

The men are Marines Jabu Ngobese, 21, Meriman Mordecai Xolani Nduna, 24, and Zane Mvula Mapela, 25.

Ngobese left the country in 1980 and after his military training returned in 1982 to store weapons and explosives in Soweto, Daveyton and Vosloorus.

The trial of eleven Sowetan men, also facing charges of high treason for ANC-related activities, has been separated into three trials and postponed to days in August, September and October.



ARGUS 21/5/85



## Car saved me from death — Azapo man

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — An Azapo leader who claims he faced death by burning says a passing car saved his life.

He claims he was kidnapped by UDF supporters in continuing violent clashes between the rival groups.

Mr Mbulezi Dukumbana, chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of Azapo, said he was

forced into a van by youths wearing UDF shirts after a weekend prayer service of the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Association.

### UDF DENIAL

"They took me to a deserted area, put a tyre around my neck and said they were waiting for another youth who'd gone to fetch petrol before I was to be killed."

But a car approached and the youths panicked, said Mr Dukumbana. The attackers ran away and he escaped.

The UDF has denied Mr Dukumbana's allegation, saying while there had been a fracas between UDF and Azapo members at the service, it was believed Mr Dukumbana escaped during the confusion.

# Judge orders UDF to show restraint

11A ~~21/5/85~~

D-Dispatch 21/5/85

## Dispatch Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG — The Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, ordered the United Democratic Front and its sympathisers yesterday "to show similar restraint" as the government in not commenting outside the courtroom about a treason trial over which he is presiding.

He criticised reports in "some Natal newspapers" in which Mrs Edith Gumede, wife of one of

the treason trialists, Mr Archie Gumede, Dr Jerry Coovadia and Mr Billy Nair were quoted when they addressed 1 000 people at a UDF meeting held in the city at the weekend.

"I will not press charges as I doubt whether people were aware of being in contempt of court and I must ask friends and sympathisers of the accused to refrain from such public statements .

"Three weeks ago I had occasion to send a

telegram to the government as some people had not been aware that the indictment had been served and proceedings had technically started.

"Since then they have observed this and I hope the UDF and its sympathisers will show a similar restraint," Judge Milne said.

He read out extracts from one of the reports to a packed court and asked Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, for the defence, to confirm that the bail conditions that

one of the speakers had reportedly criticised, had in fact been tendered by his clients themselves.

Mr Justice Milne also criticised other reported comments by speakers at the meeting as "prejudging the issues which the court must decide".

He said such comments could constitute contempt of court as the "impartiality" of the court could be influenced if there was a "raging public debate" about the trial.

# Kwazulu agenda is totally open — Botha

**Political Staff**

THE agenda for negotiations between Natal and Kwazulu was totally open. President P W Botha said in reaction today to growing speculation on the future of the region.

President Botha did not expand on this remark.

The announcement and the growing speculation over the future of Kwazulu and Natal has sparked calls for the Government to give more details of its plans and to clear up the confusion.

The latest developments follow

reports which started last year with the instruction given by President Botha that senior Cabinet members should look at the Buthelezi Commission report which recommended a jointly-governed Natal and Kwazulu.

The Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, said Mr Botha's statement was "interesting". However, not only should there be an open agenda but there should be open discussions and negotiations, he said.

Mr Derrick Watterson, the Natal leader of the New Republic

Party, which controls the Natal Provincial council, said it was no good just saying there was an open agenda.

"The Government must put its cards on the table. It must give its bottom line, direction and objective.

"I agree with Chief Buthelezi when he says he doesn't mind getting on a train if knows the destination. This is what applies here."

The leader of Solidarity, Dr J N Reddy, welcomed the Government's consideration of the Buthelezi report but said the secrecy was unnecessary.

## Woman, children missing after attack

**Argus Africa News Service**

JOHANNESBURG. — A Mozambique mother and three of her children are missing after an ambush near the South African-Mozambique border last week, only hours after the woman had collected the children from their boarding schools in Nelspruit.

It is not known if Mrs Celeste de Lemos and her children, Rui, 11, George, 13, Claudia, 9, and Monica, 7, were taken captive or killed in the attack.

her home in Maputo to Nelspruit that morning with a Mr Martins.

They collected the children and a schoolfriend, Carla Fernandes, from their schools. Mrs de Lemos took her two sons and Carla in her car while the other children travelled with Mr Martins in another vehicle.

Soon after passing the border post, Mrs de Lemos's vehicle came under fire.

Mr Martins, who was travelling behind, escaped and brought Claudia

## Dutch warship resurfaces after 150 years

**Argus Bureau**

PORT ELIZABETH. — A ship that sank off here more than 150 years ago has just resurfaced on one of the city's northern beaches.

A combination of high tides and heavy seas has uncovered the remains of the Dutch man o' war Amsterdam, which

THE  
MASTERPIECE

11A

D. Disputch

21/5/85

# Azapo man abducted at meeting

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Three youths were injured and the regional chairman of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation was abducted in Zwide at the weekend, minutes after a prayer meeting called to mark a truce between feuding supporters of United Democratic Front affiliates and members of Azapo.

Mr Mbuzeli Dukumbana, chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of Azapo, was allegedly abducted after a clash which followed a prayer meeting, of the International Ministers Association (Idamasa), held at Dan Qeqe stadium in Zwide.

Mr Eric Makhasi, 18, and Mr Nelson Juri were injured in the confrontation and admitted to Livingstone Hospital.

The Rev Ebenzer Maqina, an Azapo member who has been at the centre of the feud, said the weekend violence occurred after UDF members attempted to set fire to an Azapo vehicle.

He said that as the national chairman of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mhabela, and other members sped off in a panel van, their vehicle

was stoned and four youths were dragged off the back by an angry mob.

The youths were attacked with knives and stones and dragged behind a filling station where they were rescued by other Azapo members, Mr Maqina added.

Before the clash a group of youths, wearing UDF T-shirts, closed the gate of the stadium, shouting that the day had come to eliminate Mr Maqina and Azapo executive members who attended the service.

Mr Dan Qeqe, a businessman and sports administrator, was called to stop them, eye-witnesses said.

Mr Mzwandile Mcoseli, an Azapo member who was in the vehicle stoned after the service, said he had jumped off the panel van and scaled the fences of three houses as he fled the crowd.

Mr Maqina said members of Idamasa and UDF leaders had been asked to launch a search for Mr Dukumbana.

He also claimed that attacks on Azapo members had intensified rather than decreased since the truce.

# Ex-ANC leader wanted for theft

*D. Diphetlo*  
*2/5/85*

GABORONE — A warrant of arrest was issued yesterday for a legal practitioner, Mr Joseph Matthews, 55, when he failed to appear in court here on theft charges.

Mr Matthews, the former ANC chief representative in London and editor of Sechaba, the organ of the ANC, is accused of stealing R116 000 entrusted to him in his capacity as an attorney.

He is also charged with the theft of about R3 000 that was entrusted to him for transfer to a firm of attorneys.

The former ANC leader came into the limelight in 1956 when he was among 156 people charged with high treason. The trial lasted for over a year. Among those charged with him were Nelson Mandela and the late Chief Albert Luthuli.

Mr Matthew left South Africa in 1961 for Lesotho. He later moved to London where he became the chief representative for the ANC and the editor of Sechaba.

The late President of Botswana offered him a job as the country's Attorney-General and he became a citizen of Botswana later.

Subsequently he retired from civil service to go into private practice. — Sapa

# Botswana to arrest former ANC leader

MM 2/15/85

GABORONE — A warrant of arrest was issued yesterday for a well-known Botswana legal practitioner, Mr Joseph Matthews, 55, when he failed to appear on theft charges before Gaborone's Chief Magistrate, Mr R F Hunt.

Mr Matthews, former ANC chief representative in London, and editor of Sechaba, organ of the ANC, is accused of stealing R116 000 entrusted to him in his capacity as an attorney by Minchin and Keely, a firm of attorneys, which was to be transmitted to Mr Derrek Brink, a millionaire farmer of Botswana.

Mr Matthews is also charged on a second count of the theft of about R3 000 entrusted to him by a Mr Gilbert Ramokwena.

## Deported

The former ANC leader in South Africa came into the limelight in 1956 when he was one of the 156 ANC members charged with high treason. The trial lasted for more than a year.

Among those charged with him were Nelson Mandela, the late Chief Albert Luthuli and his late father, Prof Zak Matthews, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare.

Mr Matthews left South Africa in 1961 for Lesotho, where he set up his law practice, but was deported five years later by the then new leader of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Johnathan. He then moved to London where he became the chief re-

presentative for the ANC.

In 1970 he came to Botswana to bury his father who had died in New York where he was representing Botswana as the first Botswanan ambassador to the United Nations.

The late President of Botswana offered Mr Matthews a job in Botswana as the Attorney-General and he became a citizen of Botswana later.

Subsequently he retired from civil service to go into private practice.

— (Sapa)

# Challenge to Dookie over election promises

N.M.

21/5/85

(117) ~~117~~ ~~117~~

## Mercury Reporter

THE Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture in the House of Delegates, Mr Baldeo Dookie, was yesterday challenged to address voters in his constituency in Greenwood Park over three issues facing the community.

Mr Thumba Pillay, chairman of the Greenwood Park area committee of the Natal Indian Congress, who issued the challenge, said yesterday the residents were particularly interested in promises made by Mr Dookie during the parliamentary elections.

'Mr Dookie promised to consult the community on the future development of Cato Manor, but instead went ahead with plans for the area without consulting the community.

'We would like to know Mr Dookie's department policy on group area removals, particularly in the light of recent attempts by his department to uproot black families from St Wendolin's.

'During the parliamentary elections Mr Dookie made promises to voters about increased employment opportunities, providing housing at afford-

able prices, lowering General Sales Tax and improved standard of living for the Indian community.

'We believe that Mr Dookie is answerable to the community and therefore challenge him to explain his activities since his election to the House of Delegates.'

Mr Pillay said Mr Dookie had been given an assurance of his safety and a fair hearing if he accepted the challenge.

Mr Dookie could not be contacted for comment in Cape Town yesterday.

# ANC man and two helpers convicted of high treason

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—An ANC member who underwent military training in Angola and two of his helpers were convicted of high treason in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday after pleading guilty. They will be sentenced later.

Strict security measures and the presence of numerous armed policemen accompanied the court appearance of Marines Jabu Ngobese, 21, Meriman Mordecai Xolani Nduna, 24, and Zane Mvula Mapela, 25 who appeared before Mr Justice le Grange.

A crowd of relatives and friends danced and sang outside court at the end of the day's proceedings.

Ngobese left the country in 1980 and after his military training returned to South Africa in 1982 to store weapons in Soweto, Daveyton and Vosloorus. Plastic

explosives, limpet mines, AK rifles, magazines, TNT and personnel mines were some of the weapons hidden.

Nduna admitted having accommodated Ngobese and another ANC member, 'Maxwell', on several occasions between April and June 1984.

He also admitted having dug up a store of weapons from the veld near his Daveyton home and reburied them in his front garden.

Mapela admitted having assisted Nduna in this task at the latter's request and to having concealed two automatic rifles for 'Maxwell'. Both he and Nduna denied ever having been members of the ANC.

The three trials of eleven Sowetan men, also facing charges of high treason for ANC related activities, have been separated and were postponed to days in August, September and October.

## Matron appointed

African Affairs Reporter

## Robbery remand

Court Reporter



# Sympathisers told 'to show restraint'

Pietermaritzburg  
Bureau

THE Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, ordered the United Democratic Front and its sympathisers yesterday 'to show similar restraint' as had the Government in not commenting outside the courtroom about a treason trial over which he is presiding.

Mr Justice Milne said this during the trial of 16 leaders from the United Democratic Front, Natal Indian Congress and the South African Allied Workers' Union being held in Pietermaritzburg.

He criticised reports in 'some Natal newspapers' yesterday in which Mrs Edith Gumede, the wife of trialist Mr Archie Gumede, Dr Jerry

Coovadia and Mr Billy Nair had been quoted when they addressed 1 000 people at a UDF meeting held in the city at the weekend.

'I will not press charges as I doubt people were aware of being in contempt of court and I must ask friends and sympathisers of the accused to refrain from such public statements.'

## Similar restraint

'Three weeks ago I had occasion to send a telegram to the Government as some people had not been aware that the indictment had been served and proceedings had technically started.'

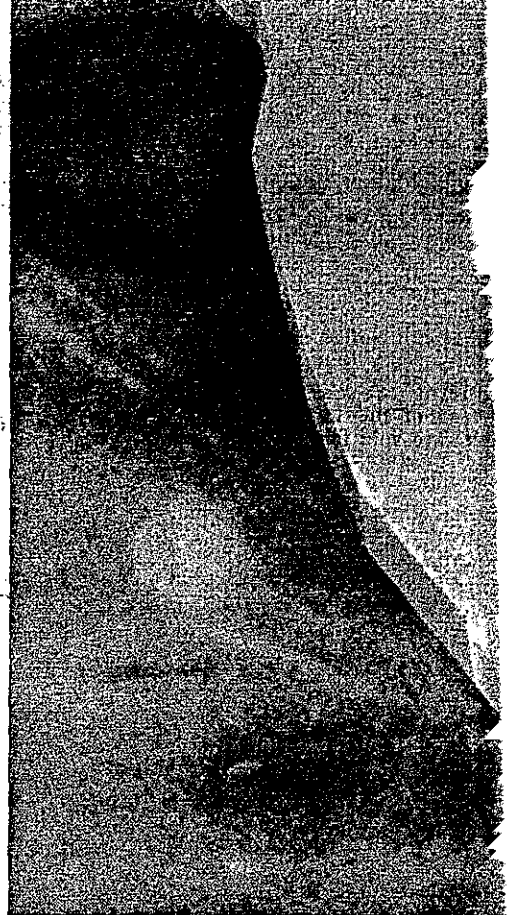
'Since then they have observed this and I hope the UDF and its sympath-

isers will show a similar restraint,' Judge Milne said.

He read out extracts from one of the reports to a packed court and asked Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, for the defence, to confirm that the bail conditions, which one of the speakers had reportedly criticised, had in fact been tendered by his clients themselves.

Mr Justice Milne also criticised other reported comments by speakers at the meeting as 'prejudging the issues which the Court must decide'.

He said such comments could constitute a contempt of court as the 'impartiality' of the Court could be influenced if there were a 'raging public debate' about the trial.



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Cape Times 21/5/85 (11A) ~~21~~

## 'Ball in UDF court' — Azapo

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) says the peace between them and the United Democratic Front (UDF) depends on the UDF disciplining its members who reportedly attacked Azapo officials in Port Elizabeth on Sunday.

Mr Thabo Sehume, Azapo's national organizer, said the ball was now in the UDF's court, and Azapo was waiting to see whether the UDF would honour the agreement

between the two groups.

The reported attack, which left one person seriously injured, took place within minutes of a prayer meeting at Zwide, Port Elizabeth, to mark a truce between the two organizations after three weeks of conflict and a week-long truce in the Eastern Cape.

There has also been serious conflict between

the two groups in the Transvaal.

The PE meeting coincided with a similar gathering at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto on Sunday where representatives of the UDF, Azapo and Inkatha met in a bid to reconcile the differing black groups.

Mr Sehume said it was their policy to see unity among all black groups in the "liberation struggle"

and they were still committed to building peace with the UDF.

"We find it regrettable that incidents such as those in Port Elizabeth are still happening despite calls from Azapo and the UDF to encourage discipline," he said.

"We hope peace will obtain. For obvious reasons, if we're at each other's throats we can't

concentrate on the main struggle, which is against the system. Differences in ideology don't preclude peace."

The UDF yesterday welcomed Azapo's willingness to "take practical steps to resolve tensions", but declined to comment on the clash in PE. Mr Sidney Mafumadi, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, said that for

the UDF to respond to the matter through the newspapers would be "grossly irresponsible and would play into the hands of the oppressors".

He said the UDF was still awaiting an official response to an open letter sent on May 6 to Azapo calling for an end to the escalating conflict between the two groups.

"We believe matters like this should be settled responsibly among those concerned," he said.

# Court told of ANC attacks

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

ATTACKS by the African National Congress in recent years were yesterday recalled in the Rand Supreme Court in the trial of three men convicted of high treason on Monday after they had pleaded guilty. 22/5/85 Sowetan

The men are Marines Jabu Ngobese (21), a self-confessed ANC member, Meriman Xelani Nduna (24) and Zanemvula Mapela (25) both of Daveyton, Benoni. They are appearing before Mr Justice L. le Grange.

Giving evidence on the origins, history and operations of the ANC, Colonel J H Buchner of the Security Police said for the past seven years he has done research on the activities of ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which are outlawed in South Africa.

He said since 1976, there has been 289 attacks by the ANC in which 67 people were killed. The victims included two people who assisted in the Pretoria car bomb blast on May 20, 1983 where 19 people were killed. This figure, he said, excluded ANC people in the incidents.

He also told the court that the aims and objects of the ANC had not changed since "Operation Mayibuye" was drawn up in June 1963. It wanted to overthrow the white South African Government through violent means. (Proceeding).



THE R120-MILLION Protea North Housing Project was officially opened with pomp and ceremony in Soweto yesterday. Some of the dignitaries at the party were (from left), Mr Matthew Nell of the Family Housing Association, Katlehong mayor Mr Thami Siluma, Daveyton mayor Mr Tom Boya, Carel Venter, vice-chairman of the West Rand Development, Soweto mayor Mr Edward Kunene and the Urban Foundation's Mr Justice Steyn.

## 'Azapo man escapes UDF attack'

THE chairman of the Eastern Cape region of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Mbuzeli Dukumbana, escaped being burnt to death by men wearing United Democratic Front organisation T-shirts on Sunday when a car appeared and shone its lights on the scene. He was just a second away from being set alight.

According to the central committee of Azapo, Mr Dukumbana

was abducted on Sunday and taken to an area known as Red House, in Port Elizabeth. IIA

"Two tyres doused with petrol were put around his neck and feet. An approaching vehicle shone its lights and his UDF prospective murderers fled," a statement released by Azapo claims.

However, a UDF spokesman yesterday said not everybody who is wearing a UDF T-

shirt is a member of that organisation.

*Sowetan*  
Azapo made the allegations at a Press conference at their head offices in Johannesburg yesterday in the wake of the uneasy truce between itself and the UDF.

A spokesman of the UDF, Mr Murphison Morobe, said he had not yet received the statement released by Azapo at the Press conference and his organisation

would respond as soon as it had gone through it. 22/5/85

Azapo on Sunday called on the UDF to address its followers in areas where there have been friction — often leading to deaths — between members of the groups.

Azapo told the newsmen at the conference that despite having been placed in an envidious position "of having to

To Page 2

# Attack

From Page 1

share a platform with Inkatha, Azapo's reconciliatory sign of state-manship and honest commitment to peace dictated that we participate."

Azapo said the violence in the Eastern Cape is an insult to the efforts of the clergy and all the thousands who gathered in good faith in support of the peace initiative and the restoration of harmony in our strife torn community.

11A

Secret

22/5/85

By CHRIS RENNIE

# We don't hold Hashe — SAP

AN urgent application was made to the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court today asking that the Divisional Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order be instructed to produce Mr Siphon Samuel Hashe, general secretary of the PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), to the court.

The application also asked for a rule nisi calling on them to show why Mr Hashe should not be released from custody at once.

The application was opposed by the police and the Minister. The Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier C A Swart, stated that Mr Hashe had not been arrested and was not being held by the police.

The application was brought by Mr Hashe's daughter, Phumeza, and his son, Vusumzi.

In her affidavit Miss Hashe said her father and the president of Pebco, Mr Godolozzi, and a Mr Galela Champion left home on May 8 to meet somebody at the airport. They had not been seen since.

She said she herself had been held in solitary con-

finement by the security branch for 11 months until April this year.

During her detention various members of the security branch had told her that her father was causing unrest in the Eastern Cape and would get into trouble.

She was told of her father's arrest by her mother, Mrs Elizabeth Hashe, as she was in Johannesburg at the time. She said her mother had gone to various police stations looking for him.

The next day several people gathered at her home. While they were there, two shots were fired outside the house. Two policemen named Thungata and Vuma entered the house, but seeing the

crowd, left again.

Teargas was fired into the house and the people ran out to find it surrounded by police. People were assaulted and the house and furniture damaged. Money and liquor was taken.

Her brothers, Vusumzi and Malixoli, and her mother escaped. Malixoli was arrested later that night and her mother was arrested the next day.

Some time later, a woman called Mimi told Vusumzi she had overheard the policeman Vuma say in a shebeen that the police had gone to the house to kill Mrs Hashe and Vusumzi.

Mrs Virginia Mimi Kaleni said in a statement that she had not overheard Mr Vuma in a shebeen but

had been told of the conversation by another woman.

Brigadier Swart stated that as soon as he was notified of the application he contacted his five district commandants, the head of murder and robbery and the head of the security branch. He received certificates from all of them saying Mr Hashe had not been arrested and was not being detained in the Eastern Cape.

Lieutenant Colonel H Snyman, officer commanding the security police, said detention was not the only possible explanation for Mr Hashe's disappearance. Pebco was affiliated to the United Democratic Front, which the security police re-

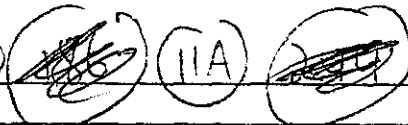
garded as an extension of the ANC.

On the other hand the Azanian Peoples' Organisation was at loggerheads with the UDF. There was a definite possibility if not a probability that Mr Hashe had been a victim of this feud.

When the matter came before court today Mr Loxton said he had found what might be new evidence concerning the disappearance of Mr Hashe. His attorney was trying to get an affidavit from a man in North End jail. He asked that the case stand down.

Mr C Mouton, for the police and the Minister, did not oppose the request.

Mr Justice Zietsman stood the matter down until later this afternoon.



# Meeting in bid to end bread boycott

A MEETING between the Port Elizabeth Master Bakers' Association and the executive of the East Cape African Chamber of Commerce got under way in PE this afternoon.

It is aimed at ending the four-day old African traders' bread boycott.

But it now seems

likely another bread boycott — by traders in the city's northern areas — is possible.

The chairman of the Eastern Province Traders' Association, Mr Ebrahim Soomar, said it was "unfair" that the ECTA had not been invited to the discussions.

As early as January

the ECTA had notified the MBA of their complaints.

Mr Soomar said canvassing of traders had shown overwhelming support for a boycott in protest at the alleged provision of stale bread to black traders and the use of unhygienic vans.

He added that the basic cause of the state of

the bread industry, was a "cartel" system which had arisen since mid-1984 after the allocation by the Wheat Board of certain areas for certain bakeries.

The policy had been a "total failure" and had resulted in the loss of competition vital to the retention of good quality, because each bakery

was certain of its quota.

He added that there was strong evidence of black traders having bread delivered later than white traders they competed with in the Hankey/Patensie area.

He said it was unfortunate that it took a boycott before the MBA would agree to discuss the issue with traders.

# Labour call for federal

SA

CAPC Times  
22/10/85

11A  
Political Staff

A NON-RACIAL geographic federal system should be considered as part of the development of South Africa's constitutional future, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

Reiterating the LP's policy on constitutional development, Mr Hendrickse also demanded the abolition of racism which was "concretized" in existing discriminatory laws.

He was speaking during the constitutional development budget vote in the House of Representatives.

The LP aimed at bringing about a social revolution leading to a "radical change" in society.

Mr Hendrickse criticized certain aspects of the Freedom Charter adopted by the banned African National Congress (ANC). It was a "myth" to believe that it could solve all the country's problems, he said.

The LP envisaged a federal structure similar to the Nigerian constitutional model which provided for the "upward representation" of participating states at the highest level of government, he explained.

## Minorities

The recent coup in Nigeria indicated only that it had not been properly implemented, he said.

A geographic federation would protect minorities.

Mr Hendrickse made a call for the appointment of a commission of experts from all race groups to investigate the possibilities of implementing such a system.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, in his reply did not respond to Mr Hendrickse's proposal.

However, he said that South Africa could not survive a "classical federation", adding that solutions satisfying the needs of all population groups should be jointly sought after.

11

Adequate

11/10

● Speculation about what the government might be considering for the political future of Natal increased yesterday following a report in the Nationalist press that the State President, Mr P W Botha, said the negotiating agenda was "wide open".

The Burger, Cape Nationalist mouthpiece, quoted him as saying this after reports said the government was considering a federal system for the province.

Members of the Opposition commented yesterday that if this was not at least "a consideration" it would have been knocked down by the President.



# ANC, Woods at odds over 'study'

CAPL-TWB 22/5/85

11A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The African National Congress has launched a thinly-veiled attack on exiled South African editor Mr Donald Woods — the key figure in a Commonwealth symposium on countering "apartheid propaganda" which began here this week.

The ANC and Mr Woods are at odds over the Woods Study — a 30-page booklet on South African propaganda which has been accepted by the steering body as the working document for its three-day media workshop.

The ANC has presented its own detailed analysis of South African propaganda which contradicts the Woods Study in several key respects.

The Commonwealth Secretariat has published 20 000 copies of the Woods Study entitled "Apartheid — the Propaganda and the Reality", which will be distributed to interested parties ahead of this year's Commonwealth summit.

The ANC study clashes

sharply with the Woods study on the "target areas" of South African propaganda. The ANC also hits out at the "racism" of the Western media which selects "liberal whites" to interpret developments in South Africa "in preference to the journalists who are committed to the liberation struggle".

The ANC urges the Commonwealth to allow an opportunity for "us to speak for ourselves".

The ANC's memorandum was drawn up following intense in-fighting during which the ANC opposed Mr Woods's recent appointment as special consultant to the Commonwealth Secretariat on South Africa.

The ANC also tried unsuccessfully to replace the Woods Study as the official word on South African propaganda.

The workshop has been called by the Commonwealth Secretariat after a decision taken at its summit in 1983 to launch a publishing effort to counter South African propaganda.

# Buthelezi flays cops

(11A) THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, launched a scathing attack on the South African Police yesterday, saying other countries managed to maintain law and order without killing and maiming people in the process. ~~23/5/85~~

Speaking in his capacity as KwaZulu Minister of Police, Chief Buthelezi said he wondered how many Britons would have been shot, maimed and killed if the SAP had been in charge of operations during the British coalminers strike. *South Africa*

"Mr Scargill was attempting to topple the British Government, and he was using strikes, demonstrations and violence to do so. *23/5/85*

"Yet the British Government did not find it necessary to kill, maim or injure people in the process of maintaining law and order," Chief Buthelezi said.

South Africa could not afford that kind of blundering, he said.

11A

# No end to PE bread boycott

E. Post 23/5/85  
Post Reporter

YESTERDAY's meeting between the Port Elizabeth Master Bakers' Association and the East Cape African Chamber of Commerce failed to end the bread boycott started by ECACOC on May 18.

The boycott was called after shopkeepers claimed that some bakeries delivered stale bread to black traders and that vans were dirty.

The secretary of the MBA, Mr Max Hoppe, said today the discussions had been "fruitful".

The president of ECACOC, Mr Monwabisi Mkaza, said the meeting was "constructive". The boycott remained in full swing, however.

There was agreement reached on some issues, he said, while on others they still disagreed.

May  
1985

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### SA refugee killed by car bomb

GABORONE. — A bomb blast yesterday blew a South African political refugee and a car to pieces here, police said.

No one else was seriously hurt by the blast, heard in a radius of several kilometres around the Botswana capital.

Reporters visiting the scene of the explosion, near a primary school mainly for children of expatriates, found mutilated remains of the victim.

Police declined to name the refugee, saying only that he lived in one of five flats near where the bomb exploded.

"It was an overkill," said Mr Paul Marathe, deputy head of the Criminal Investigation Division. — Sapa

BAG

... members ...

# I want non-racial SA — accused

~~NOTE~~ By NKOPANE MAKOBANE (11A)



LITTLE Mpho Mashigo of Rockville, Soweto, celebrating his first birthday on Sunday. Happy birthday, Mpho, and many more to come.

AN ACCUSED in the trial of three men convicted of high treason in the Rand Supreme Court told a judge yesterday that his wish was to see a South Africa whereby everyone was treated equally before the law and not by his colour.

~~NOTE~~ Sowetan 23/5/85

Merimon Xolani Nduna (24) of Daveyton, Benoni, who is a member of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union, was giving evidence in mitigation before Mr Justice L le Grange.

He and two of his co-accused, Marines Jabu Ngobese (21), a self-confessed ANC member and Zane Mvula Mapela (25) also of Daveyton, who is a member of the Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union, were found guilty after they pleaded guilty to treason on Monday.

He told the court that he did not like the manner in which people are being governed along racial lines in South Africa. He said he knew the ANC, from newspaper reports, as an organisation fighting for change and equal rights in South Africa, but he was opposed to the use of violence as a method to bring about change.

Earlier he told the court that he had been reluctant and nervous to help Ngobese and another ANC member, known to him as Maxwell, to bury weapons, ammunition and explosives in a veld next to his Daveyton home. He said he agreed to assist them after some persuasion and assurance that nothing would happen to him.  
(Proceeding).



OPTER  
E FOLLOW

Motshabi Morake, Miss Snela Nuele and Miss Nkapu Ranake.

# Tradesmen to link up with unions

THE time has come for black businessmen to create a workable structure of operation with trade unions and black political organisations, the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce (Soutacoc) resolved at its 15th annual general meeting held this week.

This move, although long overdue, was agreed upon by more than 200 delegates who attended the two-day conference held at a leading hotel in Johannesburg.

Delegates felt there was a "buffer zone" between them and other organisations, particularly those of a political nature, who it seems have not yet realised the role played by the black businessmen "in the struggle".

"There is no doubt that the black businessmen is playing a very important part in the struggle for the liberation of the black man in this country, and as soon as all other parties involved realise this, the better it will be for all of us," president of Soutacoc Mr Philip Ramakobya said.

'Stop assaulting dr'

11A Sowetan 23/5/85

# Plea for calm

**BISHOP Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, yesterday appealed to black leaders to help restore and maintain calm among their members while the peace initiatives are underway.**

Bishop Tutu was reacting to reports that further clashes between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) took place in the Eastern Cape shortly after the weekend's peace talks were held. Three Azapo members were admitted in a critical condition at the Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth.

Bishop Tutu said: "We are deeply distressed at reports of continuing conflict among black organisations. This indicates the urgency of the peace initiative by the church. The clergy are continuing their efforts of reconciliation and unity. The enemies of our liberation struggle are taking great delight in the current situation. We appeal to black leaders to help restore and maintain calm while the

**By SELLO RABOTHATA**

peace initiatives are underway."

The UDF has denied allegations that some of their supporters had abducted an Azapo member, Mr Mbuzeli Dukumbana, who had

two tyres doused with petrol and hung over his neck and feet in a bid to set him on fire. Mr Dukumbana, vice-chairman of the Eastern Cape region of Azapo, was allegedly saved by

the timely approach of a car which made his attackers flee.

Father Joe Seoka, Azapo's deputy president, said his organisation through UDF leaders were sincere in their efforts to restore peace, but had lost control of its members.

for the US MEMORIAL DAY 1985

# 'Deep concern' in UK

Cape Times 23/5/85

## over UDF detentions

11A  
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British Government has expressed "deep concern" about the detention without trial of three leaders of the United Democratic Front.

The protest concerned the detention since April 23 of Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Moss Chikane.

The message was conveyed on Tuesday by Mr John Johnson, Assistant Under-Secretary for Africa in the Foreign Office, to Mr Leo Evans, Minister at the South African Embassy.

Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Foreign Office Minister responsible for Africa, told the House of Com-

mons yesterday that he found it difficult to understand why the South African Government was detaining UDF leaders without trial.

Rejecting a Labour Party call during Foreign Affairs question time for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa, Mr Rifkind said: "There have been reforms in South Africa and we have welcomed them. But I do accept that if the South African Government is serious about initiating a policy of dialogue with black opinion it is difficult to understand why they are detaining leaders of the UDF without trial."



Cape Times 23/5/88

# Army moves into Duduza

JOHANNESBURG. — The army moved into trouble-torn Duduza township near Nigel as violence continued around the country yesterday.

Defence Force troops supported the police and Railways Police.

The action began at 4am, and early last night police and army units were still in the area, police said.

## Death confirmed

Meanwhile, police confirmed the death of a young man who they said became ill after being taken into custody. They said Mr Bheki Mvulane, 18, of Katlehong on the East Rand, died on March 29.

He was arrested on February 18 and appeared in court with eight other youths on February 21 on public violence charges. They were all remanded to March 7.

"On February 23, Mr Mvulane complained of feeling unwell and was admitted to Natalspruit Hospital where he died on March 29 at 10.45am," said a police statement.

Witnesses said Mr Mvulane was unconscious when taken to hospital.

According to reports made by his father to the Black Sash, the family became aware that something was amiss only when he failed to appear in court with the rest of the accused on March 7. Police said they were investigating the causes and circumstances of his death.

Two people were seriously injured early yesterday when a petrol bomb was flung through the window of a house in Grahamstown's township.

Miss Miseka Tonyela and Mr Christian Mbekela — both members of the local branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) — received burns when the bomb ignited.

## Critical

Miss Tonyela was severely burned and is in a critical condition. Mr Mbekela has burns on his feet and back.

Police said yesterday isolated stone-throwing occurred in Ratanda and Thembisa on the East Rand and in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle.

Two black youths had also been arrested and charged with the murder of a black man who was set alight in Ghaleshewe, Kimberley. — Sapa

# Attack 11A on ANC NM 24/5/85 in exile

## claims

African Affairs  
Correspondent

ULUNDI—Chief Buthelezi has attacked the mission in exile of the banned African National Congress for trying to 'capitalise on black anger they had not produced' in South Africa.

Delivering his policy speech as Minister of Economic Affairs in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said the ANC in exile was trying to 'capitalise on violence which they glorified but which was nothing more than frustrated black anger being dissipated in ghastly black-on-black confrontations'.

He quoted from a radio broadcast made by the ANC's mission in exile from Addis Ababa on May 6 this year.

Chief Buthelezi said the deepening economic crisis more than anything else was turning black South Africans to give vent to irresponsible violence.

'When blacks hack other blacks to death, when blacks burn blacks alive, when blacks raze the houses of blacks to the ground, and when blacks stone blacks, it is nothing short of criminal to claim these actions as noble actions in opposition to apartheid,' he said.

### 'Senseless'

'Every act of black killing black is a victory for apartheid.'

Chief Buthelezi said he had no doubt in his mind that the decades of democratic opposition to apartheid had not been in vain.

Every government since the Act of Union had attempted to subjugate black South Africa, but every government had failed.

He said those who encouraged senseless black violence to erupt in black communities did so at a time when black South Africans had reason as never before to have some hope that real gains were in the offing.

The Government's persistence in putting ideological motives first was costing the country dearly in economic terms.

Chief Buthelezi said it was partly because real economic development was so promising in respect of gains in political terms that those who clamoured for violent solutions shouted the loudest for disinvestment.

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# U S should ease pressure on S A, says chief

11A  
NM 24/5/85

African Affairs  
Correspondent

**ULUNDI**—The threat of American disinvestment had shaken South Africa and it was not in anybody's interest that the Americans now overplayed their hand.

This is the view of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also Minister of Economic Affairs of the region.

In his policy speech in this portfolio in the Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said blacks in South Africa were grateful for the increased pressure which had been the consequence of the American debate on disinvestment.

However, he pleaded with Americans to let the matter rest there so that blacks in this country could capitalise on whatever gains there may

have been.

Chief Buthelezi warned that the American debate on apartheid and on disinvestment as an appropriate retribution for apartheid needed to be taken far more seriously than the average South African recognised.

'I simply do not believe that white South Africa, and the National Party in particular, will respond positively to real economic pressures being brought to bear on this country,' Chief Buthelezi said.

## Survival

'White South Africa has got fat to live off and the world has repeatedly seen what can happen when governments turn economies into war economies and take the kind of war-time measures which the reality of a threat produces.'

He maintained that, in such a situation, white

survival would come first and those who were really working for the economic isolation of South Africa regarded blacks as expendable items in the political games which they played.

The Chief Minister said many people tried to hang the label round his neck of being a 'capitalist stooge' when he argued the case for continued investment.

There were some who accused him of siding with irresponsible capitalism in the terrible exploitation of black workers.

'This is a slanderous lie. I have always warned capitalism that exploitation spells out the doomsday message of free enterprise interests,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the KwaZulu Government was deeply concerned about the future of work-

ers and had always championed the cause of trade unionism.

He said he had already suggested to the KwaZulu Finance Corporation (KFC) that the time had come for the relevant authorities in the region to draft a code of employment practice for industrialists operating in KwaZulu.

## Mandatory

Chief Buthelezi said the KFC had established a committee under the chairmanship of Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, to undertake this task.

He said if the KwaZulu authorities could not make a code of conduct mandatory, then they should strive to make such a code binding on those employers and workers by their mutual consent.



## ANC REFUTES LE GRANGE

*Fm 24/5/85 (11A)*  
The African National Congress (ANC) denies that it is about to start attacking "soft" civilian targets, as Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange claimed this week.

Le Grange said government had information "which shows the ANC may ... attack civilian leaders, as well as officers ... in the police, military and defence forces." The ANC had staged between 30



and 40 acts of sabotage since January, the Minister said, and added that the ANC was not strong.

Speaking to the *FM* from Lusaka, an ANC information spokesman denied the group is, or was, engaged in terrorist activity aimed at civilians. However, the ANC is banned and may not be quoted.

# UK concerned about UDF 3

LONDON — The Thatcher Government confirmed in the House of Commons on Wednesday that it had expressed its concern to the South African Government over the continued detention without trial of three United Democratic Front leaders.

After a question was answered in Parliament by Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Minister of State at the Foreign Office and the Thatcher Government's expert on Africa, a Foreign Office spokesman said Mr Leo H Evans, the Minister at the South African Embassy here had been called to the Foreign Office on Tuesday.

There Mr John Johnson, Assistant Under-Secretary of State and the senior official in charge of African Affairs, "expressed our deep concern" over the detentions.

In the House of Commons, Mr Brian Sedgmore, Labour Party MP for Hackney South and

Shoreditch, asked the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Sir Geoffrey Howe, what representations he was making to the South African authorities over the detention orders under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act served on officials of the UDF.

Mr Rifkind replied: "We have consistently condemned the policy of detention without trial and we have made our position clear to the South African authorities on many occasions.

"We have expressed our concern over the recent detention of the UDF officials to the South African Government."

379 (117) SOWETO 24/5/85

# 'Parents must be consulted before schools' closure'

Soweto 24/5/85

11A [initials] [initials]

By **MONK NKOMO**

**THE Department of Education and Training should stop suspending classes or closing down schools without first consulting parents.**

This was one of the resolutions taken at a parents meeting in Mamelodi this week. It was attended by principals, teachers, youth organisations including members of the Congress of South African Students.

The local School Committee Chairmen's Council (MSECC) was the convenor.

Parents viewed the education crisis as a

community problem and added that it had become apparent that students' boycotts and subsequent demands would never be heeded by the department. They agreed to seek for solutions with the co-operation and assistance of members of the community.

The meeting also supported the call for a unitary system of education for all population groups in South Africa and further resolved that the department should abolish the "school leaving" pass in Standard 10.

"A pupil must either obtain a pass with exemption or fail completely," they said.

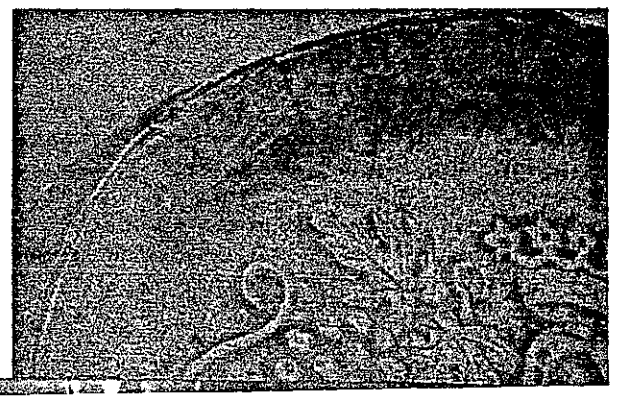
Police were called on to keep a low profile at or near schools during boycotts. They warned pupils to refrain from in-

volving themselves in any conduct which might invite police intervention.

The meeting, which was chaired by Mr David Motlatla of the MSCCC, also resolved that: "No schools should be closed or classes suspended in Mamelodi unless the MSCCC, school principals and the school committee members have been consulted,

given the opportunity to solve the problem and we recommend such closure of schools."

A commission of inquiry was also appointed to look into the problems affecting the smooth running of schools in the area. And a strong resolution was also unanimously passed warning students to stop using violence.





24/5/85  
Sowetan 11A  
**We need  
more US  
investment**

Own Correspondent

THE West should double its South African investment, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has urged American leaders.

Speaking in his capacity as KwaZulu Minister of Economic Affairs, Chief Buthelezi said he had been asked by *Leadership South Africa* magazine to provide an article for a special issue to be distributed to every American congressman and congresswoman.

"It would, I believe, be irresponsible of Americans to further the aims of those who want to bring about political changes through violent confrontation, regardless of the consequences they may have on the growth potential of the South African economy."



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# Problems in ANC — police

11A

E. Post

24/5/85

PRETORIA — Two senior security police officers yesterday said the African National Congress (ANC) was suffering from internal problems and would soon hold its first top-level meeting in 25 years to discuss new political and military strategy against South Africa.

During a meeting with the Press in Pretoria, Brigadier Herman Stadler and Major Craig Williamson described how ANC strategy had had fewer successes in recent years.

Since the banned organisation started its armed struggle against South Africa in 1976, according to the officers, ANC acts of terror had reached a peak of 56 in 1983, and then fell to 44 last year.

Brig Stadler said the Nkomati Accord, according to which Mozambique denied the ANC future use of its territory for military bases, was one of the major reasons for the decrease in terrorist attacks.

The ANC would probably now begin their attacks from the west of South Africa, Maj Williamson said, but added: "Both Botswana and Zimbabwe are hostile to the ANC launching attacks from their territories."

Brig Stadler said the police had also checked ANC activity by discovering numerous arms caches in the past 18 months, the most recent being a large haul near the Orange Free State town of Vredefort last month.

"When compared with other terrorist groups in the world," Brig Stadler said, "the ANC must be one of the most unsuccessful Russian-associated organ-

isations.

"From a military aspect they are rather weak," he said.

"Maybe they have had more success on the political front."

Major Williamson said the ANC did not have the infrastructure of organisations such as the Irish Republican Army or the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

He claimed further that there was growing disagreement between ANC members on the strategy their organisation should follow.

According to documents in police possession, the officers said, the ANC intended forming a new policy soon at a meeting of its national executive. They did not know where and when the meeting would be held.

The national executive of the ANC last came together in Maritzburg in 1959.

The officers said they believed the ANC would decide at the meeting whether to concentrate more on supporting civil unrest and labour disputes.

"Most probably their main decision will be a reaffirmation of their determination to solve South Africa's problems through armed struggle," Major Williamson said.

He added that although he did not expect a major change in ANC leadership, more younger members would probably be appointed to the organisation's executive and to its military wing, Umkonto We Sizwe. — Sapa

# Labour party won't celebrate

117

Sowetan 24/5/85

**THE Labour Party on Wednesday boycotted a ceremony in the Gallery Hall of The Houses of Parliament, where the 100th anniversary of the inauguration of the parliamentary building was commemorated.**

In a statement the caucus said that, from the historical perspective, the building was a "monument" to the years of injustice and denial; of oppression and repression.

"So many laws of dispossession and discrimination have been passed

inside these walls.

"The greatest Act of Immorality was our removal from the common voters role in 1956.

"It must be remembered that the doors to our participation were closed by the Act of Union in 1910.

"A new era has now dawned and we believe that our children and their children will have much to celebrate in the future. At this juncture, we cannot join this celebration," the statement said.

At the ceremony, the speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, unveiled a plaque to commemorate the inauguration of the building on March 15, 1885.

He also received special coins and a series of four stamps issued for the occasion. They were presented to him by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis and the Minister of Communications, Dr Lapa Munnik.

Mr D de la Cruz, leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives and Mr A Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party and several members of the Indian House of Delegates, attended.

# Azapo to hold talks

IN the wake of Bishop Desmond Tutu's appeal to black leaders to help restore and maintain calm among their members, Azapo is to hold a branch meeting at the St Hilda's Church, Senoane, Soweto on Sunday afternoon.

According to the chairman of the Azapo Soweto branch, Mr Lindeni Gumbi, the meeting will also address itself to the prevailing unrest in the country.

Bishop Tutu has made renewed appeals to organisations to keep their members in check while peace initiatives are underway.

## Violence

This follows reports of an outbreak of violence in the Eastern Cape last Sunday between Azapo and UDF members.

At a peace prayer meeting in Soweto, Azapo's Mr George Wauchope called on organisations to address their members in areas where there are reported



George Wauchope.  
*Sowetan 24/5/85*  
clashes between the two organisations.

The UDF has also indicated that it would be engaged in meetings this weekend in a bid to restore calm in the troubled areas.

The Azapo meeting starts at 2 pm and it will be addressed by senior members of the organisation.

# How long will truce last?

**L**AST Sunday thousands of people attended interdenominational church services on the Witwatersrand and in Port Elizabeth to pray for peace and reconciliation among political groups. But the question is: For how long will the truce last?

For hardly had the crowds finished ululating the signing of the truce in Port Elizabeth, youths wearing UDF T-shirts, attacked Azapo people.

Three members of Azapo were pulled off a truck and stabbed. Mr Nelwon Joyi, Mr Nyamezeli Makasi and Mr Sandile Dywili were admitted to the Livingstone Hospital after sustaining stab wounds. Mr Dywili is reportedly in a critical condition.

Azapo's Eastern Cape regional chairman, Mr Mbuzeli Dukumbana, was allegedly abducted and attempts were made to set him alight after petrol-doused tyres were pulled over his head and feet.

He was saved when an oncoming vehicle shone its lights and his abductors fled.

But, ironically, it is the Port Elizabeth events that have suddenly spelt hope for the peace talks. After the violence there was an awakening that the time for talking peace is past, it is now time for implementing peace.

Both sides now genuinely want peace. The carnage has shocked them into reality. They can both only survive if they live and let live. With the system against them, they cannot afford to be against each other. While the leaderships are now firmly committed to peace, it is the foot-soldiers who must now be educated.

But peace is what both want, and seem likely to get.

Deep ideological differences between the UDF and Azapo have existed. They centre on one issue — participation by whites in black politics.

Tension between the two organisations first nearly flared into open violence for the first time in 1981 at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto during a June 16 commemoration service.

Bishop Tutu and other clerics had to



"Heroes Day."

Public commemoration services were used for "political point scoring" but none of the present violence was present then.

A year later, in 1982, the President of the Azanian Student Movement, Mr Kabelo Lengane was attacked at the University of Natal's Alan Taylor Residence in Durban.

The Azanian Student Organisation — an affiliate of the UDF — denied that its members were responsible for the attack.

The clerics held peace talks between the two organisations then, and similar talks were held between the leadership of the organisations themselves several times later on.

### Tension

All the talks have ended with handshaking and promises of disciplined behaviour by members of both groups.

But on national occasions the tension would heighten again. Certain freedom songs and slogans were associated with a particular group and members would always vie for their songs or slogans to be chanted.

Violence — though on a small scale — flared up in the University of the North and at Tembisa last year.

This year Azasm members — affiliated to Azapo — were attacked at Tembisa and two students had to be hospitalised.

Again peace initiatives were made in the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape. The situation boiled over this year when the past president of Azapo Mr Lybon

LAST Sunday services for peace among black organisations were held. In Port Elizabeth the service ended in chaos when Azapo people were attacked. But initiators of the peace mission, Bishop Desmond Tutu and a number of clerics throughout the country, have hope that the organisations WILL bury the hatchet. The SOWETAN writer SEFAKO NYAKA is also convinced that peace will prevail, and in this article, looks at the prospects, and history of the clashes.

24/5/85  
11A



AZAPO: George Wauchope... "The UDF has never been our problem and our enemy. Our enemy is capitalism and imperialism."

Mabasa, Azasm vice-president Thami Merwa and Azapo member, Mr Sidney Themba were attacked at Turfloop.

Attempts to get statistics of the casualties suffered by both organisations since the fighting started drew a blank because the organisations felt "the Press was exacerbating the situation" by publishing these.

However, Azapo earlier this week revealed that five of its members were killed and 32 houses burnt down. Both organisations are now not talking about the issue to the Press.

Violence between the two organisations reached an all-time high when incidents of arson and murder were reported from the Eastern Cape. The houses of UDF's the Reverend Frank Chikane and Mr Aubrey Mokoena were petrol-bombed soon after they were released under strin-

gent bail conditions. Both organisations blamed the "system" for the attacks and for a moment it looked like their "abhorrence for the system would ease the acts of violence."

There has also been reports from the Eastern Cape that both groups held members of the rival group hostage. Then followed a spate of fire-bomb attacks on the leadership of both organisations.

The house of UDF Eastern Cape president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, was attacked and he sustained injuries. In another incident, Mr Mono Babela, a member of the UDF and a reporter of Cuty Press, was said to have been attacked, kidnapped, beaten up and stabbed by Azapo members.

### Claim

Azapo claimed that there was talk in the Eastern Cape townships by people who said they "would eliminate all supporters of the BC movement."

All these took place in the wake of attempts by the Nobel Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, to make peace between the two factions. There has been — and maybe still are — differing views about the impartial-

ity of Bishop Tutu in the talks.

Since the controversial visit to South Africa this year by United States Senator Edward Kennedy, Azapo has accused Bishop Tutu of siding with the UDF.

Bishop Tutu is a supporter of the BC-oriented NFC and patron of the UDF. At one stage it appeared like the Bishop was going to be an issue at the "talks — about — the — talks". But both organisations amicably settled for Father Lebamang Sebidi to chair the talks.

"I am just a stage prop which attracts people," Bishop Tutu said acknowledging that the idea to have a peace prayer service came from Father Sebidi. Bishop Tutu admitted that the Kennedy visit was a factor in the conflict.

Before the talks organisations involved in the peace talks were presented with a peace package which included:

- A commitment by the organisations that they will discipline their members.
- A commitment to publicly denounce the violence that has engulfed the organisations and
- A willingness to be in the talks will all affected organisations.

The organisations agreed to the proposals, although Azapo earlier maintained that it was not "at war" with Inkatha.

### Policies

Both the UDF and Azapo have "standing policies" not to negotiate with organisations "that operate within Government created structures." Inkatha's president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is also leader of the Kwa-Zulu homeland.

"We were placed in an invidious position of having to share a platform with Inkatha, however our reconciliatory sign of statemanship and honest commitment to peace dictated that we participate," Azapo said about the Regina Mundi meeting.

Both Azapo and the UDF have blamed the "system" for the pamphleteering and a recent spate of petrol bomb attacks. This itself could pave the way for "sense to prevail." The UDF has accused the SABC of being party to a well-orchestrated plan by

the Government to confuse the people who look to the UDF and Azapo for political leadership. Both organisations are agreed that decisive factor in the peace talks would be internal effort by both organisations exercising internal discipline.

"Declarations could become meaningless if not supported by resolute action against disruptive elements," Azapo President Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said, calling for serious steps to be taken against those known to be responsible for the breach of peace.

"We need to isolate the enemy and make it impossible for it to exploit our differences," he said.

Maybe Mr Sebidi was right when he said: "We are not trying to bring about ideological homogeneity. That is impossible and unnecessary. What we want to see is operational unity, which I believe, is very possible."

### Fears

There are fears in some quarters that there is a burning desire by one of the groups to force the other out of existence — territorial dominance.

If that happens then the peace talks would have been in vain and a waste of time, a member of Azapo said.

Condemning the violence in the Eastern Cape Azapo called "on all responsible leaders in our community to join us in condemning this infantile political banditry committed in the name of the liberation struggle. We echo the concern the clergy that the internecine fights and the struggle for territorial influence and hegemonic ambitions will only subvert and retard the liberation struggle."

Azapo says the system is very unhappy that peace talks between Azapo and the UDF are in good progress. "It is said and to be regretted that certain elements within the black community are hell bent on pleasing the system by their actions."

The encouraging factor that emerged this week is that both organisations still see the possibility of lasting peace between them, despite the cracks — and sometimes wide open chasms of the past.



TUTU: "The idea to have a prayer service came from Father Sebidi. I am just a stage prop which attracts people."

intervene back-stage when the two organisations could not agree on a common person to chair the proceedings.

Finally, Mr Goitsemang Moseki, the chairman of the Soweto branch of Azapo was allowed to chair the meeting but accommodate speakers from what was known as the "charterists" because of their adherence to the Freedom Charter.

While Bishop Tutu and the other clerics were busy negotiating peace inside the church, members of the two groups were threatening one another with guns, according to a newspaper report then.

During commemoration services for Steve Biko the same year, there was more tension.

### Holidays

Then came a period of renaming some of the traditional black holidays. The charterists would be content that December 16 was "Heroes Day" while the BC adherents considered March 21 as

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# Angry backlash against black-on-black violence

GRAHAM LINSOTT gives a summary of comment in black newspapers on current events

ANGUISHED comment on the internecine violence that is tearing apart black society is becoming a prominent feature in black newspapers.

"Whither black South Africa?" asks The Sowetan. "A very strange question to ask, indeed, in this strange society of ours. But in the light of the killings, the burnings of houses and shops, the looting and the general mayhem one is forced to pose the question: What is really happening to us?"

The Sowetan says priests throughout the country gathered their flock last Sunday and tried to persuade warring factions to resolve their differences. Church attendances were good — and then reports came in of a mob on the rampage on the East Rand, burning, looting and shooting a man dead.

"What is the outside world thinking of us? Just a bunch of unruly elements who enjoy killing, maiming, injuring each other? We appeal to all peace-loving citizens of South Africa to let sense prevail. Let's try

and follow the good that Bishop Desmond Tutu is doing. Bringing all of us God's children together for everlasting peace in this beautiful country of ours."

The Sowetan Sunday Mirror says so-called revenge killings by mobs of pupils in the township cannot be justified in any civilised society.

"And then, in recent weeks, groups of people have simply enjoyed stoning residents' cars — for no apparent reason.

"On Friday, Putco decided to withdraw its services into the townships after dark because, they state, their drivers' lives have been threatened and their vehicles have been damaged to the extent where they felt they could not go on providing their service.

"This has meant that people using buses to transport them back to Soweto at night have to get off on the outskirts of the township and walk the rest of the distance to their homes.

"Many have ended up being robbed. Some will be killed even before they arrive home. The thugs will have a field day.

So what have those who have been stoning buses and taxis achieved?

"We would appeal to those responsible for these actions to stop it now. They are not doing the cause any good and in fact their actions can only precipitate another round of black on black violence. Heaven knows, we have seen enough of this."

□□□□

The Natal-based newspaper, Ilanga, describes the deaths of three more people following their detention by the police as adding fuel to the fire.

It commends the Commissioner of Police for instituting an official inquiry into the death of trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela, but says the announcement was dampened by the revelation that yet another detainee had died in custody.

"It is inconceivable that those who walk the corridors of power can be unaware of these incidents. Coming as they do against the background of much concern and questioning of the role of the police in deal-

ing with escalating violence, these deaths can only exacerbate an already worsening situation. We think the public needs more than the assurance of an official inquiry to still their troubled souls. They would like to see the Government do all in its power to see that the perpetrators are duly brought to book."

□□□□

According to City Press, things are neatly tied up in the remote Western Transvaal township of Tshing.

One S K Manaka is police sergeant, chairman of Tshing Council, an elder of the Methodist Church and a member of the Independent Order of True Templars.

His daughter runs a shebeen where beer sells at R2 a quart, and customers are not bothered by police raids. His fellow-councillors never argue with him and, Mr Manaka told City Press, he is "well-liked" by the people.

A big, burly fellow, judging by the photograph. The kind of sherriff a town needs.

NR643 24/5/82 (11A) ~~NR643~~

# Fears grow for three missing civic leaders

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Three civic leaders have disappeared in the aftermath of violent township upheavals and factional warring.

The men and their vehicle have been missing since they left Zwide township more than a week ago, apparently to meet someone at Port Elizabeth's airport.

Mr Qaqawuli Godolazi, president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), Mr Sipho Hashe, secretary-general, and Mr Champion Galala, organising secretary, disappeared late last week.

Neither they nor the yellow van they were using has been seen since.

Police have been accused of holding them incommunicado but an urgent attempt by relatives this week failed to

win a Supreme Court order for one of them to be released from police custody.

Senior police officers flatly deny that they are being held. And a senior security police officer said there was "a definite possibility, if not a probability" that at least one of the men was a victim of political fighting.

Earlier in the week, relatives and friends gathered at the magistrate's court here after anonymous telephone calls said the men would appear in court.

But the men did not appear and a check of court registers showed that they were not due to appear.

Pebco is an affiliate of the United Democratic Front, whose ideological rivalry with the Azanian People's Organisation has led to bloodshed.

Azapo officials deny holding the men while Pebco and the UDF deny that they are hiding.

Mr Mkhusele Jack, a prominent trade unionist and supporter of the UDF, said he doubted Azapo had anything to do with the disappearance of the men.

He said: "All three are big men, physically and politically. Firstly, they would not easily be abducted by any group, nor would they be easily intimidated into going into hiding.

"Secondly, they are all so well-known that their presence anywhere in the Eastern Cape townships could not be kept a secret for long.

"I think that the men have been detained by the police for some reason. There is just no other explanation."



Mr Sipho Hashe



Mr Qaqawuli Godolazi

(11A) 13. Jan 24/15 BT  
**Buthelezi slams ANC**

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has attacked the mission in exile of the banned African National Congress (ANC) for trying to "capitalise on black anger they had not produced" in South Africa.

Delivering his policy speech as Minister of Economic Affairs in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Buthelezi said they were trying to "capitalise on violence which they glorified but which was nothing

more than frustrated black anger being dissipated in ghastly black-on-black confrontations.

He said it was the deepening economic crisis that was making black South Africans give vent to irresponsible violence.

He had no doubt that the decades of democratic opposition to apartheid had not been in vain.

Every government since the Act of Union had attempted to subjugate black South Africa but had failed.



# Police 'harass' UDF

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front yesterday condemned security police attempts to "control and intimidate the UDF by harassing its members".

A UDF spokesman said an example was the search last week of Mr Zoli Malindi's home and subsequent confiscation of documents dealing with his election, from the UDF offices.

The spokesman said such actions, which were seen as one of the evils of apartheid, would not deter the UDF from "going ahead with the struggle".

Mr Malindi, 61, the Western Cape president of the UDF, represented continuity between the struggle of the 40s and the 80s. He had managed to hide the Xhosa version of the Freedom Charter during the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955.

He was a dedicated leader, respected in the community by young and old, the spokesman said.

Captain Jan Calitz, police liaison officer for the Western Province, said police were still investigating charges against Mr Malindi, a listed person, for making a public statement which was quoted.

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## Post Focus

11A (2) E. Post 25/5/85

CAPE TOWN — Tension — even open hostility — between the Labour Party and the National Party has become pronounced as the first working session of the tricameral Parliament plays out its final weeks.

It is clear that the patience of especially a group of LP "Young Turks" is wearing extremely thin about what they see as an inordinate, irritating delay in dismantling apartheid.

And senior Government Ministers can in turn barely conceal their irritation at the LP trying to push them to a faster pace of reform than they feel they can sell to their supporters.

In the process the cosy relationship seen by some observers up to now between the new coalition partners in Government is threatening to bite the dust.

The flexing of the muscles of the LP, which in many ways holds the key to the success of the new constitution, could herald a new phase of hard bargaining and a hardening of attitudes.

It could also lead to a closer working relationship between the LP, which has 81 of the 85 House of Representatives' seats, and opposition parties — like the official Opposition Progressive Federal Party in the House of Assembly, with which it basically shares a common philosophy of non-racialism.

And it could gain for the LP the much-cherished prize of greater acceptance at grass-roots level in the community, such support having been decidedly small and low-key since the party decided to participate in the racially divided constitution.

The growing tension between the LP and the NP was highlighted this week when:

● The LP boycotted a ceremony address by President Botha to mark the centenary of the taking into use of the central parliamentary building.

# Strife and tension appear between NP and Labour Party

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Correspondent



CHRIS HEUNIS

"What have we to celebrate in terms of the past. From the historical perspective it is a monument to the years of injustice and denial; of oppression and repression. So many laws of dispossession and discrimination have been passed inside these walls," the party said in a hard-hitting unanimous caucus statement.

(Some of its critics could, of course, argue that such a stand was called for at the time of the LP's decision to participate in a racist constitution and not after it had taken its place in the parliamentary buildings.)

● The Minister of Constitutional Development and

Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, clearly snubbed his Cabinet colleague, LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, by not announcing in a debate in the House of Representatives the Government's intention to scrap the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

It had been widely expected by senior Government sources and the Press to be made in the committee stage debate on Mr Heunis's vote in the coloured chamber.

The snub lay in that Mr Hendrickse told a public LP party conference in the Northern Cape last weekend that he expected Mr Heunis to make the announcement in the debate on Tuesday.

With indications that Mr Heunis may now make the announcement in Pretoria this weekend in a statement embargoed for the Sunday Press, many observers can interpret the events as nothing less than an irritated senior Minister telling a "newcomer" in no uncertain terms that he will not be dictated to on when and where to make an important statement.

Yet such a matter must be a Cabinet decision and Mr Heunis and Mr Hen-

drickse are, after all, Cabinet colleagues, other observers point out!

● One of the LP "Young Turks", Mr Peter Hendrickse (MP for Addo and son of the LP leader), in a speech throwing down the gauntlet on beach apartheid, in turn could hardly disguise his irritation at what he sees as National Party double talk and vacillation on reform.

Speaking in Mr Heunis's presence, Mr Hendrickse said: "The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning is a master of the art of double talk as he once again demonstrated yesterday (earlier in the debate)."

And from conversations with a number of LP MPs it is clear to this observer that this kind of impatience with NP "double talk" is widespread among them.

Another LP "Young Turk", Mr Desmond Lockey (a nominated MP), told the House of his frustrations in being shunted from pillar to post by white public representatives as he sought access to ample "white" sports facilities for the coloured community in his home town, Vryburg, in the absence of such facilities for coloureds.



ALLAN HENDRICKSE

He first saw the local authority, who referred him to the MPC, who eventually told him by letter that he should take up the matter with "your own Minister, since this constitutes own affairs".

Exclaimed an angry Mr Lockey to the Chamber: "Own affairs has just become another word the whites in this country can use to continue with apartheid and, what is more, they want to be in charge of housing in our communities as well."

As Ministers have appeared in the coloured Chamber for committee stage Budget debates on



PETER HENDRICKSE

their votes, they have been subjected increasingly to a grilling on apartheid by LP MPs.

● The LP spokesman on Co-operation, Development and Education, Mr Tommy Abrahams (MP for Wentworth), said his party "totally rejects" the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill.

It provides, among other things, for the partial lifting of restrictions on the freedom of movement of Section 10 blacks and for the removal of the permit system for non-blacks entering black townships.

But, said Mr Abrahams, illustrating the increasing

visibility of his party's uncompromising stance on matters of principle, the LP could see no way in which Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 could be improved.

● And then, of course, the LP, with other political parties earlier in the session — after the March 21 Langa shootings — called for the resignation of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

So, what does this all mean?

For one, the LP is slowly but surely showing its critics, as well as non-aligned cynics and sceptics, to the fact that it is not the tame lackey they may have thought it would be.

And, secondly, as the classics may say, "the honeymoon is over" between it and the NP.

And, as a senior LP MP told me recently, this could in turn mean a thaw in the tensions there have been between the LP and the PFP, with which it shares the constitutional policy of a non-racial geographic federation.

With the expected scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which forbids non-racial political parties, a party's box of interesting and political permutations and realignments across the colour line, and between parliamentary Houses, could be opened.

And the Government is sure to start taking more seriously the LP's threat that if within five years of the start of the tricameral system there has not been a substantial, fundamental movement away from apartheid, it will withdraw from the system.

And with such a step, the system would collapse politically through a total lack of credibility.

The Government cannot afford to allow this to happen.

# More traders join bread boycott

By KIN BENTLEY

THE bread boycott by African traders which started a week ago is to be supported by traders in Port Elizabeth's northern areas.

The secretary of the East Cape Traders' Association, Mr Younus Amod, said the boycott would start soon and be done "without notice".

Attempts this week to resolve the African boycott, organised by the Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce, failed.

Mr Amod said the boycott had arisen as a result of "pressure from the traders and the public".

Among reasons he gave for the boycott were:

- Badly baked, burnt, mouldy and damaged bread was delivered to black areas.
- Stale cakes and pies supplied to black areas often carried the price stickers of white chain stores.
- A certain bakery, which was the sole supplier to a particular area, had issued instructions to its staff to supply white

shops first although black shops were open earlier.

- Vehicles delivering bread to white areas were loaded and despatched first and, as a result, there were many late deliveries of bread in black areas.
- Vehicles used for delivery in black areas were dirty and unhygienic.
- Bread was distributed to black areas in dirty cardboard boxes and baskets.
- Delivery staff were not issued clean overalls regularly.

● Bread was handled unhygienically, creating a definite health hazard.

● Bakers had refused to supply sliced bread to shops.

He said for the past three months the ECTA had negotiated with the Master Bakers' Association about its grievances.

"Despite a lot of promises, nothing has been done to rectify the problems.

"We feel very strongly that our people should not be treated as second-rate citizens," Mr Amod said.

May 1985

## 7 000 at burial of student; 3 die in unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — An 11th victim of the clash was buried at Davyton.

Also at Tsakane, mourners were scattered as police used teargas after the burial of Miss Patricia Thobela, branch secretary of Cosas who died when her home was petrol-bombed in Duduza township, near Brakpan, last week.

One person was killed in Duduza after police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and shotguns to disperse people who set alight seven houses on Saturday night. Four of the houses belonged to policemen, and all seven were extensively damaged.

### Shops

Police reported that another man was killed when a shopkeeper opened fire on "thousands" of people who burnt and looted two shops and a garage in Duduza yesterday.

Police reported last night that the charred body of a man was found in a street in Port Alfred.

At KwaZakele, a policeman fired a pistol shot at a group who were stoning his house. A man was wounded in the side and arrested. — Sapa and Own Correspondent



Mourners at the funeral of Siphon Mutsi at Odendaalsrus on Saturday.

Members of the United Democratic Front, Cosas, the Azanian Students Organization, the National Union of Mineworkers, the Federation of South African Women and other community members praised Mr Mutsi as a martyr and hero who died serving the people.

At Tsakane 10 people, who died last week in a clash between residents and the hostel inmates, were buried at the cemetery on Saturday. Cosas, the UDF, unions and other organizations were represented at the funeral.



# Amnesty plea to

# Buthelezi on

# detained man

NM 25/5/85

~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ 11A

## African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says Amnesty International has approached him about its desire for the release from detention of a man allegedly involved in a plot to kill him earlier this year.

In a statement in the Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Amnesty International had written to him twice concerning the welfare of Mr Salutha Malinga Zondo, who was detained in mid-January in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The organisation said it had written to Brig J R van der Hoven, head of the Security Police in Durban, stating that it understood the health of Mr Zondo, who was in his seventies, had deteriorated.

Amnesty International requested the police chief to ensure that the detainee was safeguarded from any sort of ill-treatment.

In addition, the organisation requested that the detainee, as well as others held at the same time, should be released if they were not going to be tried on criminal charges.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Zondo was an induna of King Goodwill and his half-sister was one of the

wives of the Chief Minister's father.

It was known that he and several others were being detained in connection with harbouring insurgents of the banned African National Congress, some of whom had died in skirmishes with the Security Police.

Chief Buthelezi said it had been rumoured that they were lying in ambush to kill him.

He said the 'go-between' had been a Mr Zama Zulu, a former chauffeur of the Zulu King. Mr Zulu was now in Swaziland.

The Chief Minister said the members of the Assembly were entitled to know that he would probably receive a spate of letters from Amnesty International in connection with the detention of 'a man of this kind'.

He also reported that some members of the Security Police had allegedly been 'molesting' Zulu citizens near the Mozambique border.

Men in camouflage uniforms had allegedly been going from house to house, waking people up at night and asking for reference books.

Chief Buthelezi said he had taken the matter up with Brig Bekker, Divisional Commissioner of the Security Police in the area, who had promised to investigate the complaints.

CAPE TOWN 114  
25/5/85

# ANC changes strategy to Iran pattern of revolution

By **ROBIN HALLETT**  
historian and writer on world affairs who lives in England



THE African National Congress, according to a British correspondent who recently interviewed a member of the Lusaka-based political-military council of the ANC, is changing its strategy.

No longer is stress being laid on a guerilla war of liberation promoted by activists entering the country from bases outside South Africa. The SADF has prevented their establishment.

The familiar model of wars of liberation, successful in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, is being replaced by a pattern of revolution based on the experience of Iran where the authoritarian regime of the Shah was finally overthrown by a series of internal upheavals inspired by the preaching of Ayatollah Khomeini and promoted by the mullahs (the Shi'ite Muslim clergy) who acted as the vanguard of the revolution.

## Soldiers

The shah had one of the largest armies in the world but, in the end, even loyal soldiers turned against him.

The ANC believes spreading unrest can turn black townships into "no-go" areas, that black soldiers and police are not emotionally committed to the maintenance of white supremacy and that, eventually, the morale of at least some whites, especially national servicemen, will begin to crack.

The ANC has long been the South African government's main opponent. A few years ago an Afrikaner newspaper editor had the temerity to suggest to Mr P W Botha the time had come

to start talking to the ANC. He was given a deflating rebuke: "They're all communists."

Those in authority will no doubt retort that members of the ANC are not, of course, "all communists", but they're all agitators — "agitator" being that useful catch-all term that authoritarians throughout the ages have used to discredit vociferous opponents.

## 'Agitators'

"Agitators" are always blamed for unrest. In reality their activities are, at most, one strand in a highly complicated situation. Anyone seeking to unravel it will get a great deal of help from an article headed "Continuing Unrest — A Small Town Perspective" in the March, 1985 issue of the magazine Reality.\*

The author, Michael Whisson, is professor of social anthropology at Rhodes University — so the "small town" is Grahamstown. Reality is a first-rate journal with too limited a circulation, so it seems worthwhile bringing Professor Whisson's acute analysis to wider attention.

Whisson sees five interrelated elements involved in the present troubles, each drawing on national issues but having a special local flavour:

- The new constitution.
- The crisis over local government.
- Black education.
- The drought and recession.
- Power struggles in the black community.

The debate over the new constitution proved a highly politicizing experience. Even without the UDF to articulate protest, it was clear that for blacks, the "new deal" meant "business as usual".

But the coloured and Indian elections provided opportunities for boycotts and revolutionary rhetoric. In Grahamstown the elections "set in motion the process of spiralling conflict".

The crisis in black local government, he said, reached back to 1970 when black townships were removed from the jurisdiction of white local authorities and were deprived of the hidden subsidy in the form of services largely paid for by white rates.

With demands for services rising and revenue steadily declining, the new black councils

found themselves in a totally unviable position.

Councillors, accused often with good reason, of "venality and incompetence", found themselves at once "the victims of the system and targets of the opposition".

The deficiencies of black education had frequently been recounted. Certainly there had been improvements in recent years but they had the paradoxical effect of "making those who are being educated very much more aware of the inadequacies in their education".

In Eastern Cape towns the drought led to an influx of families from the platteland as farmers laid off workers. The newcomers put an extra strain on weakened social and welfare services. At the same time the recession increased local unemployment and harmed local traders.

All this, he said, added up to a "highly inflammable mix", needing only "the spark provided by some small incident" (such as the sacking of a popular teacher at Cradock) or some revolutionary charisma to ignite it.

## Tensions

But once trouble started, tensions developed between local township organizations. A community organization, concentrating on local issues and ambivalent towards school boycotts, was outflanked by a more radical student organization.

"Jockeying for leadership or control at the local level can readily degenerate into name-calling, thuggery and vandalism".

In this bitterly charged atmosphere, he said, a historic Methodist hall was destroyed in Grahamstown, along with the offices of several welfare organizations. The police, seen as agents of oppression, ceased to be effective protection.

So, what if the unrest in the Eastern Cape and the Vaal Triangle spread to every township in the country? Would that not create an Iran-type situation?

Historical parallels are often heady stuff — but they can be dangerously inexact. The weakness of the shah lay in the fact that he was essentially an upstart: his father, Reza Khan, had once been a sergeant-major. In the last resort his power rested on nothing but his family.

## Base

The South African government has a much broader base of legitimacy, enjoying the support of most whites and a good many "non-whites" as well. Not a scenario for revolution.

On the other hand, it does not seem unrealistic to predict the extension of "no-go" areas — townships into which whites and their supporters can move only when under armed escort.

Eventually, perhaps, these townships, driven by the need to restrain their internal violence, will devise their own autonomous institutions. Meanwhile, most white South Africans, secure in their own well-policed communities, will not find it difficult to ignore — as many have done for generations — what happens in the black areas.

## Reactions

Little joy, scant leverage in such a situation for the ANC, but not much comfort, an outsider might think, for the government as it lurches between repression and "reform", keeping one eye cocked on American reactions.

Structural change takes place more slowly in South Africa than in Third World countries yet it is now becoming clear 1984 marked the start of a new period of South African history, a period for which the term "violent evolution" has been suggested.

Evolution implies movement in a definite direction. Does anyone really know where South Africa is going?

\* Reality, PO Box 1104, Maritzburg.

Progs to merge with Solidarity, head for alliance with Labour

# PFP in all-race power pact move

11A  
25/5/85  
AS/K-ARGAS

By DAVID BREIER, Political Staff  
THE Progressive Federal Party is to merge with the Indian Solidarity party and is heading for an alliance with the coloured Labour Party.

These highly significant political moves follow the Government's decision to repeal the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

It could turn the PFP-based alliance into a major political force straddling racial dividing lines.

The PFP merger with Solidarity will make it the official opposition in the Indian chamber of Parliament as well as the white chamber. It is not inconceivable that the PFP could take over the majority in the Indian chamber in future.

### "We are both progressive"

The coloured and Indian move to the PFP will be the first break in South Africa's political apartheid logjam since the Political Interference Act was passed in 1968.

Labour Party leaders this weekend opened the way for an election pact with the PFP and an end to tensions between the two parties.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said there were no fundamental differences in its policy with the PFP.

The only differences were in strategy. "We are both progressive," he said.

Mr Hendrickse said there would be no point in the two parties splitting progressive forces by standing against each other in elections and allowing the Nationalists to win PFP seats.

The deputy Labour Party leader, Mr Miley Richards, predicted the Labour Party and the PFP would now launch a joint attack on the Nationalist Government.

He said the two parties would form an election pact along the lines of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party, which do not oppose each other.

The effect of the repeal of the Political Interference Act will be to allow political parties to open membership to all races. However, in terms of the constitution, each race group will exercise separate political rights.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, national chairman of Solidarity, said: "My personal view is that once the Act is repealed, there will be no room for separate parties."

He said Solidarity's policies were modelled on those of the PFP and there were no political differences between the parties.

It is understood from sources in Indian politics that the bulk of Solidarity MPs will swing to the PFP after Solidarity's congress in August.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse



Dr J N Reddy



Mr Miley Richards

Of the 18 Solidarity MPs, only four are still believed to be reluctant to join the PFP. They are the leader, Dr J N Reddy, Mr Thulukkanna Palan, Mr P I Devan and Mr A K Pillay.

At least one member of the ruling National Peoples Party in the Indian House is believed to be considering joining the PFP. He is Mr Somaroo Pachai.

A number of Labour Party MPs used to belong to the old Progressive Party before the political interference law forced them out in 1968.

The Labour Party has opted for a federal policy which is very close to that of the PFP.

The PFP last year also decided to defy the law by admitting all races. However, few people have risked contravening the law. Now many more may choose to join the party.

In the Transvaal, the PFP has already set up a committee to consider links across the colour line in anticipation of the Political Interference Act going.



# Third force enters 'fight for justice'

(SIA)

pers

26/5/72

By SIBUSISO MNGADI:

FORMER members of the now-defunct All African Convention have formed a new national political organisation, the New Unity Movement.

The president of the movement, Richard Dudley of Cape Town, is a former stalwart of the Teachers' League of South Africa and the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department campaign. His deputy is Durban lawyer Don Kali.

Other executive members are former Mwasa secretary Goba Ndlovu and Dawood Parker; (joint secretaries), and Kader Hassim and Justice Poswa (joint treasurers). The movement's headquarters will be in Cape Town.

Mr. Kali said the movement's immediate aim is to build an effective force capable of "intervening meaningfully" in events taking place in the country.

The decision to form the organisation was unanimous and the movement will embrace various organisations which had previously functioned independently, said Mr Kali.



Phinda Molefe and her younger brother Vusumzi — only two members of the family out of custody.

# Where is my father?

~~11A~~ 11A  
C. Press  
26/5/85

SIPHO Hashe's family has failed in its bid to get Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to "produce" the Pebco general secretary.

The family's application was turned down in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court this week.

The application, brought by Hashe's youngest daughter and the only adult member of the family not to have been detained yet, Mrs Phinda Molefe, was also brought against the Divisional Police Commissioner in Port Elizabeth.

It was dismissed by Judge J Zietman on the grounds that it was "unfounded".

But Mrs Molefe is adamant that she will not give up the search to locate her father, who spent 10 years on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Mr Hashe and two other top Pebco officials, president Quaqawuli Godolozu and executive member Champion Galcia, disappeared mysteriously on the night of May 8.

"We firmly believe he might be locked up somewhere. We will continue looking for him — and if he is dead, we will find his bones," said Mrs Molefe, whose husband Popo, UDF general secretary, is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The application also asked for a rule instructing Brigadier C A Swart, Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, to show why Mr Hashe should not be released from custody at once.

Opposing the application, Brigadier Swart said Mr Hashe was not being held by the cops.

In a supporting affidavit, East Cape security police chief Colonel Harold Snyman said that while his division had "taken an interest" in Mr Hashe and his family because they were political activists, Mr Hashe was not in their custody.

He said the security police were interested in Mr Hashe because he was general secretary of Pebco, which was affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

In her affidavit, Mrs Molefe said that during her 11 months in detention in solitary confinement in East London which ended in April this year, two members of the security police, Warrant Officers Momborg and Naude, had told her that her father was the cause of problems in



Siphon Hashe: Disappeared mysteriously on May 8.

Workers' Union executive member and leading karate instructor Sixela Aplain failed this week.

Mr Aplain was attacked outside his Zwide Village home and three shots were fired, injuring his right hand.

## 'SEE YOU IN COURT'

By MARTIN TSOELENGOE  
AN INDUSTRIAL court case is looming between the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union and C & C Radio Cabinets in Brits.

The union issued this warning after six of its members were retrenched on an hour's notice.

Other workers fear they will be retrenched in the same way.

A Pwawu spokesman said the retrenched six have worked for the company for 14 years. And he said management had never discussed retrenchment with the workers of Pwawu — a Fosatu affiliate.

Management was also

accused of retrenching workers according to their ages, or employers' feelings about them.

Workers feel management is victimising them — over the years the company has refused to negotiate with a union of the workers' choice, but favours closed-shop furniture unions.

the Eastern Cape and that he "was inviting problems for himself and that he was going to get what he was asking for".

The day after her father disappeared, Mrs Molefe's Kwazakhele home was surrounded by the SAP while there was a gathering inside. Two shots were fired. The house was raided, furniture was broken, and more than 50 people were arrested.

The following day, her mother was arrested at the Sandlam Building offices of the security police when she went to lay a charge. She therefore had reason to believe her father could be in the custody of the police, said Mrs Molefe.

● An attempt to kill Motor Assemblers and Component

## Third force enters

11A  
C. Press  
25

# Inkatha honours ALL detainees

By STAN MHLONGO

INKATHA'S Evaton branch is planning a mammoth rally on Sunday to honour all detainees — even those who have had ideological differences with Inkatha

in the past.

Inkatha's scheme is similar to the one initiated by Bishop Desmond Tutu to eliminate ideological differences between Azapo, the UDF and Inkatha.

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Mlibazisi Mahlangu said it was time

Vaal political groups like the Vaal Civic Association, Vaal Ministers' Solidarity Group, Cosas and Inkatha "buried their differences in the fight for liberation".

"The rally — which will take place at the Central Square in Evaton — is for all who are in prisons for their noble and just convictions," Mr Mahlangu

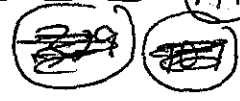
said.

He said the theme of the meeting, which starts at 10am, will be: "Youth involvement in the struggle for liberation."

Among those to be honoured are: Inkatha Evaton chairman Tom Nhlapo, Vaal Civic Association chairman Rev Lord McCamel and Rev Tebogo Moselane.

C. Press 26/5/85

11A



# ASSISTANT

(11A) (11A) (11A)

By MONO BADELA

C. Press 26/5/85

AT least 50 unidentified bodies were buried in a secret mass burial — attended by police — at Zwide cemetery near Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

The bodies — three adults and 47 children, according to eye-witnesses — were buried in 10 mass graves.

The UDF regional office has now made an urgent Supreme Court application to have the bodies exhumed to find out exactly who they are.

It is feared the three missing PEBCO leaders or other unrest victims may be among them.

Adding to this fear is the discovery early this week of the body of a man, said to be in his 40s, secretly buried in strife-torn Kwanobuhle.

Horrified Kwanobuhle residents fear he may be another unrest victim.

Hundreds of them went to see the grave on Wednesday.

Legal steps are being taken by community leaders to have the body examined by an independent pathologist.

Eastern Cape police spokesman Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen firmly denied that the 50 bodies buried in Zwide cemetery were unrest victims.

But the UDF regional executive has submitted affidavits on the burial to the Grahamstown Attorney-General, who forwarded them to Judge Kanemeyer, chairman of the commission of inquiry into the Uitenhage shooting on March 21.

At the time of going to Press, Judge Kanemeyer had not yet decided whether the bodies must be exhumed.

The undertakers responsible for the burial, Jones Rice and Alexander Brothers, have also denied that the bodies were those of unrest victims.

A spokesman said they had a Government contract to bury "paupers" who had died in Port Elizabeth Hospital.

The coffins were brought to the cemetery by a hearse with a Cape Town registration number, a Toyota van and a police Landrover, said eye-witness John Mgodoli.

Zwide cemetery caretaker Laurence Mshumpela said he had not been issued with the burial orders and was puzzled how 50 people could be buried without his knowledge.

Mr Mgodoli said he and seven others saw the burial but left when the police noticed them. Some of the coffins were broken, he said.

## EDOM

**FOUR PEOPLE** were killed and the national president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Lulu Johnson, was attacked with an axe outside his home by people believed to be Azapo members in incidents of violence at the weekend.

A black policeman was stabbed to death after he had fired at a crowd, killing a man and injuring another in Tembisa on the East Rand.

Two children, aged five and nine, died when their home was set alight in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, at the weekend. Police have confirmed the incidents.

Another resident from the same house

# BLACK WARS

which was set alight had "gone amiss", and extensive damage was done before the fire was extinguished by a SADF patrol, police said yesterday.

Mr Johnson from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, was attacked by a group of about 30 who also attacked a member of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco)

who was guarding his (Mr Johnson) home. Both were slightly injured and Mr Johnson was admitted at the Livingstone Hospital.

The incident happened in the early hours of yesterday.

A spokesman for the United Democratic Front (UDF) said Mr Johnson heard a commotion outside his Gq-

malana Street home and saw a group of about 30, shouting that they were chasing an Azapo member.

"When Lulu went outside, he became the victim. The group attacked him with an axe, hacking him on the head. He could not identify his assailants, but was convinced they were Azapo supporters," the spokesman said.

The spokesman said this was the second attack this weekend on activists of UDF-affiliate organisations. He said on Friday, the Dora Street house of a UDF activist, known as Comrade Mamiya, was gutted by several petrol bombs.

"We have declared no war. We call on those perpetrating these attacks to stop," the spokesman said.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, the president of Azapo yesterday denied that Mr Johnson was attacked by members of his organisation.

He said: "According to reports I received yesterday from the Eastern Cape, there was a clash on Friday after a meeting between Azapo, UDF and the local cler-

gymen to discuss the infighting that has been going on for weeks between Azapo and UDF members in the area."

# Stop black-on-black violence

Sowetan  
27/5/85

When supporters of political groups attack, maim and even kill political rivals as has happened in the Eastern Cape and Turfloop University, then this situation demands more than a "stop it you fellows".

The Bishop Desmond Tutu peace mission, initiated by Father Lebamang Sebidi, is the first most important step taken, and the ball is now in the courts of the organisations, with or without the help of the clerics, to ensure that this peace initiative is consolidated.

There is no doubt that sane black South Africa wants peace — it knows how important this is. And no doubt, the leaders of the organisations themselves, who pledged themselves to work towards this peace, are now busy ensuring that what was sown did not fall on rough ground.

But while the peace process continues, it is important to have another look at the situation, consider the dangers and implications, and learn from it.

While the leader-  
ship of Inkatha



LAST Friday The SOWETAN looked at the violence in our organisations and spell a message of hope. Today news editor Thami Mazwai looks at this violence from another angle, the dangers involved and the implications.

vocateurs have infiltrated their organisations and are manipulating the situation to suit their evil ends.

Agent provocateurs are people hired by a system to provoke confrontation.

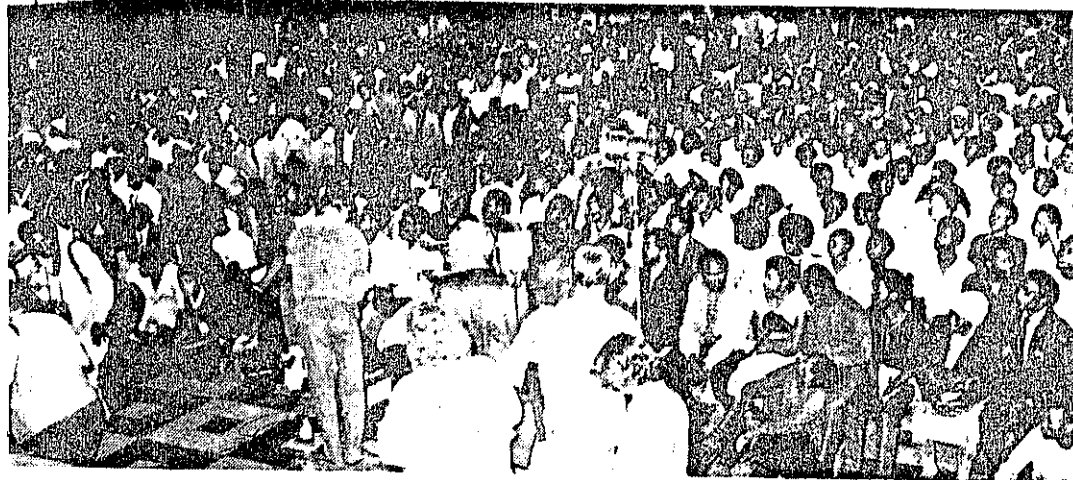
The third danger in the situation are the fanatics, the hardliners who simply adopt the attitude: "If you are not with me, you are against me". These fanatics are easily manipulated by agent provocateurs and mischievous elements. They are thus a danger.

The above three are the immediate dangers in the situation, but, there are more sinister implications over and above these dangers. These include:

- the black community is being thrown into confusion and disillusionment;

While the Students Representative Council (SRC) at the university gave an excuse a few days later exonerating the student body, one knows that the Turfloop SRC is supportive of the UDF and the people assaulted were Azapo.

It needs no guessing to know why the Azapo men were beaten up — political rivalry. That this must come from one of our universities, and a campus with a history of integrity and commitment, is one of the most disappointing episodes from this current political violence. Onk-gopotse Tiro must have turned in his grave.



THOUSANDS at Regina Mundi last Sunday.

Many in the community are tolerant of the fact that university students are normally emotional, particularly so on touchy issues like political affiliation.

But beating political rivals near to death is taking it rather too far.

Taking the violence into perspective, one has no doubt that even the banned African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) are just as embarrassed by it. Exiles monitor and analyse events in the country more carefully than the people still inside.

One can imagine the pain they feel when we

The effect of the violence on overseas organisations supporting the liberation struggle is obvious. They get disappointed. There is no point in them going on disinvestment campaigns, sports and cultural boycotts when WE spend our time assaulting one another.

Another implication that seems to have escaped is that Azapo and the UDF oppose the Government as they claim it is undemocratic. Among other things, democracy entails accommodating the opposing viewpoint. This the SA

When our organisations try and exterminate one another, can

ment to democracy with straight faces?

Are they prescribing one version of democracy to the Government while prescribing another form to themselves? And their form entails exterminating all opposition?

The fighting among our organisations also brings into focus the question: "Can they control their followers?" One can only hope they can.

Lastly, one of the organisations involved in the fighting claimed that not everybody who puts on its T-shirt is their follower. The organisation was denying that its followers were as

violence.

I wonder if that organisation will also deny people wearing their T-shirts when these people go on praiseworthy campaigns.



BISHOP DESMOND

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27/5/85

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## No point

This infighting has also given all justification to white South Africa and the Government that blacks can never rule the country. Current Affairs last Wednesday said this much. And, opinion in white circles, nationalist or liberal, is that the present violence among our organisation shows that we will destroy the country.

I personally reject this with contempt, but many other people, black at that, may accept it.

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BISHOP DESMOND TUTU: Leading peace mission.

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But while the peace process continues, it is important to have another look at the situation, consider the dangers and implications, and learn from it.

While the leaderships of Inkatha, Azapo and the UDF are aware of the dangers, the many foot-soldiers of these organisations are ignorant of the harm this fighting is doing to the dignity of the liberation struggle.

## Dangers

The immediate dangers are:

- action by supporters of the system who have joined the general petrol bomb throwing knowing rival groups will be blamed;
- action by indirect agents of the system such as agent provocateurs; and
- fanatics within the organisations getting out of hand.

Already petrol bombs are flying in many parts of the country. They also fly in areas where there are no rivalries, and only one organisation exists. It needs no brilliant analysis to guess who the petrol bomb throwers are.

Secondly, that agent provocateurs are now abundant is beyond dispute. How does one explain a situation in which thousands at a service accept the peace package and hardly does the cheering die down when officials of one group are attacked.

The UDF and Azapo to a lesser extent, must seriously address themselves to the fact that agent pro-

Agent provocateurs are people hired by a system to provoke confrontation.

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The above three are the immediate dangers in the situation, but, there are more sinister implications over and above these dangers. These include:

- the black community is being thrown into confusion and disillusionment;
- the white community and Government need no better reason to cling to power with justification;
- support organisations overseas are disappointed;
- the internal organisations themselves lose credibility; and
- chaos reigns with no form of control.

## Concern

That the black community wants peace was shown by the numbers that went to Regina Mundi in Soweto and Dan Qeqe stadium in Port Elizabeth. Thousands.

Not only this, but the people who went to these services were adults, the midriff of the black community. These are the people who give respectability to our organisations, and they showed their concern by going to the peace services.

Meetings are mostly attended by youths, but for the peace meetings even the adults came. No other display by the community can show the need for peace.

It is with this in mind that one imagines the pain and disappointment in the black community when students at the University of the North savagely beat up the leaders of a rival political group at the campus recently.

a few days later exonerating the student body, one knows that the Turfloop SRC is supportive of the UDF and the people assaulted were Azapo.

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# Azapo hails truce

THE SOWETO branch of Azapo yesterday re-affirmed its support for a truce aimed at quelling clashes among black political organisations.

At a meeting held at St Hilda's Anglican Church, Senaoane, the black consciousness body blamed the Government for the current black-on-black confrontation that has resulted in a number of deaths and casualties.

Addressing the meeting, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, general secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union, said: "Azapo has never fought anybody or any organisation, nor disrupted meetings hosted by other groups. We know our enemy."

Mr Nefolovhodwe condemned incidents wherein students attacked residents and property owned by black businessmen, saying these attacks were "mis-directed".

The meeting resolved to urge Azapo's youth wing, the Azanian Students Movement, to address itself to unrest in schools — especially the attacks on residents and property owned by black businessmen.

Meanwhile, Azapo reports — in the wake of peace initiatives among major black organisations — that yet another member of the organisation had his home attacked twice at the weekend by youths belonging to a rival political group.

The New Brighton home of Mr Themba Solwandle was stoned and the windscreen of his car smashed — hours after a peace meeting held in the area last Friday, according to Azapo. No-one was injured in the incidents.

Represented at the peace meeting, held at St Steven's Church, were the United Democratic Front and Azapo.

Azapo yesterday deplored the Eastern Cape incidents, and appealed for calm in the troubled areas.



AZAPO'S ISHMAEL MKHABELA

11A  
Sowetan 27/5/85

# Azasm pupils beaten by men 'in UDF shirts'

ARGUS  
22/5/85  
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Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two pupils belonging to the Azanian Student Movement were beaten up and one of them had his arm broken in an attack by strangers wearing United Democratic Front T-shirts.

The pupils, Hector Patrick and Prince Massingham, were caught on separate occasions last week near the shopping complex in the township.

Mr Patrick — a pupil at the Eldorado Park High School — said the attackers tried to pull him into a car. When he resisted the door was slammed against his arm, breaking it.

Mr Massingham — a pupil at the Kliptown High School — was tied to a pole and beaten up. He was made to chant: "Nelson Mandela is my leader."

## Unlikely

The two pupils are actors in a play which has been staged at political meetings of the Azanian People's Organisation and Azasm in Eldorado Park and Lenasia. They have also helped to distribute May Day literature at schools in Eldorado Park.

Both said their attackers were unlikely to be people from Eldorado Park because they had never seen them before the incidents.

● The Argus Tygerberg Bureau reports that 53 people were arrested in Oudtshoorn at the weekend after incidents of public violence and arson.

## Set alight

According to the police public relations division in Pretoria, tearsmoke and rubber bullets were used to disperse crowds.

The police report said the incidents had occurred between late Friday evening and early Saturday.

In another incident in the town a man and seven children were injured when a house was set alight.

● Sapa reports from Pretoria that police strengthened their presence in the black township of Lingelihle near Cradock early today in what police called an anti-crime operation. /

The SABC reported that the operation also involved SADF personnel and the Cradock Horse Commando.

# Local 'riddle of the Sphinx' — what is treason in SA?

LONDON. — For the past week I and many others who have lived through South African politics of the '50s have been waking up to the morning paper with a certain sense of expectation.

This expectation was that we would be given an answer to the South African version of the "riddle of the Sphinx". By now most of us are becoming sadly resigned to having to wait a little bit longer, if any answer is about to come at all.

The question, or rather the riddle, is one for which we awaited an answer from 1956 to 1961 — and even then received no answer.

The conundrum was: "What is treason in South Africa?"

During that time it was asked repeatedly on behalf of 156 black, coloured and white South Africans gathered together in the Treason Trial for all those long tedious years. At the end of which they got no answer.

## No charges

All manner of men and women had to face that enquiry, including doctors, lawyers, journalists, clergymen, teachers, trade unionists, but at the end of it all, at the end of the whole process, every man and woman of them all were sent home again without ever having the charge of treason, or any other charge, reliably pinned on him or her.

Legally, they must have been the most faultless and distinguished band of South Africans ever assembled.

So when we heard that the inquisitors of our loyalty were, quite regardless of their past profound failure, about to start

the same examination all over again with a new Treason Trial, most of us believed they might have got it right this time.

Not about the same people, or even the same kind of people — there seemed to be more lawyers this time, and a greater sprinkling of trade unionists — but, we were convinced, our rulers must have got the legal formula largely correct.

## Guesswork

Another long-drawn-out failure was unthinkable.

Yet, as the guesswork started again among the great new crowd of journalists, observers, broadcasters, and so on assembled at a new point of trial — Maritzburg — doubts began to circulate or, at least, cautions.

Going on past form, our informers warned us the new Treason Trial could take anything up to 18 months to assemble its charges. The leaders of various political groups could be kept away from alleged treasonous activities for that much longer.

With a bit of luck, some of them might die of old age or discouragement long before it became legally accepted that they had been correctly charged. So the keen edge of our expectation has become blunted and the thought has seized us that many of us, too, may have died before we dis-

cover the true meaning of treason and a proper care for it.

Meanwhile, the South African government appears to have provided an arena of thought to build up solidarity among various groups who would like to see its policies destroyed.

## Thought arena

There both the Azanian and the UDF factions will be able to build up their strategies and arguments, designed to destroy the apartheid order. Maritzburg will become a veritable Athens of political and intellectual activity to plot the downfall of the racial system.

The UDF will be able to refine its rationale for doing so in cooperation with the whites, coloureds and various groups of Indians and blacks, and the Azanians practice their build-up of a veritable Verwoerdian black party.

Messages will pass from that other centre of subversion, Lusaka, giving advice on tactics and organization. Leading members of the ANC's political military council sent forth strategic advice over the last week.

## General strike

They urged, on behalf of the ANC, that black youths prepare for a long general strike, with small armed bands prepared to turn the townships into "no-go"

areas.

The messages from the political military council sought to cheer their audience with summaries of how the situation on the ground was turning to their advantage. The blacks, councillors, policemen, security-men, and so on, without whose help the whites are unable to run the townships, are beginning to lose heart in making a profit from the white need for such service, and may be ready to trade with both sides.

About 20 years ago I learned some respect for the acuteness with which refugee black politicians observe reactions at home.

There were plenty of these refugees at the foundation meeting of the Organization of African Unity. An Algerian leader declared at one discussion:

## '10 000 men'

"Give me 10 000 men and I will march straight down Africa to liberate our black brothers in South Africa!"

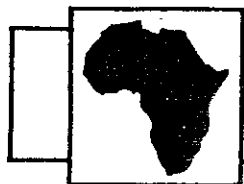
I was just sitting down to send this news off to the Cape Times when I looked up to find a group of ANC men regarding me anxiously.

"You're not going to send what that Algerian fellow's just said," they asked.

"Yes," I said. "Why not?"

"Don't do it!" one begged me. "You'll have all our fellows stopping whatever they're doing and sitting down to wait for the 10 000 Algerians to turn up!"

In the last score of years, I guess, the blacks have learnt enough not to expect African promises to be fulfilled so promptly.



## Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS

11R) ~~7/15/85~~  
Cape Times 27/5/85

# Search for missing Pebco men

CAPE TIMES  
27/5/85  
11A  
2B  
379

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Relatives of the three missing executive members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (Pebco) said they would not give up their search for the men until they found them — dead or alive.

Pebco's general secretary, Mr Siphon Hashe, 58, president Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, 30, and organizing secretary Mr Champion Galela, 32, disappeared mysteriously on May 8.

On Wednesday, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court dismissed an application for an order calling on the police to produce Mr Hashe.

The court heard that the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier C A Swart, had contacted all police stations under his control and had received written testimony that Mr Hashe had not been arrested or detained in his area.

## Suspicious of police testimony

Last week his daughter, Miss Phumeza Hashe, said the "extensive and diligent" search for the three men by relatives and others would not end until they had established their fate.

She said she did not accept police testimony before the Supreme Court that her father might have been killed in the feud between the United Democratic Front (UDF), of which Pebco is an affiliate, and the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo).

Mrs Benedicta Godolozzi, mother of Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, said the police denial that the men were in detention had left her "cold and suspicious" about the circumstances surrounding their disappearance.

## 'Stopped at a roadblock'

In another development, the UDF regional vice-president, Mr H Fazzie, said witnesses had told him that the men had been stopped at a roadblock after 7pm on May 8.

He also disputed suggestions that the three might have been killed in the Azapo-UDF feud.

The Reverend Mzwandile Maqina, an Azapo member, has also disputed the contents of an affidavit submitted to the Supreme Court on Thursday in which Colonel Harold Snyman, head of the Port Elizabeth security police, said there was a possibility, if not a probability, that Mr Hashe had been abducted by Azapo and killed.

## Activists who have gone missing

The disappearance of the three men has raised the number of political activists who have gone missing mysteriously since 1982 to six.

They include Mr Monwabisi Mobbs Gquirana, who served 10 years on Robben Island after being convicted of furthering the aims of the outlawed African National Congress. Banned in 1976, he went missing on February 2, 1982.

Mr Siphiso Mthimkulu, former chairman of the Congress of South African Students, disappeared on April 4, 1982. He was last seen at a bus stop near Livingstone Hospital where he had gone for medical treatment for thallium poisoning. At the time, Mr Mthimkulu was suing the Minister of Justice for R150 000. He claimed he was poisoned while in detention.

Mr Thobekile Madaka, who was also an executive member of Cosas, disappeared at the same time. His car and passport were later found at Sterkspruit near the Lesotho-Transkei border.

27/5/87  
Crowd 11A  
attacks  
Cosas  
head D. Dispatch

Dispatch Correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH —  
Two leaders of United  
Democratic Front-  
affiliated organisations  
in Port Elizabeth were  
attacked at the weekend.

One was severely injured and the other attacked at a meeting of a body monitoring what has been described as a truce between UDF organisations and those of the rival Azanian People's Organisation

Plainclothes policemen were on guard at Livingstone Hospital last night where Mr Lulu Johnson, national president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), was said to be in a satisfactory condition after being attacked by about 30 people armed with knives, stones and axes outside his family home in New Brighton on Saturday night.

Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, the president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and in the forefront of the "truce committee," was attacked by a group of Azapo members on Friday night at a meeting of the truce committee.

Mr Johnson, 21, is a matric student.

While hospital security guards stood by, his mother, Mrs Miriam Johnson, who witnessed the attack on her son, said at his hospital bed yesterday she would carry the memory of the attack to her grave.

Mrs Johnson said that, just before midnight on Saturday, she and her family heard a commotion outside the house.

"When Lulu went into the street, they came at him from all sides and began hitting him with stones and knives and axes. With the screaming mob following him, he ran down the street and into the home of a friend.

"If my son had not done this, he would have been murdered."

# Bread

## boycott:

## claims

## differ

2 Post ~~27/5/85~~ ~~12/8~~ ~~12/8~~ 11A

Post Reporter  
CONFLICTING claims on the effectiveness of the bread boycott by Port Elizabeth's northern areas traders have been made.

The boycott by the traders follows a nine-day-old boycott by traders in PE's black townships.

The African bread boycott is still continuing.

The boycott launched by coloured and Indian shopkeepers in PE and Uitehage today was "an absolute flop", according to the owner of a takeaway shop in Korsten, Mr Essop Ahmed.

He said there were only a "handful" of traders not selling bread in the area and where these shops were losing sales others were selling more bread than ever.

However, the chairman of the organisers, East Cape Traders' Association (ECTA), Mr Ebrahim Soomar, said 95% of traders were not selling bread.

He said: "I spent the morning visiting shops and cafes and was delighted to find that the boycott has been an even greater success than I had initially anticipated."

He stressed that the boycott was "in the interests of the community — to improve the conditions

under which bread is delivered".

Mr Soomar said that the boycott would only come to an end once "guarantees" could be given by the Port Elizabeth Master Bakers Association concerning their grievances — not just promises.

The vice-chairman of ECTA, Mr Shun Pillay, said there were traders opposed to the boycott who were trying to discredit the association by phoning false information into the newspapers.

The president of the Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce, Mr Monwanbisi Mkaza, said a total boycott of bread by traders in the African townships was continuing.

He said a meeting was to be held with the Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce this week to discuss the boycott.

"The community have taken it upon themselves to support the boycott entirely and feel that they should not eat bread," he said.

"Everyone has the misconception that bread is our staple diet, which is incorrect. People are simply eating other food. Those wanting bread are baking their own."

CAPE TIMES 27/5/85 11A 922A  
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# No rushing into rainbow mergers

## Political Staff

THE scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act could usher in significant party realignments before the opening of the next session of Parliament.

It also opens the way for a measure of indirect parliamentary "representation" for movements excluded so far from the political process at central government level.

While most parliamentary parties have welcomed the government's midnight announcement that it plans to scrap the Act, all but one have indicated that there will be no rushing into rainbow mergers.

## Unconvinced

Nevertheless, some informal talking has been going on between certain parties, although only Solidarity, the opposition party in the House of Delegates, has gone so far as to indicate that it will seek amalgamation with the Progressive Federal Party.

Even so, it is understood that not all Solidarity members are convinced about such a merger.

The leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has also denied reports of merger plans.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, released his statement early yesterday.

The Act barred members of different race groups from belonging to the same party.

Mr Heunis said amending legislation would probably be introduced in Parliament this session.

Abolition of the Act means blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites may become members of any political party for the first time since 1968.

The parties will now be able to open their doors to members of all races. This implies that blacks, for example, while unable to actually partici-

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To page 2

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27/5/85  
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From page 1  
pate in the parliamentary system, will be able to influence white, coloured or Indian candidates through participation in the caucuses of the parties they join.

Dr Slabbert said the PFP would immediately begin recruiting members of other population groups.

He said the PFP would consider putting up candidates for seats in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, but this would be finalized only at the party's national congress in August.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, whose party dominates the coloured House of Representatives, said he welcomed the scrapping of the Act as an important investment in the country's future.

He denied that a merger with the PFP was in the offing but said that there could be associations and agreements on different issues. All parties who favoured scrapping of the Act wanted a new South Africa — they differed only on strategy.

The leader of the majority National Peoples' Party in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said he did not believe parties would rush into mergers, and disclaimed rumours that the NPP would be "swallowed up" by the PFP.

He said, however, that he would not rule out the possibility that the PFP could become a majority party in either the Representatives or the Delegates.

His party would also immediately open its doors to all races, he said.

It is understood that Solidarity chairman Mr Pat Poovalingam has said that his party will seek amalgamation with the PFP.

Sources in the PFP have indicated that there have been unofficial discussions with other parties.

The New Republic Party's Mr Derrick Waterson said the step was a logical continuation of the reform process in South Africa.

Rejecting the move, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, described it as a further violation of the principle of separate development and proof of the government's obsession with doing away with the white man's right to separate political freedom.



Mr Lulu Johnson with his mother, Mrs Miriam Johnson, in Livingstone Hospital yesterday.

CAPE TOWN 27/5/85

# UDF-affiliate leaders attacked by PE mobs

**Own Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH.** — Two leaders of United Democratic Front-affiliated organizations were attacked at the weekend. Mr Mkhusele Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, was attacked by a mob on Friday night at a "truce committee" meeting in New Brighton attended by delegates of the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo), the Interdominational Ministers' Association of Southern Africa and UDF affiliate members. Plainclothes policemen were on guard at the Livingstone Hospital last night where Mr Lulu Johnson, national president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was said to be in a satisfactory condition after being attacked by about 30 people armed with knives, axes and

axes outside his family home in New Brighton on Saturday night. An anonymous caller to the hospital yesterday threatened: "We will come to the hospital and finish the job properly 'this time.'" Mr Johnson, 21, a matriculant, did not recognize his assailants but on the basis of remarks made during the attack, said they might have been Azapo supporters. A police spokesman, Lieutenant Cecil Vermaak, last night confirmed that, apart from security arrangements by the Livingstone Hospital, plainclothes policemen had been assigned to watch over the student leader. While hospital security guards stood by, his mother, Mrs Miriam Johnson, who witnessed the attack on her son, said at his hospital bed

yesterday that she would carry the memory of the attack to her grave. "My son is a gentle and kind person who would never hurt anybody. Why do they want to kill him? I know there are politics, but can't they have politics without killing each other?" "It is terrible living in the townships now. You don't know when you leave your house if you are ever going to see it again, and whether you will ever see your family again. "Why can we not all live in peace? I will pray to God for those who have done this terrible thing to him." Her son's wounds bore witness to the viciousness of the attack. The rear portion of his head, including his skull, is a mass of metal clips keeping the axe wounds closed.



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# Funeral unites UDF, Azapo

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Rival political organizations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), shared a platform for the first time during recent country-wide violence at a service for nine unrest victims in Kwathema, East Rand, on Saturday.

More than 30 000 mourners attended the funeral. Police and Defence Force troops were on standby in armoured vehicles but no incidents were reported.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Johannesburg, said yesterday he was "happy" at the response by organizations that had been "abrasive towards each other in the past" to his peace pleas and for "unity in the struggle against our common enemy".

Officials of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) were also present.

## Media

In recent months, tension between the UDF, Azapo and Azasm has boiled over.

Bishop Tutu, who set up peace meetings between the organizations this month, yesterday slammed sections of the South African media for being "strangely keen to see these talks fail".

"Inkatha was at the first round of talks, which the UDF said it could not attend because of short notice," Bishop Tutu said.

But a "high-powered" UDF delegation had been involved in subsequent talks and "fruitful" talks with Azapo had also taken place, he said.

"Last Sunday, for the first time, we had Azapo, UDF and Inkatha speakers at a well-attended service at the Regina Mundi church in Soweto. These developments should have been hailed by the media.

"Instead, they were given scant coverage — whereas, when things go sour, there is all kinds of coverage," Bishop Tutu said.

# SOWETAN

TUESDAY, MAY 28, 1985

22c + 3c GST (SA) Elsewhere 25c

# ANC MAN IS JAILED

11A  
Sowetan  
28/5/85

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

**A SELF-CONFESSED African National Congress member, Marines Jabu Ngobese (21), was yesterday sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in the Rand Supreme Court for high treason.**

His co-accused, both trade unionists, Meriman Xolani Nduna (24), of Daveyton, Benoni, and Zanemvula Mapela

(25), of Mdanetsane in the Ciskei were each jailed for five years each for the same offence. All three had pleaded guilty to the charge.

Immediately after Mr Justice L le Grange had pronounced sentence, Ngobese raised a clenched fist and turned to the gallery shouting "Power to the People". Shortly thereafter he was joined by his co-accused and some specta-

tors in raising clenched fists while singing a freedom song.

Ngobese was found guilty by the judge after admitting membership of the ANC and undergoing military training between 1980 and June 9 last year.

He also admitted bringing arms and explosives into the country and hiding them in dumps in Langlaagte, near a cemetery in Vosloorus, at a Dube sub-

station, near the Naledi and Orlando soccer stadiums and in Daveyton.

## Denied

He denied that any of the material brought by him was actually used by the ANC, but admitted that the purpose of bringing the weapons and establishing dumps was to further the organisation's aims.

Nduna, a member of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, admitted providing accom-

modation for Ngobese and a companion known as Maxwell, and assisting them to bury arms, which he realised could be used to further the aims of the ANC.



PUPILS FLEE as a police patrol moves into Orlando West, Soweto. Story on Page 2.

"S-H-H-H-H!  
DON'T TELL ANYONE  
WE ARE SO CHEAP!"

R5,00

R5,00



1/2



1/2 PRICE

R9,35

# Chief 'has nothing to say to PW'

~~11A~~ 11A

Sowetan 28/5/85

THE CHIEF Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday that there was nothing he could talk about to the State President in the light of comments made by Mr PW Botha during a BBC interview on Sunday.

"Within the framework of what Mr Botha said to millions of viewers both here and abroad, there is nothing that I can talk to him about.

"South Africa must be told quite clearly that Mr Botha refuses to discuss the future outside the four corners of apartheid with me. The world must be told that he refuses to discuss

even the possibility of power-sharing in a unitary state.

"The world must be told that Mr Botha regards my goodwill, the goodwill of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the goodwill of Inkatha as an expendable item which he really does not need."

Chief Buthelezi said that if his going to Cape Town to see the State President were construed as active co-operation in legitimising white supremacy politics, he would in future rather stay in Ulundi "while the Government squanders the hope which flows from the will-

ingness of the majority of blacks in this country to seek non-violent solutions."

Black South Africa's cherished ideal was to have one man, one vote in a unitary state.

"No matter how deeply I cherish this ideal, I know that at this point in the history of our country, whites will be driven to grave acts of desperation if we try to ram this solution down their throats.

"I ask simply that the South African government declare its intention of talking about an alternative to a one man, one vote unitary state with black South Africa."

# Inkatha fights disinvestment

NO mass meeting of black South Africans had ever approved of disinvestment as a strategy against apartheid, said a petition handed to the United States Consul-general, Mr Harry Geisel, at his Durban North residence yesterday by members of the central committee of Inkatha and an estimated 2 000 supporters.

The petition, which was supplemented by 967 of

*sowetan 26/5/85*  
the 10 000 signatures collected by Inkatha against disinvestment, also stated that no democratically elected leader in a membership-based organisation of any importance had ever been given a mandate to accept disinvestment as a viable black political option.

"On behalf of black South Africa, we petition President Reagan, the senators of the USA and its

congressmen to reject all pressures exerted on them to express abhorrence of apartheid through disinvestment in South Africa," said the petition.

28/5/85

## Inkatha protests to US consul

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — Twenty bus-loads of Inkatha supporters yesterday arrived at the Durban North home of United States Consul-General Mr Harry Geisel and handed him a petition opposing the withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa.

Mr Geisel said the protest showed the seriousness of the situation. "I will not forget this day. All the American people want is what is best for all the people of South Africa."

Presenting the 967-signature petition, Mr Winnington Sabelo, a member of Inkatha's Central Committee, said: "We, as the elected leaders of our community, wish to demonstrate to the outside world our strongest objection to disinvestment."

"The large turnout is to highlight the hardship and suffering our people are undergoing because of unemployment. Blacks will be the first to suffer if foreign businesses are allowed to pull out."

He said people who were advocating disinvestment did not represent the black majority. "We say to hell with disinvestment and to hell with sanctions."

Mr Sabelo said Inkatha had 1 000 000 card-carrying members, and that there were some 146 000 without jobs in and around Durban.

# These men must go, says Meer

SIR — In attempting to justify his incredible salary Mr Rajbansi compares his position with that of white parliamentarians in South Africa and the United Kingdom. This is an absurd comparison.

The white electorate supports and elects the candidates most able to serve its own needs of continued white power and privilege. In paying parliamentarians the white electorate obtains value for its money.

Conversely, Mr Rajbansi and his colleagues in the House of Delegates enjoy little if any support among the Indian electorate and depend almost entirely for their privilege and power on a white minority government and its police force and army.

A paltry 15 percent of the Indian community voted in members to the House of Delegates, notwithstanding massive coercion on the part of the Nationalists to obtain a large Indian vote.

## Anger

Mr Rajbansi himself attracted a miserly 1088 votes in a 14,1 percent poll.

There is rising anger that the community is compelled to contribute towards its own oppression by paying fancy salaries to people they do not want and who do not represent them.

To add insult to injury Mr Rajbansi and his colleagues, as we correctly predicted at the time of the elections, have been unable to keep a single election promise:

- More employment was promised — unemployment is on the increase.

- Improved living standards were promised — living standards have fallen and the cost of living has increased.

## Housing

- More houses at affordable prices were promised — Mr Dookie now says that the days of cheap housing are over and unashamedly implements the Nationalist Government's housing policy.

- A lowering of GST was promised — GST has increased.

Indians are contributing to pay a Mr Rajbansi who:

- Agrees to sending the SADF into the African townships;

- Supports Minister le Grange even after the Uitenhage massacre;

- Is responsible for the implementation of inhuman security laws and who shares responsibility for the recent deaths in detention and charges of

treason against the NIC and UDF leaders;

- Is responsible for the detention of Mr Lekota and Popo Molefe of the UDF;

- Endorsed, in the budget debate, the principle of discrimination in financial disbursements in respect of housing, education, social welfare and pension.

The community does not want Mr Rajbansi and his fellow delegates. It cannot squander money on people perceived as political opportunists while the recession bites deeper.

These men must go.

F M MEER (Dr)

Executive: Natal Indian Congress

Dormerton

## ANC man

### jailed for arms caches

NM 28/5/85

JOHANNESBURG—A Rand Supreme Court Judge yesterday sentenced an African National Congress member who brought arms into the country and stored them in six dumps on the Witwatersrand, to 15 years' imprisonment.

Two trade union officials who helped Jabu Ngobese with one of the caches were each sentenced to five years by Mr Justice L le Grange.

Ngobese, 21, raised a clenched fist after being sentenced.

A chant started by Ngobese was carried into the streets by the crowd attending the hearing.

Ngobese, with co-accused Meriman Mordecia Nduna, 24, and Zane Mvula Mapela, 25, had pleaded guilty to treason.

Ngobese admitted being a member of the banned ANC. Nduna and Mapela denied membership of the organisation, but admitted certain acts in furtherance of its aims.

Mr Justice le Grange said treasonable deeds, which often led to the shedding of innocent blood, were regarded as being among the most serious of offences.

In times of war the crime was punished with death. The ANC regarded itself as at war with South Africa, the Judge said. — (Sapa)

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Sowetan 28/5/85

# 'Innocent sufferers'

THIS year's unrest has so far claimed at least 208 lives and damage to property is estimated at millions of rands.

The figure was released by a field worker of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The analysis was for the period January 31 to May 21. A radio report last week put the figure at 381 deaths and 1 497 injured since January. 1 549 incidents of violence were recorded in April, of which 849 were in the Eastern Cape, while 402 were reported on the Witwatersrand.

But, in the middle of this carnage, are the "innocent sufferers" — the many black people who have to suffer in the process, for no reason, and all in the name of the struggle.

- they lose their lives;
- their shops are attacked and destroyed;
- they have to walk long distances when buses are withdrawn;
- their cars are stoned;
- their taxis are damaged;
- their houses are attacked perhaps simply because a jealous neighbour, business or jealous lover accused them of being sell-outs.

While reasons are ad

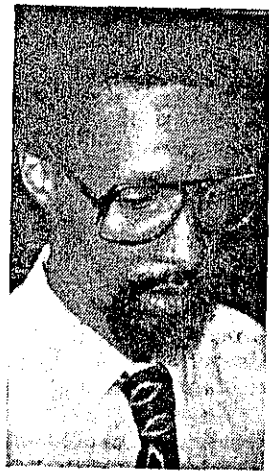
SINCE the year started, many people have died, lost relatives, had their houses gutted or shops burnt — all without reason. SELLO RABOTHATA looks at the plight of the innocent sufferers.

there is never evidence to this effect.

Also, some people are attacked because somebody somewhere, out of envy or jealousy, accused the victim of being a police informer. Questions are never asked why the said person is described as an informer and youths, often led by thugs, are only too happy to attack the hapless accused.

While the Govern-

been done to their members' businesses, has resolved to meet with trade unions and black political organisations on such issues. The Sowetaco president, Mr Phillip Ramakobya, said there is no doubt that the black businessman is playing a very important role in the struggle for the liberation of the black man, "and as soon as all the other parties involved realised this,



the better it will be for all of us."

A spokesman for Putco said the company has lost approximately

R5 million on buses that have been stoned, windows broken, or set on fire. The company has also experienced a loss of R4,5 million in revenue. This has led to a decision that buses be withdrawn from the troubled townships and the practise will continue "as long as the lives of our drivers and passengers are endangered."

### Action

When Putco takes action on the situation it normally withdraws buses. This means that thousands of people must travel long distances or pay exorbitant taxi fares.

In addition they are subject to attacks by thugs on their way home and lose their wage packets or even lives at times.

Mrs Ann Clear, a spokesman for the Bargwanath hospital, said the township unrest and violence was causing a problem for the hospital. The indiscriminate stoning of vehicles during unrest may lead to the hospital to consider

withdrawing its ambulance service in the area. In the past two months, five emergency vehicles belonging to the hospital had been hijacked in the area and a threat to burn down the Orlando West clinic was made if the staff refused to treat an injured student from a Soweto high school.

### Police

She said: "The majority of those involved in the stone throwing incidents claim our staff is responsible for calling police to troubled spots. This is not true. We have nothing to do with the police. The radios in the emergency vehicles are merely for contact between the hospitals and clinics around the complex. Any interested resident is welcome to come and take a drive in these vehicles, with our superintendents, to see how they operate."

Putco bus drivers also held a meeting to discuss the stoning of buses as they see this action as endangering their lives and those of commuters. They threatened to stop operating in black townships if parents do not

prevent their children from acting in this way. The drivers said they were in the dark as to why they and the buses are being stoned as they convey people to and from work. Thousands of commuters are also known to be against the stoning of buses as this action inconveniences them in that they have to walk long distances to their homes when buses stop entering the troubled areas.

Solutions to the problem are not easy. But it appears that the answer still lies in organisations like Cosas, Azaso, Azapo and the UDF. Only they have the key to make the townships safer.

Parents seem to have lost control over their children, the police seem to have lost control of the situation, save where the Security Police are involved. Other community structures just do not have the credibility.

Azapo, Azaso, Cosas and the UDF are now the only hope. But can they ultimately protect the innocent sufferers? Only time will tell.





council members. Putco and delivery vehicles are attacked, the "innocent sufferers" lose lives with their relatives never knowing why. Community council members are accused of being part of the system and thus they do have an idea why they are attacked. Putco and delivery vehicles are attacked rightly or wrongly, because they are perceived to represent white business that exploits blacks.

### Rural

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said it is clear that the current unrest in the country is no longer restricted to larger metropolitan areas and the Eastern Cape. He told a public meeting in Cradock last week that the violence was spreading to rural areas and was in all provinces, and that this was extremely worrying. There has also been an increase in the number of incidents of violence.

A look into the situation at present, especially on the number of victims who are "innocent sufferers", shows that jealousy against people who are prosperous is a significant factor. Some people are victimised because they have big houses or their businesses are flourishing — these people are accused of obtaining money for these "luxuries" by selling-out on the black masses. But

PUTCO has lost approximately R5-m on buses that have been stoned or set alight.

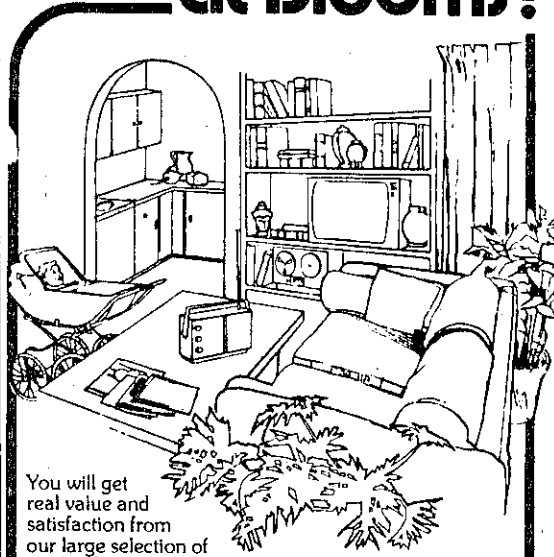
ment bans people or refuses them passports without giving them a chance to defend themselves or telling them what wrong they have done, township activists are also guilty of condemning people to death without any reason whatsoever.

Some school dropouts become prosecutors, magistrates and executioners. The victim, probably a hardworking member of his community, will see his house go up in flames or is killed.

The tragedy of the situation is that our organisations have ignored this type of thing. It is either they fear that talking to these youths may turn them against them, or they prefer keeping quiet and thus being able to continue drawing on the support of these young activists — now virtually symbols of terror in their communities.

The Southern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce (Soutacoc), while unable to give figures on how much damage had

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Dr A NKOMO blames the 'system' for the fire which destroyed his consulting rooms.

# 'System' is blamed for fire attack

11A 11/1/85  
Sowetan 29/5/85

A well known Atteridgeville medical practitioner, Dr Abraham Sokhaya Nkomo, whose consulting rooms were completely destroyed by fire blamed the "system" for the attack and accused the Government of intimidation.

Dr Nkomo's consulting rooms, situated near his home at 42 Loetsi Street, Saulsville, were gutted by fire at about 4 am on Monday. In an interview with **The SOWETAN** yesterday, Dr Nkomo, who is also an executive member of the local residents organisation (Asro) said: "It is obvious that this is an attempt by the system to intimidate those who join hands in the struggle for peace and freedom. The aim of the attack is to demoralise those who want to be counted in the quest for justice."

The attack, he added, did not represent the conflict within the ranks of the black people. "It is a manifestation of the confrontation between those who stand for what is right and those who will maintain the status quo with all the might at their command."

## Tyrants don't last

"But history," Dr Nkomo charged, "teaches us that tyrants do not last forever. In the end justice prevails."

The doctor and his family narrowly escaped serious injury on May 15 when unknown people set his car and part of his house alight. "Such acts will not deter me from continuing the struggle of my people," he said yesterday.

According to him the incident occurred at about 4 am when they were awakened by neighbours who notified them of the "burning surgery". "This was not an act of people in a hurry," said Dr Nkomo. He estimated damages at R15 000.

In another move, the Soshanguve Youth Organisation (Soyo) strongly condemned the Government's banning of the organisation's launch on Sunday. "This kind of action by the State is not going to deter or discourage us from moving towards a non-racial, non-exploitative and democratic South Africa. This kind of behaviour by the State only serves to stimulate unavoidable confrontation," a statement for Soyo said.

# Cosas leader flees his Thabong home in fear for his life

A YOUNG Congress of South African Students leader in Thabong township, Welkom, has fled his home in fear of his life.

Freddie Vanga phoned *The Star* newspaper from a "hideout" on Monday: I want to expose the evils that are going on in Thabong. I feel too threatened to sleep at home because of the vigilantes in the township."

Mr Vanga alleged that a vigilante group was operating against members of civic and political organisations in both the United Democratic Front and the black consciousness camps.

He said the vigilantes appeared to be supporters of the community council and he claimed they had:

- \* Confiscated his family's housing permit and repeatedly threatened to have the family evicted from the home.
- \* Beaten his mother, Mrs Maggie Vanga, when they searched the home and failed to find him there.
- \* Repeatedly visited his house searching for him.
- \* Abducted him on April 30, when there was speculation about a renewed school boycott in Thabong, and taken

him to the mayor's house and from there to the police station.

He had been released to make a court appearance scheduled for that day.

The Vanga home was petrol-bombed earlier this year and two members of the family were injured. In addition, Freddie Vanga alleges that two shots were fired at him recently as he left a friend's house.

The Town Clerk of Thabong, Mr James Ngake, denied links between the vigilantes and the council. "I know nothing about people being terrorised by town councillors," he said.

"Thugs are using the town council's name to get money from the people. All that I know is that we want quietness in the township and no riots. People who are being threatened must make a complaint to the police."

Mr Ngake said that the council had its own law enforcement unit of 43 members, some of whom were being trained by police at Bloemfontein. The remainder acted as security guards in the township until they could be trained for broader tasks.

# Buthelezi 29/5/85 may close Soweto Assembly

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened to close down the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly unless the State President, Mr P W Botha indicates he is prepared to move towards power-sharing with blacks.

Chief Buthelezi was reacting to a BBC interview with the State President on Sunday, in which Mr Botha said white South Africans would accept neither a unitary state, nor power-sharing with blacks in a sovereign parliament.

Chief Buthelezi said that in the light of what Mr Botha had told millions of viewers, there was nothing he could talk to Mr Botha about. Mr Botha had ruled out giving political expression to the total inter-dependence of KwaZulu and Natal, Chief Buthelezi said.

## Intent

Furthermore, Mr Botha had ruled out the possibility of the Government making a declaration of intent about power-sharing, he said.

By indicating that he refused to discuss the possibility of power-sharing with blacks in a unitary state, the State President clearly regarded the goodwill of the Zulu people as "an expendable item", Chief Buthelezi said.

"If the State President's statements in the interview reflect all that there is in him, I would rather go to the people for a massive endorsement of my opposition to him.

## Pushed

"If we in this house are pushed too far, we will have no choice, but to prorogue the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and go back to the people for a mandate to return here with a very much clearer focus on the tactics and strategies we will have to adopt to nurture democratic decency in South Africa", he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he was prepared to talk about power-sharing without insisting on one man, one vote in a unitary state.

## Meeting

"I ask simply that the Government declare its intention of talking about an alternative to a one man, one vote unitary state with black South Africa", Chief Buthelezi said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Mr Botha are scheduled to have discussions in KwaZulu later this year, as was announced after their recent meeting in Cape Town.

# Malan: our job to thwart ANC

CAPE TOWN — It was in South Africa's interests to continue anticipating the ANC's plans "and to thwart them at the roots," the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on his budget vote, he said the three SADF members involved in a clash with Angolan security forces in Northern Angola last week had been on their way to a suspected ANC base to confirm intelligence reports when they had been surprised.

It had been known "for some time" that ANC members driven out of Mozambique and Lesotho after SADF actions had been grouping in Angola.

"We know that, but we must also know more about their training and

planning and their associates."

The ANC had lost the initiative in Southern Africa and it was common knowledge that it intended increasing its actions against soft, civilian targets in the Republic.

"It is thus in our own interests to continue anticipating the ANC's plans and to thwart them at the roots.

"It is the policy of the RSA to defend and offensively safeguard herself against any form of foreign aggression or internal revolution.

"In addition, it is our policy to prevent the build-up of hostile terrorist or conventional forces in neighbouring states which could be a threat to the RSA," General Malan said.

He denied allegations

that South Africa was destabilising Angola.

"An operation to collect intelligence and to pinpoint terrorist bases cannot be equated with an attack operation. These two kinds of operations are poles apart.

"Our target was not and is not the State of Angola. Our target was and is the ANC and Swapo, just as Mozambique and Lesotho were not our targets when we went after the ANC in their nests in Maputo and Maseru."

It was in the interests of South Africa to have stable and developing neighbours. Some of the Republic's neighbours realised this and also "increasingly realise that respect for the safety requirements of the RSA is a prerequisite for their own security."

"Angola knows this

too: that country has been warned repeatedly about the risk of accommodating elements which plan hostile acts there against the RSA."

General Malan praised the men who, he said, had risk their lives for their country and its security and he expressed sympathy with their next-of-kin.

He gave an assurance that the government would do everything possible to arrange the return of the bodies and the repatriation of the third man, who was wounded and is being held in Luanda.

Repatriation of the third man, Wynand du Toit, would be "a difficult and lengthy process as the Angolan Government has already indicated they will exploit him for maximum propaganda purposes."

General Malan said.

"The marxists are masters at forcing their prisoners to make so-called confessions to promote their propaganda and lies."

International criticism of South Africa implied that the Republic should "sit back with folded arms and watch how others act against her."

"A defensive stand is expected from South Africa while others can build up arsenals, plan acts of terror and/or connive at such actions."

Commenting on allegations that South Africa had broken the Lusaka Agreement, General Malan said it dealt with Swapo activities in a defined area and with South Africa's withdrawal from that area.

"Last week's events

had nothing to do with the Lusaka Agreement. Anyone who links the two matters, does so to be unreasonable."

General Malan also rejected allegations of a breakdown in military credibility.

"We do not have politics on one side and the military on the other. We have a symbiosis. The government of this day makes decisions and tasks the Defence Force, as it would any other of its instruments."

The Defence Force's task was to promote peace, stability and order.

"Whoever seeks peace and wants to protect it must be in the vanguard and maintain initiative. We cannot sit back while others collaborate against us and implement their plans." — Sapa.

## Slabbert questions SADF credibility

CAPE TOWN — The South African Defence Force was creating a "major crisis of credibility" for itself and South Africa, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Speaking in the committee stage of the defence vote in the House of Assembly, he said if anything was going to be used to justify the continued presence of the Cubans in Angola, it was

"simply not good enough."

Surveillance, espionage or clandestine intelligence operations were accepted as part of any modern society's methods of looking after its interests. That was not at issue.

"But the manner, timing and necessity of a particular operation most certainly should always be an issue of considerable concern be-

cause, we are seen to reinforce the image of a regional destabiliser."

The worst thing that could happen to a country and its government was not that its policies were rejected, or that it became bankrupt, but that it enjoyed no honour for its word and its credibility was destroyed.

"This government itself has claimed that the ANC is reeling on its

## McIntosh; Cabinda clash no surprise

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinda incident should come as no surprise to South Africans because South Africa had become involved in a pattern of sabotage, terrorism, murder, covert operations and insurgency since the late seventies, Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Pietermaritzburg North) said yesterday.

"We know that, but we must also know more about their training and

threat to the RSA," General Malan said.

He denied allegations

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Speaking in the committee stage of the defence vote in the House of Assembly, he said if anything was going to be used to justify the continued presence of the Cubans in Angola, it was the recent incident involving SADF troops in the north of that country.

Dr Slabbert said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and his department seemed to have their own "totally independent and unaccountable agenda and basis of operation."

"It almost appears as if he and his department claim the right to decide what is best for South Africa and everybody else, irrespective of what any other department, individual or organisation may decide."

The minister's explanation of the incident earlier in the debate was

"simply not good enough."

Surveillance, espionage or clandestine intelligence operations were accepted as part of any modern society's methods of looking after its interests. That was not at issue.

"But the manner, timing and necessity of a particular operation most certainly should always be an issue of considerable concern because if it is not, the operation itself can become a threat to the very interests it is intended to protect.

"There is no doubt that the SADF has handed a major propaganda coup to the Angolan Government."

Within a week of South Africa's declared withdrawal from Angola, it was seen by the whole world to be involved in an operation in the most northern part of the country.

"At a time when we should be giving as much ammunition to our supporters in countering the disinvestment cam-

paign, we are seen to reinforce the image of a regional destabiliser."

The worst thing that could happen to a country and its government was not that its policies were rejected, or that it became bankrupt, but that it enjoyed no honour for its word and its credibility was destroyed.

"This government itself has claimed that the ANC is reeling on its knees, and that Swapo is losing out in the military sphere."

Parliament and the rest of the country had been victims of "systematic deception" in the Angolan war of 1974/75.

"Now it is quite clear that the whole world knew that those denials were obvious and blatant lies. The whole world that is, except the Parliament of South Africa itself.

"I ask a simple question: What is Parliament expected to believe as officially true from this minister and his department?" — Sapa.

# McIntosh: Cabinda clash no surprise

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinda incident should come as no surprise to South Africans because South Africa had become involved in a pattern of sabotage, terrorism, murder, covert operations and insurgency since the late seventies, Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Pietermaritzburg North) said yesterday.

During the defence vote of the budget in the Assembly, Mr McIntosh said these actions had been covered up for most South Africans by lies, empty denials, black propaganda, disinformation and the cynical use of security legislation.

He said there had been many incidents, including the Seychelles incident and cases of sabotage in Zimbabwe which easily fell into South Africa's pattern of destabilisation.

He said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, by his "wild and unethical use of parts of the Defence Force for covert operations" had become the Gadaffi of Southern Africa.

Mr McIntosh also called for the release of convicted Defence Force spy, Roland Hunter, who was jailed for five years for passing information "about Renamo activities to the African National Congress, who passed it to the Mozambiquan Government."

Hunter, Mr McIntosh said, had asked for non-combatant status and had been given security clearance and posted to this section.

Discovering what his job involved, he said, it was not difficult to understand the "moral dilemma" in which Hunter found himself.

"Roland Hunter must have felt the same quality of moral agony that a German must have felt when he realised that the SS was gassing Jews, Slavs and Gypsies," Mr McIntosh said. — Sapa-PS.

# MP: Cabinda a big risk

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinda operation by the SADF had been a "high risk one" and had done the country great harm, Mr Vause Raw (NRP Durban Point), said in the Assembly yesterday.

Mr Raw said that while his party accepted and recognised the need for a country to obtain secret information for its security, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, nevertheless owed it to the House to

say what the particular urgency of the Cabinda operation was.

Why, for instance, could the required information not have been obtained by the National Intelligence Service? Gen Malan should also say if the cabinet had authorised the operation.

Mr Willa Hefer (NP Standerton) said gathering intelligence and information about the movements of the enemy was of vital importance

to the defence force and to South Africa.

Mr Hefer said the gathering of intelligence about the ANC was an ongoing process and could not be interrupted because the time was not politically right.

"I have just received a report of a bomb blast in Johannesburg, in which there have been a number of injuries. Surely this is evidence of the vital need to gather information about the movements of our enemies." — Sapa.

# UDF: <sup>(11A)</sup> don't fall for this joke <sup>29/5/85</sup>

GRAHAMSTOWN — "Don't fall for this kind of joke," Miss Cheryl Carolus, general secretary of the United Democratic Front, urged her audience at the launch this week of an organisation to be called the Grahamstown Committee of Democrats.

Miss Carolus was referring to the Prohibition of Political Interference Act. She said: "The bantustan structures are very much intact. No alliance across the 'camerals' will change anything."

She said the Labour Party could have "finished" the tricameral parliament if it had refused to participate. "We say: Get out now, if you want to discredit the National Party's chit-chat show. The UDF is not interested."

Of the genuine representative leaders of the people, a great number were "lounging around" in jail, Miss Carolus said. Only with the release of all political prisoners and the return of those in exile could an honest and genuine political structure be formed.

The government must talk to authentic leaders, said Miss Carolus. "We are building a nation and white democrats are now confident they can play a role. It is important that you become part of this big wheel which is turning towards freedom. If we join hands we can isolate the oppressors."

A mixed audience of about 150 people heard Miss Carolus and other speakers.

Miss Carolus said the "battleground" had shifted from the vague border to the townships to which there was a lack of access and of information.

She said: "We regret every single death, black or white, which has occurred. As the UDF, we seek peace, but there will be no peace until we have justice and recognition of basic human rights."

Through being denied information the whites were being cushioned from reality, but every day new pockets of resistance were forming, Miss Carolus claimed. This accounted for the phenomenal growth of

the UDF, she said.

"We question the right of the government to rule over us when it presents us with a fait accompli: a constitution that cannot function unless the bantustans work."

Miss Carolus said UDF-style democracy was decision-making at street level. She said: "It may take some time, but only when we are confident that we have backing at street level and are fully understood do we go forward."

This was also the UDF safeguard. Leadership could never take a direction that was not acceptable to the people who would enjoy real participation.

The aims of the Grahamstown Committee of Democrats were spelt out by a sociologist, Mr Simon Burton. These were to work for a democratic, just South Africa in which all had full and equal rights and participation, a non-racial, unfragmented South Africa and the abolition of oppression, exploitation and discrimination on the basis of race, sex, creed and class. — DDC

<sup>E. Post</sup>  
**Bread** <sup>11A</sup>  
 hawked <sup>29/5/85</sup>  
 to beat  
 boycott  
 — claim

Post Reporter

ALLEGATIONS of bread being hawked in Port Elizabeth's northern suburbs, where a bread boycott is in force, are being investigated.

The alleged illegal hawking of bread from bakers' vans has evoked a strong response from the East Cape Traders Association, which supports the boycott.

Its secretary, Mr Younus Amod, said instead of addressing the problems relating to the boycott, certain bakeries in PE were resorting to hawking.

Mr Amod, confirmed that he had informed the City Licensing Officer, Mr T Eksteen, of the alleged hawking.

A spokesman for PE's Health Department, said the matter was "receiving the necessary attention".

He said in terms of the bakers' licences they were not allowed to sell from their vans, except to licenced shops.

The spokesman added that no baker in PE had a hawker's licence nor had any applied for one.

The secretary of the Master Bakers Association, Mr Max Hoppe, said he would not like to comment beyond saying that it was possible for bakers to get hawkers licences.

The general manager of the Wheat Control Board, Mr Dennis van Aarde, said from Pretoria that in terms of the board's regulations, bakers did not need the board's permission to hawk.



# Cop shot by alleged ANC men

POLICE have launched a search for three heavily-armed alleged ANC guerrillas who shot dead a policeman and injured another in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on Monday.

*Sowetan 29/5/85*

Lieutenant Thomas Jefferson, of the Police Public Relations Unit, yesterday confirmed the death of Detective Warrant Officer Jacob Tshwane and the wounding of Detective Constable Simon Khanyane.

A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana police yesterday said the police were attacked by two armed men at about 3.15pm. "During the skirmish, one policeman was killed," he said.

The police spokesman added that the attackers escaped after hijacking a light delivery van and its driver. The driver was ordered to drive them away, but was subsequently released and the van given back to him.

**By MONK NKOMO**

He drove back to "Ga-Rankuwa," the spokesman said.

According to the police, both men, together with two other colleagues, Detective Sergeant J Modiba and Constable Simon Mamokoane, were attacked by three alleged members of the ANC carrying AK47 rifles. Detective Warrant Officer Tshwane was killed when the attackers opened fire and threw a hand-grenade.

Detective Constable Khanyane was injured and rushed to the Ga-Rankuwa Hospital, where he was treated and discharged. The other two policemen

were not injured.

It is believed that the four policemen were on investigations in Ga-Rankuwa when they apparently approached three suspicious-looking men seeking details of somebody staying nearby. Apparently panic-stricken, the three men hurled a hand-grenade and then opened fire with their automatic rifle before the police could act.

In a statement released yesterday a spokesman for the Public Relations Police Directorate in Pretoria said no arrests had been made but the Bophuthatswana police were busy in a follow-up operation aided by the South African Police.

# Chief Gatsha warns of violence

119 Sowetan 29/5/85



CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI: Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

VIOLENT reaction to apartheid had become so evident during the last nine months, that it could become endemic and a permanent aspect of political life, the chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, told the Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on Monday.

"Violence is on the upswing in a situation which is more polarised than it has ever been before and in which black anger will remain volatile for much longer than it has ever done before.

"We have reached a point in which violent reactions to apartheid, which have been so evident during the last nine months, may well become endemic and a permanently present aspect of our political life," Chief Buthelezi said.

The South African government had grasped the need to

bring about reforms with "a very shaky white hand," and its lack of courage in doing what "simply has to be done boldly, expediently and with determination, could well put the State President, Mr P W Botha, on the skids," he said.

## Future

Commenting on a television interview — broadcast on SABC-TV — between Mr Botha and an independent television (ITN) reporter, Chief Buthelezi said "the State President told all South Africa and the whole world that he has met me frequently and that while he and I both accept differences of opinion on some matters, we co-operate on a wide range of issues.

"He rejected what we regard as the essence of the Buthelezi Commission report.



PRESIDENT: P W Botha.

He ruled out giving political expression to the total independence of KwaZulu and Natal, and he poured cold water on the prospect that the area of Natal/KwaZulu could be an experimental seed-bed for the future.

Power-sharing would only have meaning for blacks when they shared power at central government level, he said.

## Vote

No black leader with a real constituency in South Africa, who like Chief Buthelezi had to test his actions and perceptions against popular will in democratic procedures, would participate in any discussions with the Government to assist whites to appropriate for themselves "that which belongs to all of us," he said.

It was urgently and desperately necessary for steps to be taken to avoid "violent confrontations between black and white, which flow from social, economic, political and constitutional racial discrimination."

If violent confrontation was to be avoided, "we must recognise that we will fail to do so if we insist on one man one vote in a unitary state."

This was his and black South Africa's cherished ideal, and a "cherished ideal for which a great many black South Africans are prepared to die," Chief Buthelezi said.


## Guns

"No matter how deeply I cherish this ideal, I know that at this point in the history of our country, whites will be driven to grave acts of desperation if we try to ram this solution down their throats. We would have to do so with butts of guns, and we would have to attempt to do so in situations in which whites adopt a scorched earth policy in their resistance to it.

"On the other hand, whites will have to ram down black throats, also with the butt of a gun, the notion that they as a minority are

entitled to appropriate 87 percent of the country and all its wealth as their own and, therefore, all final decision-making both in the realms of internal and external policy.

# Blast knocked me off my feet, says bomb hero

ARGUS 29/5/85 (11A)   
Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The hero of the bomb blast in the Nedbank East City building in End Street herewas blown off his feet by the blast as he was carrying a woman from the building.

The woman had tripped on the stairs in her panic to get out.

National serviceman Alan Kinnear, 22, said: "I got up with her still in my arms and, not realising my knee was hurt, I carried her to the ground floor, where I blacked out."

He discovered the bomb in a cardboard box only 15 minutes before it exploded, injuring 17 people.

"I was walking through the first-floor reception area when I noticed a cardboard shoebox-like container on the floor against the wall.

"I don't know why, but I decided to open the box — and got the fright of my life when I recognised the contents.

"Inside were two pieces of TNT strapped to a limpet mine," Alan said.

He rushed into an adjacent office and warned the occupants.

"Some of them, including an officer, laughed at me. But then he phoned security when he saw how serious I was.

"After alerting the building I helped with the evacuation," he said.

Then the bomb exploded.

## AMBULANCES, FIRE ENGINES

The evacuation of the building minutes before the explosion probably saved the lives of scores of office workers and spared many from serious injury, witnesses said.

Ambulances, fire engines and police cars surrounded the building while soldiers with automatic weapons and police with dogs dispersed hundreds of onlookers.

The building was sealed off as police bomb experts searched the building for possible further bombs.

The full force of the explosion was apparent on the first floor of the building, where ceilings had caved in and the floor was littered with slabs of concrete and bricks.

● Bomb damage pictures, Page 10.

## WORLD

# New insurrection call spells change in ANC tactics

LONDON — The African National Congress has embarked on a major change of tactics in its 25-year-old armed fight against the South African government.

Clearly encouraged by sustained rioting and "resistance" in the black townships over the past four months, the ANC has called on its membership to mount a popular insurrection through a combination of civil disobedience, industrial action and affirmative action.

This change in tactics, which comes before the banned organisation's first consultative conference for 16 years, marks a clear swing away from the armed struggle towards an Iranian-type popular uprising.

The switch follows more than a year of internal debate and re-assessment of tactics after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, which has effectively closed the last direct route through which the ANC could infiltrate South Africa.

The new strategy has also been given impetus by what is seen as a sustained mood of expectation and revolt inside black townships.

In two major statements released from its Lusaka headquarters — one last month and the other on May 9 — the ANC leadership called on members to consolidate the achievements of its immediately declared objective — rendering the black townships "ungovernable".

Now the ANC rank-and-file is being called on to:

- Prepare for a long-lasting work stoppage;
- Replace "stooge councils" in the black townships with people's committees — signalling the first move by the ANC to seize the political initiative internally at a time when

By JOHN BATTERSBY

black local government has all but collapsed;

Form youth crime prevention units in the black townships to curb "anti-social elements";

Wage a campaign to persuade black councillors and others co-operating on government platforms to resign;

Persuade black policemen and soldiers to refuse to carry out orders and "secretly turn against their masters";

Recruit sympathetic whites "to the cause of the liberation struggle and urge white youth to refuse national service".

The new directives are set as the new priorities of the ANC's struggle.

Although the previously central role of the "armed struggle" has clearly been downgraded in the list of priorities it has, however, not been abandoned.

The ANC's military wing — Umkhonto we Sizwe — is called on to "intensify its struggle" and concentrate its struggle against "defence and police bases" and on the strengthening of its "internal political revolutionary bases".

There is no support in either of the statements for Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange's recent claim that the ANC has decided to strike at soft targets inside the country.

An editorial in London's Daily Telegraph yesterday said "The South African government appreciates that the ANC lies behind many of the present internal troubles.

"It also knows that it is more difficult to pin down ANC activists within South Africa than outside," the Telegraph said.





## ANC claim blast

CAPL Times 30/5/85 (11A) (8A)

LUSAKA. — The ANC yesterday claimed responsibility for the bomb blast in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

An ANC spokesman here said a message received from the organization's office in Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, said a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) had "attacked the offices of the South African Defence Force Medical Corps in Johannesburg".

The message said the attack was "part of a general escalation of the liberation war in South Africa" and that last week another Umkhonto unit had shot and killed a South African policeman at Garankuwa, north of Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter

# NIC and UDF using blacks, says Dookie

**Mercury Reporter**  
THE Natal Indian Congress and United Democratic Front were using blacks for their own ideological propaganda and to incite racial feelings rather than to promote progress among all people, Mr Baldeo Dookie, Minister of Local Government and

**Housing in the House of Delegates, said yesterday.**

He was responding to an attack on him at an NIC meeting in Greenwood Park recently when it was alleged he had not attended the meeting to which he was invited, because he had been 'afraid'.

Mr Dookie said that as

far as Cato Manor was concerned, his department was working hard to create much-needed housing in the area.

All legitimate applications would be given priority as warranted and anyone trying to use unethical methods to acquire land in the area at the expense of legitimate applicants would not

have the sympathy of his department, he said.

Mr Dookie said that as far as St Wendolin's was concerned, the disbanded South African Indian Council had supported a call for the area to be set aside for blacks. Those living in the area had been assured they would not be moved.

However, he said claims that a Mrs Sithole was being evicted from St Wendolin's were not true.

'She is living in a shack in Savannah Park which was sold years ago by the Mariannah Institute for Indian development.'

All blacks living in the area had been compensated and provided with alternative accommodation.

The minister said Mrs Sithole had been offered two cluster houses which

she first accepted and later turned down.

Mr Dookie said: 'If one person is allowed to thwart development which is for the benefit of thousands by the actions of the NIC and UDF elements, then they are in fact using blacks for their own ideological propaganda and to incite racial feelings rather than promote progress.'

He said Mrs Sithole was properly informed by her former landlord that the property was being sold and that she would be given alternative accommodation and compensation.

Public relations officer Mr Kisten Rajoo said Mr Dookie had stated that he kept his constituency well briefed on all matters and had given his local representatives up-to-date information.

11A  
NM  
30/5/85



Capl. Tim's 31/5/85

# Boesak talks with Kaunda

Staff Reporter

TALKS this week in Lusaka between Zambia's president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, and Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, could mean Zambia would play an enhanced role in the struggle to end apartheid, Dr Boesak said yesterday.

Asked about the two-day official visit at a press conference in Cape Town, Dr Boesak said Zambia's role in the sub-continent is of increasing significance — particularly as the Zambian ambassador to the United Nations is president of the General Assembly.

Zambia, as an important figure in the Commonwealth and in the United Nations, is well-placed to act to bring issues on to the agenda of these bodies.

Asked whether the sort of pressure Zambia would be asked to bring on South Africa might include economic sanctions, Dr Boesak said Dr Kaunda had recently called for economic

pressure on South Africa during a visit to Scandinavia.

He expected Dr Kaunda "would now take his stand to the Commonwealth".

Dr Boesak said that during his visit he had met and been impressed by Mr Oliver Tambo, the exiled leader of the banned African National Congress.

## 'Gnomes'

"He is clearly a giant among the gnomes in this country who call themselves leaders and politicians".

Dr Boesak described Mr Tambo as a gentle person with insight.

"It is quite necessary for us to get to know this person and the organization he represents," he said. "We only know the ANC as it has been filtered through to us by the South African propaganda machine.

"Now it is time that we get ourselves in a position to form our own opinion of the man, the organization and the people who work with him," said Dr Boesak.

## Post Focus

# SA blamed for Botswana blast

31/5/85 ~~11A~~ 11A E-Post

THE bomb blast which ripped a car in half killing a South African political refugee has sent shock waves through Botswana's normally easy-going capital of Gaborone.

The May 14 blast, the second in three months, was widely feared to herald the start of a violent campaign to force Botswana to stop granting sanctuary to refugees and exiles fleeing from the neighbouring Republic.

The Business Gazette, an independent weekly, headlined its front page report on the killing: "A terror campaign — fears after the blast."

The mid-morning explosion in a quiet street close to a junior school and only three kilometres from the centre of Gaborone, killed 29-year-old Moagi Moeketsi, son of the general-secretary of the South African Council of Trades Unions.

No-one has been officially accused of carrying

By PETER GREGSON in Gaborone

out the attack, but businessmen, diplomats and officials categorically blame Pretoria.

"There's absolutely no doubt it was the South Africans," commented a senior official who asked not to be named.

"We think this is their new strategy. They first wanted us to sign a peace agreement and now that hasn't worked, they're trying this. They have always wanted us to kick out the refugees," he added.

Throughout most of last year, land-locked Botswana resisted pressure from its economically-dominant neighbour to enter into a non-aggression pact such as the "Nkomati accord" South Africa signed with Mozambique in March, 1984.

President Quett Masire's Government said such a treaty was

unnecessary and repugnant as Botswana harboured no aggressive intentions against any state.

South Africa publicly accepted that position after talks in Pretoria in late February with Foreign Minister Mr Gaositwe Chiepe.

This eased relations strained when Masire announced earlier in the month that South Africa had threatened to invade Botswana unless it stopped the passage of African National Congress (ANC) cadres across its territory.

After the Nkomati accord, hundreds of ANC members were expelled from Mozambique. The governments of two other South African neighbours, Swaziland and Lesotho, have also limited the number and activities of members of the ANC and other nationalist groups after pressure and, in

Lesotho's case, military action by Pretoria.

There is no official figure for the number of South African refugees in Botswana but most estimates put the total at a few hundred.

Last month, Vice President Peter Mmusi said nobody would force Botswana to expel genuine refugees and there was no question of a clampdown. But in late April armed police made an extensive search of the homes of a number of refugees in which documents were seized.

A Government statement said the operation had been "to flush illegal immigrants and undesirable equipment".

Official sources also said that 17 ANC refugees had been advised to leave the country for their own safety before the May 14 explosion, among them Moeketsi's newly-married wife.

In the previous blast in mid-February a small house was demolished. The two occupants escaped with only slight injuries and have since left the country. — Sapa-Reuter

Cape Times 31/5/85

# Surprise for deputy minister

## Political Reporter

MR Luwellyn Landers (LP Mitchells Plain) is the first coloured person to be appointed to a general affairs deputy minister portfolio following President P W Botha's cabinet reshuffle yesterday.

The 38-year-old former insurance consultant said his appointment as deputy minister of population development came as a "complete surprise" to him.

"We expected the appointment of own affairs deputies which was widely rumoured for some time, but not general affairs," Mr Landers said.

According to him, the move itself is a major departure in terms of Afrikanerdom's pace of reform. He said the National Party's reform efforts were taking place at "snail's pace".

Commenting on his newly-created post, he said: "It is a new portfolio and I need time to look at it."

Mr Landers joined the Labour Party in 1976 and moved from Durban to Cape Town where he became chairman of the Peninsula region in 1983/84. He contested the Mitchells Plain seat as LP candidate in the August elections last year.

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*Cape Times 3/15/78*  
**Blast**  
at *(UBS) (11A)*  
**charity**  
**offices**

JOHANNESBURG. — A blast damaged the offices of the Southern Cross Fund in central Johannesburg last night.

A police spokesman at the scene. Lieutenant Pierre Louw, said the damage was "slight," but the entire first floor of the United Building Society had been damaged as well as the fire escape.

No one was injured in the blast, though four people had been on the fourth floor of the building when the explosion occurred.

The Southern Cross Fund collects money for South African soldiers on the border.

Lieutenant Louw said explosives experts were still investigating the type of device used in the blast.

The UBS building is on the corner of Rissik and Commissioner streets. The blast occurred on the Rissik Street side of the building and damaged shops on the opposite site of the street which was cordoned off by police.

This was the second blast in central Johannesburg this week. On Tuesday, at least 14 people were injured when a limpet mine of Soviet origin exploded in the offices housing a South African Defence Force medical service centre.

● The African National Congress has claimed responsibility for last night's blast and the one on Tuesday. — Sapa

# Atlanti

Cape Town no longer has an ocean-racer, (left) and visiting rugby Springbok Schalk Billie, the new name.— Atlantic Privateer. The big yachtsman is now in the Round the Cape Race.

## Cape Times today

THE Cape Times advertisement offices will be closed today. Birth, death and lost-and-found notices can be phoned to 24-2233 between 10am and 5pm today and on Sunday.

## Cabinet major

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent  
IN a significant cabinet reshuffle and reassignment of ministerial responsibilities, President P W Botha has appointed the first coloured and Indian deputy ministers

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# Azapo blames 3rd force for friction

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A third force operating "under cover" was responsible for stirring up the feud between United Democratic Front affiliates and Azanian Peoples' Organization members in Port Elizabeth to ensure the confrontation continued, the Rev Mzwandile Maqina, a spokesman for Azapo, said on Wednesday.

Speaking at a press conference here, he said the third force was aimed at making a mockery of sincere peace talks between leaders of the two organizations.

He said Azapo inquiries had shown that the gruesome attacks — which persisted after a truce between Azapo and the UDF — had been

perpetrated by the underground organization.

He denied that Azapo was responsible for the attacks on Mr Lulu Johnson, national president of the Congress of South African Students, and Mr Edgar Ngoyi, UDF regional president.

Mr Maqina identified Dora Street in New Brighton as a trouble spot where the houses of UDF supporters were stoned nightly.

He said this indicated that there was a force which wanted UDF and Azapo members to point accusing fingers at each other.

"The time has come for leaders of these two organizations to sit together to establish if there is any way we can clamp down on this," he said.

# The real leaders

(IA) 

FEATURE

State President P W Botha's proposed all-race national forum which appears to enjoy a large measure of white support — significantly among leading businessmen — raises the question: Which black leaders will he bring into the peace indaba?

Government will obviously talk to established leaders like KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Lebowa's Cedric Phatudi and Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane who are at the cutting edge of his long-term peace initiative.

But what of the others, most of whom are regarded with deep suspicion by the establishment?

Botha has already indicated that he is not prepared to include leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), because they refuse to renounce violence, and the United Democratic Front (UDF) which he believes to be an "internal extension of the ANC and the SA Communist Party."

However, there is ample evidence that a peace forum without these leaders will be at a disadvantage. Despite all the bitterness that has been engendered between black and white nationalists, and the unease with which the business community regards radical black movements, many are now beginning to accept that without the Mandelas, the Pokelas, the Gumedes in the negotiating forum the "real voice of the people" may never be heard.

The *FM* has compiled a list, partly based on a recent survey by the black paper *City Press*, of leaders who seem to have a firm constituency in the black community, who have the essential requirements of legitimacy and credibility.

They include:

- The ANC: Jailed leader Nelson Mandela and external president Oliver Tambo, John Makhatini, a younger man now heading the New York ANC office, and Thabo Mbeki of the organisation's London office, who is the son of the veteran Govan Mbeki now serving a life sentence with Mandela and others;
- PAC: Nyathi Pokela, who left the country a couple of years ago after completing a 13-year prison sentence and now heads the external mission; jailed Zephaniah Motho-

peng, who was elected to the national executive when the organisation was formed in 1959, and young Martin Mabiletsa, a Johannesburg lawyer who fled the country in the late Seventies, now resident in London;

□ UDF: President Archie Gumede, who is among the 16 UDF, Natal Indian Congress members and trade unionists standing trial for treason, and detained publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota;

□ Azapo: President Ishmael Mkhabela and former vice-president Saths Cooper, a clinical psychology student at the University of the Witwatersrand;

□ Church leaders: Johannesburg Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, and Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed

today as divided as never before.

Members of government-created black institutions, such as community councils and other local authorities live in fear of their lives because of opposition and rejection in the black community. Many have died in the course of duty, many have resigned or will resign.

Local government structures, with a few stout-hearted exceptions, are in a state of collapse. This is as dangerous as it is tragic for it will sever one of the few communication links between government and black people at grassroots level.

The fact that the putative guest list is dominated by hardliners of the ANC and UDF should not deter the authorities. The

important thing is that they are the leaders who, like it or not, are preferred by blacks.

It is also noteworthy and perhaps even significant that, while three homeland leaders — Chief Buthelezi, Phatudi and Mabuza — are identified by blacks to be worthy of the appellation "real leaders," no single councillor or member of a local authority has been preferred.

A disturbing aspect is that both UDF and Azapo, as well as independent individual black leaders such as Motlana, don't seem to take President Botha's proposal seriously. Even Chief Buthelezi has so far rejected participation.

The UDF has said "unconditional dismantling of apartheid (not a national forum) is the only way to bring about

peace in SA" while Azapo accuses Botha of trying to create a deferential middle class among blacks.

Motlana, on the other hand, has said blacks are not about to be seduced into participating in a national forum but want the constitution rewritten to "provide for representation for all without regard to race, creed or colour."

Government's insistence on ANC leadership renouncing violence before it can be called to the negotiating table, while understandable, is not helpful either.

As Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has said (*FM* April 26), a weak Nelson Mandela would be of no use. Not even to government. ■



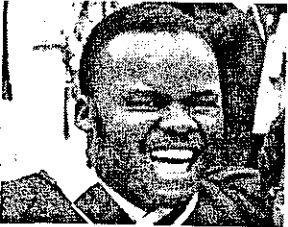
Dlamini



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Tambo



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Churches; and

□ Trade Unions: Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Chris Dlamini, president of the Federation of SA Trade Unions.

Others whose inclusion would also be supported by blacks are Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Soweto Civic Association chairman Nihato Motlana, and awaiting treason trialist Albertina Sisulu, UDF patron and wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu.

But the question of who to talk to is not as simple as it may seem. Not only are internal relations between the race groups going through one of the most troubled periods in 20 years, black political activist groups are

# BLACK POLITICS

1 JUNE — 30 JUNE

Police hunt

# Pebco heads who just vanished

11/6/85  
11A

By JIMMY MATYU  
THE South African Police have launched a country-wide search for two of the three missing leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco).

They have been asked to help trace Mr Sipho Hashe, secretary-general of Pebco, and Mr Champion Galela, organising secretary.

The family of the third missing man, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi (Pebco's president), has refused police offers of help in finding him.

Mr Hashe's wife, Elizabeth, told Weekend Post that the three men disappeared on May 8 after leaving their homes saying they were on their way to meet a visitor at the H F Verwoerd Airport in PE.

Meanwhile the United Democratic Front (East Cape) president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, said his organisation was busy with its own investigations into the disappearance of the three men. Pebco is a signatory of the UDF.

The Cape Town-based Civil Rights League has offered a R1 000 reward for information which helps trace any of the three men.

Mr Brian Bishop, vice-chairman of the league, said it was rumoured that the three men had been stopped at a roadblock.

If this was so there had to be witnesses, he said.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, SAP Press liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, confirmed this week that police had joined the search for Mr Hashe and Mr Galela after approaching their families.

"We have now opened a missing persons file after the families asked us for help in the search for Mr Hashe and Mr Galela.

"We appeal to members of the public to assist us with any information that might lead to finding them."

Col Van Rooyen said the



Mr SIPHO SAMUEL HASHE



Mr CHAMPION GALELA



Mr QAQAWULI GODOLOZI

police spoke to Mrs Hashe, who told them her husband was last seen when he left their home on May 8 at 7pm.

She told the police that her husband is 53-years-old and has a small scar on the left cheek. He was unemployed.

Col Van Rooyen said Mr Hashe's also sometimes used the surname Charles.

He is a former Robben Island prisoner.

Mrs Nomali Ritta Galela told the police her husband, Champion, was born in 1947. He was a photographer.

Col Van Rooyen said Mr Godolozzi's family turned down the police offer to help.

"We will now circulate photographs of Mr Hashe and Mr Galela. Their disappearance is a mystery. We really do not know why Mr Godolozzi's family has turned down our help," he said.

Col Van Rooyen again emphasised that the police were not holding any of the three men.

The families of Mr Hashe and Mr Galela have signed indemnity forms protecting the police against any civil claims that might arise over invasion of privacy should the men be found.

On May 22 an application calling on the Divisional Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order to produce Mr Hashe was dismissed with costs in the PE Supreme Court.

The application was brought before Mr Justice Zietsman by Mr Hashe's daughter, Miss Phumeza Hashe, and her application was supported by an affidavit by her brother, Mr Vusumzi Hashe.

In a replying affidavit the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the East Cape, Brigadier C A Swart, said he had contacted all police stations under his control and had received written proof that Mr Hashe had not been arrested or detained in his area.

In his affidavit, Colónel Harold Snyman, head of the security police in the East Cape, said his division had taken an interest in Mr Hashe and his family because they were political activists but Mr Hashe was not in their custody.

People with information have been asked to contact Lieutenant W Toba at 413711 (office hours).



ARGUS 11/6/85

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

# UDF's top staff in treason trial

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A trial arising from last year's township unrest is due to start in Pretoria today and the United Democratic Front's top staff — publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota and general secretary Mr Popo Molefe — are understood to be among the 22 accused.

The 22, who have spent months in solitary confinement under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, are scheduled to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court this afternoon.

They will be charged with the common law offence of high treason and alternatively with var-

ious offences under the Internal Security Act. These will include the promotion of township unrest resulting in damage amounting to millions of rands.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said last night the organisation had received confirmation from legal sources that Mr Lekota and Mr Molefe were among the accused.

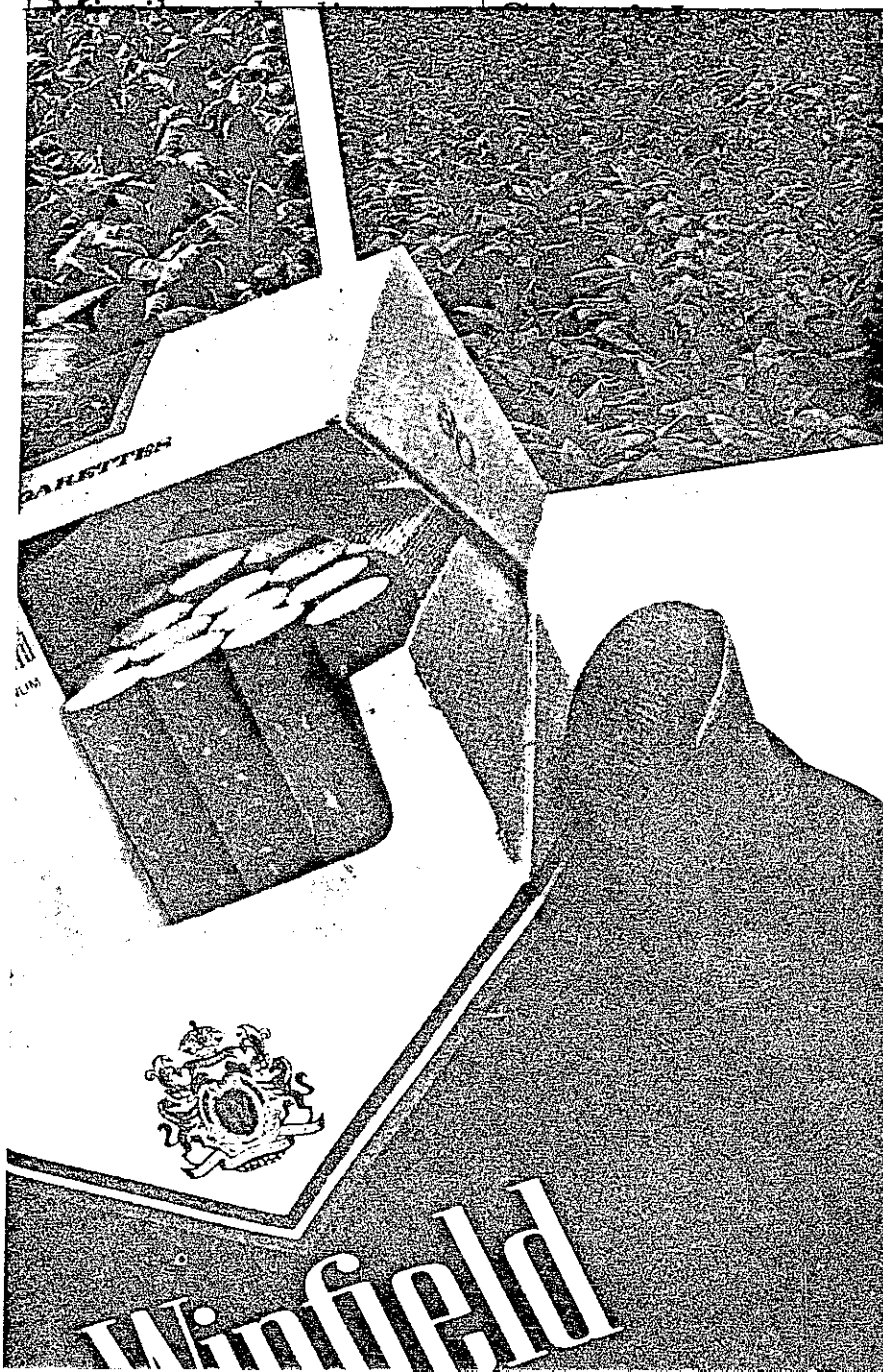
The 22 are not expected to plead when they appear today although it is understood they were served with copies of the lengthy indictment last night.

They were released from the restrictions of Section 29 yester-

day and were arrested in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act. They are now able to consult attorneys for the first time since their detention.

The accused account for fewer than a third of Transvaal residents still in detention, according to figures presented in the Detainees' Parents Support Committee's report for May.

Highlighting the situation in the Vaal Triangle, where 45 people are still known to be in detention, the committee said: "Of these, five are now entering their 10th month of detention, 19 their ninth month, 11 their eighth month and six their seventh month."



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Nobel Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu with exiled South African poet Breyten Breytenbach in Paris on Thursday night.

Picture: Reuter

# Tutu speaks at Paris concert

CAPE TOWN 1/6/85

110

PARIS. — The voices of Bishop Desmond Tutu, exiled South African poet Breyten Breytenbach and Lech Walesa echoed through central Paris on Thursday night at an open-air concert organized by the French government to symbolise its human rights policies.

Bishop Tutu thanked the audience for supporting South Africans opposed to apartheid. "Of the fact that we will be free there is no doubt. God is on the side of freedom and justice," he said.

The people of South Africa would win their own freedom, he said, but other nations could help in this struggle.

Mr Walesa, speaking down a crackling telephone line from his home in Gdansk, did not attend the two-day human rights conference arranged at the initiative of France's socialist leaders.

Mr Walesa's recorded message and the bishop's impassioned speech — both are Nobel Peace Prize winners — were the highlights of the

show.

President Francois Mitterrand invited the conference participants to the Trocadero Esplanade for the televised concert which he opened, inaugurating the new square, where the first phrases of the international declaration of human rights are engraved in stone.

The site was renamed the "Square of Liberties and Human Rights" in honour of the conference.

The concert, broadcast live

by France's state-run television channel TF1, mingled politics, music and poetry.

The conference has proved controversial in France, with opposition parties condemning it as a piece of government image-making.

The socialist government has been criticized here for making political capital and a "show" out of human rights issues. Both the opposition and the French Communist Party have refused to be associated with the conference. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

REUTERS TO THE WORLD

Supper

CAPT. TIMES 1/6/85

# LP man quits over Landers

## Political Staff

THE national vice-chairman of the Labour Party, Mr Charles Redcliffe, has resigned his position in the wake of widespread dissatisfaction with the appointment of the MP for Mitchells Plain, Mr Luwellyn Landers, as the Deputy Minister of Population Development.

Mr Redcliffe said last night that he resigned because he had been repeatedly ignored by the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, when it came to appointments of this nature.

And as the groundswell of dissension within the party grows following Mr Landers's appointment, it is understood that a group of Labour Party MPs will propose a motion of no confidence in the leader of the party at the caucus meeting on Monday.

One source suggested last night that the extent of the dissatisfaction was such that more than 50 MPs might vote against the party leader in the no-confidence motion.

It is understood that should Monday morning's motion fail — it is hoped that voting will be done by secret ballot — a motion of no confidence could be introduced in the House of Representatives by the dissident MPs.

Should such a motion succeed, then in terms of the constitution, new elections would have to be held.

# Tutu in human rights concert

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President Francois Mitterrand invited the conference participants to the Trocadero Espla-

nade for the concert.

The site, near the Eiffel Tower, was renamed the 'Square of Liberties and Human Rights' (Parvis des libertes et droits de l'homme) in honour of the conference.

The concert, broadcast live by France's State-run television channel TF1, mingled politics and music.

There were African drummers from Burundi, blues musician Memphis Slim from the U S, British rock singer Sting, American soprano Barbara Hendricks and the French National Orchestra conducted by Seiji Ozawa.

There were poems read by former Senegalese President Leopold Sedar Senghor, exiled South African poet Breyten Breytenbach and Dom Helder Camara, until recently Bishop of Recife in Brazil. — (Sapa-Reuter)

# Hendrickse facing dissent from MPs

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

LABOUR PARTY leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse will face dissent among his party's MPs at a special parliamentary caucus meeting on Monday.

The immediate reason for some MPs' dissatisfaction is the appointment of Mr L D Landers, MP for Mitchell's Plain, as the new Deputy-Minister of Population Development.

One MP, Mr Charles Redcliffe, has resigned as national chairman of the party. He claims he has been repeatedly ignored by Mr Hendrickse when it came to appointments of this nature.

A motion of no confidence in Mr Hendrickse might be proposed at the meeting. But the party leader said today this would find little support. He dismissed speculation that as many as 50 of the 81 Labour MPs would vote for it.

He said that while he was consulted before the time an appointment such as that of Mr Landers was the prerogative of President P W Botha.

Meanwhile, Mr Redcliffe told David Breier of Weekend Argus political staff his reason for resigning his position was the party leadership's failure to consult the caucus on important matters.

## NEWSPAPER REPORTERS

The latest example, he said, was Mr Landers's appointment.

"The caucus had to hear from newspaper reporters about the appointment. The party leadership never bothered to tell us," he said.

Dissident MPs suggested their most likely strategy at Monday's meeting might be to try to pass a vote of no confidence in Mr Landers.

The ultimate form of censure in the party leadership would be a vote of no confidence by the House of Representatives in the coloured Ministers' Council. But as this would lead to the President dissolving the House and calling for new elections, this is not on the cards.

Party dissidents believe it may be wisest to confine their attack on "small fish" in the form of Mr Landers. This would weaken Mr Hendrickse's position in the longer term.

# Reward for three Pebco men

11A  
C. Press  
2/6/81

A R1 000 reward has been offered for information which will help friends and family find any of the three missing Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation leaders.

Civil Rights League vice chairman Brian Bishop said a similar reward had been offered for information about PE student leader Sphiwe Mthimkhulu, who went missing after being released from detention in 1981.

**By MONO  
BADELA**

"We will not be surprised if the solution to the problem of the missing three Pebco men also clears up the mystery surrounding Mthimkhulu's

for the rewards, said Mr Bishop.

Meanwhile PE community leaders and members of the three men's families still believe they are being held by police.



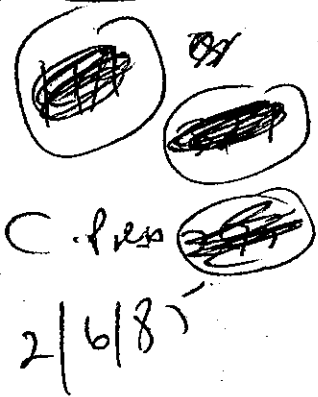
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# Pebco men


  
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 2/6/85

**A R1 000 reward has been offered for information which will help friends and family find any of the three missing Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation leaders.**

Civil Rights League vice chairman Brian Bishop said a similar reward had been offered for information about PE student leader Siphwe Mthimkhulu, who went missing after being released from detention in 1981.

"We will not be surprised if the solution to the problem of the missing three Pebco men also clears up the mystery surrounding Mthimkhulu's disappearance," said Mr Bishop.

He said it was rumoured that the three Pebco men — president Qhaqhawuli Godolozzi, general secretary Siphwe Hashe and organising secretary Champion Galela had been stopped at a police roadblock at the entrance of New Brighton Township on May 8 while travelling to meet a friend at the PE airport.

If this was true there should be some witnesses — hence the offer

**By MONO  
BADELA**

for the rewards, said Mr Bishop.

Meanwhile PE community leaders and members of the three men's families still believe they are being held by police.

This is despite the East Cape Supreme Court's dismissal of an application by the Hashe family for Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange and E Cape Police Brigadier Commissioner Swart to "produce" Mr Hashe.

The disappearance of the men was also raised by community leaders at the funeral of three victims of unrest, attended by 20 000 mourners last weekend.

All the speakers expressed concern at the disappearance of the leaders.

## REWARD



HASHE

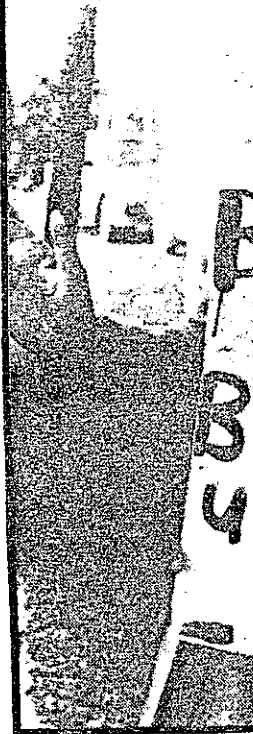
## REWARD



GODOLOZI

Anyone with information about the missing men should contact the UDF at (041)451388 or City Press at (041)46195.

**Don't**



Alex mayor Sam Buthe opted to serve on G... being Alex's favour... A number of angr... — and on Page 3, ye

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**UDF**

EASTERN Cape UDF executive members are continuing the investigations to establish the identity of the 50 unidentified bodies allegedly buried secretly at Zwide cemetery recently.

"We have much to do,



Nancy Harrison ... change of perception

## THE REAL STORY BEHIND THE BRANDFORT EXILE

S. Times By RAY JOSEPH: London

UNTIL as recently as 1983, journalist-turned-author Nancy Harrison had never met a black person socially.

But then a friend suggested that she write the biography of Winnie Mandela — the wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela — who lives in government-enforced exile in the remote Orange Free State town of Brandfort.

The two met at a house in Cape Town where Winnie was staying overnight after visiting her husband on Robben Island and agreed that Nancy should write Winnie's life story.

The result, "Winnie Mandela — Mother of a Nation", published by Victor Gollancz in London this week, has put Nancy on the international literary map overnight.

Nancy is a former Natal Witness, Daily News, The Star and Evening Post journalist and was married to former Sunday Times news editor and South African Associated Newspapers Eastern Province manager Colin Harrison, who died of cancer in 1980. Three of her four children are journalists.

### Revelation

Her book, while giving an objective background to black politics — both Government-sanctioned and "illegal" — is also a moving love story, packed with fascinating details and anecdotes.

None is more startling than the revelation that Winnie — the daughter of two teachers in a remote area of Pondoland who went on,

against all odds, to become South Africa's first black medical social worker and an internationally known figure — had been wooed by Transkei's Prime Minister, Kaiser Matanzima, before she met and married Nelson Mandela.

At one stage she was seeing both men at the same time, unaware that they knew each other, let alone that they were nephew and uncle.

Another revelation is the respect that the two men, diametrically opposed politically, still have for each other.

# What makes Winnie Mandela tick

And, despite the fact that Winnie and Kaiser Matanzima are "politically poles apart", they still see each other "from time to time because they are family".

### Love

Says Nancy of Winnie: "I believe that even if she had not met Mandela, she would have become a political figure in her own right."

"But what struck me most was just how in love they were, and still are."

Meeting Winnie Mandela and getting to know her as she prepared her biography,



A vital force in her own right — Winnie Mandela

Nancy says, opened her eyes for the first time to the plight of South African blacks.

She made regular visits to Brandfort to interview Winnie at length, before emigrating to Britain, where she wrote the book.

"Meeting Winnie has changed many of my perceptions," she says.

"The one point that I would emphasise is that although Winnie has been harassed, spent time in solitary confinement without trial, been banned and exiled, she has never been convicted of any offence related to terrorism."



# WIPE OUT THESE ANC COMMUNISTS, SAYS SADF

By MONO BADELA

A CRACK Cradock commando unit on horseback assisted SA Defence Force troops and riot squad policemen in a massive anti-Cradora propoganda exercise in Lingelihle Township this week.

Soldiers and policemen dished out thousands of pamphlets and broadcast anti-Cradora propaganda from a light aircraft, which circled low over the township.

And the homes of Cradora leader Matthew Goniwe and secretary general Monwabisi Makhawula were searched in pre-dawn raids by security cops.

Books and papers were confiscated.

Army helicopters, four Saracen tanks and Casspir vehicles were used in the exercise, which began at dawn on Monday.

The pamphlets said the "communist ANC and Cradora are not the bosses in Lingelihle".

They urged the community to fight the "criminals" of Lingelihle.

"We do not want killings and burnings and fightings. Criminals must get out," the propoganda read.

Cradora and Cradoya condemned the raid and "Government intimidation".

Cradora assistant secretary Victor Phuwane said the pamphlets were aimed at discrediting the people's organisations and unjustifiably linking them to the ANC.

# ONE BLACK ALTERNATIVE: MAKING 'RACE' WORK IN A POSITIVE WAY

COMMENTS on South Africa have concentrated almost exclusively on apartheid and the iniquitous effects of this racial system.

That is the real thrust, the soul of the anti-apartheid campaign, whose strength lies entirely in a negative stance which sees nothing beyond the end of this system.

It seems that the correct, but partial, fight against racial domination is, however, no longer the issue, but *race* as such.

After all, race permeates everything human — social and personal relations, economic systems and forces, cultural identity and political power.

Its pervasiveness is thus undoubted, its potency overwhelming. Hence the emotional response, both positive and negative, to racial situations.

It is not only race ideologues who have made things so.

Race is a natural factor, an historic expression and an inevitable social reality: we are all willy-nilly born into one racial group or another, and this makes race an intrinsic and inevitable force in human and social life.

Indeed, even so distinguished a statesman as Benjamin Disraeli accorded race a paramount role; though his notion that race is everything is not entirely true. Nonetheless history and human destiny have been deeply and decisively influenced by racial forces, ideologies and feelings.

Recent experiences have, however, conspired against race as a primary criterion in social, economic and political systems.

Apartheid, or legal racial domination; Jim Crow and the no longer legal but subtle and no less sinister corrosive racism in the US; above all, the race theories and brutal actions in Nazi Europe, have made race not only anathema, but something beyond the pale of human consideration.

Against these harrowing and still painful experiences, it is understandable that people are turned off by race self-consciousness; and race policies are outrightly condemned.

The pendulum has swung too far.

There is no absolute moral reason or practical value in dismissing anything out-of-hand because of its past and present associations.

## BLEMISH

If that were so, nothing would be without blemish and everything condemned.

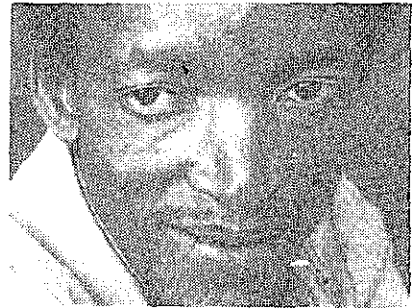
Religious intolerance and persecution have characterised almost all major religions. No sensible person, however, disavows Christianity because of the Inquisition and Crusades.

No one would reject the state as an institution because it has been used to wage wars, to oppress certain groups and generate social conflicts.

Yet people are too quick to reject race as a factor in human and group life.

Apologists for socialist blunders and religious deviation always make the point that it is not socialism or Christianity as such that are guilty, but certain groups or individuals who deviated from the true paths.

No such explanations are permissible with race.



MESHACK MABOGOANE SUMA

# The Suma Way to power sharing

By MESHACK MABOGOANE SUMA  
leader of the Society of Young Africa

tions cannot be wished away.

Neither, of course, can we eschew the whole array of emotions, cultural identities, communal feelings, political tendencies (based on fears, traditions, preferences and hopes) and economic interests that have arisen out of the natural and historic phenomena of race and nationality.

Hence, we must accord the principle of national self-determination and the practice of race self-consciousness great, if not pivotal, roles, in any multiracial or multinational society.

Many international situations and experiences point the way out of South Africa's racial/political impasse.

The golden mean was applied in, for example, the polyglot and multinational countries of central and eastern Europe.

No less a democratic statesman than President Woodrow Wilson, in his 14 points after the First World War — which was partly caused by nationality and race as some groups fought to assert their national autonomy and identity — recommended that the principle of national self-determination must guide the reconstitution of that vast and racially troubled area.

Africa, into a single nation with a developed and self-determining consciousness and spirit, much as, for example, the various Germanic tribes became a united German nation.

Or, indeed, as the various white sub-groups have evolved into a distinct political and social entity despite their different backgrounds.

In fact, the differences between various African groups are far smaller than among whites in South Africa.

A single African nation would be the best countervailing force; it would, moreover, bring a balance of political and racial power.

Thus there already exists a framework for two equally powerful and meaningful national assemblies to promote the natural and historic destinies of the respective groups.

## SURVIVAL

And so the foundation of separate development, the division and oppression of blacks to ensure white survival through supremacy, would fall — along with associated structures and institutions.

No amount of Christian piety — with its heritage of hypocrisy, intolerance and persecution — will

11A  
S. Trines  
2/6/85

Continue  
D

<sup>E. Post</sup>  
~~PE~~ bread  
boycott  
3/6/35  
to end?

Post Reporter

THE 16-day-old bread boycott in Port Elizabeth's black townships appears to be nearing an end.

The organisers of the boycott, the Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce, are due to meet the PE Master Bakers' Association on Wednesday in an effort to settle their differences.

● Bread was being sold by traders in PE's northern areas today, the secretary of the East Cape Traders' Association, Mr Younus Amod, said.

This follows a week-long boycott in the northern areas.

CAP- Times 3/6/85

# Two charred bodies found

## Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police at the weekend found the charred remains of bodies in Langa, Uitenhage, and New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

Among incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape, a petrol bomb was thrown at a house in KwaZakele, police fired tearsmoke at a marching crowd in the same township, and a private vehicle was set alight in Tinus, Fort Beaufort.

A police spokesman said last night that the charred body of an unidentified man was discovered by police in Langa yesterday afternoon. The man appeared to have been murdered.

The charred remains of another unidentified man was found in New Brighton on Saturday, he said.

## Marchers

Police used teargas to disperse a group marching in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on Saturday. The spokesman said the march was illegal and the mob refused to disperse when ordered to do so.

No arrests were made, the spokesman said.

On Saturday night, arsonists set fire to a house in New Brighton. No injuries were reported and no police action was taken.

A petrol bomb was thrown at the house of a person believed to be a member of the Azanian

People's Organization (Azapo) and a second petrol bomb was thrown at a house in KwaZakele on Saturday night. No police action was taken in either incident and no injuries were reported.

Describing the bombing as a "criminal deed", the spokesman in Pretoria said the owner of the house extinguished the flames himself.

Yesterday police reported isolated incidents of lawlessness and stone-throwing in New Brighton, Galeshewe, Kimberley, and Soweto, Johannesburg. There were no reports of injuries or arrests.

## 'No deaths'

● Sapa reports that a police spokesman dismissed a report in a Johannesburg newspaper, City Press, that eight Azapo supporters had been killed on Friday night in a clash with United Democratic Front supporters in KwaZekele.

The spokesman confirmed a clash on Friday between two groups believed to be supporters of Azapo and UDF. He said police estimated the group believed to be UDF at 600 people and the Azapo group at 20.

The spokesman said the groups were dispersed by police firing tearsmoke but no injuries were reported.

He said reports of deaths in the clash were "devoid of all truth".

# Judge rejects appeal by UDF members in city-centre motorcade

ARKUS  
3/6/85

114

## Staff Reporter

AN appeal by 26 members of the United Democratic Front against their conviction and sentence following a motorcade through Cape Town in October 1983 was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, today.

They had been charged under the Internal Security Act with convening or encouraging a prohibited gathering but were convicted on an alternative charge of attending an illegal gathering.

Michael Abrahams, 27, Astrid Wicht, 28, Peter Dunckley, 26, Marlene Winburg, 27, Naseegh Jaffer, 25, Niezhaam Sampson, 22, Derick Fine, 24, Judith Cornell, 33, Michael Bailey, 27, Richard Goode, 22, Joan Allberts, 25, Mark Patrick, 23,

Nicola Illing, 22, Shirley Berger, 20, Jonathan Kaplan, 22, Catherine Aaron, 24, Gillian Kincaid-Smith, 31, Liane Swift, 43, Linda Abramsohn, 30, Anne Victoria Mayne, 43, James Davidson, 32, Catherine Kell, 25, Deborah Bradshaw, 29, Maureen Robertson, 27, Merle Jawitz, 25, and Fiona Wallace, 26, were convicted and fined R50 (or 25 days) in the Cape Town Regional Court in May last year.

## ADVICE

The motorcade was part of the the UDF's "People's Weekend" on the eve of the whites-only referendum.

Mr Justice Lategan found that, although the UDF had taken legal advice on the motorcade beforehand, those taking part should still have fore-

seen the possibility that their actions were illegal.

The judge said: "The fact that the appellants found it necessary to seek legal advice is a clear indication that they foresaw the possibility their conduct might be unlawful.

"The law requires circumspection of a person who enters a particular course of conduct where the possibility exists in his mind that his conduct might be unlawful."

Mr A Omar, instructed by Bernadt, Vukic and Potash, appeared for the appellants and Mr DJ van Niekerk for the State.

3/26/85  
Petrol

bomb

4 held

Staff Reporter

POLICE have arrested four men in connection with a petrol-bombing in Guguletu early yesterday morning.

A police liaison officer for the Western Province, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said that at 2.20am a group of men threw a petrol bomb through the lounge window of Mr Alfred Silla's home at NY89 No 192.

After the bombing the men fired a number of shots through the window, but no one was hit.

The ensuing fire caused damage estimated at R2 600.

Police had arrested four men in their early twenties within hours of the attack, Lieutenant Laubscher said.

He said police did not suspect that the crime had a political motive.

Four men are expected to appear in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court this week on charges of attempted murder and arson, he said.

# Cops deny report on UDF-Azapo deaths

11A

Sowetan

3/6/85

POLICE yesterday dismissed a news report that at least eight Azapo supporters had died after being attacked by United Democratic Front supporters as "devoid of all truth".

A spokesman for the public relations division of the SAP in Pretoria was asked by Sapa to comment on the report in City Press that said the attack took place on Friday.

The newspaper said "at least eight" Azanian People's Organisation members were reported to have been killed after they were attacked by about 1 000 UDF supporters in KwaZakhele

in the Eastern Cape.

The spokesman confirmed a clash on Friday between two groups believed by police to be supporters of Azapo and UDF.

He said police estimated the group believed to be UDF numbered 600 and the Azapo group about 20.

The spokesman said the groups were dispersed by police firing tear smoke but added no injuries — or deaths — had been reported to police.

The spokesman said he had double checked yesterday afternoon on possible deaths resulting

from the clash.

"Reports that there were deaths (in the Azapo/UDF clash) are devoid of all truth.

"Allegations (such as appeared in City Press) like this are printed with the express purpose of tarnishing the image of

the SAP. No such thing happened at all, and we treat the allegations with the contempt they deserve. — Sapa.

# Qibla Muslims *Capt Trinks 5/6/88 11A* 'fear for lives'

By STEPHEN  
WROTTESELEY

MEMBERS of the Muslim movement who allege they have been victimized in recent weeks by other factions fear for their lives and do not believe an attempt by leaders to defuse the situation will work.

Mr Cassiem Christians, the full-time co-ordinator of the Qibla Movement, said yesterday that the group would not be seeking protection from the police. "We do not believe in using an unjust system where injustices are concerned," he said.

At the weekend, a meeting of Muslim leaders decided to set up a co-ordinating council in an attempt to end the violence.

It has been alleged that in recent weeks, three members of the movement have been assaulted by members of an opposing group, death threats have been made and a mosque has been shot at.

Police said that only the shooting last week in Hanover Park had been

reported to them, and that no arrests had been made.

Asked why members of the movement had been attacked, Mr Christians said: "People are against us because of our political stand. We are extra-parliamentary and are opposed to a national convention. We have also been the most consistent Muslim movement in the opposition of oppression and injustice in this country."

He denied the reason behind the attacks related to support of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and said this had only become an issue so that the attacks could be justified.

Mr H M Khan, president of the Al-Jihaad Islamic Movement, said that the attacks on Qibla members had been sparked off by the group wanting to bring "foreign 'isms' into Islam".

These, he said, were contrary to Islam and he alleged attempts were being made to enter mosques to "poison the minds" of the people.

an attack



...down and his wife are in the City as gue

# Mitchells Plain row brewing

APR 11 1985 5/6/85 (11A)

**Municipal Reporter**  
A POLITICAL row appears to be brewing between two rival residents' organizations in Mitchells Plain.

The Mitchells Plain Co-ordinating Committee (MPCC) has attacked the recently formed Mitchells Plain Ratepayer's Association (MPRA) for being a "front for the Labour Party", accusing it of trying to foist a management committee on the area.

The MPCC, which grew out of the Electricity Petition Campaign in 1980 and represents six civic associations in the area, says the MPRA is involved in "racist politics" because of its links with the Labour Party.

A UDF affiliate, the MPCC has attracted a considerable following in Mitchells Plain, having recently held two mass meetings — both attended by about 1 000 residents — around the issue of a hospital for the area.

"The people of Mitchells Plain have already spoken clearly as to their attitude towards racist politics — their almost 100 percent boycott

of the recent tricameral election bears adequate testimony," the MPCC secretary, Ms Theresa Solomons, said this week.

"Our fight is and always will be for a free, non-racial, democratic South Africa in which all forms of economic exploitation are eliminated."

The new ratepayers' association, on the other hand, makes no bones about its intention to work through the new system.

The MPRA was formed on March 31 at a meeting attended by 100 people.

The MPRA chairman, Mr Stanley Fisher, is a member of the Labour Party, and meetings of the organization have been addressed by the Labour MP for the area, Mr Luwellyn Landers.

However, Mr Fisher last night denied that his organization was a "front" for the Labour Party, although it worked closely with the party.

"I am waiting for these other organizations to prove to me what they will achieve if they refuse to work through the right channels," he said.

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## PRISONS

# 9 have accepted conditional release

### Parliamentary Staff

NINE political prisoners had already accepted President P W Botha's offer of conditional release, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, told the House of Assembly.

Replying to Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) in his department's vote, Mr Coetsee said he was not prepared to release details about the prisoners' identity because the Government had "reason to fear for their safety and the safety of their families."

Mrs Suzman asked Mr Coetsee earlier in the debate whether political prisoners other than four Pan-African Congress members and African National Congress member Denis Goldberg had accepted the offer of conditional release.

She also reiterated her appeal to the Government to unconditionally release Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other prisoners in that category, saying that such a move would "defuse the present unrest in the townships."

### ARMED STRUGGLE

In his reply Mr Coetsee gave no indication of whether he would accede to Mrs Suzman's request, made yesterday, to visit Mr Mandela.

The external leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, had made it clear that the armed struggle would continue and Mr Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, had made a statement in Soweto saying that her father would not accept Mr Botha's conditional release offer, he said.

Mr Coetsee said that Mr Mandela's response to the offer had been manipulated by outside leaders of the ANC, because he was worth more to them in jail than he was outside.

"Then why don't you let him out," interjected PFP members.

# Conflict forces UDF man to quit PE

6/6/85

D. Dispatch

## Dispatch Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH** — A journalist here, Mr Mono Badela, whose home was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack early yesterday morning, has decided to leave the Eastern Cape.

Mr Badela, a United Democratic Front supporter and the Eastern Cape correspondent for City Press, claimed yesterday's attack was the latest in a series of reprisals against him by Azanian People's Organisation supporters.

A spokesman for Azapo, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, denied that Azapo

was responsible for the attack.

Mr Badela said he planned to leave as soon as possible for the Transvaal where he would continue working as a journalist.

He said a crowd of 100 people had arrived at his home in New Brighton shortly after midnight yesterday. They were armed with pangas, knives, petrol bombs and guns.

Two groups had approached his house from opposite ends of the street and he and 12 helpers had been unable to hold off the attackers with stones.

Mr Badela said he had ducked to miss a petrol bomb thrown at him, but had been struck by a stone. A stone had struck his 14-year-old son, Piko, on the face, injuring his jaw.

The house — left unattended — was set alight and destroyed, apparently with petrol bombs. He estimated the damage at R8 000.

He said his wife, Mrs Nomaindia Badela, his daughter Brenda, an organiser for the Congress of South African Students' Port Elizabeth branch, and his five-year-old son Zweletu, had sought refuge in another house.

Mr Maqina said yesterday he was "disappointed that the UDF is so naive that it does not see there is a third force involved. Five Azapo houses were destroyed last week, but we did not blame the UDF."

In the early stages of the conflict between the UDF and Azapo, Mr Badela claimed he was abducted by Mr Maqina and suffered head injuries after being axed at Mr Maqina's home. At the time, Mr Maqina admitted raiding Mr Badela's house, but said he had taken this action after Mr Badela had sent four youths to attack his house.

## Debates on Langa report

**CAPE TOWN** — Special debates on the report of the Kannemeyer commission of inquiry into the Uitenhage shootings would be held in all three Houses of Parliament next week, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobi Coetsee, announced yesterday.

During the debate on his budget vote in the Assembly, he said the report would be tabled "during the course of next week".

It would be recommended to the Speaker that debates of 2½ hours be held in each of the three Houses after the tabling.

Mr Coetsee said further arrangements would be announced shortly.

He said in a statement issued earlier yesterday that the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Kannemeyer, had handed his report to the State President, Mr P. W. Botha. — Sapa

## Policeman stoned to death, burnt

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH** — A policeman was killed, three people were injured and 12 arrests were made in incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape yesterday and on Tuesday night.

A spokesman for the police in Pretoria said the charred body of a policeman was found about 500 metres from his gutted home in Graaff-Reinet's township yesterday morning.

The spokesman said Detective-Constable S. James had allegedly been stoned to death before being set alight.

A youth was wounded on Tuesday night when Const James opened fire with his service weapon to disperse a mob which had set his house alight, he said.

Twelve men and a woman have been arrested in connection with Const James's

death and charged with murder.

In New Brighton the driver of a passenger bus lost control of his vehicle when two men petrol-bombed the cab on Tuesday night. The bus crashed into a private home. Members of the public extinguished the blaze.

The spokesman said isolated incidents of arson, petrol-bombing and stone-throwing occurred in other areas of the Eastern Cape on Tuesday night.

Four Port Elizabeth squash players returning from a league match in Uitenhage had a narrow escape on Monday night when a petrol bomb was thrown at their car on the main Uitenhage road about 10.30 pm. It exploded behind them after the driver swerved to avoid it.

A spokesman confirmed yesterday that the incident had been reported to the police.

# Mandela refusal 'planned'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Nelson Mandela's refusal of President P. W. Botha's conditional offer of freedom had been orchestrated by outside influences, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, claimed yesterday.

Before Mr Mandela had had the opportunity to respond to Mr Botha's offer, the leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, indicated that it should be rejected.

He said it was tragic but clear that Mr Mandela was of greater use to his people inside prison than out.

Mr Coetsee's remarks followed an appeal by Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's spokesperson on Law and Order, for the government to reconsider the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other long-term security prisoners as such a move could help defuse civil unrest in black townships.

However, Mr Coetsee failed to respond to a plea issued by Mrs Suzman for urgent permission to visit the ANC leader in Pollsmoor Prison as he was reported to be receiving unfair treatment.

Introducing the debate on the Justice vote, Mrs Suzman asked Mr Coetsee to arrange a meeting with the ANC leader before the end of the parliamentary session to check the accuracy of reports that he had been refused leave to see his attorney and that his letters were being subjected to delays and stricter censorship than in the past.

Mrs Suzman said she had not been able to visit Mandela since June 1983 despite repeated requests during 1984 and 1985 to Mr Coetsee who "keeps putting me off".

She was subject to "constant irritations" in trying to arrange a visit and had been forced to resort to "nagging and cornering" the minister.

Mrs Suzman said she was not interested in making a high-profile visit as part of a large delegation of MPs but wished to have a private discussion with Mandela as the Official Opposition's spokesperson on Prisons to find out what his complaints were.

She pointed out to Mr Coetsee that her 1983 visit had enabled her to correct some exaggerated reports about Mandela — for example, that his spirit was being broken.

"The stories were not true and I was able to say so. The visit, however, did result in certain improvements. I now hear again that he is being unfairly treated."

## Not longer than 20 years

Mrs Suzman also appealed to Mr Coetsee to disclose how many prisoners — apart from four PAC members and Mr Denis Goldberg — had been released in terms of President Botha's offer to long-term security prisoners.

"In no civilized country are people kept locked up for periods of over 20 years, no matter what their sentence or what their crime, unless they are a real menace to society and likely to commit acts of violence.

"No one who has met and spoken to Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others in that category of prisoner would seriously believe that they constitute such a menace.

"On the contrary, their unconditional release would defuse the present unrest in the townships."

Mr Coetsee said in reply that nine people — he declined to give their races or names — had already been released from prison following the conditional offer from President Botha.

# Scrap pass laws: Kgame

*11A*  
*Sowetan*  
*6/6/85*  
THE president of the Urban Council Association of South Africa, Mr Steve Kgame, yesterday called on the Government to scrap influx control, pass laws and give all South African citizens equal rights.

Mr Kgame was speaking at the first annual conference of the East Rand Urban Councils Association (Eruca), held at the Isidingo Technical College in Daveyton, Benoni.

Mr Kgame said it was long overdue that the Government scrap these laws and offer equal rights and opportunities to all citizens in the country.

Mr Kgame also attacked development boards. He said there was no way these bodies could operate without working hand in hand with the black man.

"They cannot and will not decide on the future of the black man without involving him. It is time they changed their direction by inviting blacks to take part in whatever decisions they took," Mr Kgame said.

He said a black man was permanent in the urban areas and the Government should stop forcing him to stay in the homelands.

In his report, Mr Tom Boya, the chairman of Eruca, said during the past year his organisation met the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to discuss, among other

things, the transfer of all assets within the jurisdiction of a local authority.

This included land, buildings commercial places and farms.

He said: "On some of the issues the Minister has promised to hand them over to us. These include the transfer of land, funds and buildings like bottle stores and sorghum beer depots.

## Parliament to debate

## Uitenhage report

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Special debates on the report of the Kannemeyer Commission of Inquiry into the Uitenhage shootings would be held in all three

budget vote, he said the report would be tabled "during the course of next

Houses after the tabling.

Mr Coetsee said further arrangements

UDF ~~2~~  
leader's  
E. Post  
house  
7/1/85  
burnt

Post Reporter

THE Kwazakele home of the UDF's Eastern Cape president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, was destroyed early today by a group of people armed with petrol bombs.

Mr Ngoyi said he was still shaken after the attack which left his family homeless and caused between R3 000 and R6 000 damage.

At about 2am a truck full of people attacked his home from both sides using "sophisticated petrol bombs". The house, containing newly-bought furniture, was totally destroyed.

Mr Ngoyi said attacks in the township were becoming increasingly brutal, with groups of people using powerful chemicals.

The Rev Mzwandile Maqina, an Azapo spokesman, said he was investigating the incident, and could not comment on who was responsible for the attack.

He warned the UDF to halt attacks on Azapo houses, and said relatives of Azapo members were being threatened by UDF elements.

# Hostel workers unite

Herald

8/6/85

By ESTELLE RANDALL

UNITE families is the motto of the newly-formed Western Cape Men's Hostel Association (WCMHA) and more than 500 people crowded into and around the Presbyterian Church hall in Nyanga on Saturday for its launching.

The meeting was also attended by representatives from trade union, community, religious and educational organisations, among them, the Azanian People's Organisation, the South African Domestic Workers' Association, the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association and the Crossroads Executive Committee.

The organisation, with a membership of

more than 1 000 and a potential membership of about 27 000, aims to fight for family rights for hostel dwellers, a review of the qualifications for contracts for migrant workers and improvements in the conditions and facilities at hostels.

Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, president of the General Workers' Union and newly-elected organiser and publicity secretary of the WCMHA, told the crowd that one of the bad things migrant workers had to face was high rent.

"We are among those people who pay the most rent in the Western Cape," he said. "We have to pay R48 for each door and R192 for each block. And this is for

overcrowded rooms often with no ceilings or lights."

"We decided that people who have to live under these conditions have to have one united voice which can be listened to by the authorities.

"There is no end to the list of organisations established by the Government to look after the interests of these people, but they don't attend to the real problems."

Bishop Patrick Matolengwe questioned the nature of a government which prevented a man from living with his wife and family. The system of migrant labour, he said, led to homosexuality, corruption and concubinage.

# Buthelezi tells of 'distrust'

From WISEMAN KHUZWAYO

LONDON. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has unveiled a "declaration of intent" which he says President P W Botha must accept in principle before negotiations between blacks and whites in South Africa are possible.

Although he described his plan as "tentative", it sets out in detail the Zulu leader's position in response to President Botha's invitation for talks.

President Botha said Chief Buthelezi should take part in a forum that would examine how the political rights of urban blacks could be accommodated with the Republic's constitution.

Speaking during a two-day private business conference which ended in London on Thursday, Chief Buthelezi said he was absolutely certain that the politics of negotiation between blacks and whites in South Africa would not begin until the government committed itself publicly to a programme of reform contained in a declaration of intent which blacks are prepared to countersign with the State President.

## 'I would be abandoned'

"I have been chided from a number of quarters for not hearing the State President as being fully committed to bringing about meaningful change. Those who thus chide me are not aware of the deep distrust which exists in black hearts and minds about the stated good intentions of the National Party.

"I would be abandoned by my constituency if I turned to them and asked them to put black South Africa's future in the hands of the State President because I believed he was a good fellow and would not let them down," said Chief Buthelezi.

The Zulu leader's declaration, in its preamble, says power in South Africa should be shared in such a way that no one group can dictate any other's self-determination.

The plan commits black and white leaders to finding an alternative system involving universal adult suffrage, agreeing to common citizenship and to achieving the legitimization of the instruments of government.

## Brief comment by Viljoen

Delegates attending the high-level conference included Mr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant State Secretary on Africa, and Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the British Foreign Minister with responsibility for Africa.

Sapa reports that after the conference on future trade and investment links with South Africa, held behind closed doors, ended, South Africa's Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who was a key speaker, was prepared to make only a brief comment about it.

"The conference enabled the multinational companies to discuss the climate and environment in which they operate (in South Africa)," he said.

"It covered a very broad area of what is going on in South Africa and was aimed at increasing the understanding of the situation in the Republic, both politically and economically."

Dr Viljoen added: "The question of disinvestment only came up incidentally."



*D. Defuth*  
**Bombing:**  
*8/19/35*  
**Azapo** (IA)  
**cleared** (IA)

Dispatch correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH —  
The regional president  
of the United Democra-  
tic Front, Mr Edgar  
Ngoyi, whose Kwazakele  
home was fire-bombed  
yesterday, says he does  
not believe the Azanian  
Peoples Organisation  
(Azapo) was responsible  
for the attack, which gut-  
ted his home.

The fire-bombs were  
made of sophisticated  
chemicals, he said, and  
Azapo could not have  
used these.

An 18-year-old youth  
among the crowd of peo-  
ple who rescued his  
family and helped fight  
the fire was admitted to  
Livingstone Hospital  
with burns, Mr Ngoyi  
said. DDC

# Black residents boycott red meat in Adelaide

*E. Post*  
*8/16/85*  
*Meat*  
*11A*

By DEBBIE BOOYSEN

BLACK residents in Adelaide are boycotting red meat in sympathy with workers who were fired at the new East London abattoir recently.

An Adelaide businessman, who did not want to be identified, told Weekend Post the trade boycott of white businesses in Adelaide was well organised.

"It has been going for eight weeks and is still going strong," he said. "Blacks are allowed to buy from Indian stores, but even there they are only allowed to buy chicken and fish.

"This week three youths were arrested in town for opening parcels belonging to Africans, who had ventured into town, and tramped their contents into the ground."

He said some people complained that they were being overcharged in township shops.

Another Adelaide resident said people in the township were paying as much as 85c for a loaf of bread. "Some items such as sugar, jam and candles are selling for between 300% and 400% more than their basic price."

Because of the boycott, several businesses which relied mainly on black trade were in financial trouble.

To ensure their survival, some white traders were now selling their merchandise in Fort Beaufort, 30 kilometres away.

Boycotts of white shops in Fort Beaufort, Somerset East, Cradock and Bedford were called off after a month.

However, another Adelaide resident said there was also a low-profile boycott of chain-stores in Graaff-Reinet.

The boycott continues in Port Alfred.

9/6/85  
**Where are our children?**

C.P. ren (11A)

By **BENITO PHILLIPS**  
and **MOLEMA MOCHUDI**

**TWO WORRIED** Mdantsane families this week discovered their sons are being held by the Security Police — almost a month after the two youths disappeared.

And in Thabong, Cosas leader Billyboy Mokobo, 17, who has thrice been interrogated by police, has become the second member of the organisation to disappear without trace.

East London Youth Congress president Eric Govuza and organiser Fanele Duna disappeared a week after riot squad police tear-gassed and fired rubber bullets at members of

the youth movement on their way to a rally.

Search parties looked for the missing youths but could find no trace of them.

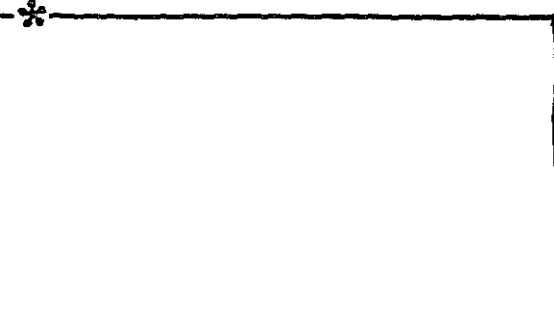
Mdantsane lawyer B Maqabe then contacted the divisional security commander who confirmed the youths were in detention.

"We are now waiting for police to tell us if the two

youths will be charged," said Mokobo's family said. "We Mr Maqabe.

A Cosas spokesman in Botswana to look for him. The Thabong said Freddy Vanga three times the cops detained had gone into hiding after him in the past they denied it. threats from vigilantes. so we suspect they know more

A member of Billyboy than they're saying."



It's the ~~enemy's~~ <sup>11A</sup>  
C. Press  
work —  
9/6/85  
Fedtraw

By SELLO SERIFE

THE FEDERATION of Transvaal Women this week condemned last Friday's attacks on the convent housing its president, Sister Bernard Mncube, and two other nuns.

The Kagiso convent and UDF Area Committee member Joe Dadoo's car were stoned and slogans claiming it was the work of Azapo were sprayed on the "targets".

Fedtraw publicity secretary Benedict Monama said the organisation abhorred the vandalism displayed by "the agents of the enemy".

"This kind of action will not deter our determination.

"Our people will not be fooled by the enemy, who perpetrates unChristian deeds under the guise of Azapo or UDF," she said.

# PFP-Inkatha-LP set for political link-up?

**TRADITIONAL** South African politics will start to take on a whole new complexion when the Prohibition of Political Interference Act goes, bringing to an end to an era where one's political party affiliation was determined by one's skin colour.

Although this might not mean the disappearance of some political parties opposed to apartheid, an alliance among these cannot be ruled out.

At present these parties can be clearly categorised according to racial groups. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is for whites, the Labour Party (LP) for coloureds and Solidarity and the National People's Party (NPP) for Indians.

## System

Inkatha is on the fringes of the "system" and is avowedly multi-racial although its membership is predominantly Zulu.

The United Democratic Front has been fully multiracial since it was formed in 1983. But then the UDF is completely outside the system.

With the repeal of the Act, several questions come up. Will the PFP-Inkatha, Solidarity and the Labour Party enter into a formal alliance to fight the apartheid system?

Will the repeal of the Act see the revival of the now dormant South African Black Alliance?

The Alliance went the way of all flesh when the LP decided to enter the tricameral parliament. The LP was ejected for "betraying" blacks.

Inkatha has retained its friendly relations with the PFP despite occasional differences such as when the PFP reported that Zulu policemen were used during the Uitenhage shootings.

## Policy

What fuels speculation that there might be a PFP-Inkatha-LP link-up is the fact that all three parties have opted for a policy of geographic federation.

Many people are asking whether there will be a "federal alliance" between like-minded people.

"The PFP's director of research and "indirectly" elected MP, Prof Nic Olivier, said such an issue could only be decided by the PFP federal congress in August.

## Races

"The question of a formal alliance has not come up for discussion or decision. But I doubt whether there will be that kind of arrangement," he said.

Last year the PFP announced that membership was open to all races. "When one applies for membership of the Party, we make no enquiries about one's race or religion," Prof Olivier said.

A Labour Party

spokesman said the LP will definitely not link up with any political party.

Despite the LP's ideological closeness to the PFP, it has in practice played along with the National Party.

And this week the leader of the LP, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, staved off an onslaught on his leadership. He had to exercise all his leadership qualities to quell the open revolt in the party over the flagrant failure of the leadership to consult the caucus on major issues.

## Dissent

The Party's national vice-president, Mr Charles Redcliffe, also withdrew his resignation. He had earlier resigned after the appointment of Mr Le-wellyn Landers, the MP for Mitchells Plain, as Deputy Minister of Population Development.

Both the LP and the PFP face internal dissent and the possibility of Natal and Transvaal Labour Party MP's who feel left out in the cold, joining the PFP, cannot be ruled out.

## Uneasy

PFP moderates, who feel uneasy about the "considerable" number of leftwing PFP members who have been thrown in their lot with the UDF, may be forced out of the party and link up with fellow moderates in both the LP and the Solidarity Party.



**SEFAKO NYAKA**, SOWETAN writer, takes another look at the scrapping of the Political Interference Act as Parliament debates its demise.



**CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI**, leader of the predominantly Zulu Inkatha Movement.

formation officer, Mr Chris Rencken thinks the NP will not admit other races or enter into alliances with parties from other groups when the Political Interference Act is scrapped.

## Policy

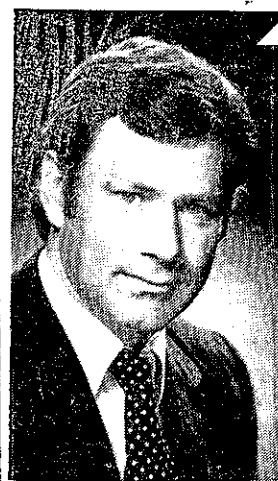
But the NP will continue its policy of co-operation and dialogue with other parties, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, has addressed Labour Party meetings and Mr Hendrickse has addressed groups of Nat MP's.

The only thing that comes out clear from the present political cauldron is that there will definitely be no black faces — or even coloured and Indian faces — in the rightwing Afrikaner parties like the Conservative Party and the Her-



**REVEREND ALLAN HENDRICKSE**, leader of the coloured Labour Party.

stigte Nasionale Party. And there will cer-



**Dr VAN ZYL SLABBERT**, leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

tainly be no white faces in the Azanian People's Organisation's ranks.

The rest of the party's — save the UDF — will definitely have a complete change of colour.



**Mr CHRIS HEUNIS**, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

"THE question of a formal alliance has not come up for discussion. But I doubt whether there will be that kind of arrangement," says the PFP's director of research, Prof. Nic Olivier.

The hostility between the Western Cape LP and the PFP is caused by the latter's rejection of the coloured management committee system.

Some political analysts feel that the bulk of the Solidarity Party members, which bases its policy on that of the PFP, will join the PFP when the Act goes.

The Nat's chief in-

# June 16 get-together

11A  
Soweto 10/6/85  
By SEFAKO NYAKA

SEVERAL organisations that have been at each others throats recently, meet at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Jabavu, Soweto, tonight to finalise arrangements for the commemoration of the ninth anniversary of the June 16 uprisings.

United Democratic Front (UDF) and National Forum Commit-

tee (NFC) affiliates meet under the auspices of a group of Soweto clergymen who have been instrumental in peace-talks between the "warring" organisations.

On Saturday the organisations held "fruitful" talks at the same venue in a bid to "remember our fallen heroes" with "dignity and honour"

"Saturday's talks were conducted in a good spirit and it once more demonstrated that

people are willing to talk and work together," a source close to the talks said yesterday.

## Priests

In the past, commemorations at the Regina Mundi were marred by open differences between the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) and Black Consciousness orien-

To Page 3

## Council to pay

From Page 1 11A

tated trade unions on the one hand and organisations adhering to the "Freedom Charter".

The coming together of the organisations has been hailed as a "small, but significant step" by many.

One of the priests involved in the preparatory talks, the Reverend Lebamang Sebidi, yesterday refused to give more details about Saturday night's meeting.

10/6/85  
He blamed certain sections of the media for "mischievous" reports aimed at confusing the masses — through sensationalism.

And another priest also involved in the talks, the Reverend David Nkwe, threatened to take legal action against a Sunday paper that quoted him as a spokesman of the group.

"We had agreed that we were not going to talk to the Press because of the sensitivity of the nature of the talks, but I

was shocked when I read in this morning's paper that I have been quoted as spokesman of the group," Mr Nkwe said yesterday.

"If the Press behaves in such a manner, how do they hope us to resolve the fighting among the groups?"

He termed the report a "blatant lie" and said he would get in touch with the newspaper's editor for an explanation before taking the matter further.

Meanwhile several trade organisations — including the National Tavern Association — have promised to close their operations on June 16.

The National Soccer League has also suspended all its fixtures scheduled for this weekend.

Last year the mayor of Soweto Mr Ephraim Tshabalala caused a public outrage when he said he was going to approach the Government to ban all June 16 commemorations in Soweto.

CAPE TIMES (119)  
10/6/85

# Armed attack leaves 3 dead

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — An attack on a policeman's house in Zwide at the weekend by a group of about 350 people armed with axes and knives left three people dead and another injured when the policeman and two guards opened fire on the group. A police spokesman in Pretoria said two men were arrested after the attack.

## Army vehicle

During other incidents in Zwide an army vehicle was petrol-bombed and two buses were stoned, the spokesman said.

In Joza, Grahamstown, police arrested six black girls and two youths, aged between 14 and 17, after a group stoned the house of a city councillor. Police used quirts to disperse the group.

A passenger bus and a private vehicle were stoned by a group of people in KwaZakhele early yesterday morning. No injuries were reported and only minor damage was caused.

## Petrol bombs

Leaders of United Democratic Front affiliates claimed yesterday that four petrol-bomb attacks were launched — three of them successfully — on their houses at the weekend, and a youth was reported seriously injured in one of the incidents.

Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, and Mrs Ivy Gcina, president of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organization, said they saw white men among their attackers.

Neither had reported the incidents to police.

A police spokesman said any incident of fire-bombing, stoning or damaging property was a criminal offence and should be reported to the police.

Sapa reports that damage estimated at thousands of rands was caused in Barberton's black township yesterday when dissatisfied residents ran amok after a meeting to discuss rent increases.

## Set alight

After the meeting, between officials of the Department of Co-operation, Development and Education and black councillors, residents set alight two councillors' homes and the mayor's office in the township.

They looted a shop belonging to the mayor and stoned several police vehicles.

Police used tearsmoke to disperse the crowds.

MR645 10/16/83

# Court dismisses appeal by UDF 14

## Supreme Court Reporter

AN appeal by 14 members of the United Democratic Front against their convictions on charges of contravening the Internal Security Act, was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, today.

Jonathan Shapiro, Amanda Wood, Peta Mees, Joseph Marks, Patrick Solomons, Zain Davids, Mervyn Lewin, Andhor Marks, Joseph Booysen, Ruth Lewin, Brendaline Marks, Marcella Naidoo, Janice van Wyk and Zubeida Brey were each fined R60 (or 60 days) in Cape Town Regional Court when they were convicted of attending an illegal gathering after a motorcade in Athlone in October 1983.

Mr Justice Fagan noted that a similar appeal by 26 people, also in a motorcade on October 29 1983, was dismissed in the Supreme Court last Monday.

He found today's case similar in all respects. The State had established that the 14 people should have appreciated that taking part in a motorcade to advertise a UDF family weekend might be seen as illegal.

### "WISHY-WASHY" ATTORNEY

They had sought legal advice beforehand and their attorney, who gave evidence in the Regional Court case, had been "wishy-washy", said the judge.

He had told his clients that in his opinion the motorcade would not be illegal but that this opinion "might be wrong and might differ with a court of law".

The judge said the Regional Court had correctly found the motorcade to be an illegal gathering in terms of the Act as it was "a political matter and the type of gathering the legislature had in mind".

Mr Justice Fagan upheld the decision of the regional magistrate with Mr Justice Lategan concurring.

Mr A Omar, instructed by E Moosa and Associates, appeared for the appellants and Mr J C Gerber for the State.



ARGUS 10/16/85

NATIONAL

118

# Three die in E Cape as unrest continues

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two men have been arrested after yesterday's attack on a policeman's home in Zwide, Eastern Cape, in which three people died and one was injured when the policeman fired on the crowd.

Homes of black policemen were also attacked by mobs at Kwazakele, Alicedale and New Brighton.

In other incidents in Kwazakele the body of a 22-year-old black man was discovered on the township golf course by a police patrol. He had been stabbed and axed several times.

A passenger bus and a private vehicle were stoned in the township early today, causing minor damage.

In Joza, Grahamstown police arrested six black girls and two youths, aged between 14 and 17, after the stoning of the house of a city councillor.

The spokesman said police used quirts to disperse the group.

In all, 10 people have been arrested after unrest in the Eastern Cape.

In the township at Barberton, Eastern Transvaal, the homes of two councillors were set alight during unrest yesterday.

The rioters also looted the mayor's shop and stoned his office and police vehicles.

Police used tearsmoke to disperse the mob.

No injuries were reported and no arrests were made.

## "Whites involved"

Leaders of United Democratic Front affiliates claimed today that four petrol-bomb attacks were launched — three of them successfully — on their or their neighbours' homes at the weekend, and a youth was reported seriously injured in one of the incidents.

Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, and Mrs Ivy Gcina, president of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation, said they saw white men among their attackers.

Neither had reported the incidents to the police.

# Councillors given three days to quit, court told

M. van S. 11/6/85  
Staff Reporter

PAARL. — A New Crossroads community councillor said in Paarl Regional Court that a speaker at a crowded meeting gave the councillors "three days" to leave the area.

Mr Nelson Pikini was giving evidence today in the trial of squatter leader Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, 42, Miss Elsie Mkhumbuzi, 41, Mr Davids Bengo, 42, Miss Nozibele Lufele, 28, and Mr Roseberry Sonto, 31.

A sixth accused, Mr Themba Mpetha, 27, was absent at the start of today's proceedings. He is writing supplementary examinations and the prosecutor, Mr J van Vuuren, said he was expected in court later.

## INTIMIDATED

They have pleaded not guilty of public violence, alternatively incitement to commit public violence.

The State alleges that they intended to intimidate members of the New Crossroads Community Council by threatening them and residents of New Crossroads with death, injury or damage to property, and that they marched on homes armed with sticks or stones, assaulted residents by throwing stones, burnt down houses, damaged property and stole clothing and money.

Mr Pikini said Miss Lufele said at the meeting: "If I let my dogs go, they will lick blood."

He also testified that Mr Ngxobongwana told those at the meeting not to assault people or damage their homes and property, but he understood Mr Ngxobongwana's meaning to be the opposite of his words.

The hearing continues.

Mr A J Burger is on the Bench. Mr I Swartzberg appears for Mr Ngxobongwana, Mr Bengo and Miss Mkhumbuzi. Mr B Lutzno appears for Mr Mpetha and Mr M Parker for Miss Lufele and Mr Sonto.

~~753~~

11A

LONDON — Dennis Goldberg, who was released from serving a life sentence in a Pretoria jail in February this year — after signing an “anti-violence” undertaking — spoke openly about this for the first time on Monday.

He was launching an international campaign here to save the lives of three members of the African National Congress (ANC) who have been sentenced to death in South Africa.

At the end of the Press conference, he spoke of his own situation — his jailing in 1964 with Nelson Mandela and others, his 21 years in jail and his subsequent controversial re-

# Goldberg tells why he signed

lease.

Mr Goldberg told members of the Press the text of the undertaking he gave to South African authorities. This is how it read: “I, Dennis Goldberg, undertake that I will not (a) plan, instigate or participate in acts of violence for the attainment of political purposes and (b) make myself liable for

arrest.”

The latter applied to South Africa, where he remained for a short while before leaving the country first for Israel and then for the UK.

Explaining his undertaking, which has been widely interpreted as a renunciation of the ANC and their policy of “armed struggle” Mr Goldberg said: “My

function is political. I am not a soldier. This does not change my commitment to the liberation in South Africa or my upholding of the right of oppressed people to take up arms.”

Launching the international campaign to commute the death sentence against the three ANC members Mr Goldberg also introduced two new publications dealing with political trials in the Republic and allegations of torture.

Mr Goldberg said he could speak as a former detainee and a prisoner, as well as someone who had personally known several of the detainees who have died during detention.

By KIN BENTLEY

A BOYCOTT of white businesses which started in Grahamstown yesterday was effective to a "greater or lesser degree" depending on the type of shop, the manager of a chain store in the town said today.

He said business had definitely "tapered off" although there were still some black people in the store.

He said he could not understand why white shops should be the target of a boycott.

A general dealer in the town said, however, he had not noticed any decline in business.

The Grahamstown boycott was announced at a funeral at the weekend.

A member of the Burial Action Committee, Mr Dan Sandi, said yesterday the boycott was "near total".

Mr Sandi emphasised that no intimidation would be used to enforce the boycott.

According to Mr Sandi white businessmen, while not being able to bring about change themselves, could use their influence

# Business 'tapers off' in G'town

on the Government to change its apartheid policies.

Some of the demands of the boycotters are:

- That all Rini town councillors, regarded as Government collaborators by some residents, resign or be "removed" and that the SA Defence Force and the Rini Council bodyguards withdraw from the townships.

- That 3 000 houses be built immediately at an estimated cost of R16 million, and that homes for the aged be built.

- That service charges and rentals in Makanas-kop Extension 1 be frozen, that new school buildings, community halls, creches, parks and libraries be built, that roads be tarred and that telephones be installed.

- That there be an end to "intimidation and harassment" of members of certain organisations, that charges against those arrested in recent unrest be dropped and that the ban on public meetings in the townships be rescinded.

Mr Sandi has warned

that unless some changes were made the boycott could be extended, until the end of the year if necessary.

Meanwhile another such boycott, which has been in operation in Adelaide for the past nine weeks, will be discussed today when the local Chamber of Commerce meets the Adelaide Youth Congress.

Residents said the boycotts in Port Alfred and Adelaide, which had been in operation over the past few weeks, were being well supported by blacks.

By MONK NKOMO

TWENTY-TWO people — some members of the United Democratic Front — appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday on charges of high treason and counts under the Internal Security Act.

Among the accused was the Rev Geoffrey Moselane, an Anglican priest, Mr Patric "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, Mr Popo Molefe, UDF national secretary, and Mr Tom Manthata, a South African Council of Churches official.

Shortly after the court sat the defence counsel, led by Mr Ismail Mohamed SC, challenged the Attorney-General's decision to issue certificates that prohibit the court from granting the accused bail.

The Attorney-General,

# UDF treason trial begins

ral, Mr Mohammed said, had purported to issue the certificates to deprive the court of its jurisdiction to grant bail.

He also submitted that they had agreed to meet the Attorney-General in an effort to persuade him to withdraw the certificates.

The Attorney-General, the court heard, was prepared to consider representations from the defence counsel.

Should the representation fail, Mr Mohamed said: "We will mount an attack on the certificates themselves because they are bad in law and have no effect."

Mr Zac Yacoob, another defence lawyer,

said: "We do not concede that the submission of these certificates prevents us from applying for bail."

Mr P B Jacob, SC for the State, said argument on the bail application would only be made pending the outcome of the meeting between the defence and Attorney-General.

The appearance of the 22 men follows the unrest that plagued Vaal townships in September last year.

Friends and relatives waved to the accused before the trial started and the shouts and hisses ended abruptly when the Reverend Moselane read a passage

from the Bible. He then prayed. A contingent of security and uniformed policemen moved about in the passages and inside court during the proceedings.

The men were not asked to plead and the magistrate, Mr J B Koe-kemoer, postponed the

case to June 29.

Those who appeared yesterday were: Patrick Baleka, Oupa Hlomuka, Reverend Geoffrey Moselane, Mohapi More, Gcinumuzi Malindi, Morake Mokoena, Tsietsi Mphithi, Naph-tali Nkopane, Tebello Ramagala, Bavumile

Vilakazi, Sekati Mokoena, Mkhambi Malindi, Simon Nkoli, Pel-  
amatse Thlopane, Se-  
rame Hlananya, Thomas Manthata, Hla-  
beng Matlole, Maxula  
Vilakazi, Popo Molefe,  
Patrick Lekota, Moses  
Chikane and Thabiso  
Ratsomo.

11A

Sowetan 12/6/85

# June 16: Azapo, UDF join hands

By SYMAKABINGE

THE UNITED Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee have formed a "June 16 Committee" to arrange a programme for the ninth anniversary service at the Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, on Sunday.

This was announced at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

But Inkatha, which was involved in peace talks with the two groups recently, was conspicuous by its absence at the news conference to announce arrangements of the service.

Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the NF, said the UDF and Azapo were working outside the system while others did not. But, he said, the matter could be considered if Inkatha approached the June 16 Committee.

This year's programme will include Women's Guilds (Manzana Women) from various denominations. These will form a procession from the Moroka Police Station to Regina Mundi at the start of the service.

The move to hold joint commemoration services was "testimony of our commitment to respecting our differences and leading the nation to a free, democratic society", according to a statement re-

leased by the committee.

A call was also made to businesses and sporting bodies to "respect this national day" by closing down their operations at least one hour before commemoration services are held. They should remain closed for the rest of the day.

The service at Regina Mundi Church, where speakers from both organisations will address the gathering, starts at 12.30pm.

## NTA

Meanwhile, the National Taverners Association, an umbrella body for thousands of shebeens in the country, has advised its members not to sell liquor on Sunday, in sympathy with those who lost their lives during the 1976 upheavals.

Mr Ray Mollison, vice-chairman of the NTA, said although shebeens did "a roaring business on Sundays", there was nothing they could do but to observe the day "like we used to do in the past."

Mr Abdul Bhamjee, public relations officer of the National Soccer League (NSL), said the league would suspend its fixtures between Friday and Sunday.

"We will be sympathising with the people. There is nothing to celebrate for, so we won't have any activities this

weekend," he said.

Mr Makana Tshabalala, chairman of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industries (SCCI), said yesterday businesses in Soweto would not be opened on Sunday.

A spokesman for Putco said the bus company would run a normal bus service in the townships on the day.

A spokesperson for the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) also disclosed that there won't be any games under the auspices of the soccer body at the weekend.



**SATHS COOPER: Convener of the National Forum.**

## ZCC holds peace-talks

A THREE-MAN delegation of the Zion Christian Church from Moria, near Pietersburg, held peace talks with leaders of civic organisations in Alexandra recently.

The meeting follows a midnight attack on residents by scores of armed ZCC members two weeks ago. Nine people were injured, two of them seriously, during the attack.

At the meeting were Mr Mike Beea, chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association, Mr Paul Mashatile, president of the Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco), representatives of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), an official of the Alexandra branch of the church and the Moria delegation.

"We agreed that the fighting between church members and residents should stop immediately as it was retarding the struggle for the liberation of blacks in South Africa. We also told the delegation to tell Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane to support black organisations because his followers are black and are part and parcel of the oppressed masses," said Mr Mashatile.

Meanwhile a ZCC member who was treated at the local clinic after an attack, Mr Abel Mabala (36), has expressed his anger at being bypassed by the delegation.

"We are adults and have not appointed anyone to speak on our behalf. The delegation has missed the point by talking peace before settling our expenses and compensations," said Mr Mabala.

11A Sowetan 12/6/85

Deputy Minister wounded in Mitchell's Plain

# Bomb attack

DEPUTY Minister-designate Mr Luwellyn Landers was injured in a bomb blast at his Mitchell's Plain home early today.

He was in "satisfactory" condition in Groote Schuur Hospital today after emergency surgery, during the night.



Mr Luwellyn Landers ... emergency surgery.

## Wife drags husband to neighbours — 'Please help me...'

Staff Reporter

MINUTES after the attack, a shocked Mrs Sylvia Landers dragged her semi-conscious and bleeding husband across the street to a neighbour's home and pleaded: "Please help me".

Ambulance and police were called by Mr Reginald October, who said he was awoken by an "enormous explosion" soon after 2am.

"I ran first to the back of the house, but couldn't see anything. Then from the front window I saw Mrs Landers come over. She told me that a bomb had been thrown through the bedroom window.

"I rushed to put on some

A second and almost simultaneous attack with two grenades damaged the Grassy Park home of Labour Party MP Mr Fred Peters, but no one was injured.

Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order who visited the scenes of the blasts today said he had "no doubt" the attacks had been made by the ANC as the grenades were of Russian origin.

### Did not explode

Shortly before the attacks on the politicians' homes, a rifle-grenade attack was launched against Langa police station. The grenade, fired just after 2am, did not explode and the building was not damaged. About three hours later a limpet mine was found at the building and defused and removed.

Mr Landers was dragged from the wrecked house in Portlands — a well-to-do suburb of Mitchell's Plain — into the rain by his shocked wife Sylvia. They had been alone when the bomb tore the bedroom apart.

Mrs Landers, who was not injured, was at Groote Schuur Hospital while her husband was operated on.

In an anonymous telephone call to Sapa's Cape Town office today, a group calling itself the Western Cape Suicide Squad claimed responsibility for the attacks.

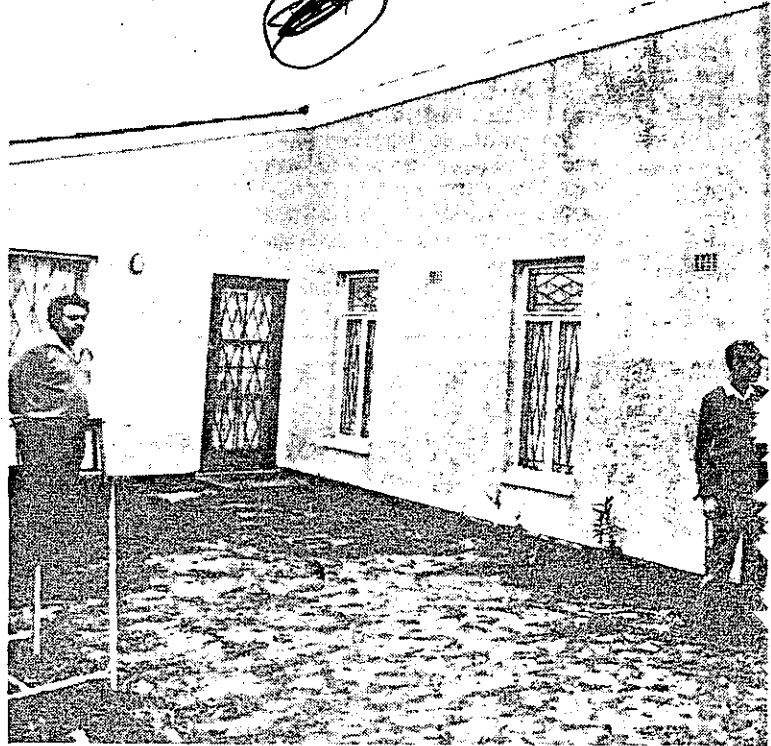
### Out of danger

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said Mr Landers — MP for Mitchell's Plain and recently appointed Deputy-Minister of Population Development — was out of danger.

Argus crime reporter Mark Stansfield reports that Mr Lander's mattress probably absorbed most of the force of the blast, saving his life.

In the bedroom close to the window through which the explosive device was thrown, bedding lay pitted, blackened and shredded.

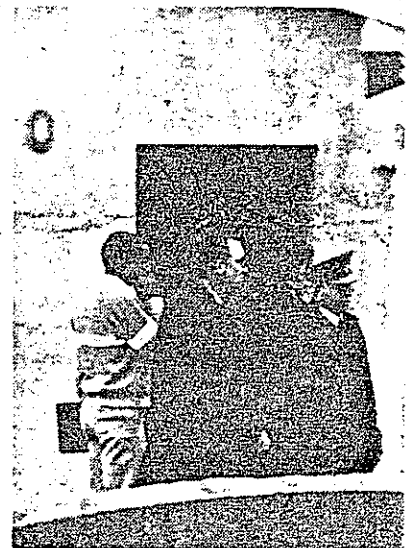
ARGUS  
12/6/85  
11A  
~~11A~~  
~~11A~~



The Landers' bedroom window, arrowed, through which a rifle-grenade was thrown, blasted 2 cm craters in the wall of a house five metres away. Bloodstained bedding covered the area.



Mr Fred Peters



Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange with policemen outside Mr Fred Peters' home.



a home — grenade fired at Langa police station/

# Attacks on MPs

## Le Grange blames ANC

Staff Reporters

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said today he had no doubt that the African National Congress was responsible for the attacks.

At Mr Fred Peters's home in Grassy Park Mr le Grange said: "Two grenades of Russian origin were thrown into the house."

Accompanied by high-ranking police and security officers, he also visited the home of Mr Luwellyn Landers in Mitchell's Plain and inspected the devastated bedroom.

"It's shocking to think that public figures can be attacked in this way," he said.

"It was a premeditated murder attempt."

Mr le Grange said the attack showed what the police were up against, and "confirms our own evidence that we're not dealing with children's games here".

Asked whether he was satisfied with security measures at Mr Landers's house, Mr le Grange said: "There are security measures in force regarding ministers and deputy-ministers."

### POLICE GUARDS

"However, we will be investigating these as a result of this incident. A statement will be issued later."

The Argus Political Correspondent reports that ministers and deputy-ministers have police guards at their homes. The coloured ministers live in a high-security block of flats in Rondebosch. Three villages for MPs from out of town are closely guarded.

Leaders of political parties were unanimous in their condemnation of the attacks.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said he found this kind of action totally reprehensible and beneath contempt.

"No matter how strongly one may feel about another person's political

Reports by Tos Wentzel, Gaye Davis, Sharkey Isaacs, Mark Stansfield, Dick Usher and Sybrand Mostert.

opinions, South Africa cannot afford to let the law of the jungle and of terror settle such differences," he said.

"I wish Mr Landers a speedy recovery and also wish to register my dismay and revulsion of such political action."

Mrs Helen Suzman, the party's spokesman on law and order, said the attacks were shocking.

"Nobody can condone this sort of terrible violence and it is no way to solve problems. It must be most vehemently condemned," she said.

### RETALIATION

Mrs Suzman added that attacks of this nature would simply mean retaliation of some kind or another.

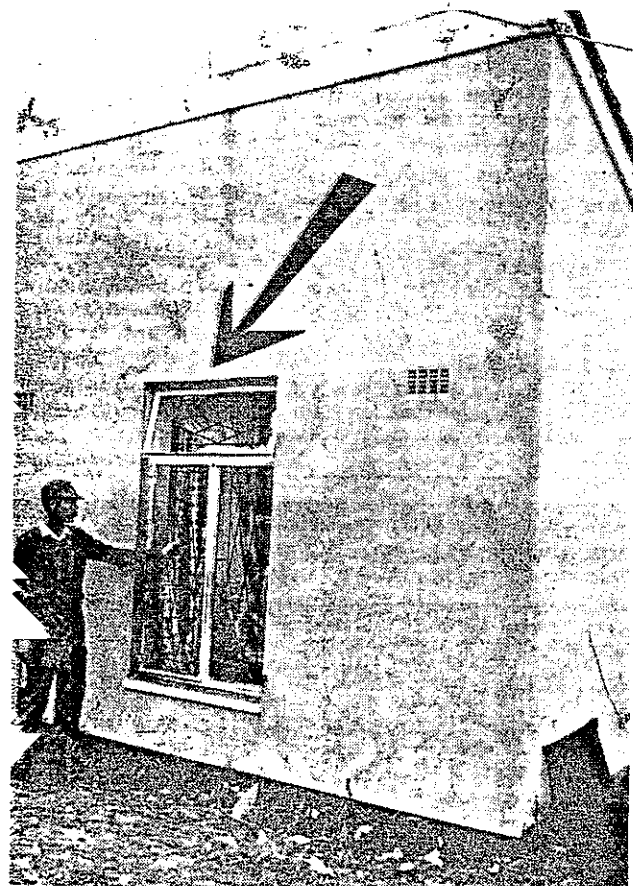
"We are entering a cycle of violence which can be broken only by dramatic action," she said.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said any such attack must be strongly condemned, no matter who was involved.

The Indian Minister of the Budget, Mr Boeti Abramjee, said the attacks were shocking. Injuring innocent people would never bring about change, he said.

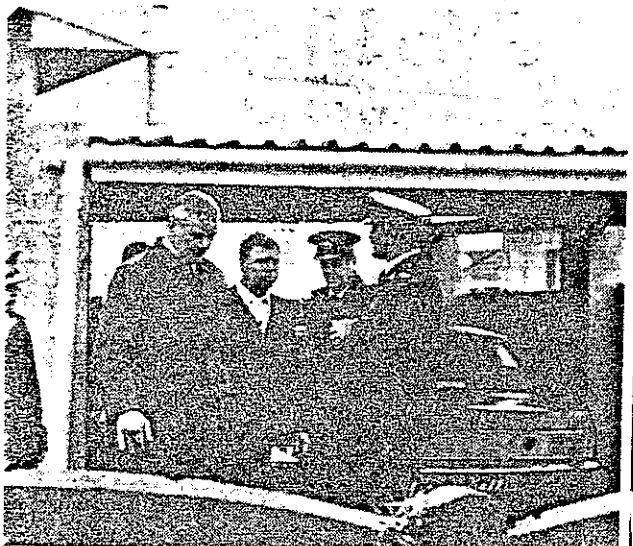
Mr D de la Cruz, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, strongly condemned attacks on fellow members of Parliament.

He called on the State to take the strongest possible action to bring the terrorists to book and to take further steps to protect MPs.



Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus

h which a grenade was hurled. The explosion five metres away. Shards of glass were ag could be seen through the burglar-bars.



Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUIZEN, The Argus

der Mr Louis le Grange confers with top police officer Fred Peters's Grassy Park home today.

# — 'Please help me...'

by Staff Reporter

MINUTES after the attack, a shocked Mrs Sylvia Landers dragged her semi-conscious and bleeding husband across the street to a neighbour's home and pleaded: "Please help me".

Ambulance and police were called by Mr Reginald October, who said he was awoken by an "enormous explosion" soon after 2am.

"I ran first to the back of the house, but couldn't see anything. Then from the front window I saw Mrs Landers come over. She told me that a bomb had been thrown through the bedroom window.

"I rushed to put on some clothes and when I got to my front door Mrs Landers was on the doorstep with Luwellyn.

"She said: 'Please help me'.

"He was conscious, but in pain. We laid him on the carpet in the lounge and covered him with a towel and a blanket.

"His back was full of holes," Mr October said.

Mr October's wife, Hilary, said: "I was amazed at Sylvia's strength. She was deeply shocked but she knelt beside her husband telling him: 'Hold on, don't give up on me, now'."

Shocked neighbours in Windsor Close, Portlands, Mitchell's Plain were awoken just after 2am today by the explosion. Some saw Mrs Landers carrying her husband across the road.

Many, still shocked by the incident, refused to identify themselves because they feared that the explosion had a political connotation and were scared of reprisals.

"You never know what can happen," one said.

A woman said a policeman had told her the explosion was caused by a grenade.

Most neighbours were shocked at the incident and described Mr Landers as a well-liked and hard-working member of the community.

## MORE SECURITY

A neighbour living directly across the road from the Landers's house said Mrs Landers had come over to visit them yesterday afternoon:

She said she felt she and her husband should leave the neighbourhood because they needed more security.

"To think that it could happen here."

Mrs Landers, who was not injured, was at Groote Schuur Hospital while her husband was operated on.

In an anonymous telephone call to Sapa's Cape Town office today, a group calling itself the Western Cape Suicide Squad claimed responsibility for the attacks.

## Out of danger

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said Mr Landers — MP for Mitchell's Plain and recently appointed Deputy-Minister of Population Development — was out of danger.

Argus crime reporter Mark Stansfield reports that Mr Landers's mattress probably absorbed most of the force of the blast, saving his life.

In the bedroom close to the window through which the explosive device was thrown, bedding lay pitted, blackened and shredded.

A wall directly opposite the shattered window and about 5m away is pitted with craters, some more than 2cm deep.

The blast, at 2.15, awakened many neighbours.

Mr Peters said an explosion had awakened him and his wife Elaine about 2am. The blast damaged his lounge and furniture, but none of the five occupants was injured.

"My wife thought there were two explosions. She awakened shortly before me," he said.

Mr Peters, a Cape Corps sergeant in World War 2, said he recognised the smell of cordite and when he blew his nose he saw black cordite specks on his handkerchief.

He believed the blasts at his home had occurred almost simultaneously with the attack on Mr Landers's house.

Mrs Elaine Peters said she, her husband, two sons Peter and John, and grandson Terence George were asleep at the rear of the house when they were awakened by explosions at about 2 am.

## It was a cowardly act

"At first we thought it was lightning, but then my son John came through and told us the house had been bombed," she said.

Neighbours said they had been awakened by the blasts but had not seen or heard anything else.

Mr Landers, 37, was appointed in President Botha's most recent executive shuffle.

UDF publicity secretary Ms Zo Kota said today the attacks on the two Labour Party MPs "arose directly out of the fundamental discontent that the new constitution is generating.

"Things are going to get worse unless the apartheid system is dismantled," she said.

Questioned, she said the UDF did not support violence but it could "understand the anger of the people.

"All peace loving people can avert the dark days that lie ahead if they commit themselves to dismantling apartheid."

Mr Hendrickse said it was a cowardly act to use instruments of violence to maim others. He was deeply thankful that it had largely failed.

"It is obvious that our participation in the structure is effective in that some people are seeing the result of this. This is why intimidation is being stepped up. This follows continued pressure on people not to participate."

● Landers rising star — Page 3.



Mr Fred Peters



Minister of Law and Order Fred Peters



Mr Reginald October

## SACC concern over violence, killings

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of the South African Council of Churches have expressed grave concern about the violence between black political groups and have called for reconciliation.

In a statement today following a meeting of church leaders yesterday the SACC said such inter-group violence hampered the cause of justice and peace.

The church leaders expressed concern at "the violence, political murders and destruction of private property going on between different black political groups at this time" and at "the violence, murder and destruction of property where schoolchildren have allegedly taken the law into their own hands".

They called on leaders of the respective groups to "restrain" their people.

"It must be realised that such inter-group violence only hampers the cause of justice and peace we all so earnestly seek. Also, it creates opportunity for other groups to exploit and manipulate the situation. The divisions and factions are a manifestation of the policy of divide and rule.

"We welcome all endeavours to secure peace among our people in the townships.

"We call on our members to work strenuously for reconciliation in their communities throughout South Africa," the statement said.  
— Sapa.

Wednesday, June 12, 1985

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## UDF, Azapo 'to end differences'

JOHANNESBURG. — church.

The United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization have resolved to end their differences and commemorate June 16 together, a joint Azapo/UDF committee said at a press conference here yesterday.

"We have resolved to join in a call to observe June 16 as a day of serious reflection on the events leading to our country being in the sad and divided situation it is in today," Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the Black Consciousness National Forum said.

The two organizations and their affiliates will be holding a joint commemoration service on Sunday June 16 at Soweto's Regina Mundi

The committee called on businesses and sport bodies around Soweto to close operations for an hour before the commemoration and to stay closed for the rest of the day. The Soweto Chamber of Commerce had agreed to close member shops in Soweto.

Mr Cooper said he hoped the call would be heeded nationwide.

Both organizations saw "outside elements" as responsible for the wave of recent violent attacks, especially in the Eastern Cape.

UDF Transvaal publicity secretary and general secretary of the General and Allied Workers' Union, Mr Sydney Mofumadi, said "outside elements" were trying to exploit their differences "to deplete the mass democratic movement".

Both groups resolved to bring an end to the fighting. — Sapa

# Chief: Mandela influenced <sup>(11A)</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>D. Disput</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>12/6/85</sup>

Dispatch Reporter  
EAST LONDON — A claim in Parliament by South Africa's Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, that Nelson Mandela's refusal of President P. W. Botha's conditional offer of release was orchestrated by outside influence has been supported by the representative in East London of the Paramount Chief of Western Transkei (Transkei), Mr J. J. Matotie.

In a letter addressed to Mr Coetsee, a copy of which was given to the Daily Dispatch, Mr Matotie names the present leader of the banned African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo,

as having influenced Mandela's decision.

Mr Matotie says Mandela was not imprisoned by the South African Government, but on evidence voluntarily given to the Pretoria Supreme Court in the 1964 "Rivonia trial."

He said he was cited in the trial as a victim of an ANC petrol bomb attack and there was evidence of killings in East London under a "Mandela plan".

Mr Matotie said he was surprised Mandela had turned down Pres Botha's offer.

"What do they say about people who died or were injured through

their 'Mandela plan'? he asked.

"I was a petrol bomb victim. An 11-year-old girl, Daphne Hoyi, was murdered by an ANC petrol bomb. This happened under the Mandela plan.

"I, as a Christian, have forgiven my assailants and their masterminds.

"I still say Mandela must agree to go home to the Transkei. His family is waiting for him."

Mr Matotie also questioned why the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the PFP MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, did not "shout out" for

the release of Rudolf Hess, the imprisoned former deputy Fuhrer of Nazi Germany.

He said Hess had been imprisoned in 1941 and was still imprisoned in West Berlin.

"Mrs Suzman is reported as saying: 'In no civilised country are people kept locked up for periods of over 20 years, no matter what their sentence or crime, unless they are a real menace to society and likely to commit acts of violence.'

"Rudolf Hess is 91 years old. Why is he still in jail?"

"Mandela said he will not renounce violence."

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

ARGUS 12/16/85 (11A)

# Landers regarded as rising star of politics

### Political Staff

MR Luwellyn Landers is regarded as one of Parliament's rising political stars.

His recent appointment by President P W Botha as Deputy Minister of Population Development confirmed this.

At the age of 37 he is one of a band of younger politicians in the House of Representatives who have made their mark as

active and assertive campaigners for the rights of their communities.

During the first session of the new Parliament he has taken part in major debates on a variety of issues and has served on several joint standing committees of the three Houses.

He is a forceful and confident speaker with a persuasive

style and an ability to present a neat and well-formed argument backed by facts and figures.

Yet, when interviewed recently on his appointment as the first coloured Deputy Minister, he said it had come as a complete surprise to him.

He saw it as a challenge which he intended to face with optimism.

As MP for Mitchell's Plain he is known as a hard worker. Since his election he has dealt with a wide range of community matters.

He grew up on a farm in Natal and moved to Durban at an early age and later to Cape Town.

His wife, Sylvia, does his secretarial work. They have three daughters, aged 15, 13 and 11.



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- PLUMSTEAD**  
Cup & Saucer

# UDF, Azapo 'to end differences'

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization have resolved to end their differences and commemorate June 16 together, a joint Azapo/UDF committee said at a press conference here yesterday.

"We have resolved to join in a call to observe June 16 as a day of serious reflection on the events leading to our country being in the sad and divided situation it is in today," Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the Black Consciousness National Forum said.

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church. The committee called on businesses and sport bodies around Soweto to close operations for an hour before the commemoration and to stay closed for the rest of the day. The Soweto Chamber of Commerce had agreed to close member shops in Soweto.

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Both groups resolved to bring an end to the fighting. — Sapa

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# Assassins hired to kill black leaders

# TUTU ON

# HIT

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13/6/85

# LIST

A HIT squad of 30 men has been formed to eliminate several leaders of the black community, a Press conference was told in Johannesburg yesterday.

According to Father Lebamang Sebidi, who chaired the conference, the squad was to hit four victims a day from yesterday until Sunday, June 16. A group of whites was behind the killer squad.

The list of people so far to be eliminated includes: Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg; Rev Sebidi; Mr Terror Lekota, UDF publicity secretary; Mr Saths Cooper, National Forum convenor; Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, an executive of the Urban Foundation; Mr Piroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa; Ms Amanda Kwadi, executive member of the Women's Federation of SA; Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of *City Press*; Mr George Wauchope, vice-president of Azapo; Mr Khehla Mthembu, youth secretary of Azapo and its former president and Rev Frank Chikane, UDF executive member.

The hastily convened conference, at Khotso House, was told that investigations were continuing. More details could not be given but the convenors, who included Mr Wauchope, Rev Sebidi, Ms Kwadi, Mr Qoboza and Rev Chikane, said they decided to announce this to let the country and the international community know what was happening.

Those affected were to be hit or disappear at the rate of four a day until Sunday. But, the convenors said they had not asked for protection or reported the matter to the police.

According to the convenors they got wind of the hit list and killers on Monday. Asked why they have kept quiet all along they said they were still busy with investigations and too early for them to just come out. This killer squad, numbering 30, had been employed by a group of whites and has been rehearsing since Tuesday this week in preparation of their "mission".

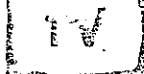
By ALI MPHAKI

# HILL BLA SA



Ms AMANDA KWADI

TODAY'S



HIGHLIGHTS



• TV1 (10.21 pm) Hill Street Blues. A young Puerto Rican is accused of killing a young prostitute. There is strong evidence that Councilman McCaully, who carries weight in the police department, is involved.

• TV2 (8.10 pm) Amaciko Ethu. This jazz programme features prominent local and overseas artists.



# Urgent moves to tighten VIP security after grenade attacks

## Staff Reporters

URGENT attention is being given to security measures for senior Government representatives and members of Parliament following the grenade attacks on the homes of two MPs yesterday.

Mr Luwellyn Landers, MP for Mitchell's Plain and Deputy Minister-designate who was badly injured in a blast, was in satisfactory condition in Groote Schuur Hospital today after a restful night.

There were no police guards at either Mr Landers's Mitchell's Plain home or the Grassy Park home of Mr Fred Peters, Labour Party MP for Silvertown, when the almost simultaneous attacks were made.

## Ministers

The Argus Political Correspondent reports that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, gave an assurance today that security measures were being scrutinised.

He declined to give details of the measures as this would give information to anyone with a criminal or violent intent.

Mr Le Grange would not say whether armed guards would be provided at the homes of MPs. Apart from out-of-town parliamentarians, who live in closely-guarded villages, local MPs have not had guards at their homes.

Ministers and Deputy Ministers have guards at their residences.

Police headquarters in Pretoria refused to comment on whether Peninsula police had inside information before the attacks on the two homes and the Langa police station.

## Roadblocks

Police roadblocks, set up on most routes leading to the Cape Flats on Tuesday night, were normal procedure and were carried out "from time to time", said Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, police liaison officer for the Peninsula.

Numerous roadblocks were operating on routes leading into the Peninsula from early on Tuesday evening.

Mr le Grange today dismissed an African National Congress denial that it had been responsible for the at-

tacks. The attacks were typical of the methods of the ANC, which used Russian-made instruments of murder such as the grenades used to bomb the MPs' homes.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order has said that this claim was "not an assumption but was based on solid information".

The spokesman pointed out that Mr le Grange had recently announced that the police had information that the ANC had changed its policy from limiting its attacks to "hard" targets and was now prepared to attack "soft" civilian targets.

## Unknown group

An unknown group called the Western Cape Suicide Squad claimed responsibility for the attacks.

A message telexed from the ANC's Lusaka office said that, "contrary to assertions" of ANC responsibility by Mr le Grange, the "suicide squad" had claimed responsibility.

Late yesterday, the Cape Town head of security police, Colonel E F Coetzee, said police were trying to establish whether the "Western Cape Suicide Squad" was known to the police.

"To my knowledge they have never been heard of before," he said.

## Arms cache

Police have discovered a cache of Russian arms near Durban, the Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria disclosed today. It included limpet mines, RPG rockets and hand-grenades.

The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports that a group of black "apartheid mercenaries" in the pay of unidentified whites is alleged to be planning to begin tonight to abduct political leaders in Soweto and Johannesburg.

Those on the alleged hit list include Bishop Desmond Tutu; United Democratic Front (UDF) treasurer the Rev Frank Chikane; Azanian People's Organisation leaders Saths Cooper and George Wauchope; City Press editor Percy Qoboza, and women's activist Amanda Kwadi.

NR&AS 13/6/85

114

Cape Times 13/6/85  
11A

# Top blacks on 'hit list of death'

From SOPHIE TEMA

JOHANNESBURG. — A black "hit squad" has been hired by a group of whites to eliminate members of the United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organization, and prominent black leaders, it was alleged yesterday.

The "30-man hit-squad" had been paid a large sum of money and would be heavily armed. The killings were scheduled to be carried out between 4am yesterday and 6am on Sunday, June 16.

This was claimed at a press conference yesterday by a group of prominent black leaders whose names appeared on the "hit list".

## No report made to police

However, a police spokesman said last night: "No such report has been made to us. We cannot investigate what has not been brought to our attention."

The statement at yesterday's press conference said: "The gang has been ordered to systematically remove the listed persons by kidnapping them on sight — four at a time — or kill or hold them hostage."

Those on the list include Nobel Peace Prize-winner and Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu; the Rev Lebamang Sebidi, former member of the Committee of Ten; the Rev Frank Chikane, executive member of the UDF; Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, housing organizer for the Urban Foundation; Ms Amanda Kwadi of the Federation of Transvaal Women; Mr Stan Kani, a black actor; Mr George Wauchope, an office-bearer in Azapo; Mr Percy Qoboza, associate editor of City Press; Mr Dave Niddrie, chief sub-editor of City Press; the Rev Joe

Seyoka, vice-president of Azapo; Mr Saths Cooper, chairman of the National Forum Committee; Mr M Mthembu (not identified any further) and Mr Piroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of SA.

Speaking at Khotso House in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Chikane said he and the other listed people had in their possession a document listing those to be eliminated.

"Investigations since Monday this week have disclosed that a plan is under way to get rid of us between now and June 16." Sunday is the ninth anniversary of the Soweto riots of 1976.

"But we have not been able to get hold of the names of the culprits."

He said his parents received a telephone call at 2am this week and a man, sounding like a white, warned that his house was to be bombed. He ascertained from others — now on the list — that they had received similar threats.

They then set up a committee to investigate the threats and had uncovered the concerted plot to kill them.

Mr Chikane said that some of the "hit men" were known to the committee and their names would be released at a later stage, along with the identities of those who had hired them. He said it had been decided to make the matter public in an effort to stop any possible attempts on their lives — keeping in mind the attacks were scheduled to begin yesterday.

"Apartheid mercenaries want it to appear as if the conflict between the UDF and Azapo — in which several members of both groups have either died or have been injured — could be linked to the plot."

Red grenades used — Le Grange

# ANC 'out to eliminate SA leaders'

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B. Day

13/6/85

THE attacks on deputy minister-designate Luwellyn Landers and Labour Party general secretary Fred Peters early yesterday "confirm the ANC's policy of eliminating civic and political leaders".

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange said this yesterday in a statement on the attacks, which, he said, were carried out with Russian handgrenades.

Le Grange could make a further statement on the security surrounding Cabinet Ministers and MPs during today's debate on the Kannemeyer Report in the House of Assembly.

Le Grange, who visited the scenes of the attacks, said a Russian limpet mine was also found by police, attached to a building adjacent to the Langa police station, and defused. A rifle grenade was fired at the police station but did not explode.

Landers, who lives in his Mitchells Plain constituency, was reported recently as saying he did not wish to move to any of the high-security residential areas provided for Cabinet members and MPs because he wished to remain in touch with his constituents. Peters' home in Grassy Park was damaged by two grenades but nobody was hurt.

President P W Botha, members of the Cabinet, and other parliamentarians have expressed their abhorrence of the attacks.

Yesterday morning Botha visited Landers in Groote Schuur Hospital where he was recovering from an emergency operation to remove grenade shrapnel from his back. Landers becomes Deputy Minister of Population Development in the Department of Health on July 1.

By PAUL BELL

Botha expressed his regret at the "cowardly acts of terror" against Landers, Peters and officers of the SAP. He also telephoned Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse to ask him to convey his sympathy to the families of both politicians.

And in the House of Representatives — of which Landers and Peters are members, MPs said they would not be intimidated by the attacks, or deterred from taking part in the tricameral constitution.

Hendrickse said the House had been shocked and outraged by the attacks, and said he condemned them in the strongest possible terms. The attacks would bind his party together, as they would others who condemned violence as an instrument of political change.

The small group of opposition members in the House associated themselves with his statement.

Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said he found this type of action completely reprehensible and beneath contempt.

Wishing Landers a speedy recovery, and registering his "dismay and revulsion" at such political action, Slabbert said no matter how strongly one might feel about another person's political opinions, South Africa could not afford to let the law of the jungle and of terror settle such differences.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee told the House of Assembly the attack, which he described as "abhorrent", was the first of its kind and showed that those responsible had no regard for their victims, whether children or adults.

● See Page 5

Handwritten notes in the right margin, including the name "M. ...".

# Boycott strategy that hurts

11A  
Boycotts—for reasons ranging from consumer anger to politics, have proved an effective weapon in the Eastern Cape. And a weapon that is being used more and more often

Own Correspondent:

Port Elizabeth

W. Mani 14/6/85

BOYCOTTS have emerged as an increasingly popular method of protest in the unrest-hit Eastern Cape, often with significant results.

Not the least of these is the mobilisation of previously apolitical communities.

Called for reasons ranging from consumer dissatisfaction to political grievances, they increasingly are directed at the white man's pocket.

Consumer boycotts have proved the most effective.

In Port Elizabeth, the most recent target was bread delivered to the townships. The East Cape African Chamber of Commerce described the bread as stale and unfit for consumption. The Chamber charged that bread unsold in city shops and still carrying supermarket price tags was being palmed off on township traders.

A spokesman for the Master Bakers' Association said that as far as he knew, no bakery took back unsold bread.

The total trader boycott was endorsed by the regional branch of the United Democratic Front and its major local affiliate, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco).

After two and a half weeks, the boycott was suspended last Wed-

## A silence settles on Dispatch

By ANTON HARBER

A BOYCOTT of the Daily Dispatch by the United Democratic Front appears to be hitting this East London newspaper severely.

The boycott was called a month ago after a meeting of the UDF executive in East London.

According to a UDF spokesman, the boycott was called after UDF members had expressed their "disgust" at the way the newspaper "failed to report their issues or even print their letters."

"They were just refusing to print anything that came from us or our affiliates. But they were always ready to print anything vilifying us," he said.

Stofile said that the "final straw" was an editorial about the release from prison of Dennis Goldberg last month. The editorial described Nel-

nesday. Master Bakers' Association and trader representatives reached an interim agreement, but not before bakers had felt the effect of lost revenue representing tens of thousands of unsold loaves.

Even the little town of Adelaide has not escaped the impact of a boycott, this time of white-owned shops.

Here, the protest was sparked by objections to white Adelaide businessmen serving in reserve forces which have been roped in to help quell township disturbances. According to black civic leaders, some white-owned shops have done barely any trade with their predominantly black clientele, while

cases, for example.

Stofile said the boycott was "going well in all areas, except the Transkei".

Already, Johannesburg-based UDF leaders have raised the possibility of boycotting a local newspaper that they consider unfriendly, son Mandela and other political prisoners as "criminals".

Pamphlets have been distributed in the areas calling for two forms of action. People have been asked not to buy the newspaper and not to have any dealings with Dispatch reporters in any context.

This means the boycott has had wider implications. Sources at the Dispatch say that some lawyers have been declining to deal with court reporters on ordinary crime

Indian businessmen report normal turnover.

Some white shopkeepers said their turnover had dropped by up to 90 percent and they faced bankruptcy.

They added that they were willing to meet township leaders and they had made overtures to the Adelaide Youth Congress.

Other businessmen were quick to point out that intimidation had accounted for the near-total boycott and said township traders were exploiting the situation by inflating their prices.

A similar charge has been levelled by white entrepreneurs in the coastal village of Port Alfred, where a consumer boycott was launched late in

May.

The town's Chamber of Commerce remains concerned about its members' balance sheets, not least because they believe they are powerless to meet the boycotters' demands: the release on bail pending appeal of 19 residents jailed last month on public violence charges, arising out of a stoning incident at the funeral of an unrest victim.

In Fort Beaufort, a boycott of white-owned shops has led the Chamber of Commerce there to invite black members, while Kenton-on-Sea recently reported a one-day stayaway and consumer boycott by the resort's black population.

In the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships, dissatisfaction with a ban on the use of community halls by the UDF and its affiliates, imposed by the black local authorities, was manifested in a call in January for a boycott of East Cape Development Board liquor outlets and businesses operated by black town councils.

In March, a successful call for a three-day worker stayaway was made by the UDF and Pebco. The "long black weekend" was organised to protest fuel and consumer product price hikes. Commerce and industry in Port Elizabeth were hard hit.

A similar stayaway in Uitenhage had the same effect.

The following month, Pebco urged commuters to refrain from using minibuses operated in townships by Port Elizabeth Tramways, on the grounds that the company was taking business away from township taxi drivers.

Pebco also objected to repeated calls by PE Tramways for stricter policing of pirate taxi operators.

## Ambulance drivers still jobless

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — Two of the ambulance drivers who were dismissed by the Dias Divisional Council after they testified before the Kannemeyer Commission inquiring into the Langa police shooting of March 21 are still jobless.

The third driver who gave evidence, Mr Andrew Barlow, has been re-employed by the council in a new position. Mr Joseph Berry and Mr Michael Goqo remain unemployed.

This was confirmed yesterday by the secretary of the council, Mr N W Anderson. He stressed that the decision to dismiss the men was not an act of victimisation because "my council would never do that to any of its employees".

### NEGLIGENCE

Mr Anderson said the dismissals had nothing to do with the evidence they gave to the commission, which hinted at negligence by hospital authorities regarding some people injured in the Langa shooting.

Mr Goqo had not been confirmed in his job and was on probation at the time of his dismissal. He had attained very low marks in an examination set for him and had also been on probation because he had been dismissed by his previous employer.

Mr Anderson said Mr Berry had been given a final warning by the council before the events at Langa.

## PE Azapo home petrol-bombed, mother assaulted

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A mother of supporters of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has been assaulted and her home petrol-bombed in New Brighton.

She was injured when hit on the head with a blunt instrument before fleeing to the home of the Rev Mzwandile Maqina, where she received first-aid.

Azapo members, gathered at Mr Maqina's house, blamed their rivals in the United Democratic Front (UDF) for the attack, saying that only the night before the homes of two other Azapo members were destroyed in petrol-bomb attacks.

The houses belonged to Mr Thami Mkhonto and Mr Vuyile Qoqo. Mr Maqina and Azapo's vice-president for the Cape, Mr Phambili Ntloko, said they believed the attacks were by the UDF.

### "WAYLAID ON WAY FROM SHOPS"

Mr Ntloko said he doubted if the UDF was genuine about wanting peace.

He claimed he was waylaid on his way from the shops last night and surrounded by armed men. They did not identify themselves but accused him of being a member of Azapo.

"I saw what the questions were leading to and had no doubt that I would soon be attacked. I ran away, followed by the men, and jumped a few fences before finding refuge in the home of another Azapo member," Mr Ntloko said.

From there he telephoned Mr Maqina's house and asked for help. Friends went to the house where Mr Ntloko was hiding and rescued him.

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# Call for safety to be reviewed after attack

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE bombings of the Cape Town homes of two Labour Party MPs met with unanimous condemnation in Parliament yesterday and led to a call for an urgent review of safety measures at MPs' homes.

It was understood last night that beefed-up security arrangements were already being investigated, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, could make an announcement in this regard when he speaks during the special debate on the Kannemeyer Commission Report today.

Most coloured politicians have in the past been opposed to the undue attention that would result from an overt police presence outside their homes, but MPs in the House of Representatives yesterday resolved not to be intimidated by the latest attacks.

## Convey his sympathy

President P W Botha yesterday expressed his shock and regret at "the cowardly acts of terror" against the MP for Mitchells Plain and deputy minister-designate, Mr Luwellyn Landers, and the Labour Party's secretary and MP for Silvertown, Mr Fred Peters.

Mr Botha, who visited Mr Landers at Grootte Schuur Hospital yesterday afternoon, earlier telephoned Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to convey his sympathy to two MPs and their families.

Mr Le Grange said in a statement that the "cowardly acts" on the homes of the politicians and the Langa police station "confirms the ANC's policy to eliminate civic and political leaders".

Mr Le Grange said the hand-grenades used in the attacks were manufactured in Russia, as was the limpet mine defused by police in a building adjacent to Langa police station.

He said he had "no doubt" that the attacks had been launched by the ANC but a group calling itself the Western Cape Suicide Squad yesterday

claimed responsibility for the attack in a call to Sapa's Cape Town office.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in the House of Assembly yesterday that it was appropriate that the entire House express its "absolute abhorrence" at the "despicable deeds" that had been perpetrated.

In the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse condemned the "cowardly acts" that had been perpetrated by "forces of darkness" and resolved that Labour Party members would not allow grenade attacks to intimidate them or deter them from participation in the tri-cameral Parliament.

He expressed his party's "shock, outrage and condemnation" at and of those who resorted to violence against people they differed with politically.

The leader of the Democratic Workers Party, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said such "callous, premeditated and barbaric acts of terrorism cannot be condoned" and called for a review of security measures at MPs' homes.

The leader of the Freedom Party, Mr Arthur Booysen, said the attack should be regarded as an assault on Parliament and the government and urged the government to do everything in its power "to outlaw these gangs of stealthy terrorists".

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said the attack was "totally reprehensible and beneath contempt".

## 'Law of the jungle'

"No matter how strongly one may feel about another person's political opinions, South Africa cannot afford to let the law of the jungle and of terror settle such differences."

The PFP's spokeswoman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, condemned the act and said "this sort of mindless violence — political or otherwise — can only further increase tension".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said any such attack had to be strongly condemned, no matter who was involved.

# Possible shift in ANC strategy

Chief Reporter

IF the African National Congress was responsible for the early-morning attacks on the homes of Mr Luwellyn Landers and Mr Fred Peters, this could indicate a significant shift in ANC strategy in the Western Cape, in which till now the ANC has aimed at installations and "soft targets" rather than at people.

While ANC activity has been stepped up in other parts of the Republic, the Western Cape has been relatively free of attacks linked with them.

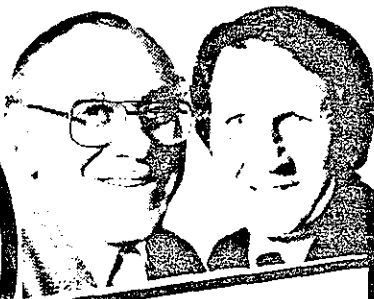
Confirmed or suspected ANC activity in the region has been sporadic.

● In January 1979 an unexploded bomb was found near Pierie railway station, and four months later a bomb exploded in a toilet in the Supreme Court building in Cape Town. A member of the ANC was subsequently convicted under the Terrorism Act and jailed for 20 years.

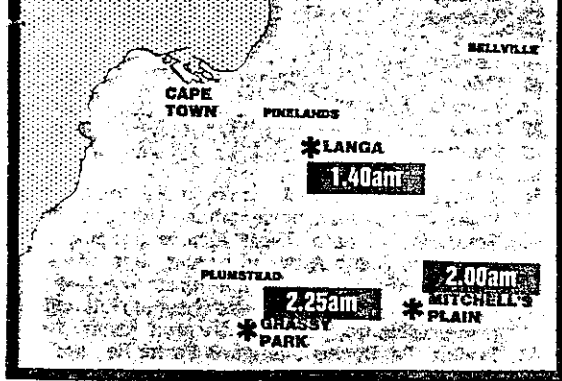
● About the same period, early-morning or weekend bomb blasts caused damage at the Langa Commissioner's Court building and at the Administration Board's offices in Observatory. The ANC was blamed in both cases.

● In December 1982, a series of four explosions rocked the Koeberg nuclear power station. The Koeberg blasts caused considerable damage but no one was injured. A subsequent ANC statement issued in Dar-es-Salaam claimed responsibility for planting limpet mines at the Koeberg plant.

● Those responsible for a blast in a lift in Cape Town Centre, which housed the President's Council at the time, in December 1982, have not been identified. A SA Defence Force spokesman denied at the time that there was an ANC link. The blast killed Mr Michael Youngusband, who was in the lift.



SHOOT YOUR ANIMALS WITH AN



The graphic shows the sequence of events — according to police — in yesterday's hand-grenade attacks.



Mrs Elaine Peters, wife of Mr Fred Peters, says she woke up after hearing bangs and thought it was 'lightning'.



Mr Landers is in a "stable" condition after surgery.

# Bombers esc

By **STEPHEN WROTTESELEY**  
Crime Reporter

CAPE TOWN 13/6/85

**A TEAM of terrorists who exploded hand-grenades in the homes of two leading coloured parliamentarians and at the Langa police station yesterday morning are believed to have slipped through a police dragnet thrown up around the Peninsula.**

Mr Luwellyn Landers, the deputy minister-designate of Population Development, was wounded in the attack on his Mitchell's Plain home and underwent emergency surgery at Groote Schuur Hospital.

Mr Landers, who was in a "stable" condition, was paid an eight-minute visit by the State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday afternoon.

The well-briefed team of terrorists are believed to have moved from one target to the next with split-second timing.

The Grassy Park home of Mr Fred Peters, national secretary of the Labour Party and MP for Silvertown, was also bombed.

## Road-blocks

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the region, said road-blocks had been set up around the Peninsula but no arrests had been made.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said Russian equipment was used in the attacks and blamed the ANC. However, a person claiming to be a member of the "Western Cape Suicide Squad" telephoned the South African Press Association and claimed responsibility.

Police spokesmen said they had never heard of

the squad before but an expert on terrorism said that after previous attacks, an organization calling itself the Soweto Suicide Squad had claimed responsibility.

Mr Landers's home was bombed less than two weeks after it was announced that he was to be appointed a deputy minister from July 1.

Disquiet was expressed over the fact that the MPs had not had

Public Relations in Pretoria. The attack on the home of Mr Landers took place about 2am and the attack in Grassy Park — an 18-minute drive away — at 2.25am.

The police spokesman said a grenade was thrown on to the roof of the Langa police station and that it caused minimal damage when it exploded. About three hours later, a limpet mine was found attached

to the Peters home in Seventh Avenue, Grassy Park, badly damaged the contents of the sitting room, but did not do much structural damage.

Mrs Elaine Peters said she was sleeping with her husband in a room at the back of the house when the grenades exploded.

"I thought it was lightning. But then my son John went to investigate and discovered what had happened," she said.

Police cordoned off the area and are understood to have found footprints in the mud on a pathway across the road.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, who visited the bombing sites with the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, and the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier G J Odendaal, said he believed the ANC was responsible for the attacks.

- Bombing condemned, page 2
- 'Shift' in ANC strategy, page 2
- Terror comes south, page 6

## ANC 'not responsible'

**LUSAKA.** — The African National Congress said last night it had had no contact with the "Western Cape Suicide Squad" which claimed responsibility for attacks on two politicians. An ANC spokesman rejected a statement by Mr Le Grange that the ANC was responsible for the attacks. — Sapa-Reuter

armed guards.

The bombers must have been well briefed on their attack points and must have moved with great speed if only one group was responsible for all three attacks.

The expert said the bombing "was a major propaganda win".

The attack on the Langa police station occurred at 1.40am, according to a spokesman for the Police Directorate of

to the building and was defused.

The chairman of the Mitchell's Plain Ratepayers' Association, Mr Stan Fisher, said Mr Landers was injured in the back and buttock by shrapnel when a grenade was hurled into the room in which he was sleeping with his wife, Sylvia. They were alone at home at the time.

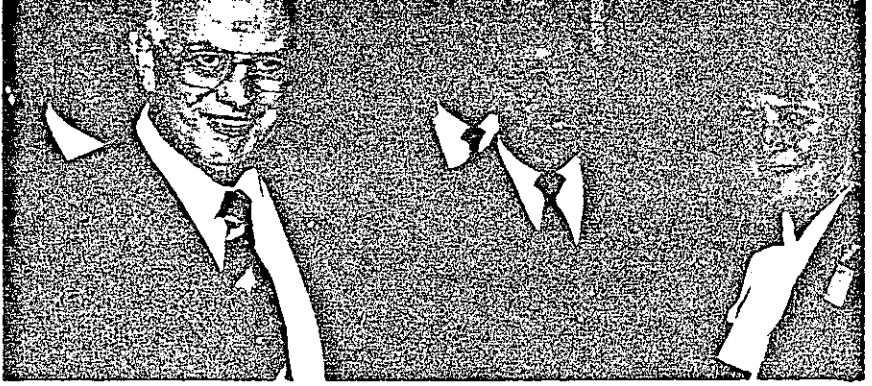
It would appear from the nature of Mr Lan-



Detectives examine the grenades thrown into



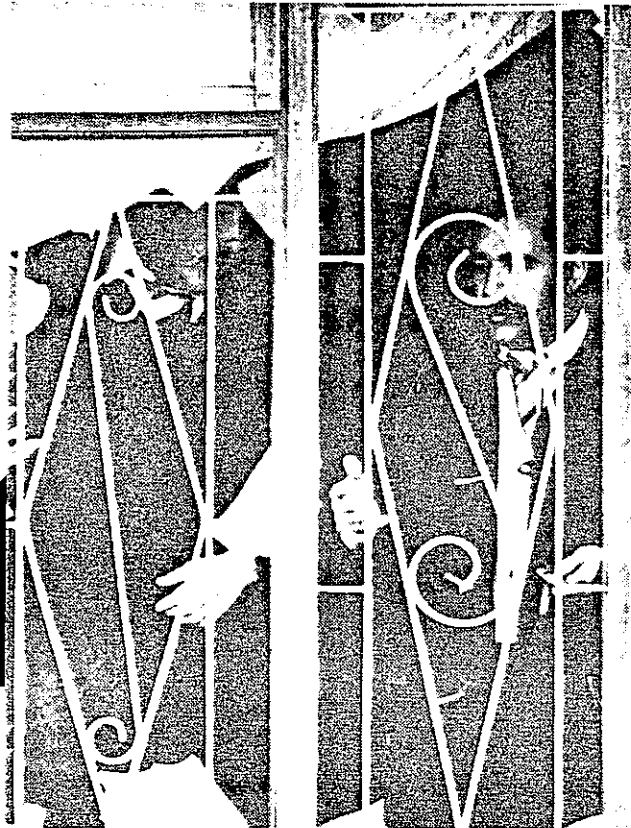
Mr Fred Peters



Terence George, the 15-year-old grandson of Mr Fred Peters who lives at the Peters family home, slept through the attack.

President P W Botha and the Minister of Communication and Public Works, Dr L A P A Munnik, leave Groote Schuur Hospital after visiting Mr Landers. With them is the chief matron, Miss L J du Preez.

# cape dragnet



the debris and damage caused by the hand- into the Grassy Park home of Mr Fred Peters.



The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, leaves the home of Mr Fred Peters after visiting the scene of the attack yesterday.

## Politicians can expect attacks — LP

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

"IF one is in this game (politics) you can expect things like this" was the reaction of Mr Fred Peters, the Labour Party's secretary whose Grassy Park home was the target of a grenade attack early yesterday morning.

"I feel bad about it but it only encourages me to fight for the community," he said yesterday afternoon.

Mr Peters said he heard an explosion about 2am yesterday. He recognized the odour of cordite and his army experience led him to the conclusion that the explosion had been caused by a bomb.

Police found two exploded grenades in the dining room of his Seventh Avenue residence in Grassy Park.

Mr Peters said he could not say who was responsible for the attack. He said it was simi-

lar to the one on the home of Mr Luwellyn Landers (LP Mitchells Plain).

Asked if he was shocked and upset by the incident, he said: "I am used to these things for years ago I was in the army."

"My family is taking it very well," he said, adding that he was thankful that no one had been hurt.

He said the whole dining room was damaged and everything had to be replaced. De-

scribing the destruction, he said: "It was as if the whole room was machine-gunned."

No estimate of the damage had been made yet, he said.

Mr Peters was back on duty at Parliament yesterday, but left early in the afternoon. He said he would attend today's proceedings.

He confirmed that a police guard had been set up at his home.



# Missing: The list grows longer

Own Correspondent: East London

THE mysterious disappearance of three Port Elizabeth civic leaders who vanished while travelling to collect a person from the airport on May 8 is the latest and most dramatic addition to the growing list of missing persons in the Eastern Cape.

Prominence has been given to the more than 20 people who were unaccounted for after the police shot dead 20 people in Langa, Uitenhage, on the anniversary of Sharpeville in March.

But hundreds of people have been reported missing since the beginning of the year.

The long search for two Uitenhage residents who disappeared on March 8 ended more than two months later on May 15 when their families discovered the well-preserved body of Mthuthuzeli Mliwane, 30, and that of 15-year-old Thebisile Nenga in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton mortuary.

Relatives had combed police cells, mortuaries and hospitals in Uitenhage, Humansdorp, Jeffrey's Bay, Kirkwood and Port Elizabeth for months prior to the discovery.

According to records of the Uitenhage legal advice office, relatives of 15 other people are still continuing their search.

In their search for seven children from Uitenhage's KwaNobuhle township, residents, led by Molly Blackburn, the PFP MPC for Walmer, happened upon a young man allegedly shackled to a table being beaten by police.

Blackburn said there had been no records of the 18-year-old Norman Kona at the police station.

Last month, 47 child-sized coffins and three adult coffins were seen being buried under a police guard in Zwide cemetery.

A private white firm of undertakers said they had been instructed to carry out a pauper's burial and had requested police protection, but suspicions have not been completely allayed.

The search for the missing Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (Pebo) leaders has also revived the memory of Siphiwo Mtinkulu, who was 28 years old when he went missing in 1981.

Mtinkulu - who collapsed shortly after being released from six months of detention and was found



Drawing: CARL BECKER

to have been poisoned by thalium, which is banned in South Africa - went missing shortly after he had instructed lawyers to sue for R150 000 damages.

Brian Bishop, chairman of the Cape Town-based Civil Rights League, which has offered a reward of R1 000 for the missing Pebo three, said he had offered the same reward for information which helped establish the whereabouts of Mtinkulu. He believed the reward was offered too late to save Mtinkulu.

"We will not be surprised if solving the problem of the missing Pebo men also solves the mystery surrounding Mtinkulu's disappearance," Bishop said.

The Pebo three were last seen at about 7.30pm at a police roadblock at one of the exits from the New Brighton township.

And, according to two members of the Congress of SA Students who were detained at the Baakens Street Police Station in the centre of Port Elizabeth, they were subsequently

seen in the police station.

Police have repeatedly denied that Oqawuli Godolozzi, Pebo's president, Siphon Hashe, Pebo's general secretary, and Champion Galefa, the organising secretary, have been detained.

The mysterious disappearances were preceded by petrol bomb attacks, which were seen by the organisation as assassination attempts.

In the small hours of March 19, petrol bombs were flung at Mr Hashe's New Brighton home. Shortly afterwards, another petrol bomb which did not ignite was thrown at the New Brighton home of Pebo's organising secretary, Earnest Malgas.

When the search by families, lawyers and associates failed to bear fruit, and in the face of repeated denials from police that the men were in custody, the family of Hashe made a Supreme Court application calling for the Divisional Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order to

produce his body.

The case was dismissed with costs when Judge Zietsman found there was not enough evidence to substantiate the application.

Phumeze Hashe, Hashe's daughter, testified in an affidavit that during her 11-month detention in solitary confinement, security police had told her on two different occasions that her father was the cause of the unrest in the Eastern Cape.

One of the policemen had said her father was inviting problems for himself and that he was going to get what he was asking for. The day after her father's disappearance, her home was surrounded by policemen, two shots were fired, the house was raided, furniture was broken and people in the house were arrested.

In a replying affidavit, the Divisional Commissioner of the Eastern Cape, Brigadier C A Swart, said he had contacted all police stations under his control and had received written proof that Hashe had not

been arrested or detained in his area.

The head of the Port Elizabeth Security Police, Colonel Harold Snyman, said while his division had taken an interest in Hashe and his family because they were political activists, Hashe was not in their custody.

Snyman referred to the feuding between the UDF and Azanian People's Organisation and said there was a possibility, if not a probability, that Hashe may have been abducted by Azapo and killed.

The judge said the allegations by Hashe's family were unfounded. He said it seemed very little had been done to ascertain whether Hashe was in police custody.

Henry Fassl, Pebo's vice-president, disputed claims that Azapo had any involvement in the disappearance of the three.

Meanwhile, relatives of the missing men have vowed not to give up their search until the men are found - dead or alive.

THE African National Congress considers that its struggle has entered a new era, favouring the development of insurrectionary forces and tactics.

The ANC External Mission has said that thousands of copies of a four-page ANC statement calling on blacks in effect to develop insurrectionary forces and tactics have been distributed inside South Africa in recent weeks.

The pamphlet, probably the most aggressive and confident ever from the ANC, provides an important insight into the organisation's thinking.

It is understood that the drawing up of the pamphlet, entitled "ANC call to the nation: the future is within our grasp", followed several days of discussion among ANC external mission leaders during which the nature, extent and potential of unrest since August last year

# ANC pamphlets herald changes in tactics

was analysed.

Its distribution comes on the eve of the ANC's second national consultative conference - to be held soon at an undisclosed African venue - which is scheduled to bring together about 200 delegates for a major review of ANC tactics and methods.

The ANC has claimed that underground presses were responsible for the bulk of the distribution of the pamphlet inside the country.

The pamphlet appears to develop further the central theme in all recent ANC pronouncements: that black people should make apartheid unworkable and the country

## Own Correspondent: Harare

ungovernable by, at this stage, by attacking weak points of State power, such as the Black Local Authorities.

The pamphlet explicitly identifies several tasks for different sections of ANC supporters, including a special task for blacks serving in the army.

What has become clear is that the ANC anticipates that the destruction of Black Local Authorities in some townships and the eviction of many black policemen lends itself to the creation of what one source cal-

led "mass revolutionary bases under popular and underground leadership".

The idea seems to be gradually to transform these townships into "no-go" areas for all but larger security contingents.

The ANC has clearly also noted black working class assertiveness and what sources identify as the development of an internal leadership increasingly able to call the tune.

The ANC considers that the crisis confronting the South African State is fast becoming "fundamental".

It argues that the Government has

hitherto totally failed to develop - and shows no potential for developing - political initiatives able to legitimate the reformist option.

Rather, hundreds of thousands of blacks and other ANC supporters have themselves developed methods of struggle, be they legal or violent.

The ANC appears to be saying that, in the normal course of things, after a lengthy period of struggle in which the State is brought to a point of crisis, insurrection provides the means for a final seizure of State power.

● The SAP Division of Public Relations has said that they are not aware of any such ANC pamphlet being distributed in the townships.

However, on last week's list of banned books was an ANC pamphlet, whose heading was given as "Make South Africa Ungovernable!"

# Boycott strategy that hurts

**Boycotts—for reasons ranging from consumer anger to politics, have proved an effective weapon in the Eastern Cape. And a weapon that is being used more**

**and more often**

**Own Correspondent:**

Port Elizabeth  
W. M. 14/6/85

BOYCOTTS have emerged as an increasingly popular method of protest in the unrest-hit Eastern Cape, often with significant results.

Not the least of these is the mobilisation of previously apolitical communities.

Called for reasons ranging from consumer dissatisfaction to political grievances, they increasingly are directed at the white man's pocket.

Consumer boycotts have proved the most effective.

In Port Elizabeth, the most recent target was bread delivered to the townships. The East Cape African Chamber of Commerce described the bread as stale and unfit for consumption. The Chamber charged that bread unsold in city shops and still carrying supermarket price tags was being palmed off on township traders.

A spokesman for the Master Bakers' Association said that as far as he knew, no bakery took back unsold bread.

The total trader boycott was endorsed by the regional branch of the United Democratic Front and its major local affiliate, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco).

After two and a half weeks, the boycott was suspended last Wed-

## A silence settles on Dispatch

By ANTON HARBER

A BOYCOTT of the Daily Dispatch by the United Democratic Front appears to be hitting this East London newspaper severely.

The boycott was called a month ago after a meeting of the UDF executive in East London.

According to a UDF spokesman, the boycott was called after UDF members had expressed their "disgust" at the way the newspaper "failed to report their issues or even print their letters."

"They were just refusing to print anything that came from us or our affiliates. But they were always ready to print anything vilifying us," he said.

Stofile said that the "final straw" was an editorial about the release from prison of Dennis Goldberg last month. The editorial described Nel-

nesday. Master Bakers' Association and trader representatives reached an interim agreement, but not before bakers had felt the effect of lost revenue representing tens of thousands of unsold loaves.

Even the little town of Adelaide has not escaped the impact of a boycott, this time of white-owned shops.

Here, the protest was sparked by objections to white Adelaide businessmen serving in reserve forces which have been roped in to help quell township disturbances. According to black civic leaders, some white-owned shops have done barely any trade with their predominantly black clientele, while

cases, for example.

Stofile said the boycott was "going well in all areas, except the Transkei".

Already, Johannesburg-based UDF leaders have raised the possibility of boycotting a local newspaper that they consider unfriendly. son Mandela and other political prisoners as "criminals".

Pamphlets have been distributed in the areas calling for two forms of action. People have been asked not to buy the newspaper and not to have any dealings with Dispatch reporters in any context.

This means the boycott has had wider implications. Sources at the Dispatch say that some lawyers have been declining to deal with court reporters on ordinary crime

Indian businessmen report normal turnover.

Some white shopkeepers said their turnover had dropped by up to 90 percent and they faced bankruptcy.

They added that they were willing to meet township leaders and they had made overtures to the Adelaide Youth Congress.

Other businessmen were quick to point out that intimidation had accounted for the near-total boycott and said township traders were exploiting the situation by inflating their prices.

A similar charge has been levelled by white entrepreneurs in the coastal village of Port Alfred, where a consumer boycott was launched late in

May.

The town's Chamber of Commerce remains concerned about its members' balance sheets, not least because they believe they are powerless to meet the boycotters' demands: the release on bail pending appeal of 19 residents jailed last month on public violence charges, arising out of a stoning incident at the funeral of an unrest victim.

In Fort Beaufort, a boycott of white-owned shops has led the Chamber of Commerce there to invite black members, while Kenton-on-Sea recently reported a one-day stayaway and consumer boycott by the resort's black population.

In the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships, dissatisfaction with a ban on the use of community halls by the UDF and its affiliates, imposed by the black local authorities, was manifested in a call in January for a boycott of East Cape Development Board liquor outlets and businesses operated by black town councils.

In March, a successful call for a three-day worker stayaway was made by the UDF and Pebco. The "long black weekend" was organised to protest fuel and consumer product price hikes. Commerce and industry in Port Elizabeth were hard hit.

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The following month, Pebco urged commuters to refrain from using minibuses operated in townships by Port Elizabeth Tramways, on the grounds that the company was taking business away from township taxi drivers.

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May.

The town's Chamber of Commerce remains concerned about its members' balance sheets, not least because they believe they are powerless to meet the boycotters' demands: the release on bail pending appeal of 19 residents jailed last month on public violence charges, arising out of a stoning incident at the funeral of an unrest victim.

In Fort Beaufort, a boycott of white-owned shops has led the Chamber of Commerce there to invite black members, while Kenton-on-Sea recently reported a one-day stayaway and consumer boycott by the resort's black population.

In the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships, dissatisfaction with a ban on the use of community halls by the UDF and its affiliates, imposed by the black local authorities, was manifested in a call in January for a boycott of East Cape Development Board liquor outlets and businesses operated by black town councils.

In March, a successful call for a three-day worker stayaway was made by the UDF and Pebco. The "long black weekend" was organised to protest fuel and consumer product price hikes. Commerce and industry in Port Elizabeth were hard hit.

A similar stayaway in Uitenhage had the same effect.

The following month, Pebco urged commuters to refrain from using minibuses operated in townships by Port Elizabeth Tramways, on the grounds that the company was taking business away from township taxi drivers.

Pebco also objected to repeated calls by PE Tramways for stricter policing of pirate taxi operators.

(11A)  
N. Mail  
14/6/85

# Feuding with the Front- a deadly conflict

Own Correspondent: Port Elizabeth

THE Reverend Ebenezer Mzwandile Maqina talks about territorial domination, silencing rivals, mobilising forces, pitched battles, retaliatory measures and casualties.

He is the recognised spokesman in the Eastern Cape for the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and he is talking about the feud between Azapo and the United Democratic Front which erupted in April.

Supporters of both camps have died and several have been injured. Scores of township dwellers have been left homeless in petrol bombings which show no sign of abating.

Yet the leaders of both organisations say they are committed to peace. They agree that the common, all-important "struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors" has suffered serious setbacks. Relatively minor differences between the two organisations are as old as the split between the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress.

Why bloody confrontations now, which have eclipsed the year-old conflict between black township residents and largely white security forces, pleasing the authorities, no doubt, and reinforcing white prejudices about overriding "ethnic" differences?

The struggle for power between the two groups is being fought in the vacuum created by floundering black town councils. Uitenhage's KwaNobuhle town council has resigned en bloc and there are four vacancies on the Kayammandi town council serving Port Elizabeth's townships. However, neither has ever enjoyed any significant legitimacy or credibility.

A month ago regional leaders of Azapo and the UDF agreed to a truce mediated by the Interdenominational Ministers' Fraternal of South Africa. But, if anything, the feud has intensified since then with



Drawing: CARL BECKER

petrol bomb attacks on the homes of prominent UDF members reported almost daily.

Azapo speculates that a "third force" may be responsible in some cases, possibly young thugs exploiting a mood of lawlessness in Port Elizabeth's poverty-stricken townships where unemployment is at a record high and school pupils are boycotting classes.

Or it could be "the system" fanning black-on-black strife, says Maqina. He was reluctant to spell this out. Other observers believe extreme elements of both groups may be to blame, and that their leaders are unable to control them.

Weekly Mail was unable to contact Edgar Ngoyi, the UDF's regional president, because his home had been gutted in a fire-bombing, but Henry Fazzie, regional vice-president, said the UDF had resolved not to debate the feud publicly because a war of words would only aggravate the conflict.

"We are fighting for peace," he

said. "We emphasise that this kind of conflict is no good. It is not a UDF-Azapo thing. It is a bid to discredit the UDF and to make out that we deal in violence."

Asked how he interpreted policy differences between the UDF and Azapo, Maqina said: "The Front is bent on dismantling apartheid. Their battle started in 1948 when the National Party came to power. For Azapo, the battle started in 1652 when white settlers landed in this country. The UDF accepts people of all races, including people we feel are the oppressors."

Maqina, 48, and a "former close friend of Biko's" believes that the feud was sparked by the UDF's "determination to achieve territorial domination. They are trying to silence all rivals. They started with the black town councillors, now they are trying to silence all other groups."

The UDF's Fazzie would not be drawn into this debate.

# SERVICES

11A 14/6/85 Sowetan

THOUSANDS of people throughout the country will commemorate June 16 on Sunday with services in most areas.

And already calls have gone out from the community that police keep away. Soweto mayor, Mr Edward Kunene, and management committee chairman, Mr Letsatsi Radebe, yesterday pledged their support to the service and called on the police to stay away.

Mr Kunene said June 16 should be a public holiday because of its importance to the black community, just as all other days of importance to the white community were public holidays.

Urban Councils Association of South Africa president, Mr Steve Kgame, also pledged solidarity for "those who have died for our freedom".

**By SY MAKARINGE**

The two main organisations operating in the black community, the United Democratic Front and National Forum Committee, have arranged services throughout the country. Soweto's service will be at Regina Mundi and both groupings will be in control of the service.

Thousands will remember June 16 this weekend



SISTER Bernard Ncube . . . Federation of Transvaal Women.



Mr SATHS COOPER . . . convener of the National Forum Committee.

## From Page 1

Zakhele Rugby Union, trade unions and Azasam.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, president of Azapo, will give the main address while Mr Lybon Mabasa, Azapo's secretariat for education, will give a talk on the national convention.

### OTHER SERVICES

#### UDF and affiliates:

- Ratanda Roman Catholic Church — Dr Nthato Motlana and Mr Pat Lephunya;
- Lenasia, Patidar Hall — Dr R S M Saloojee, Mr Immam Hassam Solomons and Mr Murphison Morobe;
- Nobuhle Hall, Alexandra — Mr Martin Ramokgadi, Mr Azhar Cachalia and a Mrs Ntintane;

## Services

- Anglican Church, Atteridgeville — Mr Titus Mofolo; Sowetan
- St Francis Church, Mamelodi — Mr Laloo Chiba; 14/6/85
- Roman Catholic Church, Soshanguve — Mr Arthur Mkhwanazi;
- New Civic Centre, Vosloorus — Mr Paul Maseko and Mr Piroz Cachalia.
- Azapo:**
  - Jiswa Centre, Lenasia — Mr Zithulele Cindi and Haroun Patel;
  - NGK, Atteridgeville — Mr Saths Cooper and Mr Thabo Sehume;
  - Methodist Church, Alexandra — Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe;
  - YMCA, Durban (tomorrow) — Mr Zithulele Cindi.

Both Azapo and the

UDF have services in other parts of the country and Azapo said venues for Pietersburg, Seshego, Thokoza, Laudium, Cape Town and Kimberley had already been secured and final details will be announced today.

In Daveyton the service will be held at the Lionel Kent Centre starting at 12 noon and speakers will include members from Erapo, the Daveyton Youth Congress, Cosas and the Release Mandela Committee.

Other services will be held at a church hall in Thokoza, KwaThema Civic Centre and Duduza new hall.

All these services will start at 1pm.

- The Southern Transvaal region of the South African Transport Services (SATS) will not operate the usual bus service in black townships between today and Monday.

## Expose

Mr Saths Cooper, National Forum convener and member of the joint June 16 Committee, said part of the Kannemeyer Commission report exposed the police and they should take heed of this.

"We want to stress that the attitude is one of respect for the dead. This is a national day on the calendar," Mr Cooper said.

He said he was certain that the people who would attend the commemoration services would conduct themselves in the required manner "befitting our fallen heroes".

The service at Regina Mundi will be addressed by Mr Curnick Ndlovu, UDF's national chairman, Sister Bernard Ncube, of the Federation of Transvaal Women, as well as representatives of Azapo whose names had not yet been released at the time of going to press.

Azapo's major commemoration service will be held on Sunday at the Reno Cinema, Port Elizabeth, at 10am. The organisation has invited organisations such as the Domestic Workers' Association of South Africa, the UDF, Kwa-

To Page 2

# Call for more ANC support

LONDON — Zimbabwe information minister Nathan Shamuyarira yesterday called on the international community to support the African

national Congress and the armed struggle against apartheid." 362

He told high commissioners and senior officials of 49 Commonwealth countries: "The revolution is in the making in that country." 119

Mr Shamuyarira accused South Africa of waging a war against Zimbabwe on the radio waves. He mentioned Radio Truth, Radio Venda "and other clandestine radio stations

operating inside South Africa" aimed at creating disaffection in South Africa's neighbouring countries, distorting and slanting the news about Africa.

In addition, a propaganda war was being waged through The Mail with thousands of letters posted in South Africa.

And he accused South Africa of infiltrating armed groups, arms supplies and funds to dissident Zimbabwe groups

in advance of the coming Zimbabwe elections.

Speaking at the opening of a Commonwealth secretariat media workshop on countering "Apartheid Propaganda", Mr Shamuyarira said Zimbabwe would be launching an external Zimbabwe radio service next year, to be run by the South African liberation movements.

Zimbabwe would be willing to join with other Commonwealth coun-

tries in launching the station, and he appealed for Commonwealth funds to support it.

Sir Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth secretary general, and Mr Donald Trelford, editor of the London Observer, told delegates that South Africa was spending millions of rands on an international propaganda campaign to win time for the Pretoria administration and support for its

policies.

Sir Shridath said the campaign projected South Africa as an oasis in a continent of squalor, and as a bastion of the West. The overseas media was being used to project the new constitution and other adjustments in the apartheid policy as advances, when, he said, they were designed to perpetuate the civil inferiority of the Republic's black and coloured peoples.



Mr OLIVER TAMBO... Zimbabwe Minister has pledged support for his organisation the ANC.

## Unity talks stumble

Last weekend's trade union unity talks in Soweto, although the most representative so far, were inconclusive and may lead to a delay of several months in the formation of the proposed new "super-federation" of emerging unions.

More than 200 delegates, representing about 42 unions — almost the entire emerging union movement — met in an attempt to broaden the base of the proposed new federation which has been under discussion since 1981. Present were:



11A

The original "unity" unions which participated in the drafting of the constitution. They are: the Federation of SA Trade Unions' nine affiliates; the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa), representing 11 affiliates; General Workers' Union; Food and Canning Workers' Union; Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union; and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association;

The black consciousness (BC) Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu), representing nine unions; and

Another 10 unions, most of them allied to the United Democratic Front (UDF). They include: the SA Allied Workers' Union; General and Allied Workers' Union; Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union of SA; General Workers' Union of SA — who were originally part of the unity talks until their withdrawal early last year — United Metal, Mining and Allied Workers' of SA; Federal Council of Retail and Allied Workers; Orange Vaal General Workers' Union; the PE-based Domestic Workers' Association of SA; and two unions called the Retail and Allied Workers' Union — one based in Pretoria and the other in Cape Town.

#### Draft constitution

Unions which have not been party to the unity talks until now expressed disagreement with a number of the principles and structures laid down in the new federation's draft constitution. The *FM* understands that Azactu expressed unhappiness with the non-racial character of the constitution, a cornerstone of the original "unity" unions' philosophies. Azactu wants it replaced with the BC concept of "anti-racism."

Surprisingly, Azactu was supported on this point by a number of the Cusa unions, lending substance to speculation that some of Cusa's affiliates will not join the new federation. The National Union of Mineworkers is the only Cusa union irrevocably committed at this stage. According to a Cusa statement, the organisation will hold meetings in the coming weeks to discuss "the position of the various Cusa unions."

Before a new federation is formed it would be necessary for the UDF-linked general unions to take steps toward forming industrial unions. This was a problem which led to their earlier withdrawal. Nevertheless, one source says these unions have shown a "more positive attitude" in this regard.

A further complication is the desire of the newcomers to the talks to further discuss the draft constitution, and they have proposed that the envisaged October inaugural conference be postponed for several months to allow time for this. Such a move would be in conflict with the wishes of most of the original "unity" unions, which would prefer that a committee be elected to prepare for an October conference.

It is a moot point whether the BC unions will be able to resolve their ideological differences with the other unions. It is also unclear

whether the launch of the new federation will be delayed. The choice, it seems, is between a smaller organisation this year or the possibility of a larger one some time in the future. ■

FM 14/7/85

## UNITING FOR JUNE 16

*FM 14/6/85*  
In spite of ideological differences and some warring among their members recently (*Current affairs* May 17), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the rival Azania People's Organisation (Azapo) came together this week to announce a joint programme to mark June 16 — the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

At a joint press conference, Azapo's Saths Cooper and the UDF's Sydney Mafumadi announced that the organisations "have resolved to jointly call upon the people to observe Sunday, June 16, as a day of serious reflection on the events that have led to our country being in the sad, divided and volatile situation it is in today."

A joint UDF-Azapo memorial service will be held at Soweto's Regina Mundi cathedral on Sunday, at which speakers from both groups will make addresses. They have also called on all businesses and sports bodies nationwide to "close for the day," starting one hour before the service begins.

It was announced that the Soweto Chamber of Commerce has agreed to observe the

call. And the Manyano Women's Group of Soweto will lead a procession on Sunday from Moroka Police Station to Regina Mundi.

Their co-operation on the June 16 commemoration, say the two groups, "is testimony to our commitment to respecting our differences in working towards a free and democratic society."

This programme of action is part of "a process that has already begun" in the groups' attempts to reconcile differences. They add, not least for the benefit of their warring factions in the eastern Cape and elsewhere, that "our example should be emulated around the country."

While both organisations say they have begun to address the question of "discipline" in their ranks, they are united in saying that the "main thrust" of internecine violence comes from "the enemy." "Our efforts are geared towards dislodging the very attackers ... and revenge in the form of intensifying our struggle for national liberation," explained Mafumadi. ■



**Azapo's Cooper, UDF's Mafumadi ... symbolising some unity**

attack in Gaborone

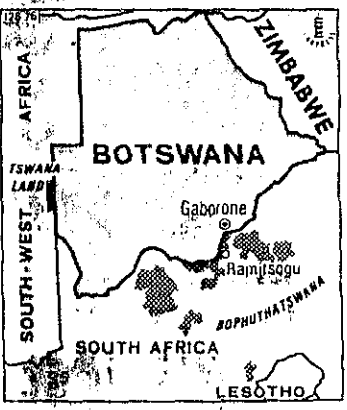
# SADF raid on Botswana — 13 killed in mortar, hand-grenade

# ANC targets hit.

ARGUS 14/6/85 (117) (118) (119)

JOHANNESBURG. — SADF raiders killed 13 trained guerrillas, including three women and possibly a white man, in today's early morning attacks on 12 ANC buildings in Gaborone, the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, announced.

He told a Press conference in Pretoria that his men had reported to him that two children were wounded and said that Radio Botswana subsequently reported that one of these had died.



One member of the SADF group was wounded in the arm when the occupants of a house opened fire.

Two occupants of a civilian car which approached a SADF patrol guarding the escape route to the South African border at high speed were also shot dead after they fired on the troops with a light automatic weapon and a pistol.

General Viljoen said the car's occupants may have been ANC personnel. "I sincerely hope they were not Botswana policemen."

Sapa reports that the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria has confirmed that a Dutch citizen, Mr Ahmed Geer, died in the

attack. His wife, Mrs Roelfien Geer, was injured and is in hospital.

### "Safe" houses

General Viljoen said the attacks began within five minutes of each other from 1.15am.

General Viljoen said the target buildings were occupied by ANC members and served as "safe" houses, logistics and planning centres and training areas where ANC personnel who entered Botswana as tourists were given crash training courses.

General Viljoen said today's raid was carried out to "disrupt the nerve-centre of ANC operations", which were carried out from Botswana since the Nkomati Accord cut the organisation off from bases in Mozambique.

### Photographs

The SADF members involved had been given photographs of trained terrorists expected to be at the houses and had been carefully briefed to avoid casualties among Botswana civilians, police or military personnel "and among innocent members of the families of terrorists", General Viljoen said.

His men believed one of those killed was a white man but it was difficult to be sure of this.

Identifying the targets, Security Police Brigadier Herman Stadler said one of them was the office of the Solidarity News Service. He gave the name of Mr Heinz Clugg as a resident of the news service building, which he said was a major ANC intelligence-gathering centre.

Mr Clugg was well-known in South Africa student circles until he fled into exile several years ago.

### Rocket launcher

The Brigadier produced an RPG rocket launcher complete with a sophisticated optical sight which he said could be used by night or day and a silenced AK-47 assault rifle with subsonic ammunition.

Both of these weapons, he said, were designed for assassination.

The Brigadier said intensive investigation indicated that the ANC planned to murder prominent black and coloured politicians over the coming weeks.

The raiders also found sketches for the construction of car bombs of a type used in the

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

# Mixed feelings here . . . criticism abroad

## Political Staff

DR F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said today he had no intention of prematurely condemning or justifying the Gaborone raid.

He said: "At this stage the raid must be seen in the context of the grenade attack on members of the House of Representatives and is apparently also an act of reprisal.

"Thus acts of terror and anti-terror will undoubtedly add to a spiral of violence and counter-violence and contribute to a state of siege. For the sake of a negotiated and peaceful future for all of us this spiral will have to be broken."

Mr Colin Eglin, Progressive Federal Party foreign affairs spokesman, said it was "distressing when the situation deteriorates to the point where armed intervention replaces diplomacy".

He said: "It is clear that the raid is going to have serious repercussions for South Africa."

In a brief statement today, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said: "I would like to congratulate the South African Defence Force."

Mr Vause Raw, NRP defence spokesman, said that while it was regrettable that South African troops should have entered Botswana, the activities of the ANC made this essential when members of Parliament

and innocent civilians become the targets of terrorism.

The Conservative Party supported and congratulated the SADF on the operation, the party's defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said.

He said: "We are very perturbed at the fact that Botswana has been accommodating ANC terrorists. We believe that relations between South Africa and Botswana should now be reviewed under a magnifying glass."

Mr Abe Williams, MP, the Labour Party's defence spokesman, said he might comment after a briefing.

The president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, described the raid as "cold-blooded murder of South African refugees".

He said: "The people of Azania are victims of an undeclared war. The Government is condemned in the strongest possible terms and punitive action should be considered by the international community."

The End Conscription Campaign said today it regarded the attack in Botswana as "yet another violation by the South African authorities of the territorial integrity of a neighbouring state".

In a statement by a spokesman in Cape Town, the ECC said it "disapproves in the strongest terms" and questioned whether the SADF could

uphold its claim of maintaining peace in Southern Africa.

The statement said: "This action in no way advances the cause of peace in our region. Rather it sets back the process of building a situation of stability and harmony in Southern Africa."

● Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the raid has been condemned "in the strongest terms" by the South African Council of Churches.

## "UTTER FOLLY"

A statement issued by the acting general secretary of the SACC, Mr Dan Vaughan, said: "That the SADF should act as judge and executioner against any South African is reprehensible in the extreme.

"That it should do so in a neighbouring territory with whom we are not at war is an act not only of aggression and violence but of utter folly, destabilising to the entire sub-continent."

Sapa also reports from Johannesburg that the United Democratic Front has condemned the raid.

A statement said: "This clearly illustrates the aggressive and insensitive policies of the South African regime towards its neighbours.

"We send sympathies to the people of Botswana and their Government and also to those

whose loved ones have either perished or sustained injuries.

"We ask the people of Botswana not to be deterred in their support for all those who are disadvantaged and who had sought refuge in their country."

● The Argus Foreign Service in London reports that Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, has called on the British Government to respond immediately by taking "effective action" against South Africa.

In a statement, Mr Terry said the raid into Gaborone was further evidence that South Africa had abandoned the pretence of a policy of peaceful relations with its neighbours.

He said: "This attack is really an act of reprisal against Botswana because of its refusal to surrender its sovereignty by entering into a so-called peace treaty with South Africa."

**BOTSWANA RAID**

11P ~~11P~~ ~~11P~~

# Gaborone raid: SA 'had no alternative'

## Political Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, says South Africa had "no alternative" but to protect itself from a growing number of terrorist attacks from Botswana.

Commenting on the raid on Gaborone, he said South Africa would not hesitate to take action to defend itself and eliminate any terrorist elements that threatened it.

The Botswana Government had repeatedly been warned by the South African Government and other South African authorities to curtail the activities of the ANC inside Botswana — particularly the planning and execution of terrorist activities in South Africa from Botswana, he said.

"The Botswana Government has on a number of occasions had its attention drawn to the infiltration of ANC terrorists into South Africa from third countries through Botswana.

"Botswana has been requested to take measures to prevent this."

Mr Botha said the security forces of both countries had held a series of meetings.

However, these ended inconclusively because the Botswana security authorities had no mandate from their Government to agree on practical arrangements to prevent Botswana from being used as a launching pad for terrorism.

Mr Botha had also been in contact with successive Botswana Foreign Ministers, Mr Archie Mogwe and Dr G K T Chiepe, about the matter.



Mr Pik Botha

Mr Botha said in the statement: "The Palestine Liberation Organisation has for some time played an important role in the training of ANC terrorists and the cowardly hand-

grenade attack on the Deputy Minister-designate Mr Luwelyn Landers and Mr Fred Peters, National Secretary of the Labour Party, followed a typical PLO pattern.

"The South African security forces had no alternative but to protect South Africa from the increasing number of terrorist attacks emanating from Botswana.

"Botswana has repeatedly been warned to curtail these activities — South Africa will not tolerate them," Mr Botha said.

"Although it is committed to resolve its differences with its neighbours by peaceful means, South Africa will not hesitate to take whatever action may be appropriate for the defence of its people and for the elimination of terrorist elements."

UDF man on  
murder charge

Dispatch Correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH —  
The regional president  
of the United Democra-  
tic Front in the Eastern  
Cape, Mr Edgar Ngoyi  
appeared briefly in the  
New Brighton magis-  
trate's court yesterday  
on a charge of murder.

He was not asked to  
plead and a detailed in-  
dictment was not made  
available.

When Mr Ngoyi  
appeared, people in the  
gallery applauded,  
stamped their feet,  
chanted slogans, and  
gave black power sa-  
lutes.

Mr Ngoyi returned  
their greetings, with a  
raised, clenched fist.

The magistrate, Mr J.  
Pienaar, ordered police  
to clear the court.

After an adjournment  
Mr Pienaar told Mr  
Ngoyi's attorney, Mr  
Silas Mkanunu, that he  
should warn Mr Ngoyi  
not to behave in court  
in a manner which in-  
cites the audience,"  
adding that he saw no  
reason why Mr Ngoyi  
could not be charged  
with contempt of court.

The case was post-  
poned to July 10 pending  
further investigations.  
Mr Ngoyi was remanded.

Mr Ngoyi was arrested,  
together with his vice-  
president, Mr Henry  
Fazzie, at the UDF  
offices in Port Elizabeth  
on Monday.

Mr Fazzie said yester-  
day he had been re-  
leased on Wednesday  
night without being  
charged.

# SADF in Botswana night attack

Cont from Page 1 M6607

Pretoria and Durban attacks.

● At a house in Tsholofelo in Gaborone North, three South Africans, a woman and two men, were shot dead in their beds by the attackers.

A survivor of the attack on the house said afterwards he had hidden under a bed and overheard the attackers speaking in Afrikaans.

M6685 (11A) ~~(11B)~~  
He said one of the men asked: "Is hulle dood (are they dead)?"

The reply: "Hulle is morsdood (they are stone dead)".

The first speaker: "Sal ons fotos neem (shall we take photos)?"

The reply: "Nee, ons is laat, ons moet vertrek (no, we are late, we must leave)."

Two of those shot in their beds were named as George and Lindy Phahle, a married couple.

Several vehicles parked outside the house were destroyed in an explosion or gutted by rifle fire.

Another witness said she watched a group of men put something next to servants' quarters at the back of a block of flats in Gaborone Village. The men returned to the minibus they arrived in and drove away.

Minutes later the quarters exploded. Part of the debris flew over the witness's house and killed her domestic cat.

Two Batswana were killed in the explosion. One of the dead was named as Mrs Eugenia Koble. In the suburb of Broadhurst two South Africans, identified only as a teacher and his six-year-old daughter, were killed. His wife escaped unharmed.

● The British Foreign Office is summoning the South African Ambassador, Dr Dennis Worrall, to Whitehall later today to question him on the raid.

A Foreign Office spokesman said officials would also meet Botswana's High Commissioner to London.

He said a statement reacting to the raid was being prepared and would be issued later.

"We are studying reports at the moment. But we have checked and confirmed that no British nationals in Gaborone were hurt," he said. — Argus Africa News Service, Argus Foreign Service, Sapa.

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# Marais denies PCP assault on woman

*17 Feb 1978* Staff Reporter *11/11/78*  
PEOPLE'S Congress Party (PCP) leader Mr Peter Marais today denied that a meeting of his party broke up after his supporters tried to assault a member of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The PCP would not start trouble with the UDF, because "it wasn't the in-thing for the lamb to attack the lion", he told a Wynberg regional magistrate.

Mr Marais also denied trying to make the UDF the scapegoat for trouble that erupted at a pro-constitution meeting at Westridge Civic Centre on February 25 last year.

He gave evidence in the trial of Mrs Theresa Solomon, 39, and Mr Marius Solomon, 46, of Woodlands, Mr Logan Wort, 21, and Miss Shahieda Issel, 28, of Rocklands, Miss Lucille Meyer, 24, of Westridge, Mr Tevor Manuel, 29, of Kensington and Mrs Vivian Petersen, 26, of Rocklands.

They have pleaded not guilty to public violence.

The State alleges they disrupted the meeting, damaged PCP property, and assaulted Mr Marais, Mrs Charlotte de la Cruz and Mr Marc Matebe.

At a previous hearing, Mr Marais claimed about 60 people, many wearing UDF T-shirts, stormed the stage and disrupted the meeting.

Mr A M Omar, for the accused, showed Mr Marais a number of photographs taken at the meeting. Mr Marais agreed no one in the photographs was wearing a UDF shirt and that there were more people wearing PCP shirts.

Mr Omar said Mrs Solomon would admit going forward to speak to the chairman of the meeting but that had been grabbed by PCP supporters and assaulted.

Mr Marais said his attention was "in many places" at the time, and he could not say for certain that nobody touched or pulled Mrs Solomon.

(Proceeding.)

# Regiment seeks WW 2

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# Landers tells of grenade attack

Crime Reporter

THE life of Mr Luwellyn Landers, Deputy Minister-designate of Population Development, might have been saved by his mattress and his duvet.

Mr Landers, who is also the Labour Party MP for Mitchells Plain, was injured during a hand-grenade attack on his home about 2am on Wednesday morning. The attack, one of three in the space of an hour, severely damaged his bedroom.

Yesterday Mr Landers spoke to the press from his hospital room at Groote Schuur. Journalists were escorted to the private suite by "control officers".

Present during the press conference were Mr Landers's wife, Sylvia, his father, Mr Harry Landers, who had flown to Cape Town from Durban, and the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party.

Mr Landers said he was feeling very tired but was not in much pain from the shrapnel that struck him.

He said he was sleeping with his back to the window when the hand

grenade was thrown in. He was first aware of glass breaking and then the "bomb" exploding.

He said he pushed his wife off the bed and then rolled over, landing on the floor on his knees.

The bedroom door had been jammed shut by the blast and his wife had to break out of the room. Mrs Landers went to a neighbour's home for help and then returned to "half drag" him to the house across the road.

Asked whether his mattress had saved him from the full force of the blast, Mr Landers said he slept covered with a duvet and this, too, could have saved him.

He was not prepared to comment on security precautions before the blast or whether he would move back into his home when discharged from hospital.

Mr Landers said the attack had proved "what we are doing is successful. It let us know that the radical left or right has admitted to losing the fight and we are winning. Am I deterred? No way, I am more determined than ever"

Capt Tink's 14/6/85

## ANC has suicide squads, say police

POLICE said yesterday that no arrests had yet been made in connection with the hand-grenade attacks on the homes of Labour Party leaders Mr Luwellyn Landers and Mr Fred Peters on Wednesday or the attack on the Langa police station.

Spokesmen were not prepared to say how investigations were progressing.

At the same time the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, rejected the possibility that any organization other than the ANC was responsible for the attacks.

Shortly after the attacks, Mr Le Grange accused the ANC. However, an ANC statement from Lusaka denied responsibility.

Nevertheless, in a subsequent statement, a spokesman for Mr Le Grange said: "The claims of a so-called suicide squad which were made to Sapa yesterday are not in the least surprising because it is a known fact that the ANC has so-called suicide squads."

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(11A) B. Day 14/6/85

# ANC secret meeting for rare policy talks

THE African National Congress meets for its first major conference in 16 years at a secret central African venue at the weekend.

The consultative conference, expected to last 10 days, will be attended by about 200 delegates from ANC branches in more than 20 countries — including South Africa.

The last consultative conference was held in Morogoro, Tanzania, in 1969. The 1985 conference will begin symbolically on June 16 — the ninth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

The conference takes place against the background of dramatic changes in southern Africa and within South Africa itself.

These include the signing of the Nkomati peace accord between Mozambique and South Africa in March last year; the wave of violence and sustained resistance in the black townships sparked off by the elections for the tricameral Parliament in August; President P W Botha's seven-nation tour of Europe last June; the mounting international disinvestment campaign; and far-reaching concessions by the South African government.

The conference is not expected to result in any fundamental changes to the ANC's basic aims or policies but it is expected to unleash some lively and heated debates about tactics and strategy in the light of recent changes.

The banned organisation has already signalled a major change in tactics by shifting the emphasis of its campaign towards an Iran-style internal uprising with the goal of rendering the black townships ungovernable and setting up popular committees and declaring no-go areas or liberated zones.

Recent ANC statements have

## Own Correspondent

urged the rank-and-file to prepare for protracted industrial strikes and defiance campaigns and have appealed to black "collaborators" to quit the police force and armed forces and the local black councils.

However, there has been no directive for cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, to strike at soft, or civilian, targets.

The main aspects of ANC policy which will come under review at next week's conference include:

How to deal with members — particularly political prisoners — who formally renounce violence as a method of political struggle;

How to respond to approaches by South African businessmen, church leaders and academics for talks;

When and under what conditions to talk to the South African government and how to prepare for the release of Nelson Mandela.

Review the dramatic developments in the field of disinvestment and economic sanctions — particularly in the US — and re-affirm ANC support for the total isolation of South Africa.

What priority to give the armed struggle after the closure of infiltration routes through Mozambique and how to deal with disillusioned ANC guerrillas in Angola.

Elections for the national executive are expected to reflect the growing impatience of young radicals but the organisation is expected to remain in the control of old-guard African nationalists.

No challenge is expected to the leadership of Oliver Tambo.

# Civilian vigilantes guarding 14 named on alleged 'hit-list'

Mercury Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG**—A group of self-appointed vigilantes are protecting the 14 people whose names appeared on an alleged 'hit-list' this week.

The 14 people — members of anti-apartheid organisations — named on the list discovered early this week have not reported the matter to the police and are depending on civilians for protection.

Claims about a plot to abduct and kill 14 prominent members of anti-apartheid organisations was made at a Press con-

ference in Johannesburg this week by five of the listed people.

The Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Lebamang Sebidi, named on the list, who acted as spokesmen for the listed people said the claims were based on investigations begun earlier this week during which tape-recorded and documentary evidence was uncovered.

They said the investigations had now been hampered by the announcement of the plot to the public, because the lives of some people involved in the probe are also at

stake.

Mr Chikane, the United Democratic Front treason trialist granted bail in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court recently which restricts him to his Klipspruit, Soweto, home every night, is the only one to have approached the police.

He said he had done so after a telephone call to his mother at their Tladi home had threatened that his house was to be bombed.

He had reported the matter in a private capacity which involved a di-

rect threat.

Mr Chikane, said he was also prompted to report the threat because he is a 'sitting target' in terms of his bail conditions.

At the conference, those listed alleged that a group of about 30 'black apartheid mercenaries' who were paid huge sums of money and had received training for some time had held a final rehearsal two days ago.

The gang was to have begun operations last Wednesday morning until June 16.



# Prayer call splits



## New breed of black theologians

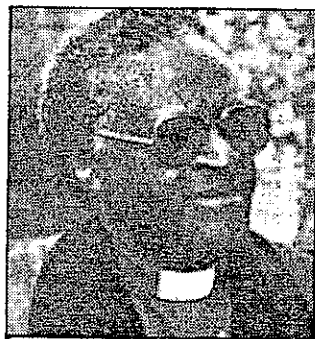
*Mercury 15/6/85*

*They preach equality and liberation from pulpit and the young love it*

LIBERATION theology is a term which is sending shivers of excitement and, in some cases, apprehension down the pews of hundreds of churches — from Heideveld to Humansdorp, from Rondebosch to Rawsonville and from Lotus River to Langebaan.

To white South Africans, it is a teaching so alien almost to be a twin of communism.

And to blacks, who for many years have continued to sing the praises of their Father even as apartheid kicked them deeper into the mire, it is a clear sign that God does listen.



● Desmond Tutu



● Allan Boesak

It is a message being preached by a new breed of clergyman — articulate, outspoken, fearless and black — people like Dr Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, Hannes Adonis, Colin Jones, Courtney Sampson and many more.

And what they are saying is "God does care because he is the God of the poor."

The sermons of the Boesaks, the Tutus, the Joneses, and the Sampsons have led to bitter criticism on the part of the Government and their supporters.

For, at last, after years of only muted protest at the injus-

tices being perpetrated around them, some priests are now rolling up their sleeves and stepping into an area which has long been regarded as an exclusive preserve of politicians.

Hence, Pass Laws, Influx Control, Group Areas — indeed, all discriminatory laws, have come under the cosh, as have the men preaching against it.

For, to our rulers, religion, like sport, should not be mixed with politics.

But even in the churches themselves, the stodgy hierarchy is viewing the latest develop-

ments with some nervousness. But the Rev Jones, Anglican chaplain of the University of the Western Cape, says recent developments in the Church had brought Christian people to look at the practical implications of their faith.

"People argue that Romans Chapter 13 states that Christians can never be disobedient to the State. But nothing could be further from the truth.

"This passage says quite clearly that a State can forfeit its authority by setting itself up as God. When a State panders to sectarian interests it becomes idolatrous," Rev Jones said.

He added that what had also become quite clear were the differences in thinking between black and white Christians.

"Black Christians have no problems in praying for the downfall of this Government, but not so the whites.

Mr Jones said there was a tendency among the English churches, specially, to try to remain neutral in times of great moral crises.

"But you cannot remain neutral when you have a situation where the rich are making the poor poorer."

Father Sampson agrees. "It is time the Church took a definite lead in the fight against injustice," he says.

"Some people have cashed in on the idea that the Church can be a neutral in society.

"But don't they know that by ignoring the injustices here, they are, in fact defending everything that is happening here?"

"We should no longer just passively voice our concern over isolated social issues but we should actively involve ourselves in the movement to transform the fundamental structures of this society," he said.

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# AZAPO, UDF under fire

THE fratricidal feud between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation in the Eastern Cape has taken a new turn with the Azapo forces retreating to fortified bases after a series of petrol bomb attacks on both groups last week. *Herald*

However, both groups deny responsibility for attacks on the other — while blaming their opponents for attacks on themselves. *15/6/85*

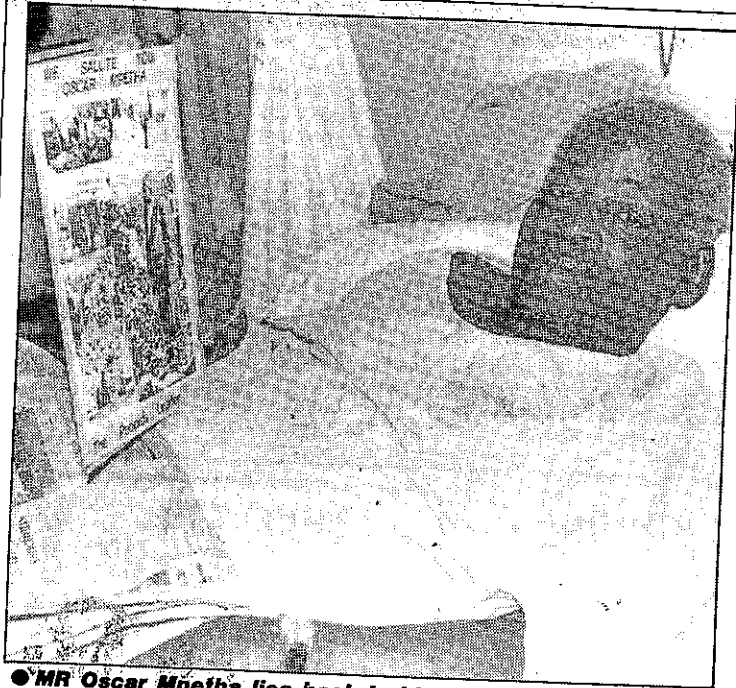
The leader of Azapo in the Eastern Cape, the Rev Ebenezer Magina, said since trying to arrange a truce with the UDF recently, Azapo had suffered "greater casualties than before".

"In the past week there has been a total onslaught against Azapo members. Last Wednesday night alone, the houses of five members were petrol bombed.

After initially disbanding our forces we have been forced to remobilise and have set up bases in the township from which to defend ourselves — and attack if necessary."

One of the houses burnt out on Wednesday night was that of Azapo vice-president, Nceba Fumanisa.

Only hours after the attack on Mr Fumanisa's house, the home of a journalist and UDF supporter, Mono Badela, was attacked and burnt out, while on Thursday night, the home of Eastern Cape UDF president, Edgar Ngoyi, was totally destroyed in a similar attack.



● MR Oscar Mpetha lies back in his hospital bed while the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, decides his fate.

# 'Hands off Mpetha'

— say <sup>(11A)</sup> marchers, as <sup>Cape Herald</sup> unionist awaits his fate <sup>1.5/6/85</sup>

VETERAN community and trade union leader Oscar Mpetha, who faces a five-year prison sentence for terrorism, says he is prepared for whatever might happen.

Mr Mpetha, 76, said from his bed at Groote Schuur Hospital that his lawyers had asked him not to speak about his case.

"But whatever happens I am prepared and I will not be deterred," he said.

The ailing UDF patron, who suffers from diabetes, recently lost his appeal against the five-year sentence.

The Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, has indicated that he might be prepared to review the case.

Meanwhile Mr Mpetha has received strong support from community organisations, trade unions,

church leaders and overseas organisations.

On Friday, thousands of pamphlets were distributed by the Release Mandela Committee and the UDF. They called on the Government to "keep your hands off our leader".

The UDF called a press conference on Friday morning to express its support for Mr Mpetha.

About 75 people marched from Old Crossroads to Mr Mpetha's Nyanga home on Friday afternoon to show solidarity with Mr Mpetha. The march was organised by the Release Mandela Committee.

At the press conference, Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said he had a great respect for Mr Mpetha, "who, in spite of his age, had risen to take his role in the struggle".

# Target was 'ANC nerve centre'

CAPE TOWN 15/6/85

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The purpose of the commando operation by the SADF into Gaborone yesterday was to "disrupt the nerve centre of the ANC machinery in Botswana". General Constand Viljoen, chief of the SADF, told a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

General Viljoen said 10 targets were hit, among them safe houses for visiting members of the ANC underground and for ANC guerillas in transit to South Africa, as well as venues for crash training courses for guerillas.

Also hit was the Solidarity News Centre at the Cycle Mart Building, an office in Gaborone.

General Viljoen said that since the Nkomati Accord the majority of ANC guerillas had infiltrated South Africa through Botswana.

He said the SADF and SA Police had been put on full alert following information they had gained of a planned intensification of the ANC's activities.

"Through our intelligence, we have known of these houses for some time and were hoping that it would not be necessary to carry out an operation such as this.

"However, the attack on Labour Party MPs in Cape Town this week was the straw which broke the camel's back."

Small teams had crossed into Botswana about 1.15am and the whole operation had lasted about 45 minutes because they had wanted to "avoid contact with the Botswana police at all costs".

"We made use of loud-hailers to warn the public of Botswana to stay in their houses. They co-operated ... Unfortunately, some people — one woman and two children — were hit in the crossfire."

General Viljoen described the operation as a "success" but said some of the target houses were empty and they knew of larger groups of "terrorists" not in the target houses.

● The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has issued a stern warning that South Africa would, if necessary, repeat raids against the ANC in Botswana.

He said yesterday that South Africa would not hesitate to take whatever action might be appropriate for the defence of its people.

13/12/83 (11)

# Unions call for release of Mpetha

\*Political Correspondent  
A NUMBER of leading European trade unions have appealed to the South African Government to release Oscar Mpetha, the 75-year-old trade union and community leader recently sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

The call follows recent

appeals for administrative action by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to grant the sickly leader — who has already spent 34 months in custody — a reprieve.

This week the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions sent a telegram to President P W Botha asking that Mpetha be

granted amnesty on humanitarian grounds.

A spokesman for Mr Botha yesterday confirmed that the message had been received and referred to Mr Coetsee for his attention.

The International Federation of Free Trade Unions, a large confederation of non-communist

West European unions, had also called for the release of Mpetha and has called on all members to protest against his continued imprisonment.

● Mr Coetsee said recently during the budget vote on his portfolio that he would review the Mpetha case.

## Engagements





w/c ARGUS 11/11  
15/6/85

# Police defuse two limpet mines at East London hotel

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Weekend Argus Reporter

EAST LONDON police bomb-disposal experts today neutralised two limpet mines placed in a beachfront tourist hotel.

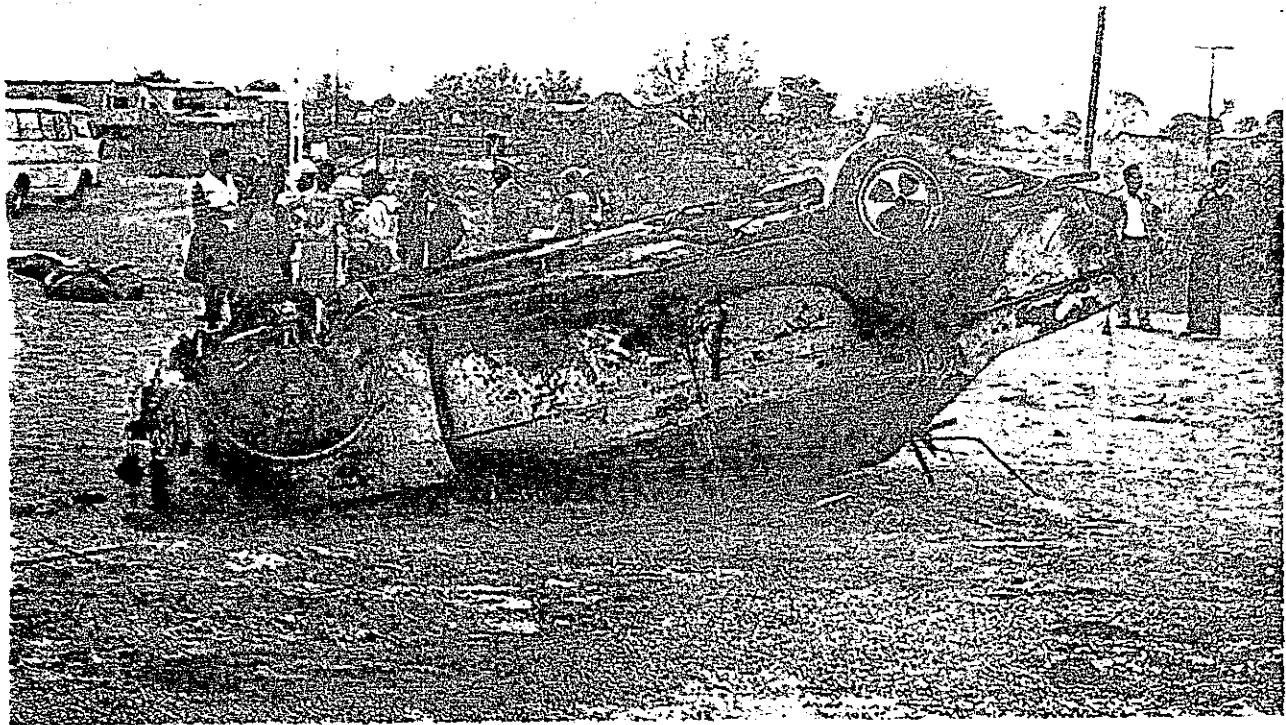
The night manager of the three-star Kings Hotel, Mr C Kruger, discovered the two loaf-shaped mines on top of a low wall in the back yard of the Kings Hotel at 3.15am, the hotel owner, Mr Norbert Baumker, said.

"He contacted me and the local police, who were here within two min-

utes. The area was cordoned off and the guests and staff evacuated in little more than five minutes," Mr Baumker said.

"We have an emergency procedure which we practise often. At no stage was anyone in any danger.

● The home of the Mayor of Langa, Mr Roland Njoli, was damaged early today by a grenade thrown at his house. The blast pitted the wall and shattered windows. Mr Njoli was not injured. His home is about 500m from the Langa police station.



Above: The demolished remains of a house in Gaborone after being hit by the SADF.  
 Below: A car lies burnt out on its roof following the attack.

*with Argus 15/6/85*

## 'Frontline' states condemn raid

Weekend Argus Foreign Service REACTION from the "frontline" states to the South African commando raid in Gaborone has ranged from describing the attack as "inhuman, cowardly and reckless" to "the hallmark of the racist Pretoria regime".

In Gaborone the acting permanent secretary of Botswana's Ministry of Health, Mr JS Moeti, labelled the attack as "inhuman and reckless".

In a statement he said 12 people had died.

"Most of the dead bodies had multiple injuries of the head and fractures of the limbs. Among these is a five-year-old child who is mutilated beyond recognition. It is said to be a boy.

"Six people have been admitted to hospital. There is a girl aged 10 with

a shattered right leg. The child has undergone surgery and is in a satisfactory state."

In Maputo the Mozambican Government has condemned the raid as "barbaric and cowardly".

A message from the Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, to the Botswana Government expressed indignation and said the attack could "contribute only to the worsening of tension in Southern Africa".

Zambia also condemned the raid, calling it "an act of terrorism and barbarism which has become the hallmark of the racist regime in Pretoria".

A Foreign Ministry statement reaffirmed Zambia's solidarity with Botswana "during this hour of unpro-

voked infringement of Botswana's territorial integrity".

"The Pretoria regime should know that no amount of harassment or acts of destabilisation against neighbouring states will save its diabolical system of apartheid from its ultimate destruction," it added.

From Harare, Zimbabwe condemned the raid as an "arrogant defiance of international law".

The Foreign Minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, said the attack was evidence of the Republic's campaign to destabilise the region.

Saying that Pretoria was not acting alone, the Zimbabwean Minister said in a statement there was "open collaboration" with Western nations, which he did not identify. — Sapa-Reuters. AD

# Outrage at SA

CARE Times 15/6/85

**THE United States is to recall its ambassador to South Africa and the British Foreign Office yesterday called in the South African ambassador as outrage mounted over South Africa's raid against ANC targets in Botswana.**

The State Department said in Washington it was recalling its ambassador to South Africa for consultations to show its displeasure at the raid into Botswana in which 12 people, including three women and a six-year-old boy, were killed.

The action plunged relations between the two countries to a new low following more than four years of Reagan administration policy of "constructive engagement" with the South African Government.

State Department spokesman Mr Bernard Kalb said that because of the raid, "and other recent events, we have decided to recall our ambassador to South Africa. Mr Herman Nickel, here on consultations to review the situation".

The recent events referred to by Mr Kalb include South African military action in Cabinda.

● John Battersby re-

ports from London that the British Government acted swiftly yesterday to "strongly condemn" the Botswana raid as a "blatant violation of the sovereignty of a fellow

## ANC denies arms claim

HARARE. — An ANC spokesman in Lusaka flatly denied that the organization kept any weapons in any houses or offices in Gaborone.

Comparing yesterday's SADF strike to a raid on Maseru when 44 people were killed, the spokesman said it was the ANC's policy not to use the territory of South Africa's neighbours as military bases.

Commonwealth country".

With diplomatic relations still strained over the non-return of the Coventry four, UK-SA relations hit a new low yes-

terday on the eve of Britain's participation in a major UN Security Council debate on Southern Africa.

The South African ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, was summoned urgently to the Foreign Office — for the second time in three days — to be told by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, of Britain's condemnation of the raid.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Sir Geoffrey asked Dr Worrall to convey to the South African Government the "widespread concern and shock with which reports of the incident have been received in Britain."

The timing of the South African raid has stunned diplomats and Foreign Office officials.

Foreign Office sources conceded that the raid on a country of which the Queen was the titular head, could make it more difficult for Britain to resist resolutions on selective sanctions in the UN Security Council and a Commonwealth consensus on limited sanctions.

● The Dutch Government "sharply condemned" the raid in which the holder of a Dutch refugee passport was killed.

According to a Netherlands Foreign Ministry spokesman, South African ambassador Mr Dawid Louw was summoned to the Foreign Ministry and told the death of Mr Achmed Geer, a Somali national with a refugee passport issued by the Netherlands, "gave an extra dimension to the protest".

The Botswana High Commissioner in London, Mr S A Mpuchane, said in a BBC radio interview that his government had been "utterly shocked" by the raid because it had been told by South Africa three months ago that it was not pursuing the idea of signing a non-aggression pact with Botswana.



A policeman stands guard outside one of the targets in Gaborone yesterday morning.

There was a feeling of outrage in the Commonwealth yesterday where the issue of formulating a policy of economic sanctions against South Africa is already at the top of the agenda for October's 49-nation Commonwealth summit in the Bahamas.

● Sources close to the ANC in London expressed concern that

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delegates to the consultative conference due to start at a secret central African venue tomorrow could have been amongst the dead.

"This action will dramatically strengthen the influence of the radicals wanting to hit at "soft" targets in South Africa and it will undermine the leadership of Mr Oliver Tambo — an old-guard African nationalist", the source said.

**Horror**

● The Prime Minister of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, yesterday strongly condemned the attack.

● The Zimbabwe Government yesterday expressed horror at what it termed "the unprovoked and unwarranted attack" by South African forces.

● After a briefing with the SADF and the SAP, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said that he was in no position to question evidence which suggested that there was sufficient cause to warrant yesterday's raid.

He added that he was dismayed by the prospect that "this kind of action and counter-action is going to dominate the political arena of Southern Africa".

**'Preventative'**

● South Africa's Labour Party leader, Rev Alban Hendrickse yesterday came out in support of the raid which took place just two days after attacks on his LP colleagues.

Mr Hendrickse said in a statement yesterday that the SADF raid had to be seen as "preventative of further preparation for continued attacks on persons and instances in South Africa."

● The raid was bound to cause further adverse reaction overseas, the director of the South African Institute for International Affairs, Professor John Barratt, said yesterday. — Staff Reporter. Own Correspondent and Sapa

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# ANC conference starts tomorrow

CAPE TOWN 15/6/82

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The African National Congress will start its first consultative conference in 17 years tomorrow, the ANC information department said in Lusaka this week.

In a statement it said about 200 delegates from all over the world would attend the approximately 10-day-long conference which will review the last 20 years and "thoroughly analyse the organization's roles and structures in the light of the ongoing developments inside South Africa and also the situation in Southern Africa and internationally."

At the last ANC consultative conference in Tanzania in 1969 the ANC adopted a document, "Strategy and Tactics", which with the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress Alliance in Kliptown, Transvaal in 1955, contains its main ideological cur-

rents.

The ANC says the conference will be at "an undisclosed venue somewhere in Southern Africa". Some informed sources believe it will be in Tanzania. Significantly the ANC, which has been attempting to coordinate the unrest of the past 10 months, is starting the conference on the ninth anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

According to Sapa-  
Reuter, reporting from Lusaka, sources close to the ANC say some delegates from South Africa will address the conference on attitudes to disinvestment, a strategy which the ANC endorses.

According to the sources no major strategy changes are expected and the leadership of Oliver Tambo, a former Johannesburg lawyer, who has been at the head of the organization since the 1960s, is not expected to be challenged.

# 'Lucky ones' tell of horror

Wt  
MAGUS 15/6/85

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From STEVE McQUILLAN  
Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

GABORONE.— Dazed and disbelieving, "the innocent victims" of the South African foray into Gaborone today told their tale of horror and anguish.

Six survivors of the cross-border raid occupy beds at the Princess Marina Hospital. They are the lucky ones.

At least 12 others lay in the mortuary.

The deputy medical superintendent, Dr John Mulwa, is not sure exactly how many people died in the 1.30am raid.

## More bodies

"We have several pieces of body left. We are not sure whether the death toll is 12 or 13. And maybe more bodies will be found."

Miss Moitshe Botshelo, who was shot through the stomach, is in a "critical condition".

Miss Busi Mokoena, 10, was shot through the thigh while hiding in a wardrobe.

## "Slept as if dead"

She said: "There were shots all over the house. They threw a hand grenade inside but it didn't go off. Then they burnt our car."

"I ran into another room and they followed me. I just slept as if I was dead."

She later crawled into a wardrobe for shelter, but the room was again riddled with bullets and she was shot.

She said she was in the house with her grandparents and a four-year-old boy, Teboho.

## Husband killed?

She said she knew her grandfather was alive and her grandmother was somewhere else in the hospital.

"I suppose this girl was a terrorist as well," said Dr Mulwa.

Mrs Elena Motsweni, 66, has a broken foot and right wrist. She doesn't know if her husband was killed.

She says she escaped from the house by jumping out of the window.

## Burning

"I could smell burning as the bomb went off. My husband was also in the house. I don't know if he was killed."

There was also a five-year-old child — one of the neighbour's children — in the house.

A report by the acting permanent secretary of the Ministry of Health, Mr J F Moeti, said a five-year-old was mutilated beyond recognition.

It is not clear whether the two are one and the same.

The other injured in hospital are:

- A six-year-old boy who is being treated for shock.
- A woman with serious internal injuries.
- A pregnant Dutch woman with multiple fractures of the leg.
- A man with gunshot wounds in the back.

## Bail granted in 'ANC trial'

AKGus Staff Reporter

MISS Margaret Ndlawana Mfobo, one of two Guguletu residents on trial in Hermanus on security legislation charges, was today granted bail of R500 in Cape Town Regional Court after seven months in detention.

Miss Mfobo, 36, and Mr Mpu-melolo Shadrack Ndlakuhlolo, 29, both teachers, are charged with being members of the African National Congress, endangering the authority of the State or instigating others to do so and possessing ANC pamphlets.

The Attorney-General withdrew the certificate preventing bail being granted to Miss Mfobo.

The trial continues on July 15.

For details only write address and postal on a piece of paper fit together with the dresses of three of TODAY to DIRECT MANAGER, PROTECTION SERVICES, BOX 4086, TOWN 3000

Mngadi.  
**PORT ELIZABETH:**  
 Dan Qeque Stadium and Reno Cinema in Korsten, at 12 noon.  
**BORDER:**  
 At various centres, starting at 1pm.  
**GA-RANKUWA:**  
 Catholic Church at 1pm.  
**MAMELODI:**  
 St Francis Church at 11am.  
**RATHANDA:**  
 Catholic Church. Speakers include Soweto Civic Association secretary Pat Lephunya

16/6/85

# We'll blast MPs out of Parliament — 'WCSS'

A GROUP calling itself the "Western Cape Suicide Squad" this week claimed responsibility for the grenade attacks on the homes of two Labour Party MPs in Cape Town on Wednesday morning.

Recently-appointed Population Development Minister Luwellyn Landers underwent an emergency operation at Grootte Schuur Hospital after he was injured by a grenade blast in his bedroom at 2am.

A simultaneous blast at the home of Labour Party MP Fred Peters caused considerable damage but no one was injured.

The attacks — at about 2am — coincide with a rifle grenade attack at Langa police station, where experts later — at 6.45am — had to dismantle a limpet mine found in the building.

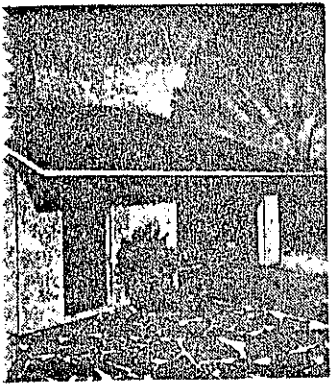
An anonymous caller, speaking from a public phone box, told Sapa's Cape Town office afterwards that the "Western Cape Suicide

Squad" was responsible. "We demand that all the MPs in Parliament must resign because this fraudulent deal is being rejected by the majority of our people," he said.

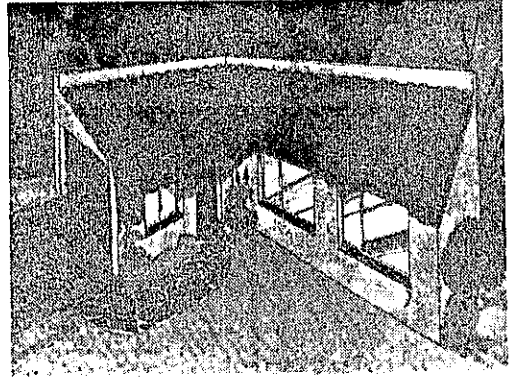
"Our demand is one country, one Parliament." The attacks were the direct result of "the fundamental discontent that the new Constitution is generating," the United Democratic Front

commented this week. Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange and Police Commissioner Mike Geldenhuys visited the scenes of the three blasts on Wednesday.

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# 'Not a chance!'

By NANA KUTUMELA  
 A CONFRONTATION is looming between a prominent national clothing chain and one of the country's leading trade unions because of the chain's decision to put 230 full-time workers on "part-time" staff.

Foschini Stores said the move was a result of "a financial crisis at one of its divisions".

The Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA has declared a dispute and has vowed to seek a court interdict to stop Foschini going ahead with its

## Ccawusa at loggerheads with Foschini

plans. The affected workers are in Pages divisions country-wide, and they represent a third of Foschini's black labour force.

From next month Foschini will cut the salaries of the 230 by a third.

"We acknowledge the

crisis in Pages, but that is not permanent. Foschini has refused our short-time solution instead of part-time," CCAWUSA's Kaizer Thibedi said.

He said if his union allowed Foschini to go ahead with its plans, many other companies in the industry would follow suit.

PHOTO BY D.



**JUNE 16**

11A  
*Blade*  
*C. Press*  
 16/6/81

# We mourn in unity

**COUNTRYWIDE JUNE 16 commemoration services — jointly organised by the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation — have been planned for Sunday.**

This year's commemoration — the ninth — is seen as the largest since people throughout the country started observing June 16 as a national day of mourning. The main service will be held at

Regina Mundi Church in Soweto from 12.30pm. Speakers will include UDF executive chairman Curnick Ndhlovu and representatives from Azapo, the Federation of Transvaal Women and the Black Priests' Solidarity Group.

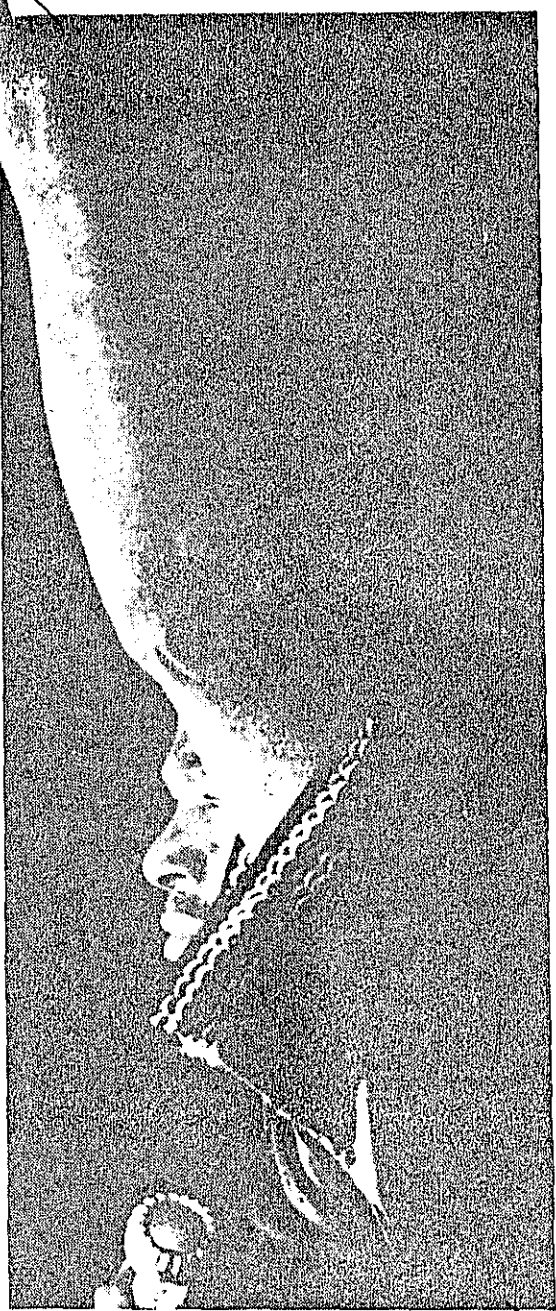
A joint statement by the UDF and Azapo said this week that services will be held countrywide to reflect the events that have "contributed to our country being in the sad, divided and volatile situation it is in today".

Observers see the joint effort by the two organisations to commemorate the services as a significant political move.

"We believe there are elements outside our formations that are bent on destroying freedom and peace in our country. The services are testimony to our commitment to respecting our differences and to leading the nation to a free, democratic society," said the statement.

Businesses will close shop at least an hour before the services start and will remain closed for the rest of the day.

The commemoration services will bring together different political groupings, who will share the same platform at all venues.



Dr Nthato Motlana captures the spirit of June 16 at last year's commemoration service.

**000 MONTH YOU!!**

**JUNE 16**

**PEOPLE'S DIARY**  
 Don't miss People's Diary in City Press every Sunday.

THE MAIN services will be held at:  
**SOWETO:**  
 Regina Mundi at 12.30pm. UDF National

and chairman Nthato Motlana.  
**SOSHANGUVE:**  
 Catholic Church at 12.30pm. Speakers include Arthur

Speakers include TIC acting president RAM Salojee, Imam Hassan Solomons and UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe.

THE SA Council of Churches has expressed "grave concern" at the violence that has broken

**Stop fi**

**JUNE 16**

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Dr Nthato Motlana cap at last year's commemo.

**1000 MONTH YOU!!**

holder. We need men of all ages franchise holders in the country, National and Homelands.

required as training your Hometown. If you write and underwrite you may be the

For details only write address and postal on a piece of paper it together with the dresses of three of TODAY to:

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**JUNE 16**

**PEOPLE'S DIARY**

Don't miss People's Diary in City Press every Sunday.

THE MAIN services will be held at:

**SOWETO:**

Regina Mundi at 12.30pm. UDF National chairman Curnick Ndhlovu and Federation of Transvaal Women president Sister Bernard Ncube will among the speakers

**DURBAN:**

Clermont's Catholic Church and St Anthony's Church, Centenary Road at 1.30pm. Speakers include Rev Hector Tshabalala, Dr Diliza Mji and Sibusiso Mngadi.

**PORT ELIZABETH:**

Dan Qeque Stadium and Reno Cinema in Korsten, at 12 noon.

**BORDER:**

At various centres, starting at 1pm.

**GA-RANKUWA:**

Catholic Church at 1pm.

**MAMELODI:**

St Francis Church at 11am.

**RATHANDA:**

Catholic Church. Speakers include Soweto Civic Association secretary Pat Lephunya

and chairman Nthato Motlana.

**SOSHANGUVE:**

Catholic Church at 12.30pm. Speakers include Arthur Mkhwanazi.

**ATTERIDGEVILLE:**

Anglican Church, Ramashu Street at 1pm. Speakers include UDF — Transvaal treasurer Titus Mafofo.

**VOSLOORUS:**

New Civic Centre at 12 noon. Speakers include UDF's Paul Maseko and Firoz Cachalia.

**LENASIA:**

Patidar Hall at 2pm.

Speakers include TIC acting president RAM Salojee, Imam Hassan Solomons and UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobor.

**ALEXANDRA:**

Nobuhle Hall at 1pm. Speakers include UDF national treasurer Azar Cachalia and Alex Women's Group's M Ntingane.

Venues and starting times for Tembisa, Katlehong, Kagiso and Coronationville have not been confirmed.

THE SA Council Churches has expressed "grave concern" at violence that has broken out between various political groups — and it made an urgent plea for reconciliation.

After an SACC meeting this week, church leaders said inter-group violence was slowing the cause of justice and peace.

They expressed concern "the violence, political murders and destruction of vate property going on

# We'll blast M Parliament

A GROUP calling itself the "Western Cape Suicide Squad" this week claimed responsibility for the grenade attacks on the homes of two

Squad" was responsible. We demand that MPs in Parliament resign because this fraud is being rejected by the majority of our people

16/6/85

# Ngoyi <sup>(11A)</sup> <sup>C.P. 210</sup> charged with <sup>16/6/81</sup> murder

By MONO BADELA

**UNITED DEMOCRATIC Front Eastern Cape president Edgar Ngoyi has been charged with the murder of an East Cape cop.**

He appeared in the New Brighton Magistrate's Court yesterday, but was not asked to plead. A bail application will be made next week.

Mr Ngoyi and UDF Eastern Cape deputy president Henry Fazzie were arrested at the UDF's Eastern Cape offices on Monday. But Mr Fazzie was released on Wednesday after apparently being cleared of the crime.

Mr Ngoyi, who spent 15 years on Robben Island for ANC-related activities, has been remanded in custody and will appear in court again on July 10.

A UDF spokesperson in Johannesburg said a top Cape Town advocate was being hired to defend Mr Ngoyi.

Mr Ngoyi's Kwazakhele home was burnt down at the weekend when a group of men attacked it with petrol-bombs. His family has been left homeless and R6 000 damage was caused.

# 'Hit squad' ready to shoot activists on sight

CITY PRESS,

11A

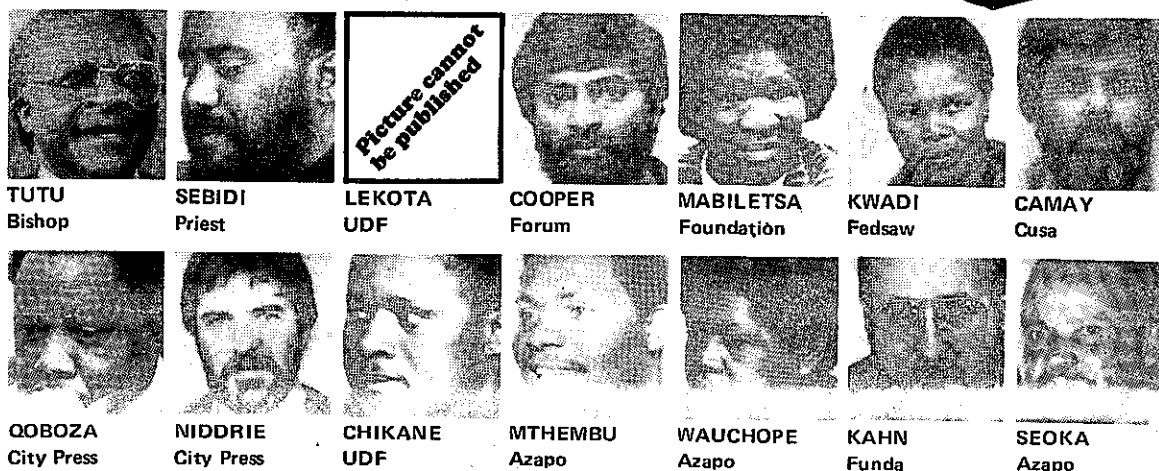
~~Picture cannot be published~~

16/6/85

June 16, 1985

PAGE 3

**They're  
on the  
hit list**



TUTU  
Bishop

SEBIDI  
Priest

LEKOTA  
UDF

COOPER  
Forum

MABILETSA  
Foundation

KWADI  
Fedsaw

CAMAY  
Cusa

QOBOZA  
City Press

NIDDRIE  
City Press

CHIKANE  
UDF

MTHEMBU  
Azapo

WAUCHOPE  
Azapo

KAHN  
Funda

SEOKA  
Azapo

**By MUDHINI MAIVHA**  
SEVERAL OPPO-  
NENTS of apartheid  
many of them mem-  
bers of the United  
Democratic Front,  
the Azanian People's  
Organisation and the  
trade union move-  
ment — have been  
threatened with  
"elimination" bet-  
ween Wednesday and  
Sunday, the ninth an-  
niversary of the June  
16 uprisings.

Heading the list is  
Johannesburg's Anglican  
Bishop, Nobel winner  
Desmond Tutu.

Others are Reverend  
Lebamang Sebidi, who is on a  
committee of clerics trying to  
restore peace between clash-  
ing political organisations,  
UDF publicity secretary Ter-  
ror Lekota, who is charged  
with high treason; National  
Forum convenor Saths  
Cooper; Urban Foundation  
official Deborah Mabiletsa;  
Cusa general secretary  
Piroshaw Camay; Fedsaw  
executive member Amandi  
Kwadi; Azapo Transvaal vice  
president George Wauchope;  
Azapo member Kehla  
Mthembu; UDF Transvaal  
vice president Rev Frank  
Chikane; Azapo deputy presi-  
dent Rev Joe Seoka; City Press  
associate editor Percy  
Qoboza; City Press chief sub-  
editor David Niddrie; and  
Funda Centre director Stan  
Khan.

There is no apparent motive behind  
the alleged death threats and little evi-

dence to indicate which elements were  
responsible because investigations on  
the matter were not yet complete, ac-  
cording to some of those whose lives  
have been threatened.

At a Press conference at Khotso  
House this week they said a gang of 30  
black men had been paid large sums of  
money to accomplish the "mission".

Replying to questions, Mr Qoboza  
said: "When people go crazy it is dif-  
ficult to identify the motive. Who  
would like to kill a nice person like  
me?"

The men said they had not reported  
the matter to the police, but had taken  
protection measures of their own. Mr  
Chikane said they were depending on  
"peace-loving South Africans to help  
us". They had also organised patrols  
near and around the houses of the  
listed men.

Mr Chikane said the information  
they had gathered revealed that:

- There is a group of whites who have  
employed 30 blacks to kill the group on  
the list.
- The squad is rehearsing regularly  
for the mission.
- Despite the above-mentioned list,  
there were other whites in Johannes-  
burg who were also on a hit list.
- The listed men and women would  
be shot on sight or disappear at the rate  
of four a night until June 16.

WELL KNOWN

# Father and daughter meet again — in court

11A

C.P. vers 16/6/85

BY MUDINI MAIVHA

UDF national secretary Popo Molefe met his two-month-old daughter again this week — during the Pretoria Regional Court treason trial.

He had last seen Albertina MaSisulu when she was born in April — before he was detained.

And this week MaSisulu was among spectators in the court gallery.

The two were worlds apart — MaSisulu in her carry-cot in the gallery full of cops, and her father in the dock.

MaSisulu was brought to court by her mother Pinda. The baby sat in her cot lost to the goings-on in the courtroom when her father's name was called and his "offence" announced.

In the dock were 21 others — charged with high treason, alternatively terrorism, subversion and murder.

Just before the trial, Rev Tebogo Moselane read the Bible and his co-accused bowed their heads as he prayed.

Rev Moselane attracted attention again when the trial was postponed. Cops moved in to prevent him speaking to his family — and he brushed them off, warning them not to "dirty me".

Most of the accused are from Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle.

Their charges follow last year's unrest in the Vaal — where residents protested against rent increases, and police and troops moved in. The violence left many dead and property was destroyed.

Magistrate JB Koekemoer told the court the Attorney-General had already issued a certificate

## THE 22

Mosiua "Terror" Leko-  
ta, Rev Tebogo Mose-  
lane, Patrick Baleka,  
Oupa Hlomoka, Mohapi  
More, Gcinumuzi Malin-  
di, Morake Mokoena,  
Tsietsi Mphuthi, Naphtal,  
Nkopane, Tabello Rama-  
kgula, Bavumile Vilakazi,  
Sekwati Mokoena,  
Mkhambi Malindi, Simon  
Nkoli, Pelamotse Tlho-  
pane, Serame Hlanyane,  
Thomas Manthata, Hla-  
bang Matlole, Maxala Vi-  
lakazi, Rev Moses Chi-  
kane and Thabiso Rat-  
somo.

refusing the accused bail.

But the defence, led by attorneys Ismail Mohamed and Zac Yacoob, said the certificate didn't mean the accused could not apply for bail. The attorneys will meet the Attorney-General to try to persuade him to withdraw the certificate.

Should they fail, the defence will "mount an attack on the certificates themselves because they are bad in law and have no effect", said Mr Yacoob.

The case was postponed to June 25, pending the meeting between the defence and the Attorney-General. In the meantime the wording of the indictment will be changed to English since the accused are not Afrikaans-speaking.

'We're reviewing the revolution'

JUNE 16

# NAME CONFIDENTIALISTS ON Sunday

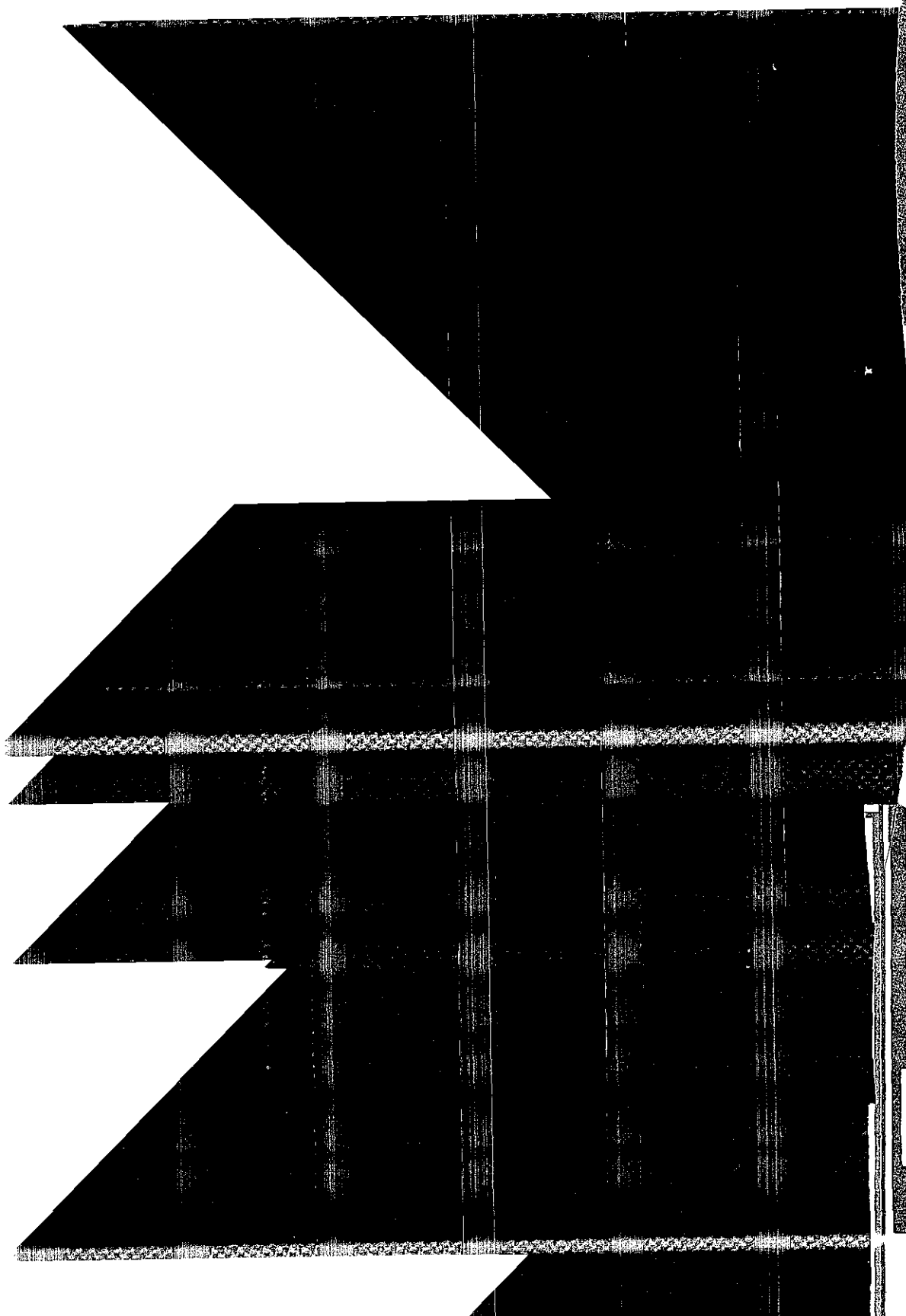
11A  
C.P. 2  
16/185

Deadline for death

Somewhere out there are 30 hired assassins, paid to kill some of South Africa's most outspoken anti-apartheid activists.

No-one is quite sure who these killers are. All we know is that they have a hit-list with 14 names on it, and that they've vowed to complete their mission by June 16.

Details of the death plot are on Page 3. And on Page 2, you can read what Percy Qoboza — one of those on the hit-list — has to say about themen behind it.



# JUNE 16



BERRY

JUNE  
16

Sunday, June 16, 1985: Ninth anniversary of the terrible day that changed South Africa forever. And today, City Press cartoonist Abe Berry suspends his humour to capture the mood of a nation . . . a nation remembering the dead, and those they have left behind. A nation contemplating its bloody past, and its uncertain future.

THE African National Congress begins an 11-day national consultative conference to review its revolutionary program and methods on June 16, the anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

About 200 delegates — some from inside the country — will attend.

ANC sources refuse to say where the conference is being held, except that it is “somewhere in Southern Africa”.

The conference will end on June 26.— the anniversary of the adoption in 1955 of the Freedom Charter by the ANC and other Congress Alliance members.

The main issues are expected to be:

- The practical ways and means of extending the ANC's underground machinery inside the country.
- Developing “people's war”.
- Developing insurrectionary forces and tactics inside the country.
- Improving external and internal structures to ensure correct co-ordination between different ANC machineries.

Sources predict that basic ANC strategy will not change — but tactics and methods will be closely examined.

It is the ANC's second national consultative conference since it was outlawed in 1960.

The last was held in 1969 in Morogoro, Tanzania — now the site of the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

That conference resulted in the document, “Strategy and tactics of the ANC”.

The ANC's choice of June 16 for its second conference is seen as significant. The 1976 uprising led to thousands of young people joining the ANC — and the movement has declared 1985 “The Year Of The Cadre”.

The second conference follows months of discussion within ANC structures inside and outside the country. ANC sources say these preparations have been fruitful and successful.

Observers feel the 11-day conference could change the face of South African national liberation politics.

A number of younger men and women are expected to move further up the ANC ranks at the conference.

ANC sources expect the movement to come out in favour of a more clear-cut leadership role in national liberation politics — particularly for black working people.

ANC members in diplomatic missions round the world voted among themselves to choose representatives to attend the historic meeting, reports PETA THORNYCROFT.

The voting took place after months of what was described as “intense pre-conference debates” about the future of “the struggle”.

An ANC communique said the consultative conference would assess the current stage of “the struggle” with a view to its further escalation.

## Don't miss it!

JUNE  
16 PEOPLE'S  
DIARY

Our special June 16 People's Diary with details of all major commemoration meetings throughout the country. And there'll be more on Sunday. Turn to Page 2.



"Throwing stones at each other must come to an end," former ANC activist

Vuyisile Tole told over 1 000 people.

## 'WELCOME HOME,

## COMRADE TOLE'

FORMER Umkhonto we Sizwe Eastern Cape activist Vuyisile Tole was given a rousing welcome in Uitenhage last weekend – after serving 21 years on Robben Island for ANC activities.

The 55-year-old Mr Tole smiled repeatedly, and was clearly moved by the 1 000-strong crowd who repeatedly chanted "Viva Comrade Tole".

The rally was organised by the Congress of SA Stu-

*(IA)*  
dents, the Uitenhage Youth Congress, E Cape region of the Release Mandela Committee and the Uitenhage Women's Organisation.

"Throwing stones at each other must come to an end. We should learn from the lessons of history. In China, it was only the united action of two Chinese leaders – Mao Tse Tung and Chiang Kai Chek – that brought about the downfall of Imperial Japan," said Mr Tole.

"We must organise ourselves to fight against apartheid – and then we



*C. Press*  
must fight imperialism."

Without elaborating, he added: "I do not hold a grudge against those who sold me out, but will try to win them to my side because they are my brothers."

Eastern Cape Release Mandela Committee chairman Aubrey Mali said divisions among black people came at a time when "the struggle" was intensifying daily.

"The enemy has been able to interrupt the struggle when it is beginning to take new shape. Those in power must eventually sit

*16/6/87*  
at the negotiating table."

A trade union speaker said job reservation and the bad relations between bosses and workers were the causes of strikes.

"The migrant labour system is responsible for the poverty faced by black people in the rural areas. Children in these areas are often left on their own, while their parents are forced to work in the cities."

He also criticised trade unionists who were "aligning themselves with the enemy by accepting overseas trips organised by employers".



# Labour 'would support ANC'

London Bureau

A FUTURE Labour Government would give financial assistance to the African National Congress and other liberation movements who struggled against apartheid, the leader of the Labour Party, Neil Kinnock, told a rally in London yesterday.

In a strong speech Mr Kinnock reiterated his Party's commitment to total economic sanctions against South Africa.

'If the Tories don't have the moral courage to isolate South Africa the next Labour Government will,' Mr Kinnock said.

About 5 000 people carrying placards, banners and balloons turned out at the rally in Trafalgar Square which was held to commemorate the ninth

anniversary of the June 16 Soweto riots.

Mr Kinnock was the main speaker at the event which was attended by anti-apartheid supporters as well as trade union members and representatives from local government in London.

The Labour leader was scathing about the interim government to be installed in South West Africa today.

## Condemned

He described it as a 'toy and a sham' government which was 'nothing more than a front for the South African apartheid regime'.

Mr Kinnock condemned the five Conservative MPs who have flown to Windhoek for the inauguration ceremony.

He attacked President

Reagan's 'constructive engagement' approach to South Africa, saying such 'bridge building' had never in the past brought change to South Africa.

The recent South African raid into Botswana was further evidence of South Africa's imperial intentions in the region, he said.

Mr Dennis Goldberg, who was recently freed from jail in South Africa, spoke on behalf of the ANC and received a standing ovation. He delivered a stinging attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying he was a 'mouthpiece' for the South African Government.

In Paris, 'Soweto Day' was marked by a demonstration in front of the South African Embassy on Quai D'Orsay.

# One nation, one citizenship

NM 17/6/85

11A

WE THE UNDERSIGNED hereby declare our commitment to serve God in obedience to His divine will for our country and together recognise that:

- The history of mankind shows the need for adaptive change among all peoples and all nations.
- Nations which have managed to avoid the use of violence in the achievement of national objectives are the nations which have grown in wisdom.
- Both mistakes and lessons not yet learned led to errors of judgement in the mainstream politics in both the black and white sections of our society.
- The South African people are a family of mankind, seeking to live in harmony in the African community of nations and seeking to do so by expressing civilised ideals in the practical social, economic and political affairs of our country.
- The South African constitution as it is now written is by force of history and reality a first step in constitutional reform which urgently needs the second step to be taken of enriching the constitution to make it as acceptable to the broad mass of African opinion as it has been made acceptable to the broad mass of white opinion.
- The Westminster model of government was not ordained by God to be the only form of good government.

WE therefore accept:

1 The need to make the preamble to the South African constitution of equal value to all the groups and peoples of the country by enriching the clause: 'To respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples' to include the

notion that this can best be done by sharing power. We need to share power in such a way that no one group can dictate to any other group how to express its own self-determination, and we also need to share power in a formula within which the hallowed values of good government are not compromised.

2 The need to preserve the constitutionality of the adaptive democratic process on which we will jointly rely in being subservient to the divine will for our country.

WE will therefore together seek:

- To negotiate as leaders to amend the South African constitution to make it acceptable to all groups.
- To find an alternative political system to that which the world at large understands by the word 'apartheid' and also to seek an alternative political system in which universal adult suffrage is expressed in constitutional terms acceptable to all the peoples of South Africa.
- To give expression to the common citizenship of all South Africa's peoples without qualifying the meaning of citizenship for any group.

● To use the opportunities presented in practical politics at first-, second- and third-tier levels of government to fashion national unity by deepening the democratic process, and to use the democratic process in explorations of what needs to be done to get the people to legitimise the instruments of government.

WE therefore pledge ourselves:

- To express national pride and patriotism by insisting that South Africans will decide South Africa's future in the acceptance of each other as individuals and groups and the acceptance of each other's cultural rights to be who they are.

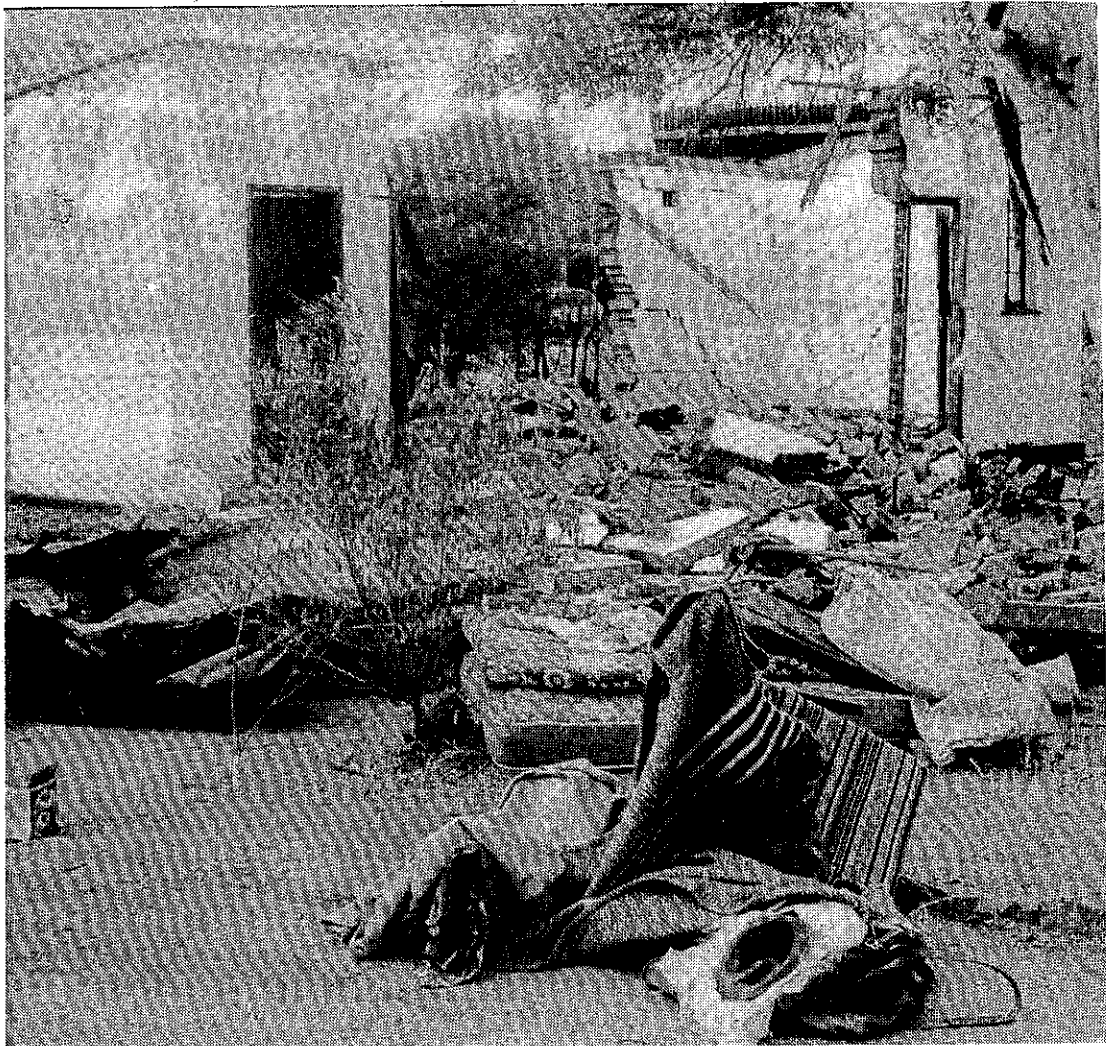
- To start where we find ourselves in history and to move from there to build on all that is positive and valuable and to change that which is negative and undesirable.

- Each to work in our own constituencies to develop a South African pride in managing our own South African affairs in harmony with internationally accepted standards of civilised decency without being dictated to from without.

HAVING thus declared we stand together to defend our right even with our lives to take the steps and the time needed to establish consensus between groups and to win support for our joint efforts in the South African family of nations.

And furthermore to stand together to defend South Africa from external onslaughts and to stand together to resist any use of violence which threatens the politics of negotiation aimed at national reconciliation.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, I make only one thing totally non-negotiable: South Africa is one country, and there must be one citizenship for one nation.'



AFTERMATH . . . of the bomb blast in Gaborone, Botswana, on Friday. President Quett Masire of Botswana hopes to raise the matter at the United Nations.

# 'We must win'

WORLD peace and stability could only be achieved through the victory of the working masses, a June 16 commemoration service in Lenasia was told yesterday.

Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, speaking at Jiswa Centre, said there were forces bent on defying the working masses as well as destabilising the southern African region through military incursions.

Said Mr Mkhabela: "We are in the side that must win. World peace, progress and stability can only be achieved by the victory of the working masses. The situation seriously, we won't be able to take the struggle to a higher level."

In an apparent refer-

ence to the ongoing Azapo-UDF conflict, Mr Mkhabela told the meeting: "For us to involve ourselves in short-term solutions would be tantamount to digging our own graves. We must make bold resolutions as we face the system and those who will not share some of our concerns. It won't help us to become part-time revolutionaries in the liberation struggle."

"We have given enough martyrs — it has to stop. Until we take level" he added.

Meanwhile Dr R A M Salooje, vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, told a meeting held at Patidar Centre that the happenings of June 1976 were "deeply etched into the soil and soul of the oppressed in our land."

Dr Salooje said it was

a day to pay tribute to all those prosecuted and maimed "who had been in the cause of justice martyred, persecuted, and freedom."

# PAC blames the US

THE Reagan Administration's constructive engagement policy was partly to blame for last Thursday's SADF raid on Botswana, the PAC said in a statement yesterday.

The PAC believed the refusal of some Western and other countries to impose economic sanctions against the SA government had "emboldened" the regime to defy the international community, the statement said.

The exiled organisation was reacting to the SA Defence Force raid, which claimed 13 lives in Botswana last week.

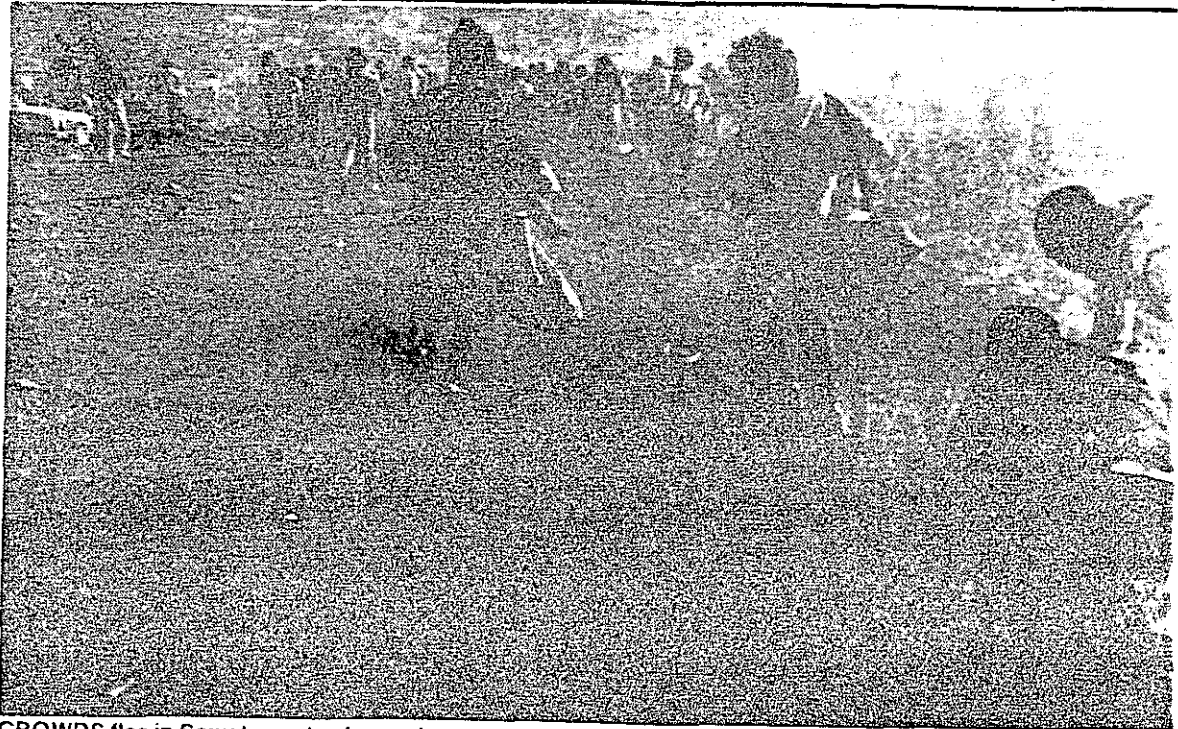
Meanwhile an ANC spokesman in Lusaka described the raid as an act of a government that was losing its grip after a year of continuous unrest at home.

The spokesman added that the raid, coming on the eve of the ANC's consultative conference, would strengthen the views of those ANC members calling for a much harder line on the armed struggle.

# SOWETAN

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 1985

22c + 3c GST (SA) Else



CROWDS flee in Soweto yesterday and an elderly manyano woman collapses and is helped up by one of the service.

Cops use tearsmoke to disperse crowds

# YOUTH KILLED

*11A*

*11A*

*Sowetan 1985*

A YOUTH was killed in the East Rand, homes of community council members attacked in other areas, and tearsmoke was

REPORTS by SEFAKO NYAKA, JOSHUA RABOROKO, ALI MPHAKI, MZIKAYISE EDOM, SY MAKARINGE, NOMSA

marched towards police and army vehicles parked opposite the park adjoining the church.

When the group was about 100 metres from the parked vehicles, the marshalls of the UDF and

CROWDS flee in Soweto yesterday and an elderly manyano woman collapses and is helped up by one of the service.

## Cops use tearsmoke to disperse crowds

# YOUTH KILLED

ICF Sowetan 1985

A YOUTH was killed in the East Rand, homes of community council members attacked in other areas, and tearsmoke was used as black townships remembered June 16 yesterday.

Late yesterday it was confirmed that a pupil, allegedly among a group that attacked the home of Daveyton Town Council chairman, Mr Tom Boya, was shot dead.

In Soweto, the ignition point of June 16, 1976 uprisings, the police used tearsmoke to disperse a crowd of 5 000 people who had gathered at the Regina Mundi commemoration Church service.

In Alexandra township the house of Rev Sam Buti, the mayor of the township, was stoned by youths who were dispersed, and the house of Mr Tom Boya, in Daveyton, was also attacked.

The house of the Alexandra township town clerk, Mr Arthur Maggerman, was also stoned, while some youths attacked the house of a policeman. In the East Rand, the men's hostel was

REPORTS by SEFAKO NYAKA, JOSHUA RABOROKO, ALI MPHAKI, MZIKAYISE EDM, SY MAKARINGE, NOMSA MOYANA, LEN MASEKO, NTHABI MOREOSELE and MONK NKOMO. Pictures by JOE MOLEFE, LEN KUMALO and MBUZENI ZULU.

stoned and the administration of offices were also attacked.

Police yesterday fired tearsmoke at a crowd of about 5 000 people at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, after an emotional service to commemorate the 1976 unrests.

### Pamphlets

Several people — overcome by the tearsmoke from cannisters and the sneeze-machine — had to seek refuge in the houses around Regina Mundi.

Yesterday the yard was littered with pamphlets, shoes and other items — evidence of the mayhem after the service.

Before the service came to a close a group of about 200 youths

marched towards police and army vehicles parked opposite the park adjoining the church.

When the group was about 100 metres from the parked vehicles, the marshalls of the UDF and Azapo intercepted the crowd. It was at this moment while the marshalls were remonstrating with the group to get back, that a tearsmoke cannister was tossed into the crowd.

By this time another group emerging from the church yard was sent scurrying for cover as police sprayed tearsmoke with the sneeze-machine.

Late last night the air around Rockville, Mofolo and White City was heavily polluted with tearsmoke fumes.

The convenor of the National Forum, Mr Saths Cooper, told the crowd that political leaders should realise that the fight "for the total destruction of racism and capitalism is possible only through unity amongst the people.

Mr Cooper said differences in political organisations should not stop blacks from reaching the goal of "total freedom".

Earlier the Bishop of Johan-

To Page 2

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# Youth killed

From Page 117

nesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, told the crowd that black on black violence was undercutting the things that people rejected conditional release from detention for. *P. M. M. M.*

"Let us use methods that are consistent with what our struggle is all about — truth, justice and morality," Bishop Tutu said. *17/6/85*

He said black people are engaged in a cause that is just, noble and righteous — "a cause for which many of our children gave their lives, went into exile and are facing long terms of imprisonment for."

Before the service the

crowd gathered at the Roman Catholic Church's Convent of Mercy next to the Moroka Police Station before marching down the old Potchefstroom road to the church.

There were no incidents as the crowd — led by robed priests, altar boys and many women — marched for more than one kilometre singing "Nkosi Sikelel' I-Afrika."

Police and army personnel in armoured cars were seen filming the marchers.

The service was jointly chaired by Azapo's Mr Khehla Mthembu and the UDF's Mr Sydney Mafumadi.

A resolution, calling upon the interdenominational community with envoys in South Africa to "follow the lead of the right-wing Reagan administration and withdraw their envoys from South Africa" was unanimously adopted.

The resolution was taken "in the light of the South African army's raid into Botswana last week."

"The recall of the envoys should not be for their usual consultation, but the envoys should stay out of South Africa until the country signs an undertaking that it will refrain from such behaviour as evidenced by the cross-border raids into Botswana, Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe," the resolution said.

# SA govt 11A Somefan 17/6/85 attacked

THE SOUTH African government, accused of policies based on Nazism, was warned that their military power will not suppress the will of the black people in their struggle towards liberation.

Speakers at well-attended commemoration services in Atteridgeville and Mamelodi deplored South Africa's raid into Botswana on Friday and also condemned the Government for ruling "by the sword".

Blacks, the speakers said, were killed almost daily because of their just stance against racist policies.

As a heavy police presence patrolled the streets, Mr Ronnie Mamoepe, former Robben Island political prisoner, told more than 1 000 people at the Anglican Church in Atteridgeville that the struggle to freedom was not an easy road. He also urged blacks "to transform the tears shed in 1976 to a united force which will bring an end to apartheid."

Speakers at the service held at the St Francis Anglican Church in Mamelodi told an audience of more than 800 to support the call for pressure from abroad.

"We have been suffering. There won't be any difference," said the speakers, who also accused some foreign companies of exploiting blacks.

Well-known activist, Mrs Joyce Sadibe, made an appeal to pupils country-wide to attend school even while the authorities were not responding to their demands. She said: "There is no nation that will be led to freedom by ignorant people. The South African government enjoys it when you boycott classes because this is to their advantage."

Speakers also called on the Government to give the country's power and wealth to the black majority. They accused South Africa of using its might to conduct "terror raids" into black neighbouring states.

Mr Kgauelo Lekgoro, speaking in Atteridgeville warned that "no military might can suppress the will of the people in their quest for freedom."

No incidents were reported at both services, which were marked by political slogans, freedom songs and poems.

About 1 000 residents of Soshanguve observed a moment of silence for the 13 people killed in Botswana last Friday, and also condemned this brutal cowardice as clear provocation by the SA government to the Botswana government.

## Violence

Speakers called on P W Botha and his Government to be exemplary and renounce violence before he could ask Mandela and all other people in the struggle to renounce violence.

The chairman of the local Interdenominational African Ministers' Association, the Rev Hans Hlaethwa, also appealed to all churches to join in the struggle to free all South Africans.

"You should know that there comes a time in the life of every nation where there remain only two choices, either to submit or fight. That time has arrived in South Africa and we shall not submit but will fight relentlessly with all means at our disposal.

Men believed to be police in private cars parked right opposite the entrance to the St Charles Llwanga Catholic Church while police vehicles patrolled the township.



UDF <sup>CPA Tind</sup>  
17/6/85  
warns off  
PFP (117)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front (UDF) yesterday gave a blunt warning to the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) not to recruit in the coloured and Indian communities.

Professor Jerry Coovadia, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress and the UDF, told a June 16 meeting in Lenasia that the PFP had no "moral right to try to corrupt and erode our sense of unity" following the announcement that the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was to be repealed.

Professor Coovadia said that if the PFP moved into their areas, they would do so by capitalizing on the credibility of some of their leaders.

"The PFP must come and ask the coloured and Indian communities whether they want to participate in the tricameral Parliament.

"Yet 82 percent did not participate in the sham elections last year . . .

"If the PFP have not learnt that yet, they must learn that now, otherwise we will find ourselves on different sides of the fence. And we don't want that."

# Grenade attack — two men detained

**Crime Reporter**

SECURITY police have detained two men for questioning following the grenade attack on the home of a prominent Nyanga resident.

And they have cleared a wounded man who was detained following a shoot-out shortly after the blast.

A 22-year-old man was detained shortly after the blast on Saturday evening.

Security police detained a third man aged 23 about 1am on Sunday, said Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, Peninsula police liaison officer.

## Suspicion

The wounded man, who had been under police guard in Tygerberg hospital since Saturday, was questioned early today and cleared because of insufficient evidence to connect him with the grenade attack on the Nyanga East home of the Cape Town Community Council vice-chairman, Mrs Elfie Shwabane, said a Pretoria police spokesman.

He said: "The man was detained on suspicion of creating public violence but there is insufficient evidence against him and he has been released."

A chance encounter between a police patrol and three men, soon

after the grenade blast rocked Mrs Shwabane's home, led to a shoot-out in Nyanga East and the wounding of the man on Saturday evening.

The police spokesman said he may have been the victim of a stray bullet because he lives close to Mrs Shwabane's house.

Two other men in the vicinity escaped.

## Extensive

Police said they hoped the two detained men could assist their investigations into a suspected terror gang believed responsible for a spate of grenade attacks in the area.

Early on Saturday a grenade caused extensive damage to the home of Mr Roland Njoli, chairman of the Cape Town Community Council.

Mr Njoli said he suspected "people apposed to the community council system" of being responsible for the 5am grenade blast.

The similarities in the five grenade attacks carried out on the homes of two parliamentarians, a police station and the homes of Mr Njoli and Mrs Shwabane last week had led police to believe that the same team of attackers were responsible, said a Pretoria police spokesman.

CAF - Trends

17/6/85

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# Botswana forces 'delay'

From GEOFFREY  
ALLEN

GABORONE. — There was considerable speculation here at the weekend that the local security forces may have deliberately delayed in getting to the alleged ANC targets while these were still under attack by the South African Defence Force.

One woman who witnessed part of the strike said: "The Botswana response time was just on an hour and the South Africans were officially said to have been in Gaborone for 45 minutes."

Several sources, including senior reporters in Gaborone, were also convinced that the South Africans left a party of men behind to make a full assessment of the strike.

## No comment

However, there was no official comment from either country to confirm or deny either allegation.

What is clear is that the South Africans missed killing several ANC members who were on their way to a scheduled ANC conference.

The meeting was to be the most important since 1969 and was to elect office-bearers and plan strategy for the future.

## Postponed

It has subsequently been postponed.

Botswana's President Dr Quett Masire said at a weekend press conference that attacks by South Africa in foreign countries were part of a total onslaught by Pretoria to impose its will on the region.

Dr Masire, told a press conference that he would call for a UN Security Council debate on the attack.

Reading a prepared statement to reporters, a grim-faced Dr Masire called the raid "a brutal and premeditated act".

He said the dead were nine South African refu-

gees, two Botswana citizens and a Somali. Six others injured, among them a pregnant Dutch woman, were "fighting for their lives" in hospital, he added.

He said: "Botswana rejects with contempt South Africa's claims that the raid was directed against ANC members. Pretoria has not produced any weapons or military equipment captured in the raid and the victims were defenceless civilians who could not fight back."

General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the Defence Force, described the operation as a "success" though they had found some of the target houses empty, when they should not have been, and they knew of larger groups of terrorists not in the target houses.

## Intelligence

Apart from a few small-arms recovered, they had captured a mass of documentary intelligence which would take weeks to go through and assess.

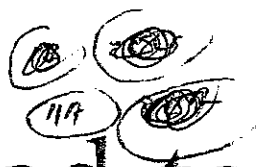
South Africa said the attack was directed at 10 bases of the ANC.

The identities of the victims have not yet been officially released. However, sources said here that they included musician Mr Michael Hamlyn (the only white killed in the raid), Mr George Phahle and his wife Lindiwe, Mr Thami Mnye, Mr Basie Zondi, Somalian Mr Ahmed Gaiya, whose pregnant Dutch wife is in hospital with serious bullet wounds, Miss Eugenia Kobole and Miss Gladys Kelape.

General Viljoen said 10 targets were hit, among them safe houses for visiting members of the ANC underground and for ANC guerillas in transit to South Africa, as well as venues for crash-training courses for guerillas.

Also hit was the Solidarity News Centre, at the Cycle Mart Building, an office in Gaborone

CHE TIMES  
17/6/83



# The good road to Gaborone

Defence Reporter

THREE reasons can be found for the South African attack on certain houses in the Botswana capital of Gaborone: Retaliation for the grenade attacks in Cape Town, a long-standing concern about African National Congress infiltration into the Republic and an astute internal public-relations move.

Botswana has been the ANC's only local springboard and advanced planning and command post since the Nkomati Agreement of April last year resulted in the abrupt wind-down of the movement's operations

from Mozambique. With Mozambique closed off and Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland yielding to South African pressure to allow only militarily inactive ANC presences on their soil, the movement's military wing had only two alternatives: To operate out of Botswana or shut up shop altogether.

Inevitably Botswana was thus dragged into the struggle between the ANC and the Republic, in spite of its policy of non-intervention.

Unfortunately for Botswana, it happens to be uncomfortably close to South Africa's vitally

important industrial heartland, the PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) area — in fact, many observers regard its border with South Africa as potentially the most sensitive of the Republic's international boundaries.

It is likely that the timing of the raid is no coincidence. In defence circles no bones are made about the fact that the strafing of certain targets in the Mozambican capital of Maputo on May 23 of 1983, two days after the Church Street bomb explosion, was carried out primarily in retaliation, and to prove to

both the ANC and its host that no sanctuary could be considered safe.

In the present case, retaliation would also prove that the government was taking the strongest possible steps to avenge the grenade attacks on two coloured politicians.

There can be little doubt that for a long time the South African security forces have been analysing a flow of information on ANC activities in Botswana, and creating and continuously updating "target dossiers".

It is also very likely that planners would have drawn up contingency at-

tack schemes as a matter of routine, plotting approach and exit routes and practising various techniques.

On the basis of this ground work, it would be easy to mount a small pre-emptive raid such as last week's at short notice.

Unlike some objectives, Gaborone is easily accessible, since it is near to the South African border, and there is a good road leading directly to it. Efficient vehicle-borne raiders could hit their objectives and be safe on South African soil within less than an hour.



THE aftermath of the SADF raid. A house in Gaborone, Botswana, whose inhabitants were killed by the army when it was alleged to house ANC activists. See page 10 and 11.

# Raid: Death toll up

**GABORONE** — The death toll in the South African Defence Force raid on alleged African National Congress targets in the Botswana capital of Gaborone early on Friday morning has risen to at least 14 with the discovery of two more bodies.

Six people are being treated in hospital for wounds sustained in the raid.

Botswana has not yet released the names of any of the victims.

President Quett Masire said yesterday he intended to call a United Nations Security Council debate on the raid, saying then the dead were nine South African refugees, two Botswana citizens and a refugee from Somalia.

Pres Masire said on Friday it was feared some people had been kidnapped in the raid and it was being claimed in Gaborone yesterday that as many as eight people were still unaccounted for.

The acting permanent secretary in the Department of Health, Dr Simon Moeti, told Sapa yesterday of the discovery of two more bodies.

It is not yet known when the victims will be buried, but it is understood funerals are being planned for next weekend.

A survivor told Sapa yesterday how a six-year-old Lesotho citizen was killed during the

raid.

The survivor, who declined to be named, said the boy, Peter Mafoka, from a Lesotho royal family, had been visiting an aunt in Gaborone. The woman's husband, Mr Duke Mashobane,

was killed in the raid.

The boy reportedly emerged crying from his bedroom at the sound of shooting and was gunned down in the lounge before Mr Mashobane was shot in his own bedroom.

Mrs Mashobane, who is pregnant, was uninjured. Her husband reportedly lay on top of her before telling her to hide under one of the beds in the room. The bed under which she hid was hit by several bullets

as gunfire raked the room, killing Mr Mashobane.

It is not clear yet whether the boy will be buried in Gaborone or whether his body will be taken to Lesotho for burial. — Sapa.

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# Call to prayer was right, says Boesak

**Staff Reporter**  
 DR Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said at a June 16 memorial service yesterday afternoon that offers by newspapers to pray for those who called for an end to unjust rule was a sign that the call was right.

He said this during a sermon he delivered at the service held at the Bethel Memorial AME Church in Hazendal attended by an estimated 2 000 people.

Dr Boesak expressed his thanks to the churches who had decided to support the call by the South African Council of Churches for the removal of an unjust government.

## 'Upset'

"When we called for a day of prayer for the removal of those who persist in going against the will of God, there were many people who were upset. There are not many issues that have raised so much pressure, division and pain. Newspapers spoke of churches which will split and congregations that are divided."

"I have seen articles in newspapers I have not dreamt I would see, articles which spoke the propaganda of the South African Government. They offered to pray for us for we are so misguided, they said. That is the most affirmative sign that we are right."

"We will not take up guns against you, we will not ask God to bless our guns like they did on December 16. We do not believe in the power of violence, we believe in the power of prayer."

The SABC had refused

to broadcast a second statement by the churches supporting the call to prayer, he said.

"Those people who were opposed to the call don't know what it is like to be arrested for not having a passbook or sitting in the rain at Crossroads under a piece of plastic. Because it is impossible for them to feel our pain."

"God will not stuff His ears but will deliver us from the hands of these people."

"In the name of Jesus the Church justified racism in this country and built a whole theology around a few verses in the Bible," he said.

Referring to the recent SADF raid into Gaborone, Botswana, Dr Boesak said: "A six-year-old child must suffer because we must believe the glib explanation of the Minister that they are all terrorists."

"The Church should rise up and say that they have betrayed the name of Jesus. As long as this happens the Church must rise up and say you shall reap what you sow."

"No matter how many times you read your Bible, piously stand up in Parliament, God's judgement will come down on you."

"I believe that God will hear us as we pray for the removal of those who resist His will", Dr Boesak said to applause.

The Rev Chris Nissen, chairman of the Karoo region of the United Democratic Front, said there was no future in South Africa if that future was discussed in Parliament or in some Bantustan. That future would be decided in Pollsmoor with Nelson Mandela, he said.


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# SA 'playing bully'

**BOTSWANA** has accused South Africa of using the presence of ANC refugees as a pretext for forcing it to sign a non-aggression pact.

Relations between the two countries have reached their lowest ebb after Friday morning's South African Defence Force's attack on 10 homes in Gaborone which left 14 dead.

Top Botswana government officials and many citizens do not believe that those singled out by the SADF task force were ANC "terrorists".

"Using the presence of ANC refugees here was a pretext to attack us," the Minister of External Affairs, Dr Gao-sitwe Chiepe, said.

On Friday, her government was preparing to take the incident to the United Nations and hinted, through Dr Chiepe, that Botswana would support calls for sanctions against South Africa and for disinvestment.

Dr Chiepe said South Africa had threatened Botswana earlier this year and had tried to "bully" it into signing a non-aggression pact.

Botswana had been fearful of an SADF assault since the failed

South African raid in Cabinda, Angola, three weeks ago.

Shooting and attacks within South Africa were being carried out by people inside that country. Their arms and ammunition also hidden in South Africa. "The SADF was running away from facing this at home, and blaming us," Dr Chiepe said.

## Bases

The houses in Gaborone destroyed by the SADF were not being used as training bases for "terrorists".

There was no collusion between the Botswana security forces and the SADF.

"The attacks happened at several places at the same time, and the South Africans had disappeared before our own forces could get to the scene of action. Road blocks were put up, but too late."

Dr Chiepe said threats had come through a Bophuthatswana cabinet minister, "but it was not from that source because (South African Minister of Foreign Affairs) Pik Botha has read out that entire message, word for word."

"It came from the South Africans as far as we are concerned. They say we allowed terrorists to invade South Africa. We say we don't. Refugees simply come in. We

accept them as refugees and do not allow them to come and attack South Africa.

"The main thing was South Africa wanted us to sign a non-aggression pact but we said no, we are not at war. We have not the capacity or the will to attack South Africa."

Dr Chiepe noted that South Africa had not been able to trace those responsible for the murders of two British tourists just inside the Mozambican border, near Komatipoort, although they had slipped back into South Africa.

"If they can't catch people in Cape Town or Durban, how can we do it? We are much less sophisticated."



THE aftermath of the raid in Gaborone, Botswana, after SADF forces had ripped through homes of people belonging to the ANC.

# Arrest in Grenade attack

Cape Times 7/6/85

of Soweto's Committee of 10, were among speakers who addressed the crowd attending the service.

● A bomb blast shattered a window and damaged the gate of a home in Ferguson Street, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, yesterday morning.

A window of an adjoining house was also shattered in the blast, but no one was injured.

Lieutenant-Colonel G Van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the house belonged to Mr Bigboy Douse, a lorry driver, who was not at home at the time. He said Mr Douse was not affiliated to any political organization.

In East London a duty manager, Mr Christo Kruger, averred a possible tragedy when he found two limpet mines planted outside the King's Hotel where more than 400 patrons had wine and dined earlier in the night.

Other incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape were reported in Fort Beaufort and Bongweni, near Cookhouse. No one was injured.

● Two bombs — about 20 minutes apart — rocked KwaZulu police buildings still under construction in Umlazi last night, bringing to three the number of explosions yesterday in the Durban area apparently



Foreign newsmen wear gas masks as police teargas crowds in Soweto.

One man was wounded and arrested and police fired shots at two other men who got away.

The wounded man is reported to be in a satisfactory condition, a police spokesman said last night.

No one was injured in the house and it was not badly damaged when one grenade exploded outside.

An unexploded grenade was found in the veld next to Mrs Shwabane's house.

● Meanwhile, two services commemorating the ninth anniversary of the start of massive rioting which erupted in Soweto on June 16 were held yesterday in Hazendal and Wittebome.

The rioting which flared in Soweto in 1976 later spread around the country. During the following eight months,

at least 575 people died in riotous incidents, according to the Cillie Commission, and more than 250 of the deaths occurred in Soweto.

The situation in Cape Town yesterday was quiet with no reported incidents and minimum police presence.

However, other parts of the country were not as peaceful with three bombs exploding in the Durban area and one in a Port Elizabeth township.

And in Soweto police used tearsmoke and sneeze machines to disperse more than 1000 people after a church service attended by 6000 people at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church. No one was injured.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, and Dr Nthatho Motlana, head

AN injured man under guard in Tygerberg Hospital may provide police in the Western Cape with a vital breakthrough in their investigation of a suspected terror cell responsible for hand-grenade attacks in Cape Town during the past week.

The unidentified 22-year-old was shot and wounded in Nyanga at the weekend following a chance encounter between a police patrol and three men believed to be responsible for a hand-grenade attack on the home of Cape Town Community Council vice-chairman Mrs Elfie Shwabane, of Nyanga.

The incident follows the hand-grenade attacks on the homes of the Deputy Minister-designate of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, in Mitchells Plain, the Labour Party secretary and MP for Silvertown, Mr Fred Peters, in Grassy Park, the Langa police station and the home of Cape Town Community Council chairman Mr Roland Njoli.

The incident occurred on Saturday morning when a police patrol encountered three men believed to be engaged in the attack on Mrs Shwabane's Nyanga East home.

To page 2

and damaged part of a wall. There were also sporadic incidents of stone-throwing and other unrest in Durban's black townships but there were no reports of serious injuries.

● In a separate incident yesterday, a number of youths were injured by birdshot when Alexandra Town Council police opened fire on a chanting crowd returning from a commemorative service at the Nobuhle Hall in the township.

Late yesterday it was not possible to establish how many people had been injured. Steven Radebe, 17, of Second Avenue, was treated at the Alexandra Clinic for birdshot wounds in the face, hand and body.

Last night some police vehicles patrolled the streets while others guarded the homes of several councillors.

Earlier, the meeting heard Mr Azhar Cachalia, the UDP national treasurer, say an increasing number of people were paying the "supreme sacrifice" in the fight against an op-

pressive government. He also said that "the murder of our people in Botswana is not only the responsibility of the South African Government and its arm, the SADF, but also of Rajbansi and Hendrikse".

● A youth was shot dead and another was arrested when mobs stoned the home of the Mayor of Daveyton on the East Rand yesterday afternoon, police said last night.

A policeman and two Administration Board officials, who were guarding the house, had opened fire on the youths, a police spokesman said.

● Lebowa police yesterday dispersed a crowd of 2000 people in Seshego, Pietersburg, when they marched in the streets in protest against the banning of a commemoration service for the 1976 riots.

Three children were arrested and an executive member of the Seshego Action Committee, Mr Phokela Rasehaha, was arrested and later released. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa

APR 17/6/85

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APR 17/6/85



# Hendrickse foresees many more changes

ARGUS 18/6/85 11A

FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Argus Political Staff interviews the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, on the first full session of the new Parliament.

THE Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is pleased with the results of the first full session of the new Parliament.

He foresees many more changes from now on — away from racial discrimination and towards "a broader South Africanism."

He said in an interview that much had been achieved through hard bargaining and the reaching of compromises between people of different political viewpoints and different races.

New political perspectives had developed in all three Houses. Through contact, often at a personal level, a better understanding was developing between people who had previously not understood one another's thinking.

Mr Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council and a member of the Cabinet, said that for him one of the greatest successes of the ses-

sion had been the repeal of laws that were, in fact, fundamental to the philosophy of apartheid.

The repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act was one of the fruits of negotiation in which the Labour Party had played a role.

In the field of black affairs considerable changes had been brought about in the short period since President P W Botha delivered his opening address to Parliament. Legislative changes brought reforms in respect of resettlement, influx control, black participation in decision-making and other matters.

Other changes included a better deal for the people of Crossroads, the proposed development of infra-structures for the Peninsula's black townships of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga and the repeal of the Government's coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape.

The Labour Party had also played a role in negotiating these changes.

Mr Hendrickse said the success of the "politics of persuasion" had been particularly evident in the joint standing committees of the three Houses where much of the negotiation took place.

"It was not a question of dominance on one side from the National Party or of acceptance or subservience from people of the other two Houses," he said.

The experience in the standing committees was "a process of learning, even for the National Party itself."

By way of a political "cross-pollination" a better understanding of the thinking of people of different colours and backgrounds was achieved.

The inner working of the new Parliament had underlined the importance of contact as a means of achieving a better understanding.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse ... "much has been achieved through hard bargaining"

An entirely new atmosphere had been created, even in the precincts of Parliament. There had never been so many people of colour in Parliament Street and in and around the buildings of Parliament.

The old symbol that Parliament was "the white man's privilege" had gone.

Mr Hendrickse said it was to be hoped that very soon all the facilities of Parliament would be open to people of all races.

When people could drink tea and coffee together and could talk around the same table they got to know one another. That was where they developed a better understanding of one another's thinking.

On a personal level there had also been an acceptance by white staff at Parliament that they had come a long way from the previous "whites only" situation.

"They have accepted our presence and my position. There is no element of paternalism at any level. It has been my experience that input at the highest level of the Cabinet has always been input as a person rather than as a person of colour," Mr Hendrickse said.

"A broader South Africanism is coming to the fore rather than a narrow sectionalism."

Mr Hendrickse said much had been achieved during the session and he believed much more was possible from now on.

One matter that would have to be looked at was the question of joint participation in debates on important issues of national interest.

It did not seem to make sense to have separate debates on such issues in the three Houses.

Mr Hendrickse mentioned the example of this week's separate debates on the report of the Kannemeyer Commission of inquiry into the Uitenhage shootings.

This was not an "own affair" but was a matter of general interest that could have been discussed at a joint sitting. A greater contribution could have been made if MPs of all the Houses could have taken part in the same debate.

# Unity: Too early to celebrate

IT is still too early to say whether the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the United Democratic Front have at last achieved lasting unity.

But judging from the Regina Mundi service last Sunday — jointly chaired by leaders from both organisations — it appears as if there will be greater co-operation between them.

The UDF consists of organisations that believe in the Freedom Charter and are progressive democrats. The NFC consists of organisations that ascribe to the black consciousness philosophy or are opposed to progressive democrats but are not necessarily black consciousness affiliated. Azapo is the biggest affiliate to the NFL.

Calls for unity among the black organisations featured prominently in most speeches at the main service held to mark the 1976 Soweto unrest.

## Leaders

Leaders from Azapo and the UDF jointly-chaired the service that

*UJA* *1976/85* *Soweto*  
 Azapo, UDF show greater co-operation



THE Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu.

was noted for its orderliness.

For the first time the flags of the Azanian Student Movement and the Congress of the South African Students hung side by side on the left of a huge UDF banner.

But in Alalexandra township youths from the UDF-affiliated Alexandra Youth Congress allegedly went to the Methodist Church — where Azapo was holding a commemoration service — and ordered people to go to the Nobuhle Hall at the Mens' Hostel to attend a service organised by AYCO.

This went totally against the grain of the spirit of unity called for by the UDF and Azapo.

There was — as usual — clear sections of UDF



Mr TIEGO MOSENEKE of the Release Mandela Committee.

supporters on the one side and black consciousness adherents on the other. But the notable thing was that unlike in the past, leaders from both camps were greeted with tumultuous applause by both sections.

## Slogans

There was the occasional chanting of slogans while a speaker was on the floor but this surfaced only late in the service and can be ascribed to the fact that the crowd was getting impatient after listening to speeches and poetry for more than three hours.

When one group started chanting a freedom song, the other would rousingly join in, instead of starting its own song as was the



Mr KHEHLA MTHEMBU, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation.

practice in the past.

Outside and inside the church there was close co-operation between marshalls from both groups.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, set the tone when he called upon the crowd not to do things that will undercut the just, righteous, and noble cause that people laid down their lives for.

"Let us not discredit our cause by fighting among ourselves killing and burning our brothers. These things will only make our children ashamed when reading the history books written after liberation," Bishop Tutu said.

## Bondage

Azapo's Mr Khehla Mthembu took the cue and called upon people



PART of the 5 000 people who crammed into the Regina Mundi Church.

to "march forward as a united force in breaking the chains of bondage."

"We are gathered here as one and we should go out of this service united as a black nation that will usher in a new democratic society," Mr Mthembu said.

A Federation of South African Unions speaker said as the trade Unions are coming together under one federation, "community organisations should do the same."

Mr Sipho Radebe, national organiser of Cusa, said unity does not mean being the same or speaking the same language. "Unity does not preclude the existence of different organisations in the country"

A Cosas speaker called on the people to unite and help the students fight an education system "that was thrust upon us without consultation."

The convenor of the National forum, Mr Saths Cooper, told the cheering crowd that Nelson Mandela "and his comrades on Robben Island are not terrorists as the Government would like us believe."

"Sidney Mafumadi is not my enemy. Mrs Albertina Sisulu is not my enemy. My enemy is the system of racism and capitalism," he said amidst wild cheering from the crowd.

The Release Mandela Committee, Mr Tiego Moseneke, also called on people to unite in ac-

tion.

All the speakers from different organisations clearly outlined the need for unity in action and the optimism that the unity cemented at the Regina Mundi church will be a lasting one is not far-fetched.

It is not time to scratch the surface to see what lies behind the apparent show of unity, but with signs showing that the leaders can control their followers, it is up to the general membership and the public to see that this unity works.

As Father Lebamang Sebidi, one of the priests involved in the peace talks said earlier, if some newspapers and other media can refrain from sensationalism then unity is possible

WHILE political activity in Pretoria's townships seems to be at an all-time low, petrol bombings and the attacks of community leaders seem to be on the increase.

And victims in this spate of attacks include mostly town councillors and town council candidates.

There has not been much activity here by organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), which undoubtedly boasts a large number of membership in the townships. The reason for inactivity has nothing to do with reports of a feud between the two organisations.

### Laxity

A number of black leaders, who insisted on anonymity, said the reason for laxity was because the people had lost hope. Others blamed "the system" for harassing activists. Many said there was also a feeling of "distrust" between the organisations and the community.

Harassment on activists include the attack on Mr Louis Khumalo, chairman of the Mamelodi Parents Association whose car was destroyed by a bomb in his yard in May this year. Nobody was injured.

The attack failed to intimidate Mr Khumalo,

# ... in Pretoria, the spate of petrol-bombings goes on

who later said: "The South African Government has now removed the chains of oppression from a black man's legs and hands. He has placed them in his mind".

### Critic

Another critic of South Africa's discriminatory laws, Dr Abraham Sokhaya Nkomo, who is also an executive member of the local residents' organisation (Asro), escaped serious injury after he and his family were attacked on two occasions this year. The first attack occurred on May 15 when his car and part of his house were partly damaged by a mysterious fire. His consulting rooms were completely gutted by fire in the second attack on May 27. No arrests have been made so far.

Dr Nkomo, whose father, Dr William Frederick Nkomo was also strongly opposed to apartheid in this country, blamed "the system" for the attack and said:

### System

"This is an attempt by the system to intimidate those who join hands in the struggle. It is a mani-



MONK NKOMO of The SOWETAN's Pretoria office, looks at the political scenario in Pretoria and notes that political violence is on the increase.

festation of the confrontation between those who stand for what is right and those who will maintain the status quo with all the might at their command". He warned however that "history teaches us that tyrannies do not last forever. In the end justice prevails."

Mr Kgaugelo Lekgoro, a prominent member of the local youth organisation (Sayo) who also works for *The Eye* newspaper, blamed "the system and its supporters" after his car was damaged by a mysterious fire in his yard on April 2 this year.

He was also not perturbed by the attack. "These acts shall not intimidate us from participating in the just cause of freedom for blacks in South Africa," he said.

A signal of the Government's intention to clamp down on local, political and youth organisations was the banning by a magistrate of the launching of the Soshanguve Youth Organisation (Sayo) on May 26. No reasons were given, and the leaders were angry. "This kind of action by the State is not going to deter nor discourage us from moving towards a non-racial non-exploitative and trusting South Africa. We say with one voice that this kind of behaviour by the State only serves to stimulate an unavoidable confrontation," Sayo warned.

In the midst of these mysterious attacks and bannings it was the local branch of Azapo that took the initiative by collecting and helping to

prepare affidavits for the hundreds of commuters who were injured when trains collided near Coldefos in Pretoria West early this year. The South African Transport Services have since confirmed receipt of claims amounting to more than a million rands.

The Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo), which usually arranges commemoration services in the area, was also relatively quiet this year so far. They too went through some harassment this year. One of their members, Bheko Mabaso, was shot in the neck when people rushed out of a Swiss Mission Church service. He was rushed to hospital and later discharged. Sayo's deputy president, Mr Akila Mapheto, was arrested and charged with assaulting the police, resisting arrest and public violence. The first two counts were later dropped by the magistrate and he now faces only one charge. He will appear in court on August 5.

Two organisations, Asro and the Soshanguve Residents' Association (Sorea), fought a bitter battle to help the

community on certain issues, but mostly challenged the Government's decision to remove the Putco bus service in the township in April last year.

### Threat

A threat was also made to take the Minister of Transport to court on the matter. The fight to have the Government rescind its decision is still on.

An organisation which was prepared to reject the incorporation of the area into Bophuthatswana won a major battle when the Government announced in Parliament this year that this will not happen.

Asro, on the other hand, tried their utmost to stop the local town council from increasing tariffs. The residents, after several public meetings, had vowed not to pay the R8 increases, many somersaulted and went to pay following disclosures by the local council that prominent members of Asro were among the first to pay the increased rent.

What followed thereafter was a spate of petrol-bomb attacks, espe-

cially in Atteridgeville and Mamelodi. The first victim was an Atteridgeville number one resident, Mr Z Z Mashao's house. He later resigned citing pressure from the family as the reason.

The most brutal attack was the petrol-bombing of police sergeant Philemon Molele's house in Atteridgeville on February 17. Three of his sons were injured, one fatally. Mr Frans Molele, a high school teacher, died a few days after admission at the hospital.

Thereafter petrol-bombings increased and the victims included Rev Enoch Sibanyoni, mayor of Atteridgeville; Mr Zikhali Ndlazi, deputy mayor of Mamelodi (his car and his house were extensively damaged); Councillor T Matthew Mahlangu; Councillor Victor Zobane; Mr Solly Ramala, town secretary; Councillor Podu Mambolo; Mr Jerry Phiri and Mr Edwin Ntlaba, both candidates in last year's elections.

A number of youths have since been arrested. And ironically one of those arrested is the son of a councillor.

Sowetan 18/8/85

11A

# 2 youths die in attack on mayor

CAPC Times 18/6/85 11A



**From SOPHIE TEMA JOHANNESBURG.** — Two youths were killed and an East Rand Development Board policeman was injured during a petrol-bomb attack on the house of Daveyton's mayor, Mr Tom Boya, on Sunday.

Daveyton, is about 10km from Benoni in the East Rand.

The two were shot and killed when a guard at Mr Boya's home fired shots at a crowd of people who threw petrol bombs and stones at the house.

A police spokesman in

Pretoria could confirm only one death, but the second was confirmed by Mr Boya's office yesterday.

Police have arrested a youth in connection with the incident.

A nine year-old white boy, Daniel Barnard, was yesterday admitted to a Durban hospital after being struck on the head by a stone.

Daniel was in the back of his parents' truck when he was hit by the stone thrown by a group of blacks. He was taken to hospital by a passing motorist.

Daniel is believed to have a fractured skull with brain bruising.

At the University of the North (Turfloop) near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal, a pupil was killed and three others were wounded during unrest.

S Mafukoane, a pupil of Hwiti High School, was allegedly shot on the university's campus and was certified dead on arrival at Groothoek Hospital.

Two cafeterias on the campus were also badly damaged by fire and private vehicles were stoned by students.

Demonstrating students and pupils also stoned the buildings of the Department of Education and Training at Mankweng township.

In Welkom's Thabong township, police fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse mobs throwing stones at police and cars.

## Bullet wounds

A 40-year-old woman and a 15-year-old girl were admitted to hospital for bullets wounds. Their conditions have been described as satisfactory.

In Galeshewe village, in the Northern Cape, a woman was slightly injured and arrested when police dispersed groups with rubber bullets.

A guard was attacked and stabbed at the township's beer hall by two black men. He fired birdshot in defence.

Two bystanders were injured in the incident.

In Mohlakeng township, near Randfontein on the West Rand, police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and pistols in several incidents to disperse stone-throwing youths.

A slightly injured man was detained for public violence.

# Grenade attacks:

## Two men freed

*Cape Times 18/6/85* (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (32) (33) (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (56) (57) (58) (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (64) (65) (66) (67) (68) (69) (70) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100)

**Crime Reporter**  
TWO men held in connection with hand-grenade attacks in the Peninsula in the past week have been released from police custody.

A third man is still being detained in terms of the Terrorism Act in connection with the blasts.

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, declined to name the men yesterday.

He said one of the men, detained on Sunday following an explosion in Nyanga, was released yesterday. The other, wounded in police follow-up operations after the blast, was re-

leased on Sunday. He declined to name either of the men or to say how one of them was wounded.

The detentions took place after the blasts last week at the Langa police station, the home of Mr Luwellyn Landers, a Deputy Minister-designate, the home of Mr Fred Peters, a Labour Party MP, and the homes of various local black leaders.

On Sunday police said that a wounded man had been found at a home in Nyanga after shots were fired following an explosion near the home of Cape Town Community Council vice-chairman, Mrs Elfie Shwabane.

BW

# Petrol bomb hurled into packed bus

ARGUS 18/6/85 Argus Correspondent (119)

PRETORIA. — Passengers smashed windows to escape when a petrol bomb was hurled into a crowded bus in Kwazakele, near Port Elizabeth.

was injured by a rubber bullet after police had fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse a stonethrowing mob," police said. He was treated and detained for public violence.

No one was hurt, according to police.

"Another incident in which the lives of innocent black people were endangered by arsonists occurred in Atteridgeville near Pretoria when a petrol bomb was hurled into the lounge of a hotel."

But in another incident a 20-year-old man was burnt to death when arsonists petrol-bombed his home in Kwazakele.

In Duduza and Daveytown on the East Rand arsonists also "attacked and set fire to a number of private residences," according to the police.

Several homes of members of the United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organisation were petrol-bombed and, in one incident in New Brighton, four petrol bombs were hurled at the home of a UDF member and four people were burnt.

Sapa reports that a 20-year-old high school pupil from Mamelodi was shot dead and at least seven Mamelodi and Atteridgeville houses, including that of a newly elected town councillor, were damaged at the weekend.

"A further incident occurred in the black township of Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, where a black male

# 10 youths burnt in PE attack

11A

E. Post

E. Post

18/6/85

## Post Reporters

TEN youths were burnt — six seriously — when the New Brighton home of an executive member of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Ernest Malgas, was petrol-bombed during the early hours of this morning.

Six of the youths were admitted to the Livingstone Hospital. The other four were treated and discharged.

Today's attack on Mr Malgas' home was the third in recent weeks.

After the second attack he moved his wife and family.

Mr Malgas told the Evening Post today that he escaped possible death by jumping over a fence as a group of armed men was about to circle him in his backyard.

"The fire was put out by fire engines but not before damage amounting to more than R20 000 was caused," he said.

This is the latest incident in a renewed outbreak of violence in the Eastern and Southern Cape which has claimed the lives of at least seven people in 24 hours.

In the worst incident, three youths were shot dead by police in Oudtshoorn's Bongolethu Township late yesterday.

A police spokesman said a crowd had persistently tried to set fire to the house of a black policeman.

Petrol bombs were thrown at the house and petrol poured over the back door of the house and set alight, he said. The guard had opened fire on the crowd with a shotgun.

Two people were fatally wounded and two others seriously injured. One of the injured died later in hospital. Petrol bombs were again flung at the house when the police came to investigate. One of the bombs ignited as it struck the body of a dead man.

In Kwazakele, a 20-year-old man died after his home was petrol-bombed last night.

In the same area a bomb was hurled into a crowded bus. Passengers were forced to smash windows to escape.


A Red Location supermarket belonging to Mr Siphon Beja, was completely destroyed by fire today. An attempt was also made to petrol-bomb the Zwide home of Mr Themba Duze, an executive member of the Motor Assemblers and Components Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa).

In the incidents involving Mr Malgas and Mr Duze, allegations have been made that members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were responsible.

The Rev Mzwandile Maqina, an Azapo executive member, however, denied Azapo's involvement and blamed a "third force" he alleged was now operating.

"But as long as supporters of the UDF continue their attacks on Azapo members, this conflict will not stop. They should stop attacking Azapo people and I have told their leadership this," he said.

# G'town business boycott ends

11A  by KIN BENTLEY E. Post

THE week-long boycott of white businesses in Grahamstown has ended.

And if their demands are met, the organisers of the Adelaide boycott of white businesses, now in its 10th week, could be called off on July 3, according to the secretary-general of the Adelaide Youth Congress, Mr Mandaliso Dyantji.

The chairman of the Grahamstown Civic Association (Graca), Mr Billy Ndwebisa, said today the boycott was planned for only a week. It had been called off from today.

He was encouraged by a meeting which was held with the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce on Fri-

18/6/85  
day at which the Grahamstown Burial Action Committee (Graca itself is barred from attending meetings) listed 33 problem areas which they wanted the chamber to investigate.

The president of the chamber, Mr Stephen Birt, said today the chamber would investigate the problems, which include the SA Police and SA Defence Force presence in the townships, as well as long-term amenity problems.

In Adelaide, the public relations officer for the Adelaide Businessmen's Association, Mr Keith Wootton, said letters, expected to address some of the black grievances, would be going out to "various people" today.



# Man dies after shack shooting

CAPT Timis 19/6/85 11A

## Staff Reporter

A 22-YEAR-OLD Nyanga man who was shot in an incident following a hand-grenade attack on a community council vice-chairman early on Sunday morning, died in Tygerberg Hospital yesterday.

Mr Dumisani Ntlangeni, of E11 27, Nyanga, was asleep in a shack at the back of his parents' house when he was shot in the arm, leg and chest.

The shooting followed a hand-grenade attack on the home of the Cape Town Community Council vice-chairman, Mrs Elfie Schwabane, of Nyanga.

The brother of the dead man, Mr Mpumelelo Ntlangeni, who was

also sleeping in the shack, told the United Democratic Front's Western Cape branch yesterday afternoon that bullets had come through the shack and wounded his brother about 3am on Sunday.

He said policemen had entered the shack and had taken his brother to Tygerberg Hospital where he was kept under police guard.

A spokesman for the hospital confirmed last night that Mr Ntlangeni died at 10am yesterday. The spokesman said the patient was a "police case" and would give no details of the cause of his death.

The UDF were also told that at the time of

the incident the parents of Mr Ntlangeni had woken their neighbours and asked for assistance. The neighbours' 19-year-old son, Mr Rooi Ntloni, went to the shack to see what was going on.

Mr Ntloni said policemen at the shack beat him up. He ran back to his home but they followed him and beat him up again. They also beat up his brother Vuyani and his girlfriend. The police took all three of them to the police station.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, confirmed last night that a 22-year-old man had been shot where he was lying in a house near where the hand-grenade attack took place.

He said the man was seriously wounded and was taken to Tygerberg Hospital.

## Investigation

Lieutenant Laubscher could not say whether police were responsible for the shooting.

Mr Ntlangeni was not arrested and "later on we found he had nothing to do with the (hand-grenade) incident".

Lieutenant Laubscher declined to comment on allegations that neighbours had been beaten up by police and taken to the police station.

"We are investigating and that includes everything," he said.

ARGUS 19/6/65

# Botswana demands reparation payments

Argus Foreign Service

GABORONE. — Botswana has demanded that South Africa pay reparations for the deaths, injuries and property damage in the raid on Gaborone.

A protest note sent by the Botswanan Foreign Minister, Miss Gaositwe Chaepe, to the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, described the attack as a "terror raid" which "left behind a trail of death, injury and destruction".

The note says: "We demand the payment of reparations in respect of the deceased and injured persons, the properties destroyed and all the other damages resulting from this act of aggression."

Botswana did not specify any amount.

## IDENTITIES

In the note Botswana also lodged a strong protest against what it said was the abduction by South Africa of 32 Batswana from the Tuli block area of Botswana on Saturday morning. The Batswana were said to have been kidnapped while fishing on the Botswana side of the Limpopo river and "intensely interrogated" before being released on Saturday night.

The Botswana Government has also officially disclosed the identities of the dead and wounded in the Gaborone raid.

The list confirms the identities in the unofficial account of the 12 dead that has already been published and that the wounded were three South African refugees, two Botswana citizens and one Dutch citizen.

Some of those wounded will be permanently crippled, according to the protest note.

The note said: "This latest act of aggression calls into question the sincerity and good faith of the South African authorities."

## Situation report

# Youth dies, people burnt during PE unrest

*Arrests  
19/6/85  
110*

PRETORIA. A number of people were arrested in the Eastern Cape and on the Rand in unrest in black townships during the night, according to police reports.

"Isolated incidents of arson, petrol-bombing and stone-throwing" occurred overnight in New Brighton, De Aar, Zwide and Adelaide in the Eastern Cape, Daveyton, Kagiso, Soweto and Duduza on the Rand and Kwamashu in Natal", according to a statement issued by the police public relations division in Pretoria.

Earlier yesterday in Port Elizabeth's black areas a 19-year-old youth died after inhaling chemical fumes and 21 people were burnt — 13 seriously — when the homes of two United Democratic Front affiliate members were petrol-bombed.

### JUMPED FENCE

Ten people were injured when the home of Mr Ernest Malgas, organising secretary of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), was attacked.

The fire was extinguished but damage was estimated at R20 000. This was the third attack on his home. Mr Malgas jumped over a backyard fence to escape.

Another home petrol-bombed early yesterday belonged to Mr Thando Kwatsha, a member of Pebco.

A supermarket operated by Mr Siphon Bheja was also destroyed by fire yesterday and an unsuccessful attempt to firebomb the home of an executive of the Motor Assemblers and Component Workers' Union, Mr Temba Duze, was made about 3.20am. — Sapa.

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CITY/NATIONAL ~~11A~~ 11A

# Grahamstown boycott of white business ends

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A week-long boycott by blacks of white businesses in Grahamstown has ended, with organised business agreeing to take up black community grievances.

A similar boycott that has continued in the Eastern Cape town of Adelaide for 10 weeks may be called off early next month if community demands are met, according to organisers.

The presence of police and soldiers in the townships was listed by community leaders in both towns as a point of friction.

The chairman of the Grahamstown Civic Association

(Graca), Mr Billy Ndwebisa, said yesterday the boycott had been planned for only a week and would be called off from today.

He said he had been encouraged by a meeting with the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce last Friday at which the Grahamstown Burial Action Committee (Graca has been barred from attending meetings) listed 33 problems they wanted the chamber to look at.

The president of the chamber, Mr Stephen Birt, said the chamber would investigate the problems. More discussions would be held soon to consider how best to take up the community's problems with authorities.

Mr Ndwebisa said the only way to achieve peace was through negotiation.

He saw the meeting with the chamber — the first between the two bodies — as a "small step in the right direction". Eventually, he said, he hoped the Government would be prepared to negotiate directly with blacks on their grievances.

He suggested the Government, instead of sending police and the army into the townships, set up a commission to discuss grievances.

If their demands were met, the Adelaide boycott could be called off on July 3, said the secretary-general of the Adelaide Youth Congress, Mr Mandaliso Dyantji.

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**RESIDENCE IN PAROW**  
**TO BE AUCTIONED**  
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**UDF supports charter's spirit**

*CAPE TIMES 21/6/85 114*

By **EBRAHIM MOOSA**  
THE Freedom Charter was the most representative political document in South Africa's history and formed the basis for the struggle against apartheid, said a panel of the United Democratic Front's Western Cape executive council.

"elected delegates".  
According to Mr Cronin, the Freedom Charter involved the participation of 3,5 million people of all race groups, making it thereby the "most democratic and representative people's document".

**'Contentious'**

In a panel interview yesterday with Mr Christmas Tinto, UDF vice-president, Mr Jeremy Cronin, education and training officer, and Mr Trevor Manuel, a secretary, the front declared its support for the "democratic spirit" of the charter, although it had not officially adopted it.

The panel agreed that the charter was considered to be contentious by some groups, but that it should be seen as the "broad vision of a future South Africa".

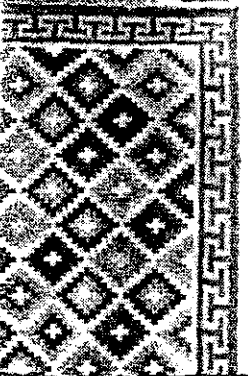
Criticism of the charter by the far left who said it espoused a four-nation ethnic concept, was dismissed as an "intellectual distortion of the truth". The recognition of "national Groups" in the charter had to be viewed as "unifying factor" instead of "divisive".

Yesterday was the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter since its adoption at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on June 25, 1955 by several organizations under the leadership of the African National Congress.

According to the panel, the Freedom Charter formed the main source of inspiration for many popular movements today and could form the basis for a national convention.

Mr Tinto, one of the delegates who attended the Congress of the People in Kilptown, explained that the charter was formulated by 3 000

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CAT Times 19/6/88

# Pupil killed in attack on policeman

PRETORIA. — Another four people have died in incidents of unrest and several people have been injured, according to reports received yesterday.

In Mamelodi near Pretoria, a high school pupil died after being shot and at least seven houses in the area and Atterdigeville, including that of the newly-elected town councillor, were damaged by stoning.

Benny Nkuna, a matric pupil at Tseko-Thabo High School, was shot after youths had allegedly attacked the house of a Mamelodi policeman.

He later died in Kala-fong Hospital.

A police spokesman here yesterday confirmed the shooting.

## Boy, 12, dies

A 12-year-old boy died when a bus careered out of control and crashed through a hedge after being stoned in KwaMashu, Durban, on Monday evening.

Police said a Durban Corporation bus was travelling along Mbondwe Road when a mob started stoning it. The driver lost control and the bus ploughed through a hedge.

The bus was later towed away and yesterday morning at first light the body of the unidentified boy was found in the hedge.

A number of incidents occurred yesterday in New Brighton near Port Elizabeth, where houses were set on fire with petrol bombs. In one incident a black man was found burnt to death,

police reported.

A 20-year-old man was burnt to death when arsonists petrol-bombed his home in KwaZakele, according to a police report.

Several homes of United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organization members were petrol-bombed and in one incident in New Brighton, four petrol bombs were hurled at the home of a UDF member and four people received burn wounds.

In Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, a black man was injured by a rubber bullet after police fired tear smoke and rubber bullets to disperse a stone-throwing mob, the police said.

He was treated and detained for public violence.

At KwaZakele near Port Elizabeth, the lives of passengers on a bus were endangered when unidentified people hurled a petrol bomb into a crowded bus.

"The petrol bomb ignited and the passengers were forced to smash the windows to escape," the police reported.

"Another incident in which the lives of innocent black people were endangered by arsonists, occurred in Atterdigeville near Pretoria when a petrol bomb was hurled into the lounge of a hotel," the police report said.

In Duduza and Daveyton on the East Rand, arsonists also "attacked and set fire to a number of private residences", according to the report.

"Extensive damage was caused. In addition, buses and private vehicles were destroyed by arsonists.

## Shots fired

"On occasions, the police were forced to use tear smoke to disperse mobs. In two incidents, home-owners fired shots, but no injuries were reported.

There were also incidents of unrest in Steynsrus in the Free State, and Randfontein.

Meanwhile, Putco buses were yesterday still running only to the borders of certain townships after unrest-related violence on Monday resulted in 84 of the utility's vehicles being damaged. — Sapa

Dispatch (11A) 28 19/6/85

# Anglicans may link with UDF, National Forum

**Dispatch Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — A motion which could bring the Church of the Province of South Africa closer to groups such as the United Democratic Front and the National Forum will be proposed at the Church's Triennial synod in Maritzburg next month.

Proposed by the Reverend Syd Lockett of Cape Town, the motion notes with regard to the UDF and National Forum the

- Harassment and detention of office-bearers by the SAP;
- Negative propaganda by the SABC and SATV, and
- Threats and insinuations by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and states that such action which inhibits the activities of opposition groups "only serves to exacer-

bate further the present civil conflict in South Africa."

Mr Lockett calls for a commission to "analyse the structural forces giving rise to the present civil conflict," gather information about the UDF and National Forum and recommend action at all levels which will reduce the present level of conflict.

Another motion by Mr Lockett proposes that full moral support should be given to any Christian who, having been involved in non-violent acts of civil disobedience "might be led by God to perform similar acts in future."

It seeks to commend those Christians who have taken "a vigorous and costly stand against the exploitative and oppressive National Security system through acts of non-violent civil disobedience."

By ALI MPHAKI

# Three hitmen exposed

THE MEN behind the alleged "hit squad" to eliminate Bishop Desmond Tutu and 14 other prominent black leaders have been unmasked — they are two white men and a black man.

The two whites were identified as Mr Westhuizen and Mr Pieterse. The black man has been identified as a prominent figure. His identity cannot be disclosed until he is arrested and charged.

The hit list included Mr George Wauchope, the Rev Joe Seoka, the Rev Lebamang Sebidi, Mr Percy Qoboza, the Rev David Nkwe, Ms

Amanda Kwadi, Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, Mr Saths Cooper, Mr Khehla Mthembu, the Rev Frank Chikane, Mr Piroshaw Camay and Mr David Niddrie.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier J C Coetzee, said the police were investigating as there were people from Soweto on the alleged "hit list". The matter was under the Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police,

*Handwritten: H/A IIA*

*Handwritten: Sowetan 20/6/85*



Mr GEORGE Wauchope ... chaired the meeting. who could only be reached this morning,

he said.

At a Press conference held at the St Hilda's Anglican Church in Senaoane, Soweto, yesterday, Mr George Wauchope, who chaired the meeting, said following their investigations the "hit squad" was named "Operation Demolition".

"The squad members — about 30 — do not know each other, except by code names such as "BA", Mugabe, Machele, Savimbi, etc."

He said this information was obtained from a member of the organisation who has now confessed.

Everyone in the group was given an assignment to check and report on the movements of the individuals on the hit list, he said.

He said although the aim of the operation was not known, the would-

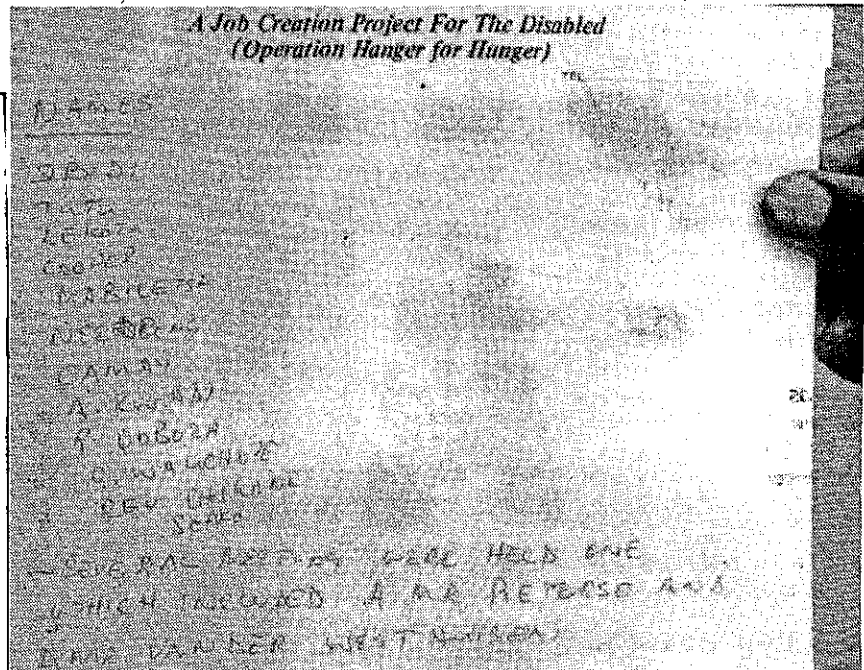
be abductors were trained by an ex-cop in the basement of a building in Johannesburg. The training involved physical training and methods of abduction. Motivation videos of abductions were also shown to the "hit men".

After the people on the "hit list" were abducted, they would be taken to a farm in Parys, and a Press release

would be made to the State with the following demands:

- That the US Congress stop the disinvestment campaign.
- The establishment of a bi-national state.

Mr Wauchope said apparently the white men had their own motives while the black man had his, hence the diversity of names on the "hit list".



SOME of the names appearing on the hit list.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU



# Assocom says federation will work

THE ASSOCOM report on the inclusion of blacks in the South African political system has prompted a lot of interest from a wide range of people, according to the association's chief executive, Mr Raymond Parsons.

The report, released last week and proposing the complete removal of racial discrimination in the country, is the association's response to government appeals for private-sector input into the peaceful change debate.

It was written by two academics from the Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis at the University of Pretoria, Professors Jan Lombard and J A du Pisanie.

It is a capitalist document based on the common-law principles of a private-enterprise economy and proposes a federal system of government for South Africa.

In their deliberations the authors took note of a fundamental law in public affairs of this nature that the effectiveness and stability of any system rests upon the loyalty and obedience of the people to clear principles of behaviour and not on the power of the State to force obedience.

## Fine art

By its own admission the report does not deal with the 'fine political art of moving fast enough to prevent a revolution towards the Left but not so fast as to spark off a successful revolt of the Right'.

As a first step toward a new political order free of racism it suggests an Agenda for Negotiation. Item one on this agenda should be discussion of a Declaration of Recognition of acceptable fundamental elements of the existing order.

For the authors these are personal freedom, freedom of property and contract, and personal culpability.

Two other issues should also be cleared at this stage, they say. These are the rules about the standard of value of the national currency and the principles of taxation.

According to their plan

norms of society already adopted; and

● To extend the philosophy of these norms to all levels of government.

Entrenching the basic common-law norms in the constitutional character of the country could be done by a Bill of Rights, by entrenching them in important economic and social legislation and by expanding judicial control over certain pieces of legislation, they say.

But even then a parliamentary majority hostile to such principles could scrap them — hence their federalist proposals.

And still again, they note, that to protect the principles against categorical rejection by a hostile majority, even in the context of federal political and administrative structures a sophisticated programme of legal reform, educational enlightenment and economic assistance would be needed.

## Apartheid

In considering an economic system for South Africa the authors first point out that the black experience of the current 'market-orientated' system is not a capitalist one and the restrictions placed on them do not arise from the principles of the market economy but from apartheid.

In the end they warn against a centrally planned socialist economy because it would not work.

Noting South Africa's heterogeneity and the failure of socialism in many African communities, they say the capitalist system is superior to socialism because the competitive processes of the market are better able than the bureaucratic processes of central planning to minimise the cost of peoples' failings

Olaf Heinsohn

Political Reporter

that, the limits to one man's freedom involve recognition of that of another.

To support their choice of a federal system of government they note the weakness of a unitary system in a heterogeneous society — any group that captures the central and only source of authority can legitimately dominate the whole society.

Federalism, however, is polycentric in structure with several concurrent and competing sources of power, each limited to particular fields of competence, determined by a constitution or social contract and enforceable by the courts.

## Implication

The whole implication of this is that no single group would be able to dominate the whole society, unless it captures each and every unit of government in the whole country, they say.

Federalism is a logical alternative when different communities have common interests and interests which they regard as their own, the authors say.

Each authority in a federal system is sovereign in respect of its functions and is not controlled from above, but from below — by the ballot box and through court action.

They disagree with the notion that a federation would not work in South Africa. The powerful political forces opposed to totalitarianism (whether in the form of a simple-majority government in a unitary state or a dictatorship) in the country make the chances of success of a federation greater in South Africa than anywhere else on the continent, they say.

To deal with matters particular to a group in

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For the authors these are personal freedom, freedom of property and contract, and personal capability.

Two other issues should also be cleared at this stage, they say. These are the rules about the standard of value of the national currency and the principles of taxation.

According to their plan, once consensus on these five basic elements has been reached the negotiators would move on to the procedures needed.

● To remove racial discrimination from the statute book.

● To ensure future government's cannot reintroduce rules offensive to the fundamental

norms of society already adopted; and

● To extend the philosophy of these norms to all levels of government.

Entrenching the basic common-law norms in the constitutional character of the country could be done by a Bill of Rights, by entrenching them in important economic and social legislation and by expanding judicial control over certain pieces of legislation, they say.

But even then a parliamentary majority hostile to such principles could scrap them — hence their federalist proposals.

And still again they note that to protect the principles against categorical rejection by a hostile majority, even in the context of federal political and administrative structures a sophisticated programme of legal reform, educational enlightenment and economic assistance would be needed.

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Noting South Africa's heterogeneity and the failure of socialism in many African communities, they say the capitalist system is superior to socialism because the competitive processes of the market are better able than the bureaucratic processes of central planning to minimise the cost of peoples' failings while maximising the value of their excellence and not because it serves superior economic laws of productivity, stability, growth and distribution which in fact applied equally to both systems.

And market-orientated constitutions leave people basically free to pursue their own objectives subject only to the maxim

## Olaf Heinsohn

Political Reporter

that the limits to one man's freedom involve recognition of that of another.

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To deal with matters particular to a group in several regions, they suggest either inter-regional ethnic authorities to handle them or separate authorities in separate regions.

To conclude, Professors Lombard and Du Pisanie emphasise throughout their report that the stability of the new order rests upon a balance of powers in the system.

A YOUNG Du-duza, Nigel activist was abducted from his home, taken to a mine dump where he was tortured, and dumped unconscious at his home after the attack.

The youth, Alexandra Pailane, is believed to be the first victim of a gang of vigilantes operating on the East Rand. It has been in operation for three weeks.

Pailane was attacked on June 11 and dumped at his home later on the same day. He was rushed to hospital and died on Monday.

When abducted he was with another activist, who managed to escape.

According to our information the vigilantes are armed with a list of activists from Cosas, Duduza Youth Congress and the Duduza Civic Association. The names are

# VIGILANTE ATTACK

11A ~~20/6/85~~ 20/6/85 Sowetan

By  
MZIKAYISE  
EDOM

Mr Kebane Moloi, former mayor and now a member of the civic association; Mr Alender Montoedi; Mr Nanton Matsega; another man named as Popo; and Mr Sakkie Kekane.

### Victims

Asked how the list was compiled, our informant said one of the vigilantes had detected

and given the information to the members of the affected organisations

The alleged victims were to have been killed by June 16. This is similar to the methods that were to be used by another hit squad exposed last week. See story on Page 2.

The vigilantes were formed to avenge the

burning of the homes of businessmen, council members, policemen and shops in the township during the unrest.

It is not known who backs these vigilantes, but after the torture and killing of Pailane they were allegedly paid R30 each. They were promised R700 if on June 16 they killed the five on the hit list.

## HALF PRICE BLANKET SALE

# Buthelezi slates Botha speech

CAPL Trint 20/6/85 11A

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says yesterday's speech in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha, rules out the concept of a unitary state and makes it impossible for him to negotiate with the President at present.

Chief Buthelezi said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that Mr Botha's comments had ruled out the prospect of one constitution and one parliamentary system.

This sort of statement pulled the rug from under his feet, the Chief Minister declared.

He expressed his

grave concern about the future.

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that the State President had intimated that, in future, he would rely on the support of the South African Police, the Defence Force, the security police and intelligence services.

He expressed his disappointment at the language used by Mr Botha in relation to the American Government when he spoke of "meddling".

## Numerical strength

President Ronald Reagan had been "lambasted" not only in the United States but also in other parts of Africa for "collaborating with the apartheid system", Chief Buthelezi pointed out.

On the other hand, he said, the Reagan Administration was the first one which had tried to be helpful in formulating a policy on South Africa.

Earlier, at the Amati-gulu Youth Camp, Chief Buthelezi said black South Africa's real

power did not lie in "guns and bombs", but in its numerical strength.

"Blacks are all-powerful as workers and consumers and this fact demands the use of politics and not bombs to achieve victory. The real power of black South Africa is only employable in non-violent tactics and strategies, and this is why Inkatha is committed to non-violence," the chief said.

Condemning "black-on-black violence" in townships around the country, Chief Buthelezi said black anger at apartheid had to be conserved and "employed with all the wisdom we can muster".

He condemned last week's SADF raid on alleged African National Congress targets in Botswana but said he was not blind to the fact that South Africa's Defence Force was capable and "very willing" to make cross-border raids.

## No armed struggle

"The totality of international opinion will not deter them, and there is no army in the whole of Southern Africa capable of deterring them," he said.

Yet thousands of young men and women "sit in training camps in Africa who can never be employed in the armed struggle because there is no armed struggle.

"Now that this is becoming clear to everybody, there are those who are using what arms they have against their fellow blacks simply because they cannot face the might of the South African army and they are looking for what appears to be easy options.

"A wise general does not send his battalions into suicidal action, and this is just what those who champion the armed struggle are doing." — Own Correspondent and Sapa

# Service for <sup>12</sup> Botswana victims

A MEMORIAL service for the 12 people killed when the SADF raided Botswana a week ago will be held at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church, Soweto, on Sunday.

The service has been organised by Johannesburg Anglican Bishop the Right Rev Desmond Tutu. It starts at 2 pm and all Christians are invited.

Meanwhile the official list of victims of the South African raid on Gaborone, released on Tuesday night, has shed little light on the question of whether any were ANC activists.

The conflict between the official South African and Botswana versions of the raid remains unresolved.

South African authorities say the raid was directed at houses being used by the ANC as logistics, planning and training centres for "terrorist" attacks into the Republic.

The Botswana government has portrayed all the victims as innocent civilians.

In the formal protest to the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, Botswana's Foreign Minister, Dr G K Chiepe, said: "It is discernible from the nationalities and the ages of the victims that their status is contrary to and inconsistent with your allegations that they were 'ANC terrorists'."

The sketchy information so far available about the victims, including the details supplied in the official Botswana government list, indicates that several are unlikely to have been involved in ANC activities.

Doubt remains about others, however.

Those who seem unlikely to have been involved include two Botswana nationals, Miss Gladys Kesupile and Miss Eugenia Kobole, who were employed as domestic servants by an Indian who is said to have moved into one of the targeted houses several months ago, and who was out of town when the raiders struck.

The two women were blown to bits when a powerful bomb wrecked the servants quarters of the house. The main house was not attacked.

Another victim widely considered in Gaborone not to have been involved in ANC activity was Mr Ahmed Mohamed Geer, a Somali of Dutch citizenship who worked as a computer specialist for a local firm. He was shot dead in his bed while his pregnant Dutch wife, Roelfin, was wounded in both legs.

Among the other South Africans killed was Mr Cecil George Phahle, aged 45, who went to Botswana as a refugee in 1976 with his wife, Lindie, and was running a bus service between Gaborone and Lobatse at the time of the raid.

Shot dead with him were his wife and Mr Joseph Malaza, aged 28, identified by the Botswana authorities as a student from South Africa who had arrived three days before the raid to visit the Phahles.

In another part of town the raiders killed Mr Dick Nkukwana Mtsweni, a 71-year-old South African who came to Botswana as a refugee in 1982. A woman believed to be his wife, 60-year-old Mrs Elinah Mtsweni, suffered bullet wounds.

# Mass burial for Botswana victims

21/6/85

Sawetlan

(11A) ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

GABORONE — Most of the South Africans killed in the commando raid on Gaborone last Friday will be buried in a mass funeral in the Botswana capital tomorrow, it was announced here yesterday.

A memorial service for all 12 killed in the

raid was held yesterday in the Anglican Cathedral. It was attended by President Quett Masire and senior government officials.

All civil servants were given permission to leave their work to attend the service.

According to Radio

Botswana, the South Africans who will be buried in Gaborone tomorrow are Cecil Phahle and his wife, Lindi, Dick Mtsweni, Harry Mnye, Duke Machobane and Basi Zondi.

Another South African, Joseph Malaza, will

be buried in the Republic.

The father of the white South African killed in the raid, Michael Hamlyn, was due to arrive in Gaborone yesterday to make arrangements for his son's burial.

## Body

The six-year-old Mosotho boy, Peter Mafoka, will be buried in Lesotho. The body of the Somali national with

Dutch citizenship, Ahme Geer, is being flown to Somalia for burial.

Two Botswana citizens, Gladys Kesupile and Eugenia Kobole, will be buried tomorrow near their home town of Serowe, according to the radio.

No time has yet been given for the mass funeral which is expected to take place in the local cemetery.

# ANC accepts responsibility

LUSAKA — The African National Congress yesterday claimed responsibility for a grenade attack on three white policemen near Cape Town on Wednesday. 11A

An ANC spokesman said his organisation was not involved in

*Spokesman*  
other attacks in Durban and Johannesburg on the same day, but said it "would not go out of its way to condemn them."

The spokesman said the attacks, which took place as the biggest ANC conference since 1969 was underway at

*2/1/85*  
a secret venue somewhere in southern Africa, "fall into the context of making South Africa ungovernable."

The secrecy is apparently the result of the South African commando attack on Gaborone early last Friday. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 'Proof' from Botswana

A LARGE haul of documents seized in the South African raid on Gaborone "confirms the intelligence on which the attack was based," the SA police said in Pretoria yesterday.

The Press was shown the documents and a small quantity of weapons seized in the raid.

The intelligence brought back from Gaborone by the security forces confirms the intelligence on which the attack was based," security policeman Major Craig Williamson told members of the Press.

The raid has been widely condemned internationally, and the Botswana Government

has questioned whether the people killed in the attack were ANC activists.

Major Williamson said a number of documents taken indicated the ANC and the SA Communist Party had contact with various people, trade unions and other organisations inside South Africa. Included in the haul were receipts and telephone accounts.

He said the police were following up the information, and that he expected the police would take action in the near future. He would not elaborate.

2/16/85 Sowetan



# Azapo man gets death threats (11)

Soweto  
21/6/85  
By MOJALEEA  
MOSEKI

MR FRANS Pale, the East Rand regional chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation, is living in fear after receiving a letter threatening him with death.

He received the letter, which purported to be from "The UDF" last Tuesday and handed it over to the national office of Azapo.

On Friday afternoon an anonymous caller asked him if he had received the letter and warned him to take the message seriously.

The letter read: "You and your Azapo, you must leave Tembisa or we will kill you. From the UDF".

"I immediately knew it was the system and never bothered reporting to the police. Although worried by the threats I will not let myself be threatened into yielding or succumbing to intimidators," said Mr Pale.

He said the anonymous caller had a "heavy Afrikaans accent but spoke in English".

BASHING the West gave John Vorster a landslide victory at the polls in 1977. Will it do the same for P.W. Botha in 1985?

The United States and Britain have been reading some important messages into last week's lightning SADF raid on Gaborone.

And it is important that Western perceptions should not be obscured by President Botha's tirade against the West for its 'opportunistic policies' and 'international meddling' — an attack seen by the West as essentially for domestic consumption.

It was President Botha's extravagant accusation that the West was being manipulated by the Soviet Union into promoting Soviet aims in southern Africa that has by-elections written all over it.

### Platform

Telling the West where to get off is, perhaps, the obvious platform for worried Nationalists facing contests in five key seats in the September by-elections.

In the context of international priorities the clinical military attack on Gaborone last week has also been somewhat overshadowed by the Beirut hijack and hostage drama.

At a Press conference this week President Ronald Reagan even drew a parallel between South Africa's regional dilemma in dealing with the violence of the African National Congress and America's dilemma over how to respond to the TWA hijackers.

But the degree to which

# Confidence in S A has been deeply shaken

Western confidence in southern Africa détente has been shaken by the Botswana raid should not be underestimated.

My sources at the British Foreign Office tell me that the mild Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, reacted with a rare fit of anger when told about the raid on a Commonwealth capital and he personally delivered an acidic dressing-down to the South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, after summoning him back from a visit to Wales.

The Botswana raid also made a direct impact at No 10 Downing Street where the Prime Minister's aides were said to be deeply concerned about the development.

It was only the TWA hijack that pushed the raid off the agenda of EEC foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg this week. Now it is certain to come up at the EEC heads of government summit in Milan at the end of the month.

### Key questions

Following the abortive SADF commando mission in Cabinda the international defiance implicit in the high-profile ceremony to inaugurate a new internal administration in Namibia, and the raid on Gaborone Western diplomats are asking two key questions.

Is the regional peace initiative in southern Africa — the basis of constructive engagement — on the point of collapse?

Or is Pretoria trying to remind the West that it is the regional superpower and alone will determine the pace of internal change — regardless of Western diplomatic pressure, economic sanctions and disinvestment campaigns.

### S A's right

No Western government would deny that South Africa has a right to defend its legitimate

In May 1984 — just before his European venture — President Botha said that if South Africa chose the course of isolation it would mean many boycotts, lack of goodwill and so much resentment, that it will choke in its loneliness'. In his January speech to the opening of the tricameral Parliament this year he said: 'It is our responsibility to take cognisance of the impli-

cal for the grenade attack on two deputy ministers an important factor is being overlooked. There is no evidence yet, made public, to suggest that the attack was engineered or executed by the ANC. It is significant that ANC leadership in Lusaka has denied responsibility for the attack and by implication condemned it. If the attack was carried out by radicals who

John Battersby  
LONDON BUREAU

cations of the views of both friendly and hostile countries, and to take into account the effect of our decisions on South Africa's foreign relations. Indeed, our goal is to extend these relations: the interest of SA demands no less.

These remarks were interpreted by the West as a hopeful indication of movement beyond the confines of the laager.

Foreign Minister P.W. Botha put it forthrightly in an interview in the Financial Mail last week when asked how badly South Africa needed the goodwill and friendship of the United States:

'South Africa seeks friendship with all democratic countries. But not at all costs; not at the price of its own interests and survival.'

By striking at Botswana — one of the few beacons of peace, stability and democracy in black Africa, South Africa has confounded and angered the West.

The West accepts Botswana's bona fides that it is doing all within its power to prevent ANC guerrillas from crossing its borders into South Africa.

If it has not been entirely successful the West feels that, in spite of Mr Botha's efforts, diplomatic channels had not been exhausted.

If, as appears to be the case the raid on Gab-

would regard themselves as owing allegiance to the ANC that is a disturbing indication that the old-guard and relatively moderate African nationalist leadership is losing its grip on the ANC.

If that cohesion is broken and the Nelson Mandelas and Oliver Tambo lose their influence in the ANC it could be a disaster for the prospects of a peaceful settlement.

The post-1976 generation of ANC radicals pressing for tougher military action and more indiscriminate acts of violence will have had their case dramatically strengthened by the Botswana raid on the eve of the watershed ANC conference.

Once they gain control of the ANC the organisation will split and the adventurers and radicals will set South Africa on the road of Lebanon and Northern Ireland.

All indications at this stage are that the security and domestic benefits of the raid are heavily outweighed by the international damage to South Africa's economic and diplomatic interests.

President Botha's rantings are unlikely to change that perception in the West.

But they may enable him to retain a few parliamentary seats threatened by the Right wing in the September mini-

contests in five key seats in the September by-elections.

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Or is Pretoria trying to remind the West that it is the regional superpower and alone will determine the pace of internal change — regardless of Western diplomatic pressure, economic sanctions and disinvestment campaigns.

## S.A.'s right

No Western government would deny that South Africa has a right to defend its legitimate security interests but a reversion to destabilisation tactics presents a direct threat to Western interests in the region.

The West will have to decide what the limits of diplomatic and economic pressure are as instruments of change in South Africa and at what point they become counter-productive in terms of escalating cross-border violence in southern Africa.

Striving for regional stability is the whole basis of Western foreign policy in southern Africa.

In the case of the United States — battling with hostile public opinion to keep constructive engagement with South Africa alive — the one benefit the Reagan Administration could point to was the shift towards greater regional stability in the post-Nkomati and Lusaka accord era.

After the events of the past few weeks such claims have less and less credibility and the arguments for tougher economic sanctions are strengthened.

into account the effect of our decisions on South Africa's foreign relations. Indeed, our goal is to extend these relations: the interest of S.A. demands no less.

These remarks were interpreted by the West as a hopeful indication of movement beyond the confines of the laager.

Foreign Minister P. Botha put it forthrightly in an interview in the Financial Mail last week when asked how badly South Africa needed the goodwill and friendship of the United States.

South Africa seeks friendship with all democratic countries. But not at all costs; not at the price of its own interests and survival.

By striking at Botswana — one of the few beacons of peace, stability and democracy in black Africa — South Africa has founded and angered the West.

The West accepts Botswana's bona fides that it is doing all within its power to prevent ANC guerillas from crossing its borders into South Africa.

If it has not been entirely successful the West feels that, in spite of Mr Botha's efforts, diplomatic channels had not been exhausted.

If, as appears to be the case, the raid on Gaborone was an act of reprimand

that the old-guard and relatively moderate African nationalist leadership is losing its grip on the ANC.

If that cohesion is broken and the Nelson Mandelas and Oliver Tambo lose their influence in the ANC it could be a disaster for the prospects of a peaceful settlement.

The post-1976 generation of ANC radicals pressing for tougher military action and more indiscriminate acts of violence will have had their case dramatically strengthened by the Botswana raid on the eve of the watershed ANC conference.

Once they gain control of the ANC the organisation will split and the adventurers and radicals will set South Africa on the road of Lebanon and Northern Ireland.

All indications at this stage are that the security and domestic benefits of the raid are heavily outweighed by the international damage to South Africa's economic and diplomatic interests.

President Botha's rantings are unlikely to change that perception in the West.

But they may enable him to retain a few parliamentary seats threatened by the Right wing in the September mini-election.

(11A)

# Azapo calls meeting for raid victims

*Source from 21/1/87*

THE KwaThema branch of Azapo will this Sunday hold a "Solidarity Meeting" for the victims of the vigilante gang operating in the East Rand and the victims of last week's SADF raid into Botswana.

Chairman of the branch, Mr Mandla Motshoene, said the meeting will be held at the local Methodist Church. It starts at 2 pm.

The meeting will be addressed by four speakers including Mr Ntjaamu Habeli, Azapo's Transvaal president, Mr Kenny Mosisime, Azasm president and two speakers from the local branch of the organisation.

Mr Motshoene appealed to all residents of KwaThema to attend.

# Major displays 'ANC treasure'

CAPC Times 21/6/85 11A 12 13

PRETORIA. — The large haul of documents seized in the South African raid on Gaborone "confirms the intelligence on which the attack was based," Major Craig Williamson of the security police said here yesterday.

The press was shown documents and a small quantity of weapons the major said were seized in the raid.

The raid has been widely condemned internationally, and the Botswana Government has questioned whether the people killed in the attack were ANC activists.

Major Williamson said a number of documents taken, including receipts, indicated that the ANC had contact with people, trade unions and organizations inside South Africa.

## PLO

He said the police were following up the information and that he expected action would be taken in the near future. He would not elaborate.

Nine of the people killed in the raid on Friday had so far been linked to the ANC or other allied groups, he said.

One of the dead was Mr Mike Hamlyn, a white South African. Another was Mr Achmed Geer, a Somali citizen. Major Williamson said security forces had found two telephone accounts in his house indicating contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization's representative in Harare.

According to the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria, Mr Geer was a Somali refugee who received Dutch citizenship in 1959.

Major Williamson said the centre of the ANC network in Botswana was an organization working under the name African Arts and Crafts Exporting Agents (AA-CEA). Many of the seized



Major Williamson

accounts were addressed to the AA-CEA box office number in Gaborone.

Security police displayed a computer seized from the ANC's Solidarity News Service offices in Gaborone, as well as propaganda pamphlets and books. All the literature originated in Eastern bloc countries, Major Williamson said, and was aimed primarily at schools, churches, political pressure groups and anti-conscriptionists.

"What we are showing you today only scratches the surface," he said. "We recovered tens of thousands of documents, and the information can only be described as a treasure trove." Many of the documents still had to be studied.

## 'Clinical'

He said the raid, in which nine civilian houses and one office were destroyed, was intended to be "a clean and clinical attack" on ANC activists in Gaborone. Although security police knew of another eight ANC civilian bases in the city, it had not attacked them for fear of incurring unnecessary loss of innocent lives.

Security police say 12 people were killed in

the raid but Botswana sources put the figure as high as 15.

Major Williamson said two women ANC activists, one identified as Mrs Lindiwe Phale and the other unnamed, had been killed in the attack. He showed two hand-grenades that he said had been found at their bedsides. He said a number of the houses hit in the raid had been bases for ANC crash training courses, such as throwing hand-grenades.

## Killed

Major Williamson said other known ANC members killed were Mrs Phale's husband, Mr George Phale, Mr Joseph Malaza, Mr Dick Motsweni, Mr Thami Mnyele, Mr Duke Machobane and Mr Rhona Segale. He said an AK47 with a silencer had been found in Mr Segale's home.

Major Williamson said that although security forces had also been aiming to kill two other ANC members, Mr Uriel Abrahamse and Mr Tim Williams, Mr Abrahamse was still alive. It was not known whether Mr Williams had been killed in the raid, he added.

## Map

A detailed map of the Rossing uranium mine in SWA/Namibia was also found in one of the houses, Major Williamson said.

Holding up a number of account books, Major Williamson said payments which had been made by the ANC to people and organizations included a sum of R1 000 paid recently to the African Allied Workers Union in South Africa.

He said one account had on it the letters of Sactu, the abbreviation for the South African Congress of Trade Unions. One of the receipts was made out to Mr Henry Makgote and Mr Marius Schoon, both known ANC activists, he said. — Sapa

ARCUS 2/16/85

# Army unit for unemployed men slammed

Staff Reporter

PLANS to set up a military unit to absorb young unemployed coloured men were seen today by opponents as "the foot in the door" to full conscription of coloured people and Indians.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council, told the House of Representatives this week that it had been decided in consultation with the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to establish an SADF unit for coloured men with low school qualifications.

The United Democratic Front was "aghast" at the announced intention, the regional secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said in a statement.

"To utilise the unfortunate disposition of the unemployed to prop up the State's war machine is rank opportunism."

2 000 mourn victims  
of raid on Gaborone

GABORONE. — Some 2 000 people gathered here at the Anglican Cathedral yesterday to mourn the 14 people killed last week in the South African commando raid on Gaborone.

President Quett Masire, diplomats and South African refugees attended the service.

South Africa said it attacked offices of the African National Congress, but Mr Masire said the dead — one of whom was a 6-year-old girl — were not involved with

the ANC's military activities and that some people were shot in their sleep.

The South African Defence Force chief, General Constand Viljoen, has said as many as 16 people might have been killed by his men.

The mass funeral for the victims of the raid on Gaborone by South African commandos will be held in Gaborone on Saturday, a spokesman for the office of the Botswana President confirmed yesterday — Sapa

PRETORIA. — Botswana did not have the "political will" to deal with the African National Congress presence in its country, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said today in a letter to the Botswana Government, explaining a military raid on Gaborone last week.

In the eight-page letter, Mr Botha said the Botswana authorities knew that after the Nkomati Accord of March 1984, the ANC had decided to concentrate more of its bases in their country.

Copies of Mr Botha's letter, addressed to his counterpart in Gaborone, Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, were released in Pretoria.

"The Botswana Government had repeatedly been urged by the South African Government and security authorities to curtail the activities of the ANC inside Botswana, and in particular the planning and execution of terrorist activities in South Africa from Botswana."

### "SA had no alternative"

Foreign affairs and security officials from both countries had communicated with one another on at least 11 occasions since April 21 1983, and at the last meeting between himself and Dr Chiepe, four months ago, Mr Botha said, "it was agreed that the security forces of the two countries would once again attempt to come to an understanding on practical arrangements on how to combat this growing danger".

"Thus, after numerous rounds of discussions, it became evident that there was no real political will on the part of Botswana to enter into effective and practical arrangements with South Africa on this serious question," Mr Botha said.

Referring to the raid on Gaborone early last Friday, Mr Botha said South Africa had no alternative but to protect its people from the increasing number of terrorist attacks from Botswana.

Mr Botha referred to a statement made by Dr Chiepe after the raid, in which she said South Africa had been responsible for several bomb attacks in Gaborone recently.

The Minister said the allegations were unfounded and also rejected claims that 32 Botswana citizens were abducted by the raiders.

● It is reported from Johannesburg that South African security police are poised to arrest ANC insurgents as a result of intelligence gleaned from the SADF raid on Gaborone.

Brigadier Herman Stadler of the security police said yesterday that documents seized at the 10 targets hit by SADF and security police commando teams last Friday would result in the arrest of ANC members in South Africa.

South Africa's most famed spy, security policeman Major Craig Williamson, said yesterday's Press conference had been called to give more details on the Gaborone raid because of criticism during an SABC-TV programme featuring newspaper editors.

Major Williamson said of nine of the 12 killed in the attack, eight were active in the ANC and the ninth was a Palestinian Liberation Organisation sympathiser.

● It is reported from Gaborone that President Quett Masire was to meet today with leaders of Botswana's opposition parties to brief them on last week's raid on Gaborone.

President Masire yesterday led members of his Cabinet at a memorial service in the Anglican cathedral for the victims of the raid. About 2 000 other people, including foreign diplomats and South African refugees, attended.

Several speakers supported the Botswana Government's declaration that its policy of granting shelter to refugees would not change. — Sapa, Argus Correspondents, Argus Foreign Service.

● See Page 3.

# Botswana has no will to halt ANC

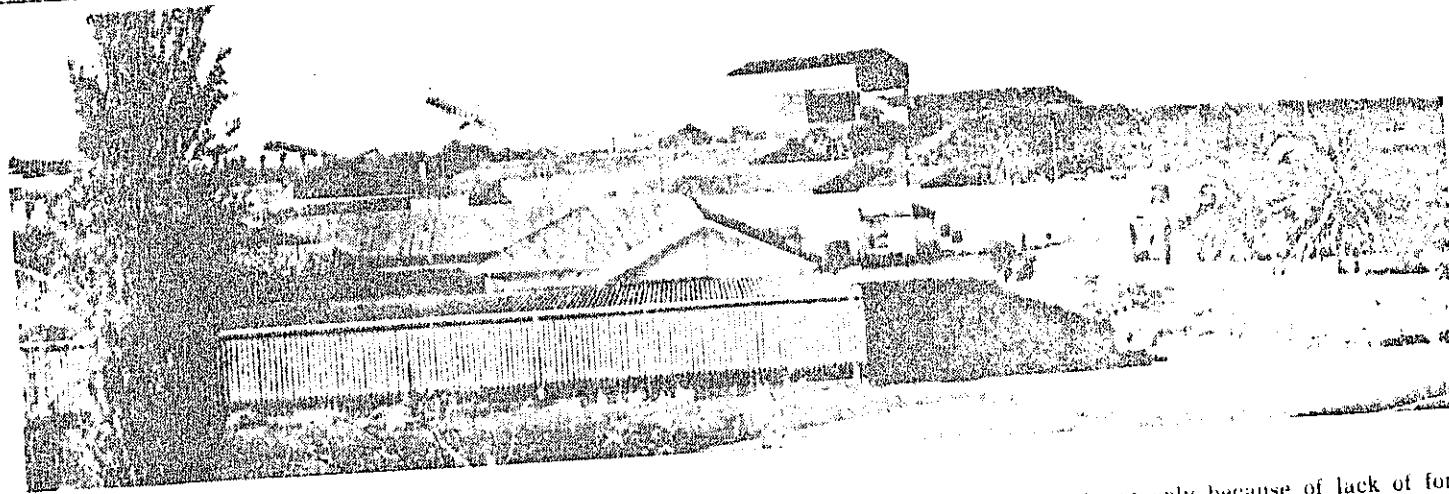
# Pik

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The plant at Sishen's south mine stands idle. Iscor officials say R22.5-million of equipment is gathering dust.



**CHRIS WHITFIELD**  
Weekend Argus Correspondent  
SISHEN, once the thriving centre of Iscor's Northern Cape mining operations, has turned into a ghost town with more than 300 houses empty and R22.5-million of mining equipment gathering dust.

"Blunders" by the corporation have forced it to shut down the mining plant at the Northern Cape town and move out its employees.

And the future of Sishen, itself built over a massive iron ore reserve, is in the balance.

The town, which once boasted a population of about 1 500, is now home for about 30 people.

The last Iscor employees moved out on January 31 this year after the mining plant at the "south mine", flanking the town, had been closed.

Most of the employees were moved to and housed in Kathu, 16km away and now the main ore producing centre in the area.

Iscor's senior general manager for mining, Mr Ben Alberts, said the corporation had been forced to close the plant because demand for exports had dropped.

He said the corporation had decided to "rationalise" its operations in the area and decided the "north mine", with a plant at Kathu, could

# Sishen now ghost town

He said the south mine was still being mined from Kathu but "at a much lower rate of extraction".

Mr Alberts said an oversupply of iron ore on the world market had caught the corporation unawares.

He said both mines had been planned to produce 27 million tons a year, based on contracts already secured, but demand now was for only 18 million tons.

He said buyers in Japan and Europe were reneging on the contracts and Iscor was powerless to do anything about it.

An Iscor spokesman said the current book value, "at depreciated prices", of the equipment was R22.5-million and the housing R2.5-million.

Mr Alberts said this week the money lost on the town was not included in the R814-million losses on

tence only because of lack of forward planning".

"I imagine the total cost of that mine would be very substantial," said Mr Schwarz.

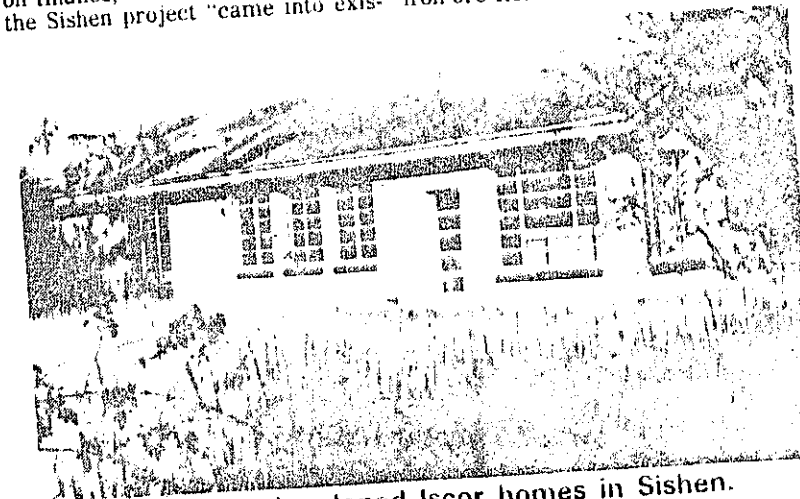
The 300 empty houses are still in fairly good condition. Most are medium-sized three-bedroomed houses and could probably fetch more than R50 000 each in a normal market.

The first signs of Sishen's demise came in 1974 when it was discovered that Iscor had built the town in the wrong place.

The town, founded in 1953, had been placed right on top of one end of the estimated 4 000 million-ton iron-ore field.

way line. The Government has announced that taxpayers will have to bear the costs of this scheme.

The chief Opposition spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said the Sishen project "came into exist-



One of the abandoned Iscor homes in Sishen.

# POLICE yesterday continued the search for those responsible for hand-grenade and bomb attacks in which at least six people have been injured in Cape Town, Durban and the north-eastern Transvaal.

At least three people, including two United Democratic Front executive members, have been detained in Cape Town following a police crackdown in the wake of Wednesday's hand-grenade attack in Guguletu which left three policemen injured.

After the incident, the sixth bomb attack in a week, several Peninsula homes were raided late on Wednesday night and yesterday morning.

The occupants, including several children, were taken to Caledon Square, where they were detained for several hours and questioned before being released.

## Reward

A R1 000 reward has been offered by police for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the attackers.

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka said they were responsible for the Guguletu attack on three policemen. The spokesman said the organization was not involved in the other attacks but "would not go out of its way to condemn them".

The South African authorities, however, have insisted that members of the ANC were responsible for all the attacks.

In Durban a pamphlet bomb exploded in the

city centre at 7am yesterday.

Police said it contained Communist Party pamphlets. Nobody was injured in the explosion.

Less than 12 hours earlier a bomb exploded outside a beachfront restaurant where 40 people were eating, slightly injuring two men and shattering dozens of windows.

Police yesterday set up checkpoints in the Durban city centre, examining parcels and warning pedestrians to be on the lookout for suspicious people or packages.

According to a UDF regional joint-secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, the organization's publicity secretary, Ms Zou Kota, and a second regional joint-secretary, Ms Miranda Qwanyashe, were still in detention, along with a third person, Mr Thaba Nqokota.

Mr Nqokota's brother and two of Ms Qwanyashe's brothers, aged 14 and 16, were also detained but had since been released, Mr Manuel said.

The general secretary of the Western Cape Civic Association, Ms Noma-India Mseketho, was detained along with her family, including her 14-year-old son.

They were released at 8am after being ques-

tioned throughout the night, he said.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said last night: "Some people have been detained by the police in connection with the hand-grenade explosions of the past week. They are now in police custody."

"Because the investigation is in its initial stage, no names will be released."

Pamphlets offering a R1 000 reward and calling on the public for co-operation in the arrest of the "evil-doers who disturb the peace and community" were distributed in the Western Cape townships yesterday afternoon.

Meanwhile, the three men — two of them security policemen — who sustained minor injuries in Wednesday's hand-grenade attack, have all been discharged from Woodstock Hospital where they were admitted for treatment.

Lieutenant Laubscher said that a man detained for questioning after a hand-grenade attack on the home of Community Council vice-chairman Mrs Elfie Shwabane, on Sunday, had died.

He said Mr Dumisani Ntlangeni, 22, of Nyanga township, died at Tygerberg Hospital on Tuesday from gunshot

wounds he received at the weekend.

Mr Ntlangeni was believed to have been wounded by bullets fired at three men who fled the scene of the blast, Lieutenant Laubscher said.

Mr Ntlangeni was detained in hospital for questioning in connection with the attack but was cleared on Monday.

## Shootout

● Phillip van Niekerk reports from Johannesburg that a police spokesman yesterday said that a suspected guerilla was killed after a shootout in the north-eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

The spokesman said the shootout occurred on Sunday when four policemen confronted two suspected guerillas near the town of Pafuri.

He said the suspects threw hand-grenades at the police. One policeman was hit by shrapnel and lost an eye while one of the alleged guerillas was shot dead. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and UPI

## BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	\$318,50
Rand	\$0,5085/95
FT index (close)	974,10
JSE	1 068,30
Dow Jones	1 299,73

EFFICIENT FOR ANC SUSPECTS

CH1 TINTS 21/6/85

SUSPECTS

Hendrickse happy with achievements in first tricameral session

# LP sets new targets

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The repeal of influx control laws and the Separate Amenities Act are high on the Labour Party's list of priorities for the next parliamentary session.

In a wide-ranging interview yesterday, the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, listed what he saw as highlights of the first working session of the tricameral Parliament, in which he played a key role as chairman of the House of Representatives Ministers' Council:

- The repeal of three apartheid laws — Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition Mixed Marriages Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

"For years there have been protests by other parties and individuals against these laws and I have no doubt that our presence and participation in the new Parliament was the deciding factor in their repeal. This was for me the greatest attainment of the session," Mr Hendrickse said.

- The LP being part of

decision-taking on such aspects as an easing of the application of influx control — by increasing "Section 10" blacks' mobility and reducing their qualification period.

He said the party's participation in the parliamentary standing committees was particularly useful. "Our chaps had an excellent response there," he said.

The process of participation had been an "educative" one, as most LP MPs had come in "raw" to parliamentary procedures and related matters.

"At the beginning of the session many members were nervous during their maiden speeches, but it progressed they showed increasing confidence and a greater willingness to participate in the standing committees, and in their contact with people generally," said Mr Hendrickse.

He believed the process of participation had also been educative for established white MPs, and cited the example of a senior Nationalist who

had told him he had become aware for the first time that *Nkosi Sikilel' i Afrika* was a hymn ("God Bless Africa") when Mr Hendrickse mentioned this in the debate on the Kannemeyer Report in the House of Representatives.

- The problem of the LP's credibility in the community had decreased and in the Cape Peninsula, for instance, where some of the lowest polls had been recorded in last August's elections, the party had in the past three months formed 15 new branches. Some of these were in "elitist" areas where people had previously adopted an "I'm all right, Jack" attitude.

Another example of increased LP acceptance in the community was an invitation by the coloured Public Servants' League to the Minister of the Budget, the Rev Andrew Julies, to open its congress in George today.

A major church, which had previously shunned the LP, had also now made contact with the party, Mr Hendrickse said.



The Rev ALLAN HENDRICKSE  
... growing acceptance of LP

- The acceptance in the Regional Services Council Bill of black participation in a decision-making process.

Mr Hendrickse said the LP's overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives meant "we could do far more work".

Two disappointments of the session had been the fact that not all parliamentary facilities had been opened to MPs of all races ("and we will not

accept any proposed separate facilities at the Marks Building") and the refusal of the (Indian) House of Delegates to pass the Local Government Affairs Amendment Bill.

Mr Hendrickse said he felt the latter had been due to a "misinterpretation that the Bill creates authorities on a racial basis".

He believed all the main parties agreed that

the ultimate goal was the restoration of the municipal franchise to people of colour who had been deprived of it, and its extension to blacks.

He had found it disappointing that the Separate Amenities Act, which covered such aspects as separate beaches, had not been addressed.

Looking ahead, he said the LP would focus strongly on influx control laws and the Separate Amenities Act during the session starting next January.

During the recess, the party's constitutional committee would look at details of the LP's proposals for a non-racial geographic federation for South Africa, such as working out the geographic boundaries of the "states".

The committee chaired by Mr Peter Mopp (MP for Border), which was reviewing racially discriminatory legislation, would continue its work.

"They have now had the experience of being in Parliament and will contact people outside during the recess," Mr Hendrickse said.

Turning to constitu-

tional matters, he said it was now accepted by all parties except the CP and HNP that the way to accommodate "white fears and black aspirations" was through a federal structure with one man, one vote in each particular state.

On the PFP's drive for membership among all race groups, he said: "I've got no problem concerning any recruitment by them of coloured members."

It was healthy that individuals could make their own choice on political affiliations, but he felt the PFP would have difficulty in getting through to coloured voters at grassroots level.

He said he had been a "Prog supporter" in the 1960s, although not a member of the party.

During the recess he would base his office in Cape Town but would travel to Pretoria regularly for Cabinet and standing committee meetings, as well as to his Swartkops constituency, which includes Uitenhage.

There would also be a number of LP congresses to attend.

21/6/85

JUNE 16 SERVICES (11A)

## Unity and teargas

At least five people died violently and several homes, most of them belonging to policemen and community councillors, were attacked throughout the country in incidents related to the commemoration of the June 16 1976 unrest. A number of people were arrested.

The violent deaths and attacks occurred when youths in various black communities on the Witwatersrand, in the eastern Cape, Durban and at the University of the North in the northern Transvaal allegedly went on the rampage and clashed with police at the end of commemorative services.

A spokesman for the SA Police directorate in Pretoria said the situation was "basically the same as in the past but not on as big a scale."

In Soweto, where a massive crowd of more than 5 000 had crammed the Regina Mundi Catholic Church at Rockville, police sprayed the area with teargas at the end of the service and had the crowd scampering for cover.

The police, who acted just as a large group of chanting people began moving towards them on the east side of the church, used a sneeze machine, teargas and rubber bullets.

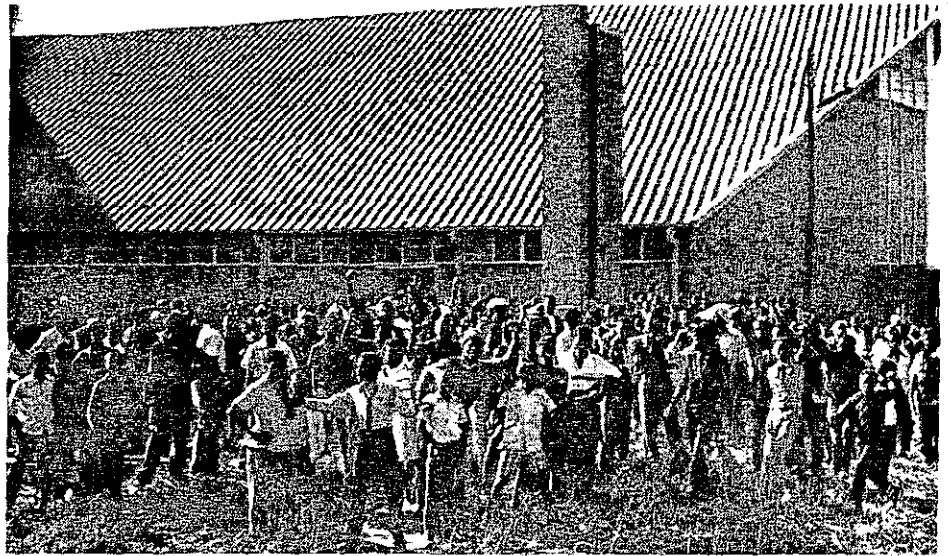
### Lack of tension

A striking feature of the commemorative services this year was the lack of tension between the two main black political groupings — the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) and the black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) — which have patched up their differences. For the first time in recent months the two movements shared political platforms and speakers made calls for black unity during services.

Two youths were shot dead in Daveyton, Benoni, when a group allegedly attacked the house of the local council chairman Tom Boya. At Mamelodi in Pretoria another youth was shot dead when youths attacked a policeman.

A pupil from Hwiti High School at Mankweng outside the University of the North also died violently when youths, mostly university students, clashed with Lebowa police. A woman was burnt to death at Addo in the eastern Cape.

About 20 homes, most of them belonging



Regina Mundi ... traditional venue for June 16 commemorations

to policemen and community councillors, were attacked in Alexandra, Daveyton, Kwa Thema, Sebokeng, Kagiso and Katlehong within the Witwatersrand complex. Attempts were made to burn 10 of the houses.

A number of shops, beerhalls and bottle-stores were also attacked and looted in Soweto, Daveyton and Katlehong.

The police spokesman in Pretoria said three youths were arrested in Soweto on Sunday when youths were found by police placing obstructions on a road and attacking private vehicles.

In Tembisa a youth found in possession of two petrol bombs was arrested, said the officer, and a man was wounded at Kwa Thema when a group attacked a policeman's home and the policeman opened fire.

At Regina Mundi, speakers, including the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu and Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, condemned the SA army raid in Gaborone as "a murder of innocent people."

Killings of blacks by blacks were condemned. Bishop Tutu said acts like the burn-

ing to death of people as happened in the eastern Cape "discredited the noble cause of the struggle for liberation." ■

## Plus ca change

While SA's international relations nosedived following its reprisal attack on suspected ANC houses in Gaborone last Friday, basic

questions of fact about the SADF commando operation were in dispute.

US and EEC member governments were outraged by the attack, especially since SA and Botswana appeared in recent months to have worked out a *modus vivendi* with regard to ANC infiltration. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in March, after meeting his Botswana counterpart, "we are not interested in a formal agreement with Botswana." (*Current Affairs* March 22 1985)

This came after months of speculation that Pretoria was pressing Botswana into signing a formal pact. Botswana has in

recent months discovered an ANC arms cache which it said at the time SA "might be interested in." It has also arrested suspected ANC men bearing arms, and co-operated with SA Police after a Swartrugens couple were murdered by suspected ANC terrorists in March.



Masire

Clearly, though, SA did not believe Botswana was doing enough. And America was accused by SA of using "double standards" in condemning the "pre-emptive" strike.

SA's Western friends believe SA did not exhaust the diplomatic way of resolving the matter. SA Institute of International Affairs Director John Barratt says the raid is "a most unfortunate development as far as the international implications are concerned," and points to long-term damage to SA's international relations. It rather undercuts the US policy of constructive engagement towards SA since the great claim of that policy's success rests on bringing stability to the region. And, following the recall for consultations of US ambassador to SA, Herman Nickel, one observer of US-SA affairs believes the raid "makes it virtually impossible for President Reagan not to sign" the US Congress's divestment Bill against SA.

Botswana President Quett Masire has rejected "with contempt" SA's claim to have knocked out what SADF chief Constand Viljoen called the banned ANC's "control centre" for sabotage operations in the Transvaal. Masire, who has called for a special UN Security Council debate on the raid, also described the attack as "a bloodcurdling act of murder of defenceless civilians."

Eight SA "refugees" were among the 12 killed by the SADF commandos, says Botswana. The other casualties include a Sothalian of Dutch nationality, a six-year-old boy from Lesotho, and two women citizens of Botswana. Six people injured in the raid are being treated in hospital.

President Masire also said that SA had failed to turn up any military hardware as evidence of its allegations. Viljoen, meanwhile, praised the work of the SA Police and

intelligence services in preparing information that allowed his men to hit 10 of the 18 targets they had identified as ANC cells after two years of surveillance. "The operation was planned to be clean and clinical and we wanted to avoid injuring or killing innocent Botswana civilians," said an SADF official.

Presumably, since retaliation against the ANC is now seen to be firm SA policy, the remaining eight targets are fair game should they remain in Gaborone.

SA says the early morning raid last Friday was to pre-empt a new wave of ANC attacks planned to coincide with last Sunday's June 16 anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots. It was also timed for the ANC's second-ever consultative conference being held this week at a secret venue in Africa.

Although last week's grenade attacks on the homes of two coloured Labour Party MPs (one a Deputy Minister-designate, Luwellyn Landers) precipitated the retaliatory strike, the ANC has in fact denied responsibility for it. A group calling itself the Western Cape Suicide Squad claimed responsibility hours after the attack. However, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange dismissed the ANC denial. He said the attacks and the Russian grenades used were typical of ANC methods and were part of the

movement's policy of attacking dignitaries and civilians.

Despite Masire's statement that Botswana would "neither cower nor compromise on its policy of providing sanctuary to refugees," observers believe the raid will have an effect on Botswana's attitude,

just as Lesotho was forced to expel ANC people after the raid into Maseru brought on by the Pretoria car bomb blast. Whether the eight South Africans among those killed in Gaborone were in fact "genuine terrorists" or real refugees only sympathetic to the ANC remains unresolved.

However, Botswana will have to be realistic about SA's procrustean policy towards neighbouring states giving refuge to the ANC. Says Barratt: "Neighbouring states must accept that SA is the dominant power in the region and that, rightly or wrongly, they cannot afford to have ANC cadres in their countries. Realistically, they must accept this, as did Mozambique."

SA had issued many warnings of its intention to strike at ANC cells in neighbouring states, Barratt points out. Only days before the raid into Gaborone, SA's ambassador to the UN Kurt von Schirnding repeatedly stated in the Security Council debate on the abortive Cabinda incident that SA "will not tolerate" ANC infiltration from neighbouring states.

Examining the "achievements" of the raid, Barratt notes that it was "retaliatory action" for a number of ANC attacks. Le Grange told Parliament in March that 15 incidents of terrorist sabotage had occurred in the areas of Kopfontein, Vryburg, Soweto and western Transvaal since last August.

This directly led to ministerial talks between SA and Botswana at the time. Botswana's Foreign Minister, Goasitwe Chiepe, even met her counterpart from a *homeland* government, Bophuthatswana, to ask for proof after warnings of "hot pursuit" raids against saboteurs alleged to have fled back across the border into Botswana.

Secondly, Barratt notes, the raid is seen as a "demonstration of strength" by SA in the face of critical international attention recently. Thirdly, it showed the ANC exactly who is in control on the eve of their major conference. And, a show of *kragdadigheid* could not hurt government with the Afrikaner rightwing. Yet, Barratt points out, while the raid may satisfy the rightwing, government will have to count the cost in terms of its "radicalising" effect on domestic black opinion and the sympathy it tends to create for the ANC. ■



Viljoen

# UDF 'aghast' at plan to militarize jobless

119 Staff Reporter  
THE government's plan to establish a special military unit for unemployed coloured men is "the foot in the door" for the full-scale conscription of coloured people and Indians, the United Democratic Front joint secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said yesterday.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, announced in the House of Representatives this week that the unit was aimed at providing military and technical training for young men unable to find employment.

Mr Manuel described the "unequivocal support" given to the move by Mr Hendrickse as

22/6/85  
"confirmation of the widely held view that participation in the tri-cameral Parliament would lead to the eventual conscription of coloureds and Indians".

The UDF "stood aghast" at the plan to draw the unemployed into the Defence Force.

"We demand that the unemployed be given jobs to regain their self-respect.

"To utilize their unfortunate position to prop up the State's war machine is opportunism.

"The establishment of cadet units from the unemployed failed miserably in the Seventies. Similarly, this devious scheme must also be made to fail," he said.

Cape Times

22/6/85

807  
114

# Blast at Durban sub-station

PRETORIA. — An explosion damaged the wall surrounding an electricity sub-station in Durban yesterday and the Kwa-Thema home of Anglican Bishop Simeon Nkoane was attacked by petrol-bombers early yesterday morning.

A police situation report said the blast soon after 9am did not damage the sub-station in Montclair.

No one was injured and police are investigating. It was the sixth bomb explosion in Durban this week.

Meanwhile five petrol bombs, one of which ignited, and numerous bricks were hurled at Bishop Nkoane's home but damage was slight and none of the three people in the house at the time — including the bishop's 82-year-old mother — was injured.

Bishop Nkoane, who was in Nylstroom when his home was attacked, said nine windows had

been broken by the bricks and the front door and another door had been partly burnt by a petrol bomb.

Also in KwaThema, a petrol bomb was hurled at a councillor's home. Damage was minimal. A woman and two men were arrested.

Two separate blasts occurred in East London last night. There were no deaths or injuries.

The first blast, soon before 8pm, shattered the side of the city hall.

The second blast, about 20 minutes after the first, destroyed two petrol pumps at a garage on the main road through the suburb of Amilanda leading out towards King William's Town.

Meanwhile, 11 arrests were made in connection with the death of a woman in Addo. Police reported her death in unrest on June 17.

Police in Port Elizabeth confirmed last night that 57 people had

been arrested in Adelaide since Thursday, but some of those arrested might have been released.

A spokesman for the Adelaide Youth Congress yesterday claimed that more than 100 people had been arrested in a series of township police raids. He also claimed that a number of youths who were members of the youth congress were shot on the outskirts of the township where they sought refuge in the bush during the police raids.

The police spokesman said that to his knowledge two people received flesh wounds on Thursday and were under police guard in the Adelaide Hospital.

## Petrol bomb

Also in Adelaide, two men were wounded in an attack on a policeman's home, according to a police report.

Three people — including a five-year-old boy — were admitted to hospital with serious burns after a house in Zwide, near Port Elizabeth, was petrol-bombed on Thursday night, police said yesterday.

In KwaZakele, guards at a councillor's home fired on a group allegedly trying to petrol-bomb the house. No injuries or arrests were reported. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

# 'Intimidation':

## SIX acquitted

CAP: Tim 22/6/85  
Court Reporter

CROSSROADS community leader Mr Johnson Nxobongwana and five others were acquitted in Paarl Regional Court yesterday on charges of intimidation and public violence after court proceedings lasting more than two weeks in three different courts in the Peninsula and the Bolland.

Mr Nxobongwana, 42, Miss Elsie Mhkumbuzi, 41, Mr Themba Mpetha, 27, Mr David Bengo, 42, Miss Nozibele Lufelo, 28, and Mr Roseberry Sonto, 31, had pleaded not guilty.

The State had alleged that between January 16 and 22 this year they tried to force New Crossroads community councillors to resign or leave their houses and had threatened their lives.

It was also alleged that they had burnt down two houses, including the house of a community councillor, damaged property and stoned residents.

They were charged following agitation concerning rents in and near New Crossroads this year.

During the 15-day trial, 20 State witnesses and 12 defence witnesses were called.

In acquitting the six the magistrate, Mr A J Burger, said the State had fallen short of discharging its onus of proof.

Mr J van Vuuren of the Attorney-General's office prosecuted. Mr Brian Lutzno defended Mr Mpetha. Mr Moukesh Parker defended Miss Lufelo and Mr Sonto. Mr I Swartzberg defended Mr Nxobongwana, Miss Mhkumbuzi and Mr Bengo.



# Zulus' right, says Botha

Political Staff

THE KwaZulu Government had the right to decide who was welcome in its country, President P W Botha said yesterday in reply to a decision by the Legislative Assembly to ask him to "defer" a planned tour of the area in November.

Mr Botha said the decision endorsed the principle of independence for the Zulu nation.

The Legislative Assembly's decision was taken after Mr Botha's "State of the Nation" address on Wednesday in which he ruled out a unitary state but appeared to be paving the way for mixed government at regional level.

His speech was slated by KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who said that by ruling out the unitary state, Mr Botha had made it impossible for him to negotiate with him at present.

He expressed "grave concern" for the future.

## Within the rights

Mr Botha said yesterday: "It is within the rights of the Zulu Government to declare who are welcome in their country and who are not."

"My viewpoint against the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state agrees with this, I definitely do not intend changing it."

"I stand by the viewpoints I expressed in three addresses I have delivered this year."

The latest confrontation between the two leaders has come just when tensions between them appeared to be easing and hopes were rising that Chief Buthelezi might participate in Mr Botha's "forum" which is to deal with future black political rights.

Nationalist MPs and other observers have attached great significance to Mr Botha's latest speech and hope the President's planned tour of development projects in KwaZulu will still be able to go ahead.

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# Guguletu searched, 15 held in S Cape

By ANDREW DONALDSON

POLICE detained 15 people in Bhongolethu township outside Oudtshoorn and conducted door-to-door searches in Guguletu yesterday after a senior security policeman, Brigadier Herman Stadler, warned that action could be expected in the wake of the Gaborone raid.

CRH Tink  
22/10/85  
11A/22

The latest arrests and searches after recent unrest and grenade attacks coincide with the completion of intelligence evaluation of documents captured during the Gaborone raid and warnings from the brigadier that appraisal "would result in the arrest of ANC members in South Africa".

In the Western Cape police searching for those responsible for the six grenade attacks in the Peninsula during the past week conducted a door-to-door search in Guguletu yesterday afternoon but no major breakthrough was made, according to a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz.

● Ebrahim Moosa reports that angry Guguletu residents said police kicked doors open and overturned the

contents of their homes while the occupants were held at gunpoint.

Mr Welcome Ngeingolo of No 1A NY78 said several police stormed into his home with sniffer dogs soon after 2pm yesterday. He lives in a temporary shack in the backyard of premises belonging to his brother-in-law, Mr James Mazaleni.

"They kept us down with guns," said Mr Ngeingolo, who at 4pm was repairing a broken door which he said had been kicked open by police.

His neighbour, Mrs Mary Mangisa of No 2A NY78, said police who entered her house "threw everything out of the room and held us 'hands-up' against the wall".

Armed police had surrounded their homes while others scanned

the area from the toilet roof, she said.

"They are cruel, they don't say what they want," she added.

An 11-year-old boy, Oscar Mazaleni, who lives at No 1 A NY78, said police held a gun to his lower lip.

"They pushed me against the wall and searched me," he said.

Captain Calitz declined to comment on the allegations. He said police were acting in response to information given to them. "We are conducting an investigation."

A police spokesman at Oudtshoorn confirmed the detention of 15 people but declined to say why they had been detained.

A United Democratic Front spokesman in Oudtshoorn said members of the South African Defence Force had been involved in the raids but the police spokesman denied this.

In Cape Town, three people, including two UDF executive members, remained in detention after the police crackdown which followed Wednesday's grenade attack in Guguletu in which three policemen were injured.

According to UDF spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel, the detainees are the organization's publicity secretary, Ms Zou Kota, regional joint secretary Ms Miranda Qwanyashe and Mr Thaba Ngokota.

It is believed they are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Police have declined to confirm their identities. The three, along with members of their family and others who

were later released, were taken to Caledon Square for questioning after the attack.

The UDF has said that the detention of two of its members was an attempt by police to publicly link the UDF with the banned African National Congress, which claimed responsibility for the incident.

In a statement after the detentions, Mr Manuel said: "The UDF condemns the detention and brutal treatment from police to which these families were subjected."

"The police were not prepared to say under which laws they were being detained, or why they were being detained. These events show that South Africa remains a police state."

# Cosas leader hit again

**DANIEL DHLAMINI**  
CONGRESS of SA  
Students leader  
Lebutshwane C. Petrus  
Ralekgetho's home  
was set on fire by at-  
tackers on Wednes-  
day morning.

This is the second at-  
tack — his home in  
Ikageng, Potch-  
efstroom was petrol  
bombed recently by  
what he called "ele-  
ments of the system".  
He was detained the  
next day.

The student leader's pa-  
rents say they fear for his life  
after a hostile gang of men in  
three cars arrived on Sunday  
looking for him.

His mother — visibly ter-  
rified — said she knew the  
people who hunted her son.

They were mostly shebeen  
owners who had accused  
Lebutshwane of having or-  
chestrated an alleged attack  
by a group of youths on she-  
beens and shops that did not  
close during the June 16 com-  
memoration services.

Lebutshwane's elder  
brother, Petrus Ralekgetho,

said one of the men had ar-  
rived on Tuesday night with  
quotations from panel beat-  
ers and demanded compensa-  
tion for damage to his car.

"At 1am on Wednesday  
our house was set on fire —  
injuring my father and caus-  
ing extensive damage," said  
Petrus.

The family managed to ex-  
tinguish the fire.

## UDF hit by petrol bombs

A 19-YEAR-OLD youth died and 21 people were  
burnt when the homes of two prominent UDF affi-  
liate members were petrol-bombed in Port Elizabeth  
this week.

The youth died when PE Black Civic Organisation  
organising secretary Er-  
nest Malgas' home was  
attacked with six petrol-  
bombs and stones. Mr  
Malgas escaped. Thirteen  
people had been in the  
house.

Pebco member Than-  
do Kwatsha's house was  
petrol-bombed the same  
day. He and others drove  
away the arsonists.

Police said "an Azapo  
member's house" was  
also petrol-bombed.

# Nelson picks up 18 months

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

A Meadowlands Hostel inmate picked up an African National Congress leaflet in the veld — and within 48 hours he had been jailed for 18 months for having it.

Nelson Qobela, 36, was arrested on Sunday — while June 16 commemoration prayer meetings were being held throughout the country.

On Monday he was held in prison and on Tuesday he pleaded guilty in the Johannesburg Regional Court to being in possession of the leaflet.

He said he had picked it up in the veld near the hostel.

A Warrant Officer Grundling told Magistrate T J le Grange he had searched Qobela on Sunday and found the leaflet.

Qobela also had a Release Mandela card — but the magistrate ruled that it was legal as the Release Mandela Committee was not banned.

The ANC leaflet was issued to coincide with the United Nations Year of the Youth.

Magistrate Le Grange jailed Qobela for 18 months.

### Port Elizabeth

COPS broke their promise not to move into Port Elizabeth townships until 6pm on June 16 - and fired teargas to disperse crowds leaving a commemoration service.

The service was organised by the PE Students' Council and Education In Crisis at New Brighton's Apostolic Church.

Witnesses said cops had broken their promise to EIC vice chairman Thobile Mhlahlo that they would not

## 'Cops broke their word'

move into the townships until 6pm.

But when the crowd of 15 000 left the churchyard at 5.10pm they were met by four caspiers. Cops fired teargas to disperse people.



Police fire teargas 'without provocation'.

# One moment there were more than 5 000 people inside Regina Mundi... then there were none

Reports from SELLO SERIPE, SANDILE MEMELA, BENITO PHILIPPS, SAM MASEKO, MOLEMA MOCHUDI, SIBUSISO MNGADI, MOIRA LEVY and PHILIP MOROBI. PH: PETER SETUKE and THEMBA NKOSI.

# THE DAY OF TEARS

## Soweto

ONE MOMENT the area was seething with thousands of people, the walls reverberating with emotional songs.

Next it was deserted — save for the teargas fumes and the sound of armoured personnel carriers outside, reminding everyone that this was no ordinary day.

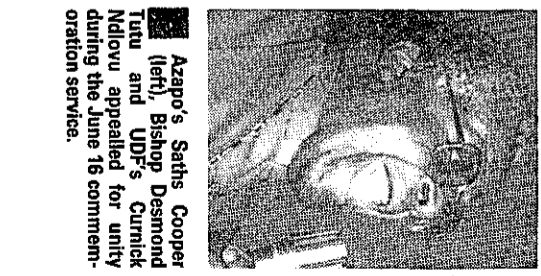
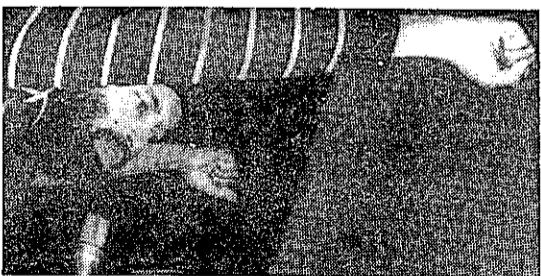
It was Regina Mundi, Soweto, June 16.

Police had just let loose several teargas canisters to disperse more than 5 000 people as they left the hall after an emotional commemoration service.

Chaos broke out after a group of people stoned police stationed along Potchefstroom Road, a short distance from the church's gates.

A sneeze machine headed towards the church — and people were engulfed in clouds of teargas.

A number of children and Manyano women were overcome by smoke fumes, and fell. They were trampled on. But some struggled back to their feet and fled to nearby



Azapo's Saths Cooper (left), Bishop Desmond Tutu and UDF's Currick Ndlovu appealed for unity during the June 16 commemoration service.

houses for safety. Within a couple of minutes the crowds had dispersed, and one of the people was overheard saying it was "a lousy June 16".

Reporters then "cornered" Nthato Motlana for an impromptu Press conference in the middle of Potchefstroom Road.

He said he saw people moving peacefully after the service, and felt they were provoked by the police who fired teargas.

But police spokesman Brig IC Coetzee said police "were forced to fire teargas after the

crowd refused to disperse and started stoning police vehicles."

Earlier, a confrontation loomed between Freedom Charter supporters and Black Consciousness proponents amid strong appeals for unity by the majority of the speakers in the church.

The subject of unity between the two warring political camps was stressed by speakers from both groups. But this did not help defuse the tension as UDF supporters sometimes interrupted speeches by Azapo members with pro-Charter songs and chants.

## East London

THOUSANDS OF East London UDF members crowded into churches in the area to commemorate June 16 after they were refused permission to use halls for the national day of mourning.

Police reported no incidents of violence after the services, which all went off peacefully. Meetings were addressed by trade unionists and UDF leaders in the Border region.

The meetings were so well attended that there was standing room only in many of the churches. In Duncan Village and Mdanisane, meetings also went off peacefully.

Press  
1A  
3/6/85

# The man behind 'Operation Demolition'



# The Plot to Kidnap 14 South Africans — and Hold Reagan to Ransom

MESHACK Mabogoane, former journalist and self-styled leader of the Society of Young Africa, has been exposed as the mastermind behind the "Operative Demolition" — the plot to kidnap 14 top activists and journalists.

**Countdown to kidnap timetable of "Operation Demolition":**

Wednesday, June 12: Bishop Tutu (11,30pm) Father Sebidi (12 mid-night), Rev Chikane (12,30am), Rev Seoka (1am)  
 Thursday, June 13: Mr Kahn (11,30pm), Mrs Mabiletsa (12 mid-night), Mr Camay (12,30am), Mr Cooper (1am).  
 Friday, June 14: Mr Lekota (11,30pm), Ms Kwadi (12 mid-night), Niddrie (12,30am), Qoboza (1am).  
 Saturday June 15: Mr Wauchope and Mr Mthembu.

Precise details of "Operation Demolition" were revealed this week by Molotov Bizzah — one of the "hit squad" recruited for the operation.

Fourteen people — including UDF and Azapo executive members — were to be abducted and kept at a farm owned by mysterious white man in Parys, Mr Bizzah revealed at a Press conference at St Hilda's Presbyterian Church in Soweto this week.

Two white men, known only as Westhuizen and Pieterse, were also behind the plot, he said.

On the hit list were:  
 Anglican Bishop Desmond

23/6/85  
**KHULU SIBIYA**

Tutu, UDF Transvaal vice-president  
 Frank Chikane, Azapo deputy president  
 Joe Seoka, Fr Lebamang Sibidi, Funda Centre director  
 Stan Kahn, Cusa general secretary  
 Phiroshanty Camay, Urban Foundation member  
 Deborah Mabiletsa, Azapo's Kehla Mthembu and George Wauchope, National Forum convenor  
 Saths Cooper, UDF publicity secretary  
 Terror Lekota, Federation of Transvaal Women president  
 Amanda Kwadi, City Press associate editor  
 Percy Qoboza, City Press chief sub-editor  
 David



AT the Press conference: Fr Lebamang Sibidi, Fr Frank Chikane, George Wauchope, Fr Joe Seoka, Percy Qoboza and Kehla Mthembu — all on the "hit list". At the back: "hit squad" member Molotov Bizzah — who exposed "Operation Demolition".

Niddrie.

"When we confronted Mr Mabogoane, he admitted he was behind the plot," Mr Wauchope told the Press conference.

"We have a signed statement by him," Mr Wauchope added.

The plotters held several meetings at the Soya offices at Executive House in Johannesburg. At these meetings, Mr Mabogoane and the two white men allegedly worked out a formula on how the 14 people were to be abducted and taken to a farm in the Free State.

To learn how to abduct people, the squad was shown films such as Hostages over and over again, Mr Bizzah said.

Physical exercises were also con-

ducted by a former policeman in the basement of Executive House, he said.

Mr Bizzah — who runs a consumer co-operative in Soweto — told a group of newsmen that the 30 "hit squad" men knew each other only by code names such as BA, Machel, Mugabe, Arafat, Castro, Savimbi, Kolobe, Masepa, Phiri and Motla.

"Everyone in the group was given an assignment to check and report on the movement of the individuals in the list," said Mr Bizzah.

The "hit squad" was to be armed with pangas, guns and knobkerries.

The aim of the operation was not

known to the participants — instructions were placed in post boxes, said Mr Bizzah.

All the meetings were chaired by Mr Mabogoane — and Westhuizen and Pieterse always supported any suggestions, said Mr Bizzah.

After the 14 targets were abducted — four at a time — a Press conference was to be called.

Three demands would be made:  
 ● The United States Congress must stop its campaign for disinvestment in South Africa;

● A Commission of inquiry must be instituted into the affairs of Funda Centre and Soya;

● A "Bi-National Third Republic of South Africa" must be established!

Mr Mabogoane recently caused a controversy when he announced his dream parliament — called the "Bi-national Government of the Third Republic of South Africa".

He said the plan provided for an "African Legislative Assembly", a white parliament and "supernational Chamber of State".

The African Assembly would have power over secretariats responsible for the infrastructure of black areas, separate taxation, housing and urban development.

The white parliament would have control over the same affairs in the white spheres.

The non-racial "Chamber of State" would have overall responsibility through the "high commission for the economy".

# Attack victim blasts Tutu and Boesak

11A

NM 24/6/85

**PORT ELIZABETH**—A Port Elizabeth member of the Azanian People's Organisation has called on United Democratic Front patrons, the Rev Allan Boesak and Bishop Desmond Tutu, to dissociate themselves from the UDF, following continued violence between the two groups in the Eastern Cape yesterday.

'No self-respecting black leader, especially one that won the Nobel Peace Prize can continue to be associated with such terrible acts of violence,' an Azapo member from Port Elizabeth, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, said following a grenade attack on his home yesterday.

An Azapo member, Mr

Tololo Klaas, was injured in the attack on Mr Maqina's New Brighton home — the third grenade attack on Mr Maqina this week.

Mr Maqina claimed the UDF was responsible for the attack.

He said: 'Azapo members who had taken refuge in my house approached a suspicious-looking group outside. They started firing shots at us and we took cover. Immediately after that the grenade was hurled at the house and exploded near the fence, injuring Mr Klaas.'

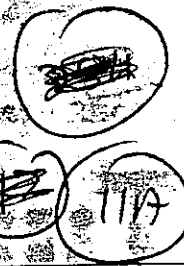
Mr Maqina said the attack was the third against him this week.

'These attacks confirm our suspicion that the UDF is assisted by trained people and have arms supplied to them to do the dirty work of the system,' he said. — (Sapa)



# Victims buried on Saturday in Botswana

# SA RAID



By  
**SY**  
**MAKARINGE**

Soweto 24/6/85

# SLAMMED

THE killing of 12 people by the South African Defence Force in Gaborone a week ago had no moral justification, bishop Desmond Tutu said at a memorial service at the Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, yesterday.

The Nobel Peace Prize Laurette told about 500 people that South Africa's troubles were not at the borders, but right here in the country.

"Apartheid is the greatest threat, the cause of all the trouble in the land. If there was no apartheid, there would be no refuges and single men's hostels," he said.

He said people could no longer go on like this forever, but that they must be determined that they would be free very soon.

## No incidents

Police kept a low profile throughout the service. There were also no incidents as the crowd dispersed peacefully after the service.

Meanwhile seven of the 12 people killed in a South African raid on Botswana capital of Gaborone on June 14 were buried after an emotional, six-hour funeral attended by about 3 000 people at the national stadium on Saturday.

The funeral service was attended by among others, the British High Commissioner, the Ambassadors of the USA, Soviet Union, West Germany, Sweden, China, Norway, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Zambia and heads of churches in Botswana.

They were George Cecil Phahle and his wife Lindi, Bassie Amos Zondi, Dick Mtsweni, Thami Mnye, Duke Machobane and Michael Frank Hamlyn.

Two Botswana citizens also killed in one of the 10 houses and offices attacked were separately buried on Saturday in their home areas in the north-east of the country. Funeral arrangements for the other three, including a six-year-old boy visiting from Lesotho, have not yet been made.

CARL TROIS 24/6/88

# Gaborone raid dead given ANC burial

GABORONE. — Seven of 12 people killed in the South African attack on the Botswana capital of Gaborone ten days ago were buried on Saturday after an emotional, six-hour funeral service attended by thousands of people in the city's national stadium.

The coffins of the seven were draped in black, yellow and green flags, colours of the African National Congress.

South Africa said the lightning, June 14 raid was directed at ANC activists who had planned dozens of sabotage attacks inside the country's borders since last August.

Botswana has rejected the charges, saying the attack was unprovoked and unwarranted and left innocent civilians and refugees dead.

Those buried ranged in age from 24 to 71. Two Botswana citizens also killed in one of the 10 houses and offices attacked were buried separately on Saturday in their home areas in the

north-east of the country.

Funeral arrangements for the others, including a six-year-old boy visiting from Lesotho, have not been made.

The lengthy ceremony was attended by relatives, officials, representatives of the South African Council of Churches, diplomats and members of the ANC national executive based in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

## 'Retrogressive'

An ANC executive member, Mr Andrew Masondo, told the service: "The ANC has no bases in Botswana. The ANC is used as a scapegoat by South Africa to violate the territorial integrity of Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique and undermine their security."

The Minister of Mineral Resources, Mr Archibald Mogwe, a former foreign minister, said in an address: "To launch

military attacks against neighbouring states is a retrogressive step in the search for a lasting solution to the problems of this region."

● The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria at the weekend that he found it very strange that the Botswanan Government should claim it had never been informed by South Africa of suspected terrorist activities within its country.

Mr Botha was responding to queries on allegations by Botswana's President Quett Masire that his government had not been informed by South Africa of the presence of suspected terrorists in Botswana.

On occasion, even the names of alleged ANC terrorists had been given to the Botswana Government, as well as details of their involvement in the planning of acts of violence against South Africa, Mr Botha said. — Sapa-Reuter

CARL TRAVIS 24/6/85

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military attacks against neighbouring states is a retrogressive step in the search for a lasting solution to the problems of this region."

● The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria at the weekend that he found it very strange that the Botswanan Government should claim it had never been informed by South Africa of suspected terrorist activities within its country.

Mr Botha was responding to queries on allegations by Botswana's President Quett Masire that his government had not been informed by South Africa of the presence of suspected terrorists in Botswana.

On occasion, even the names of alleged ANC terrorists had been given to the Botswana Government, as well as details of their involvement in the planning of acts of violence against South Africa, Mr Botha said. — Sapa-Reuter



# Four held after grenades found

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — Four people were arrested yesterday morning with grenades in their possession in a KwaZakele house soon after a grenade exploded in the yard of the home of a prominent Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo) leader, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina.

A hand-grenade was hurled at the Maqina home at 5.45am yesterday, seconds after a shot was fired at one of the guards there by a group of about six people.

A number of hand-grenades were found in the possession of a 21-year-old man who was arrested along with three others, one a woman, in a house in KwaZakele only hours after the attack on Mr Maqina's house, a spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said.

At least one man, Mr Tololo Klaas, treasurer for Azapo in Port Elizabeth, was injured in the blast at Mr Maqina's house. Windows were shattered and a wall was damaged by shrapnel.

Mr Maqina claimed the UDF was responsible for the grenade attack, adding that it was the third against him in a week. His car was at-

tacked with a grenade last Sunday and Azapo members were attacked with grenades near his home on Tuesday. No one was injured in the attacks, he said.

## 'Arms for UDF'

And yesterday the Azapo national publicity secretary, Mr Imrann Moosa, alleged that the UDF was being assisted by trained terrorists and that arms were being supplied to the UDF.

Mr Klaas, who was guarding the house with others when the attack took place, was taken to Livingstone Hospital where he was treated and discharged. Shrapnel was removed from five wounds in his right thigh.

Another witness, Mr Stephen Peter, 24, said he was guarding the house with Mr Klaas when he saw about six people moving towards the house.

He said the people saw him and one of them drew a handgun and fired a shot. "I ran around the house to warn those inside. There was a loud explosion and shrapnel flew in all directions, damaging a wall and shattering windows."

The hand-grenade exploded near a fence, about two metres from the wall of the house. A hole was blown through the fence.

## Unexploded

Mr Peter said an unexploded petrol bomb was also found on the scene after the attack.

The police spokesman said the damage to the house was estimated at about R150. Police are investigating.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the feud between the rival Azanian Students Organization (Azaso) and the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) at Turfloop Uni-

versity, Sovenga, yesterday prevented the organization of a joint Azaso-Azasm funeral for a youth killed at the university.

Azasm, an Azapo affiliate, and the Seshogo Youth Movement had agreed to organize jointly a funeral in Mankweng with Azaso, a UDF affiliate, for 15-year-old Shadrack Mafokoane, a high school pupil allegedly shot dead on campus by Lebowa police during unrest on June 16.

Meanwhile, in further incidents of unrest at KwaZakele, two men threw a petrol bomb at a private house at 12.30pm yesterday, causing damage of R200. No injuries were reported.

## Church

An hour later, a petrol bomb was thrown into a local beerhall, causing damage of R200, the police spokesman said.

In Thabong, near Welkom, about 2 000 people gathered at a church at 10am and then moved to the house of the township's mayor and stoned it. Police dispersed the crowd with rubber bullets, he said. No injuries or arrests were reported.

In another area of the township, about 1 000 people gathered at 11.20am and police dispersed them with rubber bullets. No injuries or arrests were reported.

In another incident in Thabong at the same time, 200 people stoned a SAP vehicle, causing damage of R100, the spokesman said.

Four policemen were injured yesterday in rioting at Mphohomeni, near Howick, after police used teargas, sneeze gas and sjamboks to disperse a crowd of about 250 returning from a workers' rally.

Cape Times 24/6/85

# Tutu: Raid dead not guerillas

From SIPHO NGCOBO on the borders. Their problems are neither there nor in Botswana where they massacred innocent people, but the problem is right here (in South Africa) and it is apartheid. We would not be having refugees if apartheid was not existing. We would not even be having ANC guerillas if these immoral laws were not being enforced," he added.

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The 12 people who were killed in Gaborone by SADF commandos during the June 14 raid were not ANC guerillas as claimed by South Africa, Bishop Desmond Tutu told a crowd of about 300 people during a memorial service at the Regina Mundi Cathedral in Soweto yesterday.

"The SADF killed a six-year-old child and claimed he was part of the ANC band which was planning attacks against the South African Government. How can a child of this age be part of a plot to attack South Africa?" he asked.

He maintained that all those killed were refugees and described the raid in Botswana as "a dastardly act carried out by a bunch of bullies who took advantage of Botswana's weak position".

He also told the congregation that the South African Government had no moral justification to be a government.

"They have no grounds to be a government. In fact, they are a bunch of bullies whose rule is based on the stinking apartheid policies.

"They always claim that their problems are

● A memorial service for those killed during the SADF raid on Gaborone was held in St George's Church, Calendula Street, Athlone, yesterday afternoon and was attended by about 200 people.

At least one busload of people came in from the townships. Mourners had hoped to be addressed by the Rev Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, but he was not able to attend the meeting.

One of the speakers was Ms Mama Zihlangu, vice-chairperson of the United Women's Organization. Hymns were sung in memory of those who died.

● Gaborone raid dead given ANC burial, page 4

CAPE TIMES 24/6/85

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● Gaborone raid dead given ANC burial,

11A  
28/6/85  
D. Asfatit

## UDF: no ANC links

PORT ELIZABETH — The Eastern Cape region of the United Democratic Front has described as "mischievous and absurd" claims linking the front with the banned African National Congress (ANC) and a weekend hand grenade attack on the home of the Reverend Mzwandile Maqina, and executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation.

ry Fazzie, said the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had previously aligned the UDF with the ANC.

He added that there was clear evidence that the government wanted to ban the UDF by spreading these claims.

"We cannot be incited into involvement with ANC activities, as we are a non-violent organisation. The UDF cannot be aligned to dirty tactics of throwing hand grenades at members of the community." — DDC.

Reacting to claims by Azapo, the UDF regional vice-president, Mr Hen-

# Activists vanish

A NUMBER of political activists in Duduza, Nigel, have gone into hiding following raids on their homes by men believed to be members of a vigilante group at the weekend.

The vigilantes were formed a month ago to avenge the burning of homes of businessmen, councillors, policemen and shops in the townships during the unrests.

So far they are alleged to have killed the young Duduza activist, Mr Alexandra Pailane, a member of the Duduza Youth Congress. Mr Pailane was abducted from his home on May 31, taken to a mine dump where he was tortured, and dumped unconscious at his home after the attack. He died last Monday.

Several members of Cosas, Duduza Youth Congress and Duduza Civic Association, who

asked not to be named told The SOWETAN yesterday that they were now living in fear following the raids at their homes.

*Sowetan*  
Two of them said they had gone to the shops when they were confronted by about eight men travelling in two cars who threatened to kill them if they continued serving in political organisations in the townships.

*25/6/85*  
"They accused us of

inciting people and of causing the disturbances in the township," one said. Both, who are members of the Duduza Youth Congress, said they ran away when the men ordered them to accompany them.

A spokesman for the police said he was not aware of any raids conducted by such men at the homes of any political activists in Duduza. He said police can only investigate if the affected people reported the matter to them.



D. Dispatch  
25/6/85

# ANC kills state witnesses, court told

(1A)

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH**  
The outlawed African National Congress (ANC) was linked to the United Democratic Front and it was ANC policy to kill state witnesses who gave evidence against its members, the New Brighton Regional Court heard yesterday.

Lieutenant William Dennis, of the Eastern Cape Murder and Robbery Squad, was testifying at a bail application hearing for the UDF regional president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi. Mr Ngoyi and Mrs Edith Maneli are charged with

the murder in KwaZakhele on June 8 of Vuyisile Rawane, 17.

Lieut Dennis said that if Mr Ngoyi was granted bail, the administration of justice would be hampered. He was a member of the ANC in 1960 and had served 17 years on Robben Island for furthering its aims.

"If the accused were granted bail, state witnesses would be intimidated and others would be killed because the ANC is connected with the UDF," Lieut Dennis said.

Another reason bail should be refused, he said, was that he had

information that eight missing Congress of South African Students (Cosas) executive members who were being tried on charges of public violence at Kinkelbos had fled to Lesotho in the wake of rumours that they were to face other more severe charges. Cosas is a UDF affiliate.

Mr A. M. Omar, for Mr Ngoyi, said his client, a married man with four children, was not a member of Cosas.

Mr Ngoyi was asking for bail because his house had been fire-bombed and he did not know what had happened to his family. The hearing continues today.

# PFP warning on 'reprisal's' consequences

CAPE Times 25/6/88 (12)

**Political Correspondent**

ACTIONS such as the recent SADF raid into Botswana would lead to a hardening of attitudes towards violence and counter-violence in South Africa, the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, warned yesterday.

Such actions would also hasten the Republic's international isolation, he said in a statement.

"The counter-propaganda against South Africa and the increasing hostility between the races inside South Africa eventually outweigh the short-term advantage of demonstrating the government's ability to strike back indiscriminately whenever such acts of violence occur inside our borders."

While the "reprisal" raid on Gaborone might hold short-term advantages for the government, the long-term repercussions appeared to be very serious.

Dr Slabbert, who is also the PFP's chief spokesman on defence, said all parties should look for ways to combat terrorism which did not lead to an escalation in violence.

## **Mounting chorus of world outrage**

The Botswana raid led to the recall to Washington of United States Ambassador Mr Herman Nickel. The raid was last week unanimously condemned by the Security Council at the United Nations.

The Cape Times's London correspondent reports that the Commonwealth Secretariat's committee on Southern Africa has joined the mounting chorus of world outrage over South Africa's lightning strike in Gaborone 11 days ago.

A statement after the committee met in London yesterday condemned South Africa's "wanton and unprovoked acts of aggression against a sister Commonwealth country" and demanded an end to all such acts.

The statement said the committee "associates itself with the demand of the UN Security Council for full and adequate compensation by South Africa to Botswana for damage to life and property resulting from such acts of aggression."

# 14 youths in court after S. Cape unrest

CAPE TOWN 25/6/85

11A

From RIAAN DE  
VILLIERS

OUDTSHOORN. — Fourteen youths — 12 boys and two girls — appeared in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday on charges of public violence in connection with unrest in this Southern Cape town last week.

The youths were arrested in Oudtshoorn's Bongolethu township on Friday morning. A UDF spokesman said yesterday they were the entire executive of the Bongolethu Congress.

The youths appeared on preliminary charges

of public violence. They were not asked to plead and the hearing was adjourned till July 5 for further investigation.

They did not apply for bail and are being held in police custody.

Six are minors and the hearing was held in camera. None of the youths' names was released to the press.

The arrests followed sporadic incidents of unrest last week during which two youths were shot dead by police. A third died in hospital of gunshot wounds.

Oudtshoorn was tense but quiet yesterday.

11/6/85 25/6/85  
ANC has  
suicide  
squad in  
the Cape,  
say police

Argus Correspondent  
PRETORIA. — The Gaborone raid has uncovered the presence of African National Congress suicide squads in the Eastern and Western Cape, a police spokesman said today. The groups were being controlled from Maseru, according to information gleaned from a "key" ANC suspect who had been arrested as a result of the Gaborone raid, the spokesman said.

It had also emerged that ANC members in Maseru took their orders from Gaborone which, in turn, took its instructions from the ANC office in Lusaka. The Gaborone office is believed by police to control suicide squads operating in the Transvaal.

#### WIDENING

The arrest of the ANC man has led to several other arrests and a security police investigation concentrated in the Eastern and Western Cape.

The spokesman refused to give more details on the arrests but said they had led to a widening investigation which would result in more arrests.

The Gaborone raid on June 14, in which South African commandos killed 12 people and attacked 10 targets, provided security police with what they described as a "treasure trove of intelligence".

Police seized telephone accounts and ANC membership receipt books as well as a computer loaded with ANC data.

#### HAND GRENADES

● Three prominent members of the United Democratic Front — two men and a woman — were arrested in New Brighton near Port Elizabeth yesterday in connection with the alleged hand-grenade attack on the house of Azanian People's Organisation member, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, on Sunday.

Police seized a number of hand grenades.

The police spokesman said he could not at this stage confirm links between the Gaborone raid and the New Brighton arrests.

● A policeman and his wife were injured when hand grenades were hurled at two houses in Tembisa on the East Rand last night and police arrested a man after he allegedly attacked a policeman's house with a petrol bomb in Kwathema near Springs.

26/6/85  
3  
Security  
police  
raid UDF  
offices  
2 Post

JOHANNESBURG — The Port Elizabeth offices of the United Democratic Front were raided by security police yesterday, a spokesman for the organisation said. The raid took place at about 11am. It was conducted by about 15 policemen and lasted about an hour. The police took away a single document.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, has made an emergency visit to the Eastern Cape after accusations by a member of the Azanian People's Organisation, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, that the UDF was involved in a grenade attack on his house.

Mr Morobe said the UDF took a serious view of Azapo's accusation.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lt-Col Gerrie van Rooyen, today confirmed the raid.

— Sapa

# SACC: 250 000 have fled from SA

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

**JOHANNESBURG.** — About 250 000 South African and SWA/Namibian refugees have sought refuge in neighbouring territories, according to a report presented to the national conference of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) yesterday.

The report by the director of the SACC's Division of Refugee Ministries, the Rev Sol Jacobs, said many refugees were members of banned organizations involved in the struggle for political change in South Africa.

"As a result the South African Government has been exerting increasing military, economic and diplomatic pressure on neighbouring states to evacuate the refugees or restrict their involvement in political activities."

The report said refugees in the region did not feel safe because of "South Africa's attacks

on refugees in Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana. It added: "Until there are significant changes in South Africa's internal policies, it seems very unlikely that movement of refugees will diminish in the foreseeable future."

Political instability in Southern Africa had also made South Africa a refugee-receiving country, the report said.

"Refugee movements in Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique have left South Africa with a refugee population of over 100 000."

## Future problems

"There are some 50 000 Angolans in SWA, Namibia, 30 000 to 50 000 Mozambicans in the North-East Transvaal and some 2 000 refugees from Lesotho in the Transkei and Qwaqwa."

"In addition we face the future problem of apartheid's refugees, displaced persons within South Africa's borders, those who flee the bantustan governments and South Africa's 'independent' states, those who live in squatter camps in the urban areas as South Africa's 'illegals'."

The SACC general secretary, Dr Beyers Naude, called on the churches to contemplate means of civil disobedience to "bring the oppressive and unjust system to its knees" in his report.

He said that in view of the present "serious situation of crisis and conflict", the SACC was challenged to achieve a just solution to the escalating conflict.

"The churches' non-violent stand can only achieve its goal if the Christian community initiates and supports more meaningful and effective non-violent actions including well-

To page 2

planned acts of civil disobedience," he said.

A report from the Dependents's Conference said it was not surprising that more and more demands were made for legal assistance.

The report said they were "finding ourselves fully stretched to try and cope with the ever-growing situation in the country, the ongoing unrest, detentions, and trials."

"They show just how far the government is determined to restore law and order without addressing the problems."

"This country is presently going through an undeclared civil war — even going to the extent of using the army and defence force to assist police in their duties of enforcing law and order," the report said.

The Black Sash president, Mrs Sheena Duncan, told the conference it was because the power of the State was unrestrained that South Africa was in such a mess and that so many people were suffering.

She said: "We are looking towards a new society... we are not going to reach it by a process of piecemeal reform, but only by the transformation of the way in which our society is ordered."

Mrs Duncan said the rapid militarization of South African society was "one of the most obvious symptoms of the abuse of power".

A report by the director of the SACC's Justice and Reconciliation Division, Dr W Kistner, said the special nature of militarization had the effect of "turning the whole of South Africa into a military camp".

He said the "indiscriminate use of weapons by the police force and the military is an expression of the loss of power and of control. The victims of repression on the whole do not possess weapons".

# Murder charge — UDF leader refused bail

ARGUS 26/6/83  
Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The head of the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, who faces a murder charge, has been refused bail.

Mr Ngoyi is charged with murdering Mr Vuisile Nogwaza, 17, in the Port Elizabeth township of Kwazakele on June 8.

Hearing the bail application in the New Brighton Regional Court, the magistrate, Mr G Bruwer, said evidence before the court indicated that witnesses might be influenced if Mr Ngoyi were released. Because of the UDF-Azapo conflict in the townships, Mr Ngoyi's life might also be in danger.

He was remanded until July 10.

Mr John Scott appeared for the State and Mr A M Omar for Mr Ngoyi.

**Security police raid  
PE offices of UDF**

ARGUS 26/6/85 (119) 20  
Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Port Elizabeth offices of the United Democratic Front have been raided by security police, a spokesman for the organisation said.

The spokesman said: "The raid took place at about 11am yesterday. It was conducted by about 15 policemen and lasted about an hour. The police took away a single document for which they issued a receipt."



ARGUS 26/6/85 (117) (12)

# Seven die, 8 hurt in township explosions

**Argus Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Seven people were killed and eight were injured in explosions in East Rand townships early today. The blasts are thought to have been caused by hand-grenades.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said two people were killed and eight injured in three hand-grenade explosions at Tsakane, Brakpan, in a street near a private home.

Two men were also killed in explosions in Kwathema, Springs.

### THREE KILLED

Police said one died in a hand-grenade explosion near a private home and the other near an electrical substation. He had apparently tried to throw a grenade at the substation.

Three youths were killed at Duduza, Nigel.

Duduza residents said the township was rocked by six hand-grenade attacks.

Mr Magansel Radebe, of the Duduza Civic Association, said that besides the three people killed three were admitted to hospital with injuries.

### COSAS MEMBERS

The three killed were Mr Solomon Mashabane, Mr Lucky Mgodini and Mr Mbowa Mashiane. The injured are Mr John Mlangeni, Mr Veli Mazibuko and a man known only as Pai-Pai — all founder-members of Cosas, the student organisation.

A source claimed that the six had been wanted by the police since the beginning of the week.

One of the youths who died reportedly peeped through a window and saw a police vehicle. He alerted the others, who tried to run away. Dogs were let loose. At that moment grenades were thrown.

### "HEAD BLOWN OFF"

The Pretoria police spokesman said he could not yet confirm that those who died at Duduza were killed by an explosion.

A Duduza resident said one of the youths killed had his head "blown right off".

Residents had gathered round the bodies in Nala Street and refused to go to work, he added.

The police spokesman said no incidents of unrest preceded the deaths.

He said the only incidents reported concerned a bus damaged slightly by stone-throwing youths and a zinc hut damaged when arsonists set it alight.

### HOUSE BOMBED

● Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the house of the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Rt Rev J S Nkoane, was bombed in Kwathema, near Springs, early today.

No one was injured in the attack.

Bishop Nkoane today provisionally estimated the damage at about R 2000.

This was the second bomb attack on the house within a week. Bishop Nkoane said both attacks — one last Friday and the one today — took place at 1am.

A police spokesman in Pretoria was unable to confirm the attack immediately.

# ANC to hit 'soft' targets

ARGUS 26/6/85 114  
Argus Africa Service

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress has ended a major conference in the Zambian town of Kabwe with a pledge to intensify its political and military offensive in South Africa and to eliminate the distinction between "soft" and "hard" targets.

Members argued during the week-long meeting that the time had come to include "soft" targets such as white farmers and white suburban shopping centres.

The organisation also fully opened its membership to all

aces. Five Indian, white and coloured people were included for the first time on the ANC's national executive committee, which was expanded from 22 to 30 members.

They included Mr Joe Slovo, a leading member of the South African Communist Party, Mr Mac Maharaj, who spent 15 years on Robben Island, and Mr Reg September, an activist who headed the Coloured People's Congress in the 1950s.

The heavily guarded conference was attended by 250 delegates, including commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

# Police 'suspect' grasses on ANC

CAR 7m 13 26/6/85

11A  
Staff Reporter

INFORMATION obtained from a "key suspect", who was arrested as a result of the Gaborone raid, has led to several other arrests in the widening and intensifying security police action in the Western and Eastern Cape.

Confirming the indirect link between the arrests and the raid on June 14, a spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria yesterday said there would be more arrests as investigations continued.

Police also said that an undisclosed number of African National Congress "suicide squads" — similar to those believed to be responsible for the six bomb attacks in the Peninsula recently — are in the Western and Eastern Cape.

According to informa-

tion obtained from the "key suspect" — the only arrest to emerge so far from the "treasure trove of intelligence" captured in Gaborone — these groups were being controlled by the ANC in Maseru, the police spokesman said.

The ANC members in Lesotho took their orders from Gaborone which, in turn, took its instructions from the ANC offices in Lusaka. Police believe that suicide squads operating in the Transvaal are controlled by ANC offices in Gaborone.

During the raid on Gaborone, in which 12 people died in attacks on 10 targets, Defence Force and security police commandos seized a number of telephone accounts and ANC membership receipt books, as well as a data-laden computer.

# Booby trap mix-up may have killed 7

IAA ~~STW~~

STW 27/6/85

By Andrew Walker and Peter Honey

An incredible twist of irony and ignorance may have been responsible for the East Rand hand grenade fiasco in which seven people died when grenades apparently exploded in their hands.

The grenades — Soviet manufactured RGD5s — were probably not even designed for throwing.

Military experts today told *The Star* it appeared the grenades had been manufactured for use in boobytraps only, rigged for instant detonation as soon as the pin was pulled out.

Police said the targets for grenade attacks on the East Rand early yesterday were the homes of SAP members.

Six of the dead men had their right hands blown off. One still had a grenade pin in his left hand when his body was found.

An eighth man was blasted to pieces apparently while trying to sabotage an electricity sub-station.

Military experts asked by *The Star* to speculate on one of the strangest terrorism episodes in the history of southern African insurgency put forward possible scenarios.

A likely explanation appears to be that the grenades were a specially manufactured version without any fuse delay in their detonation mechanism.

The standard infantry version of the RGD 5 has a 3,2 to 4,2 second delay after the pin is pulled and the trigger mechanism is released.

### Trip wire

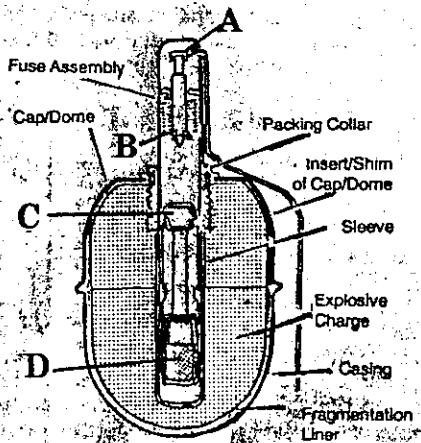
But an instantaneous detonation version is known to have been manufactured. It would be used in a booby trap role.

For example the grenade would be strapped to a tree at mid-body height, and then connected to a trip wire.

The victim would trip over the wire, releasing the pin and causing an instant detonation.

Insurgents had similar problems during the pre-independence Zimbabwe bush war. Their "stick grenades" — a hand grenade attached to a wooden handle to facilitate throwing — had a time delay of up to five seconds after the pin was pulled.

But some were manufactured with no delay at all for booby trap use. In the case of the stick grenade, the Chinese manufacturers neglected to put any



This diagram from Jane's Infantry Weapons illustrates the workings of the Russian-made RGD5 hand grenade, the type which is believed to have killed seven people on the East Rand this week. When the lever is released it flips away, freeing its hold on the firing pin at A. The spring-loaded pin (B) shoots down on to the percussion cap (C) which ignites the narrow chemical fuse column beneath. This fuse takes between 3,2 and 4,2 seconds to reach the primary explosive charge (D) which explodes, detonating the 110 grams of TNT charge in the body of the grenade. An explosives expert says it would be highly dangerous to tamper with the special UZRGM Russian fuse assembly. He says the grenades which exploded this week could have been factory-made for immediate detonation.



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But some were manufactured with no delay at all for booby trap use. In the case of the stick grenade, the Chinese manufacturers neglected to put any markings on the grenade to warn users that some were designed to explode instantly.

It is not known if the same neglect has applied to the manufacture of the Russian RGD 5.

## Training

But a South African explosives expert said an RGD 5 found by security forces in 1978 injured a group of SA explosives trainees when it went off instantaneously.

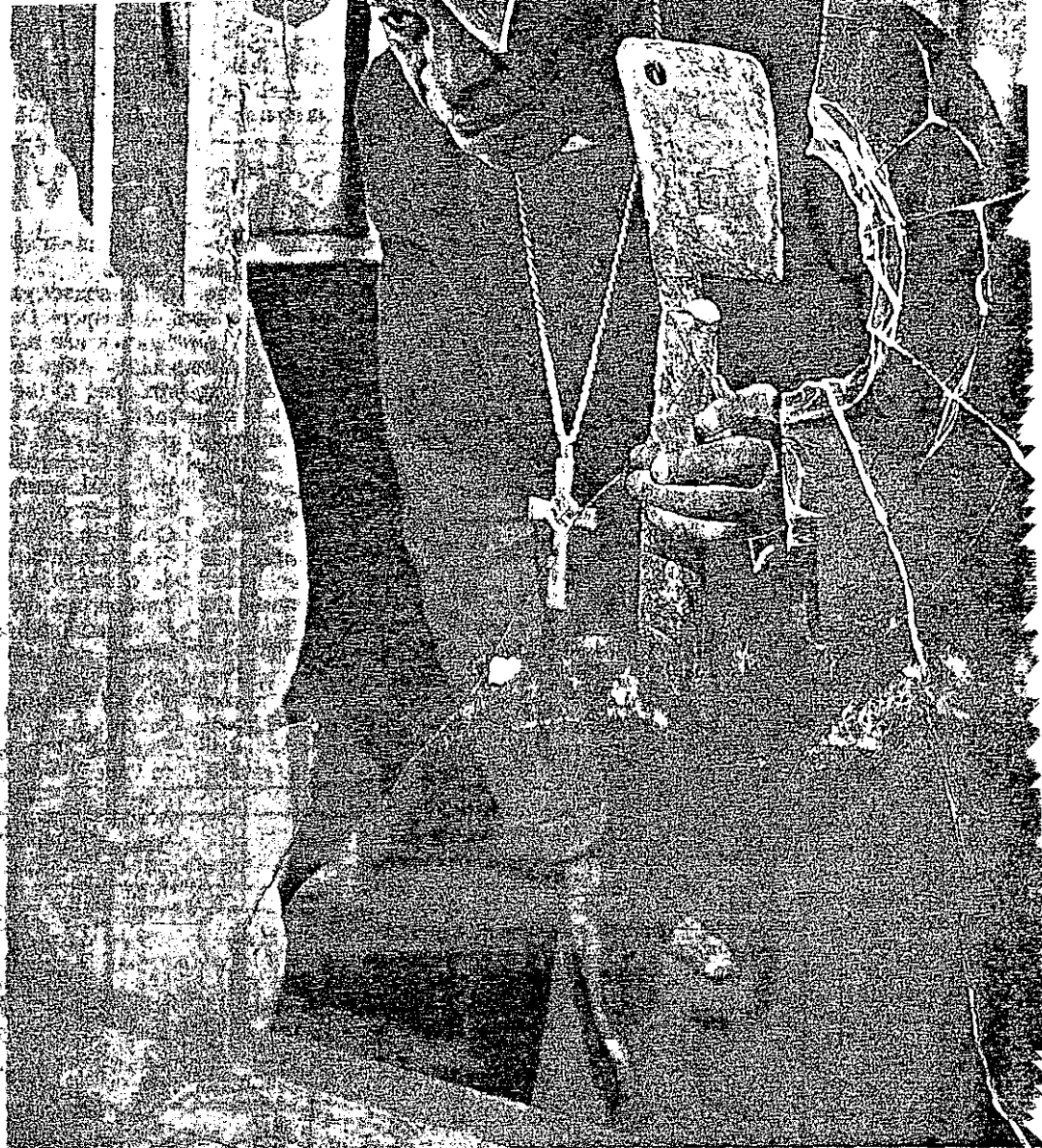
The South Africans had been using it in a training session to familiarise themselves with Soviet arms. There had been no apparent warning marks on the grenade showing that it would go off as soon as the pin was pulled, said the expert.

Mystery surrounds the death of the man who was blasted by a limpet mine while he was climbing over a wall in Kgawane Street, kwaThema.

Other theories put forward by experts include:

- Faulty manufacture
- They had been damaged while left for period in an arms cache
- Users had incorrectly assembled the weapons
- An arms cache had been found and the grenades and limpet mine had been deliberately tampered with
- Incorrect training

● See Page 11



Bishop Simeon Nkoane, the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg who was fired at during the violence in East Rand early on Wednesday morning, shows the home-made axe which was used to break windows home before two doors were set on fire.

● Picture by Jacob R

# Distraught parents could not believe sons were dead

The distraught parents and relatives of Mr Samuel Mashiane (22), Mr Lucky Mogodi and Mr Jabulani Mahlangu expressed shock and disbelief at the death of their sons after a series of hand grenade explosions.

A hysterical Mrs Adelaide Mashiane of Duduza, whose son's body was found headless, said:

"Why did they choose him? Why could they not have killed an old person like myself? Why? Why?"

Samuel had left home to visit friends at about 7 pm on Tuesday and did not return home.

Her husband, Mr Johannes Mashiane said the news was broken to them by neighbours early yesterday morning.

"We rushed to the scene and were horrified by what we saw," he said.

Mr Mashiane said they later found a van and put the body inside, with the intention of taking it to the mortuary, but the police "demanded the body, took it forcibly and bundled it into a waiting police vehicle".

## TEARSMOKE

"They fired tearsmoke at us and we had no option but to flee," he said.

At the Mambisa family home in Duduza, where Mr Mogodi was an adopted son, anger could be read on all the relatives' faces.

His cousin, Mr Alfred Bambisa, said: "Lucky was with us the whole day on Tuesday. At about 5.30 pm he made himself some tea and bread and left to visit some friends. He never returned."

He said his cousin, who was an active Congress of South African Students member must have been attacked by the "system". Mrs Samaria Mahlangu of kwaThema, whose son Jabulani died in a different grenade explosion in Tsakane, said:

"I cannot understand it. I am shocked. It could not have happened to him," she chanted incoherently as she tried to digest the news that her

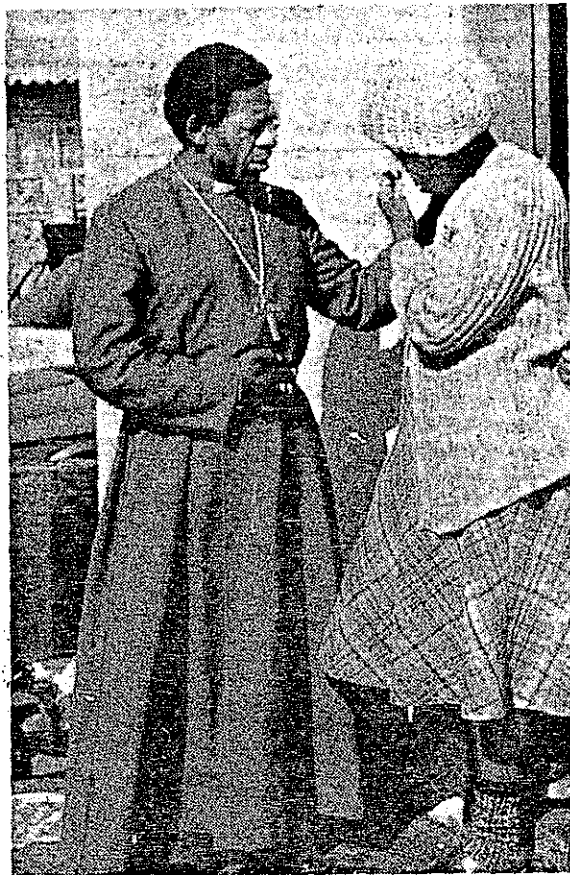


Police search for clues in front of one of the houses where hand grenades exploded in the East Rand early on Wednesday morning, killing seven men. Another man died in a limpet mine blast.

Mr Edward Malin kwa

# Mopping up after Grenade near t

By Jon Qwelane



Bishop Simeon Nkoane, who was fired at by unknown men during the East Rand violence yesterday, comforts Miss Daphne Malinga, whose home was set on fire by the attackers. Miss Malinga stays near Bishop Nkoane in kwaThema, Springs.

Whoever mopped up after yesterday morning's carnage in kwaThema township in Springs had a miserable job. Even after it was finished, the evidence left behind sickened many curious onlookers who regretted having a look in the first place.

Some of the victims could not be recognised. A bloodstained wall at the township's main electrical substation bore gory testimony to what happened. On the gravel somewhere inside the yard were what was once a pair of grey trousers and a white shirt.

Not far off was the home of trade unionist Mr Siphon Nkosi, where another man was "blasted beyond recognition" when a hand grenade went off. Efforts by the Nkosi household to cover the bloodied spot with sand were not particularly successful.

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Here hand grenades exploded in the East Rand. Another man died in a limpet mine blast.



Mr Edward Malinga, whose two cars were set on fire soon after the attack on Bishop Nkoane in KwaThema near Springs, shows two bullets which he found in his house.

# g up after the carnage

By Jon Qwelane

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Jane's Infantry Weapons 1984-5 describes the RGD 5 as an egg-shaped anti-personnel fragmentation

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Police are still trying to establish whether the other exploded grenades were of the same type.

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It would appear from residents' accounts that some of those who died wore the same disguises as those who went on a violent spree in two other East Rand townships leaving a trail of extensive damage.

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His cassock and cloak, which hung behind the door in his bedroom, were burnt to cinders as were some of his books. "I cannot open the door because I am afraid it may fall in," he said.

It was the second such attack on his home in less than a week and he said he still owed money to the hardware store which fitted in new window

panes after the first raid.

Mr Nkosi is also not a policeman. Nor is Mr Edward Malinga, who also denies affiliation to any political group whether operating inside or outside the "system".

Mr Malinga was also missed by three bullets which, like in the shooting at Bishop Nkoane's house, were of the 9 mm calibre. He collected the spent cartridges.

Petrol bombs extensively damaged his neatly renovated four-roomed house, destroyed most of his furniture and consigned two cars to the scrap heap.

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SAF TAA Nov 27/88

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"I cannot understand I am shocked. It could not have happened to me," she chanted incoherently, as she tried to digest the news that her son, a Standard Nine pupil at Nkumbula High school, was dead.



Bishop Simeon Nkoane, who was fired at by unknown men during the East Rand violence yesterday, comforts Miss Daphne Malinga, whose home was set on fire by the attackers. Miss Malinga stays near Bishop Nkoane in kwaThema, Springs.

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# Azapo, UDF leaders meet to end the feud

(11A) D. Dispatch 27/6/85

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH** — An impromptu meeting yesterday between the United Democratic Front regional vice-president, Mr Henry Fazzie, and the chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr M. Dukumbana, could herald an end to the long-standing feud between supporters of both organisations.

The feuding erupted in April and has resulted in several injuries to, and deaths of supporters of both camps. Mr Dukumbana said some of the casualties had been caused by

sophisticated weapons and more than 50 township residents had been left homeless.

At yesterday's meeting at the Court Chambers building here, both leaders agreed to resolve through negotiation an impasse which has developed in the feud, which they said was delaying their mutual struggle against the "government's oppressive laws."

Mr Fazzie said a meeting between Azapo officials and the UDF could be convened soon if Azapo were agreeable.

It could not be established after yesterday's meeting whether the executive committees of

both organisations had agreed to hold further talks.

However, both leaders undertook to work hard to initiate another round of peace talks before the weekend.

Mr Fazzie said the feud had paved the way for "the system" to sow confusion by encouraging faction fighting.

Meanwhile a spokesman for the Interdenominational Ministers Association of Southern Africa (Idamasa) disclosed that the Reverend Ebenezer Mqina, a prominent Azapo member, had asked Idamasa to mediate to end the feud before this became impossible.

# Security Police raid UDF's PE offices

1977  
THE Port Elizabeth offices of the United Democratic Front were raided by Security Police on Tuesday, a spokesman for the organisation said in Johannesburg.

"The raid took place at about 11 am. It was conducted by about 15 policemen and lasted about an hour. The police took away a single document for which they issued a receipt," the spokesman said.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, has made an emergency visit to the Eastern Cape, in the wake of accusations by a member of the Azanian People's Organisation, the Reverend Ebenezer Maqina, that the UDF was involved in a grenade attack on his house in New Brighton.

Mr Morobe said the UDF took a particularly serious view of Azapo's accusation that the Front was using "trained" men in attacks on its opponents.

"We are finding it in-

creasingly difficult to distinguish between the language emanating from Security Police headquarters and that from elements who imagine themselves to be 'the people's movement'."

Mr Mopobe branded the accusations as smear tactics and commented that opportunistic elements seemed to be us-

ing the conflict in Port Elizabeth to attract the attention of the Press to themselves.

"We are involved in a non-violent struggle against the apartheid government. It is therefore inconceivable that the UDF can be involved in daring attacks on the homes of people we have at no stage declared war against."

# 'ANC may have won the battle of ideas'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The African National Congress may possibly have won the battle of ideas, Dr Tom Lodge, a political scientist at the University of the Witwatersrand, said last night.

He said the ANC had widespread legitimacy in the townships and had gained acknowledgement, at least, as an inescapable fact of political life by a significant proportion of whites.

He added, however, that it was an open question whether the ANC had the organisational ability to co-ordinate and direct the largely spontaneous violence which had flared across South Africa.

Dr Lodge was addressing a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg.

While "a bomb a week does not add up to a full scale guerilla war" and the conflict had not escalated to a point where the ANC stood to gain by entering negotiations with South Africa, he said the post-Nkomati period had shown:

- That supplies of arms and other equipment were still getting into South Africa.
- That guerillas inside South Africa were not dependent on "uninterrupted lines of external support". "Externally trained men are functioning in South Africa for longer and longer times".
- That guerillas seemed less dependent on outside orders, as the bombings of Anglo American and Anglo Vaal properties in Johannesburg almost within hours of the mass firings at the mines earlier this year suggested.

## PROPAGANDA

Dr Lodge described the sabotage programme of the ANC since 1977 as one of "armed propaganda".

"The intention was not to present a serious challenge or threat to the State or white South Africans, but to build a political following."

In contrast to earlier sabotage, the targets selected in this second phase of the ANC's campaign — for instance administration/development board offices — appeared geared to make an impact in the townships.

Recent surveys had



Dr Tom Lodge... "wide support for ANC"

underlined the popular legitimacy of the ANC in the black community. Even organisations such as Inkatha, which did not go along with the present-day ANC, did not outrightly repudiate the ANC tradition, Dr Lodge said.

Addressing the question of the Gaborone raid, Dr Lodge said South African Police had yet to release evidence that an important operational base had been hit.

It was hard to believe that the ANC would site key personnel in striking distance of Pretoria after the Maseru and Matola raids, he said.

Details of the most recent policy decisions within the ANC, taken at this month's consultative conference in Zambia, were not yet known, Dr Lodge said.

It was clear from initial reports, however, that there would be no backing down from the armed struggle.

Organisational elections had probably assisted in incorporating the post-1976 influx of members into leadership positions, and this was likely to mean a tougher stance on military issues, he said.

~~107~~ (11A)  
**Lesotho**  
*D. Desfatch*  
**denies**  
**ANC** 2/12/85  
**presence**

**JOHANNESBURG** —  
The Lesotho Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr Desmond Sixishe, has denied allegations that his country is involved with the activities of the African National Congress in South Africa.

Mr Sixishe was referring to reports quoting a police spokesman as saying ANC suicide squads active in the eastern and western Cape were controlled from Maseru.

The minister emphasised during a telephone call that Lesotho continued to pursue a policy that did not allow the use of its territory as a springboard for acts of violence against South Africa or any neighbouring state.

He said Lesotho had no intention of reversing that policy or of harbouring political organisations that would not respect that policy.

Mr Sixishe claimed the police spokesman who issued the statement was looking for scapegoats because the police had failed to control the situation inside South Africa. — Sapa

# Amanda <sup>Star</sup> has a cause worth dying for

27/6/85  
11A

By Marika Sboros  
When social worker and political activist Amanda Kwadi heard she was on a hit list, she laughed.

"I thought it was a joke," Ms Kwadi says, referring to the recently exposed "Operation Demolition", a plot by black mercenaries in the pay of unidentified whites to kidnap and assassinate prominent leaders of the black community before June 16.

When she discovered that the hit list, which included Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu and United Democratic Front treason trialist the Reverend Frank Chikane, was not an idle threat, Ms Kwadi decided to take no special precautions.

"If an assassin is bent on eliminating you, he'll succeed," she says.

Her family telephoned daily at the offices where she works as a social worker in Johannesburg to make sure she had come to no harm.

Ms Kwadi says her only worry was for her young son, Sekhutlo, 10, who lives with his grandmother in Brits.

"He is of the age now where he reads newspapers. My family tried to hide what was happening from him, but he knew there was something going on," she says.

Friends in Soweto and young people rallied round to ensure the Orlando East shack which Ms Kwadi calls home was not razed to the ground.

But Ms Kwadi is a woman to whom fear of political reprisals is no stranger.

"The first time I was detained in 1979 was the worst. My family feared I wouldn't come out of it alive. I was terrified.

"But I survived .... to be detained again in 1981 and again in 1983.

"I realise that if you are anti-apartheid you are a possible victim of right-wing extremists.

"I have always said either apartheid dies or I die. It's a risk I am willing to take," Ms Kwadi says.

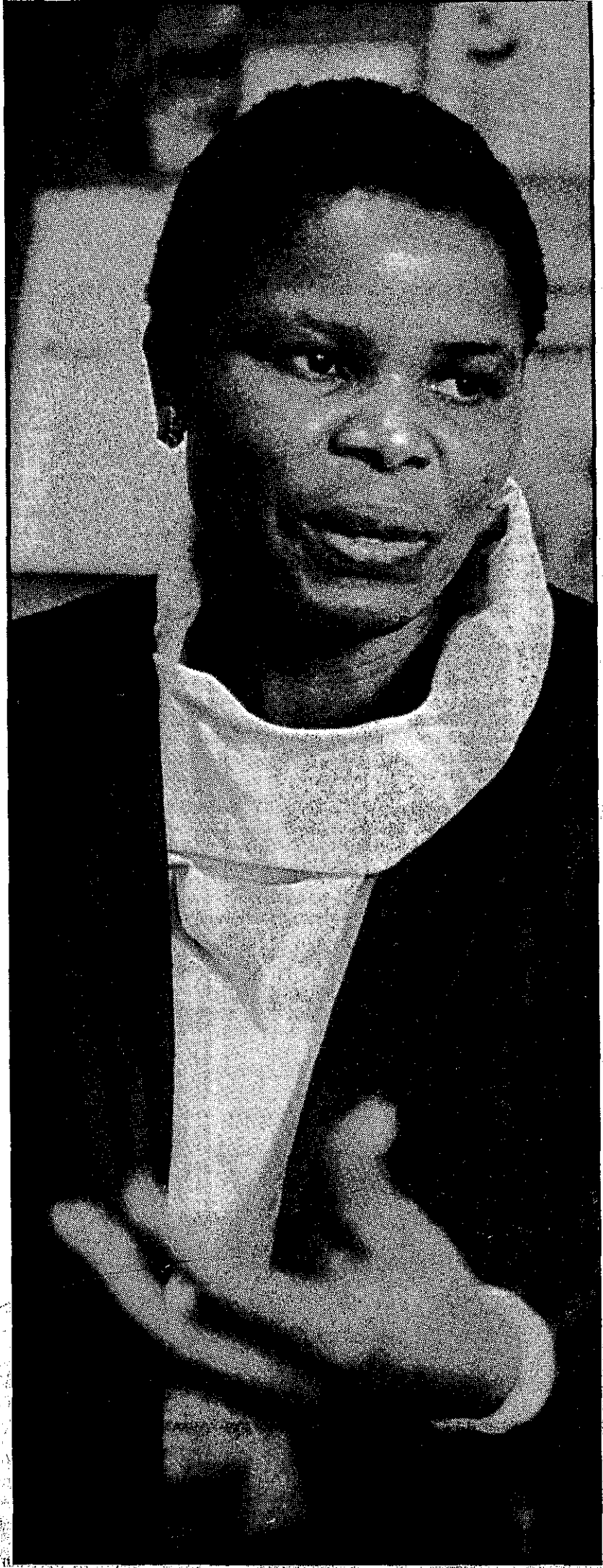
June 16 has passed, but for Amanda Kwadi, the fear of death by an assassin's bullet remains.

She says she is saddened but not unduly surprised to learn that blacks were behind the hit list.

"I would have expected such a hit list to emanate from the police. But in our fight for a just society, we expect ideological differences and reactionary behaviour. You will always have your Savimbis," she says.

Ms Kwadi, organiser for the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw), a multiracial umbrella organisation of 22 women's groups, says if the hit list achieved anything it was to make her more determined to fight injustice.

"My work in Fedtraw has shown that blacks and whites can work together to ensure a decent future for our children," she says.



AMANDA KWADI: "I am willing to take risks for my beliefs."

## Men fire three shots at bishop

Argus 27/6/85 Argus Correspondent (11A) ~~35~~  
JOHANNESBURG. — Confusion and anger reigns in the townships over an attack on the home of the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Rt Rev Simeon Nkoane.

His house is in Kwathema township, near Springs, the scene of recent unrest and violence.


The bishop said he was awakened by noises in the early hours yesterday. He went to a window and saw men on his property wearing balaclavas.

"I watched through my bedroom window as three tall, hefty men broke the dining-room window with a home-made axe."

The bishop switched on a light, went outside and called out to the men. Three shots were fired at him after petrol-bombs were hurled at the house. He said petrol was also thrown at his doors and set alight.

The fire trapped him and his 82-year-old mother in the house. He fought off the flames and neighbours came to the rescue.

The bishop's home was also attacked last week. No one was injured yesterday.



The Rt Rev Simeon Nkoane surveys the damage a few hours after three shots were fired at him and his house was set alight by petrol-bombs. He is holding the "home-made axe" with which the attackers broke a window.

# SAP 'will ensure' the rugby tourists' safety

From COLIN HOWELL  
 JOHANNESBURG — In the wake of an ominous warning by the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) that the lives of the All Black rugby players could be in danger if they tour South Africa, both the SA Police and the Ministry of Law and Order yesterday reiterated that rugby players and spectators would be protected and disruption of the games would not be tolerated.

The ANC threats came after a major ANC conference in the Zambian town of Kabwe. According to some reports, the New Zealanders may become ANC targets if they tour.

And yesterday, the ANC's representative in Canberra said that peaceful demonstrations supported by the ANC could turn violent when "South Africa's racist regime tries to hit

out at the demonstrators".

The representative warned the All Blacks and members of the proposed Australian "rebel" cricket tour that their lives could be in danger if they go ahead with plans to tour South Africa.

This could mean death for some people and it was not possible to tell what would happen to the sportsmen, who would "only have themselves to blame if their lives are endangered", the ANC representative said.

### Safety

Asked to comment on the threats yesterday, a spokesman for the SA Police public relations division in Pretoria was prepared to say only: "We are going to make every endeavour to ensure the safety of the rugby players."

And Colonel Leon Mel-

lett, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, referred to an earlier statement by Mr Le Grange that the safety of the All Blacks and spectators during the tour would be assured.

"The SA Police will assure the safety of the All Black rugby players as well as rugby followers. At least 10 000 New Zealanders have already booked air tickets, hotels and seats. People who want to enjoy the game of rugby, as players or spectators, are entitled to do so," Colonel Mellett said.

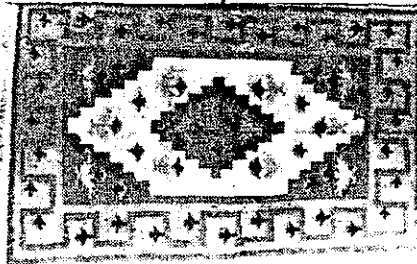
"We will see that the play is not disrupted and that both the players and spectators are safe."

The United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo) have indicated they will make efforts to disrupt the proposed rugby and cricket tours.

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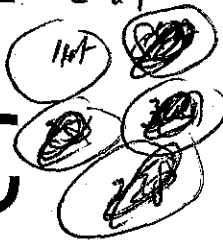
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# Terror probe after blast deaths

AKSLS  
27/6/85



Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating charges of sabotage or terrorism against seven men in hospital under police guard following hand-grenade and limpet-mine explosions on the East Rand in which eight people died.

Six men were killed and seven seriously injured in seven hand-grenade explosions yesterday, and another man died later in hospital. One man was killed in a limpet-mine explosion.

The blasts occurred in three East Rand townships — Duduza near Nigel, Kwathema near Springs and Tsakane near Brakpan.

Police are investigating the possibility that the men accidentally killed themselves when their grenades exploded prematurely as they were carrying out a "co-ordinated terrorist attack".

Six of the eight people killed had their right hands blown off.

## Clutching pin

Police said the homes of policemen and an electricity substation were the targets of attack.

They said one of the victims was still clutching a hand-grenade pin when police recovered his body.

A police spokesman said the grenades were of Russian origin and had, up to now, been used only in ANC terrorist attacks.

Two grenades exploded in Ndabazitha Street, Tsakane, killing two men.

## Three men

Three exploded on the corner of Nala and Letsapa streets in Duduza, killing three men. Residents say the three were Lucky Mogodi, 19, Solomon Mashabane, 19, and Mbowa Samuel Mashiane, 22. Residents named some of the injured as John Mlangeni, Veli Mazibuko and a man known only as Pai-Pai. They were all members of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

One grenade exploded in Thage Street in Kwathema, killing one man.

Police found an unexploded grenade near the victim's body.

The limpet mine which exploded in Kgaswane Street in Kwathema killed another man.

● Police had to use tearsmoke to disperse about 6 000 people in Duduza yesterday because they were being hindered in the execution of their duties.

This was said by the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria following complaints by residents about the use of tearsmoke to disperse crowds around the bodies of three youths who died in the explosions.

● See Page 2

# Botswana may talk in spite of the raid

Argus Africa News Service

GABORONE. — Further talks are expected between South Africa and Botswana on the African National Congress question in spite of the June 14 raid on Gaborone.

The Botswana government has not yet decided whether to agree to the July 23 meeting proposed by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

But "the door remains open for further meetings," according to Botswana's Secretary of External affairs, Mr G G Garebamono.

In another development Mr Tim Williams, a South African refugee said to have been one of the main targets of the raid, is reported to have left for Lusaka after describing how he narrowly missed death by fleeing over his back wall when his house was attacked.

And in Gaborone landlords are reported to be evicting South African tenants for fear they may be targets for further South African raids.

Mr Garebamono confirmed today that Mr Botha's communication proposing the July 23 meeting arrived in Gaborone on the same day as the South African troops hit 10 alleged ANC targets in the Botswana capital, killing 12 people, including two Batswana.

This caused the Botswana Foreign Minister, Dr G K Chiepe, to accuse Mr Botha last week of following a "Jekyll and Hyde" policy of both consultation and aggression.



Mr Pik Botha

She said Mr Botha's proposal for a meeting on July 23 came after a series of exchanges between the two governments aimed at fixing a date for a meeting to discuss the ANC question.

Pretoria has claimed it repeatedly asked Gaborone to crack down on ANC members after they made Botswana a major base for sabotage and terrorism following the closure of the Mozambique and Swaziland infiltration routes. But Botswana clearly lacked the "political will" to deal effectively with the ANC presence, according to Mr Botha.

Botswana claims it has consistently stuck to its policy of not allowing its soil to be used for attacks on South Africa and has arrested anyone found with illegal weapons.

Confirming that Botswana was still open to dialogue, Mr Garebamono said: "We believe that talking to our neighbours may help to resolve problems — perhaps not all problems but at least some."

The Botswana Guardian reported today that Mr Williams had left for Lusaka with his wife Stella and three children following reports that South African security agents were still looking for him.

On the night of the raid he saw the commandos arrive and fled over the backyard wall shortly before they shot up the house and then blew it up. He had sent his family to a place of safety before the night of the raid.

The newspaper also quoted an official of a welfare organisation dealing with refugees as saying that "some landlords seem to have panicked" into evicting South African tenants or tenants with South African friends.

## INTERNATIONAL

# US warns SA but opposes sanctions

ARGUS  
27/6/85

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States government will stick to its policy of constructive engagement and it will continue to oppose economic sanctions against South Africa.

But it wants the world to know that it dissociates itself strongly from South Africa's recent military action in Angola and Botswana — and will reject any unilateral attempt by Pretoria to impose an independence settlement on South West Africa/Namibia.

This was made clear here today by US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, when he spoke via a satellite hook-up to journalists in East and West Africa.

"What we see is a pattern of negative decision-making coming from (South Africa). We have no intention of aligning ourselves with those decisions," he said.

Much of the news conference dealt with Southern Africa and all of the questions relating to this region were hostile, casting Dr Crocker as a defender of US policies.

Rejecting sanctions and disinvestment as negative steps that would remove US influence, he said that European and Japanese companies were waiting in line to take over from

American companies if they pulled out of South Africa.

Dr Crocker emphasised that constructive engagement was a regional policy.

He said: "We believe we have the right approach in Southern Africa and, as President Reagan has made clear, we intend to stick with it.

"At the same time ... we are not about to participate by association with decisions and events and actions on the part of one party in Southern Africa, namely South Africa, with which we have very strong disagreements."

## Implications

The US, he said, was determined to dissociate itself from South Africa's recent actions in Angola, Botswana and elsewhere, and was carefully reviewing the implications of those actions.

Dr Crocker said sanctions were not the right course to follow in dealing with South Africa.

"We do not believe that the South African Government is going to be coerced by measures taken against its people and its economy, and so we are going to stick with that position."

● From London it was reported that Britain regards the establishment of the interim government in South West Africa/Namibia as "null and void".

Answering questions in the Commons yesterday, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said Britain opposed the interim administration because it had no standing under United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.



Dr Crocker

ANCOS 27/6/85 (112)

ANC MEETING

# ANC vows to step up war against white rule in SA

Mr Oliver Tambo said this week that an intensified war would make it difficult for ANC guerrillas in South Africa "to distinguish between soft and hard targets." Associated Press reports from Lusaka

THE African National Congress has vowed to step up its guerrilla war against white rule in South Africa, with the possibility of many more casualties, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo said in Lusaka on Tuesday.

Mr Tambo told reporters that the first executive gathering of the ANC since 1969, held in Zambia from June 16 to June 23, decided "to intensify the struggle at any cost."

An intensified war, he added, would make it difficult for ANC guerrillas in South Africa "to distinguish between soft and hard targets." The ANC has said repeatedly in the past that its policy is to limit sabotage attacks to "hard" military and government targets, avoiding loss of civilian life.

"We have declared war because apartheid has been waging war on our people anyway," Mr Tambo said.

Mr Tambo's remarks came after a sharp increase in the number of sabotage bombings in South Africa in recent weeks. On Monday night a blast damaged the office of an explosives company in a central Johannesburg office building, causing no injuries.

It was the third recent explosion at offices of private companies. The first two, claimed by the ANC, were at mining houses that fired more than 17 000 black workers, Monday

night's blast, not yet claimed by any organisation, was at AECI Ltd, an explosives firm also locked in a labour dispute.

The ANC information department in Lusaka said in a communique dictated to The Associated Press in Johannesburg that the conference agreed to expand the executive committee from 22 to 30 members. Five white, Indian and coloured members were added to the previous all-black committee. They include Mr Joe Slovo, a white long de-

scribed by the South African Government as a key figure in ANC sabotage attacks.

The delegates re-elected Mr Tambo as president, Mr Alfred Nzo as secretary-general and Mr Thomas Nkobi as treasurer-general. Two members were voted out of office and a third chose not to run again. An ANC official said none of the changes on the committee reflected any major policy shifts.

Asked whether the ANC was changing its policy of attacking only "hard" military targets

and avoiding civilian casualties, the official replied:

"It has changed in the sense that we are not saying, 'civilians are not going to die.' In the past, we were saying the ANC will not deliberately take innocent life. But now, looking at what is happening in South Africa, it is difficult to say civilians are not going to die."

"More and more whites are getting armed and getting involved in civil defence. It is becoming difficult to distinguish who is armed and who is an unarmed civilian."

The official, who declined to be identified, said children were among those killed by police and soldiers in the unrest, and asked: "Are children hard targets? They were definitely not."

The conference also received a message from ANC leaders imprisoned in South Africa, signed by former ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Tambo said.

## 'Aspiration'

The smuggled message read in part: "We feel sure that all those delegates who will attend the conference share the aspiration of unity because unity is the rock on which the ANC was formed... we share the aspiration and position taken by Comrade Tambo and the ANC leadership."

Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela were law partners in the late 1940s and early 1950s and Mr Mandela went on to become president of the ANC. The organisation, formed in 1912, was banned in 1960. It went underground and the next year abandoned non-violence in favour of an armed campaign against white rule.

Mr Mandela was sentenced to life in prison in 1964 for plotting sabotage and Mr Tambo went into exile to take up leadership of the organisation.

Mr Tambo said the conference came against a background of 10 months of unrest in South Africa, in which he said more than 500 people had been killed. The South African Institute of Race Relations has put the death toll at just over 400.

## Unrest

The South African Government accuses the ANC of stirring up the unrest in black townships to try to make them ungovernable.

Mr Tambo said the conference worked out strategies to increase the international isolation of the South African Government and on ways to increase both military and political activity against white rule.

# Grenades 'meant for booby-traps'

ARGUS 27/6/85



**Argus Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Ignorance may have been responsible for the East Rand hand-grenade fiasco in which seven people died when grenades apparently exploded in their hands.

The grenades — Soviet manufactured RGD5s — were probably not even designed for throwing.

Military experts today said it appeared the grenades had been manufactured for use in booby-traps only, rigged for instant detonation as soon as the pin was pulled.

The men died on the East Rand yesterday. Police said the targets were the homes of policemen.

## NO FUSE DELAY

Six of the men had their right hands blown off.

One had a grenade pin in his left hand when his body was found.

An eighth man was blasted to pieces apparently while trying to sabotage an electricity sub-station. Seven other people were seriously injured in the blasts.

Military experts asked to

speculate put forward possible scenarios.

A likely explanation is that the grenades were specially manufactured without any fuse delay in their detonation mechanism.

The standard infantry version of the RGD5 has a 3,2 to 4,2-second delay after the pin is pulled and the trigger mechanism is released.

But an instant detonation version is known to have been made to be used as a booby trap.

A South African explosives expert said an RGD5 found by security forces in 1978 injured a group of explosives trainees when it went off instantly.

The trainees had been using it to familiarise themselves with Soviet arms.

Mystery surrounds the death of the man who was blasted by a limpet mine while he was climbing over a wall in Kwathema.

The limpet mine is regarded as a safe weapon.

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**UDF supports charter's spirit**

*CAPE TIMES 21/6/85 114*

By **EBRAHIM MOOSA**  
THE Freedom Charter was the most representative political document in South Africa's history and formed the basis for the struggle against apartheid, said a panel of the United Democratic Front's Western Cape executive council.

"elected delegates".  
According to Mr Cronin, the Freedom Charter involved the participation of 3,5 million people of all race groups, making it thereby the "most democratic and representative people's document".

**'Contentious'**

In a panel interview yesterday with Mr Christmas Tinto, UDF vice-president, Mr Jeremy Cronin, education and training officer, and Mr Trevor Manuel, a secretary, the front declared its support for the "democratic spirit" of the charter, although it had not officially adopted it.

The panel agreed that the charter was considered to be contentious by some groups, but that it should be seen as the "broad vision of a future South Africa".

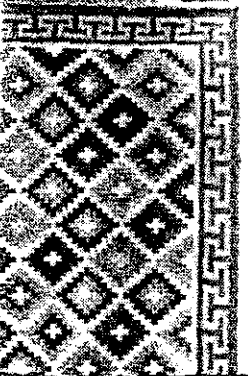
Criticism of the charter by the far left who said it espoused a four-nation ethnic concept, was dismissed as an "intellectual distortion of the truth". The recognition of "national Groups" in the charter had to be viewed as "unifying factor" instead of "divisive".

Yesterday was the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter since its adoption at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on June 25, 1955 by several organizations under the leadership of the African National Congress.

According to the panel, the Freedom Charter formed the main source of inspiration for many popular movements today and could form the basis for a national convention.

Mr Tinto, one of the delegates who attended the Congress of the People in Kilptown, explained that the charter was formulated by 3 000

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11A B. Day  
27/6/85

# Comment

There can be only one response to the decision of the African National conference at the weekend to spread terror into our suburbs with the express object of killing and maiming innocent people indiscriminately. That response must be iron resistance at almost all cost.

No longer can there be any mistaking the ANC's purpose or its abhorrent methods of achieving it. And for what it does, it must reap the whirlwind.

At the weekend it was made clear that the ANC is an organisation that seeks power, not peace, domination, not freedom. The last thing it wants is progress towards more representative government and a just society for all our people, living together in an economy where everyone is reasonably free to seek his own interest.

No longer is the ANC satisfied with blowing up charge offices and power pylons, if ever that were justifiable. Now it wants the blood of innocents: your children and ours, your loved ones and ours, regardless of whether they are for, against or are indifferent to apartheid.

The ANC has threatened in the same manner the lives of New Zealand sportsmen in the country and those who came to see them play.

It has turned its back on a legislative progress towards a more just society. Its leaders prefer jail to a promise of non-violence.

By stating quite openly that it is prepared to kill and maim innocent people indiscriminately, the ANC has turned its back on Western, Christian justice and all civilised standards of behaviour. Clearly, it is not prepared to judge a man or woman as an individual. Instead it is applying the reasoning of Hitler, Lenin and Stalin for their respective pogroms.

For the ANC to argue that SA raids into Botswana and elsewhere is similarly taking terror into the suburbs is patent nonsense. SA soldiers have had specific objectives in cross-border raids: to capture enemy plans and munitions. And what they have captured tends to bear out this claim.

The riot control exercised by SA policemen is often rough justice and deserving of censure or more. But it does not license the ANC to terrorise innocent people going about their daily business.

Most of the ordinary folk of this country do not want apartheid and they have not actively supported it. They want to earn their wages, educate their children and provide for their old age. Why should they be held to ransom because some uncompromising thugs in Lusaka with ignoble motives want to move into the Union Buildings.

And, as the ANC has eschewed all compromise, its ransom price is high indeed. It is nothing short of capitulation by Pretoria and certain anarchy. And even if the ANC were to settle for less, as the Spectator warned President Reagan this week ... "once you pay the Dane-geld, you never get rid of the Dane."

# ANC vows to step up fight 'at any cost'

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress has vowed to step up its guerilla war against white rule in South Africa, with the possibility of many more casualties, ANC president Oliver Tambo said here on Tuesday.

Mr Tambo told reporters that the first executive gathering of the ANC since 1969, held in Zambia from June 16 to June 23, decided "to intensify the struggle at any cost".

An intensified war, he added, would make it difficult for ANC guerillas "to distinguish between soft and hard tar-

gets". The ANC has said repeatedly in the past that its policy is to limit sabotage attacks to "hard" military and government targets, avoiding loss of civilian life.

"We have declared war because apartheid has been waging war on our people anyway," Mr Tambo said.

Mr Tambo said the conference came against a background of 10 months of unrest in South Africa, in which he said more than 500 people had been killed. The South African Institute of Race Relations has put the death toll at just over 400.

Mr Tambo said the conference worked out strategies to increase the international isolation of the South African Government and on ways to increase both military and political activity against white rule.

An official at the ANC information department in Lusaka said in a communique about the change in policy: "It has changed in the sense that we are not saying, 'Civilians are not going to die'. In the past, we were saying the ANC will not deliberately take innocent life. But now, looking at what is happening in South Africa, it is difficult to say civilians are not going to die."

The official said: "More and more whites are getting armed, and getting involved in civil defence. It is becoming difficult to distinguish who is armed and who is an unarmed civilian."

● Mr Le Grange yesterday gave permission for this report quoting Mr Tambo, who is a banned person, to be used. — Sapa-AP

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CAPL. LUMU 28/6/85

# Off-duty policeman attacked

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At Odendaalsrus in the Free State, a large group of people attacked an off-duty policeman who used his service weapon to defend himself after he was stabbed and stoned.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said the policeman was seriously hurt.

A motorist who stopped to help him was also stoned. Police have arrested two men who will face charges of attempted murder and malicious damage to property.

Meanwhile, damage estimated at about R10 000 was caused in separate incidents of violence in the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton yesterday when youths stoned and set alight vehicles.

The driver of one of the vehicles was robbed of R1 146. His vehicle worth R5 000 was gutted.

Damage estimated at R5 000 was caused when another delivery vehicle was set alight in New Brighton. In a separate incident a petrol bomb was hurled into an East Cape Development Board vehicle, but no damage resulted.

Early yesterday morning, a KwaZakele house owned by a member of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), Mr Khaya Mqayi, was set on fire. An SA Defence Force patrol extinguished the blaze. No injuries were reported.

CAP Town 28/6/85

# No support for unrest leaders

Staff Reporter

THOSE responsible for the current unrest did not have the popular support of the majority of the country's citizens, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

Speaking at a passing-out parade of 160 students at the Bishop Lavis Police College, Mr Hendrickse said South Africa was a country on which the communist bloc, through the African National Congress, had focused attention.

The ANC was not merely opposed to the present system of gov-

ernment, but was violently opposed to any system ensuring "peaceful evolution from the old style of government".

He said: "They realized that they had little hope of persuading the senior echelons of the total black society to violent unrest as these people, through their experience, clearly would not stand for the loss of life which they could foresee as the only result of such uprisings as we have seen since September 1984."

Most of the pupils and other youths employed in the campaign for unrest had been coerced into the "terror and bloodletting".

scription Campaign (ECC), Miss Janet Cherry, was picked up by security branch members at her workplace, the Adult Literacy Project.

According to the ECC's press officer, Mr David Shandler, she was then taken to her home, which was searched, before being detained.

The branch secretary of the General Workers Union (GWU) in Port Elizabeth, Ms Nomonde Ngumane, was also de-

tained at the union's offices.

Two other detainees are Mr Thobile Mhlahlo vice-president of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa) and United Democratic Front executive committee member, and Mr Notho Gunto, regional executive member of the UDF.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, confirmed that the four arrested in Port Elizabeth were being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, in terms of which they may be detained for 48 hours.

The ECC has condemned the detentions, while a local spokesman for the GWU commented: "We are outraged at Miss Ngumane's detention. We regard this as an attack on the union as a whole and demand her immediate release."

Mr Shandler said apartheid ruled through the use of force and of detention to silence its opponents, but attacks "on the security of peace-loving South Africans are to be expected in a country in the grips of civil war and one ruled by a minority government".

# Le Grange reacts to ANC's charges

## Political Staff

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, confirmed today that he was aware of allegations that Government agents provocateur were responsible for this week's grenade explosions which claimed seven lives.

In an interview, Mr le Grange also made a thinly veiled warning in response to the announcement by the African National Congress that it would now go for "soft" as well as "hard" targets.

Mr le Grange said he had been told of allega-

tions that the authorities had been involved in the grenade explosions which killed members of the Congress of South African Students, but until he had full details he had no comment to make.

A police spokesman has dismissed the claims as "total nonsense".

Mr le Grange was asked for his comments on claims by the ANC that the police were responsible for the explosions on the East Rand.

In a statement from Lusaka the ANC alleged that police posing as guerrillas gave grenades to inexperienced activists and deliberately instructed them incorrectly, causing the weapons to explode in their hands.

The South African Council of Churches endorsed this view and has sent a telex to President P W Botha alleging that reports that the violence was perpetrated from the side of the authorities had to be taken seriously.

The Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, has claimed that he was tipped off that his home would be attacked "by police" before the attack took place on Wednesday.

He suggested on a BBC radio programme that the police might have been responsible for petrol-bomb attacks on his home.

## Friend's warning

"It is not very easy to disbelieve that it is the police," he told Carole West of the BBC in a telephone interview. He said a friend told him the police had said they would come again and set his home on fire.

Asked what evidence his friend had for saying that the police were responsible, he replied: "I'm not aware of this, but I'm not the first person to have been petrol-bombed."

Referring to the statement by the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, that the banned organisation is to step up its offensive and would even go for soft targets such as shopping areas, Mr le Grange said: "This is nothing new but it is very important that the public is made aware of the ANC's policies."

Asked whether the police were taking further steps as a result of the statement, Mr le Grange said that, for obvious reasons, he could not give details of police actions but he gave an assurance that the police were giving the issue proper attention.

Asked whether the Government could consider further raids similar to the attack on ANC bases in Gaborone earlier this month, Mr le Grange said: "I wouldn't like to comment on that except to say that our policy is clear and it is well-known to our neighbours."

He said the public should continue to inform the police of anything suspicious to counter ANC attacks.

**CAMERA REPAIRS**

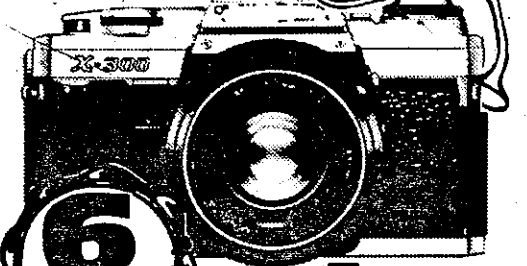
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The Chinamano call for British intervention was greeted with stony silence from Zimbabwe's former colonial rulers in Whitehall, while at home Mugabe and the pro-government news media delighted in point-

ing out there was now no right of appeal abroad.

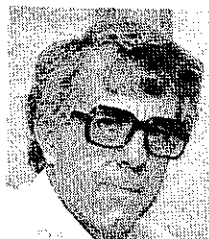
"Zapu still thinks that there will be people who will come in and impose the father of dissidents as the prime minister of this coun-

try," jibed Mugabe at a weekend rally.

More cautiously, the *Sunday Mail* observed: "If Zimbabweans mess their country, they themselves have to clean it up and nobody else."

GAVIN BROWN

# Unions: political kingmakers?



**Industrial relations consultant Gavin Brown, who recently returned from a trip to the US, spoke to the American Chamber of Commerce last week about the political role of SA unions.**

Events in SA and overseas in the last nine months have put paid to any illusions that emergent unions in this country could or should remain non-political. The long-running debate among, particularly, the Fosatu unions is now effectively dead. Like it or not, conditions in the country have reached a point where more and more political involvement is being demanded by union members of their leaders.

Union strategists also realise that a failure to become more overtly involved in political issues means that these will be taken up by all kinds of fragmented organisations and individuals whose negotiating strategies are unlikely to achieve much more than higher levels of civil unrest which, in turn, would invite greater levels of suppression.

If our greatest fear as employers in the past has been that trade unions would become involved in politics, then today our greatest fear should be that they won't.

Given that greater black political involvement is inevitable, an absence from the scene of experienced negotiators and tactical thinkers would imply that the organisation and skills which unions have developed in their dealings with employers would be lost. But let us understand some of the problems they are facing.

The union movement does not have sufficient skilled manpower to cope with the collective bargaining demands which it faces, let alone the demands that will arise from it becoming overtly involved in political issues. There are probably less than a dozen people in the emergent union movement who have the necessary combination of experience, maturity and intellect necessary to successfully sit across the negotiating table from government.

To remove these people from their union activities would, in many cases, be to cripple their unions. It would seem, therefore, that in the short-term we are more likely to see the unions assume the role of political "kingmakers."

In the role of kingmaker, the movement

will wield enormous power. No aspirant black politician, whether he is currently sitting in Dar-es-Salaam, London or in Pollsmoor Prison, is likely to achieve a position of leadership without the support of a sizeable chunk of the union movement.

We are all aware that sometime soon there is going to be some event or series of events which will turn the pace of reform in SA from a steady leak to a deluge. What we are witnessing at the moment, whether it be at union unity conferences, on Capitol Hill or in the corridors of Parliament, is a frenzied search for strategy, tactics and alliances, so that when the deluge is released each competing interest will be in the most favourable position.

Two weekends ago it appeared that the move toward union unity had been stalled and that the scheduled inauguration of the new "superfederation" will no longer take place in October as planned. Nevertheless, it is unlikely to be delayed for more than a few months. I see this as a last-ditch attempt to ensure that when the "superfederation" is born it will either have the widest base of support possible, or that its architects will be able to say "Well, at least we tried."

Once established, the new federation will enjoy a collective clout unlike anything we have seen before in SA labour relations. It will speak with the democratic voice of close to half-a-million members whose labour drives the SA economy and whose support is crucial to anyone working toward political reform.

It will also enjoy a certain independence and strength that will clearly distinguish it from other organisations and personalities who, thus far, have become little more than media celebrities on the six o'clock news in the US.

Three questions remain to be answered if these observations are correct. Firstly, how will the new federation choose to exploit the enormous potential support which exists in the US? Certainly, large parts of the emergent union movement harbour a great deal of suspicion about American motives. Many offers of aid and assistance from the US have been rebuffed in the past. Clearly, an early priority will be for the federation to take an unambiguous stand on disinvestment. It will be very difficult for Congress to pass legislation more punitive than that which is being supported by the "superfederation" and its possible political affiliates.

Secondly, what will the US reaction be to

a "superfederation" of trade unions with a political agenda? There seems little doubt that wide bipartisan support for anti-SA legislation exists in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The question is simply: what is the most appropriate way to effect change in SA, and with whom in SA can these be planned and constructed in a way acceptable to the majority of the black population?

Even the most radical of SA's US critics privately get uncomfortable with plans to starve the blacks until the whites surrender. If union unity becomes a reality and if this dictates a formal alignment with, or support for, a particular political organisation — then the task of US legislators will become much easier. They will be inclined to initiate and support bills which are requested by, or at least have the blessing, of the SA trade union movement or its political wing, especially if the requests are pragmatic, coherent, well thought-out and have specific objectives in mind.

The third and final question which needs to be posed is what the SA government is going to do while all these machinations go on. One authoritative school of thought suggests that government, when it is ready, will be quite happy to talk political reform with organisations carrying the mandate of the union movement in preference to the remnants of the liberation movements of the Sixties. Indeed, such a dialogue, should it ever take place, would place the ANC in an invidious position should it still be mounting armed attacks against the country.

On the other hand, we are all aware of the mysterious section in the SA government known as the Department of Bad Timing which has time and again illustrated its capacity to shoot itself in the foot just when the country and the world are raising pleased eyebrows at some new aspect of reform.

It seems reasonable that only two routes remain open for government to regain control. The first is to deliver a "showstopper" of some sort which freezes the US legislature in its tracks. The second is to go back to the laager, fill our courts with ever more defendants in treason trials, alienate further the dwindling forces of pro-SA international goodwill, and finally to attempt to recapture the fading youth of doctrinaire apartheid.

In that scenario disinvestment will not be a moral, philosophical or legislative issue — it will instead become a business necessity and not only for American multinationals. ■

IN MY  
OPINION

# Winning hearts and minds?

 IN MY  
OPINION

This week marks the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the ANC's "blueprint," and also the end of the organisation's major "consultative conference." In this article, Wits University's Tom Lodge assesses the movement.

The last time the African National Congress (ANC) held a "national consultative conference" was 1969 in Morogoro, Tanzania. It was an occasion which marked a crisis in the organisation: mutinies in the camps arising from the boredom of soldiers with no prospect of action, ideological disagreements within the leadership, and a pervading feeling of futility with the exile diplomacy which had to serve as a substitute for significant political action.

The conference due to end this week will have witnessed rather a different mood. For not only has the ANC survived the traumatic experience of exile, but it has succeeded, since 1976, in re-establishing itself at the centre of gravity in Black politics within SA. And particularly, about 80 attacks by Umkhonto we Sizwe since the Nkomati Accord have demonstrated its capacity for maintaining an armed presence within the country without bases in neighbouring territories.

Nkomati was widely perceived as a setback for the ANC, with most commentators treating claims that its guerrillas operated from "internal" bases with a degree of scepticism. Certainly, continuing Umkhonto activity has, to an extent, depended on the transit of guerrillas through Botswana (though the evidence produced by the police after the Gaborone raid did not signify the presence of any high-level military command there).

The passage of guerrillas through Botswana has been indicated over the last year in the several clashes between Umkhonto bands and police in Bophuthatswana and the Western Transvaal. The continuing flow of logistical support for the guerrillas is evident from the half-dozen or so recently-established arms dumps uncovered by the police since Nkomati. But there are also signs that Umkhonto activities do not require uninterrupted external lines of communication, reinforcement and support.

Trials have produced evidence of recruitment and simple training within the country; externally trained men function inside the country for lengthier periods; and the speed with which guerrillas react to internal political events demonstrates the extent to which they operate on their own initiative. A notable instance of this last point was the bombing of two goldmining houses' headquarters in Johannesburg within a day of the sacking of 17 000 striking workers.

Sometimes that initiative can be a little too freely exercised. In July 1984, after five

people were killed by a car bomb in Jacobs Industrial Estate, Durban, (ANC president) Oliver Tambo angrily reproved the men responsible for not taking adequate precautions to avoid harming civilians. The bomb was apparently intended for a military convoy which passed through the estate regularly, but it exploded prematurely.

The ANC's leader's reaction to the incident showed that one essential feature of ANC strategy had remained unchanged after Nkomati: that civilians were not to be the object of Umkhonto attacks. More recently, the ANC's denial of responsibility for assassination attempts on two coloured MPs indicated that the same restraints continue to operate, though the ANC does not normally have any qualms about the killing of those it perceives to be "collaborators".

Nevertheless, the past year has witnessed a hardening of ANC resolve in certain respects. The attacks on the Anglo American gold and uranium divisional offices and the Anglovaal building testify to a new concern in extending the range of targets to include private employers. In March, an ANC spokesman in Lusaka stated that, in future, foreign companies which identify with apartheid could become targets of sabotage attacks. This seems to be a logical corollary of a recently-stated resolve to link armed activity more directly with working class struggles inside the country.

Then, even before Nkomati, ANC strategists were talking about the need to broaden the base of armed struggle, about transforming a relatively specialised and technically sophisticated "armed propaganda" campaign into "people's war". A debate conducted within the letters column of *African Communist* in 1983 gave some indication of the sorts of ways this could be done: the creation of "temporary training bases" offering courses of a weekend's duration, and the building of an army of "part-time" guerrillas as the first stage in the preparation for a warfare of mass insurrections.

This type of thinking is increasingly influential, and is, of course, encouraged by the localised endemic violence in the townships since last September which has, in certain areas, already accomplished one of the ANC's strategic aims — that of rendering the townships ungovernable.

A final measure of the extent to which the armed struggle has been intensified has been the increasing frequency with which attacks on offices and installations take place within working hours, as well as the extent to which the guerrilla war has moved from the townships into the central business districts. Civilians are still not considered to be legitimate targets of ANC attacks, but the possibility that passers-by may get hurt is no longer a factor which inhibits a certain kind

of sabotage operation from being mounted.

The consultative conference, which began "somewhere in southern Africa" on June 16th, is expected to confirm, in policy decisions, these recent trends in the conduct of guerrilla activity. In addition, important ideological matters are apparently on the agenda. A more central role in the struggle is to be allocated to the working class, and this will have obvious programmatic implications. It seems likely that all levels within the ANC will be open to "non-African" membership — up until now this has only been the case with the external mission, and the National Executive has remained exclusively black African.

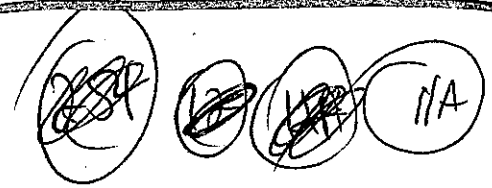
The re-election of the leadership due to take place at the conference will probably enable the rise to positions of importance of some of the post-Soweto influx of recruits who now occupy middle-level posts in the organisation. If this is the case, one can expect a reduction in the ANC's ideological eclecticism and, perhaps, a tougher stance on military issues. The conference should not, though, be understood as a time when the existing leadership is under challenge. In particular, Oliver Tambo is held in high regard throughout the movement, and his retention of the presidency is assured. The one area in which soul-searching and self-criticism is expected is over the deficiencies of permanent organisational structures within the country.

The most vivid contrast between the ANC of today and the exile movement of the early Seventies is the broad political context within which it operates in SA. This week sees the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, an event which will be celebrated with enthusiasm by those United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates which can rightly be considered as representing the mainstream of township political life. The youthful political sub-culture which informs the political vigilante groups of the Eastern Cape has as its mentors — the men of Robben Island and the heroes of Umkhonto. In the last nine months *oorbeligte* Afrikaner Nationalists, the SRC presidents of Stellenbosch and RAU, the deputy editor of *Beeld*, and 43% of whites polled in an HSRC survey, have all expressed themselves in favour of negotiations with the ANC.

All these facts testify to the increasing legitimacy of the ANC — or, at least, to the measure with which it is regarded as a central and inescapable fact of SA political life. Sure, a bomb a week does not add up to a full-scale guerrilla war, and the prospect of the ANC being able to present a really formidable set of obstacles to the functioning of the State and the economy is still remote. But it could be reasonably contended that it has largely won the ideological battle. ■

CRAIG WILLIAMSON

# Justifying Gaborone



Major Craig Williamson is section head: intelligence of the Security Branch of the SAP. The FM spoke to him about the SA raid on ANC targets in Gaborone.

**FM:** Were the main motives for the Gaborone raid revenge for the attacks on the two parliamentarians and, perhaps, a show of strength to the ANC on the eve of its conference?

**Williamson:** There is no simple explanation. There has been a very careful evaluation of the ANC's position on the western front for more than two years. The trigger for the raid was certainly the attacks on the MPs and, generally, these so-called suicide squad attacks. But you cannot say the raid was motivated purely by revenge, or purely because the situation had been reached in Gaborone that the ANC's logistical infrastructure was no longer at an acceptable level. All these factors contributed to the decision.

Many people are saying that the SA government has not been truthful over events like the Cabinda raid and support for the MNR. Can you convince us that the evidence you have displayed to the press was, in fact, brought back from Gaborone after the raid?

Only the most sceptical people would deny that that evidence was got from Botswana. There are certain items which could only have come from Botswana and from certain targets. In particular, I refer to the financial records which refer to a specific bank in Botswana and are signed by Dick Ntsweni — a person the press was told on the day of the raid was a target.

**How extensive and what is the nature of the financial records?**

They are the records of the ANC's Botswana machinery since 1977. They include subscription, deposit and payment records, and bank statements and receipt books. It includes finances used both in Botswana and SA.

**How much money are you talking about?**

We are talking about hundreds and hundreds of thousands of rands. Bank statements show individual deposits of up to R73 000.

At least four non-ANC members, including a six-year-old child, died in the raid. Is this any more justifiable than the ANC's killing of innocent civilians?

We (the SAP) were

not involved in the military side of the raid, so I cannot comment. But I was told that the child was killed in circumstances that were completely unavoidable. She was shot while hiding in a cupboard, and the soldiers had no idea that she was there. This happened at the target where one of the SA soldiers was wounded. Another child was shot when running away in the dark.

It was a military operation. There was smoke, there was dust, and a firefight going on. When movement is seen the people react and shoot at it. This is one of the tragedies that happen in war.

And the responsibility for innocent civilian deaths must be laid primarily at the door of the ANC.

**Apart from this, did the SADF face any armed resistance?**

I understand there was armed resistance at two of the targets, although there was an SADF casualty at only one.

**Were attempts made to capture people?**

No. I can only say that the attack was carried out according to orders to militarily assault the targets, not to capture or abduct anybody. But we did not attack eight of the 18 targets we had identified because it would have posed an unacceptable risk to non-combatants or non-ANC personnel.

**How was it possible to retrieve the documents and the personal computer unscathed?**

The operation was carried out under the most appallingly difficult circumstances. It was pitch black, there was smoke cover, and at some targets there was return of fire. But there were, in each team, individuals involved merely in the gathering of intelligence. They had instructions to go to certain places to get

certain items and had only three minutes per target. Nothing other than the computer got out of the one particular target unscathed.

**What does the computer software contain?**

There are accounts and information like "enemy intelligence personnel." Some of it was journalistic reports, for instance, speeches made by the State President. There is more, but our people are still trying to crack some of the passwords on the floppy discs.

**Were any SA lives saved by what you were able to bring back?**

That is obviously a hypothetical question. But we have arrested a key person connected with the suicide squads in the Cape, and this alone has saved lives. And another operation we are still working on has also saved lives. I cannot give you details, but we have already recovered weapons of war sent from Botswana. Another effect of the raid has



SAP super-spy Williamson ... a restrained attack

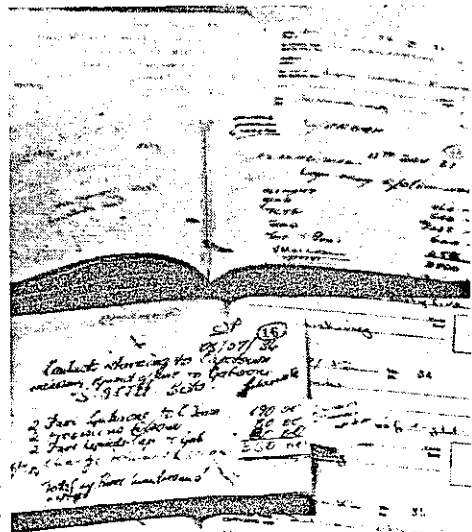
been the total disruption of the ANC's logistical and supply infrastructure in Botswana. This, however, is not permanent, they will be able to rebuild it.

**The ANC has denied complicity in the "suicide squad" attacks against the MPs. Are you linking it to the attacks?**

Yes. The suicide squad concept in the ANC is not new. There will be court cases linking these suicide squads directly to the ANC. It is a concept which allows an organisation plausible deniability in carrying out acts of terror it would not like to accept responsibility for. And there is another reason. Many ANC cadres are very highly trained, they are disciplined people who can be relied on to do what you order them to do. But the new concept of training people for three days in the use of hand grenades and limpet mines is different. Whether such people have the political discipline to use those weapons in the way the organisation would want them to is questionable. To allow them to claim responsibility for attacks on behalf of the ANC is dangerous because this could damage the organisation's image.

**What volume of armaments has the ANC's western front been responsible for?**

One of the things that confuses me about



ANC financial records ... SAP's proof

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INVEST  
IN THE  
FUTURE

President Quett Masire's reaction to the raid is his denial that the ANC has been involved in any arms activities against SA, when Botswana has twice seized arms from the ANC this year. In one instance it was a massive arms cache. If you take into account the arms we have seized in the past year originating in Botswana, the arms found by the Botswana government, and the arms brought back from the raid, then we are talking a substantial amount.

**Does this mean Botswana cannot keep the promises it has made about keeping the ANC in check?**

There is no allegation of bad faith by SA against Botswana — we believe Botswana is doing everything it can. But we are dealing with a sophisticated terrorist organisation. The ANC is smuggling weapons in sophisticated hidden compartments built into pan-technicons and cars. It carefully camouflages weapons underground Vietcong-style. We have found caches in Soweto and another on the banks of the Apies River. This is not, perhaps, in the experience of a small Third World country's intelligence organisation and police force.

But SA has complained to Botswana seven times in the past two years, and has supplied detailed information. Individuals who have been arrested in possession of arms have received only suspended sentences or, in the case of the commander of the western front, deported without being brought before court. Among the items captured were telephone accounts reflecting calls to certain areas which, you have said, triggered off various events.

Some of the press has exaggerated this. I do not think it is possible to say that because there were phone calls at that time they were triggering events off. They may well have been getting reports of what was happening. But the phone calls certainly indicate a pattern of contact between the western front and individuals in SA. And the intensity and frequency of calls go together with the pattern of various acts of terrorism or unrest. **Is the unrest being entirely co-ordinated by the ANC?**

No, of course not. That is simplistic. To a certain extent the ANC is involved in triggering off unrest, and in other situations they are merely being opportunistic and exploiting situations which have developed in certain areas. That is a classic guerrilla or terrorist tactic — where there are legitimate grievances you exploit them.

**You said last week that your intelligence sources are good. Did you not already have much of this information prior to the raid?**

Obviously we had a very good idea of what was there. But, for instance, we did not expect the bonanza of several years of financial records. ■

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POLITICS

FM

### PFP's new image

28/6/8

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is gearing itself to become a driving force for peaceful political change in SA.

Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert believes the scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act has opened the way for the PFP to become the biggest and most broadly based political party in Parliament's history.

To ensure success, he has launched a drive to raise R10m before the end of the year.

The party's federal congress in Durban in August will decide the exact nature of the PFP's continued participation in the tricameral Parliament.

But Slabbert made it clear in an interview with the *FM* that he is in favour of fighting seats in the coloured and Indian Houses.

It could be a touchy subject at the PFP congress — possibly even a "make-or-break" issue.

Some PFP "leftwingers" believe there is a difference between fighting for change from within the white House only, and giving added credibility to the whole system by being drawn into the other two Houses as well.

Slabbert believes congress will have to find "very persuasive reasons" why the party should not participate fully in the system.

But he does not see the party opting, in principle, to contest government structures on all levels in all communities.

"For me there is a clear distinction be-

tween using the central political institution to try to create a new overall constitution, and using other political institutions to reinforce the logic and the assumptions of the old order," he says.

"My argument has always been that we go to the centre of power, which is Parliament, and use our leverage there to try to re-



**PFP's Slabbert ... new determination**

structure the constitution."

But he is prepared to consider other opportunities on merit as they arise.

Slabbert is not seeking confrontation with the United Democratic Front (UDF) over PFP recruitment forays into coloured and Indian communities, but says the party has the right to determine its support wherever it can.

The UDF's Professor Jerry Coovadia recently warned the PFP not to "corrupt and erode" the "sense of unity" in coloured and Indian communities by considering contesting all parliamentary seats.

Slabbert says he found it strange that the UDF could speak with such conviction on behalf of other communities, and that the organisation had tried to prescribe to the PFP what their strategy and principles should be.

He is convinced the PFP has a recipe for peace in its plan for a federal structure, a Bill of Rights tested and protected by an independent judiciary, full adult suffrage based on power-sharing and no domination, and a free enterprise economy with freedom of movement and bargaining for all.

The PFP will not merge with parties in Parliament or movements outside the Houses, but will co-operate with all who share the party's ideals.

Slabbert says the PFP is "uncompromisingly committed" to one constitution and one citizenship for all South Africans, and a scrapping of the Population Registration and

Group Areas Acts, compulsory racial grouping, separate constitutional arrangements for blacks, and influx control.

The party was "unequivocally" opposed to violence, whether by the State or against it.

"We are determined to pursue the politics of negotiation until we succeed or circumstances make it impossible," he says.

URBAN TERRORISM

# Targeting business

SA's business community is facing an escalation of urban terrorism. Security specialists forecast that the 10 major bomb attacks in the past month mark the beginning of a new trend that will not only grow in intensity but in sophistication.

There have been six bomb attacks in urban centres the last ten days — the latest a limpet mine explosion in the Carlton Centre offices of AECI on Monday.

Craig Williamson, intelligence chief of the Security Police, says the African National Congress (ANC) has planned the latest rash of bombings, on economic and "soft" targets, to coincide with its important secret conference in Lusaka (see Tom Lodge, In My Opinion). He says the police predicted an escalation of urban terrorism six weeks ago, and their intelligence has now been confirmed.

A new trend is that some bombings are targeted at companies experiencing labour problems. Williamson tells the *FM* that ANC leader Oliver Tambo has recently said the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will act in defence of workers' rights. Williamson sees this as an act of "armed propaganda" designed to show solidarity with the workers and to intimidate management. He does not believe that trade unions involved in disputes having anything to do with the planned violence.

Statistics from Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies indicate that until June 24 there were 55 bombing incidents in the country, while there were only 19 such incidents in the first six months of last year. The total for the whole of last year was 44.

The main targets were civilian, with 16 attacks since the beginning of the year, while there were only eight such attacks from 1976 until the end of last year. Next most frequently attacked were police and witnesses in political trials — with 13 attacks since the beginning of the year compared to 10 during the whole of last year.

The Institute's Professor Mike Hough explains that the statistics reflect only acts of terror linked to organisations such as the ANC in which technical weapons, such as limpet mines, were used. They don't include those where weapons of spontaneous anger, such as petrol bombs and stones, were used.

The administrative director of the Security Association of SA (SASA), Frank Sims, tells the *FM* that there can be no doubt that urban terrorism is increasing sharply, and getting more sophisticated and better planned. "We have been very fortunate. We've had far fewer bomb attacks in cities than the rest of the Western world. The only really big bomb we've had was the Pretoria bomb of April 1982. It is changing now and we must get ready for it.

"The problem in SA is that there is a serious lack of security awareness in the business community and among the general public. The attitude is that security practices are inconvenient. We will definitely have to change our lifestyles, and start implementing body searches and entry control. We also have to start using measures like security glass, because broken glass after a bomb explosion is the main source of injury.

"But that is not enough. The most important is a public awareness of this danger:

people must get used to being on the look-out for suspicious objects."

Several recent explosions confirm the trend that bombings are aimed to coincide with labour disputes:

□ On April 30 limpet mine explosions rocked the Johannesburg head offices of Anglo American and Anglovaal while strikes were occurring on their Vaal Reefs and Har-tebeestfontein mines respectively;

□ Three synchronised limpet mines went off in the Brakpan area on May 14 — the day trade union leader Andries Raditsela was buried in Tsakane township; and

□ A limpet mine exploded on the 15th floor of the Carlton Centre, which houses AECI's personnel department, on Monday this week.

Williamson tells the *FM* that more important than physical security is a system of sound labour relations based on real and effective communication between workers and employers. This, he says, will remove the ability of the ANC to exploit grievances. ■

## UNION UNITY TALKS

*FM*

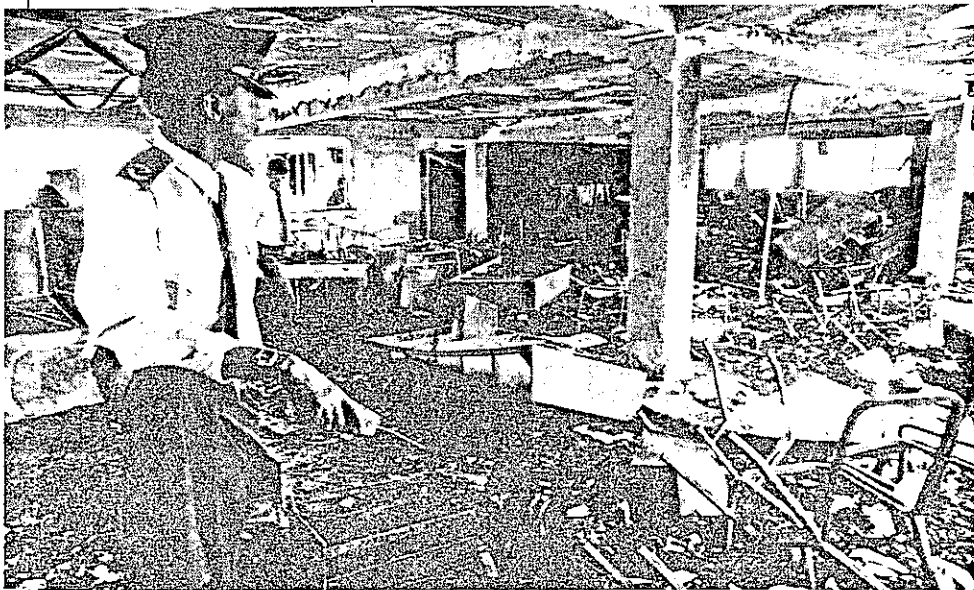
### Slow progress

28/1/85

Another round of talks aimed at establishing a new "superfederation" of emerging unions was held last Friday. The talks were attended by most of the original "unity" unions and they agreed to establish the new organisation as soon as possible. But there was one noticeable absentee — the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa).

Cusa general secretary Phiroshaw Camay says the organisation was not invited to the meeting. Observers speculate this may be because — apart from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which was present at the meeting — no Cusa union has fully committed itself to the new federation. A Cusa executive committee meeting at the weekend decided that all affiliates should make a final decision about joining the federation by early August.

The *FM* understands that the participants in last week's meeting — Fosatu; General Workers' Union; Food and Canning Workers' Union; Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union; and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association — decided that a date should be set soon for an inaugural conference. There is a strong lobby which argues that it should not be delayed beyond October unless convincing reasons are given by the black consciousness and UDF-aligned unions which recently participated in a meeting with the "unity" unions. ■



Bomb attack flashback ... more to come?

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□ Three synchronised limpet mines went off in the Brakpan area on May 14 — the day trade union leader Andries Raditsela was buried in Tsakane township; and

□ A limpet mine exploded on the 15th floor of the Carlton Centre, which houses AECI's personnel department, on Monday this week.

Williamson tells the *FM* that more important than physical security is a system of sound labour relations based on real and effective communication between workers and employers. This, he says, will remove the ability of the ANC to exploit grievances. ■

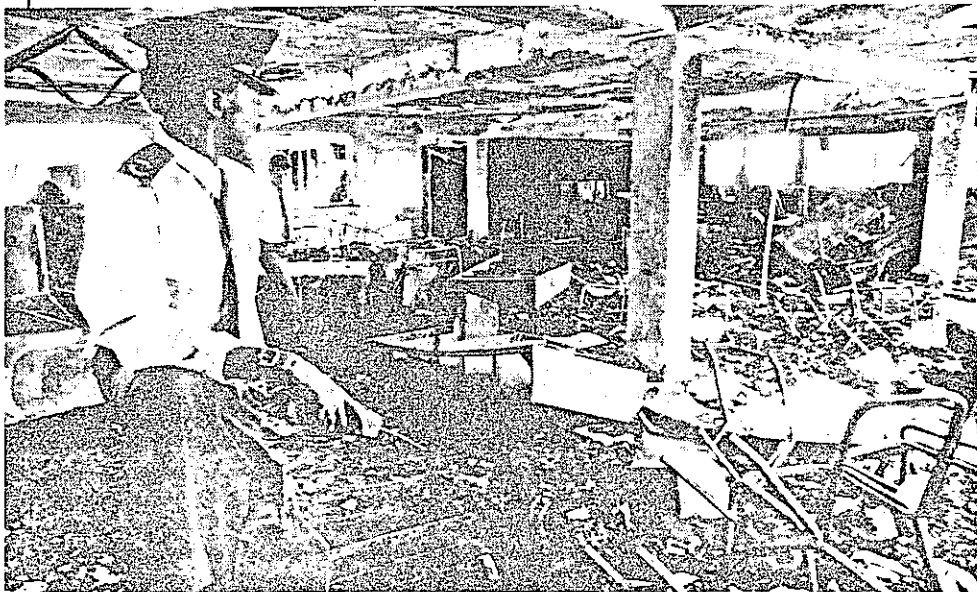
## UNION UNITY TALKS <sup>FM</sup>

### Slow progress ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

Another round of talks aimed at establishing a new "superfederation" of emerging unions was held last Friday. The talks were attended by most of the original "unity" unions and they agreed to establish the new organisation as soon as possible. But there was one noticeable absentee — the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa).

Cusa general secretary Phiroshaw Camay says the organisation was not invited to the meeting. Observers speculate this may be because — apart from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which was present at the meeting — no Cusa union has fully committed itself to the new federation. A Cusa executive committee meeting at the weekend decided that all affiliates should make a final decision about joining the federation by early August.

The *FM* understands that the participants in last week's meeting — Fosatu; General Workers' Union; Food and Canning Workers' Union; Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union; and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association — decided that a date should be set soon for an inaugural conference. There is a strong lobby which argues that it should not be delayed beyond October unless convincing reasons are given by the black consciousness and UDF-aligned unions which recently participated in a meeting with the "unity" unions. ■



Bomb attack flashback ... more to come?

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ IIA

THE leader of the Social Democratic Party-Liberal Alliance in Britain, Dr David Owen, is not a man of extreme views or irrational policies.

All the more surprise then when he used strong language to criticize South Africa's bona fides and called for selective sanctions. He did this in a recent, but little publicized, exchange of letters with the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Writing to Sir Geoffrey on May 25 (after the raid on Cabinda, but before the one on Gaborone) Dr Owen said: "Once again, South Africa's word in international negotiations is shown to be worthless.

"The South African government dislikes being exposed as international liars and has always had a bogus image of being the upholder of the rule of law.

"In fact, of course, they have frequently lied, frequently broken international law and frequently misled governments with whom they have been negotiating about their true intentions."

### Doctor's prescription

It was extremely important, he said, that action should now be taken to pressurize South Africa to abide by the United Nations independence plan for Namibia.

"It is no good the British government and others complaining, saying there is no action that can be taken."

Strong words for a former foreign secretary with direct negotiating experience over SWA/Namibia independence.

But what was the doctor's prescription?

A freeze on new investment and international loans to South Africa.

The detail provided by Dr Owen gave the first insight into how a Security Council resolution on a loan and investment freeze might work.

Establishing his credentials as a man of reason, Dr Owen ruled out total or selective sanctions against South Africa as unworkable in the light of the history of sanctions-busting in Africa.

He also ruled out total economic disinvestment as unworkable for the same reason, as well as the fact that it would be "too damaging to black living standards".

But a ban on new investment, Dr Owen insisted, was the "one economic pressure which has a chance of universal acceptance ... and this could be monitored reasonably successfully".

### Human economic development

Dr Owen proposed that Britain should take the lead in pressing for a Security Council resolution banning new investments. It should empower members to consult companies likely to be affected and identify any special needs the companies might have and accom-



John Battersby

REPORTS FROM LONDON

# Owen sets out his plan for sanctions



Sir Geoffrey Howe



Dr David Owen

The ban would extend to banks which gave new loans to South Africa. It would also prohibit SA companies, or even SA-linked companies, from raising money in any of the member states.

What effect would such action have on South Africa?

"Given the present economic situation in South Africa, a restriction on new investment would only bite gradually, but it would be a powerful stimulus to the South Africans to respond and for them to get the international community off their backs — particularly in relation to Namibia," Dr Owen said.

Dr Owen appears to have thought through the implications of a loan and investment freeze more thoroughly than many of his counterparts in the United States Congress, who have joined the clamour for disinvestment.

But as Dr Owen plays his sanctions card there are indi-

□ The sanctions package which finally passes through the Congress, even if it includes a ban on new investments which is thought increasingly unlikely, would have a limited impact on the South African economy. Its effect would be largely psychological insofar as it added to the international momentum to persuade Western Europe to follow the same course.

□ As long as countries like West Germany, Israel and Taiwan continue to increase trade with, investment in and bank loans to South Africa — and as long as Japan engages in such prolific two-way trade — the US moves will remain largely academic.

□ Disinvestment which has already taken place by major US companies such as Ford, Coca-Cola, the Perkin-Elmer Corporation and others shows that there is no shortage of local and foreign investors ready to invest in the

□ Western threats of any stronger forms of pressure, such as total disinvestment or trade sanctions, are a bluff because they would do more harm to the West's economic and strategic interests than they would to South Africa and at the same time would probably curb the pace of reform.

□ Once the moral argument for sanctions — "How can you trade with a system you have branded as evil?" — has been balanced against the practical arguments against sanctions it is difficult to make a convincing case for economic disengagement.

□ The argument that by staying put in South Africa foreign business has more leverage to exert pressure for change is gaining ground and is likely to lead to a more rigorous application of the Sullivan principles for US firms and the EEC code of conduct for Western European firms — even if the Sullivan principles are not made mandatory in terms of pending US legislation.

□ Britain and West Germany are a long way from conceding the principle of sanctions and Japan, Israel and Taiwan never will.

### South Africa is vulnerable

In his second letter to Sir Geoffrey, following the raid on Gaborone, Dr Owen insisted that a loan and investment freeze was neither "disengaging nor disinvesting".

"I believe South Africa is vulnerable to a carefully calculated strategy of economic sanctions, neither promising what we cannot deliver nor refusing to take any action in the economic field."

With a rationale like this President Botha's government would be foolish not to call Dr Owen's bluff.

What he is saying embraces the implied paradox of selective sanctions: If we impose sanctions which do not harm you, you will take seriously our threat that we will impose more serious measures which will be counter-productive to both you and us.

Sir Geoffrey had argued in his letter to Dr Owen:

"It is, of course, a matter of judgment whether a ban on new investment and new bank loans will force South Africa to finally withdraw from Namibia."

"But, frankly, I doubt whether the SA government will respond in the way we wish.

### Little new investment

"They are determined not to have their affairs dictated to them by outsiders and, given its underlying strength, their economy could probably adapt.

"Moreover, there is very little new investment by British companies in South Africa at present, and we cannot prevent companies re-investing profits made there.

CA/T  
11a  
28/6/85

# Out His plan for sanctions

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tion.

"Such domestic legislation  
would empower the member  
state, in exceptional circum-  
stances, to grant exemption  
where a new investment could  
be shown substantially to have  
a direct and advantageous ef-  
fect on black education, train-  
ing and human economic de-  
velopment." Dr Owen said.

"Any such exemption would  
have to be reported to the UN  
and scrutinized by a special  
UN committee, who could re-  
port to the Security Council."



Sir Geoffrey Howe



Dr David Owen

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have joined the clamour for  
disinvestment.

But as Dr Owen plays his  
sanctions card there are indi-  
cations that the emotive disin-  
vestment tide is giving way to  
some realities:

□ A limit to which South  
Africa can be pressured by  
diplomatic and economic ac-  
tion into doing what the West  
wants it to do. The SA govern-  
ment's defiance of criticism  
over the Cabinda and Gabor-  
one raids and the internal  
administration in SWA/Nami-  
bia has made that clear.

□ A difference between  
eliminating apartheid and  
ending a white monopoly on  
political power.

□ The sanctions package  
which finally passes through  
the Congress, even if it in-  
cludes a ban on new invest-  
ments which is thought in-  
creasingly unlikely, would  
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already taken place by major  
US companies such as Ford,  
Coca-Cola, the Perkin-Elmer  
Corporation and others shows  
that there is no shortage of  
local and foreign investors  
ready to snap up the invest-  
ments. Such disinvestment —  
made on economic grounds but  
accounting for the "hassle fac-  
tor" — is likely to continue for  
a long time before white domi-  
nation of national politics is  
eliminated.

□ The threat of disinvest-  
ment has concentrated the in-  
ternational focus on South Af-  
rica's internal and regional  
policies, but gestures such as  
the loans and investment  
freezes will only have effect as  
long as South Africa is recep-  
tive to pressures in sympathet-  
ic Western countries.

ing case for economic disen-  
gagement.

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## Little new investment

"They are determined not to  
have their affairs dictated to  
them by outsiders and, given  
its underlying strength, their  
economy could probably  
adapt.

"Moreover, there is very  
little new investment by Brit-  
ish companies in South Africa  
at present, and we cannot pre-  
vent companies re-investing  
profits made there.

"I also do not believe that,  
once imposed, such measures  
could be easily lifted.

"...now is surely not the  
time to disengage, to withdraw  
those interests which give us  
influence, and perhaps weak-  
en those positive forces for  
change which we should be en-  
couraging," the British  
Foreign Secretary said.

Dr Owen, clearly, is not con-  
vinced and is pushing for a de-  
bate in the House of Commons  
on the desirability of a loan  
and investment freeze — a po-  
sition now supported by La-  
bour and the Alliance.

CAPE TOWN 28/6/88  
114

# Qoboza speaks out against disinvestment

JOHANNESBURG. — The associate editor of the Johannesburg-based weekly City Press has come out strongly against the disinvestment campaign being waged in the United States against South Africa.

Addressing a business lunch organized by the South African-British Trade Association, Mr Percy Qoboza told about 300 business executives there was a misconception abroad that there was consensus among blacks in South Africa about the disinvestment campaign. The issue evoked just as much passion in the black community as it did in other communities, he said.

Disinvestment might be regarded by some as the only alternative to violent change in South Africa, but it would in fact create conditions of economic chaos and would be the recipe for a full-scale bloody revolution.

The only alternative to ANC terrorism in South Africa was to bridge the gap of misunderstanding between whites and blacks. There was still enough room for compromise and enough goodwill to build a new country, he said. — Sapa

# Death of 7: 'Police to blame'

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~~28/6/85~~

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The African National Congress yesterday claimed that the South African Police were responsible for Wednesday's grenade explosions on the East Rand in which seven people died, but a Ministry of Law and Order spokesman last night said the claims were ridiculous.

The spokesman in Pretoria said "these claims are not unexpected" but added that they were "absolutely ridiculous and unfounded. If they want to make claims like this, they must substantiate them".

Sapa-Reuter-AP reports from Lusaka that the ANC alleged in a statement yesterday that police posing as guerillas gave grenades to inexperienced activists and deliberately instructed them wrongly, causing the grenades to blow up in their hands.

"These killings were carried out by means of hand grenades distributed by police provocateurs posing as freedom fighters," it claimed.

The plan, it alleged, was to get rid of large

numbers of militants while blaming the ANC.

Asked if the ANC was responsible for the Transkei attack, a spokesman said: "We have no comment to make so far."

Sapa reports that in a sequel to the grenade explosions, police are investigating charges of sabotage or terrorism against seven men who are in hospital under police guard.

Six men were killed and seven seriously injured in seven separate hand-grenade explosions, while another man died later in hospital. One man was killed in a limpet mine explosion.

The blasts occurred in three East Rand townships — Duduza near

Nigel, KwaThema near Springs and Tsakane near Brakpan.

Meanwhile, **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** reports that the routine business of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) conference was abandoned yesterday as delegates attended a memorial service in Duduza for those who died in Wednesday's grenade explosions.

In a statement, the SACC said it "shared the belief of the people of Duduza that the violence perpetrated there and against Bishop Simeon Nkoane came from the side of the authorities". Bishop Nkoane's house was set alight on Wednesday.

"In war the first casualty is truth," the SACC said.

The discussion on conference resolutions was brushed aside early yesterday morning as delegates called on the SACC to concentrate on the crisis on the East Rand.

The delegates were warmly greeted outside the Dutch Reformed Church in Duduza by a crowd of several hundred people who shared the service with the SACC.

There was little tension during the service other than that caused by the passing of a Caspir — with riot police peering over the top — in front of the church.

At the service the SACC general secretary, Dr Beyers Naude,

prayed for "those who have died as a result of violence in Duduza and for those who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle for freedom".

Earlier, the SACC decided to send a telex to the State President, Mr P W Botha, stating that the view that the violence was perpetrated from the side of the authorities had to be "taken seriously".

The telex demanded the immediate withdrawal of the South African Defence Force and riot police from the townships, and called for a solid commitment to the convening of a national convention representing all authentic leaders.

Mrs Sheena Duncan, president of the Black Sash, told Sapa the SACC had abandoned its conference theme of "Women: A Power for Change" because Wednesday's incidents had caused "an emergency situation at the conference".

Last night the police said that if the SACC was "so certain" the government was behind Wednesday's incidents, it should submit evidence to the police.

**COLIN HOWELL** reports that police explosives experts are examining fragments of the grenades, but were "not prepared to enter into speculation" about either the cause of the apparently premature explosions or the activi-

ties and identities of the blast victims.

## 'Booby trap'

The Soviet-made RGD-5 grenades had "previously only been used by ANC terrorists", a spokesman for the SAP's public relations division said in Pretoria.

"The possibility that they had been part of a concerted terrorist attack" was being investigated, but the SAP was "not prepared to presume anything".

He would also not comment on a report that the dead men had belonged to a "suicide squad".

The SAP was also not prepared to comment on speculation yesterday that the grenades may have been "booby-trap" models designed for instant detonation at the pull of the pin.

● 'Suicide squad' in horror blasts? — page 2

LIKE most of South Africa, Oudtshoorn has two faces.

For whites, life goes on as usual in the beautiful old Southern Cape town. Tourists still crowd into the hotels en route to the Cango Caves and the ostrich farms.

A few kilometres away, hidden behind a rise, anything up to 10 000 people have been living under virtual siege by the South African police for the past few months.

They are the residents of Bongoletu township, one of the latest sites of the wave of unrest which has radiated through the country from the Eastern Cape since last year.

Three people have died in Bongoletu thus far, shot by police last week when youths attacked a black policeman's house. Several more have been wounded. Scores of youths are in jail, awaiting trial on various charges.

The situation in Bongoletu resembles nothing as much as that of people living under the heel of a foreign occupying army. Armoured vehicles rumble through its narrow lanes day and night. Residents are dispersed with dogs, sjamboks and shotguns.

They talk of police indiscriminately firing teargas into open doors last week.

Political or community activity has a semi-underground atmosphere similar to a war-time resistance movement.

Key community figures jump over their back fences when cars stop in front of their houses. Radios are furtively tuned to the BBC's Africa news service.

While accompanying pressmen through the township, they slip out of cars when they see police vehicles. "A person doesn't know," they explained earlier this week. "They haven't yet arrested the people in the forefront."

Since then, they have. Yesterday morning — a day after they were interviewed by visiting pressmen — police detained four prominent community figures. They

# The siege of Bongoletu



The development board offices in Bongoletu — reduced to a pile of rubble.

were said to be held in terms of Section 50 of the Security Act.

The people of Bongoletu are sullen and hostile. It is unwise for any white to enter the township without being accompanied by a "guide".

Six-year-old children carry stones and give black-power salutes.

When a white drives around with someone they know, they greet you as "Comrade". When you are alone, they scream "Voetsek!" with corrosive hatred.

The administration board office has been reduced to a pile of rubble. Deserted houses formerly occupied by black policemen bear further testimony to the bitter violence. Smashed windows are shuttered up with sheets of corrugated iron.

Police maintain a high level of activity in Oudtshoorn. Without the umbrella of constant press attention, they also act with impunity.

People active in community affairs say they are under constant surveillance. They are regu-

**LOUDTSHOORN** has been one of the latest sites of sweeping unrest. In the first of two instalments, **RIAAN DE VILLIERS** describes the situation after visiting the Southern Cape town this week.

larly pulled in for questioning and their houses searched.

A rallying point for "alternative" community activity has been the office of "Saamstaan", a community newspaper started last year by local organizations affiliated to the UDF.

Saamstaan is embattled. The door of its shabby office in the coloured township of Bridgton has been blackened in a mystery fire-bomb attack. It is printed in Cape Town as no local printers will touch it.

Staff members say police also regularly search the office. "They have told us they will come here whenever they like," one says.

Besides benefiting from an economy of scale, repression in a small town assumes a peculiar intimacy.

Wives and children know the policemen who lock up their husbands and fathers by name.

But it can also bring a refreshing air of informality. Extra wires sprouting from telephone jacks after unsolicited calls by the post office are simply removed with pocket knives.

Police also closely scrutinise visiting journalists in their unceasing search for conspiracy.

A senior Dutch journalist visited Oudtshoorn earlier this week. After being followed for some time, he was accosted by security police in the coloured township of Bridgton while in the presence of a UDF office-bearer, taken to the police station and questioned.

His luggage was searched and his notes

were copied. When he let him go, he was told he was still under investigation in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The UDF office-bearer was arrested and whipped into court within two hours, charged with crimes including resisting arrest.

He was among the detained yesterday morning.

Since its office was burnt down, the local development board operates from a ramshackle house with a sign saying "Oudtshoorn scribble yard". Board officials pick up the phone from the police as soon as journalists leave with permits to enter the township.

There, journalists are accosted on sight, their permits and press cards closely scrutinised and their cars inspected.



# siege of Bongolethu



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According to community leaders, the unrest has been closely related to police activity.

"People don't want to see the police. As soon as the Hippos appear, people say it's war and they become agitated. In the township, the police are not seen as protectors."

A major demand has been that all black policemen should be removed from the township.

"The people are against police living here because the excuse police use when they come in is that they are protecting them.

"Other people making trouble are the community councillors. One councillor's house has also been petrol-bombed."

They say people support the UDF in large numbers, but insist that acts of unrest are spontaneous and are not being organized.

"The people never say, we are doing this in the name of the UDF nationally.

"Their demands are not national, such as for political rights and influx control. They are concerned with conditions in the townships."

If this is correct, they have plenty to complain about.

In Bongolethu, anything up to ten thousand people are jammed into less than a square kilometre of iron shacks and mud-plastered houses. The houses don't have electricity or water.

The gravel roads are badly eroded. The "community hall" is an iron shed with broken windows.

"Sports fields" are barren stretches of veld. The police have been using them as a Hippo park and soccer balls bounce in the tyre tracks.

Action has not been restricted to the black township alone. Community spokesmen say four coloured youths are in jail in connection with an incident in which a management committee member's car was gutted by fire. Seven more are being held in connection with other incidents.

On June 16, some 200 to 300 Bridgton residents defied regulations and attended the commemoration service without permits. Three people were arrested the next day for being in Bongolethu illegally.

A Bridgton resident describes the situation as "very tense and very anti-police".

While overt demands of Bongolethu residents may be limited, it is hard to escape the impression that the unrest has been an expression of a much more deep-seated conflict.

This is readily acknowledged by black community spokesmen.

"People have become politically aware — they know who is the enemy. In the past, only the youth took part in community action. Now, all the older people are involved as well.

"The demands of the people are really global. They are dissatisfied with the whole system."

## Qoboza's warning on disinvestment

The associate editor of the *City Press* weekly newspaper, Mr Percy Qoboza, has come out strongly against the disinvestment campaign being waged in the United States against South Africa.

He told a business luncheon in Johannesburg organised by the South African-British Trade Association that though he was personally opposed to disinvestment, few of his fellow blacks would believe him.

There was a misconception abroad that there was consensus among

blacks in South Africa about the disinvestment campaign, he said, but the issue evoked much passion among them.

Mr Qoboza said that though disinvestment might be regarded by some as the only alternative to violent change in South Africa, it would create conditions of economic chaos and be the recipe for a fullscale revolution.

He pleaded with multinational companies in South Africa to show their commitment to the creation of a just society.

— Sapa.

# SOWETAN

Daily Mirror

FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1985

22c + 3c GST (SA) Elsewhere 25c

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**LUSAKA** — The African National Congress has vowed to step up its guerilla war against white rule in South Africa, with the possibility of many more casualties, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo said in Lusaka this week.

Mr Tambo told reporters that the first executive gathering of the ANC since 1969, held in Zambia from June 16 to June 23, decided "to intensify the struggle at any cost".

The ANC has said repeatedly in the past that its policy is to limit sabotage attacks to "hard" military and Government targets, avoiding

# ANC 'War will escalate' WARNS

UFA Sowetan 28/6/85

loss of civilian life.

"We have declared war because apartheid has been waging war on our people anyway," Mr Tambo said on Tuesday.

Mr Tambo's remarks came after a sharp increase in the number of sabotage bombings in South Africa in recent

weeks.

The ANC information department in Lusaka said in a communique dictated to the Associated Press in Johannesburg that the conference agreed to expand the executive committee from 22 to 30 members. Five white, Indian

and coloured members were added to the previous all-black committee.

They include Mr Joe Slovo, a white, long described by the South African Government as a key figure in ANC sabotage attacks.

The delegates re-elected Mr Tambo as president, Mr Alfred Nzo as secretary-general, and Mr Thomas Nkobi as treasurer-general.

## Civilians

Asked whether the ANC was changing its policy of attacking only "hard" military targets and avoiding civilian casualties, the official replied: "It has changed in the sense that we are not saying, 'civilians are not going to die'."

"In the past, we were saying the ANC will not deliberately take innocent life. But now, looking at what is happening in South Africa, it is difficult to say civilians are not going to die."

"More and more whites are getting armed, and getting involved in civil defence. It is becoming difficult to distinguish who is armed and who is an unarmed civilian."

The official, who declined to be identified, said children were among those killed by police and soldiers in the unrest, and asked: "Are children hard targets? They were definitely not."

The conference also received a message from ANC leaders impris-

oned in South Africa, signed by former ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. Mr Tambo said.

• TV 1 — 18h14 Prime Time — a popular magazine programme presented by Martin Locke and Dorianne Berry.

• TV 2 — 20h04 Ziyaduma — a music programme featuring current hits by local and overseas stars.

TV 3 — 19h30 Lapologa — another presentation of this highly popular variety programme. Viewers participate in some of the activities. And there is music aplenty.

• TV 4 — 23h11 Flamingo Road — the fish fry is an important event for

**TODAY'S TV HIGHLIGHTS**



Field's campaign, but instead of attending the function he goes to Lute-Mac's and gets drunk. Sam and Lane finally get him to the fish fry where he faces the most difficult task of all.

• Bop TV — 22h45 Music — Dizzy Gillespie in Concert. The Dizzy Gillespie-Hines-Eckstine Jazz Concert at Wolf Trap Farm, Farm Park, in Washington.

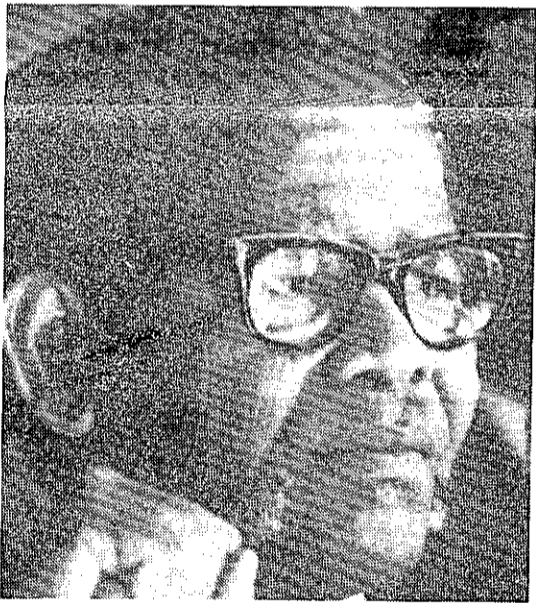
## SOWETAN price up

RISING costs have forced The SOWETAN, together with other South African daily newspapers, to increase the selling price of your favourite newspaper from Monday, July 1.

The price of The SOWETAN will be increased from 25 cents to 30 cents, in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal triangle, and 35 cents in the country areas.

Other daily newspapers will go up in price from 30 cents to 40 cents from Monday.

Sunday MIRROR will stay at 30 cents.



ANC LEADER Mr Oliver Tambo.

## SACC holds secret indaba

THE South African Council of Churches abandoned its theme of "Women: a power for change" and was yesterday urgently debating in camera what action it should take in the wake of eight deaths on the East Rand on Wednesday.

Eight people died and seven were injured in hand grenade attacks and one limpet mine blast at a sub-station in the townships of Tsakane, KwaThema and Duda.

Police, who are investigating the possibility of a co-ordinated terror attack, said six of the bo-

dies had missing right hands.

The president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, told Sapa that the SACC's conference theme had "quite rightly and properly been abandoned."

She said the theme and group workshops could not have continued in the light of Wednesday's incidents, which had caused "an emergency situation at the conference."

Mrs Duncan said, however, that although the theme had been abandoned, this did not mean it had been wasted.

A West German visitor who attended the in camera session, which began Wednesday morning, said the conference was deciding what to do "and whether the SACC should approach the State President, Mr P W Botha."

The session continued in camera yesterday morning and another delegate told Sapa it was "very tough going."

The general secretary of the SACC, Dr Beyers Naudé, refused to comment on the in camera meeting, saying discussions were confidential — Sapa.

OK Means Budget Prices!



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10 kg

**4.99**

10 kg

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## HOT TIPS FOR TOMORROW

Race No.	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Horse No.	9	6	1	2	2	1	3

The race card and selections for the meeting at Turfontein tomorrow on Page 36.

# ANC spells out change in terror policy

●The following report, including quotes by Oliver Tambo, has been cleared for publication by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has vowed to step up its guerrilla war against white rule in South Africa, with the possibility of many more casualties, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo said in Lusaka on Tuesday.

Mr Tambo told reporters that the first executive gathering of the ANC since 1969, held in Zambia from June 16 to June 23, decided "to intensify the struggle at any cost."

An intensified war, he added, would make it difficult for ANC guerrillas in South Africa "to distinguish between soft and hard targets." The ANC has said repeatedly in the past that its policy was to limit sabotage attacks to "hard" government targets, avoiding loss of civilian life.

"We have declared war because apartheid has been waging war on our people anyway," Mr Tambo said.

Mr Tambo's remarks

came after a sharp increase in the number of sabotage bombings in South Africa in recent weeks. On Monday night, a blast damaged the office of an explosives company in a central Johannesburg office building, causing no injuries.

It was the third recent explosion at offices of private companies. The first two, claimed by the ANC, were at mining houses that fired more than 17 000 workers. Monday night's blast, not yet claimed by any orga-

nisation, was at AECI Ltd, an explosives firm also locked in a labour dispute.

The ANC information department in Lusaka said the conference agreed to expand the executive committee from 22 to 30 members. Five white, Indian and coloured members were added to the previous all-black committee. They include Mr Joe Slovo, a white long described by the South African Government as a key figure in ANC sab-

otage attacks.

The delegates re-elected Mr Tambo as president, Mr Alfred Nzo as secretary-general, and Mr Thomas Nkobi as treasurer-general. Two members were voted out of office and a third chose not to run. An ANC official said none of the changes on the committee reflected major policy shifts.

Asked whether the ANC was changing its policy of attacking only "hard" military targets

and avoiding civilian casualties, the official replied: "It has changed in the sense that we are not saying, 'civilians are not going to die.' In the past, we were saying the ANC will not deliberately take innocent life. But now, looking at what is happening in South Africa, it is difficult to say civilians are not going to die."

"More and more whites are getting armed, and getting involved in civil defence. It is becoming difficult

to distinguish who is armed and who is an unarmed civilian."

The official said children were among those killed by police and soldiers in the unrest, and asked: "Are children hard targets? They were definitely not."

The conference also received a message from ANC leaders imprisoned in South Africa, signed by former ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Tambo said.

The smuggled mess-

months of unrest in South Africa, in which he said more than 500 people had been killed. The South African Institute of Race Relations has put the death toll at just over 400.

The South African Government accuses the ANC of stirring up the unrest in black townships to try to make them ungovernable.

Mr Tambo said the conference worked out strategies to increase the international isolation of the South African Government and on ways to increase both military and political activity against white rule. — Sapa-AP

age read in part: "We feel sure that all those delegates who will attend the conference share the aspiration of unity because unity is the rock on which the ANC was formed... we share the aspiration and position taken by Comrade Tambo and the ANC leadership."

Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela were law partners in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and Mr Mandela went on to become president of the

ANC. The organisation, formed in 1912, was banned in 1960. It went underground, and the next year abandoned non-violence in favour of an armed campaign against white rule.

Mr Mandela was sentenced to life in prison in 1964 for plotting sabotage, and Mr Tambo went into exile to take up leadership of the organisation.

Mr Tambo said the conference came against a background of 10



A victim of a terror attack is assisted by a bystander.

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress (ANC) signed with blood a vow to step up their fight against South Africa's white-minority Government, political analysts say.

A consensus exists among analysts and official sources that an unprecedented spate of recent bombings across the country was the work of the ANC.

The ANC this week emerged from its first crucial policy debate since 1969 and resolved to step up the campaign, warning that there could be many more civilian casualties.

A senior political analyst said: "Only the ANC is capable of sabotage on the scale witnessed in South Africa over the past few weeks. Clearly, a new policy directive has come out and the ANC is going on the offensive."

Another political expert, Professor Robert Schrire, of Cape Town University, said the intensifying warfare in the country indicated the mobilising effect on blacks of relentless unrest which has claimed over 9 lives since February,

# Vow 'signed with blood'

11A  
E. Post 28/6/85

1984.

He said the intensity of violence was the result of growing sophistication among the politically powerless black majority combined with increasing ANC organisational capacity.

"It has been a learning process on both sides: South Africa's handling of black unrest and blacks' tactics in retaliating," Prof Schrire said.

He said this week's attacks on townships near Johannesburg and in Transkei may have been partly intended as retaliation for a South African raid on alleged ANC targets in neighbouring Botswana 13 days ago.

The senior political analyst, who did not want to be named, said this

week's incidents indicated a growing willingness among young blacks inside South Africa to join the "armed struggle".

A police statement said six of the eight killed by grenades and bombs near Johannesburg lost their right hands, suggesting they were poorly trained. They were mounting attacks on black policemen seen by many blacks as Pretoria's collaborators.

"Any attempt to co-ordinate such an attack by established ANC members would probably have been uncovered by the State's intelligence network which spreads all the way to ANC bases abroad," the analyst said.

"The fact that numerous grenades and explosives were distributed si-

multaneously, and the disastrous results for the perpetrators, indicates they were people previously not clearly associated with the ANC," he added.

Prof Schrire said a noticeable switch of unrest tactics over the past few weeks, as grenades have increasingly replaced petrol bombs in township violence, underscored a growing despair among blacks of securing better civil rights under white domination.

"Blacks no longer see an evolutionary process that will lead to majority rule," he said.

A leading expert on the ANC, Witwatersrand University lecturer Tom Lodge, told a seminar this week that the ANC, many

of whose founding members are jailed in South Africa, had moved the battlefield from black townships to urban areas.

What has surprised experts was the apparent abundance of sabotage material inside South Africa, even though Pretoria last year secured a peace accord with neighbouring Mozambique which had served as a major ANC base.

Political analysts are divided on the durability of the present cycle of violence, one of the longest in memory.

Some say it will continue indefinitely while others, like Prof Schrire, expect the ANC to "reach a point of exhaustion and pause to recharge batteries".

28/1/81  
Cosas  
youth  
gets 7  
years

By DEBBIE BOOYSEN

AN executive member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was yesterday sentenced by the Regional Court at Kinkelbos to seven years' imprisonment, two years of which were suspended for five years.

Xolani Wilberforce Yengeni, 18, an organiser of Cosas, was convicted of public violence for having taken part in the stoning of the Newell High School on October 23 last year.

He is the only remaining member of the "Cosas Nine" the other eight having failed to appear.

Passing sentence the magistrate, Mr. G. Steyn, said he had taken into account that Yengeni had not played a leading rôle in the offence, that the students had grievances at the time and that Yengeni was a youth and a first offender.

The fact that Yengeni had been part of the Cosas leadership that imposed the school boycott showed that the offence was calculated.

Mr. H. van der Walt appeared for the State. Mr. M. T. K. Moerane (instructed by Thole Majodina and Co) appeared for the defence.

# Qoboza opposes sanctions

THE associate editor of the Johannesburg-based weekly City Press, Mr Percy Qoboza, has come out strongly against the disinvestment campaign being waged in the United States against South Africa.

Addressing a business lunch organised by the South African-British Trade Association, attended by about 300

business executives, Mr Qoboza said although he was personally opposed to disinvestment, few of his fellow blacks would believe him.

He said there was a misconception abroad that there was consensus among blacks in South Africa about the disinvestment campaign, but this issue evoked just as much passion among the

black community as it did among other communities.

Mr Qoboza said although disinvestment might be regarded by some as the only alternative to violent change in South Africa it would, in fact, create conditions of economic chaos and would be the recipe for a full-scale bloody revolution.

*Sowetan*

*28/6/85*

Mr Qoboza said the only alternative to ANC terrorism in South Africa was to bridge the gap of misunderstanding between whites and blacks.

He believed there was still enough room for compromise and enough goodwill to build a new country and to put the emphasis "on the positive". — Sapa.



Mr PERCY QOBOZA

**POLICE** said last night they believed a number of ANC terrorists had blown themselves up on the East Rand because they had been badly trained and had not known they were handling boobytrap explosives.

As a result of the seven deaths on Wednesday police now expect an immediate drop in the number of grenade attacks in South Africa.

'With seven senior ANC members killed and a number of others injured and taken into custody, terrorists will now be uncertain whether their grenades are safe,' said an informed police source.

'Obviously someone in the ANC has made a very serious mistake.'

The theory that the detonators had been tampered with by the authorities and left in an arms cache had been ruled out.

### 'Act of murder'

But the ANC yesterday claimed that South African Police had been responsible for the grenade explosions having posed as terrorists to give grenades to inexperienced activists and 'deliberately instructing them wrongly'.

In a statement from Lusaka, reported by Sapa-Reuters-AP, the ANC said: 'These killings were carried out by means of hand grenades distributed by police provocateurs posing as freedom fighters.'

'The police, as an act of murder, deliberately instructed them wrongly in the use of the grenades.'

In Pretoria last night, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said: 'These claims are not unexpected. They are absolutely right and unfounded.'

The informed source, discussing the suggestion that the grenades might have been deliberately tampered with, pointed out: 'It would be too dangerous as innocent people might be killed or the police might confiscate the detonators at a later stage and be unaware they had been tampered with.'

'Merely tampering with the detonators would also be too dangerous. One would have to replace them completely,' he said.

'There is no doubt these men were using hand grenades with zero delay detonators. We have no reason to believe the detonators had been damaged or incorrectly assembled.'

Six of the dead men had their right hands blown off. One still had a grenade pin in his left hand when his body was found.

The men were probably so badly trained they would not have been able to identify booby-trap detonators which were probably not marked.

Most detonators were colour-coded to indicate the delay time and the Soviet manufactured RGD 5 grenade had a delay of between 3,2 and 4,2 seconds after the pin was pulled and the trigger mechanism released.

But a zero delay fuse had also been manufactured for use in booby-traps when strapped to an object at waist height and connected to a trip wire.

### Fingers

If a victim tripped the wire the pin would be re-

leased and the grenade would explode instantly.

In 1978 a police colonel was seriously injured while demonstrating an RGD 5 which exploded about 15 cm from his hand and blew off several fingers.

In Duduza township, near Nigel, a man was decapitated this week, two others were killed and three injured in explosions at the home of a local activist. Two more died later in hospital.

Two black men were killed at Tsakane and three grenade explosions occurred at KwaThema. Several pieces of clothing were found but no bodies.

In another part of KwaThema the body of a black man was found near an unexploded grenade. It was detonated on the spot by police.

● See also Page 13

Crime Reporter

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# 'Rookies' died Why ANC

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NM 25/6/88

Mrs Sylvia Kosie  
... so scared





# UK urges Mandela release

LONDON — The release of Nelson Mandela might help toward the peaceful solution of South Africa's problems, says British Foreign Office Minister Malcolm Rifkind. *Soweto*

It might also help persuade the ANC to renounce violence as a means of achieving its ends, he said. *28/6/85*

Mr Rifkind was answering questions in the Commons over Nelson Mandela on Wednesday.

He said Britain would continue to press for Mr Mandela's immediate and unconditional release.

Bearing in mind he was not convicted of any personal act of violence, and that it is somewhat unusual, to say the least, to impose conditions on the release of persons from prison in South Africa or any country, I do not believe statements should be required from Nelson Mandela before he should be released."

## Targets

Conservative MP Malcolm Thornton said terrorism could never be given political legitimacy, and terrorism against civilian targets should never be justified. It is the refusal of Mr Mandela to repudiate such acts of violence which means his continuation in imprisonment".

Mr Rifkind replied: "While I entirely agree it would be inappropriate for the government to have formal contact with an organisation that is committed to acts of violence of the kind described, I believe so far as Mr Mandela is concerned that the very lengthy period he has already spent in prison does not require any further conditions to be imposed before he is released."

Labour Mr David Winnick said there were Conservative backbenchers who were more concerned over the release of Rudolf Hess than Mr Mandela, 'who all his life fought against the principles for which Hess was convicted at Nuremberg.'

# Secret ANC conference ends 'successful' bid for black war

11A NM 28/6/85

## London Bureau

THE banned African National Congress has concluded a 'highly successful' eight-day conference in Zambia to reorganise itself, following the blow dealt it by the Nkomati Accord signed on March 16 last year between South Africa and Mozambique, according to sources here.

The emphasis at the conference was on black unity, in order to overthrow the apartheid system. The ANC has indicated clearly now that it is prepared to work with the Pan-African Congress, which broke away from the parent ANC in the late 1950s.

The ANC also sees the formation of the United Democratic Front in South Africa as providing a basis for unified black action.

The conference was held in conditions of great secrecy at Kabwe, outside Lusaka, because the ANC feared a South African attack. It took place from June 16 to June 23 and was the first meeting of the organisation's national executive since 1969.

Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC president, told reporters that the executive had decided 'to intensify the struggle at any cost', reports Sapa.

An intensified war, he added, would make it difficult for ANC guerillas in South Africa 'to distinguish be-

tween soft and hard targets'. The ANC has said repeatedly in the past that its policy is to limit sabotage attacks to 'hard' military and Government targets, avoiding loss of civilian life.

'We have declared war because apartheid has been waging war on our people anyway,' Mr Tambo said.

His remarks came after a sharp increase in the number of sabotage bombings in South Africa in recent weeks.

## Living in exile

The ANC information department in Lusaka said in a communique that the conference agreed to expand the executive committee from 22 to 30 members. Five white, Indian and coloured members were added to the previous all-black committee. They include Mr Joe Slovo, a white long described by the South African Government as a key figure in ANC sabotage attacks.

Among the five are Congress stalwarts such as Reg September (coloured), Mac Maharaj (an Indian who served 15 years on Robben Island with Mandela) and Aziz Pahad (another Indian who has been living in exile in London). The fifth non-African elected to the national executive is James Stuart (coloured).

The delegates re-elected Mr Tambo as president, Mr Alfred Nzo as secretary-general, and Mr Thomas Nkobi

as treasurer-general. Two members were voted out of office and a third chose not to run again. An ANC official said none of the changes on the committee reflected any major policy shifts.

Asked whether the ANC was changing its policy of attacking only 'hard' military targets and avoiding civilian casualties, the official replied: 'It has changed in the sense that we are not saying "civilians are not going to die". In the past, we were saying the ANC will not deliberately take innocent life. But now, looking at what is happening in South Africa, it is difficult to say civilians are not going to die.'

'More and more whites are getting armed, and getting involved in civil defence. It is becoming difficult to distinguish who is armed and who is an unarmed civilian.'

## Went underground

The official, who declined to be identified, said children were among those killed by police and soldiers in the unrest, and asked: 'Are children hard targets? They were definitely not.'

The conference also received a message from ANC leaders imprisoned in South Africa, signed by former ANC president Nelson Mandela, Mr Tambo said.

The smuggled message read in part: 'We feel sure

## LOCAL PRODU

Health Care in KwaZulu:  
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Responses to Poverty in  
Graham Hayman and Pa  
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FILM FES

that all those delegates who will attend the conference share the aspiration of unity because unity is the rock on which the ANC was formed... we share the aspiration and position taken by Comrade Tambo and the ANC leadership.

Mr Tambo and Mandela were law partners in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and Mandela went on to become president of the ANC. The organisation, formed in 1912, was banned in 1960. It went underground, and the next year abandoned non-violence in favour of an armed campaign against white rule.

Mandela was sentenced to life in prison in 1964 for plotting sabotage, and Mr Tambo went into exile to take up leadership of the organisation.

Mr Tambo said the conference came against a background of 10 months of unrest in South Africa, in which he said more than 500 people had been killed. The South African Institute of Race Relations has put the death toll at just over 400.

The South African Government accuses the ANC of stirring up the unrest in black townships to try to make them ungovernable.

Mr Tambo said the conference worked out strategies to increase the international isolation of the South African Government and on ways to increase both military and political activity against white rule.

PROPERTY

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BUSINES

Renewal  
of ban  
E. Post  
mockery  
of law  
29/10/85

Weekend Post Reporter

THE extension of the three-month-old ban on boycott meetings made a total mockery of South Africa's legal system, Mr Derrick Swarts, regional general secretary of the United Democratic Front, said in a statement yesterday.

He said it completely belied the Government's claim that it ruled the country democratically.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday announced in the Government Gazette that the ban, imposed under the Internal Security Act, had been extended until the end of the year. It would apply to 64 organisations in 18 magisterial districts.

Mr Swarts said the extension was a clear testimony "that our country is gripped in a deepening political and ideological crisis from which the ruling class cannot escape.

"UDF condemns this arbitrary act in the strongest of terms and views it as a conscious attempt to perpetually silence the cry for democracy and justice."

He said that for as long as basic human rights were denied to the vast majority of South Africans the spiral of violence would continue to shape the face of the country.

"We believe that order can only be restored if organisations are freely allowed to operate among the masses.

"Banning meetings of democratic organisations clearly convinces even the most naïve that the state is not sincere in its so-called endeavours to bring about real change," Mr Swarts said.

(11A) D. Despatch  
29/6/87

# Qoboza sets the record straight

JOHANNESBURG — Sapa yesterday incorrectly reported the associate editor of City Press, Mr Percy Qoboza, as saying the only alternative to ANC terrorism in South Africa was to bridge the gap of misunderstanding between whites and blacks.

Mr Qoboza in fact used the words "... escalating of the liberation struggle by the ANC ..."

His words were paraphrased in the report.

In drawing Sapa's attention to the error, Mr Qoboza said he had always maintained that, if the ANC had not been banned by the South African Government, it would still have been pursuing "its passive, non-violent struggle against our unjust society."

Mr Qoboza pointed out that the use of the words "ANC terrorism" was "absolutely contrary to the declared views I hold on the subject." — Sapa

# Ban on boycott meetings extended until end of year

PRETORIA—A ban on boycott meetings which has been in force for the past three months in 18 magisterial districts, and which was to end on Sunday, has been extended to the end of the year in 30 towns around the country.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced in a Government Gazette that the ban, imposed under the Internal Security Act, would apply to 64 organisations, more than double the number listed previously.

In a March 29 Gazette, Mr le Grange forbade all unauthorised gatherings by 29 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Students, if the meetings were intended to encourage boycott actions.

## Effective

Thirty-five other organisations, including the Azanian Peoples Organisation, the Detainees Parents Support Committee, the Release Mandela Committee, the Azanian Students' Movement, the Save the Starving Community and the Pro-Humanism Organisation are included in the newest list.

Mr le Grange said the banning would be effective until December 31 this year.

According to the gazette, seven of the 12 new magisterial districts where the ban is applicable are in the Free State.

Until Mr le Grange extended the list, all except three of the magisterial districts listed were in the Eastern Cape, the area worst hit by unrest during the past six months.

Towns where boycott meetings are now banned under Section 46 (3) of the Act include Beaufort West, Bothaville, Sasolburg, Oudtshoorn, Virginia and Welkom.

The UDF said yesterday that the extension of the ban was a 'subtle way of declaring a state of emergency,' reports our Johannesburg correspondent.

## Fear

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, called on the 'whole world to take notice of what is happening in South Africa'.

He said the Government was showing that it could not tolerate opposition even if it was legal and non-violent.

'We express the fear that the Government is bent on destroying South Africa through its fascist policies. Only they shall be to blame for whatever consequences shall flow from this prohibition.'

Mr Morobe said the ban was 'nothing more than a sinister ploy to sow confusion among the ranks of the oppressed, knowing very well that these organisations play a coordinating role.'

'With the recent appearance of Right-wing violence in townships there can be no other reason for such action.'



Mr Matthew Goniwe, a Cradock community leader and regional executive member of the United Democratic Front, yesterday in an isolated spot on the Port Elizabeth/Grahamstown road near the Aldo Scribante race track. There were four occupants of the car who had left PE for Cradock the previous evening.

## Mystery surrounds missing Cradock four

By JANE CONYNGHAM

THERE has been no sign of a Cradock community leader and three companions who disappeared after leaving Port Elizabeth for Cradock on Thursday night.

Yesterday the burnt-out car of Mr Matthew Goniwe, a Cradock community leader and Eastern Cape executive member of the United Democratic Front, was discovered in an isolated spot off the Grahamstown-Port Elizabeth road near the Aldo Scribante racetrack.

Two different number plates were found on the gutted car. There was no sign of the car's four occupants.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, the SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the body of an unidentified man was discovered by police today about a kilometre from Mr Goniwe's gutted car.

The man had apparently been stabbed to death and then set alight. Police did not know if the two incidents were connected.

Mrs Molly Blackburn, PFP MPC for Walmer, who went to the New Brighton mortuary today, was unable to identify the dead man, but confirmed he was not Mr Goniwe.

Col Van Rooyen said relatives of the four men had not contacted the police to

report their disappearance.

He said police had identified the gutted car as Mr Goniwe's.

The fact that the car had two different number plates when found was "strange". However, police could not speculate whether Mr Goniwe's car had been stolen before being set alight, he said.

Mrs Nyameka Goniwe said today she was told by a policeman in Cookhouse that her husband's car had been seen passing through the town in the direction of PE.

Mr Derrick Swarts, the UDF's regional general-secretary, said Mr Goniwe and his three companions, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, Mr Fort Calata and Mr Ficelo Mhlawuli, had left him after a meeting in Gelvandale at about 9.10pm on Thursday.

"We discussed the advisability of their driving the long distance to Cradock at night, but Mr Goniwe said people were expecting him in Cradock and he would drive straight home."

He said Mr Goniwe and his companions had gone missing in similar fashion to three Pebco members nearly two months ago.

"The UDF national executive is considering taking emergency action concerning the disappearance of our members."

W/C ARGUE  
29/6/82  
(11A)  
SP

# bumpy ten years

ARNEY MTHOMBOHI

ie national cultural libera-  
nt, celebrates its 10th an-  
s weekend.

other organisations in politics,  
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1928 by King Solomon kaDinuzulu  
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s, especially among black people.  
line — has been a thread running  
of the organisation, whether it's  
recalcitrant schoolchildren boy-  
waMashu or making overtures to  
an National Congress.

## ow time, then

viously is not what King Solomon  
basically chiefs and elder states-  
coming together from time to  
on matters traditional. It was a



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi mobbed at Durban's Louis Botha Airport on his return from one of his overseas trips.

bond between the rural folk and the detribalised ur-  
banites who, pre-occupied with the hurly burly of  
township life, tended to forget their roots.

Chief Buthelezi, King Solomon's grandson, revived  
and streamlined the constitution to fit in with mod-  
ern exigencies in 1975. Blacks over 18 can be  
members. At that time black consciousness was  
sweeping the country and young fellows did not give  
homeland politics a second look. But in March 1976  
— the year of the Soweto uprising — membership,  
according to officials, stood at 40 000. It had 70 000 by  
the end of that year, by April 1977, 100 000, and by  
the end of that year it was 120 000.

Dr Bengu at that time gave two reasons for the  
phenomenal growth of the organisation; membership  
received a significant boost during the Soweto riots  
and unrest in 1976/77 — possibly because many peo-  
ple realised arson and looting was counterproduc-  
tive, and the riots were characterised by lack of di-  
rection and clear leadership. Inkatha had offered  
both, Dr Bengu claimed.

By 1982 membership had topped the quarter-mil-  
lion mark, according to officials and this year as  
they celebrate their 10th anniversary, a million is in  
the bag.

Although membership is open to all irrespective  
of language or ethnic origin, the constitution of the  
organisation stipulates that the president will be the  
chief minister of Kwazulu, thus tying the movement  
down to bantustan politics.

In order to form a broader front, Inkatha aligned  
itself with the Indian Reform Party, and the Labour  
Party to form the SA Black Alliance. The Labour  
Party was thrown out after it decided to participate  
in the tricameral parliament. It is now assisting the  
Nationalists in governing the country.

## PFP delegation there

The Progressive Federal Party has sent a high-  
powered delegation to this weekend's conference  
which may indicate a serious attempt at cementing  
relations with Inkatha. The two organisations have  
held talks since the 1978 and apart from their co-  
operation in campaigning for a "No" vote during the  
referendum, there hasn't been much coming out of  
them.

Early this year a serious rift developed between  
the two organisations after the PFP's report on the  
Uitenhage police shooting which found there was  
tremendous resentment among the locals at the fact  
that what they called "Gatsha's impis" or the "Sha-  
ka's" were being used against them.

The PFP report alleged the authorities had delib-  
erately chosen Zulu-speaking policemen to help  
quell the unrest in Langa township, thereby exploit-  
ing "ethnic rivalries."

Chief Buthelezi said the Progs should "Eat hum-  
ble pie" and apologise for insulting the Zulu people.  
He demanded The PFP leader Frederik Van Zyl  
Slabbert should come to Ulundi to patch up the rift.  
Chief Buthelezi had said the report contained "filthy  
Nationalist propaganda."

A member of the Legislative Assembly said Mr  
Errol Moorcroft, PFP MP for Albany, one of the  
authors of the report, should be made to "Squirm  
like a worm." Mr Moorcroft called the attacks on  
him "intemperate, unjustified and offensive."

The whole thing was sorted out, though, after Ray  
Swart's unexpected appearance at Ulundi for peace  
talks. Dr Slabbert also visited Ulundi about a week  
ago.

Although the homeland system is a creation of the  
National Party, the party's heirarchy's relations with  
Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha has been full of  
threats, acrimony, and accusations by Chief Buthe-  
lezi that the Government and its intelligence agents  
are trying to undermine his leadership by sowing  
disunity in the ranks. A clandestine party to oppose  
his leadership was said to have been a creation of  
the "system".

The Government assault wasn't confined to clan-  
destine activities. Mr Val Volker, MP for Kliprivier,  
told parliament in 1977 he had been told Inkatha  
was like a "Mafia". He said he was told by "a lead-  
ing Zulu" that anybody who did not agree with the  
leadership of Inkatha was threatened.

Mr Volker could not understand then how the  
PFP could maintain cordial relations with Inkatha.

## Meeting with PW Botha

But all that seems to be changing. Chief Buthelezi  
met PW Botha for the first time in two years early  
this year and Chief Buthelezi's uncompromising  
stand against the disinvestment campaign that has  
taken off especially in America, has endeared him  
even to the most sceptical Nationalist.

The National Party and its press are even having  
a second look at the Buthelezi Commission — which  
not even the new Republic Party would sign — in  
their search for a formula to satisfy black aspira-  
tions. Chief Buthelezi has refused to take part in the  
proposed black forum though, unless Mr Botha  
made a declaration of intent.

Not easy has been Inkatha's relations with other  
black organisations. In most cases it has been acri-  
moniously stand-offish, at best very cool. These  
strained relations have led to bloody clashes which  
have resulted in deaths especially in Natal — at the  
University of Zululand in 1983 where five students  
were killed; in Lamontville over the incorporation of  
the township into Kwazulu; and Hambanathi, where  
many residents have been forced to flee their homes  
after clashes with Inkatha supporters.

Chief Buthelezi says other organisations like the  
United Democratic Front are trying to create "no-  
go" areas for him in Natal.

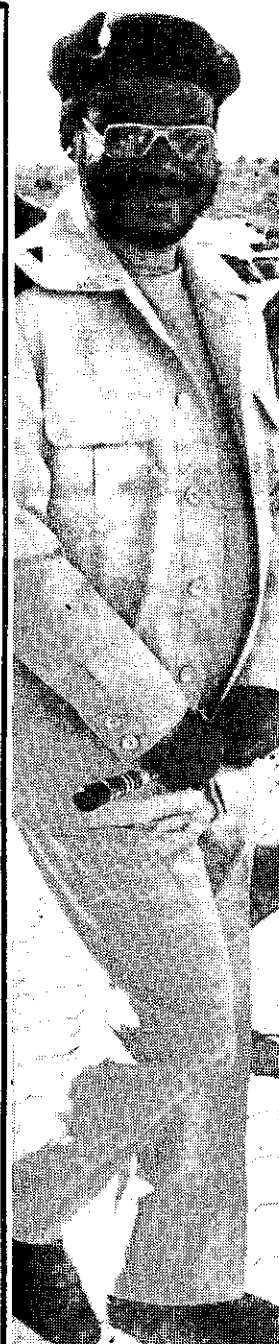
A study undertaken by a University of Cape Town  
academic a few years ago found that there was re-  
spect for Chief Buthelezi among the black youth but  
they regret that he was working "within the sys-  
tem." It is the major objection of other organisa-  
tions against Inkatha, that it is tied to the Govern-  
ment's apartheid structures.

Observers and academics have pointed out that  
Inkatha would be unable to fulfil its role as a libera-  
tion movement unless it discarded the contradic-  
tions inherent in its strong links with the Kwazulu  
Government, which forms its power base.

As one study puts it: "While using apartheid-spon-  
sored platforms, it claims a constituency among the  
victims of apartheid."

Inkatha has amassed this huge membership, and  
how it is going to use this power within the con-  
straints of apartheid structures still remains to be  
seen.

PREMIER  
and  
boiler



In uniform, Chief Buthelezi gives a big smile on his way to an Inkatha meeting at Ulundi in Zululand.

W/E ARGUS (117)  
29/6/85

## Meetings ban on 64 black groups

PRETORIA. — The Government has imposed a ban on meetings by 64 black organisations in 30 magisterial districts and has also banned all meetings in these areas urging work stayaways.

The ban, effective until the end of the year, is an extension of a three-month ban imposed on 29 organisations in 18 districts, which expires tomorrow.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced the ban, under the Internal Security Act, in a Government Gazette.

### Boycott actions

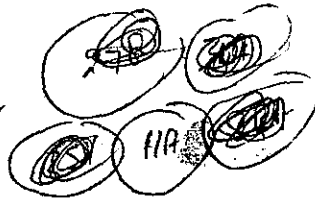
In March, Mr le Grange forbade all unauthorised gatherings by 29 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Students, if the meetings encouraged boycott actions.

Now 35 other organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and the Release Mandela Committee, have been added.

The ban will be effective until December 31. Seven of the 12 new districts are in the Free State. — Sapa.



★  
Cape Times 29/6/85



## 'R8 000 reward' for E Rand blast victim

**Own Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — Relatives and close friends of a student leader who lost his right hand in one of Wednesday's hand-grenade blasts on the East Rand claimed yesterday that police put out an R8 000 reward for his arrest a month ago.

Mr John Mlangeni, publicity secretary for the Congress of South African Students, is one of seven injured men under police guard at Natalspruit Hospital. They are being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

### Named

Mr Mlangeni's brother, Mr Tebogo Mlangeni, who was held for questioning soon after the blasts, said: "A month before the blasts, my brother told me the police were looking for him and had put out a reward of R8 000 for his arrest."

Six of the eight men killed instantly when Soviet-made grenades and a bomb — suspected to be a limpet mine — ex-

ploded in their hands on Wednesday were named by police yesterday. They are Mr Jabulane Mahlangu, Mr Petrus Modisane and Mr Kholekule Vincent Mokwindla, of KwaThema, and Mr Lincoln Mogodi. Mr Solomon Mashiane and Mr Montsoa Mashabane, of Duduza.

A police spokesman said yesterday he had "no knowledge" of the R8 000 reward.

He said investigations had "proved the ANC was involved" in the hand-grenade incidents. He also said some of the injured had made confessions but refused to say whether the injured men had "confessed" to having been involved specifically in an ANC operation.

Yesterday's police statement reads: "Investigations instituted by the SA Police have proved that the ANC was involved in the incidents on the East Rand during which people were killed and wounded by hand-grenades and an explosive device.

"Some of the injured

have already made confessions. The SAP is conducting a thorough investigation into the whole matter, the outcome of which will eventually be made known during normal judicial proceedings.

"For this reason, police do not intend to speculate on possible reasons why the hand-grenades and explosive device exploded in close proximity to those involved. Scientific evidence in this regard will be advanced during the judicial proceedings.

### 'Ridiculous'

"It is clear, however, that the ANC is desperately attempting to disprove the possibility that the hand-grenades and explosive device were defective.

"It is obvious that, should this prove to be the case, the image of the ANC, as well as the actions of ANC terrorists still in possession of such hand-grenades and explosive devices, will be detrimentally affected."

A spokesman at the Ministry of Law and Order described allegations made by the ANC on Thursday that undercover policemen, posing as guerillas, had given the grenades to inexperienced activists and had "deliberately instructed them wrongly", as "absolutely ridiculous and unfounded".

## Four detained in PE

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The regional vice-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Henry Fazzie, a trade unionist and two others were detained by security police yesterday, according to Mr Themba Duze of the Motor Assemblers and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa).

Mr Fazzie and a UDF employee arrested with him, Mr Jeffrey Bothlolo, were released after questioning, according to a UDF spokesman.

The others allegedly held are Mr Dennis Neer, secretary general of Macwusa and the General Workers' Union of South Africa (Gwusa), and Miss Nomaxabiso Lolo, a Macwusa secretary.

Asked to confirm the detentions, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said: "The work of the police is not a cricket game. We can not give ball-by-ball comment about what we do."

Meanwhile, two of the four people detained here on Thursday have been released. They are the vice-president of Macwusa and Gwusa, Mr Thobile Mhlahlo, and Mr Noto Gunta of the UDF executive.

# Police identify six victims of Rand hand-grenade blasts

NM 29/6/85

Crime Reporter  
POLICE have positively identified six of the eight men killed in Wednesday's hand-grenade incidents on the East Rand.

A spokesman for police headquarters said some of the injured men 'have already made confessions to the SAP'.

The dead men have been identified as Jabulani Mahlangu and Petrus Modisane from KwaThema, Lincoln Lucky Mogidi from Duduza, Kholekule Vincent Mokwindla from KwaThema and Montsoa Mashiane and Solomon Mashebane from Duduza.

Two of the men killed

have not yet been identified.

Thorough investigations instituted by the police have proved that the ANC was involved in the incidents on the East Rand. The explosions were caused by hand-grenades and an explosive device,' he said.

The outcome of the investigation will eventually be made known during the normal judicial proceedings.

For this reason the SAP does not intend to speculate on the possible reasons why the hand-grenades and explosive device exploded in close proximity to those involved.

The spokesman said scientific evidence in this regard would be adduced during the judicial proceedings.

It is clear, however, that the ANC is desperately attempting to disprove the possibility that the hand-grenades and explosive were defective.

It is obvious that, should this prove to be the case, the image of the ANC, as well as the actions of the ANC terrorists still in possession of such hand-grenades or explosive devices will be detrimentally affected,' the spokesman said.

The injured are being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Nkomati and bid to isolate organisation have not curbed violence — academic

# 'ANC is winning battle of ideas'

By DEON DELPORT

THE signing of the Nkomati Accord and attempts to isolate the ANC from its popular support in South Africa has led to increased political violence.

And the ANC is winning increasing legitimacy, an expert on the organisation claimed this week.

Dr Tom Lodge, a senior lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand's Political Studies Department, was speaking on the ANC After Nkomati, on the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter and the outlawed organisation's first executive gathering since 1969.

One outcome of this week's meeting in Lusaka was the warning by ANC president Oliver Tambo that insurgency would intensify, even if larger numbers of civilians died.

"A bomb a week does not add up to a full scale guerrilla war, and the prospect of the ANC being able to present a really formidable set of obstacles to the functioning of the State and the economy is still remote," said Dr Lodge.

"But it could reason-

ably be contended that it has largely won the battle of ideas," he added.

The Nkomati Accord was widely seen as a set-back for the ANC because it was believed the campaign of insurgency was heavily dependent on its external lines of communication, said the academic.

"ANC leaders seemed surprisingly unperturbed by the military implications of the Accord, contending the ANC had in recent months significantly succeeded in 'internalising' its military operations," he said.

Continuing ANC activity since Nkomati had partly depended on the transit of fighters through Botswana but there were signs that to maintain military activities at their present level did not require uninterrupted external lines of communication, reinforcement and support, said Dr Lodge.

"Trials have produced evidence of recruitment and simple training within the country, externally

trained men function inside South Africa for lengthier periods, and the speed with which guerrillas react to internal political events demonstrates the extent to which they operate on their own initiative.

"The bombing of the two goldmining headquarters in Johannesburg within a day of the sacking of 17 000 striking workers is one such case.

"In March an ANC spokesman in Lusaka said 'foreign companies which identify with apartheid' could become sabotage attack targets. Even before Nkomati, ANC strategists were talking about the need to broaden the base of armed struggle and about transforming a relatively specialised and technically sophisticated 'armed propaganda' campaign into a 'people's war'.

"Ironically, Nkomati and other similar attempts to isolate the ANC from its local popular base may have deepened the degree of political violence rather than thwarted it.

"Even in terms of preventing the more traditional sabotage, South African armed diplomacy has been spectacularly unsuccessful.

"A measure of the extent to which the armed struggle has intensified since March 1984 has been the increasing frequency of attacks on offices and installations within working hours and the extent to which the guerrilla war has moved from the townships into the central business districts.

"In the last nine months, enlightened Afrikaner Nationalists, student leaders at Stellenbosch and Rand Afrikaans University, the deputy editor of the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld and 43 per cent of whites polled in an Human Sciences Research Council survey, have all expressed themselves in favour of negotiations with the ANC.

"All these facts testify to the increasing legitimacy of the ANC — or at least to the measure with which it is regarded as a central and inescapable fact of South African political life," he said.

# ANC's soft target decision taken to avert split

THE ANC appears to have averted a possible revolt among its young militants with a conference decision to switch to "soft" — civilian — targets.

This decision, taken at the ANC's 10-day conference which ended in Zambia earlier this week, marks a major new direction for the movement, observers say.

They say the Old Guard leadership was forced to accept the reappraisal in order to quell widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks.

Before the conference, younger members were openly voicing their unhappiness after the setback to the movement following the Nkomati Accord.

## Guarded

The conference — heavily guarded because of fears of a South African attack — in the isolated mining town of Kabwe, 160km north of Zambia's capital, Lusaka, is seen as one of the most important gatherings of the ANC since its inception in 1912.

It was attended by 250 members of the ANC, covering the entire spectrum — the exiled leadership, mem-

By RAY JOSEPH  
London  
PATRICIA CHENEY  
Washington

bers from within South Africa and the fighters themselves.

It represented the culmination of an intense reassessment of its military and political strategy — promoted in part by the pace of events in South Africa and the signing of the Nkomati Accord on March 16 last year between the Republic and Mozambique, which denied the ANC bases in the former Portuguese colony.

The emphasis at the conference was on black unity in order to overthrow the system of apartheid.

The ANC has now indicated that it is prepared to work with the Pan African Congress, which broke away from the ANC in the late 1950s.

One informed source said: "The leadership, taking note of the prevailing mood, did not try to resist it. In this way

no confidence was lost in the leadership and the Old Guard, led by Oliver Tambo, retained their hold.

"But having taken tough decisions they will have to now go ahead and implement them. This has been left in the hands of the National Executive Committee which will have to deal with the practicalities, and problems, of putting the conference decision into action," he said.

Although a message smuggled out of prison by jailed Nelson Mandela supporting the re-election of Oliver Tambo was read out to the conference, it is not clear whether the imprisoned ANC leader supports the switch to civilian targets.

"Mandela has spoken out against such a move on several occasions, saying that he was against hitting soft targets," another source said.

Of the 22 existing national executive members, 20 were re-elected, and of the other two, one did not offer himself for re-election

## Tambo

Among the major decisions taken at the conference were:

● The re-election of Oliver Tambo as president, confirming the 66-year-old leader's popularity at all levels of the ANC.

● The re-election of Alfred Nzo as secretary-general in spite of persistent rumours that some younger militants were dissatisfied with the veteran leader's abilities.

● The expansion of the national executive from 22 to 30 members and the inclusion, for the first time, of non-blacks — including Joe Moyo.

Meanwhile the US State Department has issued a statement that the Reagan administration "rejected violence" as a means of dealing with the South African situation.

"Our policy is predicated on the principle that negotiation is the only means of finding a solution," the statement said.

(11A) 30/6/85

# ANC elects non-racial executive

**THE 250 delegates** to the ANC's National Consultative Conference elected 11 new members to the new enlarged national executive committee.

Six of the 30-person national executive members are African, two coloured, two Indian and one white.

The election of non-Africans to the executive for the first time followed the conference's decision to extend full organisational rights to coloured, Indian and white members.

Previously, ANC minority groups had been allowed membership of only the external mission and had been barred from membership of the internal underground machinery and national executive.

These restrictions have now

## ANC warns rugby rebels

THE AFRICAN National Congress has warned the New Zealand Rugby Board that it will have to take responsibility for any threat to the lives of the All Black rugby players due to tour South Africa soon.

The warning comes amid signs that the ANC is planning an immediate and substantial escalation in its political and armed struggle.

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange has already said he is unable to stop the tour.

been completely lifted.

The new members represent the propulsion to the top ANC body of a number of bright, formerly middle-ranking younger leaders.

They are former Information Director Sizakele Sigxashe, Research Department head Pallo Jordan, London-based External Information head Francis Meli, former ANC representative to East Germany Anthony Mongalo, senior Umkhonto weSizwe commander Cassius Make and former chief representative to Britain Ruth Mompoti, who becomes the third woman member of the ANC executive.

The one white executive member is Joe Slovo, a senior official of the outlawed SA Communist Party, which has a formal alliance with the ANC.

The two Indian members are former Robben Island prisoner Mac Maharaj and London-based exile Aziz Pahad.

The two coloured executive members are former ANC chief representative to Britain and Coloured People's Congress leader Reg September and former ANC representative to Madagascar James Stuart, who has worked for some years in ANC President Oliver Tambo's office secretariat.

The conference confirmed Tambo as President and Mr Alfred Nzo as secretary general. Thomas Nkobi is still treasurer general.

The remaining 16 members are: publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto WeSizwe political commissar Chris Hani, Communist Party general secretary Moses Mabhida, deputy secretary general and deputy treasurer general Dan Floome, International Department head Johnny Makatini, education director Henry Makgothi, former administrative secretary Simon Makana, women's section head Gertrude Shope, Sactu president Stephen Dlamini, Sactu general secretary John Nkadimeng, Umkhonto WeSizwe commander Joe Modise, Tambo's special aide Mzwai Piliso, Robert Conco, former representative to Mozambique Jacob Zuma and Florence Mophosho.

★ THE British government will continue to press for the "unconditional" release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela — but Conservative MPs in the House of Commons this week backed the South African Government's position requiring Nelson Mandela to renounce violence before he can be released from prison.

Bish  
attac  
By  
MY.

# NON-RACIAL POLITICS

# It won't!

Sunday Tribune 30/6/85

ne: (041) 53113

**R**ELATIVELY few blacks are going out of their way to ponder or even to talk about the Government's latest demonstration of its commitment to reform, namely the repeal of the Political Interference Act.

The reaction that I have repeatedly encountered is simple and straightforward: the repeal, certainly in the eyes of most blacks, is yet another big non-event.

It's the same with the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the infamous Immorality Act. One would have to go far to find a black who would enthuse or otherwise go into paroxysms of delight over the changes in these two laws. Most commentators and observers dismiss the Government's concessions in this regard as of very little, if any, consequence to their situation. They point out pertinently that marriage or sex across the colour line has never been regarded by blacks as a top priority issue in the protracted struggle for political emancipation.

By the same token, the imposition of the Political Interference Act never really constituted a major problem for blacks. It became objectionable chiefly in the sense that it was yet another instance of the Government's obsession with whittling away individual rights. For, in essence what the Act did was to dictate to the individual whom he might choose as a political ally and this choice had to conform strictly with the Government's segregationist policies.

Now that the Act no longer applies, does it mean blacks will go out in a mad rush to search for new political homes across all colour and racial barriers? I don't think so.

I understand some hard-liners have already warned off the Progressive Federal Party against overtures to woo blacks.

But I don't think they need worry. As I've said already, I think from the black viewpoint the effect of the scrapping of this particular law will be no different from that of a damp squib.

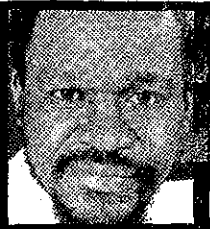
However, I'm willing to concede it may be a different story altogether as far as the Indians and coloureds are concerned. A closer political alignment with their white counterparts would hardly be surprising. They are, after all, already on the inside track. They share power, albeit dubiously, with whites in that political holy of holies — the new tricameral parliament.

The feeling among blacks is that, with their exclusion from the central decision-making machinery, they have been left to their own devices. It's like saying: "Black man, you are on your own now, paddle your own political canoe as best you can".

This feeling is particularly strong among the youth, the radically-inclined and those who in principle object to members of other race groups joining in what they regard as an essentially black struggle. What the feeling confirms, of course, is the fact that we are now a fully polarized society.

Whites are rejected by the advocates of black consciousness. They argue that, because whites generally continue to benefit from the oppressive apartheid system, they can never be truly at one with blacks in the struggle

**OBED KUNENE, editor of Inanga, is a journalist who has been closer to Inkatha than most, having edited a Zulu newspaper for the decade of Inkatha's being.**



ne: (041) 53113

wide. Our interests and priorities, therefore, differ accordingly. What may be a mere theoretical fact to a white voter may be a harsh, even painful reality to the black non-voter."

It may, of course, be argued in turn that it is precisely for the purpose of bridging and eliminating such disparities that it may be in the interests of the oppressed and the voiceless to join forces with those better equipped to challenge the Afrikaner-dominated oligarchy.

Further, that it may be particularly instructive for blacks to align themselves with parties such as the PFP, for instance, whose know-how and accomplishment in the hurly-burly of opposition politics could be of immense benefit.

I've actually heard this argument, but it has been promptly tossed out as indicative of the condescending attitude that assumes whites know it all.

Beyond alliances of a purely symbolic nature, such as the KwaZulu-led South African Black Alliance which slightly came to grief with the Alan Hendrickse volte face, I just cannot see any new across-colour political fusions or formations emanating from the removal of the Political Interference Act. I may be wrong of course, but that's the way I see it at the moment.

As a matter of fact, one looks back on the days before racial mixing in the political arena was prohibited by government edict.

Take the old Liberal Party of Alan Paton fame. What was the size of its black membership? Minimal, I would guess, but then again I'm subject to correction.

Another thing, I do not recall that the black membership within the Liberal Party came from the masses, the grass roots people. It seemed to me that the party attracted mainly the black intellectuals, the elite and the politically sophisticated.

But I digress. I guess the point I'm really making, in a word, is that no, I don't think the lifting of the ban on open and race-free politicking will alter to any remarkable degree the current state of play in our politics. The rules might change slightly, but the name of the game will still remain the same: Power — and I think it will increasingly boil down to a simple black-and-white equation, with hardly any room for grey or technicoloured dimensions in between.

Those whites who challenge this argument and dismiss it as patently untrue, if not altogether absurd and churlish, stand only to have their motives and sincerity questioned.

I asked a veteran observer of the political scene to elaborate on this point. This is what he said: "The gap separating black from white has been allowed to grow too

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11A 30/6/85

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# WILL IT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE? It will! Will it?

**T**HE Improper Interference Act has gone and non-racial politics becomes possible again 32 years after the Liberal Party first brought it on a national scale to South Africa and 17 years after the Act was used to destroy that party and to compel what is now the Progressive Federal Party to jettison its black membership. What does this mean for the future face of South African politics?

Other groups may emerge but so far only the PFP has announced that it is embarking on a campaign to recruit members from all communities, so most of what follows will be related to some of the implications of that announcement.

It is rumoured that Inkatha and the PFP may agree to joint membership of the two organisations and from Cape Town it is reported that people with United Democratic Front affiliations have applied to join the PFP. The UDF reaction to this has been to accuse the PFP of poaching on its territory.

There is nothing new in all this. Over thirty years ago the Liberal Party had an understanding with the African National Congress and other constituents of the Congress Alliance which allowed joint membership. What usually happened was that people who enjoyed joint membership eventually found that the one organisation reflected their views more accurately than the other and that became the one into which most of their energies were directed.

If the rumour is true, one doesn't know how much the PFP or Inkatha will like that, but one great advantage of such an arrangement is that it makes it more difficult to sustain the stereotypes and caricatures of other organisations which all of us like to create.

As for the argument that the PFP will be poaching on UDF territory, that is one with which we were very familiar. There was certainly a substantial body of Congress opinion thirty years ago which felt that whatever group you belonged to, you should join that part of the Congress movement which represented it. If you were trying to establish a truly non-racial political movement, as we were, it was not an argument to which one could give much weight. The position is not quite the same today. The UDF is not made up entirely of racially-based organisations. But if some members of its affiliates were to have joint membership of the PFP, or any other non-racial political organisation, why shouldn't they?

Are there likely to be UDF supporters on a substantial scale wanting to join the PFP? There may well be some who would prefer the relatively tight-knit organisa-

**PETER BROWN was an executive member of the Liberal Party when it was forced to disband because of the Political Interference Act. He points out some of the lessons learned which could be of use to those political parties wishing to integrate**



tion of a single political party with a detailed and clearly-stated policy, to the rather amorphous free-for-all that the UDF must sometimes seem to them to be. And there are probably others who would feel more at home in a smaller organisation where their voice would be better heard than as an ordinary member of a UDF affiliate far removed from the levers of power.

But if the PFP recruits black members, what is it going to do with them? Will it decide to contest the coloured and Indian seats? If it does, this will mean turning its back on its past rejection of the new constitution. It could logically justify doing that on the grounds that it is now faced with a fact of life which it must use to the best advantage — and, in any case, it is already involved in the white leg of the new Parliament.

But for a supporter of the UDF, the primary motivation of which has been a total rejection of the new constitution and anything to do with it, to now decide to work through it would be an enormous step. And where will an Inkatha member, whose rejection has been as emphatic, stand when this question arises? And if the PFP does not contest the coloured and Indian elections, will it not find itself drawn, by the logic of its black membership, increasingly into extra-parliamentary activity? This is not something which would worry me. It soon happened to the Liberal Party. But it would represent a quite new departure for the PFP.

On the economic front, too, certain implications flow from an effective non-racial membership, and here again the Liberal Party has lessons to offer to aspiring non-racial political organisations.

The party started life with a basically *laissez-faire* economic programme tempered by welfare statism. Its membership was predominantly white. It ended life in the throes of a hectic debate on a new, essentially social-democratic policy and considering changing its name to the Social Democratic Party of South Africa. Most of its membership was black.

What then are the prospects for a new non-racial political party, the PFP or any other, achieving real strength across the racial barriers of South Africa now?

In one important respect it should be much easier than it was. As far as the Liberal Party was concerned, the passing of the Improper Interference Act was only the final step in a government campaign,

pursued against it with increasing hostility, intensity and ruthlessness from the day it was born, and designed to make it impossible for it to function effectively. One recalls the mixture of glee and revulsion with which Die Transvaler published on its front page pictures of the members of the audience at the party's inaugural Johannesburg meeting, caught in what it regarded as a "compromising situation". The "compromising situation" was for black and white to be sitting in the same row in the same hall at a political meeting.

Things have changed a bit. Nowadays the Information Department would flash that picture round the world to show it what good friends we really all are.

But from that day the party was under continuous assault, sometimes physical, often verbal, and, as the apparatus of the state security system was steadily enlarged, increasingly the assault was "legal".

Most white South Africans neither noticed nor cared.

The scrapping of the Improper Interference Act means that it won't be like that now. It means that although the Government almost certainly doesn't like non-racial political activity, it is prepared to let it happen — at least for a while.

So from that point of view it will be easier. But in other respects it will be more difficult. We have wasted a full generation since the Liberal Party was launched and in that generation the Government has spent much of its energy in making it more difficult for us to meet. Racial polarisation has followed inevitably and there is now a substantial body of black opinion which is simply not interested in a non-racial instrument to achieve its liberation.

Racial segregation has been so effectively extended that it is more difficult now to arrange even routine meetings of committees — the essential basis of effective democratic political organisation — than it was in our day. It was difficult enough then. Now distances are greater and transport worse and more hazardous.

More important, is there still a role for non-racial politics after all these wasted years? I am sure there is. With apartheid becoming increasingly unworkable, white South Africa in particular needs to be shown that something else *can* work. Then, perhaps, it will finally be able to bring itself to take the long-delayed step and share its power with all South Africans.



INKATHA, the national cultural liberation movement, celebrates its 10th anniversary this weekend.

Along with all other organisations in politics, it has had a busy 10-year ride.

Established in 1975 by King Solomon Kadimuzulu as a purely cultural club to keep the Zulus mindful of their customs and traditions, it was transformed into a cultural political movement by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1975 who, together with the then Secretary-General Dr Sibusi-so Bengu, set out to build what has been described as the biggest black organisation in the history of the country.

Inkatha kazulu thus became Inkatha YeNkululeko Yesizwe (national cultural liberation movement).

Inkatha is a Zulu word for a grass coil used by tribal women as a load support on the head. Politically it stands for oneness, especially among black people. Unity — and discipline — has been a thread running through the history of the organisation, whether it be the shambolling of recalcitrant schoolchildren boycotting classes at Kwamashu or making overtures to the outlawed African National Congress.

Inkatha today, obviously is not what King Solomon had in mind. It was basically a forum for chiefs and elder statesmen to get together from time to time for a pow-wow on matters traditional — to forge a bond between the rural folk and the derelictised urbanites who, pre-occupied with the hurly-burly of township life, tended to forget their roots.

Chief Buthelezi, King Solomon's grandson, revived and streamlined the constitution to fit in with modern exigencies in 1975. Blacks over 18 could be members. At that

time black consciousness was sweeping the country and young fellows did not give homeland politics a second look. But in March 1976 — the year of the Soweto uprising — membership, according to officials, stood at 40 000. It had 70 000 by the end of that year; by April 1977, 100 000; and by the end of 1977, it was 120 000.

Dr Bengu gave two reasons at that time for the phenomenal growth of the organisation: membership had probably received a significant boost because many people had realised that arson and looting was counterproductive, and the riots were characterised by lack of direction and clear leadership. Inkatha had offered both, Dr Bengu claimed.

By 1982 membership had topped the quarter-million mark, according to officials, and this year as Inkatha celebrates its tenth anniversary, a million is in the bag.

Although membership is open to all, irrespective of language or ethnic origin, the

**BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI takes a look at the challenges facing the often controversial cultural movement as it celebrates its first decade this weekend**



constitution of the organisation stipulates that the president will be the chief minister of KwaZulu, thus tying the movement down to banustan politics.

In order to form a broader front, Inkatha aligned itself with the Indian Reform Party, Inyandza from Kwa-Ngwane and the Labour Party to form the South African Black Alliance. The Labour Party was thrown out after it decided to participate in the tricameral parliament.

The Progressive Federal Party has sent a high-powered delegation to the Inkatha conference this weekend which may indicate a serious attempt at cementing

relations with Inkatha. The two organisations have held talks since 1978, and apart from their co-operation in campaigning for a "No" vote during the referendum, little has come out of them.

Early this year a serious rift developed between the two organisations after the PFP's report on the Uitenhage police shooting which found there had been tremendous resentment among the locals to the fact that what they called "Gatscha's imps" or the "Shaka's" were being used against them.

The PFP report alleged the authorities had deliberately chosen Zulu-speaking policemen to help quell the unrest

in Langa township, thereby exploiting "ethnic rivalries". Chief Buthelezi said the Progs should "eat humble pie" and apologise for insulting the Zulu people. He demanded that PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert should come to Umtali to patch up the rift. Chief Buthelezi had said the report contained "filthy Nationalist propaganda".

A member of the Legislative Assembly said Errol Moorcroft, PFP MP for Albany, one of the authors of the report, should be made to "squirm like a worm".

Mr Moorcroft retaliated denouncing the attacks on him as "intemperate, unjustified and offensive".

The whole thing was sorted out, though, after Ray Swart's (PFP, Berea) unexpected appearance at Umtali for peace talks. Dr Slabbert also visited Umtali about a week ago.

Although the homeland system is a creation of the National Party, the party's rela-

tions with Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha has been full of threats, acrimony and accusations by Chief Buthelezi that the Government and its intelligence agents are trying to undermine his leadership by sowing dissunity in the ranks.

But all that seems to be changing, Chief Buthelezi met President PW Botha for the first time in two years early this year and Chief Buthelezi's uncompromising stand against the disinvestment campaign in the United States has endeared him even to the most sceptical Nationalist.

Secretary-general of Inkatha Oscar Dhlomo, speaking to the SABC this week, likened supporters of disinvestment to those who wanted to free prisoners by bombing the prison itself, with dire consequences for the people inside.

The NP and its Press are even having a second look at the Buthelezi Commission, which not even the new Republic Party would sign, in their search for a formula to

satisfy black aspirations. Chief Buthelezi has refused to take part in the proposed black forum unless Mr Botha made a declaration of intent.

Not easy, though, has been Inkatha's relations with other black organisations. In most cases it has been acrimoniously stand-offish, and at best very cool. These strained relations have led to bloody clashes which have resulted in deaths, especially in Natal: at the University of Zululand in 1983 where five students were killed; in Lamontville over the incorporation of the township into KwaZulu; and at Hammabathi, where many residents have fled their homes after clashes with Inkatha supporters.

Chief Buthelezi says other organisations, like the United Democratic Front, are trying to create "no-go" areas for him in Natal.

A study undertaken by a University of Cape Town academic a few years ago found that there was respect for Chief Buthelezi among the black youth but they regretted that he was working "within the system". It is also the major objection of other organisations to Inkatha.

Observers and academics have pointed out that Inkatha would be unable to fulfil its role as a liberation movement unless it discarded the contradictions inherent in its strong links with the KwaZulu Government, which forms its power base.

As one study put it: "While using apartheid-sponsored platforms, it claims a consistency among the victims of apartheid."

Inkatha has successfully amassed a huge membership. How it is going to use this power within the constraints of apartheid structures still remains to be seen.



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Mr Tim Williams — fled over a wall

Picture: BOTSWANA GUARDIAN

# Key ANC 'terro' escaped the net

20/6/85 By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

ONE of the most wanted men during the South African strike against ANC targets in Botswana two weeks ago, Tim Williams, managed to escape certain death by fleeing over a wall as the first shots were fired at his house.

Last week Botswana security policemen escorted him to Gaborone airport and put him on an aircraft to Lusaka.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police in Gaborone, Mr N S Moleboge, this week confirmed that Mr Williams had been flown out for "his own security", but also "for other security reasons".

Mr Moleboge said it was difficult to say whether Mr Williams was seen by Botswana authorities as a threat to the country's security.

## File

He did, however, say that the Botswana police had no reason to suspect that Mr Williams was a trained and armed terrorist.

"We know him as a supporter of the ANC. If he had had any arms, he would be in prison by now," he said.

However, South African agents involved in the Gaborone raid this week told of their disappointment at "one of the big fish" getting away during the raid.

South Africa's intelligence agencies have an extensive file on Mr Williams.

## Libya

He received training in a Libyan military camp and played a big part in the training of ANC recruits in Gaborone.

Mr Williams last week told reporters at Gaborone airport how he had escaped the South African commandos.

He said he had been warned by neighbours before the raid that strangers had been asking questions about him.

He had sent his family to friends on the night of the raid, but had stayed at home himself.

He had not slept and heard the South Africans stopping outside his house. After peeping through the curtains, and seeing the raiders, he ran out of the back door, scaled a wall and spent the rest of the night running from house to house.

# SOFT TARGETS: ANC CONGRESSES

# DECIDES

THE African National Congress' national consultative conference has agreed on an immediate and substantial escalation of the armed struggle.

The distinction between hard and soft targets will now fall away.

Well-placed and usually impeccable ANC sources have disclosed that the 250 delegates from the ANC's internal and external structures decided that apartheid had to be destroyed, "whatever the costs and consequ-

## Tough new line on civilians

ences". At a Press conference in Lusaka on Tuesday, re-elected ANC President Oliver Tambo ex-

pressed exactly the same sentiments as City Press' sources on the issue of hard and soft targets.

"As the struggle grows in ferocity and intensity," one source told me, "the distinction between hard and soft targets will fall away."

"The struggle we are involved in is becoming more generalised — and we accept that in the developing people's war, what are hard and soft targets is a grey area."

ANC sources refuse to be more explicit on the issue.

But observers still rule out the likelihood that the new, harder line will mean unfettered attacks aimed specifically against white or other civilians.

But the ANC has clearly signalled it can no longer be expected to take the kind of care it has in the past to avoid civilian casualties.

Observers also consider that the ANC has now declared a fairly wide range of civilians — Government supporters, officials, border area farmers, anti-union company officials, and others — "legitimate targets".

These ANC sources also pointed to the Gaborone raid — two days before the ANC conference opened — to explain their new hard line.

**This is why it's war — Tambo**



THERE may be more casualties now the ANC has vowed to step up its guerilla war against white rule in South Africa, ANC President Oliver Tambo said in Lusaka on Tuesday.

The ANC has decided "to intensify the struggle at any cost", he said.

An intensified war will make it difficult for ANC guerillas in South Africa "to distinguish between soft and hard targets", he said.

"We have declared war — because apartheid has been waging war on our people anyway," Mr Tambo said.

The ANC decision came against a background of 10 months of unrest in South Africa in which more than 500 people had been killed, Mr Tambo said.

The SA Institute of Race Relations has put the death toll at just over 400.

"The SA Government accuses the ANC of stirring up the unrest in townships to try to make them ungovernable," Mr Tambo said.

"The conference worked out strategies to increase the international isolation of the South African Government and on ways to increase both military and political activity against white rule."

An ANC official who declined to be identified said: "More and more whites are getting armed and getting involved in civil defence. It is difficult to distinguish who is armed and who is an unarmed civilian."

"Children were among those killed by police and soldiers in the unrest. Are children hard targets? Definitely not," he said.

● This report was cleared for publication with Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

# Boesak and Tutu told to leave UDF

11A (circled) ~~3/25~~ C. Press  
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AZAPO's Rev Ebenezer Maqina (right) this week called on UDF patrons Rev Allan Boesak and Bishop Desmond Tutu to dissociate themselves from the United Democratic Front.

This followed a pre-dawn grenade attack on his New Brighton home at the weekend, which he claimed was carried out by UDF members.

Azapó's Tololo Klaas had to have shrapnel removed from his flesh after being admitted at Livingstone Hospital after the attack.

Mrs Pat Maqina said there were 200 people inside the house when it was attacked.

Guard Steven Peter, who was outside when the attack was made, said he heard shots and ran inside to alert the people.

He said the next moment he heard an explosion as the grenade

was hurled at a bedroom.

The force of the blast shattered windows and the back wall of the house.

"Four people - three men and a woman - were arrested in Kwazakhele on Sunday after a petrol bomb attack in the area," a Pretoria police spokesman said this week.

It has been claimed that a hand grenade was found on the first man arrested, the spokesman added.

Responding to Azapo's allegations the UDF denied any involvement with the attack on Rev Maqina's home.

UDF Eastern Cape publicity secretary Stone Sizani said statements linking the Front with the grenades and with the ANC were all "mischievous and destructive".

Mr Sizani said the UDF was non-violent.



(11A) C.P.P. 50/6/85

## Malaza's burial

THE funeral of the late Joseph Malaza — who died last week in Gaborone when the SA Defence Force launched a pre-emptive strike at "ANC bases", will be held tomorrow at his Mofolo Village home in Soweto.

Mr Malaza, 27, met his death when he had gone to Gaborone to fetch his car. His mother Ester Malaza said she did not care about police allegations that her son was an ANC courier — "the fact is, my son is dead," she said.