

Black holes

~~October 1986~~

1986 -

OCT. — DEC.

Aid post for ex-detainee

Cape Times 11/10/86
By BARRY STREEK

A FORMER detainee, the Rev Lionel Louw, has been elected to a top international church position as moderator of World Vision International, the Christian aid organization.

He will serve for three years.

Mr Louw is also chairman of the Western Province Council of Churches. He was detained for two weeks last year in terms of the emergency regulations.

Mr Louw, a priest in the AME Church, is a lecturer in social work at the University of Cape Town.

He said yesterday he was "thoroughly overwhelmed" by his election. "I just wept. I couldn't believe this was what they felt about South Africa. I was completely overwhelmed . . . it became clear World Vision is against apartheid."

Govt acting as ANC ^{CAMP TINS} ^{11/10/86 MA} 'PR organization'

WAS I being fair to the African National Congress (ANC) last week when I cast doubt on the veracity of its statements about preferring hard targets to soft?

An expert observer among my colleagues believes I was not. He points out:

"Agreed, the ANC must be clear on terrorism, but while it is an offence to quote their views there will always be confusion.

"Even Hitler's views could be quoted in the last war, so are Nujoma's, so are Arafat's. All we have to go on are officially sanctioned quotes, which is far from satisfactory. Any debate over ANC views which does not take this into account is unreal".

I agree. It could be persuasively argued that deeds speak louder than words and that the statistics show the ANC to be hitting more and more soft targets with absolutely no security force connection, but the fact that its utterances cannot be held up to the public searchlight leaves an area of doubt, even though I am satisfied that the sanctioned quotes are accurate.

The authorities must take the blame here. As Michael Morris of Terrorism Research Associates pointed out last year, the ANC's best PRO is the government itself, which not only gives heavy publicity to all acts of terror but also prevents the ANC from uttering too many self-damaging statements.

I fear the government has a great talent for foot-shooting.

Take Dr Allan Boesak. He is damned as a radical, but what are the facts?

- An enormous variety of legitimate apartheid-related grievances exist. Dr Boesak, quite rightly, beats the drum about them. If the government wants to stop him from doing so it must attack the grievances instead of him.

- The authorities have been his best publicity agent. I think of his Pollsmoor march; not only did they thwart it in a way which virtually guaranteed malign consequences (albeit unintentional), they also detained him.

Given a man of his personality, position and undoubted demagogic skill, they couldn't have done him a bigger favour.

On Parade

By Willem Steenkamp

A Defence Review



BBC openly Marxist — claim

Dispatch Bureau
LONDON — An organisation here called the Freedom Association has accused the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) board of governors and director-general of allowing the transmission of Marxist propaganda.

The allegation followed the this month's screening of a pro-African National Congress

(ANC) drama set in South Africa and the postponement of a film based on the Falklands War which showed Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in a good light.

The two-part dramatisation of ANC-member Hilda Bernstein's book, *Death is Part of the Process*, which explains terrorism in South Africa as inevitable, has been

described by some film critics as clumsy propaganda.

The Freedom Association described it as an example of blatantly pro-Marxist material being screened by the BBC in abuse of its charter.

The latest protests follow the revelation by a respected historical writer, Ian Curteis.

DD

(11A)

8/2/10/86

15-month sentence for having ANC book

A Johannesburg College of Education scholarship student was sentenced in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday to 15 months' imprisonment, suspended for five years, for possessing banned literature.

Adolf Reinhard Narib (24), a Namibian awarded a scholarship to study as a primary school teacher, pleaded guilty to having an edition of "A Sechaba" — an ANC magazine — on June 15.

Magistrate Mr L P Ver-tue said he had taken into account that Narib came into possession of the document accidentally. "The only thing he did not do is to get rid of it."

PICKED UP

Mr C R Mailer, for Narib, Narib, said: "After police dispersed a mass open-air meeting, students ran in all directions in their panic.

"The document fell from the open sling bag of a woman student.

"Narib picked it up, intending to return it."

Mr Mailer said there was no evidence he had made the document available to others.

Narib was arrested when the police raided the Glyn Thomas residence in Soweto in June. He was in custody for six weeks before being released on bail of R200.

Mr Mailer said in mitigation: "He is a man of exceptional talent and has represented his residence's football team. He has completed two years of study and been awarded R30 000 towards his education.

"He was an assistant teacher in Namibia and hopes to return to teach."

11A

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

NGSK backs 'disobedience'

IN A radical policy change, the Ned Geref Sendingkerk synod in Belhar yesterday supported civil disobedience and fundamentally opposed all forms of detention without trial.

"Every civilian must have the freedom to expression in a responsible manner in all matters which affect the communal and political interests of the individual," the policy document issued by the ad-hoc Commission of Current Affairs said.

Before yesterday's decision, the church's position was that "detainees be immediately tried or released".

The policy document which was unanimously adopted stated that it was the conviction of the synod to "totally reject an ideology which placed state security above human rights".

The government remained relentless in enforcing detention without

trial and therefore "the Church was diametrically opposed to the government", the document said.

Church policy stated that no person may be detained without legally being charged by normal legal procedures.

The synod also rejected the government's reasons for the current state of emergency and demanded that it be lifted and all detainees be released unconditionally.

On Tuesday evening the synod also resolved that the detention of clergymen was tantamount to the "persecution of the church".

□ Ds Able Visagie, chairman of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) Midlands region and delegate to the synod, was yesterday released after being held for 17 hours, the syn-

od was told.

□ A decision taken at the 1982 synod to hold regional synods and a general synod was yesterday reviewed and overturned.

The synod's Permanent Law Commission will now investigate other alternatives. Protagonists of the decentralization of synods said it was more "practical" and cheaper. Those opposing it feared a split in the church.

□ The synod also observed a minute of silence in support of the day of mourning declared by the National Union of Mineworkers for victims of the Kinross disaster.

□ Reformed Church teachings had been "distorted and misappropriated" in support of an "evil system" in South Africa, Dr Clarence Boomsma, of the

Christian Reformed Church of America, said yesterday.

Addressing the synod, Dr Boomsma said his church had not established ecumenical ties with the NGK because it supported apartheid.

He said that 1857 was a "historic and infamous year in Reformed Church life in South Africa" when the Dutch Reformed Church "succumbed to racial discrimination on the basis of colour".

"It is an embarrassment and shame for us that this faith has created discrimination and alienation in the body of Christ itself," Dr Boomsma said.

Ds G S Moller, assessor of the NGK general synod, pleaded in his message of greetings to the synod for unity in the Dutch Reformed family of churches.

Cape Times 2/10/86

Sebe's son to face charges in Transkei

114
Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The son of Ciskei President Lennox Sebe and a senior Ciskei security officer are being held in a Transkei jail and will face charges "very soon" of attempted kidnapping.

This was announced here yesterday by Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, after the first round of talks in the morning with South Africa's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, who is trying to mediate in the confrontation between Ciskei and Transkei.

Chief Matanzima reiterated that Major-General Kwane Sebe, who is commanding officer of Ciskei's elite unit, and Colonel Zandisile Ngwanya, General Sebe's second-in-command, would be charged with the attempted kidnapping of Mr Namba Sebe from his Umtata home on September 13.

The kidnapping followed an attack on the Middle-drift maximum-security prison in Ciskei by a group of armed white men who freed Mr Charles Sebe.

The incidents have resulted in a confrontation between Ciskei and Transkei with President Sebe accusing Transkei of harbouring anti-Ciskei fighters and threatening to retaliate against Transkei.

MM
2/10/86 (11A)

Terrorists killed in Natal gunfight

Crime Reporter

TWO terrorists were shot dead and a policeman was wounded in a gunfight in the Ubombo district of northern Natal.

The shoot-out came only 24 hours after a terrorist attack on a kraal in the area.

Police said the shoot-out was in the same area where a truck detonated a landmine. The three people in the truck were not hurt.

After the attack on the kraal, police started follow-up operations and contact was made with two terrorists.

Both were shot dead and a policeman was wounded in the right leg in the exchange of gunfire, the spokesman said.

AK-47 rifles and ammunition were seized.

The wounded policeman is in a satisfactory condition in hospital.

The names of inhabitants of the kraal which was attacked were not disclosed, nor was the name of the injured policeman.

The spokesman said it had not been established whether the dead terrorists were responsible for laying the landmine which exploded on

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Police kill terrorists

● FROM PAGE 1

the Mjindi experimental farm on Friday.

The truck which detonated the mine was badly damaged, but the driver, Mr Themba Mapembe, and his two passengers were unharmed.

After the explosion they walked to the nearest army camp to seek help.

Security forces combed the area throughout the weekend, but no arrests were made.

Police investigations are continuing.

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● TURN TO PAGE 2

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1970-07-20

Gumede slams bureau

DURBAN — The government and its Bureau for Information were running out of ways to justify the continued imposition of the state of emergency, the United Democratic Front copresident, Mr Archie Gumede, said yesterday.

He was responding to allegations against the UDF by the deputy director of the bureau's research division, Mr David Venter.

Mr Venter said this week the emergency had been declared in time to prevent the UDF — which he claimed was a legal front for the underground ANC — from carrying out unrest from June 16 to 26.

Mr Gumede said the "malicious" claim the UDF was a legal front for the ANC was something that had not stood up in court. On claims there were to have been a spate of bombings and a march on Pretoria's Union Buildings, Mr Gumede said these were "figments of the bureau's collective imagination". — Sapa

29/07/70
11A

Cosas application dismissed

Cap Times Own Correspondent 2/19/56 (111) 228

DURBAN. — An application by the Congress of South African Students to have its banning order reversed was dismissed with costs by Mr Justice Leon in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

The organization was banned by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in August last year.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Leon said the papers had not suggested that the minister's conduct in issuing the ban was other than impeccable.

The minister had followed the provisions of the statute in considering the report and recommendations of his advisory committee and other relevant information and only after that had he reached a decision.

Mr I Mahomed, SC, with Mr E Cameron, instructed by Pampallis and Randles, appeared for the applicants. Mr J H Combrink, SC, assisted by Mr J A Booyens, instructed by the Deputy State Attorney's office, appeared for the minister.

Louis: 11A 2/10/82
dual
approach

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Security measures coupled with social upliftment, and not might alone, could solve the country's problems, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, told the congress yesterday.

Black and coloured townships were in such a decrepit condition it was no wonder police were being stoned.

He said that in some cases in which policemen's homes had been gutted in the townships, "so great is the hatred that they came back the next day with sledgehammers and any heavy objects they could find and smashed the building to its foundations".

Many townships had no running water, street lights or refuse removal.

"They have to take buckets and walk miles because for days there has been no water in their township and they have to fetch it from far away," he said.

"No wonder people are so resentful."

Workers heed solidarity call

Dispatch Correspondents

PORT ELIZABETH — Township pupils staged a mass stayaway yesterday to commemorate the death of 177 gold miners killed in the Kinross disaster two weeks ago.

The Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) of the industrial relations unit at the University of Port Elizabeth reported a varied response in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage to work stoppages called for by the Council of South African Trades Unions (Cosatu).

The LMG said a preliminary survey of Cosatu-organised workplaces in Port Elizabeth showed workers at almost 50 per cent of them had observed a work stoppage.

In Uitenhage, workers at the majority of Cosatu-organised workplaces responded to the call.

The Universities of Cape Town (UCT) and the Western Cape (UWC) also held memorial meetings yesterday in commemoration of the mining disaster.

About 1 000 students attended a joint National Union of South African Students and Azanian Students Organisation meeting in the Molly Blackburn Memorial Hall at UCT, while Dr Allan Boesak spoke at UWC.

Workers at many factories in Natal heeded a call by the Congress of South African Students and stopped work at midday.

Several Indian-owned shops in the Grey Street complex in Durban also shut down between 12 and 1 pm in response to a call by the Natal Indian Congress for solidarity with the National Union of Mineworkers, which demanded October 1 be declared a national day of mourning.

Church 'must be wary' of ANC role

Mercury Reporter

THE Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley, says he cannot imagine any church seeking involvement in the armed struggle.

He was commenting yesterday on a statement by the deputy director of the research division of the Bureau for Information, Mr David Venter, that the African National Congress had stepped up its campaign in 1986. Among its aims was to increase its credibility and get the Church more and more involved in its struggle.

Ideology

Archbishop Hurley said the expression 'to get the Church more and more involved in its struggle' was open to many interpretations.

'But it is quite justifiable for churches, like any other bodies, to find out what the ANC says about itself and to have dialogue with it about its motives, aims and methods.'

The Anglican Bishop of Natal, Michael Nuttall, said he was not aware that the ANC wanted to use the Church in this way.

'Obviously the Church has to be careful that it

does not become used by any political ideology or movement,' he said.

'I think the Church would take due care in this respect.'

Mr Alvin Anthony, acting director of Diakonia, the Durban-based ecumenical agency, said that as long as there was unjust rule, the Church had a theological responsibility to enable its members to strive for a just, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

It was not as part of the ANC's campaign that the Church was involved in the struggle for justice, he said.

The Church's increasing involvement stemmed from the deepening social and economic crisis in South Africa.

A front

Our political reporter writes that the Bureau for Information's claim that the United Democratic Front is a front for the banned African National Congress is a malicious allegation which has not stood up in court, UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, said in Durban yesterday.

Mr Gumede was reacting to a media briefing in Durban earlier this week at which the Bureau for Information's Research Division deputy director, Mr David Venter, said the state of emergency was declared to save the country from a 10-day campaign of bombings, boycotts, flag burnings and marches.

Mr Venter said the UDF was a front for the ANC.

ANC NEGOTIATIONS

3/10/86 11A
Magnus won't budge

Differences within the Cabinet as to how to deal with the African National Congress (ANC) have again emerged, this time against the background of British and US attempts to establish channels of communication between government and the banned organisation (*Current affairs* September 26).

At the National Party's federal congress in Durban last month, Foreign Minister Pik Botha almost pleaded for the ANC to make some form of significant peace gesture which would allow government to soften its line and get negotiations off the ground. It is known that Botha regarded his appeal, vague and ambiguous as it was, as an important and serious statement.

But Defence Minister Magnus Malan yet again appears to have closed the door on negotiations by questioning the need to talk to the ANC at all.

In an SABC TV interview, Malan said it was "naive" to think negotiation alone could solve SA's "terrorist problem."

He indicated that continuation of the current military campaign against the ANC's bases in neighbouring states was a key facet of the fight against terrorism.

"I cannot and will not associate myself with those groups who believe negotiations alone will solve terrorism. It is a naive simplification of the solution of a Soviet-inspired terror campaign," he said.

His comments came only days after the publication of an interview with Malan — conducted by UCT political scientist and historian Hermann Giliomee — appeared in the latest edition of *Die Suid Afrikaan*. In the interview, Malan was quoted as saying that he believed democracy was not a "relevant factor" for the "masses" (blacks) in SA.

"There is only a limited section (of the

black community) that is really interested in political participation. I think that for the masses in SA, democracy is not a relevant factor. For them, the issue is the satisfaction of their own needs. These needs change from time to time and are exploited by the revolutionaries," he said.

Malan acknowledged, however, that it was vital to do away with the "grievances" in the black community through a programme of "evolutionary reform."

On television, Malan said SA needed to be able to act always from a "position of strength." While government is prepared to talk to its opponents, there is no question of negotiation about the transfer of political power to "revolutionaries."

"If the ANC wants to negotiate on the basis of its outmoded political and economic ideas which have not worked anywhere in the world, and least of all in Africa, can there really be any sense in talking to them?" he said.

Malan said the security forces would protect South Africans by allowing no buildup of "revolutionary activities" in neighbouring states, and by clamping down on such activities inside the country, whether terrorism or "political agitation."

In the magazine interview, he ruled out the possibility of a military coup in SA: "A military regime is not the solution for our problem, it is an evasion of the problem. A coup is totally un-South African and alien to our history and way of life. If the crisis occurs, we must tackle it. South Africans are the last people who will ever accept a coup, even though they some times talk lightly of the possibility."

Malan's latest comments came when British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe was holding talks with ANC leader Oliver Tambo, and only a couple of weeks before US Secretary of State George Shultz is due to meet ANC leaders for the first time. The meeting is scheduled for Lusaka during his planned southern African tour.

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Cosatu, UDF to 'shake fence'

JOHANNESBURG. — Three major anti-apartheid organizations yesterday announced plans to mobilize their claimed three-million membership against apartheid.

At a news conference here, the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions and National Education Crisis Committee said a campaign against the government was under way.

Acting UDF publicity secretary Mr

Murphy Morobe said the campaign was a "fence-shaking" operation to demand of all South Africans that they decide where they stood.

"It is absolutely crucial that all sections of our society take a definite stand," his statement said.

"None of the demands we are making are new. But the difference now is that we will be using these demands to galvanize our members and supporters," Mr Morobe said. — Sapa



CONT...?

AKL 30/10/80

Consumer boycotts non-violent protests, court told

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Consumer boycott organisers are generally against intimidation because it is counter-productive and gives them "a bad name".

This was said yesterday by Dr Tom Lodge, senior lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand at the trial in the Benoni Magistrate's Court of Mr Abiot Motswege of Daveyton on charges of subversion.

Mr Motswege is the first person to be prosecuted for organising a consumer boycott. Legal experts see his trial as a vital test case which will determine whether consumer boycotts are a lawful method of protest.

SUCCESSFUL BOYCOTT

In evidence for the defence Dr Lodge said boycott committees took trouble to prevent or speak out against violence and made it clear intimidation was used on a "wildcat basis" by politically-excitabile youths.

Boycotts were "something of a tradition" in South Africa, he said. They were widely used through history by many organisations — in 1947 an Afrikaner nationalist group concerned with Afrikaner upliftment organised a successful boycott of Indian shops.

"And I wouldn't exactly call that a leftwing group," Dr Lodge added.

Boycotts had generally been seen as a legal, non-violent means of change. Recent ones were aimed at persuading white retailers — who had greater access to the Government — to use their influence to change policies.

Eastern Cape boycotts in the 1980s had been successful. Four shops with a mainly black clientele reporting a 90 percent downturn.

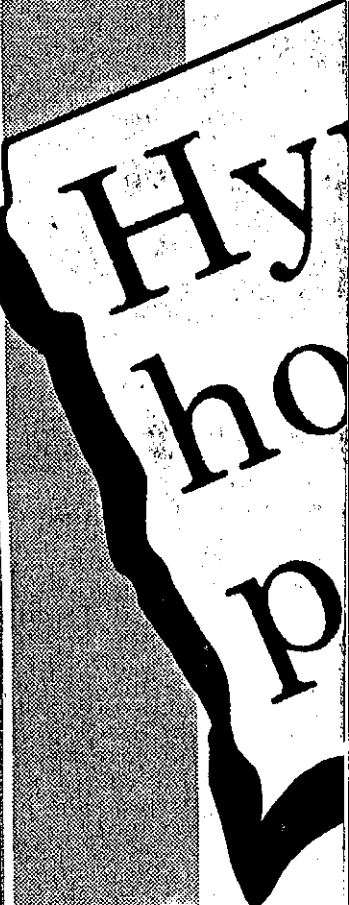
"It brought about, for the first time, negotiations between the boycott committee and the white community and certain reforms were agreed on."

NOT SUBVERSIVE

The demands contained in the boycott pamphlet distributed by Mr Motswege in May — withdrawal of troops from the township, low rents, resignation of councillors, the unbanning of the ANC and the Congress of South African Students — could not necessarily be seen as subversive or a recipe for unrest.

Mr W McBain-Charles, Southern Transvaal president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc), said the demands were consistent with Nafcoc's aims.

Mr Motswege is charged with "an attempt to cripple, prejudice or interrupt" the supply of goods on the East Rand and intending to destroy or undermine the State's authority to bring about constitutional or political change and/or intimidate members of



**EX ARGU
24 OCTO**

Alan Allsop
Brackenfell

FINANCIAL 3/10/86

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(11A) [scribbles]

Assomac hangs on

Government has again called the coloured Labour Party's (LP) bluff and won.

The LP-dominated Association of Management Committees (Assomac) decided at its congress in George last week *not* to withdraw from coloured management and Indian local affairs committees (*Current affairs* September 26).

At last year's congress, a proposal was overwhelmingly adopted to resign from the committees if direct representation on town and city councils was not granted by government by the date of this year's congress.

After a long debate, and plenty of encouragement from coloured Local Government Minister David Curry (who is opposed to withdrawal), delegates decided to stay on.

The decision runs counter to LP leader Allan Hendrickse's claim that his party is so opposed to racially separate local government that his MPs refused to approve local government amendment Bills during standing committee meetings this year.

The committees are important cogs in the regional services councils (RSC) machinery. Their collapse would have been a major setback to government's RSC plans.

The virtually powerless committees are supposed to liaise with (white) town and city councils, but in the main urban areas in particular, they are regarded as having very little value.

Assomac's reversal of its stand last year seemed to indicate just how firmly the LP is locked into government's tricameral and related structures.

The decision in George is being likened to the LP's humiliating defeat by government in parliament earlier this year, when two security law amendment Bills were bulldozed through the President's Council in the face of the LP's total opposition.

A few months earlier, Hendrickse had claimed that government would "never again" pass legislation through parliament unless it had the LP's backing. X ■

SOUTH AFRICA'S major extra-parliamentary opposition groups yesterday defiantly thrust their heads above the Emergency parapet.

In their first concerted effort to regain the political initiative from the government since the Emergency was declared, they launched a nationwide resistance campaign.

At a press conference in Johannesburg — hurriedly convened for security reasons — prominent leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Education Crisis Committee emerged from hiding to announce a "momentous" campaign for National Unity Against Apartheid and the Emergency.

The joint call represents a "reorganisation and galvanisation of our forces which have been besieged in the months of the State of Emergency", said Murphy Morobe, acting national publicity secretary of

Unions, UDF plan mass resistance campaign

By SHAUN JOHNSON and SEFAKO NYAKA

its supporters who are intent on destroying the economic and social fabric of our society."

Ten crucial issues will serve to focus the campaign.

The UDF/Cosatu/NECC alliance calls on "all patriots" to fight for: the lifting of the Emergency; the release of Mandela and other political prisoners; the unbanning of organisations; the establishment of "people's education" and the reopening of schools; the halting of rent evictions; freedom of expression

and association; a living wage for all workers; jobs for all; adequate social security; and the right to strike.

Morobe was reluctant to specify precise actions likely to characterise the campaign. His hesitancy might have been due to security considerations. But he also stressed that "local structures are right now deciding on forms of action. We don't want to prescribe to or pre-empt them."

Two new dynamics would emerge from the campaign, said Morobe. "We are drawing in new sectors of our community which may not up to now have identified themselves openly

with the democratic movement. People like taxi-drivers, ministers and even ordinary township shebeens have been affected by the Emergency and need to come out clearly.

"We are also implementing a 'fence-shaking process' — people who support this campaign must come out publicly and distinguish themselves from forces still operating under President Botha's scheme of things. It is no longer good enough for people to pledge support in the dark. This campaign will result in the clearer drawing of the battle lines in the country."

The campaign will involve a concerted media and propaganda strategy "to undo the negative aspects of the Bureau for Information's propaganda machinery".

It is also seen as a major step towards unity of extra-parliamentary forces. Morobe hopes that "a process is now starting whereby we can attain the kind of unity we crave — disparate forces in the political spectrum can be brought in. We seek unity not only at the leadership level, but amongst the masses."

Asked specifically whether this unity drive could embrace other resistance tendencies like the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Morobe said he was "open to the question (of co-operation) with Azapo and other groups outside of government-created structures. But unity based on action, not leaders, is our foremost consideration," he stressed.

Morobe estimated the three organisations responsible for the launch of the campaign represented "at least three million South Africans".

Cosatu's Mufamadi said people were "simply sick and tired of the Emergency", and he felt that "objective reality" meant the time was ripe for massive support for the campaign.

Morobe admitted the UDF had suffered under the Emergency, but said the organisation was "still functional. We have intensified local organisation to ensure our survival. Street activity has never been better than it is now in some areas. There is a fair amount of national co-ordination taking place, enough for us to initiate this campaign, and to focus it.

"We are not over-confident about this campaign", he said, "but know that we can pull something significant off."

No duration was specified for the national campaign, but it can be taken to be underway already — the national action by students and pupils planned for Monday is seen as part and parcel of the national unity call.



A passerby examines the defaced entrance to the Oxford Hotel in Rosebank, Johannesburg, which was spray-painted by vandals the night before a politically controversial cabaret was to be performed at the venue

Picture: Anna Zlominski

Verwoerd satire actors in hiding

ACTORS Robert Colman and Matthew Krouse, whose satirical cabaret *Famous Dead Man* was banned this week by the personal

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

Sun in Berea, where the show has already run for eight weeks, and a

Tuesday, at the request of Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs. Neither members of the committee nor Botha have seen the revue.

Despite this, the committee

tolerance of the average balanced person".

However, in his condemnation, Stoffel Botha thought the cabaret far more personal than symbolic.

Cape Times 3/10/86
NGSK rebuffs LP

By EBRAHIM MOOSA (110) 278

THE Ned Geref Sendingkerk general synod yesterday rebuffed threats by the Labour Party-controlled House of Representatives to cut off social welfare subsidies to the church.

Ds S Pick said such threats were frequently made by senior civil servants and administrators in the Department of Health and Welfare Services in the House of Representatives.

Ds Pick, chairman of the church's social services commission, said not even the Nationalist government threatened to cut off subsidies to pro-Conservative Party or Herstigte Nasionale Party churches.

The synod "noted with concern" accusations made by a West Coast board attached to the House which alleged that the church was the "greatest factor of unrest" in the area and that it undermined the state.

● The synod also approved a family structure which stressed the concept of "parenthood", instead of male or female-dominated families.

United drive against apartheid

JOHANNESBURG —

Three major anti-apartheid organisations yesterday announced plans to mobilise their claimed three-million membership against apartheid.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) announced that a united campaign against the government was under way.

The acting UDF publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, described the campaign as a "fence-shaking" operation to demand of all South Africans that they decide where they stood.

"It is absolutely crucial that all sections of our society opposed to apartheid take a definite stand," his statement said.

"None of the demands we are making are new. But the difference now is that we will be using these demands to galvanise our members and supporters," Mr Morobe added.

He estimated that the combined membership and active supporters of the organisations involved exceeded three million. "That does not include 'passive' supporters," he said. — Sapa

(1/A) Sowetan 3/10/86

Poitier to act Mandela part

NEW YORK — Hollywood star Sidney Poitier is to play Nelson Mandela in a television miniseries on the jailed black leader's life.

Jane Fonda stars with him as Molly Blackburn, leader of the Black Sash movement who died recently. Marlon Brando will also star.

Fonda and Brando have until now refused to act on television.

Fonda said: "This is one of those rare projects that you throw yourself into — mind,

**SOWETAN
Foreign Service**

body and soul."

And Brando added: "I want my footprints in that sand. That's why I've agreed to take part."

Poitier said: "This should be a landmark event for TV."

Filming starts in Africa early next year with singer Harry Belafonte as producer. America's ABC-TV plans to broadcast the series in 1988.



ACTOR POITIER

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Mandela City plan sparks a major row

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — A campaign to declare a city within a city and name it after jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has sparked a major argument in Boston.

Voters from 10 of the city's districts will say in a referendum on November 4 whether they want Mandela, a large area occupied largely by black people in the heart of the city, independent.

The proposed city covers roughly 20 square kilometres, involving about 22 percent of Boston's 600 000 population.

But the move has caused fears of renewed racism.

"Boston has created Mandela already by its discriminatory housing policy, driving its blacks into the poorest area," said one of the campaigners.

Backlash

About half of the residents in the 10 referendum districts are white, also raising the possibility that they will vote for Mandela city in a backlash against the poorer black area of Boston.

"I'm almost afraid to talk about this," said one local politician, Mr Thomas Finneran. "There is no question the backlash. There are extremists in the white community just as there are in the black community."

"There are white people saying: 'You've been a drain on us for years — we'd be glad to get rid of the obligation'," Mr Finneran said.

The financial burdens of Mandela, an idea initially welcomed by many black leaders, is causing second thoughts. Boston's Mayor, Mr Raymond Flynn, released a study last week showing that Mandela would face a first-year deficit of R300-million.

The new city would rely mainly on taxes from poor residential properties. The mayor's study further shows Mandela residents would face an increase in rates of up to 60 percent.

Municipal services would be another problem, it found, because homes there made up the city's highest number of tax-payment failures.

It is not yet clear what the outcome of the referendum will be. It is unlikely to find approval from the Massachusetts state legislature or the state governor, thus making it a symbolic effort.

No progress has yet been reported in the campaign of Washington DC's Mayor, Mr Marion Barry, to have a section of "embassy row" in Massachusetts Avenue renamed Nelson and Winnie Mandela Avenue.

Mr Barry, who has strongly identified himself with the anti-apartheid movement, announced his campaign some months ago. The proposed renaming is aimed specifically at a stretch in which the South African Embassy is located.

UK rectorship offer to Winnie

The Argus Foreign Service

GLASGOW. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been asked to stand for the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University.

She has still formally to accept the offer, made by a group of university Labour supporters.

If she is successful in the poll next March, it is thought unlikely that she will be permitted to leave South Africa to be installed in the three-year post, but her duties would pass to a deputy.

The invitation was announced at an anti-apartheid rally in Glasgow. Mrs Janey Buchan, an MP for Glasgow, said there would be a strong campaign for Mrs Mandela's election when the present Lord Rector, Michael Kelly, a former Lord Provost of Glasgow, stepped down in March.

She said Mrs Mandela had shown great enthusiasm for the post.

The timing of the event has been planned to coincide with the 25th anniversary of Nelson Mandela's imprisonment.

DD 3/10/88

Hurley: churches won't go for arms

... talk with ANC can be justified

DURBAN — The Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Reverend Denis Hurley, says he cannot imagine any church seeking involvement in the armed struggle.

He was commenting on a statement by the deputy director of the research division of the Bureau for Information, Mr David Venter, that the African National Congress had stepped up its campaign in 1986. Among its aims was to increase its credibility and get the church more and more involved in its struggle.

Archbishop Hurley said the expression "to get the church more and more involved in its struggle" was open to many interpretations.

"But it is quite justifiable for churches, like any other bodies, to find out what the ANC says about itself and to have dialogue with it about its motives, aims and methods."

The Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Most Reverend Michael Nuttall, said he was not aware that the ANC wanted to use the church in this way.

"Obviously the church has to be careful that it does not become used by any political ideology or movement," he said.

"I think the church would take due care in this respect."

The acting director of the Durban-based ecumenical agency, Diakonia, Mr Alvin Anthony, said that as long as there was unjust rule, the church had a theological

responsibility to enable its members to strive for a just, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

It was not as part of the ANC's campaign that the church was involved in the struggle for justice, he said. The church's increasing involvement stemmed from the deepening social and economic crisis in South Africa.

The Bureau for Information's claim that the United Democratic Front was a front for the banned African National Congress was a malicious allegation that had not stood up in court, UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, said in Durban.



**ARCHBISHOP
HURLEY**

Mr Gumede was reacting to Mr Venter's statement that the state of emergency was declared to save the country from a 10-day campaign of bombings, boycotts, flag burnings and marches.

Mr Venter had said the UDF was a front for the ANC. — Sapa

11 honoured for arresting ANC men

3/10/86
SMC
NIA
Lowveld Bureau

Eleven policemen and Defence Force members who contributed to the arrest of two African National Congress members in the Lowveld this month were presented with achievement awards by General Hans Paetzhold, officer commanding the Eastern Transvaal Command.

Two men, travelling along a quiet Lowveld road, were stopped by a group of servicemen. They ran away and disappeared in the darkness.

Quick follow-up action resulted in one being arrested the same night. The other was tracked down and caught the next day.

LANDMINES

The men were later found to be connected to at least one of the landmine incidents near Nelspruit during August.

The recipients were Corporal D Bester, Lieutenant W Storm, Lieutenant G Roodt, Sergeant G Otto, Rifleman B Martens, Rifleman M van Rooyen, Rifleman E Payne, Corporal S Mathee, Detective-Sergeant D Pieterse, Rifleman A Wright and Sergeant C Diedericks.

CPA. Term 4/10/80

Mayoral appointments 'farce', says WCCA

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) has criticized the two official mayoral appointments to all the Peninsula's townships, labelling them "farical and unrepresentative".

The mayor, Mr Ronald Njoli, and his deputy, Mrs Elsie Shwabane, were inaugurated on Saturday at a function organized by the Office for Community Services (OCS), in the Pinelands Old Mutual Hall. They will preside over Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga and Khayelitsha. A WCCA spokesman said his organization demanded direct representation on local authorities, "not a kitchen administration like the com-

munity councillors and the so-called town committees".

The visit by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to Old Crossroads this week proved there was a Defence Force, Police and vigilante alliance, "which is going to be the backbone of Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's administration," the spokesman said.

Mr Njoli said last night that he and Mrs Shwabane had been "duly elected" in their wards.

"My ward is Langa where, incidentally, the WCCA put up a candidate against me. Almost every candidate had an opponent," Mr Njoli said.

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NGSK backs students' peaceful political protest

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

THE Ned Geref Sendingkerk yesterday backed students in their use of class boycotts as a means of non-violent protest for political aims.

Despite fierce opposition to this decision, the NGSK general synod in Belhar endorsed it by a narrow margin.

The move is expected to have far-reaching consequences within the church and the wider political arena.

The motion, proposed by Ds Piet Fourie of Witteberge

and Ds Chris Loff of Philippi, said it "recognized the right of students to use class boycotts as non-violent means for political and social change".

Ds Izak Mentor, the assessor of the Moderature, opposed the move.

Ds Fourie said that school and class boycotts were the only non-violent means available to students. A denial of such protests only encouraged violent forms of opposition.

The synod admitted that education was an "irreplaceable asset" for young people and warned that boy-

cotts should be used with "utmost responsibility" because it could also be a "double-edged sword".

Ds Mentor questioned the notion of "responsible protest".

While he conceded that students had the right to protest, those who wished to study also had a right which was never afforded them.

● The NGSK will also negotiate with government on a minimum wage for farm and domestic workers, the synod decided.

● The synod also decided to approve 1987 as a "Year of Prayer".

summary

DD 4/10/86

UDF welcomes steps as a breakthrough

CAPE TOWN — The United Democratic Front hailed the US sanctions decision as “a breakthrough for all those forces who have seen through the fraud of (Mr P. W.) Botha’s so-called reforms and the protectionist postures of the Reagan administration”.

The UDF hoped other Western countries would follow suit.

The Congress of Unions of South Africa said the end of apartheid would be hastened by “the last peaceful option left to bring the Pretoria government to its senses”, and the 500 000-member Congress of SA Trade Unions said sanctions could still be averted if the “reasonable and realistic demands of the people” were met.

These included dismantling apartheid, lifting the state of emergency, releasing prisoners and detainees, including the African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and unbanning the ANC.

An Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging spokesman said the government had itself to blame, a view supported by the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, who said the US had no right to dictate to South Africa.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu said the government was “self-destructing” and urged the white electorate to call a halt to apartheid. — Sapa

Nurses 'forced' to give money

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — African nurses throughout the country are being intimidated and are forced to give R50 of their monthly income to the United Democratic Front, it is alleged.

According to sources within the South African Nurses' Association, in the Eastern Cape alone, 5 410 nurses are affected by "necklace" threats. Their combined "contribution" to the UDF could be as high as R270 500 monthly.

No comment could be obtained from the UDF on the allegations last night.

According to the sources such intimidation is countrywide.

Numerous complaints of intimidation, necklace threats and harassment were made by the nurses to the association, said the sources.

The sources said threats began soon after an announcement ear-

lier this year that parity in salaries was to be introduced.

According to some black nurses, "comrades" in the townships have decided that health services are not essential in South Africa and that nurses must contribute towards their (the comrades') cause.

The association now fears that fewer blacks will register for training as nurses which, it says, will eventually lead to the suffering of innocent blacks in need of medical care.

"The recent outbreak of measles in the townships had led to the deaths of many black children. Similar outbreaks of diseases in future will be disastrous if these people continue to intimidate and threaten our nurses and keep prospective nurses away," said the sources.

They said nurses were often seen as police and government

informers, and had been forbidden to speak to anyone about "comrades" being treated in hospitals and clinics — particularly about those treated for burns or gunshot wounds.

Nurses said a whole bus load of "comrades" recently confronted nurses at the Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth and informed them of the "donation" they would be expected to make.

"Comrades" have also gone to the homes of nurses. The money is collected by the street committees in the townships, the sources said.

Major Eddie Everson, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the police were aware of the situation, and numerous anonymous telephone calls have been received by the police in connection with the intimidation of nurses by "comrades".

President Reagan's nomination of a black man as the next United States Ambassador to South Africa has been dismissed as "insignificant and meaningless" by a number of black leaders and organisations in South Africa.

Mr Edward Joseph Perkins (58), a career diplomat from Louisiana, has been named by President Reagan to replace Mr Herman Nickel, who leaves South Africa today.

Mr Perkins's appointment still has to be ratified by the US Senate and it is widely believed that the House will confirm the nomination.

Black leaders in South Africa were unanimous in their belief that the appointment of Mr Perkins did not herald a significant shift in the Reagan Administration's policy toward Pretoria.

Mr Nthato Motlana, the chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said: "The opinion of blacks on all levels in South Africa is unanimous: that the policy of the White House remains the same."

"The attempt by President Reagan to try to placate the anger of blacks against the racist South African Government by this appointment just does not wash."

A United Democratic Front spokesman said Mr Perkins was "most unwelcome" in South Africa.

'REACTIONARY'

Mr Azhar Cachalia, the UDF's national treasurer, said: "The colour of Mr Perkins's skin makes no difference to us because he will still be representing the reactionary Reagan Administration. President Reagan is badly mistaken if he thinks that we are going to be appeased by the colour of this man."

This view was reiterated by Mr Marcel Golding, Press officer of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). He said that, mostly, Mr Perkins would be delivering the message of constructive engagement.

Azapo's vice-president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, said: "Every ambassador carries out the policies of his country and the policy of the Reagan Government remains the same as before. I think this nomination is an attempt by President Reagan to create the impression that he cares for black people."

Mr Lusibo Ntloko, an executive member of the National Forum, said: "The Azanian people do not want a change in colours of the US ambassadors, but a complete change of its policies. The US has made itself an accomplice of apartheid by its continued policy of constructive engagement and the arrogance of its President. Mr Reagan is cushioning the cruelty and brutality of apartheid."

Mr Steve Mbatha, Inkatha's assistant regional secretary for the East Rand, said the appointment was meaningless.

"Mr Perkins will basically be the mouthpiece of President Reagan," he said.

SA black leaders reject new diplomat

By Soli Makgabane

Reagan's

By SOL MORATHI

SUDDENLY, it happens ...

A car tyre doused with petrol is forced around a person's neck, and set alight.

While the victim burns and chokes in the acrid fumes belching from a blazing rubber necklace, his assailants dance and ululate in a delirium of joy.

The heart-rending screams of the victim the necklacers want to "teach a lesson" mean nothing.

This dreaded method of

execution has already claimed over 300 lives - in Eastern Cape 106, Lebowa 78, Western Cape 41 and Northern Transvaal 28, which includes KwaNdebele.

But the necklace alone is no longer regarded as effective enough.

The latest trend is to first chop off the victim's arms at the elbows.

The security forces - as the Bureau for Informa-

tion often says - have saved several people from being necklaced.

Twenty people have been convicted of killing people by using necklaces, and many are facing similar charges countrywide.

The government has condemned these killings.

State President PW Botha has accused the ANC and the United Democratic Front of being

solely responsible for

the murders.

"Not having the spontaneous support for their violence among the masses, the ANC and its co-horts use these most callous and gruesome methods of terror and extreme violence to intimidate people in order to gain control of the various black population groups.

"That the communist-controlled ANC, aided and abetted by countries

like Libya, is firmly committed to total change through violence and revolution, is clear from the following statement broadcast by Radio Freedom - the ANC radio - and I quote: 'Our future lies in our victory and our victory lies in the attack - militant and vicious attack'.

He quotes further: "Whilst we are continuously making our country un-

governable and ourselves difficult to control, we must at the same time attack the enemy.

"We must start here in our residential areas and remove from our way all enemy collaborators - all those who man the apartheid oppressive structures, either councillors, police or agents must be removed..."

● The ANC sees the bit-

114

CITY PRESS 5/10/86

Black rubber - black death

Cooper has repeatedly said: "The necklace is a crime against black people and must be stopped."

terness and frustration of apartheid as the cause of necklacing, *City Press* Harare correspondent reports.

The ANC says that while its internal underground structures have a degree of influence over events, it cannot control every action taken, such as necklacing.

Azapo president Saths

SA's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has also condemned the necklace killing, saying violence among black people would only please the enemy.

"God, we know that you are in charge."

We know that we will be free, but why must the cost be so high?" said Tutu.



Members of the NUM carry a coffin into this week's memorial service at Cosatu House in Johannesburg for the Kinross dead. *sl1086 CITY PRESS* Pic: EVANS MBOWENI.

Uniting against emergency

By MONO BADELA
 IN an unprecedented demonstration of unity, the United Democratic Front, Congress of SA Trade Unions and the National Education Crisis Committee made a joint call yesterday for a national campaign against the state of emergency.

UDF spokesman Murphy Morobe said it was the first time major anti-apartheid groupings had embarked on a major joint campaign primarily to fight

the emergency. "We have come to the conclusion that national united action must be taken against apartheid - and the emergency in particular." The organisations have the SA Council of Churches' full support, and are determined to initiate a campaign for national unity of all forces opposed to apartheid and the government, Morobe said. A joint statement issued by UDF, Cosatu and NECC said: "Government,

in its desperate attempts to cling to power, has wrecked the economy and caused massive unemployment and increased hardship all round; completely disrupted and destroyed the future of thousands of young South Africans through their pursuit of Verwoedian education policies; detained thousands; behind the cover of 'law and order' brutalised our people through killings in Langa, Mamelodi and White City; and uprooted millions through forced removals."

- They demanded:
- Lifting of the emergency.
 - Release of all political prisoners and unbanning of ANC and other political organisations.
 - Repeal of controls imposed on students, the establishment of democratic "people's education" and the reopening of schools.
 - Halt to rent evictions and meeting of residents demands.
 - Freedom of expression and a living wage for all workers.

Two to oppose detention

By SOL MORATHI

TWO emergency detainees were this week granted leave to appeal to the Bloemfontein Appeal Court against the validity of their detentions.

On Wednesday the Pretoria Supreme Court ruled that Wits senior law lecturer and United Democratic Front official Raymond

Sorrel Suttner and trade unionist Sipho Kubheka be granted leave to appeal.

This is despite Tuesday's appeal court decision to uphold Section 3 (1) and Section 3 (3) of the Emergency regulations.

A full bench of the Pretoria court ruled that there were reasonable prospects of success on the appeal

and that the Appeal Court could find that the detainees had to be given reasons for their detentions.

Suttner and Kubheka were detained on June 12 - barely hours after the emergency was declared.

Applications for their release were refused in the Pretoria Supreme Court on July 31.

Death sentence once he found there were

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CITY PRESS

Judge overrules Cosas application

THE CONGRESS of SA Students - banned last year - has lost its bid to have its banning overturned.

In a judgment handed down in the Durban Supreme Court, Judge Leon dismissed with costs an application by Cosas, for an order declaring the banning to be of no force and affect.

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange declared Cosas an unlawful organisation in terms of Section 4 (1) of the Internal Security Act in a notice published in the Government Gazette on August 28 last year.

Leon said there was nothing in the court papers to

suggest Le Grange's conduct in issuing the notice had been "anything other than impeccable".

The judge said the Minister had followed the provisions of the statute.

He had considered the reports and recommendations of the advisory committee and other relevant information, and had only reached a decision after that.

Leon said Le Grange had acted in terms of the statute in issuing the notice after having strictly complied with its requirements. - Sapa.

Gumede slams bureau's claims

THE government and its Bureau for Information are clearly running out of ways to justify the continued imposition of the emergency, UDF president Archie Gumede said this week.

Gumede was responding to allegations against the UDF made by bureau's research division deputy director David Venter in Durban.

Venter said the emergency had been declared just in time to prevent the UDF - which he claimed was a legal front for the ANC - from carrying out stayaways, student and worker unrest, flag-burning ceremonies and tributes to

the ANC and SA Communist Party from June 16 to 26.

Gumede said the "malicious" claim that the UDF was a legal front for the ANC was something which had not stood up in court.

"If there had been a well-organised conspiracy, surely there would have been prosecutions against those supposedly involved?"

"The bureau has apparently run out of excuses for the government's interference - through the emergency - in extra-parliamentary activities. The sooner the emergency is lifted, the better," he said. - Sapa.

(11/1) DP 6/10/80

UDF denies protection money claims

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The United Democratic Front branch here has denied allegations that it is demanding protection money from members of the South African Nurses Association (Sana).

The UDF has described so-called comrades harassing nurses at the Livingstone Hospital here as "thugs out on their own mission".

The denial followed claims by members of the association, who did not wish to be named, that black nurses throughout the country were allegedly being intimidated to pay R50 of their monthly income to the UDF.

They said a whole busload of "comrades" recently confronted nurses at the Livingstone Hospital and informed them of the "donation". Comrades had also gone to the homes of nurses in the townships, they said.

A spokesman for the UDF, Mr Sipho Silas Mnyimba, who is also a member of the PE Consumer Boycott Committee, said the front wished to distance itself from these "scandalous, groundless and intimidatory reports".

"The UDF would never mandate its member organisations to make such demands from nurses, who are members of our community who also suffer the same as their brothers and sisters under the country's apartheid laws."

Mr Mnyimba said the UDF wished to assure "our sisters in the nursing profession that they would always be well looked after".

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Eddie Everson, said the police had received anonymous phone calls in connection with the intimidation of nurses by comrades.

King Shaka was not racist — Buthelezi

ENSELENI. — The television series "Shaka Zulu" had proved undoubtedly that the founder of the Zulu nation was never a racist, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He told a King Shaka anniversary rally here that he hoped Bill Faure's SABC production would reveal dimensions of the king's life to blacks and whites.

While King Shaka could have eliminated the small settlement of whites in his kingdom, he had rather received them with great warmth and unimaginable hospitality.

"So while we as blacks have been subjected to many wrongs from our white countrymen for several generations now, we have not become racist because of their racism," he said. "It would be a disgrace to our founder and king if we had."

Zulus had tried to show their humanity through the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba as they tried to wrestle with "the prickly nettle of power sharing" in the region.

"Even if our efforts are sabotaged by racists on both sides of the colour line, we have no doubt that the spirit of King Shaka is demonstrated by us in our quest for the multiracial approach to our problems of coexistence as different race groups," he said.

● Chief Buthelezi also warned the State President, Mr P W Botha, that there could be no black-white negotiations unless he accepted that South Africa was one country, with one people and one Parliament.

He repeated his assurance that he would not enter Mr Botha's proposed National Council unless it aimed at full power sharing and unless Mr Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners were released.

— Sapa.



Chief
Buthelezi

Should ... to be tested

Cape Times 6/10/66 (111) (93) (272)

Threats to nurses denied

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The PE branch of the United Democratic Front has denied allegations that it is demanding protection money from members of the South African Nurses' Association.

And the UDF has described so-called comrades harassing nurses at the Livingstone Hospital as "thugs out on their own mission".

The denial follows claims by association sources that African nurses throughout the country were being intimidated to pay the UDF R50 a month.

The sources said that in the Eastern Cape alone, 5 410 nurses were affected by threats of "necklaces".

Their combined "contribution" to the UDF could be as high as R270 500

monthly, they claimed.

But the UDF denied that any office members or affiliated organizations had been instructed to demand R50 a month from individual members of SANA, or threatened them with death.

A spokesman for the UDF, Mr Sipho Silas Mnyimba, who is also a member of the Consumer Boycott Committee, told correspondents here that the front wished to distance itself from these "scandalous, groundless and intimidatory reports".

According to the sources within SANA, the intimidation and threats were made against black nurses throughout the country.

Major Eddie Everson, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the police were "aware of the situation".

Own Correspondent 10/10/86

PAC flag
hoisted at

launch of new union

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The flag of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was hoisted high and songs in praise of its late leader Robert Sobukwe echoed within the Alpha Centre hall as a new 350 000-strong union federation was formed at Broedersroom yesterday.

The federation, which at the time of going to press had not been named, is the result of a merger between the exclusively black Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu).

Dancing youths chanting political slogans and singing freedom songs momentarily turned the event into a PAC festival, to the delight of more than 1 000 delegates.

Cusa's general secretary, Mr Phiroshaw Camay, said he had a message of fraternal greetings from the PAC and the African National Congress (ANC).

Moderate black churchmen form new Conciliation party

The Argus Correspondent in JOHANNESBURG

AFTER weeks of secret talks, a new political party, the United Christian Conciliation Party, was launched yesterday by a group of conservative black churchmen and community councillors.

The formation of the non-racial party was announced at a low-profile Press conference held at a Johannesburg hotel — the venue made known only a few hours before.

The two presidents of the new party are Bishop Isaac Mokoena, head of the Black Independent Reformed Churches Association, and former mayor of the Port Elizabeth township of Ibhayi, Mr Thamasanqa Linda.

They describe themselves as moderates who are tired of intimidation, but they have often been singled out by anti-apartheid activists for collaborating with the Government.

BISHOP Mokoena is a strong critic of The Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, and has made several overseas trips to oppose sanctions. He is head of the Black Independent Reformed Churches Association which he claims has 4,5 million adherents.

Both Bishop Mokoena and Mr Linda have frequently appeared on SABC programmes as representatives of "moderate" black South Africans.

Mr Linda had to flee his Eastern Cape township last year when his home and business was burnt down by opponents who regard him as a "sell-out".

Another well-known member of the party's executive committee is former Soweto mayor Mr Edward Kunene.

His house was petrol-bombed when

he was mayor — but as a Soweto city councillor he has generally maintained a low profile.

Among observers at yesterday's conference were two well-known white Government supporters — Mr Russel Crystal, former president of the National Student's Federation, and the head of the Student Moderates Alliance, Mr Martin Yuill.

When asked whether the new party had any Government backing, Mr Linda was adamant that party members were not interested in "stinking" Government money.

Mr Linda made it clear that his party was hostile to the United Democratic Front. When asked whether he thought the UDF subscribed to the Christian principles of his party, Mr Linda said he "doubted" it.

Details of the new party's draft constitution were released, and it was described as the "fraternity of all South Africans of goodwill in the commitment to personal freedom and distributive justice".

Bishop Mokoena said the United Christian Conciliation Party rejected "all forms of violence, whether individual, or collective, and regardless of political motives".

He said the party stood for a free enterprise system but that, "the new South African state shall ensure that distributive justice brings the benefit of free enterprise within the reach of everyone, in particular to those who are underprivileged".

When asked to spell out how the UCCP would achieve this, Bishop Mokoena, said that his party would examine the operations of multi-national companies who channelled money out of the country.

Witdoek chief invited to parley

Staff Reporter
7/10/80

A WIDE range of Western Cape organizations have been invited to a meeting in Site C, Khayelitsha, on October 18 to thrash out problems arising out of allegations of "irregularities" in the administration of housing in the area.

Prominent witdoek vigilante commander Mr Mali Hoza — unofficial leader of Site C — has been invited to meet organizations such as the Black Sash, the Western Province Council of Churches and the Progressive Federal Party.

The co-convenor of the meeting, Mr Solly Kerran, said yesterday that in the past weeks "a lot of allegations have been made against the people at Site C concerning irregularities surrounding the site and service schemes.

"Among the allegations is that people are being coerced to join in various schemes

against their will and the idea is to get all parties concerned together to see if they can remove the stumbling-blocks and sort out the problems," he said.

Since the destruction of the satellite squatter camps in May and June, refugees have consistently refused to move to Site C.

They have cited among their reasons that Site C is vigilante territory, and that they would be forced to pay levies to the "leaders" of the area.

It was too early yesterday to gauge the response to the request for the meeting, but among those invited by Mr Kerran and his co-convenor, Quaker peace worker Mr Rommel Roberts, are:

The Black Sash; the Rev Syd Luckett of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility; the Surplus Peoples Project; the South African Institute of Race Relations; the Crossroads/Khayelitsha Coordinating Committee and the Nyanga Civic Association.

7/10/86
SMK

Black moderates launch Christian political party

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

After weeks of secret talks a new political party — the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP) — was launched yesterday by a group of conservative black churchmen and community councillors.

The formation of the nonracial party was announced at a low-profile Press conference at a Johannesburg hotel.

The two presidents of the new party are Bishop Isaac Mokoena, head of the Black Independent Reformed Churches Association, and the former mayor of the Port Elizabeth township of Ibhayi, Mr Thamasanqa Linda.

They describe themselves as moderates who are tired of intimidation, but they have often been singled out by anti-apartheid activists for collaborating with the Government.

Bishop Mokoena is a strong critic of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and has made several overseas trips to advocate against sanctions. He is head of the Black Independent Reformed Churches Association which he claims has 4,5 million adherents.

HOME AND BUSINESS BURNT DOWN

Both Bishop Mokoena and Mr Linda have frequently appeared on SABC programmes as representatives of "moderate" black South Africans.

Mr Linda had to flee his Eastern Cape township last year when his home and business was burnt down by opponents who regard him as a sell-out.

Another well-known member of the party's executive committee is former Soweto mayor Mr Edward Kunene.

His house was petrol-bombed when he was mayor — but as a Soweto councillor he has generally maintained a low profile.

Among observers at the conference were two well-known white Government supporters — Mr Russel Crystal, former president of the National Student's Federation, and the head of the Student Moderates Alliance, Mr Martin Yuill.

Asked if the new UCCP had Government backing, Mr Linda said members were not interested in "stinking" Government money.

HOSTILE TO UDF

He made it clear the party was hostile to the United Democratic Front. Asked if he thought the UDF subscribed to the Christian principles of his party, he said he "doubted" it.

Details of the new party's draft constitution were released, and it was described as the "fraternity of all South Africans of good will in the commitment to personal freedom and distributive justice".

Bishop Mokoena said the UCCP rejected "all forms of violence, whether individual or collective, and regardless of political motives".

He said the party stood for a free enterprise system, but that "the new South African state shall ensure that distributive justice brings the benefit of free enterprise within the reach of everyone, in particular to those who are underprivileged".

Bishop Mokoena said his party would examine the operations of multinational companies which channel money out of the country.

Fillip for proposed Council

BUSINESS (11A)
11/21/76

THE two presidents of the newly formed moderate black political party, the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), are believed to be two of a handful of black leaders who have indicated a willingness to sit on the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC).

The party could solve government's dilemma by supplying one category of candidate needed for the NSC — "urban black leaders" — which it has not been able to fill as yet because of rejection of the proposals by most black leaders.

UCCP presidents Thamasanqa Linda, a former Port Elizabeth mayor, and Bishop Isaac Mokoena, life president of the black Reformed Independent Churches Association (Rica), indicated

at a Press conference yesterday they did not reject the principle of the NSC.

The UCCP — formed by town councillors and members of the independent black-church movement — will also be launched in London this week when the two men address the Conservative Party congress. They plan to appeal for funds and campaign against sanctions and disinvestment.

Linda said they were still awaiting the blueprint for the NSC before deciding whether to take part in it.

The NSC is government's only existing plan to get negotiation with blacks off the ground and to include them in the decision-making process.

Fact-finding Steel will not see Mandela

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Liberal leader Mr David Steel arrived in Johannesburg this morning on a fact-finding visit knowing that he will not be allowed to see ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The SA ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, advised him before he left that his request to visit Mandela "had been referred to the appropriate authority in South Africa but it will not be possible to accede to your request at this time".

Mr Steel, a former president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, also hopes to see Archbishop Tutu, Chief Buthelezi, the Rev Allan Boesak, Mrs Winnie Mandela and members of the PFP. No arrangements have been made to see members of the Government.

Mr Steel will give a lecture at the University of Cape Town on Thursday on "The Road to a Liberal Revolution".

On Friday, he will fly to Botswana where he will meet President Masire, and then visit Zimbabwe for talks with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. His trip ends in Zambia where he will meet ANC leaders and President Kaunda.

UDF denies threats to nurses

DA
Everson
7/10/8
EB

THE Port Elizabeth branch of the United Democratic Front yesterday denied allegations by the South African Nurses Association that about 5 400 black nurses in the Eastern Cape had been threatened with death unless they paid R50 a month to the UDF.

A UDF spokesman, Mr Sipho Silas Mayimba, said his organisation wished to "distance itself from these scandalous, groundless and intimidatory reports."

Major Eddie Everson, SAP liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said police were aware

of the allegations and had received numerous anonymous telephone calls.

The nurses association claim the threats were being made to nurses throughout the country and said some of them had been threatened with "necklaces".

UWC calls off talks with Carter Ebrahim

calls talks 7/10/86

Staff Reporter

THE council of the University of the Western Cape has called off formal talks with the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, because of the "present political climate".

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse earlier this year alleged that UWC students were being taught to be Marxists. The Ministers' Council also refused to meet a UWC request that it guarantee a loan to the university, a decision which was later reversed.

A UWC spokesman said yesterday that on September 11, "the UWC Council considered an invitation from Mr Carter Ebrahim to hold discussions".

The invitation was accepted at the time, but "at a subsequent meeting of the council, the matter was reconsidered and the previous decision was rescinded".

US probe into ANC's Red links will be crucial

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star's Africa News Service

By the end of the year President Reagan is due to receive a report on what must be a crucial element in any future efforts to solve South Africa's racial problem — the communist influence in the African National Congress.

The report will be compiled by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defence Intelligence Agency, the National Security Adviser and other top officials in the American intelligence community. Its contents and possible conclusions could have an important bearing on efforts to arrange dialogue between the ANC and the South African Government.

The influence of the South African Communist Party and its supporters in Moscow on the policy of the ANC has never been fully probed — at least not by any agency that has made its report public. Yet the issue is probably pivotal in any moves to bring about a negotiated solution in South Africa.

The mere presence in, let alone possible domination of, the ANC by the SACP would continue to be one of the major factors inhibiting any dialogue between the Government and the ANC, even if the ANC were to accept the Government's prime condition that it renounce violence.

The American investigation into the ANC was commissioned in the legislation which imposed selected economic sanctions on South Africa and was approved by last week when the US Senate to override the President's veto.

ANC lobbying probe

It was put into the sanctions Bill in an effort to balance the comparatively strong sanctions measures and widen the basis of its support in Congress. Another provision put into the Bill for the same purpose requires the US attorney-general to investigate the lobbying and other activities of the ANC in the United States.

But it is the intelligence investigation into the communist element that will be more significant, especially if it throws some light into the darker corners of the ANC.

That the probe will produce a definitive public account of SACP influence in the ANC is doubtful, especially as the ANC has refused to co-operate in it. Furthermore, the results will be set out in two reports, a classified one which is expected to be used to guide the formulation of future offi-

cial US policy on the ANC and an unclassified one for public release. How much of the former will go into the latter remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, it promises to be more illuminating than anything yet published on the SACP's influence in the ANC.

Estimates of this influence vary.

The ANC leadership has consistently taken the line that it does not know how many members of its executive are members of the SACP because it has never counted them and does not intend doing so.

Its attitude is that the ANC is a liberation movement, not a political party, and that it provides a home for people with political views ranging from conservative socialism to Trotskyism, all united by a common desire to overthrow apartheid in South Africa.

Executive members

But even the most conservative outside estimates put the number of SACP members on the 30-member ANC executive at about 10. Others go as high as 23.

Politicians and academics who believe the ANC may well be dominated by the SACP argue that, elsewhere in the world including the Soviet Union, it has taken only a minority of dedicated communists to secure control of a country.

The ANC is becoming increasingly widely recognised as at least one of the major black political forces, if not the major one, opposing white domination and therefore a group without whom no meaningful negotiations can be held.

The South African Government has agreed to have talks with the ANC but only if it renounces violence. It also refuses to negotiate with communists.

President P W Botha's offer earlier this year of an amnesty to "nationalists" in the ANC who renounced violence was widely seen as an attempt to split the SACP from the main body of the ANC to ease the path to eventual negotiations with the organisation.

The failure of this effort has caused little surprise, particularly as the ANC still refuses any negotiations not aimed at dismantling apartheid and "handing over power to the people" — a standpoint closely associated with the SACP.

Whatever the initial purpose was in commissioning the investigation there can be little doubt that it will be used in some quarters in efforts to help clear the way to a negotiated solution in South Africa by attacking the SACP's influence in the ANC.

Qoboza children back at home

CAPC 7/10/87 11A
Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — The children of the editor of City Press, Mr Percy Qoboza, were yesterday sent home from Woodmead, a private racially mixed school.

This follows reports on SABC-TV that radical black pupils had warned leaders of political organizations whose children were being educated at private schools, to send them back to the townships before the end of 1987.

The headmaster of Woodmead, Mr

Peter Nixon, confirmed that the Qoboza children had gone home to "discuss with their parents problems which may have arisen as a result of the TV programme".

He said they had not been taken out of the school permanently but did not say for how long they would be away.

Leaders mentioned in the report included Archbishop of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Soweto Civic Association chairman Dr Ntatho Motlana, Mr Qoboza, Drum magazine editor Mr Stan Motjwadi and UDF leaders.

UDF denies nurses told to pay R50 or die

7/10/86, SABC
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PORT ELIZABETH — The United Democratic Front (UDF) yesterday denied allegations by the South African Nurses' Association that about 5 400 black nurses in the Eastern Cape had been threatened with death unless they paid R50 a month to the UDF.

A UDF spokesman, Mr Siphosile Mayimba, who is also a member of the Consumer Boycott Committee, said his organisation wished to "distance itself from these groundless reports".

Major Eddie Everson, SAP liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said police were aware of the allegations and had received numerous anonymous telephone calls.

Necklace threats

The Nurses' Association said some nurses had been threatened with "necklaces".

It said a busload of "comrades" had confronted nurses at Livingstone Hospital and made their demands. The youths had also visited nurses at their homes.

In another development, SABC radio news has reported that nurses in the Western Cape were threatened with death and "necklaces" unless they paid the UDF R50 a month.

SABC reported the nurses were told they had to pay the money to street committees in the townships, and had been threatened with death if they did not pay.

Spokesmen for the UDF in the Western Cape were unavailable for comment.

Captain Jan Calitz, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said they had not yet received any reports of the allegations. — Sapa.

'Stop ANC or face SA raids'

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Mozambique is facing an ultimatum from South Africa — stop the African National Congress using your territory as a springboard for attacks across the border (in terms of the Nkomati Accord) or face retaliatory raids.

But a big question hangs over Mozambique's ability to control the ANC. The Frelimo Government is already hard-pressed to contain the guerilla activities of the rebel Mozambique National Resistance movement, which controls large areas of the country.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Ron Miller said today the ball was squarely in Mozambique's court following Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's warning that there could be reprisals for the landmine blast which injured six South African soldiers earlier this week.

Mr Miller said: "Mozambique has to decide on its priorities — the peaceful benefits of the Nkomati Accord or confrontation with South Africa.

"The Mozambique Government has always known the South African Government takes a very serious view of any neighbouring country allowing its territory to be used as a base for attacks on South Africa, particularly by the ANC.

A security agreement such as the Nkomati Accord is not a guarantee or a mechanism for providing such territories with immunity from South Africa's reaction. If Mozambique is allowing its territory to be used by the ANC it will have to run the risk of strong reaction from South Africa in an attempt to defend itself from the ANC.

If Mozambique chooses the path of peace and rejects the ANC South Africa will be prepared to continue to honour the Nkomati Accord.

Mr Miller said the accord made provision for the reconciliation of differences between the two countries.

Security differences were to be sorted out by a joint security commission. However, the activities of this body have been suspended unilaterally by the President. Machel after the disclosure of the Gongozo diaries last year.

Committee

It had been replaced by an informal liaison committee which discussed security matters.

Mr Miller said the South African Government considered a meeting of this committee to be most urgent but that it was extremely difficult to get Mozambique to agree to attend.

However, he hoped that a meeting could be arranged before the end of the year so that security issues could be given the highest priority.

In terms of the Nkomati Accord, signed with much pomp and ceremony 2½-years ago, both South Africa and Mozambique have undertaken not to allow the use of their territories for attacks on the other.

Economy

The remaining key elements of the agreement are concerned with economic and technical assistance and co-operation.

Mr Miller said today that if the accord was torn up the Mozambican economy would be drastically affected.

"If we look at what Mozambique is living off these days then we can see it is predominantly what it is getting from South Africa by way of the use of Maputo harbour, food aid and production facilities.

"A lot of foreign countries are giving them cash to try to restore the facilities in Mozambique, but these facilities can earn revenue only if South Africa is using them.

"Mozambique will lose out considerably if the accord falls away," he said.

11A 8/10/85

Necklace condemned

THE necklace has been condemned as barbaric by the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), which claims a membership of 16 000 countrywide.

The necklace, which has become the Comrades' weapon to discipline alleged police informers and other "agents of the system", was attacked at an Azanyu Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Four executive members of Azanyu, all former political prisoners and detainees, described the necklace as "counter-revolutionary barbarism which is threatening to degenerate freedom fighters into cannibals".

"We call on all progressive forces to condemn and fight this barbarism. Much as we hate police informers and other puppets of the system, we, however, see it as tarnishing our integrity as revolutionaries and presenting a cannibal-like image of ourselves to our friends and supporters abroad," said Carter Seleka, Azanyu's Finance Secretary.

Seleka has just been released from the Johannesburg Prison after 100 days of emergency detention.

SIPHO NGCOBO

Seleka said a resolution to condemn the necklace was adopted at the organisation's national congress in Soweto at the weekend.

It was Azanyu's first congress since its inception in February 1981.

The organisation was rendered absolutely ineffective not long after its formation when the whole of its leadership was jailed in 1981 and 1982.

"We are now on the move," President Molefe Modiga said.

At the congress the organisation attacked the Department of Education and Training (DET) as a direct cause of school boycotts because of its obstinacy in refusing to accede to student demands.

It resolved to work hand in hand with all progressive political organisations and trade unions with the exception of what it called "collaborationists" like the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

It resolved to refuse to pay rent and to promote the expansion of rent boycotts.

Millions lost as State fails to pay



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By the end of the year the United States President is due to receive a report on what must be a crucial element in any future efforts to solve South Africa's racial problem — the communist influence in the African National Congress.

The report will be compiled by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defence Intelligence Agency, the National Security Adviser and other top officials in the American intelligence community. Its contents and possible conclusions could have an important bearing on efforts to arrange dialogue between the ANC and the South African Government.

Dialogue

The influence of the South African Communist Party and its supporters in Moscow on the policy of the ANC has never been fully probed, at least not by any agency that has made its report public. Yet the issue is probably pivotal in any moves to bring about a negotiated solution in South Africa.

The mere presence, let alone possible domination, of the SACP in the ANC continues to be one of the major factors inhibiting any dialogue between the Government and the ANC, even if the ANC were to accept the Government's prime condition that it renounce violence.

The American in-

vestigation into the ANC was commissioned in the legislation to impose selected economic sanctions on South Africa that was approved by last week as the US Senate voted to override President Ronald Reagan's veto.

It was put into the sanctions bill in an effort to balance the comparatively strong sanctions measures and widen the basis of its support in congress. Another provision put into the bill for the same purpose requires the US Attorney-General to investigate the lobbying and other activities of the ANC in the United States.

But it is the intelligence investigation into the communist element that will be more significant, especially if it throws some light into the darker corners of the ANC.

The ANC leadership has consistently taken the line that it does not know how many members of its executive are members of the SACP because it has never counted them and does not intend doing so.

That the probe will produce a definitive public account of SACP influence in the ANC is doubtful, especially as the ANC has refused to co-operate in it.

The results will be set out in two reports, a classified one which is expected to be used to guide the formulation of future official US policy on the ANC



US President Reagan calls for an end to repression in South Africa in a speech commemorating International Human Rights Day 1984.

US moves to see what makes ANC tick

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Africa News
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and an unclassified one for public release. How much of the former goes into the latter remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, it promises to be more illuminating than anything yet published on the SACP's influence in the ANC.

Estimates of this influence vary.

Apartheid

Its attitude is that the ANC is a liberation movement, not a political party, and that it provides a home for people with political views ranging from conservative socialism to Trotskyism, all united by a common desire to overthrow apartheid in South Africa.

But even the most conservative estimates put the number of SACP members on the 30-member ANC executive at about 10.

Others go as high as 23.

Politicians and academics who believe the ANC may well be dominated by the SACP argue that elsewhere in the world, including the Soviet Union, it has taken only a minority of dedicated communists to secure control of a country.

The ANC is increasingly becoming widely recognised as at least one of the major black political forces, if not the major one, opposing white domination and therefore a group without whom no meaningful negotiations can be held.

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President P W Bo-

tha's offer earlier this year of an amnesty to "nationalists" in the ANC who renounced violence was widely seen as an attempt to split the SACP away from negotiations with the organisation.

The failure of this effort has caused little surprise, particularly as the ANC still refuses any negotiations that are not aimed at dismantling apartheid, and "handing over power to the people" — a standpoint closely associated with the SACP.

Negotiation

In the United States the Reagan Administration has consistently favoured negotiation without attempting to dictate who the negotiating parties should be. This view is widely shared outside the Administration and is indirectly encouraged in the anti-sanctions legislation adopted last week.

Whatever the initial purpose was in commissioning the investigation into communist influence in the ANC there can be little doubt that it will be used in some quarters in efforts to help clear the way to a negotiated solution in South Africa by attacking the SACP's influence in the ANC.



Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Com-mando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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SABC 'bid to start conflict'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SEVERAL black leaders and the PFP have challenged an alleged smear of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and three other black leaders on television involving the SABC's controversial Cliff Saunders.

The PFP's media spokesman, Mr David Dalling, yesterday accused the SABC of contriving to start new conflict and said Mr Saunders, "who in any event does not have a very impressive track record", could have endangered the lives of the four leaders.

One, Dr Ntatho Motlana, the chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said the SABC was attempting to distract people from the collapse of the education system in Soweto.

Another, Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of City Press, said the government, through the SABC, was "trying to discredit me and my friends".

On Sunday night, Mr Saunders interviewed Mr John Gogotya, chairman of

a little-known body, Operation Advance and Upgrade.

Mr Gogotya said "radical" pupils insisted that political leaders from organizations such as the UDF enrol their children in "troubled" township schools before the end of 1987 and threatened to act if they did not.

Asked by Mr Saunders which leaders these were, Mr Gogotya named Archbishop Tutu, Dr Motlana, Mr Qoboza and Mr Stan Motjuwadi, editor of Drum magazine.

However, Archbishop Tutu does not have any children at school, his chaplain, the Rev Heinz Wolff, said yesterday. The archbishop's youngest child Mpho, was studying in the US and his other children were married.

Dr Motlana said "my two sons are in exile and involved in the liberator movement. I would like to ask anyone how they can get back".

Mr Motjuwadi could not be contacted yesterday, but the other three leaders denied that they had received any threats from students.

Qoboza denies school threat

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Percy Qoboza, the editor of City Press, yesterday denied claims that he had been warned to send his children back to school in the townships.

"I must emphasize that nobody has recently made any threats against me or my family," he said. He claimed the government, through the SABC, was trying to discredit him and his friends.

In a statement, Mr Qoboza said: "In a television interview, which I did not see, nor any of my family — we do not

watch TV1 in my family — a certain Mr John Gogotya, speaking to the arch-apartheid propagandist Cliff Saunders, alleged that 'radical' students have threatened me for sending my children to overseas schools.

"First of all, it is a lie that my children are overseas. None of my children possess a passport. And it is untrue that my daughters — Simangele and Ntulikazi — were sent home by Woodmead School." He said they had returned home voluntarily. — Sapa

PROBE ON RED LINKS - ANC WON'T CO-OPERATE

THE African National Congress will refuse to co-operate with the investigation ordered by the United States Congress into the ANC's communist links.

This was made clear yesterday by ANC spokesman Tom Sebina, who said when telephoned in Lusaka that his organisation did not see the necessity for any such investigation.

The probe was commissioned in the legislation adopted by the US Senate last week imposing limited economic sanctions against South Africa.



ANC president Oliver Tambo.

In an apparent attempt by conservatives in the congress to make the sanctions bill more even-handed, a clause was incorporated requiring President Reagan to submit within 90 days a report on the activities of the Communist Party in South Africa, the extent to which communists have infiltrated organisations fighting against apartheid and their influence in setting the

SOWETAN Africa News Service

policies and goals of the organisations.

While the ANC is not specifically mentioned, it is generally accepted that this clause is aimed at getting an assessment of the extent of communist influence in the ANC.

The Bill also requires

the US attorney-general to submit within 80 days a report on the ANC itself, but the purpose of this investigation is still unclear, even to US diplomats in South Africa, who are awaiting clarification from Washington.

It appears, however,

to be aimed at investigating the nature and extent of the lobbying and other activities in America of the ANC as an organisation with communist links and sympathies.

Investigate

The attorney-general is instructed to investigate any violations of the Foreign Agents Reg-

istration Act by representatives of governments or opposition movements in sub-Saharan Africa, including the ANC.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act requires foreigners engaging in political activity in the US to register with the department of justice.

UCCP
may opt
for
national
council

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —

Two presidents of the newly formed moderate black political party, the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), are believed to be two of a handful of black leaders who have indicated to government a willingness to serve on the proposed National Statutory Council.

The party could solve government's dilemma by supplying one category of candidate needed for the council — "urban black leaders" — which it has not been able to fill due to the rejection of the proposals by credible black leaders.

The UCCP presidents, a former Port Elizabeth mayor, Mr Thamasanga Linda, and Bishop Isaac Mokoena, who is life president of the black Reformed Independent Churches Association (Rica), indicated at a press conference held in Johannesburg yesterday they did not reject the principle of the council.

The UCCP — formed by town councillors and members of the Independent Church Movement — will also be launched in London this week when the two men address the British Conservative Party congress, appealing for funds and campaigning against sanctions and disinvestment.

Mr Linda said they were still awaiting the blueprint for the council before deciding whether to participate. He added, "UCCP prefers to negotiate."

The national council is the government's only existing plan to get negotiation with blacks off the ground and to include them in the central decision making process.

In terms of the original proposals it would be made up of homeland leaders, urban black leaders, chairmen of the "own affairs" ministers' councils and cabinet ministers.

UCCP aims to unite moderates of all races on the basis of Christian principles of reconciliation and has adopted a strong stand against the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the "violence and intimidation" prevalent in the "leaderless" black townships.

Six of the 11 executive members of UCCP are Soweto town councillors — several of whom have been forced to flee their homes after petrol bomb attacks. Mr Linda has also had to flee his home after it was attacked.

The remaining four members are churchmen associated with Rica.

Funding for the new party will apparently come from undisclosed affiliated organisations, members and overseas sources.

The idea for forming UCCP arose out of overseas trips by executive members to lobby against sanctions and disinvestment, said UCCP treasurer, a Soweto councillor and former mayor, Mr Edward Kunene.

"Questions were asked about who Bishop Mokoena and Mr Linda represented and so we decided to form a party which is acceptable internationally, which will protect our interests and which can receive funds," Mr Kunene said.

Cape Times 8/10/86

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Azanyu scorns the necklace

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian National Youth Unity, which claims a membership of 16 000 countrywide, has condemned the killing of people by the "necklace" as "barbaric" and called on other political organizations to scorn it.

At a press conference here, four executive members of Azanyu, all former political prisoners and detainees, described the necklace as "counter-revolutionary barbarism which was threatening to degenerate freedom fighters into cannibals".

"We call on all progressive forces to condemn and fight this barbarism.

Much as we hate police informers and other puppets of the system, we however see it as tarnishing our integrity as revolutionaries and presenting a cannibal-like image of ourselves to our friends and supporters abroad," said Mr Carter Seleka, Azanyu's finance secretary.

Mr Seleka has just been released from the Johannesburg Prison after 100 days of emergency detention.

Mr Seleka said the resolution to condemn the necklace was adopted at the organization's national congress held in Soweto at the weekend.

It was Azanyu's first congress since its inception in February 1981.

Youth group calls for unity

By SHAUN JOHNSON

ANOTHER extra-parliamentary youth group has come out in favour of youth unity, playing down ideological differences in favour of "all-in" campaigns to challenge the grip of the Emergency.

The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) organisation this week issued an impassioned call for united youth action. It also condemned "necklacing" as "barbaric and counter-revolutionary".

Azanyu is a constituent of the National Forum and claims a following of some 16 000 nationwide.

Along with all other resistance-oriented youth structures, Azanyu has suffered from conflict — often violent — with other political tendencies. This debilitating phenomenon was a major topic at the organisation's first national conference held in Soweto last week, and resulted in a "commitment to the idea of a national united front".

Azanyu speakers repeatedly stressed the need for "meetings with other youth organisations in an attempt to work together". According to finance secretary Nthutang Carter Seleka, "we also need to discipline those elements (in the youth groups) who are denting the image of our struggle".

Seleka welcomed the initiative of the National Students Co-ordinating Committee (NSCC), which launched a campaign against the Department of Education and Training this week.

Although the NSCC represents charterist student structures, Seleka said Azanyu "supported moves of this nature, and we'll see to it that we throw our lot in to make the campaign a success".

Azanyu has maintained a modest political presence in youth politics since its launch in Orlando, Soweto in 1981. It has attracted the hostile attentions of the state from its inception, and much of the leadership has experienced incarceration.

Now, having successfully held the first national conference in its six-year history, Azanyu believes it can become a potent mass-based youth organisation — indeed a "vanguard" — mobilised around the ideology of "Africanism and scientific socialism".

Staff Reporter

PROFESSOR Jakes Gerwel, rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape, said yesterday that the exclusion of the ANC from the political process was unjustifiable.

He told an audience of 200 in St George's Cathedral Hall that the organization was "an important player" in that process.

The meeting, called by the Gardens Area Committee of the UDF, was the first UDF public meeting in the city since the current emergency was declared on June 12.

Prof Gerwel, who spoke of the reasons for his consultations last month with the ANC, said he had been personally invited to the talks, which focused on the "so-called education crisis in the country — really a political crisis — and the role of the university".

The ANC's attitude to "the disruption of academic programmes" was not discussed, he said. The organization did have an appreciation of the role of the university in preparing for

ANC's exclusion is 'unjustified'

a new, non-racial democratic South Africa".

Prof Gerwel said the ANC was putting "innovative and interesting models of education" into practice.

In question time, members of the audience pressed the professor for more specific details of ANC attitudes. He had spoken mainly of his impressions.

"The question of school boycotts did not come up," he replied to one questioner, "but it is understood that the National Educational Crisis Committee call for a return to schools was not leading it into conflict with the ANC," he said.

The "liberation before education" debate was a puerile one, he said, as those concerned with the separation of the two had an obligation to see that this dichotomy was overcome.

Comp Times 9/10/86 (11A)

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No. 10486

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 190, 1986

DECLARATION OF AN ORGANIZATION TO BE AN AFFECTED ORGANIZATION

Under the powers vested in me by section 2 (1) of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974), I hereby declare the organization known as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT to be an affected organization.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Sixth day of October, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-six.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

L. LE GRANGE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 190, 1986

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 (1) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974), verklaar ek hierby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Sesde dag van Oktober Eenduisead Negehonderd Ses-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

L. LE GRANGE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

UDF action call runs into a campus banning

WEEKLY MAIL

9/10/86

11A

The first rally called in support of the joint UDF-Cosatu-NECC National United Action Campaign yesterday ran into the brick wall of state hostility.

Two hours before the meeting was scheduled to start on the University of the Witwatersrand campus, acting magistrate of Johannesburg, George Schoeman, issued a banning order in terms of the Internal Security Act.

It is believed to be the first time that an indoor meeting has been prohibited at Wits.

A large contingent of riot police converged on the university lawns after disgruntled students gathered to register their protest against the banning.

Tension ran high as crowds singing freedom songs gathered in front of the student union and faced the police. Students scattered on a number of occasions as the police appeared to move forward, but the intervention of deputy vice-chancellor Professor Mervyn Shear led to their eventual withdrawal.

The meeting, organised by Wits-based UDF affiliates including the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), was intended as "the first of many", according to Wits SRC president Etienne Marais.

Marais said the banning was an "attempt to criminalise and silence the opposition of the UDF, Cosatu and the NECC to the government" and that these efforts "had failed, and would continue to fail. By banning this meeting the government has displayed its fear of united action by the ordinary people of this country."

At a hastily called press conference to explain the cancellation of the meeting, Wits Black Students Society vice-president and Azaso official Thami April said the morning's events "clearly show that the university is not

By SEFAKO NYAKA and
SHAUN JOHNSON

isolated from the wider society, and faces similar repression.

"We slam the banning of this meeting, and believe it is a reflection of what is happening countrywide in schools, universities, and the communities," he said.

The Reverend Molefe Tsele, who was to have addressed the rally on behalf of the NECC, also condemned the magistrate's action, calling it "a desperate and abhorrent measure. The state talks glibly of students being 'frustrated', but it is they more than anyone who is frustrating not only students but all reasonable efforts by the community to resolve the country's crisis."

He called on academics and students in particular to "get down to the mass organisations, identify with them and offer their expertise."

Speaking on behalf of the administration, Shear said the university was "shocked by the banning of this democratically-called and peaceful meeting".

He committed the university "completely to the aspirations of the NECC", saying Wits would "do whatever we can to support those aims".

Acting magistrate Schoeman prohibited the gathering because he "had reason to believe that the public peace would be seriously endangered".

Shear and senior colleagues acted as intermediaries between the police and the crowds of students. Police reportedly requested that students cease singing "provocative" songs before they would leave the campus.

According to Professor Keith Beavon, the officer in command said he "would not take offence if the students sang 'Sarie Marais'". Beavon said he doubted his students would

comply

UNITED CHRISTIAN CONCILIATION PARTY

WE ST



Telling the world: Tamasanqa Linda, Bishop Isaac Mokoena and Edward Kunene

Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

THE birth this week of the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP) is seen as part of the government's move to groom moderate blacks for the National Statutory Council.

But at the launch of the party in Johannesburg on Monday, its leaders denied any government links as well as speculation that they will play a role in the NSC.

"We cannot talk about a thing (the NSC) that has not yet been formed. We first have to study the statutory councils to see if they prefer violence or negotiation," said Tamasanqa Linda, joint UCCP president and former mayor of the Port Elizabeth township of Ibhayi.

The other UCCP president is Bishop Isaac Mokoena, life president of the Reformed Independent Churches Association (RICA) which he claims has 4.5-million adherents.

The party's treasurer is former Soweto "mayor" Edward Kunene, while its liaison officer is Dr EB Malamb.

The four, who acted as party spokesmen, evaded questions on constituencies and membership strength; relations with labour movements; and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders.

"The only person who can advocate the release of Mandela is his wife and what's more, Mandela is big enough to speak for himself," Linda said.

The answers to questions about funding were also not convincing, when one considers that Linda and Mokoena flew to London on a fund-raising venture hours after the press conference.

Mokoena claims money was provided from the funds of the Reformed Independent Churches

Rhinos in search of someone to protect

By SEFAKO NYAKA

Association.

"We won't accept money from the (South African) government because that money stinks," said Linda.

Both Linda and Mokoena have frequently appeared on SABC programmes as representatives of a moderate black position.

Linda told the conference he does not think the party, which has six community councillors — five of them from the Soweto town council — on its executive, will have difficulty in gaining acceptance amongst blacks.

He said the trouble in the townships is caused by "a few radicals". The majority of people, he said, are moderates. There will be no problem attracting them to his party, he added, which is open to all who abide by Christian values, regardless of creed, race, sex or colour.

Malamb said the party is soon going to embark on a massive campaign of recruitment through rallies in the townships. "And because we are good people we won't need the protection of the police or the army when we go into the township," Mokoena added.

The bishop noted the party will not seek a working relation with Inkatha, whose members will have to apply as individuals to join the UCCP.

An alliance with the UDF or Azapo is out because "we doubt the Christian

values of the people in the United Democratic Front," Linda said.

A few minutes later Linda told the group of journalists that "we (UCCP) and the UDF are fighting for the same cause."

The UCCP will not concern itself with the rent issue in the townships but will instead seek election to parliament if South Africans go to the polls next year.

Admitting that this effectively means that none of the present African executive members of the UCCP will be nominated as a candidate, Linda said: "We will nominate whites, coloureds and Indians to fight our cause in parliament."

Linda, who went into self-imposed exile after his home and businesses were burned down, recently took the widow of slain Uitenhage councillor TB Kinikini overseas with a group calling itself Victims Against Apartheid (VAT) to "tell the world what happens to moderate blacks in this country ... to show the world what blacks who say they want to liberate the country are doing."

Well-known defenders of government policy, former National Students' Federation president Russel Crystal and head of the Student Moderate Alliance Martin Yuill, sat quietly at the back for part of the conference. Members of the two conservative student organisations accompanied the VAT abroad.

On face value, the draft "platform of reconciliation" presented by the avowedly Christian UCCP at the conference appears to contain some "radical" but fundamental demands: a call for "representative and democratic" political participation; an end to privileges on the grounds of race, colour, creed, sex, political affiliation or social status.

In fact the only thing that came across quite clearly is that the party is Christian, rejects violence, and is anti-communist.

Although Linda stated his party is for one-man, one-vote in a unitary state he is not sure whether the present homelands will be allowed to exist.

There was much talk about the equal distribution of wealth and the prevention of exploitation of man by man.

But the the UCCP states: "Free enterprise is the only alternative to the misery, starvation and underdevelopment caused by Marxist planification and mismanagement which has afflicted most of South Africa's neighbours."

The government could long ago have put a stop to the violence in black townships if it were willing to do so.

The answer, according to Mokoena, would have been to bring authentic leaders to the conference table.

But the bishop failed to identify the authentic leaders.

Mokoena said his party chose the rhino as an emblem because "the rhino will never leave a fellow rhino in trouble. It will fight to protect it."

Maybe "after five intense months of behind-the-scene lobbying to form the party", like the rhino, the UCCP might have something to protect.

Carl Timp 9/10/86

Buthelezi, Steel meet, still differ

THE British Liberal Party leader, Mr David Steel, said yesterday that his support for punitive measures against Pretoria had not been weakened after talks with the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Steel, on a four-day fact-finding tour of South Africa and who arrived in Cape Town last night, said both he and Chief Buthelezi had reached a better understanding of each other's conflicting views on sanctions after their talks.

Both men said they agreed that sanctions had to be accompanied by humanitarian aid to South Africa's blacks.

"I think the chief's point about those governments pursuing a sanctions policy having a responsibility to follow that up more positively with assistance for projects within the African areas is very important and I think we are not doing enough on that point," Mr Steel told reporters.

Mr Steel described his 75-minute talks with Chief Buthelezi as "very enjoyable and constructive".

The two politicians said their talks also centred on divisions within black opposition to apartheid.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Steel stressed the need for his Inkatha organization to get together with the African National Congress.

Mr Steel said he would take the same message to ANC leaders when he went on to Lusaka at the end of this week.

Inkatha and the ANC differ markedly in their strategies and relations between them have often degenerated into slanging matches.

"To me, it is one of the despairing aspects of politics in South Africa that you have these people all dedicated to seeking liberation ... but not in dialogue and concert with each other," Mr Steel said.

Chief Buthelezi said he opposed sanctions against South Africa because they would hurt black people, but he appreciated that Western countries had a right to show their hatred of apartheid.

"They have to convince black South Africans now that they are not doing it to punish us but to punish the government," Chief Buthelezi said, calling for aid to South African blacks to be stepped up.

Mr Steel said that for sanctions to be effective, they should be selective. — Sapa-Reuter

UDF member dies in prison

Cap Times 9/10/86 (11A)
Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A Queenstown community leader and schoolteacher, Mr Mbuyiseli Songelwa, died in police custody on Sunday.

Early reports indicate he died of asthma.

Mr Songelwa, 29, was awaiting trial on subversion charges. He was a high-profile member of United Democratic Front, chairman of the Detainees Parents Support Committee and executive member of the Queenstown Residents' Association.

The lawyer said it was claimed by fellow detainees that Mr Songelwa was not immediately treated by prison authorities on Friday after his asthmatic condition had been brought to their attention.

They claimed that Mr Songelwa was attended to only on Saturday afternoon while he was "gasping for breath and collapsing from the attack", the lawyer said.

Sapa reports that a Prisons Service spokesman last night confirmed Mr Songelwa's death. The spokesman rejected claims that urgent medical treatment was denied Mr Songelwa.

The spokesman also rejected allegations that Mr Songelwa had complained of a deterioration of his asthma and said he had received regular medical treatment.

"He was also admitted to Frere Hospital for treatment after an asthma attack.

"On the morning of Sunday October 5 the deceased reported an asthma attack and he was urgently transported to the provincial hospital, but he unfortunately passed away on the way."

Membership is predominantly youthful

UDF, State headed for confrontation

11A

STAR
9/10/84

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The declaration of the United Democratic Front as an affected organisation comes after three years of growing confrontation between it and the State.

At the core of this confrontation has been the UDF's massive and detailed organisation of resistance to State authority and the Government's insistence that the organisation is violent and a front for the ANC.

The UDF was founded in 1983, originally as a number of provincial bodies which sought to unite different civic and youth associations and trade unions opposed to some or other aspects of apartheid (housing, bus fares and rents).

The Rev Allan Boesak in January 1983 called for the formation of a front to oppose the constitutional proposals affecting coloured people and Indians. The idea gained ground steadily and, on August 20, 1983, the UDF was established on a national basis at a meeting attended by 6 000 people in Cape Town.

Claiming to represent more than 400 organisations, the UDF's original aim was to oppose the extension of parliamentary representation to coloured people and Indians in terms of the new constitution and the so-called Koornhof Bills (Local Authorities Bill and Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill).

In a declaration adopted at its launch, the UDF called for the creation of a democracy in which all South Africans could participate in the government of the country, a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa, free of bantustans and group areas, and an end to all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Complicated composition

It also committed its members to uniting the people wherever they may be to fight for their freedom.

According to Dr Tom Lodge, a senior lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, the membership and ideological composition of the UDF is complicated.

Its main institutional base has been in the churches and schools, and its constituency is predominantly youthful. Student organisations have contributed many of the grassroots activists, while the civics have played a crucial leadership role.

Its claimed two million membership (through more than 600 affiliated organisations) is especially well representative of teachers, priests, lawyers and doctors, though much of its membership comes from the working class.

The UDF has attracted substantial support from the largest

black trade union federation, Cosatu. They have acted together on issues such as the May 1 and June 16 stayaways. Last week they announced that they would be taking joint action to oppose the state of emergency.

Although its major affiliates subscribe to the social democracy of the Freedom Charter (adopted by the ANC in 1956) there is apparently room for different interpretation and emphasis.

This ranges from the proponents of the class struggle through to the rhetoric of more conservative churchmen who subscribe to divinely ordained human rights and liberal conceptions of individual liberty.

While the UDF has drawn together a comprehensive range of organisations and individuals on the basis of their common opposition to the existing political and social order, it by no means talks on behalf of all such South Africans.

School boycotts

Relations between it and the Zulu cultural organisation Inkatha are severely strained, and there has also been friction with the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Progressive Federal Party.

Confrontation between UDF and the Government intensified during the parliamentary elections in August 1984 for the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange accused the UDF of planning to disrupt the elections with violence, school boycotts, labour unrest and intimidation.

UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe denied that the organisation was violent, and voiced fears that the Government was planning to clamp down on it.

In October 1984, after elections marred by violence and unrest, Mr le Grange described the UDF as the same revolutionary organisation involved in the same revolutionary work as the banned South African Communist Party (SACP) and the ANC.

He said the UDF would not be banned, but both it and its affiliates would be monitored on a daily basis.

In February 1985 Mr le Grange told students at Rand Afrikaans University that the UDF started showing its radical colours when it elected its officebearers at its founding meeting in 1983.

More than 90 percent of these officebearers were either former members of SACP, ANC, banned Congress of Democrats, former Congress Alliance, Transvaal Indian Congress or Natal Indian Congress.

He said there was no doubt that the UDF and some of its member organisations was at the centre of the unrest situation, with a view to making the country ungovernable.

Last April President Botha said the UDF's end goal was the destruction of the South African system of government and of civilised values.

"Although the UDF professes its opposition to violence, the results of its actions indicate the contrary, as is clearly evident from murder, arson and intimidation in, inter alia, parts of the Eastern Cape."

He also accused it of acting not only in its own right, but of becoming an internal extension of the ANC and South African Communist Party.

Govt clamp on funds for UDF

9/10/86
Eve Post
UJA

He referred all inquiries about his role to Mr Le Grange's office.

As registrar he is entitled to apply in court for the confiscation of overseas funds received by the UDF. This can be made retrospective as well.

Mr Breyl, whose activities may not be interfered with by the UDF, has the power to examine all its documents and to investigate its objectives and aims.

The UDF's national treasurer, Mr Azar Cachalia, described the clamp as a move to "emasculate" the multi-party organisation.

"By this decision the Government wishes to destroy the UDF without formally banning it. It shows that the Government is in principle not opposed to the use of sanctions against its political opponents.

"Nobody should need any convincing that this Government is not interested in peaceful change."

The UDF's national president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, described the President's step as "an act of cowardice."

"These are the acts of a man who is afraid of confrontation, but not even these measures will stop the determination of the

Clamp on UDF funds by Govt

● From Page 1

spokesman for both white political parties on the far right, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party.

The HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, suggested that the Government might want to ban the UDF.

Other organisations restricted by the Act include the Christian Institute and the National Union of South African Students.

In terms of Section 6 of the Act, the registrar, Mr Breyl, has wide powers to demand documents and seize them if necessary, examine them, make extracts from them or copies of them.

9/10/86
Eve Post
UJA

PRETORIA — The United Democratic Front was declared an "affected organisation" by the Government today.

The order, published in a Government Gazette, was signed by President P W Botha and the Law and Order Minister, Mr Louis le Grange.

The proclamation, in terms of the Affected Organisations Act, prohibits the UDF from receiving funds from outside the country.

The move has been denounced by prominent UDF leaders.

Former Opposition leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said it reflected the hardening situation of increased polarisation and demonstrated the Government's intolerance of any opposition which didn't fit its preconceived mould.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions said the measure was "high-handed and desperate".

A registrar has been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the organisation. He is Mr Kobus Breyl, an advocate and top official in the security section of the Department of Justice.

people and all the democratic forces in their struggle against apartheid and for total freedom.

"There was no need for such a move against the UDF because we have nothing to hide."

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, described the move as "part of the whole strategy to begin to emasculate the organisation".

He said the three-year-old front had 850 affiliate organisations, including

civic associations, trade unions, church groups and student associations, with a total membership of about 2,5 million.

Mr Morobe was not certain how much of the front's funding comes from overseas, but other front officials have said in the past that such funding accounts for more than half its budget.

Accused by some of being a "front" for the banned ANC, today's clamp was welcomed by

● Turn to Page 2

1102



by DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

NEWSBACKGROUND

THE declaration of the United Democratic Front as an affected organisation today comes after three years of growing confrontation between the UDF and the Government.

At the core of this confrontation has been the UDF's massive and detailed organisation of resistance to State authority, and the Government's insistence that the organisation is violent and a front for the ANC.

The UDF was founded in 1983, originally as a number of provincial bodies which sought to unite different civic and youth associations and trade unions opposed to some or other aspects of apartheid (for example, the issues surrounding housing, bus fares and rents).

The Rev Allan Boesak (now Moderator of the Ned Gerel Sending Kerk), in January 1983, called for the formation of a front to oppose the constitutional proposals affecting coloured people and Indians.

The idea gained ground steadily and, on August 20 1983, the UDF was established on a national basis at a

meeting attended by 6 000 people in Cape Town.

Claiming to represent more than 400 organisations, the UDF's original aim was to oppose the extension of parliamentary representation to coloured people and Indians, in terms of the new Constitution and the so-called Koothof Bills (the black Local Authorities Bill and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill).

IN a declaration adopted at its launch, the UDF called for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans could participate in the government of the country; a single, non-racial, unfractured South Africa, free of bantustans and group areas, and an end to all forms of oppression and exploitation.

It also committed its members to uniting the people wherever they may be to fight for their freedom.

History of confrontation



The Rev Allan Boesak.

The founding of the UDF in Cape Town.



CONT... ->

According to Dr Tom Lodge, a senior lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, the membership and ideological composition of the UDF is complicated.

Its main institutional base has been in the churches and schools, and its constituency is predominantly youthful.

Student organisations have contributed many of the grassroots activists, while the civics have played a crucial leadership role.

It is also stronger in some parts of the country than in others, being very effective in the Eastern Cape and weak in Natal.

Its claimed two-million membership (through more than 600 affiliated organisations today) is evidently especially well representative of teachers, priests, lawyers and doctors, although much of its membership comes from the working class.

The UDF has not attracted massive trade union support.

ALTHOUGH its major affiliates subscribe to the social democracy of the Freedom Charter (adopted by the ANC in 1956), there is apparently room for different interpretation and emphasis in this regard.

This ranges from the proponents of the class struggle through to the rhetoric of more conservative churchmen, who subscribe to divinely ordained human rights and liberal conceptions of individual liberty.

While the UDF has drawn together a comprehensive range of organisations and individuals on the basis of their common opposition to the existing political and social order, it by no means talks on behalf of all such South Africans.

Relations between it and the one-million-member Zulu cultural organisation, Inkatha, are severely strained, and there has also been friction with the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and the Progressive Federal Party.

Confrontation between UDF and Government intensified during the August 1984 parliamentary elections for the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

Law and Order Minister, Mr Louis le Grange, accused the UDF of planning to disrupt the elections with violence, school boycotts, labour unrest and intimidation.

UDF general secretary, Mr Popo Molele, denied that the organisation was violent, and voiced fears that the Government was planning to clamp down on it.

In October 1984, after elections marred by violence and unrest, Mr le Grange described the UDF as the same revolutionary organisation involved in the same revolutionary work as the banned SA Communist Party and the African National Congress.

He said, the UDF would not be banned, but both it and its affiliates would be monitored on a daily basis.

IN February 1985, Mr le Grange told students at Rand Afrikaans University that the UDF started showing its radical colours when it elected its office-bearers at its founding meeting in 1983.

More than 90 percent of these office-bearers were either former members of SA Communist Party, or the ANC, or the banned Congress of Democrats, or the former Congress Alliance, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the

Natal Indian Congress, he said.

There was no doubt that the UDF, and some of its member organisations, was at the centre of the unrest situation with a view to making the country ungovernable, he said.

President P W Botha entered the fray in April last year when he made bitter attacks on the UDF in a series of speeches in Parliament.

The end goal of the UDF was the destruction of the South African system of government and of civilised values, he said.

"Although the UDF professes its opposition to violence, the results of its actions indicate the contrary, as is clearly evident from murder, arson and intimidation in, inter alia, parts of the Eastern Cape," Mr Botha said.

He further accused the UDF of acting not only in its own right, but of becoming an internal extension of the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

To bolster this accusation, both Mr Botha and Mr le

Grange have frequently quoted from ANC publications and documents.

The ANC newspaper, *Inkaba*, for example, is quoted as saying: "Millions sense that the UDF is a fore-runner of the ANC's emergence once again as a mass organisation inside South Africa. This is what gives the UDF its enormous potential following."

ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, was quoted by Mr le Grange in April this year as saying: "... the National Liberation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to guide the UDF only if we have our own underground structures within the UDF. These structures must be skilful, give the correct guide to the UDF and above all raise the tasks of the front".

The Government has also pointed to the use of ANC flags and slogans at UDF funerals as evidence of links between the two organisations.

Mr le Grange, in April this year, said the UDF was carrying out ANC instructions to destroy local institutions of

government, and to replace these with their own, including people's courts, so as to make the country ungovernable.

THE authorities have not confined their attacks on the UDF to speeches.

Two days before the 1984 elections, two leading officials of the UDF were among 10 prominent UDF supporters detained by security police in a series of pre-dawn raids.

In February 1985, police raided UDF homes and detained eight leading figures, including UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Molele, and the national treasurer, Mr Cassim Saloojee.

Various homes and offices were searched. Two months later, Mr Molele and two other UDF leaders were again detained.

Since the current emergency was declared a large number of UDF activists have been either in detention or in hiding.

UDF members have also been involved in a number of court actions brought against them by the State.

There have, further, been mysterious killings and disappearances of UDF leaders. There is no certainty who is responsible, although speculation ranges from a rumoured death squad to rival organisations.

Last year, the charred bodies of four UDF leaders were found on the road between East London and Cradock. The Government denied suggestions that a "death squad" was responsible, and promised to continue the legal process in order to bring the perpetrators to justice.

In January this year, a UDF leader was stabbed to death by a gang of 15 attackers only hours before he was to have had talks with US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker.

In April, the leader of the UDF in the Transvaal, Mr Peter Nchabeleng, collapsed in a Lebowa police charge of face and died, prompting an official statement by the UDF that it could not remain non-violent forever.

Late last month, the UDF declared in a statement that the State's declaration of a second emergency in less than a year was a "declaration of war against our organisation".

However, it added, it had emerged more firmly entrenched than ever before among the masses while the State had suffered defeats.

"The Government is doing its utmost to crush the democratic movement. It has failed. Now, more than before, the Government must realise that it is moving against an unstoppable force — the thirst of the people of South Africa for freedom and democracy," the UDF said.

For its part, the State looks set to demonstrate that it is thinking nothing of the sort.

Mr le Grange said as recently as July this year that the notion prevalent in some quarters that the UDF would never be banned was without foundation.

"I don't suggest that the UDF is presently under consideration to be banned, but the fact of the matter is that the Government is quite adamant that it will apply the law of the country if it is necessary," he said.



Thumbs down for US envoy

BLACK organisations have given the thumbs down to the United States Ambassador-designate to South Africa, Mr Edmund Perkins (58), despite his support for new economic sanctions against the Pretoria Government.

The organisation are the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the National Forum (NF), and Cusa-Azactu.

Mr Perkins, who will be the first black US ambassador to South Africa, this week told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he would drop the use of the controversial phrase "constructive engagement" to describe the policy of the Reagan Administration towards South Africa.

He supported Con-

Save far
9/10/86
TIA

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

gressional legislation imposing new economic sanctions against South Africa and will expand contacts with blacks and whites.

He will also try to meet jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

Azapo's executive member Mr Lybon Mabasa said every ambassador carried out the policies of his country, and the policy of the Reagan Administration remained the same.

"I think this nomination is an attempt by President Reagan to create an impression that he cares for black people."

NF's Mr Lusiba Ntloko said that blacks needed a complete change of the apartheid regime in South Africa — not a changing of ambassadors.

UDF's treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said the colour of Mr Perkins' skin made no difference to blacks because he would still be representing the "reactionary" Reagan Administration.

'Necklacing' under fire at congress

Soweto
7/10/76
ATA

"NECKLACING" is threatening to turn freedom fighters into cannibals, an Azanian National Youth Unity Press conference was told this week.

Mr Nthutang Seleke, Azanyu's finance secretary said his organisa-

tion condemned necklacing as barbaric.

He said a resolution passed at the organisations national congress in Soweto called on other organisations to come out against necklacing.

His 16 000 strong or-

ganisation supported the rent protest. It also supported the demands made by students to the Department of Education and Training.

On the labour field, Azanyu adopted a resolution to "pledge solidarity, materially and otherwise with all progressive trade unions and federations".

He said Azanyu further resolved that trade union leaders should distance themselves from "imperialistic international federations so that the interests of the working class should not be betrayed".

Azanyu, he said, adopted another resolution that "there can never be normal sport in an abnormal society".

Bid to strangle funding from foreign sources

Govt puts clamp on UDF overseas links

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The United Democratic Front has been declared an affected organisation. It is an attempt by the Government to sever the organisation's links with the outside world.

President Botha signed the order in terms of the Affected Organisations Act of 1974. It was published in a special Government Gazette today.

The move effectively cuts off the UDF's foreign funding, but does not affect its internal activities.

Declaring the UDF an affected organisation is the latest of several actions by the Government against the organisation. In several magisterial districts in the Western Cape, publications of the UDF and many of its affiliates may not be distributed, which hamper its activities. Many meetings planned by the UDF round the country have also been banned in recent months.

The only other organisation at present declared affected is the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

The Christian Institute of South Africa was declared affected before it was banned.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange said in a statement this morning that the Affected Organisations Act gave the State President the power to declare an organisation to be affected only if he was convinced that an organisation was engaged in politics, or being used for political ends in collaboration with or under the influence of an organisation or person outside South Africa.

Today's declaration does not prevent the UDF — which claims to have two million members in more than 600 affiliated organisations — from continuing with its activities.

More pressure

The Government Gazette order makes it illegal for the UDF to receive any funding from outside South Africa, whether that be in the form of money or anything else which can be exchanged for or used as money.

Mr le Grange did not mention in his statement what foreign funding the UDF had been receiving.

The UDF recently celebrated its third birthday, facing more Government pressure than at any other time in its short history.

Thousands of its members are in detention and most of its public activities have been curbed by the state of emergency which has been in force since June 12.

Today's declaration comes three months after Mr le Grange warned that the notion in some quarters that the UDF would never be banned was without foundation.

"The Government is quite adamant that it will apply the law, if necessary," he said at the time.

● See Page 15.

Bid to strangle funding from foreign sources

Govt puts clamp on UDF overseas links

SRM
11/11/88

...Bran, Political Correspondent

The United Democratic Front has been declared an affected organisation. It is an attempt by the Government to sever the organisation's links with the outside world.

President Botha signed the order in terms of the Affected Organisations Act of 1974. It was published in a special Government Gazette today.

The move effectively cuts off the UDF's foreign funding, but does not affect its internal activities.

Declaring the UDF an affected organisation is the latest of several actions by the Government against the organisation. In several magisterial districts in the Western Cape, publications of the UDF and many of its affiliates may not be distributed, which hamper its activities. Many meetings planned by the UDF round the country have also been banned in recent months.

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gave the State President the power to declare an organisation to be affected only if he was convinced that an organisation was engaged in politics, or being used for political ends in collaboration with or under the influence of an organisation or person outside South Africa.

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● See Page 15.

11A 10/11/86 DD

Border UDF: people not daunted

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Government actions against organisations striving for freedom of people would not daunt the spirit of the people for their quest for freedom, the Border secretary of the United Democratic Front, the Reverend A. M. Stofile, said yesterday.

Mr Stofile was reacting to the government announcement that the UDF had been declared an affected organisation in terms of the Affected Organisations Act.

The act prohibits an organisation from receiving money from abroad if it has been declared an affected organisation. It does not prohibit the organisation from continuing with its activities.

Yesterday's order against the UDF was issued by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr Stofile said the UDF had expected the government action because "the state is pushed to the wall and has run out of all ideas

to solving problems.

"That will not daunt us. It means nothing to us. Our struggle will continue," he said.

He said the UDF called on people not to be "intimidated by the kicks of a dying apartheid horse.

"Our struggle does not depend on resources from foreign countries. The most fundamental resource is the commitment by our people to be free," he said.

"They can ban organisations, they can detain people, but we will not be vanquished," Mr Stofile said.

● Sapa reports 700 affiliates of the United Democratic Front could obtain funds from abroad, though the UDF itself was prevented from receiving money from overseas, according to the UDF national treasurer, Mr Azhar Chachalia. Mr Chachalia said in Johannesburg that "certainly over 50 per cent" of the umbrella body's funds had been received from

overseas.

He estimated R100 000 currently in the front's accounts would now be effectively "frozen."

The organisation would within a week go to court to challenge the validity of the declaration by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, declaring it "affected."

The UDF president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said the action by the government was no surprise.

● The government should be grateful to the UDF for co-ordinating and channelling pent-up black political feeling, the SA Catholic Bishops Conference said in a statement following the ban on international funding of the UDF.

"Sadly we note that the government chooses to sharpen conflict rather than reduce it by negotiations," the bishops' statement said.

● The Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, welcomed the government's move of declaring the UDF an affected organisation.

Govt clampd on UDF fun

Morobe: it's emasculatation

JOHANNESBURG —The UDF publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, responded to the ban in an interview: "It's part of the whole strategy to begin to emasculate the organisation".

He said the three-year-old UDF had 850 affiliate organisations around the country with a total membership of about 2.5 million.

Mr Morobe was not certain how much of the organisation's funding comes from overseas, but other UDF officials had said in the past that such funding accounts for more than half the front's budget.

● In Cape Town, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin said declaring the UDF an "affected" organisation was yet another political restriction that would do nothing to solve the fundamental political problems the country faced.

● In Washington, the United States yesterday criticised the South African Government's action. It also called on Pretoria to reconsider its decision to ban the employment of Mozambique workers and urged the two countries to resume talks to improve relations.

"We regret the decision as a further infringement on the political rights of peaceful opponents of apartheid in South Africa," a State Department spokesman said.

● In London, Britain rebuked the South African Government for the latest crackdown on the UDF.

"This is clearly a move in the wrong direction," a British Foreign Office spokesman said.

● In Johannesburg, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said the move was the action of a government facing increasing isolation.

The recently amalgamated Congress of Unions of SA and the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions said it was blatant provocation.

● In Pretoria, the Conservative Party spokesman for law and order, Mr Louis Theunissen, said it was time the activities of organisations such as the UDF be monitored.

More reaction, Page 9

PRETORIA — The United Democratic Front (UDF) has been declared an "affected organisation", according to a proclamation by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, in yesterday's Government Gazette.

The proclamation, in terms of the Affected Organisations Act, restricts the operations of the UDF, including the receipt of funds from outside the country.

The registrar appointed to implement the government's declaration has wide powers to investigate the affairs of the organisation, but it was not immediately clear after the proclamation what steps would be taken.

The registrar, Mr Kobus Breyl, an advocate and senior official in the Department of Justice's security section, referred all inquiries to the office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, who signed yesterday's proclamation with Mr Botha.

Mr Le Grange's spokesman, Captain Henry Beck, said it should be self-evident "all provisions of the law which are open to us will be applied". He declined to comment further.

The powers of the State President to declare an organisation affected are subject to a "factual report" being made first by a committee of three magistrates appointed by the Minister of Justice.

In terms of the act, the Minister of Justice has to consider the report on the organisation by the magistrates before the State President can gazette the order.

Before the appointment of the committee, the minister, under "reasonable suspicion" of the organisation, may appoint an "authorised officer" to inquire into its objects and activities.

The officer may enter premises, demand and

seize specified documents and question people. Hindering or resisting the officer may result in a conviction and fine of up to R600 (or one year), or both.

To prohibit the receipt of foreign money by an organisation, the State President must be satisfied the organisation was engaging in politics "with the aid of, or in co-operation with, or in consultation with, or under the influence of an organisation or person abroad".

The prohibitions of the act deal mainly with the funds the organisation received from overseas.

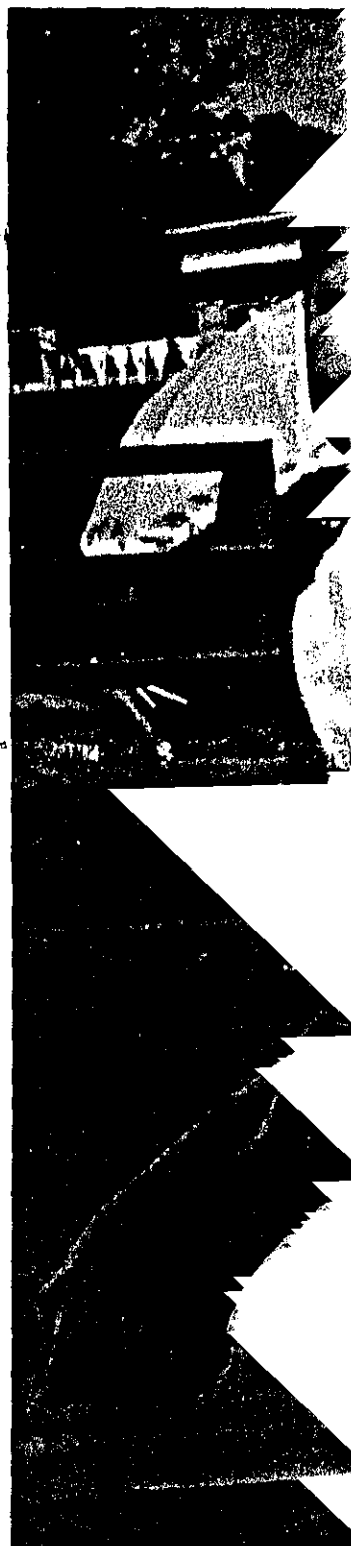
Following the proclamation, no person in an affected organisation may canvass for, or receive or bring money into the country for the organisation.

Overseas money already in the possession of the organisation before it was declared affected may only be handed over to a welfare organisation designated by the minister within a year of it being declared affected.

Government sources said yesterday the declaration of the UDF as an affected organisation did not necessarily imply it was a first step towards declaring it an illegal organisation.

It was pointed out the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) had been an affected organisation for 10 years without it being declared illegal.

The state Bureau for Information said in a statement issued on behalf of Mr Le Grange the order did not prohibit the UDF from continuing its other activities. —Sapa



There's something for everyone trailer on display at the Border

WINDSCREENS

WINDSCREENS

CAN Times 10/10/88 (112) ~~112~~

Tutu: Necklacing, bombing 'mindless'

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

THE gruesome "necklacing" of collaborators and the indiscriminate bombing of civilian targets were acts of "mindless violence", Archbishop Tutu said yesterday.

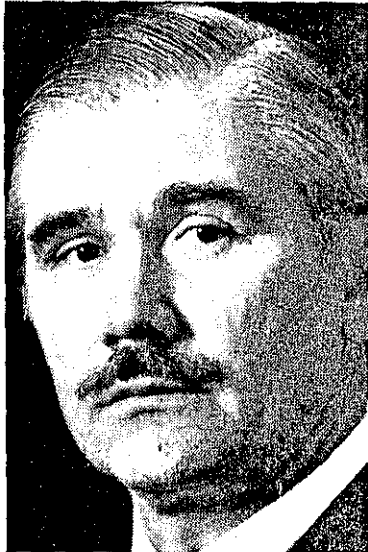
But equally evil was the "violence of those who upheld a discredited and bankrupt political system" which was "unchristian", he said.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said this while delivering his charge at the opening of the 54th synod of the Diocese of Cape Town in Bonteheuwel.

He also commended the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, for his recent remarks that force alone will not solve the critical problems of blacks in the townships as "a refreshingly realistic and courageous statement".

Archbishop Tutu said an effective translation of Mr Le Grange's diagnosis and an end to the "iniquitous" system of apartheid was awaited.

However, virtually banning the UDF and repatriating black Mozambicans working in South



Mr Louis le Grange ... commended by Archbishop Tutu

Africa would not help to destroy apartheid, he added.

Despite all the misery and sagging morale in South Africa, God

still reigned and was "still in charge", even though at times it appeared to the contrary, Archbishop Tutu said.

South Africa was like a "rudderless stricken vessel". It was caught up in the violence of brutal repression by the authorities and the response of the victims of apartheid, who had been driven to the armed struggle by the "obduracy and heartlessness of those they wanted to persuade by conventional, peaceful and non-violent strategies".

The archbishop called on the Nationalist government to release the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, to allow exiles to return, to lift the state of emergency and negotiate a new non-racial democratic constitution for South Africa.

"At least there we have a risk with a chance, whereas we all know that at present we are inexorably set on the road to self-destruction. I think we have more than just an outside chance. We have a very good chance to make it," Archbishop Tutu said.

UDF intends challenging Govt action

Eve Post
IIA
10/10/86

JOHANNESBURG — Within a week the United Democratic Front (UDF) intends to go to court to challenge the validity of the declaration by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that it is an affected organisation.

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said: "We do not concede that this notice issued by the State President is valid.

"We consider it not only unjust, but it is unlawful."

The two million members of UDF affiliates, who would be cut off from overseas funding, would be consulted soon on appropriate action, he stated.

He estimated "certainly over 50%" of the umbrella body's funds had been received from overseas due to limitations imposed by the current state of emergency.

The body channelled an annual budget of millions of rands, received mostly from the Nordic countries, to affiliates.

The 700 groups affiliated to the UDF could ask for and receive funds from abroad, but the UDF itself would be prevented from obtaining money from overseas, Mr Cachalia said.

Legal opinion was divided as to what effect the restriction would have on UDF affiliates.

An estimated R100 000 currently in the front's accounts will now be effectively frozen.

Reading a UDF statement in Johannesburg, Mr Cachalia said the proclamation will "certainly hurt the UDF but not to such an extent that it will be crippled".

"The SA Government will discover this soon, and we do have grave fears that the next step (is) to ban the UDF, thus silencing a major force which has, in its short life pleaded for no more than what the world enjoys as fundamental rights," the UDF said.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the SA Government would not destroy the "iniquity that is apartheid" by acting against the UDF.

The United States criticised the SA Government's action against the UDF and also called on Pretoria to reconsider its decision to ban the employment of Mozambique workers and urged the two countries to resume talks to improve relations.

Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, called on the SA Government to "find the courage to accept real change" in the country and described the action taken against the UDF as "a step in the wrong direction". — Sapa-Reuter-AP

'Black youth rejects parental values'

SPAR 10/10/76
Medical Reporter

Black adolescents have rejected parental values and become a significant political force in the country.

This was the finding in a paper delivered yesterday at the Psychology Association of South Africa annual congress in Johannesburg by Ms Laura Smith and Dr Phillipa Clark, of the applied development research unit of the psychology department of the University of Natal.

The findings indicate that the traditionally strong adult-child authority relations have been reversed and parents have "lost control".

"Black youths have become extremely politicised and have given notice that they are not prepared, as their parental generation was, to carry on waiting passively for the unjust apartheid system to be changed," the authors said.

The paper constitutes part of a broader research project being applied by the university on the intellectual development of Zulu school and pre-school children.

It was found that the traditionally strong-bonded black family appears to have been severely disrupted by the machinery of the apartheid sys-

tem such as the migrant labour system, influx control and the Group Areas Act which has prevented migration of intact families to the cities.

Family breakdown was illustrated by the fact that 36 percent of the children could not give biographical details of their fathers.

Dealing with educational values, the findings were that Zulu adolescents placed a high premium on intellectual achievement and qualifications.

"Besides the intrinsic rewards derivable from education, there is, in South Africa, a very significant political aspect to education.

" Because blacks have no political rights and are economically on the lowest rung, education is seen as a doorway to equality on at least the financial level.

"The markedly inferior education system for blacks, however, is also seen as a tool of political subjugation. On the one hand blacks regard education as a symbol of socio-political inequality, but on the other hand it is regarded as a tool for liberation and equality.

"Recently, however, it appears they deem it necessary to choose between education and liberation and militant youth have chosen liberation," the authors said.

Mokoena welcomes declaration

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Bishop Izak Mokoena, a president of the new United Christian Conciliation Party, yesterday welcomed the news that the United Democratic Front has been declared an affected organisation.

The bishop, promoting his new party among MPs and delegates at the Conservative Party conference in Bournemouth, said the UDF was seen as being an internal arm of the ANC.

"I think perhaps if they (the UDF) are allowed to operate only internally we might find an opportunity to go with them to a table where we talk things out within South Africa as South Africans."

"It is encouraging that they have been cut off from the outside world because they have been carrying a lot of outside influence which has resulted in incalculable damage to the cause of the blacks," he said.

He thought the Government had taken too long to take action.

Asked if he thought declaring the UDF an affected organisation would lead to its banning, he said: "I would not encourage that. I don't think it is necessary. I would rather get round the table where we can thrash out things as South Africans."

Bishop Mokoena said he and his delegation had had a "very fine response" in Britain to the new party's formation.

Find courage to accept real change, urges Howe

Curbs on UDF 'a step in wrong direction'

10/10/86 N/M (11A) (B)

LONDON—Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday called on the South African Government to 'find the courage to accept real change' in the country and described the action taken against the UDF as 'a step in the wrong direction'.

Addressing the Conservative Party's conference in Bournemouth, he defended his Government's opposition to total sanctions and said it would be naive to contend that a ban on all trade and cutting all communications — even if that were feasible — could 'trigger the downfall of the Pretoria Government'.

But he told 2 000 delegates at the annual party gathering: 'To exclude from political power 80% of the people of South Africa simply because they are black is unjust, inhumane, and utterly unworkable.'

'Apartheid doesn't keep communism at bay. Quite the reverse. It is the injustice of apartheid that provides communism with the perfect breeding ground.'

He said the South African Government had not yet accepted that it was political power itself which had to be shared.

Sir Geoffrey told speak-

ers who during the foreign affairs debate had opposed sanctions and criticised Commonwealth governments who demanded a total boycott: 'Have no fear. We are not losing heart. We will not be tutored by politicians from countries where democratic opposition is conspicuous only by its absence.'

He said comprehensive sanctions would only strengthen resolve in South Africa and would cause millions of people to lose their jobs, more blacks than whites.

No resolutions on South Africa were proposed at the conference, but three delegates who raised the issue were applauded when they opposed sanctions. — (Sapa)

R5 000 000 'given to UDF in one day'

11A w/14/10/10/26

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The United Democratic Front, which has been declared an 'affected' organisation, has been receiving vast sums of foreign money — possibly as much as R5 000 000 on one particular day.

The declaration means its foreign income will be cut off immediately but it will still be allowed to continue operating.

Among its major backers are well-known anti-Government organisations such as the World Council of Churches. Others include the Union of Swedish Trade Unions, the Netherlands Organisation for International Development Co-operation, the Lawyers for Human Rights Under the Law in Washington and various European trade unions.

Sources close to the Government indicated that yesterday's move against the UDF was not a sudden decision based on any specific recent development.

It is understood to have been under consideration for some time and that the final decision was taken a few weeks ago but announced only now.

Sources yesterday pointed to repeated references recently by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to the UDF's alleged links with the banned ANC.

Magistrates

Yesterday's action follows hard on the heels of the Government's clampdown on Mozambican workers because of ANC incursions across the border.

In terms of the law, an organisation can only be declared 'affected' after a fact-finding committee of three magistrates, one of whom must be either a chief or regional magistrate, has reported to the Minister of Law and Order.

The State President can then act only if it is shown that politics are being conducted by or through the organisation with the help or co-operation, or in conjunction with, or under the influence of foreign organisations or people.

Mr Azhar Cachalia, UDF national treasurer, told Sapa yesterday: 'We do not concede that this notice issued by the State President is valid. We consider it not only unjust, but unlawful.'

The 2 000 000 members of UDF affiliates, who would be cut off from overseas funding, would be consulted soon on appropriate action, he stated.

He estimated 'certainly more than 50%' of the umbrella body's funds had been received from overseas because of limitations imposed by the current state of emergency.

The body channelled an annual budget of millions of rands, received mostly from the Nordic countries, to affiliates.

'This proclamation will certainly hurt the UDF but not to such an extent that it will be crippled,' said Mr Cachalia.

● See Page 2

Tables turned on Durban jockeys



Jockeys Brian Strydom, Keith Bašel and Patrick Wynne found themselves in a different role yes-

Another woman falls to

ANG



UNITE NOW!

UDF



Doubts over fund-raising by UDF affiliates

11A

United Democratic Front national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia says the movement's 700 affiliated organisations will still be able to raise funds overseas even though it has been declared an affected organisation — but legal opinion is divided on the matter.

Some lawyers believe affiliates will not be affected by the restrictions placed on the UDF in terms of the Affected Organisations Act which prevent it from raising funds abroad. The lawyers said there was a difference between being a member of an affected organisation and an affiliate of such an organisation.

Other lawyers believe affiliates will be restricted in raising funds.

An estimated R100 000 currently in the UDF's accounts has been frozen.

The UDF is the third organisation to be declared affected.

The first, the Christian Institute, was outlawed in 1977 after being declared affected in 1975.

The second, the National Union of South African Students, has been an affected organisation for more than a decade.

Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF, and the organisation's president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, address yesterday's Press conference.

By Colleen Ryan
Political Reporter

UDF plans court challenge on order

The United Democratic Front says it does not accept the Government's decision to declare it an affected organisation and will challenge this proclamation in the Supreme Court.

feared the next step would be a ban on the organisation.

Yesterday the Government declared the UDF an affected organisation which prohibits it from using overseas funds.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Cachalia, said the UDF would take legal action as soon as possible.

Mr Cachalia said that a large portion of the UDF's budget of

several million rand a year was raised by affiliates not affected by the declaration.

But, he said, the UDF's 700 affiliates had come to depend on central funds in recent months because the state of emergency had disrupted their normal activities.

Although not all UDF money was raised overseas, it was difficult to distinguish the source

and so about R100 000 was affected by the declaration.

UDF officials were advised that the organisation's books were to be examined when a notice was delivered to its offices at Khotso House on behalf of the Registrar of Fundraising yesterday.

UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said the struggle against the Government would continue

in spite of the action.

● The Star Bureau in London reports that Britain has condemned the Government's action against the United Democratic Front as "a move in the wrong direction".

A Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday: "It appears inconsistent with State President Botha's repeated statements of readiness to negotiate with non-violent organisations."

Fuse lit for another cycle of violence?

No accord now with Maputo

10/10/86

STAR

~~10/10/86~~

17A
~~10/10/86~~

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star's Foreign News Service

A new chain of violence, destruction and misery in Southern Africa has almost certainly been set off by the alleged resumption of African National Congress insurgency from Mozambique — and South Africa's retaliation.

The decision to bar Mozambicans from further employment in South Africa, coming after the warning of retaliation by Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan against ANC infiltration, has probably spelt the death of the Nkomati Accord.

Possible consequences are:

- Open resumption of ANC insurgency into South Africa from Mozambique.
- Renewed SADF strikes against ANC targets in Mozambique.
- Open support by South Africa for the MNR rebels.
- An escalation of the guerilla war in Mozambique, with consequent destruction of property and production facilities, and hunger and suffering by the Mozambican people.
- A severe deterioration in the already ruined Mozambican economy, and a sharp increase in the high famine level as a result of the stopping of income from South Africa from mineworkers and other sources.

It appears that this chain reaction can be stopped only by the Mozambique Government terminating the ANC infiltration that is said by the South African Foreign Minister to be taking place with the collaboration of the Mozambique Security Service (SNASP). But whether Maputo can do this is uncertain.

If the grim scenario is played out it will raise yet another possibility — that of foreign intervention by Cuba or some other communist country on the side of the Frelimo government.

But this possibility appears remote at present because Russia and its satellites are believed to be reluctant to get involved in further African conflicts after their costly experience in Angola.

President Samora Machel's government is already beleaguered by the increasingly successful MNR rebels, who have destroyed or challenged Frelimo's control in wide areas of Mozambique.

And the economy has been brought to the brink of collapse by drought, flood, warfare, bad policy and inept administration. The cutting off of revenue from South Africa could put the Frelimo government in a desperate situation.

Maputo has repeatedly accused South Africa of violating the Nkomati Accord by continuing to aid the MNR guerillas, but only now has South Africa openly accused Mozambique of permitting a resumption of ANC insurgency in contravention of the accord.

It is not clear whether the alleged ANC activities have been allowed by Maputo in retaliation for the support South Africa is said to have been giving the MNR. Maputo would have known, however, that this would inevitably result in retaliation by South Africa, which has plainly shown it will not tolerate ANC insurgency from neighbouring states.

Before the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984, the SADF had made at least two strikes against ANC targets in Maputo. It would almost certainly strike again if it believed insurgents were continuing to operate from there.

Pretoria has consistently denied Maputo allegations that it is continuing to supply the rebels. But if the Frelimo government were to allow continuing ANC insurgency from Mozambique, Pretoria would have no reason to maintain its stance of not supporting the MNR. South African backing for the rebels could put them in a position to overthrow the Frelimo government.

Retaliation against alleged ANC infiltration has coincided with reports of major battles in northern Mozambique between government forces and MNR guerillas expelled from Malawi.

Unions condemn restrictions on UDF

Staff Reporters

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) have condemned the Government's decision to declare the UDF an affected organisation.

Cosatu said in a statement that the ban was "an act of rulers unable to come to terms with demands for a new democratic system in South Africa which responds to the needs of the majority of the people".

It was the response of a government faced with increasing isolation both internally, and internationally as seen in the "flood of sanctions against South Africa".

The Nusas statement said: "As an affiliate of the UDF, we have witnessed its courageous and peaceful opposition to State policies.

"In the three years since its formation, the UDF has accomplished the unification of the South African people's opposition to apartheid.

"Because of the Government's failure to prevent the growth of the UDF by force, it has now enacted punitive legislation."

'LEAD TO STRONGER PRESSURE'

From London it is reported that two of Britain's national daily newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, warn that the restriction of the UDF will merely strengthen the resolve of anti-government forces and lead to stronger pressure for change.

The Independent says in its editorial that the move against the UDF — apparently a signal from President Botha that, in the wake of sanctions, he will now "no longer even pay cursory attention to international public relations" — "makes no more sense than previous attempts to ban black opposition groups".

The Guardian says the restrictions — and the expulsion of migrant workers from Mozambique — "are reminders of Pretoria's formidable advantages in a struggle for power".

"The contrast between this ruthless campaign for the preservation of a racialist tyranny and the miserly response from Western Europe, restrictively orchestrated by Britain, to the calls for help from the oppressed, has never been clearer or more shaming."

Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said the move was not entirely unexpected, but demonstrated the Government's intolerance of opposition which didn't fit into its preconceived mould, Sapa reports from Cape Town.

It was a form of "coercive control" into which the country was drifting and reflected a hardening situation and increased polarisation, Dr Slabbert said.

Nothing very new in SA moves — Maputo

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambique's official news agency has described the decision by Pretoria to bar Mozambican migrant workers as part of "the undeclared war which South Africa has been waging for many years against Mozambique."

AIM said Pretoria was not retaliating against alleged African National Congress insurgency, it was "just stepping up its aggression".

The decision was described as a significant increase in the sanctions South Africa had long been applying to Mozambique.

These had gone hand-in-hand with military destabilisation, direct attacks by the South African armed forces and aggression through the MNR "bandits", the agency said.

It said the decision was "tragically irresponsible politics" because by attacking the Southern African region Pretoria was reducing South Africa's ability to become an important pole of development, one from which a future South Africa would itself stand to benefit greatly.

AIM did not comment on the accuracy of the South African claim that the ANC was again launching insurgent attacks into the Republic from Mozambique.

It noted only that Pretoria had said that ANC leader Joe Slovo had been seen in Maputo.

"If the presence of Joe Slovo in Maputo and his contact with Mozambicans are to be regarded as military acts then the same should be the case with the recent meeting between Oliver Tambo (the ANC leader) and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe," it said.

Soweto man burnt to death

By Montshiwa Moroke

A young Meadowlands, Soweto, man was burnt to death and a number of others wounded this week during running battles between Meadowlands and Mzimhlophe transit camp/hostel residents.

The dead man was Mr Patrick Seasebo (24), of Zone 1, Meadowlands, an only child.

Mr Seasebo was doused with petrol and set alight at the tran-

sit camp after he was shot and wounded by youths.

His grandfather, Mr Hendrik Seasebo, said the deceased left home after 6 pm while the fighting was taking place in an open veld between the townships.

"We were later told that Patrick had been shot and wounded.

"We tried to rush to the scene of the fighting but were repelled by the shooting as the youths exchanged gunfire.

"In that state of shock, I was shown a fire at the transit camp and told that it was apparently the body of my grandson burning. I thought the best thing to do was to go to the police.

"I reported the matter at the Meadowlands police station where I was accompanied back to the transit camp by police. My grandson had already been burnt to death, Mr Seasebo said.

Mr Seasebo said that the youth had apparently been shot and then dragged to where he was finally put to death.

Injured on the same day, according to residents, was Mr Eric Seitshiro (19), who was shot in the buttock.

Others wounded on the previous day were identified by residents as Mr Daniel Thekiso (22) and Solomon Mabena (15). Both were wounded in the legs.

Mr Thekiso was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital with a bullet wound. He was discharged on Thursday.

Don't run away — UDF

By Jenni Tennant

People could no longer remain impartial to what was happening in South Africa, the vice-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Curtis Mkondo said yesterday.

He presented the keynote address at the national congress of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

Speaking on "South Africa — a land in crisis" Mr Mkondo said: "No one can run away from the struggle, no one can run away from the truth, no one can run away from the issues."

Mr Mkondo spoke of the need for a single educational system for all. "But we need one that has not been derived from the present system."

Referring to "people's education" Mr Mkondo said he would like to see a non-racial, democratic system in which parents, children and teachers participated.

Week by MWA 11/10/88

UFA

The police and soldiers travelling together," he returned fire, and when said.

him near the station and asked him where he was violence was later withdrawn.

'We'll take political action'

City Press 12/10/86

By **MONO RADELA**

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions warned employers that it would not hesitate to take political action to protect and advance the interests of its members and the working class in general.

The warning came from Cosatu assistant secretary Sydney Mufamadi in his address at the 30th annual convention of the Institute of Personnel Management in Johannesburg recently.

He said strikes which are taking place in SA were not being agitated for from the Soviet Union but were "organically determined by the concrete socio-economic and political conditions".

Cosatu had been rightly or wrongly been defined by some people as "political unionism", he said.

"Some critics had gone to the extent of characterising it as a hijacking of labour movement by politicians."

Mufamadi said it was not true that the labour movement had been hijacked by politicians.

"As Cosatu we have taken the view, and correctly we believe, that the so-called free enterprise system has seen and used the fact of national oppression as a lever to maximise profits.

"Any pretensions to the contrary do not alter the fact."

He warned employers that Cosatu "would not

hesitate to take political action to protect and advance the interests of our members and the wider working class".

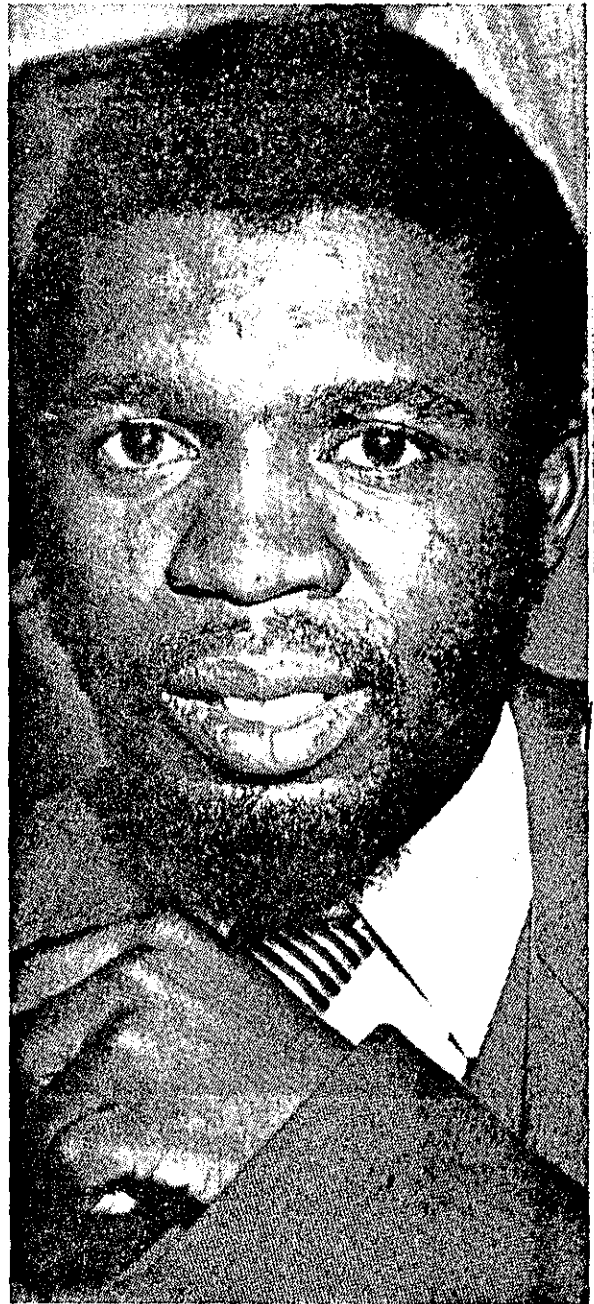
Cosatu shall take up these political struggles through the membership and structures at local, regional and national level as well as through disciplined alliances with progressive community and political organisations whose interests and whose organisational practices further the interests of the working class, Mufamadi said.

"Strikes are flowing from the employers' intransigence. In the face of that intransigence, the objective status of working people is such that it compels them to withdraw their labour," he said.

Any trade unionist who is or was a worker, and accustomed to operating on the basis of mandates and feedbacks would concur with that.

He said the basic elements of the strike - work stoppage - was enriched by many variants - such as "overtime bans" and "sleep-ins". Workers were resorting to strikes because they were trying to push back "rampant exploitation".

He said Cosatu does not deny that the number of strike actions in SA was increasing but, "to argue that this is due to Cosatu's propensity for strikes will



MUFAMADI: Cosatu and politics.

be too narrow a way of defining the set-up".

"Cosatu's affiliates have never excluded possibilities of sitting around a table with employers to work out a model of establishing sound labour relations."

Cosatu's affiliates have

scored victories by a combination of negotiations and strikes, he said.

The gathering was also addressed by the outgoing US ambassador to SA Herman W Nickel and United Workers' Union of SA spokesman Simon Conco.

the shooting on August 4, opened fire when they re

The city that is leaving thousands in the cold

TENS of thousands of squatters will move onto vacant land on Johannesburg's outskirts - unless the critical black housing shortage is handled creatively.

This warning comes from town planning expert Pauline Morris - who'll speak on "Johannesburg: The Second Century" at a conference next week

Johannesburg is showing the results of having neglected its lower socio-economic group, Morris said.

"Most white citizens are unaware of the growing squatter settlements springing up around the city.

"But throughout the Witwatersrand dozens of shacks are rising on vacant land - as desperate homeless people take the only course of action which appears open to them."

The official view was "disturbing", Morris said. The draft guide plan for the Witwatersrand stipulated that the proportion of black people in the region would remain constant - "in spite of the fact that the growth rate of the black population has actually increased in the past decade or so," she said.

If this was the basis of the government's urbanisation strategy, no room was being made for the crisis already on the doorstep, Morris said.

"What we really need are creative solutions - not ideologically-based ones."

● Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis will open the conference at the Rand Afrikaans University on October 16. - Sapa.

Youth in 'revenge' attack on council

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

ARMED with stones, youths launched a "revenge" attack on the Soweto council's Orlando West offices on Tuesday morning, sending terrified employees scuttling for cover under desks and into cupboards.

Council cops fired several shots at the youths who dispersed and moved to the Maponya shopping complex, where they looted and set alight a beer truck.

Council employees escaped injury and hurriedly left for their homes. Three staff cars were slightly damaged.

One of the clerks said they were taken by surprise at about 9.45 am when stones landed on the building. "I peeped through the window and saw a group throwing stones. I dashed into the adjacent office and found some of my colleagues under the desks and others in cupboards."

It is believed that the attack was revenge against council cops who recently took part in the White City "rent war" which claimed the lives of 27 people, and in the Dube night vigil in which four people were shot.

Another shooting which may have infuriated the youths was the death of Peter Makgae, who was shot when council police opened fire on a crowd of people.

The Bureau for Information confirmed the Sunday shooting and said the group were armed with hammers and a bulldozer - and wanted to demolish councillor Patrick Gaboutloeloe's house.

CITY PRESS 1/11/86

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for Uncle Sam's man in Pretoria.

Azanyu calls for end to 'barbaric' necklacing

CITY PRESS
2/10/88
114

THE Azanian Youth Unity organisation condemned necklacing as "barbaric and counter-revolutionary" at its first national congress in Soweto recently.

This was declared in a resolution, passed by the congress.

The resolution called on all organisations to "scorn this barbarism".

Azanyu was committed to the idea of a national united front with other organisations to fight apartheid, the congress decided.

Azanyu vice-president Seleka Nthutang said his organisation would work with others to "discipline elements denting the image of our struggle".

The congress blamed the present educational crisis on the Department of Education and Training's obstinate stand on the

pupils' problems.

The congress pledged solidarity with "progressive" trade union groups.

Formed in 1980, Azanyu held its first national congress last weekend because its leaders were detained in recent years, according to a statement released by the organisation at a Press conference in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

Former Azanyu president and Soweto Students' League leader Molefe Modiga was recently released from a six-year term on Robben Island, the statement said.

An affiliate of the National Forum, Azanyu has 85 branches across the country.

The estimated membership in one area - the Western Cape - is 6 000. - Sapa.

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Badenhorst

The latest political animal isn't a dinosaur — it's a rhinoceros!

By MONO BADELA
SOUTH Africa's latest political grouping, the United Christian Conciliation Party, has chosen a rhinoceros as its emblem.

Is it because the rhino is short-sighted and thick-skinned?

No, the party's leaders insist — it's because the rhino is a threatened species, like them.

And, like the rhino, the UCCP has protection from

conservationists — in this case the State, which seems squarely behind the new body.

UCCP leaders Bishop Isaac Mokoena and former Ibhayi mayor Tamsanqa Linda have both openly supported the government in the past — especially on the issue of sanctions against SA.

But the party still denies it is government-sponsored. Its leaders insist that

when Botha calls for new elections they intend putting up candidates to oppose the government.

Exactly who those people will represent is unclear, however, as the party is making no claims on membership.

Instead, it seems to present itself as a loose arrangement of conservative churchmen and politicians — the kind of people who can present a conservative

case in foreign forums such as the US State Department.

Besides Mokoena and Linda, the executive of the new multi-racial party is packed with government supporters and community councillors.

These include former Soweto mayor Edward Kunene, Soweto community councillors Sigfried Manthata (deputy secretary), CS Lengene (assis-

tant treasurer), J Mokoena (organising secretary) and Patrick Gaboutloeloe.

TV2 personality Reverend JE Mdlalose is the UCCP general secretary. Other committee members include SA Institute for Independent Churches Pretoria principal Dr ES Malamb, Reverend JPJ Khubheka and Reverend DE Selepe.

The UCCP constitution says it "rejects all forms of

violence, whether individual or collective."

It makes "an appeal for reconciliation", stating that the future lies with all South Africa's people and that "only free, equal and democratic rights for all can give expression to the people's sovereignty".

"Only freedom of choice and equal opportunity for all are the basis of Christian dignity and economic, social and political justice."

Linda said his party would ensure that no profits made by multinationals would leave SA.

"That will come to a stop," he said.

The UCCP also intends to fight exploitation — but at the same time is "wary of the trade union movement."

At the UCCP's launch in Johannesburg, a UCCP executive member told *City Press* its most important

"target" was former Alexandra mayor Reverend Sam Buti.

"We want to recruit him. We are desperate to get his services."

● South Africa's biggest non-parliamentary political group, the United Democratic Front, has dismissed the new party as a non-starter.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia said: "The collection of a few discred-

ited individuals calling themselves a Christian party is a last-ditch attempt by the government to prop up a so-called moderate alternative to our people's organisations."

He said South Africa's oppressed knew who their leaders were. "They will dismiss this new group with the contempt it deserves."

Cosatu assistant secretary Sydney Mufamadi said most of the new party's

officials had backed President PW Botha "body and soul" when the people rejected the "new" political dispensation in 1983.

Mufamadi said an "unholy alliance" had existed for years between "these individuals and the oppressor".

● Hours after its formation, the UCCP sent a delegation to Britain to address the British Conservative Party conference.



KANGWANE Chief Minister Enos Mabuza is the first homeland leader to talk to the African National Congress, since KwaZulu counterpart MG Buthelezi met the ANC in 1979.

Mabuza met the ANC in March this year and in an interview with Natal University's news journal *Indicator SA*, before the emergency was declared, he talks about the meeting and his own role in internal opposition.

Part of the interview is published here - with discussions on the regional implications of the national unrest and on development factors in KaNgwane.

What was the cause of the recent unrest in KaNgwane?

Students were dissatisfied with the way examination scripts were marked. They boycotted classes. Education officials promised to look into the matter and the trouble subsided. When police shot dead two pupils, we were faced with more funerals. So again we tried to speak to student leaders, to persuade them to return to school and not to resort to violence. But a lot depends on what happens in the surrounding areas. We are told the situation is much more serious in Gazankulu and Lebowa.

Until recently, most of the worst violence was limited to urban centres. It now appears to be spreading to some quite isolated rural areas. To what would you attribute this?

This is partly the result of increased political awareness among the youth all over the country. The rural youth are fully aware of what is going on in the urban areas and this influences their actions. They uphold the ANC - the freedom songs contain references to the (military) "stampede" when marching to freedom. One wonders who teaches them - when they are taught?

The leaders, whoever they are, fear that they might be promoting the aims and objectives of a banned organisation. So they must remain faceless, and politically motivated youth unfortunately cannot have the advantage of an identifiable leader who will give them direction. Their aspirations are not wrong - but I think their methods are counter-productive to their objectives.

What are the aims of the Inyandza National Movement and what role do

'I do not see the young generation supporting the homelands, so we have to start preparing for changes now. Homeland leaders have to accept that this thing will have to go - then they will have to bargain for their constituencies, in a sort of free-market political system'

you see for it?

Our movement is a progressive movement working for peaceful change, believing in a free, non-racial and democratic SA. We are prepared to co-operate with other democratic forces in the country - including the UDF, Azapo and Inkatha.

You have frequently stated that your political ideal would be one man/one vote in a unitary state, but in meetings with other homeland leaders you appear to consider a federation.

This will have to be determined at the conference table. I certainly would not go to negotiations with a federal formula in my pocket. I would go there demanding one man/one vote in a unitary state.

But what about the leaders of the other homelands, especially those who have accepted "independence"? For example, Cliskel president Lennox Sebe is unlikely to relinquish the independence of his territory?

I believe in the dismantling of the entire bantustan edifice because I think its foundation is faulty and shaky. With all due respect to Sebe, I do not think he believes that he is president of a state, when he still has to be financed by another independent country.

I do not see the present young generation supporting the homelands. So we have to start preparing for the changes now. In my view the homeland leaders will have to accept as a *fait accompli* that this thing will have to go. And then they would have to bargain for their constituencies, in a sort of free market political system.

What would you see as the ideal economic model for a future SA?

I would support a free market system, but we must take into account the fact that it has not been as free as it should be in SA. There are glaring disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots" - between black and white.

There would have to be a transitional period where the "have-nots" would have to be given the chance to make up for the ground they have lost. This would occur through the relaxation of existing constraints on the free market system and the opening up of opportunities, such as the recent opening of central business districts in cities, and an equitable education system.

What do you see as being your particular role in achieving these changes?

I regard my role as limited. I see my primary role as one of trying to bring together people of opposite views, so that they can talk, and map out the future of the country. I am not thinking of a role beyond the end of the present system... others can take over.

After returning from your meeting in Lusaka with the ANC on March 2 1986, a joint ANC/INM statement was released, expressing opposition to the bantustan system. How do you reconcile this statement with your position as KaNgwane Chief Minister?

If I were to resign today it would not remove the acts which constitute it - and, possibly, somebody else might come in and carry it to its logical conclusion. So I regard my role as being that of applying brakes and reversing it as far

as I can, no matter how slow the process might be, and using it to bargain for a new SA.

Young people, especially, see us as being in the camp of the oppressor. Instead, it must be seen that even people who are operating within the system can play a role, and that even the ANC are prepared to talk to you.

How do you plan to do this? Through public statements, through communicating with the youth?

Yes. One would also have to take time to speak to the other self-governing homelands' leaders to express these views and urge that we should combine forces and face a common enemy. If you look at the ANC/INM statement, you will realise it condemns the structure of the system, but not the people. We believe that people can still change sides, and work together as one force to change the system.

What do you see as the biggest obstacle in the way of change in SA?

Apartheid is an obstacle, but black disunity is the most serious obstacle. However, if the government were to change, and say "come let us negotiate", and 50 black leaders were to participate, there would be a realignment of political groupings and the disunity would be reduced. But as long as the present policies exist, there will be in-fighting among blacks.

Your relationship with the ANC - what do you feel came out of your meeting in Lusaka?

I believe very strongly that the ANC is a key actor, perhaps the most important actor... In our communique, the two delegations agreed to work separately and implement their own decisions. In other words we recognised that we (the INM) are an internal movement which works independently within the legal terrain prescribed by the laws of the country, but that we share a common objective with the ANC.

There has been tremendous antagonism between the ANC and Inkatha. You have had close links with both organisations, and are in some ways caught in the middle. How does this affect your role?

I do not intend to intervene in a conflict in which I have never been

involved. This antagonism is a great tragedy, as I believe in fostering unity and Inkatha has a role to play in this country.

The State President is forming a National Statutory Council, comprising representatives of the SA government, the homeland governments and other "representative" black leaders. What are your views on such a body?

We do not know what its composition or actual statutory powers will be, but we believe it will be a form of preliminary discussions for an actual negotiation forum. If the State President did not realise the need to negotiate, to bring in blacks and talk to them about the future of the country, he would not have announced it. But I do not see blacks participating in the absence of leaders who are imprisoned or in exile.

Are you going to participate?

Yes, provided the government seriously considers releasing political prisoners and unbanning political organisations. I do not want to be accused tomorrow by my constituents of having negotiated behind the backs of others.

You once said KaNgwane felt like Pretoria's unwanted stepson. KaNgwane battled to get self-governing status, and in 1982 the homeland was nearly ceded to Swaziland.

It was the intention of Pretoria to have all homelands become independent, and from the moment I took office, I expressed my opposition to independence. So the government had to find ways and means of pressuring us - and we have not yet heard the last word. What they might do is just cut off the supply lines so that the people can turn against me and say "Look, you've been to Lusaka and now we are without".

Do you think they would do that?

I cannot say they would do that, but they are certainly capable of doing that. The consolidation of our territory is still pending and there are question marks as to why. I do not think there is any self-governing territory into which there has been such massive resettlement - without jobs, social amenities, or a basic infrastructure... Creating a typical situation of social unrest.

Speaking of the future

EDUCATIONISTS are deeply concerned about the choice of language to be used in post-apartheid SA schools, a Cape Town educationist says.

University of Cape Town Education Professor DN Young was commenting on the eve of the SA Applied

Linguistic Association conference on "Language Planning and Language Medium in Education" which starts at the UCT today.

Young said the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium in "Bantu education" schools was a major cause of the 1976 Soweto upris-

ing. A decision afterwards to use English in black schools had positive and negative effects, he said.

"A decade later, in the throes of tragic violence and uncertainty about the future, the choice of language to be used in post-apartheid SA is of major concern," he said. - Sapa.

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Landlock

Mandela 'only hope to control youths'

Handwritten: WISOMY 10/9/11
CHRIS CAIRNCROSS



NELSON Mandela is probably the only recognised leader of SA's black community capable of instilling some discipline into the kids in the townships, Helen Suzman, PFP spokesperson on law and order, declared yesterday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, Suzman said she was extremely dubious about the ANC's ultimate aims, should both Mandela and Oliver Tambo not be around in the future to impose their authority on the grass roots township organisations that are at present receiving so much encouragement from the worldwide campaign for sanctions, disinvestment and other punitive measures that will leave SA isolated.

In her view the sanctions campaign — spurred on by the "liberation is around the corner syndrome" — has stemmed from a false premise that a short, sharp dose of punitive measures will lead to the rapid demise of the Nationalist government, to be replaced by a non-racial democracy.

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'Comrades' threaten nurses: Pay up or else

By JEREMY McCABE

NURSES in the Eastern Cape are being systematically terrorised by money-grabbing "comrades".

The feared "comrades" — described by local police as members of township street committees — have apparently taken advantage of recent pay rises for black nurses by demanding R50 a month from each of them.

The terrified nurses have complained to police that they have been threatened with an immediate kangaroo court and execution by neck-lace if they failed to pay.

The mass intimidation has been highlighted in complaints to the police by the South African Nurses' Association (Sana) and individual nurses.

Denied

Major Eddie Everson, liaison officer for the police in the Eastern Cape, said this week that complaints from nurses reached him almost daily.

It has been estimated that about R270 500 has been raised in this manner from Eastern Cape nurses alone.

But the United Democratic Front, to which street committees are invariably

linked, has denied the nurses' claims.

Spokesmen for the UDF affiliated Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) and the National and Transvaal offices of the UDF have all denied any knowledge of involuntary donations.

Mr Mandla Dhlamini, the UDF's Transvaal organiser, said this week: "We do not need their money. In fact, we are totally opposed to anyone demanding protection money."

Mr Mpumelelo Odolo, Peyco's vice-president, said it was "significant" that Sana should come out with this al-

legation soon after the Government had decided on equal pay for nurses.

There were probably some Sana members who were unhappy with the move, he said.

"We shall act against anyone we find discrediting our organisations by making such demands," he said.

Madzunya's flame burns fiercely

By MATHATHA TSEDU

HE has been described as "bearded and violent", militant, fiery and a staunch nationalist. Some call him the old man with the coat.

He is Josias Ratshilumela Mureri Madzunya — former member of the African National Congress Youth League and founding member of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

The history of black resistance to white domination in this country can never be complete without his name. He was in the thick of things in the '40s up to his banishment from Johannesburg to Sibasa in 1962. Some still remember him for his fiery speeches in Troye Street, Johannesburg, which came to be known as "Madzunya Corner".

The *Sowetan* traced the 77-year-old Mr Madzunya to his humble dwelling at Tshifudi — about 40 km north east of Sibasa. Hanging on a log that bisects his rondavel are his "uniforms" — five heavy coats which he wears alternately. Mr Madzunya has never been seen without his coats in public since 1939.

Born in April 1909 at Muletane village near Sibasa, Mr Madzunya was the fifth child in a family of eight. He is the only survivor, with both four elder and three younger brothers having died at birth. He attended primary school up to Sub A but continued studying privately while working in Johannesburg until he passed standard six.

His entry into politics came after attending African National Congress (ANC) meetings in Johannesburg in 1937. "I was there when the ANC Youth League was formed. I was a member of both the ANC and the Youth League.

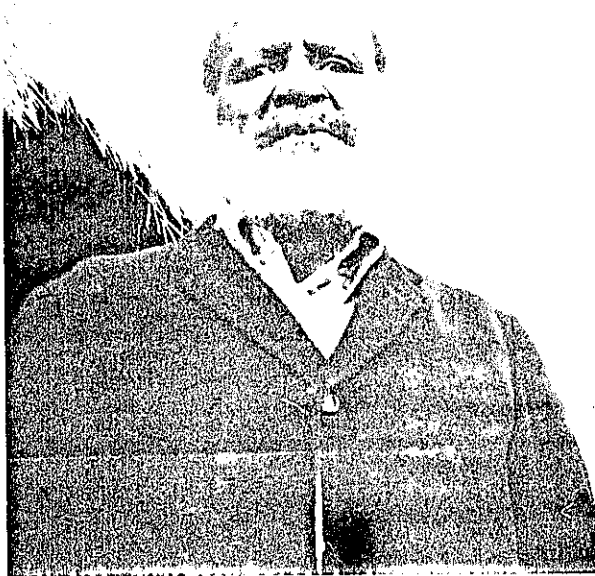
"In 1949 we travelled to Bloemfontein where African Nationalism was adopted as the philosophy which we would use to fight for our freedom."

His activities entailed long distance travelling organising for the ANC all over the country. This was when he started wearing his coat.

"The coat was my blanket at night and my jacket in the day. It became my uniform of the struggle and I have always worn a coat since 1939. There is no reason why I should stop now as the struggle is still on. A soldier only puts his uniform away when the war is over," said Mr Madzunya.

He moved to Alexandra in 1952 and was immediately co-opted as branch secretary. What he calls "the Kliptown Congress" in 1955 adopted the Freedom Charter.

"The Youth League was against the Freedom Charter over the land issue. The Youth League



MR MADZUNYA wearing one of his legendary coats.

FOCUS

said South Africa belongs to the Africans. Foreigners would be accepted to live here in their individual capacities but this does not make them co-owners. If you have a house, you can allow anyone you like to sleep in it but this does not mean they own the house," he said.

Tensions

His vivid description of the tensions within the ANC at that time sound very familiar today.

In 1957 Mr Madzunya rose to prominence when Alexandra started a three-month bus boy-

cott.

Mr Madzunya was senior vice-chairman of the co-ordinating committee which negotiated with Puteo and other affected employer groups. The boycott ended when the fares were lowered.

The following year brought the division within the ANC to a head, leading to the walkout of Robert Sobukwe, Madzunya, Potlako Leballo and many others from an ANC meeting in Orlando, Soweto. In April 1959 the Pan African Congress was formed. Their main difference with the ANC being the land issue, open membership of the ANC and the PAC's commitment through confrontationalist strategies which the ANC loathed.

"The aim of the PAC was to unite all the tribes of Africa in South Africa to repossess the land taken from us. This was the sole aim. After repossession we would not chase out anyone, except those who want to rule over us, those who believe in apartheid.

The first phase of the struggle was to unify the oppressed and the dispossessed. In this stage there could be no open membership to include those who had not been dispossessed of their land. In the second stage, anyone prepared to defend Africa against intruders and who owed allegiance to Africa, would be regarded as an African". No colour problem, none at all", Mr Madzunya explained.

"Those from the tribes of Europe who are sympathetic to our cause should organise their own people to understand our point of view. They must convince their brothers and sisters," he added.

The PAC lasted only 11 months and was banned in 1960 following the Sharpeville shooting on March 21. Mr Madzunya was detained three days later and sentenced, together with PAC president Smangaliso Robert Sobukwe.

On his release he was banished from Johannesburg and taken to Sibasa, Venda, where he has remained since. He was detained in 1977 during the sloop that ended with the Bethal trial. He has been working for the Lukoto Bus Company since 1967 and

To Page 7



Cosatu: A correction

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has pointed out that it is not affiliated to the United Democratic Front as was stated in our Focus of October 9, 1986.

A spokesman for Cosatu also said that the labour federation did not have an official attitude towards the Freedom Charter. This means that it was incorrect to have stated in our report that Cosatu supports the preamble of the Freedom Charter.

The *Sowetan* wishes to apologise for whatever embarrassment the report may have caused Cosatu.

Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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UDF
may
join
ANC if
banned

SOWETAN

Correspondent

IF the United Democratic Front is banned it will go underground and join forces with other outlawed organisations to create a formidable alliance, say UDF sources.

The UDF was declared an "affected organisation" this week, cutting it off from overseas funding. This also empowers the State to examine the UDF's accounts.

Members are bracing themselves for the Government's next logical step — which is to ban the organisation.

The only UDF national executive member who is not in detention or hiding, treasurer Azhar Cachalia, said the State had not banned the UDF because police believed they could exercise greater control if the UDF operated above ground.

"When they declared us an affected organisation, they hoped that by monitoring our funds they could monitor the organisation more closely. But if they don't succeed, their next step is the more drastic move of banning us," he said.

"By banning the UDF they will ensure that forces operating below will coalesce. The UDF will form a more formidable underground force."

Mr Cachalia gave an account of an exchange between himself and a security police interrogator when he was in detention recently. "I told him that I was a member of the UDF, but if he treated me like the ANC then I might as well become a member of the ANC."

He said that when the ANC was banned in 1960 it did not have deep grassroots infrastructure. This resulted in a 10-year lull after the banning. But the UDF had developed a profound grassroots structure so that banning it would not destroy it.

The UDF would challenge possibly as early as next week the Government order declaring it an affected organisation. The case was likely to be taken to the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court.

Sowetan

13/10/85

copy from 15/4/86

Confront callous SACC — Buthelezi

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ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on South African Christian women to challenge churches affiliated to the South African Council of Churches over the SACC's "callousness" regarding violence against blacks.

Addressing an Inkatha Women's Brigade rally, he said an SACC document had launched a strong attack on the black anti-violence Inkatha national cultural liberation movement. It said Inkatha exerted "enormous influence" and divided blacks.

He also warned that organizations which had pressed for sanctions would try to grab for their own political purposes those funds which the West intended providing for humanitarian aid to black victims of sanctions.

The brigade resolved to confront the SACC about its antagonism towards Inkatha after Chief Buthelezi disclosed the SACC documentation, which advised Dutch churches to support the African National Congress and to publicize the ANC and the United Democratic Front through information about Inkatha's "negative effects" on the liberation struggle.

Chief Buthelezi presented what he said was evidence of how the SACC had urged European churches to admit ANC representatives to their organizations and to encourage the ANC and what church leaders called the "closely related" UDF.

He also announced that he intended to "campaign relentlessly" to get foreign countries to step up humanitarian aid to South Africa to balance the effects of limited sanctions on ordinary people. — Sapa

UDF'S MURPHY MOROBE SPEAKS OUT

'Nats have reached a dead end'

THE National Party has reached a dead end in its search for workable political solutions and has decided to retreat into its laager and cling to power with increasing repression and harassment of its opponents.

This is the assessment of Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic

Front, who is visiting the Western Cape for meetings with UDF affiliates. He gave the UDF's views on a wide range of current issues in an interview yesterday.

"The NP retreat into the laager is exactly what we expected. As the struggle intensifies and the legitimacy of the government becomes more eroded in the eyes of the majority, it will behave like regimes in South America — and even in Africa — when they were faced by the same sort of crisis.

"They will become more and more desperate and will resort to greater repression and force. Their main concern will be to perpetuate their power."

"Reform" and "repression" in South Africa had become "two sides of the same coin". The Joint Management Centres, which Mr Morobe said were linked to the security apparatus and to "disinformation" strategies, were part of the pattern of repression and of the NP's attempts to perpetuate its power.

"The JMCs are tackling the wrong end of the problem. They are trying to win favour with the people by improving local conditions, repairing roads, and improving services when, in fact, the people's feelings have gone way beyond potholes and street lights. The main objective of the black community is to exercise political power," Mr Morobe said.

"The Government's new national economic strategy, which aims to divert funds from infrastructure development to social services, is part of the same pattern. Even the new elite black

On UDF differences with the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo): "We believe this should not happen and we have made strides in trying to resolve the problem. There are elements in some organisations that have laid themselves open to abuse. But I think the problem is far less serious than it has been made out to be and, of course, the Government and its agents seek to derail our organisations by accentuating internal contradictions and putting out disinformation."

suburbs and the fenced off townships have not been beyond the reach of the UDF because the main objective of blacks is for political power and any "improvements" in their living standards are quite rightly interpreted as being the results of their own efforts, as victories after a long struggle.

Mr Morobe had this to say on other current issues:

On the detention of

ON VIOLENCE: "We still consider our historical role as one of fighting non-violently and also legally. As long as we are able to pursue this course, we shall do so. But for how long the UDF can remain a non-violent organisation depends upon the Government. We cannot guarantee to be a peaceful organisation forever and unconditionally — it would depend on conditions, on the dictates of circumstances."

UDF leaders, the banning of UDF meetings and the declaring of the UDF as an "affected organisation": "All this harassment and repression has meant that we have had to devote a lot of our energy and time to developing new methods of operation. We are confident they are working, that effective contact is being made among the people and that we are getting our message out. I think, also, that as the Government tries to stifle us, so it becomes more isolated internally and internationally.

Worse

"We expect things to get worse as the Government becomes more desperate and we are preparing for a long siege. We do not rule out the possibility of the UDF being banned altogether."

On the Natal-Kwa-Zulu indaba: "Insofar as the indaba proposals have been rejected by the NP in Natal, I believe this has vindicated our position — which we warned of when the indaba began — that there is no way negotiations can succeed in existing circumstances.

"It is not as if the indaba produced any really radical changes. In fact the proposals show a willingness to accommodate separate ra-

cial structures. Yet even this has been rejected by the NP. I think all the indications from the indaba are that negotiations with the Government should not be foremost on the UDF's agenda. Rather, one purpose is to develop organisations at the mass level.

"We are aware that even the African National Congress is under pressure from imperialist countries to talk to

the NP. But to do so they would need a mandate from the people. Like them, we are bound in this regard."

On negotiations: "We have set various well-known preconditions — unbanning the ANC and other political movements; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act — in short, the creation of conditions of free speech, free association, of normal political activity. We would talk about the transfer of political power from a minority to the majority. That is what it is all about."

Violence

On violence: "We still consider our historical role as one of fighting non-violently and also legally. As long as we are able to pursue this course, we shall do so. But for how long the UDF can remain a non-violent organisation depends upon the Government. We cannot guarantee to be a peaceful organisation forever and unconditionally — it would depend on conditions, on the dictates of circumstances."

On detention without trial: "The numbers of our leaders being detained is increasing and there appears to be a concerted effort to do this, which is a phenomenon we fully expected and which has been seen in many other countries, including Zimbabwe when it was still Rhodesia.

"The same sort of thing is being done in Namibia, with the detention camps there, and this and the fencing in of townships is all part of the desperate siege mentality we are witnessing."

On the UDF differences with the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo): "We believe this should not happen and we have made strides in trying to resolve the problem. There are elements in some organisations that have laid themselves open to abuse.

But I think the prob-

lem is far less serious than it has been made out to be and, of course, the Government and its agents seek to derail our organisations by accentuating internal contradictions and putting out disinformation.

"Disinformation is part and parcel of the strategy of any regime under siege. The challenge to us is to come up with effective counter-strategies. Fortunately, we do not depend on pamphlets and posters to communicate with our people. We do so at the street committee level, person-to-person, which makes this disin-

formation strategy a huge waste of taxpayers' money."

On Education: "We have become extremely concerned by the intransigence of the Department of Education and Training in their treatment of the National Education Crisis Committee, which is one of the very few channels of communication which the DET has with the black community.

"With the other organisations involved, we stand by our commitment to have all students at school when the new academic year starts in black schools on

January 10. What happens after that will depend upon the DET and the Government."

On the role of whites: "We are committed to genuine non-racialism. To us this is not just a dream about the future, but something we put into practice even under the present state of apartheid. It is important for whites to know that the future envisaged for South Africa by the UDF has got nothing to do with driving whites into the sea.

"White South Africans seem to be transfixed by fear, but this is more imaginary than



real. Our acceptance of the role of whites in a democratic South Africa is not a ruse. Our own present experience with Jodac in Johannesburg, and area committees of the UDF in Claremont and Observatory demonstrate this.

"White South Africans are just as much in need of liberation as are blacks. They need to realise that they should free themselves of many years of SABC propaganda and white sectarian education, which have been largely instrumental in the proliferation of the white supremacist ideology."



BEAUTIES ... these are some of the lovelies who will be taking part in the World of Curles 1986 Miss Black South Africa at the Thunderdome Theatre in Johannesburg on Friday evening. They are (from left), Irene Motefe, Lettie Tsotetsi, Ponto Mmetseng, Phumzile Dlamini, Nomaxabiso Mazana, Lindi Jantjies, Bibiana Madala, Lindwe Mathonsi, Mahadi Mokoena and Brunnehlida Zinde.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

UK offer for Winnie

GLASGOW — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been asked to stand for the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University.

She has still formally to accept the offer, made by a group of university Labour supporters.

If she is successful in the poll next March, it is thought unlikely that she will be permitted to leave South Africa to be installed in the three-

14/12/86
SOWETAN
Foreign Service

year post, but her duties would pass to a deputy.

The invitation was announced at an anti-apartheid rally in Glasgow.

Mrs Janey Buchan, a Euro-MP for Glasgow, said there would be a strong campaign for Mrs Mandela's election when the present Lord

Rector, Michael Kelly, a former Lord Provost of Glasgow, steps down in March.

She said Mrs Mandela had shown great enthusiasm for the post.

The timing of the event has been planned to coincide with the 25th anniversary of Nelson Mandela's imprisonment.



Mrs WINNIE Mandela.

Five in court after 'necklace' killing of white

Mercury Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN—Five people, of whom four are brothers and sisters, yesterday appeared in the Supreme Court here in connection with the death of a 40-year-old Uitenhage man, Mr Lodewyk George Vlooh, believed to have been the first white man killed by the 'necklace' method.

Mr Vlooh was allegedly beaten with stones and robbed of his clothing and R6 in cash on June 14, before he was set alight.

The Deputy Attorney-General for the East Cape Division, Mr P J Strauss SC, appearing for the State, said medical evidence would be that Mr Vlooh had died from the 'effects of third degree burns' and 'trauma to the head'.

The Court would be told Mr Vlooh had left his home on June 14 with R10 in his pocket. He later laid a R4 bet at the local off-course tote.

He failed to return and was reported missing by his wife on Monday, June 16. His body was found after a police search two days later in Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage.

The accused are Henry Swarts, 36, his common-law wife Pamela Lewis, 28, Marie Lewis, 19, Bernard Lewis, 18, and David Lewis, 21.

Mr Swarts and both women are charged with murder and robbery. The two brothers have been charged as accessories to the murder while Mr David Lewis is charged with robbery.

Mr Swarts, Mr Bernard Lewis and Mr David Lewis are also charged with the 'violation of a dead body' in that they allegedly set the body alight.

Testified

The accused have all pleaded not guilty to the charges against them.

Yesterday Lt Sarel Esterhuizen of the South African Police in Port Elizabeth testified he had arrived on the scene where the body was found.

The body was lying face downwards, he said, and was almost totally charred. The area immediately surrounding the body was also burned, he added. There were also wire rings, such as those found inside a rubber tyre, around the body, Lt Esterhuizen said.

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(11A)
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W/L Argus 27/9/86 (54)

Troops and police quit Fort Hare

Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskeian troops and police are leaving the campus of the troubled Fort Hare University in Alice after intervening with a huge show of force to end a lengthy class boycott 10 days ago.

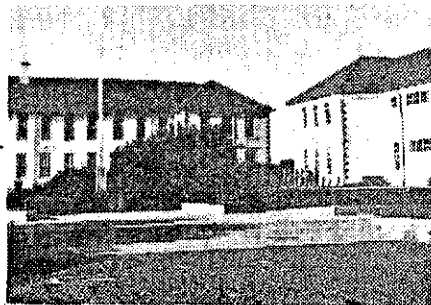
However, a number of students are also leaving the campus, having given up hope of salvaging the academic year.

University public relations officer Dr Norman Holliday confirmed that some students had left because they had missed too many lectures. He could not give figures.

He estimated that more than half of the academic year had been lost through boycotts and said that although examinations had been postponed for three weeks until November 3, he could not predict how many students would be able to salvage the year.

Neither would he comment on the security force action, saying it was "not a university matter".

He said inquiries should be directed to the police, but Colonel Avery Ngaki said he was not in a position to comment.



Fort Hare University

The university council confirmed the suspension of the Students' Representative Council —

a few months after it started functioning as the first SRC since 1959.

The conflict began in August over a history exam which students demanded should be rescheduled. Some had missed it because of the funeral of an alleged armed member of the African National Congress who had been killed in a gunfight.

When university authorities refused, students voted to boycott classes and the boycott began on August 18.

The SRC was suspended and the 23 committee members were warned that disciplinary action could be taken. They have since all left the university with little hope of being readmitted.

On September 18 troops moved on to the campus. Students claimed that about 300 troops positioned themselves around the campus, herded men students into the great hall and women into the arts block.

A student, who asked not to be named, said: "A

ANC call to back up UDF

14/10/86
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) has called on all "anti-apartheid forces" to strengthen the UDF and has condemned the Government's decision to declare the UDF an affected organisation.

In a statement released in Lusaka, the ANC said the measure confirmed the failure of the Government to suppress the South African democratic movement.

"The attempt to cut off international support for the UDF will not dampen the resolve of our people to free themselves. We are certain the international community will continue to support our struggling people in every way," the statement said.

The ANC called on all anti-apartheid forces in South Africa to provide the UDF with the resources it needed to continue playing the "outstanding role that has driven fear into the hearts of the oppressors".

SA pupils jailed after 'riot'

MBABANE. — Seven South African high school pupils from Newcastle are being held by the Swazi police after they caused a riot in a bar in Mbabane at the weekend.

The incident occurred when a group of pupils, in the country on tour, were reported to be drinking heavily in the bar.

Eye-witnesses said they became rowdy and started shouting: "We are comrades. All you people who are comrades must come and join us in

drinking."

When the local patrons did not respond, the pupils became violent, overturning tables, stoning the bar and attacking the customers with stones and knives.

Terrified Swazi drinkers hid under tables and several escaped through the windows, pursued by the pupils.

Police were called to the scene and arrested seven pupils, who are to be charged with causing malicious damage to property. — Sapa

Cant think 14/10/86

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Azapo's president quits

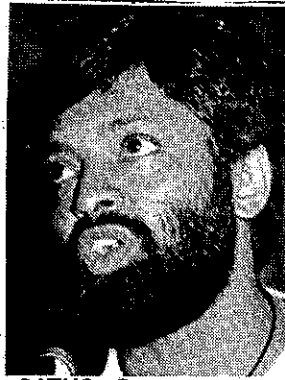
JOHANNESBURG — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday announced the resignation of its president, Mr Saths Cooper — and his departure next week to study in the United States.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said Mr Cooper had resigned after obtaining a passport — enabling him to take up a scholarship to read for a doctorate in clinical community psychology at a Boston university.

Mr Cooper, 36, president of Azapo since December 1985 — and an ex-Robben Island prisoner, had "struggled for a long time — since he was 18 to get a passport".

Although Mr Cooper would remain a member of Azapo, he would no longer perform any duties as president, a press statement said.

Azapo's deputy president, Mr Nkosi Molala, would become acting president until new elections were held in December. — Sapa



SATHS Cooper . . .
doctorate.

Azapo chief will study in US

SA
12/10/86

MR SATHS Cooper, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, will leave for the United States next week to study for a doctorate in clinical psychology at an American university.

Mr Cooper, who has been relieved of his presidential powers, duties and functions and as board member of the Steve Biko Foundation Trust with effect from last Friday, will be away for three years.

Mr Patrick Molala, Azapo's deputy president, has taken over as acting president until a new president is elected at the organisation's annual congress to be held in the Eastern Cape on December 14.

In a statement issued by the national publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, the organisation said Mr Cooper would not represent Azapo or any of its affiliates in any capacity, internally or externally during his absence from the country.

The statement said, however, that Azapo's position towards the United States Adminis-

SOWETAN Reporter

tration remained the same because of, among other things, its imperialistic and capitalistic tendencies, its support for forces such as Unita and Contras and the conviction of five members of Azapo by the "racist South African Government" for the demonstration against the invasion of Libya by the United States.

"Consequently, we reject and condemn negotiations for whatever reason with whoever is in office at the USA Administration. We maintain that the authentic aspirations of the black people can only be represented by leaders inside the country. Those outside the country can only get their mandate from inside," the statement said.

SA denies Biko film sabotage

DOMINIQUE GILBERT
and Sapa

BUDGET 15/10/86

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television interview on Sunday night but failed to elaborate.

ZIMBABWE'S Information Minister Nathan Shamuyarira has charged that the SA government tried to sabotage the shooting of Sir Richard Attenborough's new film on the life of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

The R40m budget film "Biko: Asking for Trouble", which is being financed, in part, by Zimbabwe's Information Ministry, depicts Biko's death in detention and his friendship with former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods.

A spokesman for Foreign Affairs yesterday dismissed the allegation as "nonsense" and said: "I don't know whether anyone else has attempted to sabotage the film or not but it is technically not possible for us to do so."

Shamuyarira said the SA government had been aware of the impact the film would have on world opinion.

"It is not the first anti-SA film and nor will it be the last. It will serve no point to sabotage it," he said.

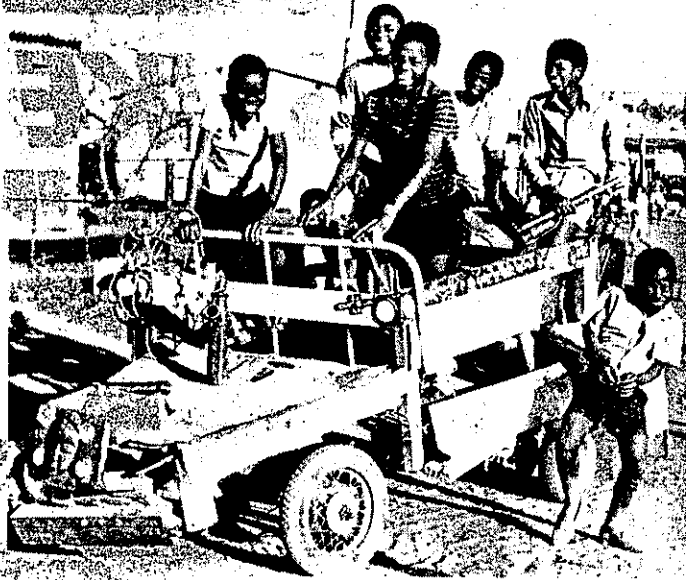
He denied allegations from some black activists that the film fails to focus on resistance to apartheid and pays too much attention to Woods' "white liberal" dilemma.

Shamuyarira made the allegation in a

The graphic contains the following elements:

- Numbers: 61451,25; 49612,045; 5,906%; 42761,0453; 81900,5125; 8421,095; 6124,39; 624; 089; 10752,13; 2460,12; 8001,08; 400; 91062,0; 24801,45.
- Percentage: 18%
- Text: "APPROX" with an arrow pointing to the number 624.
- Mathematical symbols: $\times 10$, $\sqrt{2}$, $a + b$.
- Other symbols: A line graph showing an upward trend, a small flag, and various geometric shapes.

T



WHAT will happen to these children?

YESTERDAY's Focus indicated that black policemen are experiencing stress that has led many murders and suicides among them. Today, a psychiatrist says that entire communities are being affected by stress as the unrest takes its toll on the health of blacks in the townships.

Disease of violence

Threatens all communities

THE unrest that has been sweeping the country since September 1984 is taking its toll on the health of blacks in the townships, according to a psychiatrist.

Dr Patrick Mokhuane, of the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa), says that the number of patients he is treating for stress-related diseases is on the increase.

He says that Vaal residents, for example, are one community that is living under great psychological stress.

Anxious

Residents in the six townships have not been paying rent since 1984, and according to Dr Mokhuane, they are anxious and uncertain about their future.

"Although the rent boycott in the Vaal is a result of community action, the psychological effects might be seen

FOCUS

BY THEMBA MOLEFE

when authorities take action against individual families," he says.

Rage

Some react violently to stress, letting out the rage that has built up inside them, while others accept their fate meekly, says Dr Mokhuane.

He points out that stress causes illnesses such as hypertension, ulcers and psychological conditions such as depression.

"However if people experience stress as a group, they become stronger and react as a unit," he says.

"There is little doubt

that too much stress at once, or even a little stress for too long, can impair physical and emotional well-being," says Dr Mokhuane.

A Johannesburg daily newspaper recently reported that some black children are so disturbed by the activities of the security forces that they are afraid to leave their homes.

The sight of uniforms or military or police vehicles make them flee in terror.

Sandbags

Psychologists say that some white children are so disturbed by recent bombings that they believe they will end up behind sandbags in their suburban homes.

Psychology lecturer, Mr Leslie Swartz, of the University of Cape Town, said that some township children were showing symptoms of post-traumatic stress, commonly found among victims of war and disasters, such as anxiety, phobias, regression to more child-like behaviour and serious sleeping problems.

Worsened

Such children are among hundreds treated by psychologists for problems which started or have worsened since the start of the state of emergency.

Psychologists said the psychological problems of black children have followed detentions, shootings, killings and security forces' activity in the townships.

Parents in the townships have expressed concern about the grow-

ing rift between themselves and their children, mostly those aged from 10 to late teens.

Freedom

A parent told the Sowetan her 15-year-old son believes freedom is around the corner and identifies with many political organisations.

"Education for my child seems to have taken a backseat as he talks about 'comrades going forward with the struggle' while disregarding my pleas for him to go to school," the mother said.

Black teachers are also experiencing strain. Some are worried about their jobs if children stay away from school and the authorities close the schools down.

Township residents are anxious about the future of the country.

In the Vaal, Soweto, and other townships, people ask: "What is going to happen to us, to our children?"



SHARPEVILLE . . . the place where the current unrest started in September 1984.

Stabbed woman tells of attempt to burn her alive

Staff Reporter

Arrest 16/10/86

A YOUNG woman, partly paralysed after more than 50 stab wounds, told the Supreme Court, Cape Town today how she escaped an attempt to burn her alive by attackers who accused her of being a police informer.

Mrs Aletta Matroos, 25, of Zolani, Ashton, was attacked on the night of April 8.

Mrs Phyllis Notutuzelo Fante, Mr Andile Tyemela and six youths, all of Zolani, have been charged with the attempted murder of Mrs Matroos.

The State alleges that they stabbed and kicked Mrs Matroos and then poured paraffin over her and set it alight.

"THREATENED WITH DEATH"

Mrs Matroos gave evidence for the State against Mrs Fante's husband in December last year. At the time she was threatened with death because she was an impimpi (informer).

Mrs Matroos has denied telling police about the incident involving Mrs Fante's husband:

On the night of the attack a crowd stormed into her home in New Houses, Zolani, where she was waiting for her husband to return from work. Her attackers stabbed her and kicked her repeatedly.

Paraffin was poured over her and set alight.

Although the right side of Mrs Matroos's body was left paralysed after the attack, she used her left foot to stamp out the flames.

Asked by Mr A M Omar, counsel for Mrs Fante and five of the youths: "Are you sure there really was a fire?", she repeated what she had said.

After help arrived, she was taken to hospital where she was found to have more than 50 stab wounds. One of the blows had injured her spinal cord, causing partial paralysis, and another had penetrated her right lung.

"SIDES OF MY NECK"

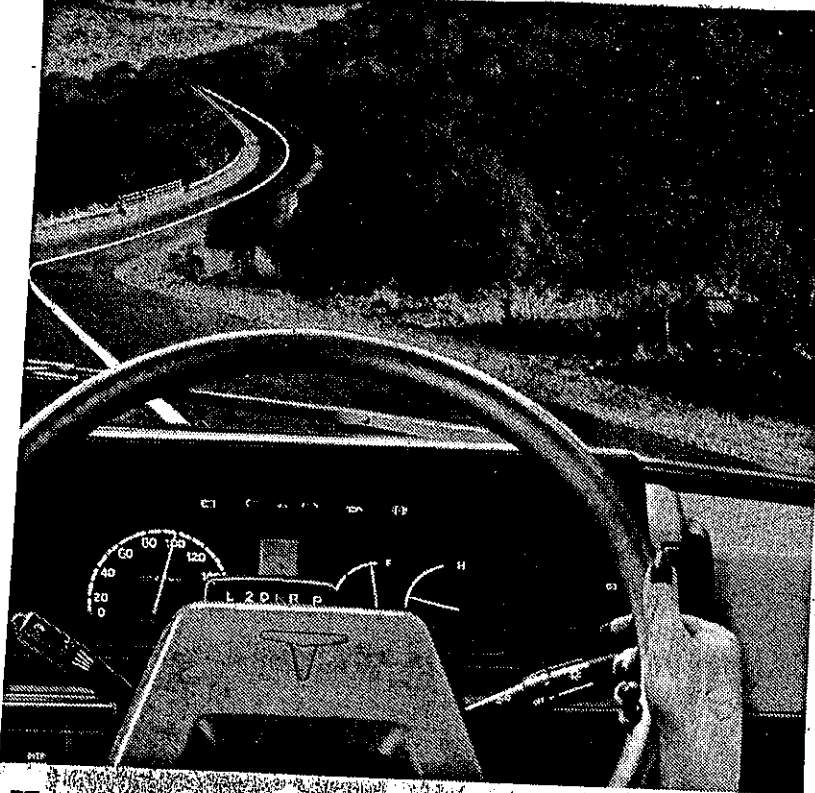
Mrs Matroos said she was conscious throughout the ordeal, up to the time she was admitted to hospital.

She said she had been stabbed "from the back of my head down, and on the sides of my neck".

Mr Omar, for Mrs Fante: Is it not a fact that you were being attacked from behind, so that you could not actually see who was doing the stabbing?

Mrs Matroos: I turned around so I could see.

(Proceeding).



Efforts to honour Mandela spark row

The Star's Foreign News Service

GALSGOW — Efforts to honour Nelson and Winnie Mandela in two separate parts of Scotland have triggered new rows following the naming of a street in Glasgow after the ANC leader.

The nomination of Mrs Mandela as rector of Glasgow University has brought strong protests from the university's Conservative Club.

Randburg tops in civil defence

Randburg's civil defence unit was awarded a top grading yesterday for its civic defence preparedness.

A Randburg Town Council statement said the certificate was awarded after a thorough evaluation of every aspect of civil defence and the ability to cope with an emergency.

The MEC for local government, Mr John Griffiths, handed the A-certificate to the Randburg civil defence unit at a ceremony at the Fernside Community Hall.

The Mayor of Randburg, Mr Frans Lourens, had actively encouraged residents to become involved in security actions, the statement said.

According to her supporters Mrs Mandela has shown much enthusiasm for the post, even though she will probably not be allowed to come to Glasgow for the investiture.

The seaside town of Ayr has been split by the Labour council's move to rename part of the seafront after Mandela. The town's provost, Mr Gibson Macdonald, had proposed that the area be named Saint Germain-en-Laye after Ayr's twin town in France.

Mr Macdonald told Labour's Mrs Alicia Grant: "If you want somewhere in the town to be named after Mr Mandela, you are free to make that proposal, but you have had months to find a suitable location and I am bitterly disappointed that you have chosen this place at this time."

When you're heading
for the hills,
it's good to know you've
got an Ace in hand.

Cash boost for ANC, Swapo

11A

GENEVA — Four organisations opposed to the South African Government received the bulk of funds distributed this year under a World Council of Churches (WCC) anti-racism programme.

The WCC announced yesterday that, as last year, the biggest share went to the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), which received \$110 000 out of a \$400 000 total.

The African National Congress (ANC) received \$80 000 to help refugees from the frontline states bordering South Africa.

The Swapo grant was for legal assistance to defend people arrested, jailed and allegedly held in "detention concentration camps" in SWA/Namibia, the WCC said.

The funds were also for Swapo information campaigns and to help dependents of jailed or killed SWA/Namibians.

Another \$36 000 went to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Congress of South African-Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Most of the rest went to North America, mainly to help Indians, and Western Europe.

Fifty organisations in 13 countries received grants this year.

Groups opposed to South Africa in recent years led the list of annual grants under the programme, set up in 1970.

The grants have sparked opposition since the start from conservative circles and some of the 300 WCC member churches.

The WCC general secretary, Mr Emilio Castro of Uruguay, said such "polemics" had stopped.

"We are very much encouraged by the growing conviction in public opinion that this evil cannot be tolerated any longer," he said, referring to apartheid. — Sapa-AP

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114 BUD DAY 16/10/80

ANC has 'no other choice'

LONDON — The SA government was offering the ANC no other choice than violence, Liberal Party leader David Steel said here yesterday.

He told the BBC after his return from a 10-day visit to Southern Africa that he had not urged the ANC to renounce violence unconditionally when he met its president Oliver Tambo in Lusaka on Tuesday.

He asked: "What is the point of renouncing the use of violence?"

"It must be for a specific purpose — and the purpose should be to go down the path of peaceful transition towards universal suffrage."

"The only reason the ANC was driven into exile and was using violence was because it was not allowed to operate as a normal political organisation and because the SA government has no plans to engage it in peaceful constitutional change."

Asked whether he was justifying the use of violence, Steel said: "I do not support violence. I am a democratic politician. But the ANC is not operating in a society where they

JOHN BATTERSBY

have an outlet for democratic politics.

"It believes that if the normal constitutional channels are blocked, it has no other option but to use violence."

Steel also said he had been encouraged by the significant shift of opinion among whites and, particularly, the business community.

But while the business community had taken steps forward by opening discussions with the ANC and promoting discussion within the country, the SA government had moved little.

Steel also said there could be no progress within SA until the government agreed to release Nelson Mandela and lift the ban on the ANC.

The ANC wanted to keep up the dialogue it had started with businessmen and academics. Steel said: "I hope that will continue even though there is no direct dialogue with politicians yet."

16/10/80 BUD DAY

SA faces 'unfair odds' in market

SANCTIONS and disinvestment no longer had anything to do with politics but had become tools in an international economic struggle, President's Council Chairman Dr Piet Koornhof said yesterday.

He told the Executive Association of SA the country was up against unfair odds in the international marketplace because it was being discriminated against by disinvestment and trade sanctions.

"It is noteworthy that the self-interest of countries proposing sanc-

tions is paramount. Is it not self-evident opportunism that both the European Community and the US, which have maintained steel quota arrangements with SA over many years, have now conveniently banned the importation of our steel outright, while their self-interest dictated no similar curbs on purchases of manganese, platinum and chrome?"

He said government fully realised SA was an integral part of the international trading world and remained a force as a trading nation. — Sapa.

16/10/80 BUD DAY

Eschel Rhodie withdraws accusation

Business Day Reporter

AN out-of-court settlement has been reached between *Business Day* editor Ken Owen and Dr Eschel Rhodie whose department's activities were exposed in the "Information Scandal".

Owen instituted a defamation suit against Rhodie in July 1984 for R30 000 because of statements made by Rhodie in his book "The Real Information Scandal".

In terms of the settlement, Rhodie withdrew any imputation that Owen — while reporting as Washington correspondent for *The Star* between 1967 and 1977 — had not bothered to check the accuracy of his information with his sources.

Rhodie also withdrew any imputation that Owen was recalled from the US because of his complaint to *The Star* or that he was recalled.

Rhodie also accepted that Owen's reporting on the department was not motivated by any personal malice as he claimed in his book.

While he had never and still did not dispute Owen's integrity and honesty in giving evidence before the Erasmus Commission, Rhodie contended the evidence — to the effect that 10 days before his murder, Dr Robert Smit had probed a government source about the Information Department — did not establish any real possibility of a link between Smit's death and the department. He denied that any such link exists. Each party is to pay its own costs.

Guerrilla groups get WCC grants

GENEVA — The World Council of Churches (WCC) has granted \$216 000 to guerrilla movements operating in SA and Namibia.

A \$80 000 grant has gone to the ANC while the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was allocated \$26 000.

Swapo has received \$110 000 from the Geneva-based council's Special Fund to Combat Racism.

The WCC said the ANC and PAC grants would be used to help refugees. The Swapo funds were for "publicity to mobilise the op-

pressed masses of the Namibian people" and to aid families of those who had been jailed and murdered.

A further \$10 000 went to the exiled SA Congress of Trade Unions to educate SA workers and union members.

An additional \$174 000 of annual allocations from the fund were shared among 46 anti-racist groups in Western Europe, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Taiwan and the US.

Grants from the fund are intended for humanitarian, social, health, educational and cultural use by national liberation movements and other organisations combating alien domination, the WCC says.

According to WCC guidelines, "the situation in southern Africa is recognised as a priority due to the overt and intensive nature of white racism and the increasing awareness on the part of the oppressed in their struggle for liberation". — Sapa-Reuter.

OFFICE FURNITURE IS OUR BUSINESS

Brutal gang attack

By CATHY SCHNELL

A MAN employed by the South African Transport Services was shot and tortured by a gang of 20 youths who also assaulted his daughter and burnt down his Kwazakele house last night.

Although the motive for the attack has not been established it could be linked with stepped-up violence by so-called comrades against State employees.

Yesterday police made two grisly finds in Motherwell.

The body of Constable Johnson Ngokwene, abducted by his attackers after being shot in the

neck last week, was found in a shallow grave.

Soon afterwards police found a charred bundle of human bones — believed all that is left of one of two trainee municipal policemen abducted after being lured into a shebeen.

The 49-year old SATS man attacked yesterday has not been identified.

He is in a serious condi-

tion in the Livingstone Hospital after his house was burnt and all its contents destroyed. The damage is estimated at R20 000.

The man's daughter was attacked but her condition is not known.

The group burst in through the front door of the man's home at 10.20pm last night.

They demanded he

hand over a firearm but he did not have one.

According to East Cape police liaison officer, Major Eddie Everson, the group then tortured him.

One gang member shot him in the right shoulder. The gang then broke both his arms and hit him over the head with a blunt weapon.

They then assaulted his young daughter and set fire to his house.

Police announced today

Man is shot, daughter assaulted and house burnt as youths strike

that two youths, aged 17 and 18, have been arrested in connection with the death of Const Ngokwene.

A member of the transport branch of the police, he was shot in the neck and abducted from his house in Kwazakele by a group of "comrades" on October 11.

Apart from the gunshot wound, allegedly inflicted when he was forced into his car and ordered to direct his attackers to a

certain address, his body was almost unmarked.

At the time police reported that after Const Ngokwene was shot his attackers fled. Several returned later on the pretext of taking him to hospital.

He was never seen alive again. His burnt-out car was found nearby.

A post-mortem was to be held today.

The bundle of bones detectives found is

thought to be one of two trainee municipal constables abducted from a New Brighton shebeen on October 11.

Three trainees were surrounded by a group of about 50 "comrades". One managed to escape, being stabbed several times in the body and running a gauntlet of stones as he burst through the ring of youths.

His two companions were not seen alive again.

'Kinikini boy's body doused with petrol for TV'

By DEBBIE BOOYSEN

THE body of the son of Uitenhage community councillor Mr Benjamin Kinikini was again doused with petrol when a TV crew arrived at the scene of the killings while the body was being set alight.

This emerged today from one of the four statements made by the five remaining accused in the Kinikini multiple murder trial being heard in the PE Supreme Court.

The six murder charges relate to the deaths of Mr Kinikini, 57, his 13-year-old son, Stanley, another son, Mr Silumko Kinikini, 20, his nephew, Mr Eric Kinikini, 25, Mr Qondile Kinikini, 18, and Mr Xolisile Pram, 20, at Kwanobuhle on March 23 last year.

Four others were acquitted yesterday.

They were Mr Lungile Bobi, 22, Mr Tobile Mahlaha, 19, Mr N Gqondo Vena, 26, and a 16-year-old youth.

The remaining accused are Mr Mnyanda Moses Jantjies, 21, Mr Zandisile Ndwanaya, 18, Mr Mlamli Mielies and a 17-year-old youth and one of 15.

The five accused are also charged with public violence for allegedly attacking Mr Kinikini's undertaking complex, damaging it extensively and setting it alight.

The statements were yesterday handed in as evidence after the defence withdrew its objection to the admissability of the statements.

They said:

● When Mr Kinikini was caught by comrades outside his house he apologised and offered his as-

sailants R5 000 if they let him go.

● "Whuwhu" said they didn't want his money and stabbed him in the heart with a long knife, before pulling it out and drawing it down his chest slitting him open.

● The following day people were seen playing with the top part of the corpse of one of the younger Kinikini children. The burnt body, which was bound by wire, had been discovered under a car and was being dragged around.

The case has been postponed to October 29.

Mr Justice Mullins is on the Bench. Mr B P Loots and Mr E A Logie sit as assessors. Mr Chris Nel acts for the State. Mr J Poswa with Mr H K Naidu, instructed by Thole Majodina and company, acted for the defence.

AKGNS

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EMERGENCY UPDATE

'Deep anger' after man's prison death

EAST LONDON. — The Border branch of the United Democratic Front has expressed "deep anger" at the death in prison on October 5 of a Queenstown branch member of the Detainees Support Committee, Mr Mbuyiselo Songelwa.

In a statement signed by the general secretary of the Border branch, the Rev A M Stofile, the UDF said the Prisons Service had alleged that Mr Songelwa died after an asthma attack, although the UDF had information from his cell-mates that he died following a heart attack on Friday, October 3.

He was only attended to on Saturday afternoon although numerous attempts to alert the authorities were made, according to the cell-mates.

The statement said Mr Songelwa was taken from his cell only on Saturday afternoon.

The liaison officer of the Prisons Service, Lieutenant-Colonel A van Vuuren, denied that no attention was given to Mr Songelwa. He said a "possible asthma attack" was only reported on Sunday, October 5.

Colonel van Vuuren today denied that Mr Songelwa or any of his cell-mates had reported that he suffered from any ailment on October 3. He said Mr Songelwa died on the morning of October 5 on the way to hospital after he reported the suspected asthma attack. — Sapa.

17/10/86 SMAR
Cooper: My
leaving
will do
Azapo good

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER
SATHS COOPER says his decision to study abroad and thus relinquish his presidency of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will give his organisation the chance to broaden its leadership.

"The basic tendency in the South African situation is to hang everything on a few personalities," he says. "That has serious problems, especially in an organisation like Azapo which is basically very democratic in its make-up and has the potential to develop into a very disciplined, socialist group."

Cooper, who will also resign as convener of the National Forum — an alliance of leftwing and black consciousness groups — has a long political history. Imprisoned on his activities in the now-banned South African Students' Organisation, he has been charged with advocating disinvestment and frequently banned and detained, most recently under the nationwide State of Emergency.

But Cooper, a psychologist who is doing pioneering research into the effects of apartheid and unrest on black youth, is keen to develop his academic and professional interests, which he sees as a continuation of his politics.

His decision to study for a doctorate in clinical psychology in the United States was only made public this week, but Cooper said Azapo knew of his intention in May. His resignation was confirmed at an Azapo council meeting which ended on Friday.

Patrick Molata, the organisation's vice-president, whom Cooper said had been "at the helm" since May, is acting as president until the annual congress in December.

Several reports have hinted that Cooper's decision was not broadly welcomed in Azapo circles.

"Nobody would like to be put in a position where reactionary elements can say: 'Your president has run away, things have got tough, he's hopping out, changing sides'," Cooper conceded.

"But the membership of the organisation and its leadership know and have empathised with the situation."

Asked how, as a socialist, he could study in the United States, Cooper replied that many activists had done the same.

"As if one can study in a socialist country and happily come back here," he added. "The important thing is you can be anti-imperialist, anti-West generally, but not against any people. When Gorbachev shook Reagan's hand in Reykjavik he never compromised any position. That type of situation needs to be understood."

"Probably within the insularity of South African politics, where mediocrity is the norm, we tend automatically to assume that because one is going to study in the US, one will embrace those (Western) things. People who express that criticism I think are themselves hiding their own inadequacy of what can happen to them if they find themselves in that situation, because they are probably the weak ones who will get swallowed up by that system."

Cooper said he was optimistic about Azapo's future. "It is on the brink of a very exciting period."

About the chances of reconciliation with the organisation's ideological rivals, such as the United Democratic Front, he said: "There is a tremendous opportunity for the different resistance tendencies to map out certain common areas where they can do things together or strive towards them separately, and in that process create a closer working relationship."

"Separately there's no future for this country. Mapping out a common approach is the only way out. But that doesn't mean that anyone has to give up an ideological position."

Steel: no choice for ANC



MR STEEL... no choice

Dispatch Bureau

LONDON — The South African Government was not offering the African National Congress (ANC) any other choice than violence, the Liberal Party leader, Mr David Steel, said in a BBC interview following his return from a 10-day visit to Southern Africa.

Mr Steel disclosed that he had not urged the ANC to renounce violence unconditionally when he met its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in Lusaka.

"What is the point of renouncing the use of violence? It must be for a specific purpose — and the purpose should be to go down the path of peaceful transition towards universal suffrage.

"The only reason the ANC was driven into exile and using violence was because it was not allowed to operate as a normal political organisation — and because the South African government has no plans to engage them in peaceful

constitutional change," Mr Steel said.

Asked whether he was justifying the use of violence, Mr Steel replied: "I do not support violence. I am a democratic politician. But the ANC is not operating in a society where they have an outlet for democratic politics.

"It is their view that if the normal constitutional channels are blocked — they have no other option but to use violence.

"It is not for us com-

ment on how they conduct their affairs," he said.

Mr Steel said he had been encouraged by the significant shift of opinion among whites and, particularly, the business community in South Africa.

He said the business community had taken forward steps by opening discussion with the ANC and promoting discussion within the country — but the South African Government had moved very little.

(11A)

DD 17/10/86

BISHOP TUTU HITS

BACK AT CRITICS

11A
Sawyer
17/10/86

A MICROCOSM of South Africa came over the airwaves on Wednesday night when Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu took the microphone in a lively no-holds-barred radio debate with the country.

He was told to "go to hell", he was referred to as a heretic, accused of living in the lap of luxury, told he was the cause of the country's woes and would bring widespread suffering to blacks, and he was also told that because of him, people were proud to be Anglicans.

The pace was set on the Southern Sound radio phone-in when Alex, an American, angrily demanded to know when "Mr Tutu" was going to apologise to President Reagan for telling the West to "go to hell".

Communists

Archbishop Tutu said he wasn't apologising to anybody.

Then Alex demanded to know what Tutu was



BISHOP Tutu.

doing with "known American communists" like Randolph Robinson of Trans Africa and Jesse Jackson who spoke to the Sandinistas.

Tutu replied Alex should go back to America to deal with Robinson himself, and that Reagan had recently spoken to Gorbachev — which didn't make him a communist.

Mark of East London was more blunt. "Don't tell other people to go to hell because that's where you're going Tu-

tu." He would have said more, but DJ Barry Lambert, who hosted the show, cut him off.

A black man who casually called the head of the Anglican Church "Desmond" accused him of not doing enough for blacks and he should assume a Mahatma Gandhi role.

Another caller accused him of sending his children to private schools and living in luxury. "I would never allow my children to have a Bantu education," Tutu agreed.

Hypocrisy

Morris accused him of taking away black jobs by advocating sanctions.

"Spare us your hypocrisy," Tutu replied. "When mechanisation took away black jobs, when black communities were being uprooted — what did you whites say then?"

Some Tutuisms.

On communism. "I am not concerned with communism. I am concerned with apartheid and the pain and suffering it brings."

On political solutions. "The only solutions that will work are those that aren't imposed on the people."

On apartheid. "Apartheid will only be dead when we blacks who are the victims say so."

On the Press: "The day *The Citizen*, the *Sunday Times* and Cliff Saunders stop maligning me, I'll get worried."

Grenades hurled at house

Pretoria Bureau

17/10/68
Two grenades were thrown at the house of a Soweto councillor last night, according to the Bureau for Information.

The grenades exploded outside the house without causing damage.

In an unrest report for the 24-hour period ending at 6 am today, a bureau spokesman said buses were attacked yesterday by groups of stonethrowers in Kagiso.

Six people, including a year-old baby, were injured last night when a petrol bomb was thrown at a home in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, he said.

The injured were Mr K Hopply, Ms Lala Jansen (33), Ms Daly Muisenheimer, Karlien Jansen (1), Nel Jansen (10) and Klemen Muisenheimer (2), who is reported to be in a "serious" condition.

MOZAMBIQUE-SA RELATIONS

The ruins of Nkomati

Government's decision to halt recruitment of Mozambican workers in retaliation for Maputo's real or imagined tolerance of continued African National Congress (ANC) and SA Communist Party (SACP) activity on its soil amounts to abrogation of the Nkomati Accord.

It also brings to an abrupt end the talks on renegotiating a labour agreement with Mozambique and, according to Natal University economist Alan Whiteside, contravenes the existing agreement which the Frelimo government inherited when Mozambique became independent in 1975.

Government's move came in the wake of the landmine blast near the Mozambique border last Monday, in which six South African soldiers were injured. The incident was followed with a warning of unmistakable belligerence from Defence Minister Magnus Malan that there would be reprisals. They came with unexpected swiftness.

In a joint communiqué issued last Wednesday, SA's ministers of Foreign Affairs, Manpower, Mineral and Energy Affairs and Home Affairs said a diplomatic note had been sent to Maputo announcing that no further labour recruitment from Mozambique would be permitted.

The ministers said this was a result of the activities of the ANC and SACP "who are responsible for the continuing deterioration of the security situation on the common border with the RSA, and who, according to information ... are still operating from Mozambique."

This development coincided with reports of an intensified Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) offensive which drew an admission from Maputo that four towns — Zumbo and Mutarare in Tete province, Caia in Sofala, and Milange in Zambezia province — had been taken by the MNR. It was the first time Mozambique had acknowledged that control of certain areas had been lost. This indicates that Machel's ragged regime is *in extremis*.

Some South African newspapers, which sometimes accurately reflect the way the SADF is thinking, intimate that the onslaught against Machel's government has become so effective that he may soon sue for peace — and be forced, his sword broken across his knee, to negotiate for a place in a coalition government of "conciliation."

This begs the question how Mozambique, fighting for its very life, can maintain its side of the Nkomati Accord and ensure that its territory, nearly as big as SA's, is not used to launch attacks against the Republic. Of course, that is not Pretoria's problem. Nor is there any evidence that Maputo has asked

Pretoria for forbearance, understanding, or even assistance to overcome its difficulties.

Leaders of the Frontline states — Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique — met in Maputo last weekend to discuss the crisis. At the conclusion of the summit the states accused SA of preparing for "war against the peoples of southern Africa" and that South African commando units had been infiltrated "to carry out acts of terrorism in Mozambique." The South African Defence Force responded to this saying it was "typical of what the defence force has come to expect from such conferences," adding that SA wants to live in peace with its neighbours but will not tolerate terrorist attacks from neighbouring states.

According to Manpower director general Piet van der Merwe, some 70 000 Mozambicans are legally employed in SA. In addition, there may be nearly double that number of illegal workers. By far the majority of the legals — about 51 700 — are employed in the mining industry, with most others working in the agricultural sector in the eastern Transvaal.

In terms of the labour embargo, these workers will be able to work out their contracts. On Monday, Van der Merwe had talks with eastern Transvaal farmers where it was decided that their Mozambican employees would be given the opportunity to apply for temporary work permits until November 30. The permits will be valid for a year.

The black National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has condemned the decision saying it is an "outrageous and unwarranted retaliatory action." Said a NUM spokesman: "This action is purely part of an attempt to defend apartheid in the wake of concerted international pressure against the regime, and is not a solution to the South African question and peace in the sub-continent." The union, which has previously threatened to strike if government were to repatriate foreign workers, is meeting later this week to discuss how it will react.

The Chamber of Mines said it "regretted" government's decision, but that it could "obviously not evaluate the security considerations on which the decision was based." The chamber said it "earnestly hopes negotiations between the South African and Mozambican governments will lead to an early return to normality. A long-standing relationship exists between the South African mining industry and the people of Mozambique and it is hoped that this relationship can soon be restored, to their mutual advan-

tage."

Errol Holmes, general manager of The Employment Bureau of Africa (Teba), the chamber's recruitment arm, said about 1 100 workers who were contracted before the announcement of the embargo would be taking up employment in the mining industry and that a further 1 000 workers whose contracts have been approved would still be coming in.

According to Whiteside, who is an expert on migrant labour, the existing labour agreement between SA and Mozambique provides for up to 60 000 Mozambicans to be employed in the mining industry. Once this level is reached, the numbers can be reduced by not more than 2 000 workers a year. Government's decision clearly breaks this agreement.

Says Whiteside: "It is hard to understand how SA can justify an action that is going to create further suffering and hardship in a neighbouring country at a time when that country was at least prepared to live with, if not like, SA." But a Manpower department spokesman made it plain that security considerations override all others in this case. He said: "It would seem to me that if you have a fire burning, you first put it out and then you worry about getting the eggs out of the kitchen."

The Mozambican news agency, AIM, has estimated that the decision to expel Mozambican mineworkers at the end of their contracts will lead to a loss of about \$50m a year in foreign exchange. This is about a third of Mozambique's foreign earnings. According to AIM, Mozambique's foreign exchange earnings totalled about \$180m last year. Of this, \$57,5m originated in SA, either as miners' remittances or as rail and port dues paid on South African traffic.

AIM reports say the Maputo government has already drawn up measures to find work for returning miners. The programme involves the rehabilitation of certain industries, an increased supply of agricultural tools, guaranteed supplies of basic goods for returning migrants, and the supply of the necessary raw materials to keep essential consumer goods industries functioning. External financing will be needed if the programme is to be implemented, reports AIM. But even with this, it is highly improbable Mozambique will be able to provide employment for returning migrants.

Prospects for a normalisation of the situation hinge on developments in the security sphere. "If the security matters can be cleared up and negotiations take place, that could alter the present situation," says Van der Merwe.

FIN MAIL

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17/10/86

The economy after apartheid



Matthew Cobbett, a senior researcher at the Development Bank of Southern Africa, attended the recent York University conference on "The southern African economy after apartheid," where he presented a paper on the Land Question in SA. This is a summary of the proceedings.

Will post-apartheid SA be Socialist, Capitalist or have a mixed economy? What role should the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) play in ensuring that workers' interests are not subsumed in post-apartheid SA? These were the two main themes debated and contested at York University's Centre for Southern African Studies held at the end of September.

About 120 "leftish" academics converged on York, the majority from SA. Despite persistent rumours that the African National Congress (ANC) would shun the conference in support of the academic boycott, it was present although its representatives were only observers. Striking omissions included the absence of government representatives from the majority-ruled southern African states; and there was no Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) representation, for clearly the SADCC itself will be greatly affected and transformed after liberation in SA. Equally worrying was the absence of representatives from the South African business community.

The conference focused almost exclusively on SA — almost all papers presented related to this country. Accumulated evidence from the conference suggests that no one knew, or was prepared to state how a post-apartheid society would be structured. While there was general consensus that the objective was a Socialist state, there were conflicting viewpoints as to how this would be achieved. (Those of us who doubted whether Socialism was on the agenda at all were a clear minority.)

The central role and importance of the trade union movement was acknowledged, although heated debates took place between the ANC and Cosatu-supportive academics over the critical issue of whether organised labour had complementary but distinct interests to those of the ANC, or whether they were inseparable.

Clearly, the ANC was concerned that any independent "workerist" position might reduce its control of the liberation struggle and its objective of securing a broad front against apartheid. I came away from the trade union debate with a strong impression that many strategic political questions remained unresolved and that the relationship between the ANC and Cosatu appears to be one of cohabitation.

The stronger organised labour becomes, the more difficult this cohabitation will be. Its uneasiness was clear as the important issue of economic sanctions was left undebated. Clearly, mandatory sanctions are unlikely to be in the economic interests of workers. To what extent are workers prepared to endure economic deprivation so as to secure political objectives? This question was raised, but not fully discussed.

A thought-provoking session on the limits to redistribution of wealth was tempered by the sombre fact that the economy would need to grow by at least 5% a year to finance redistributive growth. (The term reconstruction was favoured by those who emphasised the production component in welfarist economics.) Required growth rates would be extremely difficult to attain under any economic system — particularly one hostile to capitalism.

While some attributed the decline in SA's economic growth to the skills shortage, rapid population growth and the world economic slump, others emphasised the burdensome cost of apartheid and the high military expenditure. Some redistributive growth could be possible, they argued, by redirecting capital away from military and other capital intensive expenditures.

It was also argued that SA's stagnant economy was attributable to the relatively low demand for consumer goods and by our

continued dependence on the export of primary commodities. The latter characteristic distinguished SA from other newly industrialised countries such as South Korea and Brazil. Finally, many speakers identified the monopolisation of the South African economy as itself a factor retarding growth.

The conference debated at length the need for land redistribution in post-apartheid SA. The debate was prompted in part by a paper which suggested that as the homeland population was already highly dependent on migrant and non-agricultural earnings, it could be regarded as functionally urbanised. As a consequence, the majority of homeland people are likely to give preference to strengthening their ties with metropolitan areas, rather than remaining on the land.

The issue of whether the white farming sector should be restructured on a more equitable — and efficient — basis to relieve black unemployment and satisfy political aspirations was less contentious, with clear support for this stance. The mechanics of redistribution were, however, not discussed.

As the conference drew to a close, it became clear that more questions were being raised than were being answered. Given that a "liberated" SA remains years away, the question to be posed is: what actions should be taken in the interim to facilitate the demise of apartheid? In particular, what new institutions will be required and how can the existing ones be restructured? A great deal of research into these and other questions is called for.

Politics should be concerned with the art of the possible and in this regard there was a clear message from the ANC that a mixed economy will prevail in post-apartheid SA in the short term at least. While there will be a continuing struggle for Socialism, it is debatable whether this will materialise, given SA's dependent status within the world Capitalist economy.

At the end, I shared the feeling articulated by other commentators: that the interests of Capitalism and the present mixed economy can be best served by striking a deal with the ANC today. The option may not exist tomorrow.

FIN NML 17/10/86 (11A) (30)

STATE OF EMERGENCY

UDF goes to court

As the State of Emergency moves into its fourth month, the Bureau for Information reported one of the lowest number of deaths in any one week. According to bureau reports, three people died in political violence for the week ending 6 am on Tuesday 14. This brings the official death toll since the June 12 emergency was declared to 305.

While the drop in deaths can only be welcomed, there are a number of indications that life in the black townships remains far from normal. One is the decision to declare the United Democratic Front an affected organisation. The ban affects the organisation's right to obtain funds from abroad. According to reports, more than half of the UDF's budget, which runs into several million rands, comes from overseas. An application challenging the ban in court has been launched. At the time of going to press details of when the case would be heard were not available.

According to government sources, two key indicators of normality in the townships would be people paying rents again and the children back at school. On both counts the State of Emergency has failed dismally. The

The FM has been edited to comply with the emergency regulations. Information may therefore be distorted, incomplete and misleading.

rent boycott remains in place and has now spread to 54 townships. And the school boycott launched last week (see *Leaders*) continues.

School boycott

There are conflicting reports of how many schools are affected. But both the Department of Education and Training and sources in the townships indicate the boycott is being sustained at schools in at least Soweto, Vaal Triangle townships, the East Rand and the eastern Cape. A number of incidents at schools were reported by the bureau over the past week. These included five arson attempts on the Reef, as well as book burning.

The bureau also reported a number of attacks on members of the security forces. At Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, an off-duty policeman, Constable Johnson Ngokwene, was shot in the neck and abducted. In another incident in the eastern Cape, a police vehicle was stoned at the Kwazakhele township. One shot was fired by the security

forces and a black man was slightly injured and arrested.

In Soweto about 200 black people set fire to the house of a policeman. Extensive damage was caused although no one was seriously injured.

On Saturday afternoon about 1 000 black people at a music concert at Umlazi near Durban stoned the security forces slightly injuring one force member. In the aftermath music equipment and a private vehicle were damaged.

The day a South African envoy met Joe Slovo

WEEKLY MAIL

SA

11/11/86

**Oops! A tête-à-tête
with Public Enemy
Number One**

THIS blurred picture, right, is the only record of an extraordinary, unreported meeting between an envoy of the South African government in Maputo and Joe Slovo, the man Pretoria views as its most wanted criminal.

Slovo, chairman of the SA Communist Party, a member of the African National Congress national executive council and a leading figure in the ANC's military wing, met, shook hands and chatted briefly with Colin Patterson, the South Africa trade representative in Maputo.

The meeting was particularly surprising since State President PW Botha has sharply criticised his opponents who met with the ANC in Lusaka. He described them as "unpatriotic".

The Maputo meeting took place when Patterson attended a speech given by Slovo at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo to commemorate the death of his wife, Ruth First. First, who taught at the university, was killed by a parcel bomb in 1982 and there were allegations that South African agents were responsible.

After the speech, Patterson joined a queue of people, including other leading ANC figures, to talk to Slovo.

●To PAGE 3



Colin Patterson, left, a South African envoy, meets Joe Slovo, right, c

Slovo meeting

From PAGE 1

The meeting took place two years ago, in August 1984, but only became public this week when Aim, the semi-official news agency, released it in response to claims in the South African press that Slovo had sneaked back into Maputo in contravention of the Nkomati Accord.

In fact, Aim said yesterday, Slovo "has made occasional visits to Maputo and far from being secretive affairs, they are public". Aim cited the meeting with Patterson as evidence that the South Africans knew this.

Maputo? Not tha

By PAUL FAUVET in Maputo

in treating the SABC's Mozambique from disir. e broadcasts not as sources Two railway line Mozambique were sab but as comedy programmes, this week. A bridge wa ed is the South African this week. A bridge wa tage of Mozambique from Limpopo line, linking Zimbabwe on Monc

e is also concern in the city Wednesday a mine der eption of a Mozambique train travelling from Ma into chaos could be used to Africa.

at least in the eyes of white Despite incidents I frican opinion, a direct military situation in the ntervention, which might or less under control, depicted as "rescuing" centre of the country the

NOTE: REPORTS

ISSUE HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED IN TERMS OF THE E

OTHER PEOPLE

The rhino-hide Bishop thunders into politics

The joint-head of the conservative new black political party (symbol, a rhinoceros) is a bishop who first found fame when he swiped at Desmond Tutu on television.

SEFAKO NYAKA reports

IT'S not that many years ago that Isaac Mokoena, joint head of the new United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), accused Desmond Tutu of dragging the church into politics.

But last week, the 56-year-old prelate boldly announced that politics and the church cannot be divorced.

Many will remember the first major public appearance by Mokoena, when he spoke to SABC-TV on the night Archbishop Desmond Tutu won the Nobel Prize.

In a four minute interview on TV1 Bishop Mokoena said he was deeply disturbed that the Nobel Peace Prize had been awarded to Tutu because of his stand on disinvestment.

Mokoena praised United States President Ronald Reagan for opposing Bishop Tutu on American disinvestment in South Africa.

At the time, he also disclosed that he had been encouraging his congregants to sign petitions calling on the American business community to increase investment in South Africa.

It was not Mokoena's first public criticism of Tutu. His attacks started in 1980, a year after he was sacked as director of the Church Development Division of the SACC.

In 1979 the South African Theological College for Independent Churches (SATCIC) was closed. Mokoena was then chairman of the college board and was also acting principal of the college.

As life president of the Reformed Independent Churches Association (RICA), Mokoena claims he is the leader of 4.5 million congregants, a claim disputed by members of the Council of African Independent Churches to which his association was formerly affiliated.

According to informed church sources, RICA was established with the help of white reformed church leaders to counter an earlier group of independent churches which was



Isaac Mokoena ... wouldn't 'sell apartheid for communism'.

Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, REUTERS

established by Dr Beyers Naudé.

Mokoena says he holds a Licentiate in Theology from a college in the United States, a Bachelor of Divinity degree from a university in the US and a Doctorate of Divinity from the University of Korea.

He is one of the first black people to be granted an audience by President PW Botha — in 1980, when the then-chaplain of the Air Force, General-Major JA van Zyl, arranged a meeting between the two.

In 1981 Mokoena affiliated his organisation to the Christian League, which has been repeatedly linked to the now defunct Department of Information.

This week Mokoena denied that his UCCP is funded by money from the Bureau for Information.

"At the moment we are funding the party from our own pockets, but we will be going overseas to talk to some

of our conservative friends about funding the party."

The government could long have put an end to the "rioting" in the townships by bringing the authentic leaders of the country around the conference table, he said.

Asked who the authentic leaders are, Mokoena told a reporter: "You are a leader if you have a following."

Strange words from a man who claims the African National Congress is a "party of Xhosa-speaking people".

He said Joe Modise, Tom Sebina Gertrude Shope and other non-Xhosa speaking members of the ANC are "step-children".

Mokoena and the leader of the rightwing Christian League once travelled overseas to discredit Tutu and the SACC.

"Nobody is happy about everything in South Africa, but I would never sell apartheid for communism," he said. "I have seen what is happening in Mozambique and Ethiopia."

'Suspicious' so treason six go free

11/10/86
WEEKLY MAIL

A TREASON trial collapsed in the Scottburgh magistrate's court on the Durban south coast this week, after the magistrate ruled that the state's evidence was "suspicious".

The six accused were all acquitted. The state alleged they were on their way to Swaziland for military training under the auspices of the banned African National Congress (ANC) when they were arrested.

The accused's defence was a "blanket of silence". Throughout their trial the six men standing in the dock smiled and winked at one another while their supporters — outnumbered by heavily armed police — frequently broke into freedom songs and shouted power slogans.

The six men Dikuba Magongo, 20, Vuyani Shezi, 19, Sibusiso Msimango,

19, Ndumiso Magashi, 19, and two 17-year-old youths who may not be named, were arrested by a railways policeman at the South African/Swaziland border post at Golela in June.

The state prosecutor, Christo Meiring alleged that Magongo had instigated his co-accused and others, between June 1985 and June this year, to leave South Africa for military training. In so doing, the state alleged, Magongo had been trying to further the ANC's aim of overthrowing or endangering the state. Meiring said several of the accused had also recruited people for the ANC in Natal.

The state's case was severely weakened when Vusumizi Mtshali, who was going to give evidence,

refused to testify. He was sentenced to six months in jail.

In his judgement the magistrate, MP Tomlinson, said the state's evidence was not convincing enough. The accused's decision to remain silent and not explain their actions verbally or in writing was a risky business, he said, as silence often pointed to guilt.

However he decided to release the men because "a black cloud of suspicion" hung over the evidence given by a witness the state had relied upon.

On their acquittal, police reinforcements converged on the court. The magistrate requested the accused and their supporters not to make as much noise outside as they had done during the trial. — Concord News

Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU



G.B. Trudeau

THE United Democratic Front faces yet another crisis in its short but dynamic life of barely three years.

It has been cut off from foreign funds by the government's decision to declare it an "affected organisation".

The UDF is the first organisation to be branded "affected" since the mid-1970s, when first the National Union of South African Students and then the Christian Institute were given the status of an "affected organisation".

The Affected Organisations Act was put on the statute book during the final months of the Schiebusch Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations.

If, as some observers thought at the time, the Schiebusch inquiry evoked memories of the zealous "patriotism" and hysterical anti-communism of the McCarthy era in the United States, then the Affected Organisations Act was seen as a law designed to curb the political activities of organisations deemed to be "un-South African".

The law's main purpose is to deprive organisations of foreign cash if, in the opinion of the President, they engage in political activities in co-operation with or under the influence of foreign persons or organisations.

The UDF's dependence on foreign funds was admitted by its treasurer, Azhar Cachalia, at a news conference. More than 50 percent of the UDF's money came from abroad, most of it from the Nordic countries, he told dozens of journalists.

Cachalia charged that the UDF's dependence on foreign funds was caused by official harassment ranging from the banning of its meetings to the detention of its leaders and members.

He admitted the latest move would hurt the UDF but predicted the UDF

'Affected': An old weapon strikes the UDF

In the week that the UDF launches a national campaign against apartheid, the government digs up a regulation not used since the Seventies. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

would soldier on towards its aim of a non-racial state in a united South Africa.

Stigmatisation of the UDF, largest of the government's extra-institutional political foes, as "affected" is seen as an attempt to tip the balance in favour of "moderate" blacks — or, as a UDF pamphlet put it, "to create space for puppet and illegitimate leaders".

Last week's move against the UDF, however, was but the latest in a series of blows aimed at the movement.

Its office holders and members, and those of its more than 600 affiliated organisations, have been hardest hit by detentions under the four-month-old State of Emergency.

Cachalia estimated that between 70 and 80 percent of detainees are members of the UDF or its affiliates. His estimate is endorsed by the Detainees Parents' Support

Committee.

Scores of Emergency detainees, most of them UDF activists, have been released but immediately placed under restriction orders curbing their movements and barring them from political activity for the duration of the State of Emergency.

The Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, has hinted that a ban on the UDF *per se* cannot be excluded. But as a top UDF official noted, a ban might trigger underground convergence of the UDF with the African National Congress, a move which might compound rather than resolve the problems for the government.

Planned UDF meetings have been banned systematically. At one stage it was an offence to wear UDF T-shirts in certain areas.

The imposition of restraints on the UDF has coincided with favoured treatment for black movements deemed to be "moderate", of which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is the most notable.

It is hardly coincidental that the latest move against the UDF came in the wake of the start of another UDF initiative: the national united action campaign against apartheid, launched

a fortnight ago in conjunction with two UDF allies, the National Education Crisis Committee and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Again, perhaps not accidentally, these developments came in the same week as the launch of the thoroughly co-optable black-led United Christian Conciliation Party, headed by Bishop Isaac Mokoena, a staunch critic of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Tamasanqa Linda, a former mayor of the Port Elizabeth township of Ibhayi.

The government's strategy of trying to tilt the balance of power in the black community toward "moderates" is linked to its objective of forging a deal which will enable it to "share power without losing it".

So far, however, no black leaders of stature have come forward to negotiate.

But the government clearly believes that if it can hold the line strongly and long enough, black leaders, realising the futility of trying to overthrow white rule, will abandon the quest for one-man, one-vote in a unitary state and, consequently, be ready to negotiate a compromise deal.

Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Training and Development and one of the contenders to succeed President PW Botha, recently neatly encapsulated government thinking.

Warning against "over-heated, inflated and unrealistic expectations", he said: "The whites are not on the point of capitulating. (They) have the will and power to maintain internal security and law and order while proceeding with essential, acceptable reform through negotiation."

Mob set me alight, paralysed woman tells court

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A woman, partially paralysed after being stabbed more than 50 times, told the Supreme Court yesterday she had escaped an attempt to burn her alive by attackers who accused her of being a police informer.

Mrs Aletta Matroos (25), of Zolani, Ashton, was attacked on April 8 this year.

Mrs Phyllis Notutuzelo Fante, Mr Andile Tyemela and six youths, all of Zolani, have been charged with her attempted murder.

The State alleges they stabbed and kicked Mrs Matroos and then poured paraffin over her and set it alight.

The court heard Mrs Matroos gave evidence for the State against Mrs Fante's husband in December 1985. At the time she was threatened with death for being an "impimpi" (informer).

Mrs Matroos has denied informing police about an incident involving Mrs Fante's husband.

She testified that on the night of the attack a crowd stormed into her home. Her attackers stabbed her and kicked her repeatedly.

Paraffin was then poured over her and set alight.

Mrs Matroos said the right side of her body was left paralysed after the attack, but she used her left foot to stamp out the flames.

Mr A M Omar, counsel for Mrs Fante and five of the youths, asked: "Are you sure there really was a fire?"

Mrs Matroos said she had burnt her sock in her attempts to put out the fire.

"I still have it at home," she added.

The hearing continues.

UDF anger at prison death

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Border branch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) has expressed "deep anger" at the death in prison of a Queenstown branch member of the Detainees Support Committee, Mr Mbuyiselo Songelwa, on October 5.

In a statement signed by the general secretary of the Border branch, the Reverend A. M. Stofile, the UDF said the South African Prisons Services had alleged that Mr Songelwa had died after an asthma attack, although the UDF had information from Mr Songelwa's cellmates that Mr Songelwa had died of a heart attack suffered on Friday, October 3.

Although numerous attempts by his cell mates to alert the authorities were made, he was only attended to on Saturday afternoon, when he was taken from his cell, the UDF said in its statement.

The liaison officer of the South African Prisons Services, Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. van Vuuren, has denied that no attention was given to Mr Songelwa, who reported a possible asthma attack only on Sunday, October 5.

Colonel Van Vuuren yesterday denied that Mr Songelwa, or any of his cell mates, had reported that Mr Songelwa suffered any ailment on Friday, October 3.

He said Mr Songelwa had received regular medical attention for his ailment. He had also been admitted to

Frere Hospital for treatment after an asthma attack.

He said Mr Songelwa died on Sunday morning, October 5, on the way to hospital, after he had reported the suspected asthma attack.

Colonel Van Vuuren said it was customary with all cases of deaths in prison that a departmental inquiry was conducted. The department was prepared to co-operate to the full if an inquest was held, he added.

A lawyer representing the family said the findings of a family-appointed pathologist, Dr Leonard Anstey of Cape Town, were that Mr Songelwa died of a compound effect of four old lung diseases.

The UDF said Mr Songelwa was not the first to have died.

The statement said the government had forfeited its right to exist.

The UDF called for an end to the state of emergency — and the release of the nine other people from Queenstown — who had been held with Mr Songelwa while awaiting trial.

"To the authorities we want to say: The struggle will continue. With time, the people and commitment on our side, we cannot but be victorious," the UDF said.

Mr Songelwa was arrested in December last year with nine other Queenstown people. No charges had been laid against them and bail had been refused for the group.

Mr Songelwa will be buried tomorrow in Queenstown.

Let UDF cash flow again, pleads Europe

W/E ARGUS
18/10/86
11A

From MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. — The 12 nations of the European Community have deplored Pretoria's decision to declare the United Democratic Front an affected organisation, freezing the Front's funds from overseas, and has urged the Government to reverse the decision.

The EC statement comes as its Africa working group, meeting here, sought options for future international action on Southern African issues.

"This retrograde step against a leading non-violent group is contrary to the goal of genuine national dialogue for which the Twelve have consistently called.

"The Twelve reiterate that it is essential that freely chosen representatives of the black population should be in a position to take part in peaceful activity if a negotiated solution is to be achieved in South Africa.

"The Twelve urge the South African Government to withdraw without delay their decision to declare the UDF an affected organisation."

"Serious concern"

The EC has also expressed "serious concern" at Pretoria's intention to "deliberately stop the employment of Mozambican workers in South Africa and at reports that South Africa might be contemplating military action against Mozambique."

The statement strongly urges the South African Government to "show full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of their neighbours and to do nothing to worsen relations with those neighbours or add to suffering in Southern Africa".

"They draw attention to the existence of machinery for consultations between South Africa and Mozambique under the Nkomati Accord which provides a means for resolving differences between them."

It is clear that one of the EC's chief concerns is the agenda for the next meeting of foreign ministers, early next month. Events in Southern Africa may force the community to concede that the measures agreed in Brussels only a month ago were not effective enough to persuade Pretoria to change.

UDF plans to challenge

Govt in court

Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front is planning court action next week to challenge the Government's declaration of it as an affected organisation.

Mr Azhar Cachalia, UDF national treasurer, said lawyers were finalising arguments for a Supreme Court case.

Last week the Government declared the UDF an affected organisation — prohibiting it from using overseas funds.

Mr Cachalia said this caused severe disruption to UDF financial activities as its bank account, containing local and foreign contributions, was effectively frozen.

Earlier, the UDF said about R100 000 was affected.

Mr Cachalia said he had sent a telex to the State President asking why the Government had given the UDF no advance warning.

Opinions differ on whether the declaration also prevents the UDF's 700 affiliates using foreign money.

Another ex-Robben Island man leads Azapo

By Michael Tissing



New Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala ... served a seven-year jail term on Robben Island for sabotage.

Another former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Nkosi Molala, took over the presidency of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) this week when the elected president, Mr Saths Cooper, stepped down to further his studies abroad.

Mr Molala who was elected deputy president last year, took over as acting president until December when the organisation is due to elect its new national executive at its annual congress.

Mr Molala was convicted for sabotage in November 1976 and jailed for seven years on Robben Island.

His predecessor, Mr Cooper, spent six years on the island after being convicted in 1976 for subversion and advocating disinvestment while publicity secretary of the Black People's Convention.

Mr Molala featured prominently in the black Press last month after he lost an eye when he was shot with a teargas canister at the mass funeral of people who were killed during the anti-rent protests in White City, Soweto.

He said he was part of a group of people shovelling sand into graves at Avalon Cemetery when the police opened fire.

At the time, police said they used teargas to

disperse several crowds gathering illegally. The Bureau for Information added that if Mr Molala had a complaint against the police he should lay a charge.

Mr Molala referred the matter to an attorney saying he accepted the tragedy as "part of the price I have to pay for liberation".

Molala was one of five former Robben Islanders elected to Azapo's 10-man national executive in December last year.

Before he became involved in the Black Consciousness movement in the mid-1970s, Mr Molala was one of the top soccer players in the National Professional Soccer League's first division. Nicknamed "Let Them Dance", he was manager, trainer and captain of Pretoria Callies.

He became involved in the unrest which racked the country during 1976 and was detained at the height of his soccer career.

In jail he exchanged ideas with hundreds of political prisoners and chose to follow the ideology of socialism.

When he was released in 1983, some of the top soccer clubs tried to lure him back to soccer, but he turned them down. He joined the socialist-oriented Azapo and became a central figure in the organisation's work in the Pretoria area.

Cape Times 18/7/86

Police brooketh no ANC booklet

By ANDREW DONALDSON

AND IT came to pass that an Oudtshoorn Anglican minister was stopped at a roadblock outside Bongoletu township with a booklet concerning the banned African National Congress on his person.

And the booklet was duly confiscated.

But this perplexed and confused the Rev Archibald Wele Masongo, for the booklet was Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel's "Talking with the ANC...". Speaking to the Cape Times this week, Mr Masongo said the incident occurred in late July or August.

"I had driven into town to get my mail and I found it in my postal box. I don't know why it was addressed to me. I certainly didn't order it.

"At the roadblock, my car was searched and when they found the booklet there was quite an argument. 'Where was it from?', 'Why did I have it?' and so on. I told them to take their telephone and ask Mr Nel why I had it."

Mr Masongo said he was also questioned about a diary sent to him by the Southern Cross Fund — the SADF welfare organization — which contained photographs of President P W Botha and other cabinet ministers.

"This I could not understand at all," he said.

The booklet — published by the Department of Information — was confiscated before Mr Masongo was allowed to continue on his way.

But a week later Mr Masongo was stopped at the same roadblock and the booklet was returned to him.

Approached for comment, a Bureau for Information spokesman said the bureau did not comment on security force movements or actions.

"Any individual is, of course, free to file charges should he be of the impression that he had been harassed by security forces."

CARE Times 18/10/80 (114) (107)

Cracks after Indaba advert

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Cracks have developed in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba after the announcement of a R109 000 newspaper advertisement campaign to keep alive public interest in the talks.

Disagreements among the delegates about how best to protect minority group rights in a united, non-racial, democratic Natal and KwaZulu have followed the announcement.

Yesterday the representative of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) at the Indaba, Dr P J Steenkamp, said the advertisement gave the mistaken impression that all Indaba delegates agreed completely with the Bill of Rights.

At a meeting, which he described as heated, Dr Steenkamp presented the Indaba with a statement dissociating the FAK from parts of the Bill.

He said five other groups, which he declined to name, agreed with the

FAK's views.

Dr Steenkamp said he had made the statement to clarify the FAK's position on the Bill. This would not have been necessary if the running of the advertisement had been postponed until after the Indaba, he said.

"The Indaba is being marketed like a can of beans, and this is a mistake."

Dr Steenkamp said one of the articles in the Bill could lead to forced school integration. "The FAK ... holds the view that the said article could impair the self-determination of population groups in this regard."

He said another article scrapped the Group Areas Act. This was "a ham-handed approach to a delicate issue".

He said the FAK was not considering leaving the Indaba.

The Indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, said he wanted to read the FAK statement before deciding whether to comment on it.

Sash ^{Care Marks} 'no' to ^{1/19/86} witdoek ^{11/17} offer ^{11/17}

By ANDREW DONALDSON

THE Black Sash has turned down an offer to attend a meeting this afternoon called by the "witdoek" leader of Khayelitsha's Site C, Mr Mali Hoza, to settle differences and discuss allegations concerning his vigilante followers.

Various organizations who have in recent months been actively involved in the problems of the Crossroads and Khayelitsha communities — including the Western Province Council of Churches, the Red Cross, Shawco and various civic associations — were invited.

The meeting — the first of its kind called by a vigilante leader — has been welcomed by various organizations and was expected to be well-attended, an organizer said yesterday.

However, in a letter to Mr Hoza, the regional chairwoman of the Black Sash, Mrs Jenny de Tolly, said: "A meeting called by one group in an area which is seen by conflicting groups as enemy territory does not seem to us to offer an opportunity for open discussion."

People who had made allegations against the witdoek leader or his cadres would not feel able to attend the meeting to voice their concerns or pose their questions in person. This could not be done at "second-hand".

Mrs De Tolly said, however, that Mr Hoza's call for the meeting was appreciated. "We do not wish to exclude the possibility of meeting with you and with other people concerned."

Give ANC a chance - Steel

19/10/85 CITY PRESS (11A) (11B)

THE African National Congress would not renounce violence until the SA government had given some indication of an agenda for negotiation, British Liberal Party leader David Steel said this week.

Addressing a Press conference near Johannesburg after "long and valuable" talks with the ANC leadership in Lusaka, Steel said it was not enough to ask the ANC to renounce violence.

The organisation had taken to violence because it believed it had no other option, and the SA government should give it an op-

portunity to renounce violence by listing some sort of agenda for talks, he said.

Steel said he had during his visit to Southern Africa discussed with ANC leader Oliver Tambo and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha the SA government's proposal to talk to the ANC if it renounced violence.

"I said to him (Botha) 'renounce violence for what: They (the government) haven't got any proposals'," he said.

Steel said his talks with Tambo and another senior ANC member, Thabo Mbeki, had been "extreme-

ly informative and quite moving".

The talks had lasted longer than expected because Tambo had wanted to "get up to date" on the impression Steel had gained during his visit to SA.

They discussed the arguments for and against sanctions as well as constitutional change in SA.

"There is a growing sector of the white population which realises the ANC are not ogres," Steel said.

Steel also said that the ANC had conceded in pre-

vious talks that it had lost control over the younger element of its supporters. He said the issue had not been raised during the talks.

The ANC was, he believed, genuinely seen as the main political representative of SA people, although not the only one.

His Liberal Party's alliance with the British Social Democratic Party had always had close links with the ANC and these would continue in the event of an alliance election victory in Britain, Steel said. - Sapa.



Liberal Party Leader David Steele visits Crossroads.

DRIVING SCHOOL
of DAVID PHAHLADIRA, BOX 3
House No. 267, Mahweleng 0626
POTGIETERSBURG - TEL: (0154252 Ext. 22)

CITY PRESS
19/11/85

Cooper resigns from Azapo to study

(11A)

AZANIAN People's Organisation president Saths Cooper resigned his position this week and intends leaving South Africa next week to study in the United States.

This was announced by Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza at a Press conference in Johannesburg.

Myeza said Cooper had resigned after obtaining a passport enabling him to take up a scholarship to read for a doctorate in clinical community psychology at a Boston university.



Cooper, 36 - a former Robben Island prisoner and Azapo president since December 1985 - had "struggled for a long time, since he was 18 years old to get a passport", Myeza said.

Although Cooper will remain a member of Azapo, he will no longer perform any duties as president and "shall not represent Azapo or any of its formations in any capacity internally or externally", a statement - released at the conference - said.

Azapo deputy president Nkosi Molala will become acting-president until new elections are held at the organisation's annual congress in December.

Cooper - who has been studying the psychological effects of unrest and violence on young people in SA at Wits University - said his PhD thesis at Boston would examine ways of setting up systematic and community-based psychology services for township residents.

He said he had regrets about resigning as president of Azapo but that it would have been "futile to hold a portfolio that is titular and meaningless".

Azapo was strongly critical of the US for what it called "capitalist and imperialist tendencies" and stressed that Azapo had long pursued an "isolation campaign".

"We reject and condemn negotiations for whatever reason with whoever is in office at the US administration.

"We maintain that the authentic aspirations of the black people can only be represented by leaders inside the country. Those outside the country can only get their mandate from inside."

Asked if this amounted to criticism of Cooper, Myeza said Azapo was not opposed to its members studying in the US as individuals "if the studies there will be able to promote the struggle more effectively".

Cooper spent eight years on Robben Island after he was convicted in the trial of SA Students' Organisation and Black People's Convention leaders in 1976. - Sapa.

City bid for mixed council probed

By PRAVEEN NAIDOO

THE creation of a nonracial city council for Maritzburg is being investigated by a committee elected this week.

The committee consists of three city councillors, including the mayor, and three members each from the Indian and Coloured Local Affairs committees.

The formation of the committee follows a row last month over the council's rejection of a motion by councillor Lionel Bennett calling for full voting rights for LAC members.

The committee is to determine how to make the council completely nonracial, and will report back to a meeting of the full council and members of the LACs within a month, said deputy Town Clerk Derrick Wicks.

Assurance

If the council agrees to becoming nonracial, the move will have to be approved by the Government before it can be implemented.

Mayor Mark Cornell says he has been assured by the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, that the provincial authorities will seriously consider proposals for a nonracial council.

One of the issues the new committee will discuss is changing the boundaries of the city's wards to allow all people over 18 to vote for councillors.

The nine members will also discuss a suggestion that representation of a ward on the council should depend on the ward's contribution to the city's income.

Committee member Rob Haswell plans to propose that wards be mixed to include an equal number of residents from each race group to prevent domination by any one group.

ANC began push six months after Accord

BY STEPHAN
TERBLANCHE

SOUTH African intelligence sources claim that a massive escalation in ANC personnel started in Mozambique a bare six months after the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

According to sources in Pretoria, there are now several hundred trained ANC men in Maputo, allegedly the main centre from where a spate of terrorist incidents in South Africa has been launched in recent months.

But ANC spokesmen in Lusaka this week denied that they had armed men in Mozambique, and repeated their claim that South Africa was creating an excuse for a massive intervention in the country to challenge the Machel government.

The biff and bat comes amid increasing reports of significant Renamo gains in the swaying bush war which has helped reduce the Mozambican economy to shambles.

According to the Pretoria sources, initial efforts by the Frelimo Government to abide by the Nkomati Accord and allow the ANC only to maintain its political office with between 10 and 12 staff members wavered under pressure from the Soviet Union, the frontline States and various organisations such as the OAU.

Mounted

Six months after the historic accord had been signed, and as the pressure against Maputo mounted, bringing relations between Mozambique and the Soviet Union to an all-time low, South African sources claim evidence emerged that the ANC presence in the city was again growing.

At the same time, the ANC chief military strategist and SA Communist Party chairman, Joe Slovo, again became a regular visitor to Ma-

puto, where he maintains an apartment.

According to the sources, the ANC has once again established a military command and control centre in Maputo, called a Regional Political Military Council (RPMC).

Other RPMCs exist clandestinely in Lesotho and Swaziland and openly in Botswana.

At present, say the sources, the Maputo RPMC controls several hundred trained men, who have in recent months carried out numerous missions, especially in the Eastern Transvaal and Natal.

The current chief ANC representative in Maputo is Jacob Zuma, who heads both the political and military functions.

Controls

The Maputo RPMC also controls the ANC's military operations in Swaziland and Lesotho, including the logistical supplies and communications with the ANC head office in Lusaka, Zambia.

Some of the Maputo RPMC officials, say South African sources, have been identified as members of the SA Communist Party, while there is close liaison between the ANC, SACP and the representative of the PLO and other terrorist organisations, who also maintain offices in Maputo.

Among the ANC facilities in Maputo listed by the sources are a number of transit or "safe" houses in various Maputo suburbs used for crash-course military training of ANC operatives recruited in South Africa.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka yesterday denied his organisation had armed personnel and insisted the ANC mission consisted of only six people. He also insisted the organisation does not use neighbouring countries to launch its raids.

WEATHER AND TIDES

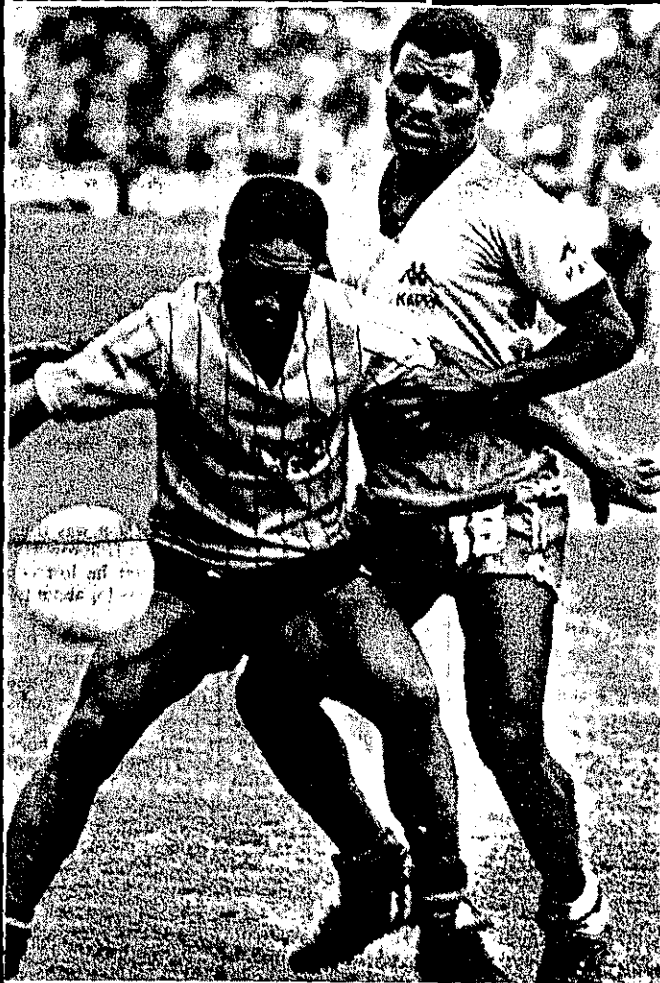
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FAMILY WARNED

WA
Soweto
20/10/86

MASABATA Loate hacked to death

Chiefs in control but 'Downs have last word



"ACE" Ntsoelengoe of Kaizer Chiefs shields the ball from Sundowns' "Malombo" Lechaba. But it was Lechaba's team which eventually won the match 3-2 after extra-time.

By ALI MPHAKI

THE family of slain political activist Miss Masabata Loate was attacked on Saturday afternoon and warned not to bury the former beauty queen in Soweto.

Masabata's mother, Mrs Maria Loate, and relatives who had come to comfort the family had to flee for their lives when the rampaging mob invaded the house and broke windows. No-one was injured in the attack.

Miss Loate, one of Soweto's most famous student leaders in the 1976 schools unrest and one of the few women to be imprisoned for treason, was hacked to death by a mob near her home in Orlando West on Friday night.

Her family says she put up a brave fight against the 21 male assailants, and it took a long time for them to overcome her and eventually kill her.

Wounds

Miss Loate's body had several broken limbs and multiple stab wounds.

She was a member of the Soweto Youth Congress.

"I do not know why my daughter was killed in such a terrible way. What has my daughter done to die this way... she was my only hope. But I have no grudge against her assailants. God should bless their hands," her grieving mother said.

"I am numb. I cannot eat or drink anything. My tears have run dry. I leave everything to God," Mrs Loate added.

Masabata was released from prison in October last year after serving a five-year jail term for offences related to State security. She would have celebrated

To Page 2

From Page 1

her 29th birthday yesterday.

Her mother said: "Word is going round that we should not bury her in the township and that people should not attend her funeral. What are we supposed to do?"

Miss Loate and another student leader, Khotso Seatlholo, were arrested when the latter secretly entered South Africa in 1981. He went into exile in 1977.

Both were charged with treason in a trial held in Vanderbijlpark. Miss Masabata was jailed for five years and Seatlholo for 10 years. He is still serving his sentence on Robben Island.

A spokesman for the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) condemned Masabata's death.

"We have always condemned this kind of action and we appeal to our people to refrain from such unwanted acts because they are counter-revolutionary.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, one of the vice-presidents of the United Democratic Front, said she was shocked by the killing.

"We as leaders are not impressed with this kind of thing. It is sadism. This is the kind of thing we say must come to a stop," Mrs Sisulu said.

She added that the incident smacked of thuggism.

Funeral arrangements have not been finalised yet.

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Majority of black people don't support the ANC, claims PW

BONN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, says the African National Congress does not enjoy the support of the majority of the black population.

He told the newspaper Die Welt in an interview published today that he would not recognise the ANC "as long as it is pro-communist and avows the use of force".

Mr Botha said he had invited all peaceful elements in the ANC to talks but none had shown up.

This had forced him to conclude that the organisation was communist-controlled.

He said the ANC had its headquarters in London.

"It knows it is not supported by the majority in South Africa... South Africa is not in a state of insurrection, just as little as is Europe."

Citing examples, he said problems existed with only 200 of the 12 000 black schools, but the media used these to blow up the problem and

suggest all schoolchildren were refusing to attend school.

"But 11 800 schools are peaceful," he said.

"I personally believe sanctions will harm South Africa to a certain extent. They will destroy jobs in some sectors if they are actually implemented. In other sectors, however, they will strengthen our economy."

SA had been a staunch member of the Western alliance but in view of

the threat of sanctions, he was not sure this would continue.

The Republic must weigh its own interests, he said.

There was nothing wrong in the principle of one man, one vote, but how this should be realised depended on a country's social structure.

"Majority rule cannot be applied in South Africa because we are a country with many different structures, he said." — Sapa-Reuter

(BOTA) (HIA)

20/10/86

Evil Lord

11A

Slain woman

'abhorred' necklacing

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Masabata Loate, a prominent Soweto Youth Congress activist and former beauty queen who was killed on Friday, lost her life because of her abhorrence of the necklace killings.

This was claimed by members of her family yesterday.

Masabata, who has been in and out of prison for security offences since 1976, died near her Orlando West home about 8.30 p.m. on Friday after her comrades allegedly came out of a street committee meeting to hunt her.

The family said the 21 people who were seen killing her and mutilating her body were her undisciplined comrades who disapproved of her critical stand against the necklace, the burning of houses and the stealing of vehicles in the name of the revolution.

'Masabata was an arch-opponent of such misbehaviours by her comrades and for that reason they took it upon themselves to kill her. We know who they are and we know that it was not in the interest of the struggle for freedom that she was killed,' said a family member who did not want her name disclosed.

The family member said Miss Loate had been on the 'hit list' for some time and that at one stage three youths armed with pistols stormed her home and demanded to see her. They later fired shots at one of the bedroom doors and left.

Miss Loate became a victim of one of the most cold-blooded murders known in the townships after she single-handedly fought her attackers for some minutes.

According to witnesses, she was attacked by 21 youths armed with an assortment of weapons at Makhetha Street in Orlando West.

'She fought her way through and ran to her grandmother's house where the youths caught up with her before the door could be opened. She again fought them and tried to run home, but her assailants caught up with her and stabbed and hacked her until she was dead. Her eyes were also gouged out,' said a witness.

(11A) DD 24/10/81

Beauty killed for anti-necklace stand

Dispatch Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — Miss Masabata Loate, a Soweto Youth Congress activist and former beauty queen who was murdered on Friday, lost her life because of her abhorrence of necklace killings.

This was said yesterday by members of her family.

Miss Loate, who has been in and out of prison cells for security offences since 1976, died near her Orlando West home at about 8.30 pm on Friday.

The family told reporters that the 21 killers who were seen murdering and mutilating her body were the

activist's undisciplined comrades who disapproved of her critical stand against the necklace, the burning of houses and the stealing of vehicles.

"She fought her way through and ran to her grandmother's house where the youths caught up with her before the door could be opened. She tried to run home but her assailants caught up with her, stabbed and hacked her until she was dead," an eyewitness said.

"Masabata was an arch-opponent of such misbehaviours by her comrades and for that reason they took it upon themselves to kill her," a relative said.

Cape Times
October 20 1986

Site C meeting not held

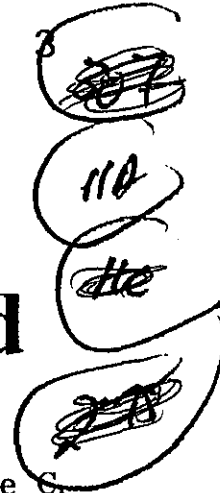
Staff Reporter

A MEETING at Site C, Khayelitsha, called by Mr Mali Hoza, leader of one of the site camps, was postponed yesterday after some of the groups pulled out because they said the venue was not on "neutral ground".

The meeting, to which all interested organizations were invited, was intended to address the problems of social conflict in Khayelitsha between conservative and other groups. Mr Hoza is the leader of the conservative group.

Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, Anglican suffragan bishop of Cape Town, who was to have chaired the meeting, said last night that no new date or venue had yet been agreed on. Negotiations were in progress.

He confirmed that the Black Sash, Shawco and the Quakers had pulled out of the meeting. Mr Hoza himself had not attended, he said, but he sent a message that he wanted it postponed.



CALF Trans 20/10/86
KIA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ms Masabata Loate, a prominent Soweto Youth Congress activist and former beauty queen who was brutally murdered on Friday, lost her life because of her abhorrence of the necklace killings.

This was claimed by members of her family yesterday.

Ms Loate, who had been in and out of prison cells for security offences since 1976, died near her Orlando West home about 8.30pm on Friday after her comrades allegedly came out of a street committee meeting to hunt her.

The family said that the 21 killers who were seen murdering and mutilating her body were the activist's undisci-

Anti-necklace ex-beauty queen murdered

plined comrades who disapproved of her critical stand against the necklace, the burning of houses and the stealing of vehicles in the name of the revolution.

Hit list

"Masabata was an arch-opponent of such misbehaviours by her comrades and for that reason they took it upon themselves to kill her. We know who they are and we know that it

was not in the interest of the struggle for freedom that she was killed," said a family member who did not want her name disclosed.

The family member said Ms Loate had been on the hit list for some time and that at one stage three youths armed with pistols stormed her home and demanded to see her.

They later fired shots at one of the bedroom doors and left.

Ms Loate, a former political prisoner and an active politician since 1976, became a victim of one of the most cold-blooded murders known in the townships after she fought her attackers for some minutes.

According to witnesses, she was attacked by the 21 youths armed with an assortment of weapons at Makhetha Street in Orlando West.

"She fought her way through and ran to her grandmother's house where the youths caught up with her before the door could be opened. She again fought them and tried to run home but her assailants caught up with her, stabbed and hacked her until she was dead. Her eyes were also gouged out," said a witness.

CAT 6 Trunk 20/10/86 (11A) ~~11A~~

Multi-million aid is Inkatha's plan

FRANKFURT. — A radical multi-billion-dollar aid plan for the West to induce the total elimination of apartheid and poverty in South Africa was put forward here yesterday by the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Dr Dhlomo, who is also KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, outlined the plan before a symposium here.

It involves a highly innovative procedure whereby Pretoria would, with explicit apartheid-eliminating provisos, be offered international aid enabling it to offset the cost of dismantling apartheid.

The initiative, which Dr Dhlomo called the South African Recovery Plan, would be based on the need to ensure an annual growth rate of at least 10 percent.

A stipulation would be that the massive Western aid should not be construed as a means of enabling Pretoria "to continue to waste money on ideologically inspired fantasies like homeland consolidation".

A team of representatives from

the Commonwealth, the European Community and the United States would be appointed to persuade South Africa to begin negotiations immediately for the establishment of a non-racial government on the basis of equitable power sharing. Dr Dhlomo emphasized that any suggestion of prescribing what form the evolving political system should take must be avoided by the West — this was a task for South Africans alone.

It was not possible at this stage to quantify the cost of launching the Western initiative. A useful benchmark would be the European Recovery Programme, funded by the Marshall Aid Plan, which cost about \$13 billion (about R28 billion) between 1948 and 1951.

Dr Dhlomo warned that Pretoria was unlikely to offer any major reforms while violence continued and that violence was likely to continue in the absence of such major reform.

The impending black unemployment and starvation caused

by sanctions could further increase violence.

An equally Catch-22 situation was that there would be no reform without economic growth but no economic growth without reform. Seen in this light, sanctions against South Africa appeared to be part of the problem and not part of the solution.

All Western approaches to the dismantling of apartheid and the promotion of peaceful change and negotiation in South Africa had been negative and punitive.

"Consequently," Dr Dhlomo said, "the South African minority rulers, who are the perpetrators of apartheid, have never been afforded an attractive and feasible inducement to work for the rapid dismantling of apartheid."

Its dismantling had been portrayed wittingly or unwittingly as heralding black majority rule, which whites perceived as the inevitable trampling over white minority rights, bringing a dreaded lowering of socio-economic standards and endemic all-round inefficiency. — Sapa

SA embassy denies ANC crash accusations

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The South African embassy here has categorically denied ANC allegations that Pretoria was somehow involved in the death of Mozambique's President Samora Machel, and repeated the pledge that an open inquiry would be held.

The reaction came late Monday night on BBC 2's Newsnight programme from South African charge d'affaires in London, Mr Leo Evans, who also denied that President Botha's expressed shock at the crash was only "crocodile

The rebel MNR, too, denies any knowledge of the cause of the crash. A Lisbon-based spokesman for the organisation said President Machel would be difficult to replace because he was popular with the people, held Frelimo together and maintained an equilibrium between East and West in the region.

In a tribute to President Machel yesterday, the British Foreign Office said he was not only the architect of his own

country's independence but also made a significant contribution to the Lancaster House Agreement on Rhodesia.

A spokesman said the Foreign Office extended its deep sympathy to the families of those who died and to the people of Mozambique. Appropriate messages of condolence would be sent.

The spokesman recalled that Mr Machel visited Britain in 1983 and 1985, and that Princess Anne had visited his coun-

try last year. Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe visited Mozambique in July this year during his European Community mission.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, who is in Britain, is cutting short his visit to return home, it is reported here.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr Mugabe was on a private visit and had not seen any members of the British Government.

While most other comments-

tors and governments remained cautious about the cause of the crash Monday night, the ANC refused to withdraw its allegations of conspiracy.

Until late it was issuing telexed messages about the "unresolved circumstances" of President Machel's death and referring to the remarks made a week ago by "the racist Defence Minister Magnus Malan", which "serve to strengthen our

suspicion that Pretoria bears full responsibility". Meanwhile, officials at the European Community in Brussels expressed concern about stability in Southern Africa following President Machel's death.

The Italian Prime Minister, Mr Bettino Craxi, said in Rome that the crash had robbed the world of an heroic freedom fighter and a great political leader, while in St Denis, Reunion, the French Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, expressed his condolences to the people of Mozambique.

The three that are seen as possible successors

By Joao Santa Rita, The Star's Africa News Service

As a Marxist-Leninist party, the ruling Frelimo in Mozambique will choose the successor to President Samora Machel from its 11-member Political Bureau.

And, within that body of hardcore veterans of the anti-colonial guerilla war, three men are seen by observers as possible successors.

They are Mr Marcelino dos Santos, the number two in the party hierarchy; Mr Joaquim Chissano, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Armando Guebuza, Minister in the President's Office and number four in the party hierarchy.

Mr dos Santos, a founder of Frelimo, had been losing power in the last few months as Mozambique shifted away from the disastrous Marxist economic policies for which, as Minister of Economic Planning, he had been responsible until his dismissal from the Cabinet.

However, he has retained some of his strength as his position within the Political Bureau did not change.

Mr dos Santos, married to a South African woman, Pamela dos Santos, is also the permanent secretary of the People's Assembly, a position just below the presidency in the state hierarchy.

NUMBER THREE

Significantly it was Mr dos Santos and not the Prime Minister, Mr Mario Machungo, who read a communique over Radio Mozambique stating that President Machel's plane was missing.

Mr Joaquim Chissano, number three in the Political Bureau, has been Minister of Foreign Affairs since independence.

Recently, when the constitution was changed to allow for the appointment of a Prime Minister, Mr Chissano was tipped as the person most likely to assume that position.

However, sources said he turned down the offer because the post does not carry any real power.

Mr Chissano is popular among Mozambicans and is known to have been close to President Machel.

A softly spoken, good-looking man, he has always been regarded as a moderate and pragmatic Minister within Frelimo but significantly he did not take part in any of the negotiations that led to the Nkomati Accord.

He was in charge of Frelimo's security during the war against the Portuguese and supported Mr Machel in the struggle that followed the assassination of Frelimo's first president, Dr Eduardo Mondlane, in Tanzania before Mozambique's independence.

He was also Prime Minister during the nine-month transitional government that led the country to independence.

General Guebuza was a rising militant within Frelimo's cadres when the country became independent in 1975.

As political commissar of the armed forces he controlled the appointments to the army.

HUNDREDS DIED

He was appointed Minister of the Interior in the first post-independence Cabinet — a post he lost after a disastrous campaign to send to "re-education camps" hundreds of prostitutes and "non-productive" people from the main cities shortly after independence.

Hundreds of people died in that campaign.

Known as a hardliner who detests liberalism, General Guebuza then became governor of the northern province of Cabo Delgado until he was recalled to once again become Minister of the Interior.

Within the Political Bureau the Minister of Defence, General Alberto Chipande and his deputy, General Sebastiao Mabote, will play an important role in the decision.

Some political observers say Mozambique might follow an Angolan-type solution to choose a successor to President Machel.

When President Agostinho Neto of Angola died his successor was Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, whom very few outsiders had heard about.

The Mozambican Prime Minister, Mr Mario Machungo, who was appointed to the Political Bureau as number 10 in the hierarchy only after independence, could be such a man, although observers point out that he has very little power.

Azapo ^{DP}
member ^{21/1/81}
slain ^(1/A)

EAST LONDON — A member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) was stabbed to death in Mdantsane.

Azapo's branch secretary, Mr Zingisa Twalo, said yesterday Mr Zandisile Zuzani, 24, of 8 745 NU 3, was returning home with a friend when they were accosted by a group who chased them.

Mr Zuzani's body was later found near his home. He had been stabbed in the chest.

Mr Zuzani worked as a technician at the Cambridge post office.

Ciskei Police are investigating. — DDR

SPAC 2/10/86

Alleged ANC man in court

Mr Stephen Johannes Marais (29), said to be an ANC supporter, appeared briefly in a Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday charged with terrorism.

The case was postponed to October 27. Mr Marais was not asked to plead and is in custody.

The State alleges that in February Mr Marais transported limpet mines which had been smuggled from Lesotho.

He is also accused of participating in the activities of the ANC between 1984 and March this year and of possessing banned literature.

The Attorney-General of the Transvaal authorised Mr Marais' trial for alleged contraventions of the Internal Security Act in a regional court.

Mr Marais allegedly underwent military training with the ANC and, in 1984 and 1985, was an ANC courier.

He allegedly furthered the aims of the ANC by providing maps, helping alleged ANC member Mr Johnson Thabo enter the country illegally, recruiting or attempting to recruit Ms Patricia Henderson and Miss Doris Sipos to the ANC, disseminating copies of a banned publication and inciting Mr Michael Landau Vermeulen to infiltrate the SADF and to distribute pamphlets.

SA women 1st, 2nd and 4th in top US race

By Mark Etheridge

Three of South Africa's leading women road runners stamped their authority on a top American field of more than 3 000 athletes in the Bonne Belle eight-miler (13 km) run in Cleveland, Ohio at the weekend.

The race was won by Nicole Landmann (South African Police, Northern Transvaal). Sonja Laxton (Wanderers, Tvl) was second and Colleen Lindeque (Savages, Natal) was fourth.

Landmann won in a time of 42 min 34 sec with Laxton recording 42:41 and Lindeque 43:11.

Third was America's former world marathon champion Joan Samuelson (formerly Benoit) in 42:48.

The Springbok trio travelled to America after qualifying in the two Bonne Bell races held in Cape Town and Johannesburg earlier this year.

A proud Albert Landmann, Nicole's father, said the first he knew that Nicole would be taking part was on Saturday evening.

"Nicole rang us late that night to say they had been allowed to run and then again after she had won.

"They competed as individuals to avoid any political problems but Nicole said the three had been welcomed with open arms.

"Apparently Samuelson has been absolutely fantastic to them and has really made them feel at home," he said.

'Swazi switch' in world boxing

Sun International is to consider staging world title fights in Swaziland after the South African Boxing Board of Control decision not to sanction the WBA junior lightweight contest involving champion Brian Mitchell on November 29.

Swaziland is a member of the Commonwealth, so world title fights there need British Board of Control sanction.

The promoters have the backing of SABBC executive director Mr Stan Christodoulou.

● See Page 22.

Killing 'meant to look like necklacing'

The burning of a man last February was meant to create the impression of a necklace murder, it was said in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

State advocate Mr C B Ferreira said during the trial of three men charged with murdering Mr David Overmile Mthutang on February 24 that the men planned to assault a black man.

Last week Mr Anton Werner Stoop (23) of Jaffe Street, Lui-paardsvlei, pleaded guilty to culpable homicide. Both Mr Willem Jansen (22) of Zelda Court, Park Street, Krugersdorp and Mr Francois Johannes Bester (22), of Haynes Street, Witpoortjie pleaded not guilty to murder. The State rejected Mr Stoop's plea.

Mr Mthutang was assaulted and later covered in branches which were set alight. Judgment is expected today.

Mr Ferreira said the three men were bad witnesses but the evidence of State witnesses should be accepted.

Among other things, the State submitted in argument that from the beginning of the assaults until the burning about an hour later there had been a degree of planning.

Mr Stoop had a selective memory of the events of the night of February 24, the effect of alcohol on both him and Mr Bester had been exaggerated and, Mr Ferreira submitted, he had a direct intention to kill Mr Mthutang.

Claims 'were fabrications'

Mr Ferreira submitted that Mr Jansen's evidence varied. "At one time he was shocked and in the next he helped in the assault."

From the start he associated actively with Mr Stoop's actions and was party to the decision to throw Mr Mthutang out of the car.

Mr Ferreira said Mr Bester's evidence of either sleeping or throwing up at different times were fabrications. "The worse the assault, the quicker he fell asleep," Mr Ferreira said.

Mr W L Wepener, for Mr Stoop, said it was probable that Mr Stoop had been influenced by alcohol and that something had led to the assault. Mr Bester said it was because of a rude sign by Mr Mthutang to which Mr Stoop overreacted, Mr Wepener said.

Mr Stoop had at least associated himself with burning Mr Mthutang by agreeing, his counsel said, "but he thought Mr Mthutang was already dead". It was also argued that the State had not shown there was a plan to kill a black man.

Mr D Geldenhuys, for Mr Jansen, argued that he had distanced himself from the attack with a stone on Mr Mthutang and that when he could not get Mr Stoop off the man he called Mr Bester to help. Mr Jansen's allegation that he did not actively associate with Mr Stoop's actions at Sterkfontein could be true.

Mr Geldenhuys submitted that Mr Jansen be found guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Mr J Els SC, for Mr Bester, said his client did not try to lessen what he did and admitted twice assaulting Mr Mthutang. At one stage he helped drag Mr Stoop off Mr Mthutang. "That is where consensus ended," Mr Els argued.

Mr Els submitted that Mr Bester be found guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

(Proceeding).

UDF breaks
Argus up PFP
meeting
in Lenasia

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About 25 supporters of the Transvaal Indian Congress, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front, last night disrupted a meeting called by the Progressive Federal Party in Lenasia and refused to let guest speaker Mr Rupert Lorimer address the audience.

Mr Lorimer said the meeting was abandoned after about 10 minutes when congress members, who made up the bulk of the audience, made it clear they would not allow him to speak.

"When I was introduced, members of the audience stood up and objected to the fact that the PFP was able to hold meetings while their leaders were prevented from doing so," he said.

The meeting was then abandoned and some members of the audience walked out, shouting "Viva ANC".

In terms of the state of emergency, UDF affiliates, including the Transvaal Indian Congress, are prevented from holding meetings in the townships. Most of the congress executives are claimed to be in hiding as they fear detention.

Long wheel
Thanks to
design-
stability p

ISUZU
PROUD

With its
offering
the idea
long ran
modern

22/10/86
STAR

Father of 11A black activists is murdered

Mr Jacob Thabo Lengane (57), the father of two former student leaders, was found dead in Moleletsane early yesterday morning.

Mr Lengane's sons, Mr Jefferson "Jeff" Lengane and Mr Kabelo Lengane, were well known for their political activities.

Another of his sons, Mr Kelelo Lengane, said he suspected the killing was politically motivated.

He explained what happened.

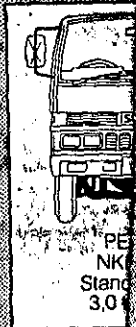
"My parents were preparing to go to bed at about 11.30 pm when there was a knock at the front door. The people outside said they were police. My father opened the door and in walked a gang armed with pangas and firearms.

"They searched the house and then told my father to accompany them".

Mr Lengane was found the next morning near the Entokozweni Early Learning and Community Centre, with a bullet wound in his head.

● The Soweto CID chief, Brigadier JJ Beeslaar, yesterday denied any police involvement in the matter.

"It is possible that a gang can use the name of the police to gain entry into a house and it looks like this is what happened," Brigadier Beeslaar said.



DED *motoring* NI

Saths Cooper — a man of paradox

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A fact even his adversaries will not deny is that Saths Cooper, who has quit as president of the militant and exclusively black Azanian People's Organisation, was a force to be reckoned with in the South African political arena.

His exit, after Steve Biko and Barney Pityana, signalled the departure of the last of the main architects of Black Consciousness as a political philosophy.

It was they, more than anybody else, who nurtured the BC doctrine through the heady 1970s — and they paid the price by being banned and house-arrested.

In 1977 Biko died in police custody in circumstances that are still hotly questioned, and Pityana fled the country soon after to land in England where he crossed the political floor and joined the African National Congress.

By then Mr Cooper — his names are an Anglicised version of their original Tamil form — was serving six years on Robben Island.

Scholarship

Mr Cooper, 36, who has altogether spent close to a third of his life behind bars, leaves this week on a Fulbright Scholarship, granted by the United States government, to read for a doctorate in community clinical psychology at Boston University.

As is often the case with political leaders operating outside platforms created by the State, there is no middle of the road with Mr Cooper: either you like him, or you don't.

It is this characteristic which, apparently, led to his resignation as president of Azapo, a position he assumed last year.

There are paradoxes in his trip to the United States.

Azapo, which he headed, is uncompromisingly opposed to America's "imperialistic and capitalistic" tendencies which it says, destabilise countries where American influence is unwanted.

Yet it was to the "imperialists and capitalists" that Mr Cooper, an avowed socialist, applied successfully for a scholarship.

When Senator Edward Kennedy toured South Africa last year he ran into strong opposition from Azapo, forcing the cancellation of a major rally in Soweto.

Azapo said Mr Kennedy, an "arch-imperialist and arch-capitalist", was on tour to improve his tarnished political image at the expense of the black people's struggle for liberation. He also had no mandate from black Americans to be in South Africa.

Mr Cooper sees no contradictions in being granted a scholarship by the "imperialists and

capitalists" while his own socialist outlook is diametrically opposed to America's national credo.

"One cannot go to a socialist country to study and come back freely to South Africa. It is as simple as that," he says.

But surely, such difficulties notwithstanding, the fact that the scholarship was granted by the US Government goes against his ideological stand and does make his position as guest of "imperialist and capitalist" hosts invidious?

"This does not compromise me in any way, unless I become a capitalist and serve imperialist interests. Many leaders of the Third World are products of Western universities — about half a dozen government members in Zimbabwe studied in the West," Mr Cooper says.

For his thesis he will concentrate on youth aspirations, perceptions and feelings, the psychic turmoil and confusion "and zero in on issues like 'necklacings'".



SOME of the residents who called on the councillors to resign. In the middle is Mr Mandlakayise Mazibuko and on his right is Mr Simon Mkhize and on the left Mr Sam Mkhwanazi.

Call for Councillors to resign

A group of Soweto residents has called on all councillors, including the mayor, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala to resign.

In a meeting held in Orlando West, the residents said the councillors and the mayor, did not have the experience and expertise to administer the affairs of Soweto.

"We would not have lost precious lives as a result of evictions of rent defaulters," said Mr Mandlakayise Mazibuko, adding: "This clearly showed the councillors' shortcomings."

"For that reason," he said, "we call on them to resign and give

way to people who have the potential to administer our affairs in a proper manner."

Another resident, Mr Simon Mkhize, said the majority of people present at the meeting supported Mr Ephraim Tshabalala's suggestion that rent

should be reduced to R5.

The meeting resolved that the council should be dissolved and an interim committee composed of members from the various civic and political organisations be appointed.



11A

WE ACCUSE — BY DPSC

THE Detainees' Parents Support Committee has released a report alleging that the Government is engaged in mass repression to stifle black political protest. We asked the Bureau for Information and the Department of Prisons to comment on the report and they have rejected the DPSC's claims. Below is the report released by the DPSC. The State's reply is alongside.

THE Government is intensifying and expanding its repression in the country's black townships, says the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

In a report issued by the DPSC after its annual conference in Johannesburg, the DPSC said: "What the Bureau for Information would like to present as "peace" is really a massive pacification effort in the townships designed to deal with the growth of mass resistance and intended to coerce people to abandon rent, school and consumer boycotts".

The report said mass detentions were one measure the State had taken to achieve this pacification.

"The last state of emergency accounted for some 8000 detentions in 42 magisterial districts. This time an estimated 22000 have been taken into detention cells, from all the major cities and from the smallest towns, where the slightest breath of resistance has stirred the dust".

The DPSC said police and security forces were being deployed in "ever-increasing numbers".

Police forces

"Particularly threatening has been the rapid expansion of green-uniformed municipal police forces. It is clear from hundreds of reports of people at advice offices and crisis centres that we can no longer separate the roles played by different branches of the security forces.

"Where arrests, assaults, torture and shootings are reported, the SAP, SADF, security police and municipal forces feature with equal regularity and are reported to be using similar tactics".

The report said there was also an "insidious spread of unofficial repression".

"Vigilante forces and hit squads are a national presence, deploying similar deadly tactics at opposite ends of the country.

"Apart from this coherence of method, the possibility of some co-ordination in vigilante action is suggested by the sinister re-appearance of prominent right-wing figures among vigilante groups in the Transvaal and Orange Free State".

Referring to conditions under which detainees were being held, the report said overcrowding of cells was frequent and there were also reports of "poor and insufficient food given only at long intervals, cold or often no water, too few blankets and sometimes no floor mats".

Torture allegations

It said reports of assaults and torture of detainees varied from area to area. "Allegations of electric shock, repeated beatings and threatened necklacing have been made".

The DPSC said medical treatment was generally inadequate.

"Detainees complain of delayed and inappropriate treatment. There is suspicion that such factors contributed to the death last week of Queenstown Descom chairman Mbuyiseli Songelwa. At least three young women have suffered miscarriages in detention in the last three months".

The report alleged that "in general it appears that district surgeons are frequently carrying out their duties in a manner which falls far short of acceptable medical standards".

Other allegations made by the DPSC were:

- Delegates reported a new trend in the treatment of detainees. "Increasingly, common law crimes rather than political transgressions appear on the charge sheet. The upshot of this is to stigmatise or criminalise activists and to extend incarceration, where the charge is serious, by the refusal of bail".

- The emergency had created as many "internal refugees" as detainees. "Activists at every level who escaped the dragnet have lived on the run for months. Rural activists, with no place to hide in their tiny, exposed settlements, have had to leave their areas altogether. This has left hundreds of activists rootless and left families without bread-winners".



ANC AND PAC SHOCKED

TWO outlawed South African liberation organisations, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the African National Congress, have added their voices to mourn the death of Mozambican President Samora Machel.

In two separate statements, both organisations said they had learned with profound shock and a great sense of grief of the tragic and untimely death of President Machel.

An ANC statement released from the organisation's Lusaka headquarters, said President Machel personified the close and comradely links between the sister liberation movements of the ANC and Frelimo.

Struggle

"President Machel's constant concern was the consolidation of the independence of Mozambique and the enhancing of the struggle for the total liberation of the African

Grief

over

Machel

continent including the liberation of South Africa and Namibia.

"The tragic loss of this great visionary of African liberation comes at a critical juncture in the history of our continent and region.

"The passing of Comrade Machel, in circumstances that still need to be fully resolved, is a loss to the Mozambican people, southern Africa, the continent and indeed the entire international community have lost an outstanding leader whose charismatic figure will be sorely missed in the fora of the world."

A PAC spokesman in Tanzania said Mr Machel's death is not only a grave blow to the fraternal Mozambican people but to the people in the region and to Africa.

"President Machel took up arms to liberate his country from 500 years of Portuguese colonialism and succeeded. He also firmly believed that unless the whole of southern Africa was truly free, Mozambican independence faced a constant threat.

Lawyers

"His principled support for those still struggling for self-determination and genuine liberation was a cornerstone of his country's foreign policy. This principled stand made Mozambique a target.

"The fact that the plane crashed on South African territory must of necessity lead to many questions. This is so because Pretoria was already 'predicting' President Machel's so-called downfall. Hence it is important that a thorough investigation be made and all facts ascertained.

"PAC expresses sincerely condolences to the families of President Machel and those of his colleagues and countrymen who lost their lives."

• These statements have been restricted by our lawyers in terms of emergency and security legislation.

SPAK 23/10/86

Treason trial defence to call for discharge

By Estelle Trengove

Lawyers defending the Delmas treason accused are preparing to launch an application for the discharge of the 22 men.

Counsel for the State yesterday closed its case in the marathon trial which has been running in Delmas only three weeks short of a year.

The 22 men on trial include prominent members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) such as publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota and general secretary Mr Popo Molefe, and members of Azapo and the Vaal Civic Association. They pleaded not guilty to a charge of high treason and charges under the Internal Security Act.

TOWNSHIP UNREST

The State alleges that they conspired with the banned African National Congress (ANC) to overthrow the Government and promoted township unrest which led to riots in the Vaal triangle.

Mr A Chaskalson SC, for the defence, yesterday asked for an adjournment of a week to enable the defence to prepare for launching an application for the discharge of the treason trialists.

The defence in a trial can launch such an application if it believes that, even on the State's evi-

dence, the accused cannot be convicted or if the evidence presented by the State is so poor that no reasonable court can believe it.

Yesterday the courtroom was packed with family, friends and supporters when the trial was resumed after a month-long adjournment. The trialists received parcels of food and clothing from their visitors.

The hearing was postponed until October 29.

Those on trial are: UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (37), of Claremont, Durban; UDF general secretary Mr Popo Simon Molefe (33), of Soweto; Anglican priest and Azapo member, the Rev Tebogo Geoffrey Moselane (39) of Sharpeville; former UDF secretary for the Transvaal Mr Moses Chikane (37), of Mamelodi; Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka (25), of Soweto; Azapo member Mr Oupa Hlomoka (32), of Sebokeng; Mr Mohapi Lazarus More (25) of Sebokeng; Vaal Information Service member and Rhodes Black Student Society member Mr Thabiso Andrew Ratsomo (27), of Sebokeng; Vaal Civic Association member Mr Geinunuzi Petrus Malindi (25), of Sebokeng; secretary of the Evaton Ratepayers Association Mr Petrus Mokoena (47), of Evaton; executive member of the Vaal Civic Association Mr Tsietsi David Mphuthi (48), of Sebokeng; Mr Naphtali Mbuti Mkopane (40), of Sebokeng; Mr Tebello Ephraim Ramakula (35) of Sebokeng; educator with the Urban Training Project Mr Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi (30), of Sebokeng; Vaal Civic Association executive member Mr Sekwati John Mokoena (33), of Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark; Congress of South African Students (Cosas) member Mr Mkhambi Amos Malindi (20), of Sebokeng; former Cosas leader and now Institute of Race Relations worker Mr Simon Tseko Nkodi (25), of Sebokeng; Mr Pelamotse Jerry Tlhopane (27), of Sebokeng; Mr Serame Jacob Hlanyane (37), of Sebokeng; Soweto Civic Association member and worker for the South African Council of Churches, Mr Thomas Madikwe Manthata (45) of Soweto; Vaal Civic Association executive member, Mr Hlabeng Sam Matlole (61) of Sebokeng; and Mr Maxala Simon Vilakazi (24) of Sebokeng.

APL 7/12/15 23/10/19
**Condolences
from UDF**

(S 11A)
THE UNITED Democratic Front (Western Cape), has sent condolences to the Mpetha family following the death of Mrs Roselyn Mpetha, wife of jailed veteran trade unionist and community leader, Mr Oscar Mpetha.

In a statement the UDF said: "On humanitarian grounds Oscar must be released to attend the funeral of his wife. There is great anger building up at the continued incarceration of this respected people's leader."

Mrs Mpetha, 67, died after a long illness. The funeral will be held on November 1.

Community groups attack LP project

Staff Reporter

THE planned launch of a health programme in Atlantis has earned the wrath of local community organizations, who claim the project is "an attempt by the government and its collaborators, the Labour Party, to obtain some credibility in the strife-torn Atlantis Community".

In a joint statement the Atlantis Residents Association, the Atlantis Youth Congress and the Atlantis Women's Organization, said the name of the health programme, "Give Your Child a Chance", did not reflect LP policy.

The LP had been responsible for closing down schools and its involvement in the tricameral parliament made it jointly responsible for the detention of children and their treatment at the hands of the security forces.

The launch, which includes a procession and drum majorettes, would be a waste of taxpayers' money when the community was facing serious social and economic problems like unemployment, rental arrears and high electricity and water bills.

Mr John Majavie, parliamentary officer for the Department of Health and Welfare, House of Representatives, denied that the project was politically motivated.

"Give Your Child a Chance is aimed at bringing our health and welfare service down to the community level," he said.

"The Minister (Mr Chris April) is a community man. He is not politically motivated."

He said the launch, which begins at 9.45am at the Saxonsea Civic Centre, was "not a big expense".

Members of the local management committee, the Divisional Council and the Labour Party will speak, two schools will present entertainment programmes and drum majorettes will perform.

Cape Times 23/10/86 (111A)
Mr Hendrickse and UWC

THE Cape Times reported on October 7 that the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader, had earlier this year "alleged that UWC students were being taught to be Marxists". In fact, Mr Hendrickse's remark, at a Labour Party congress at Keimoes in August, was conditional, not categorical.

He said that if "our children are taught to become Marxists" at the University of the Western Cape . . . "it is the policy of the Ministers' Council that the sooner that university is closed the better".

The Cape Times has already clarified the remarks made by Mr Hendrickse, and regrets that, owing to an error in condensation, its report of October 7 did not take this clarification into account.

ANC terror
accused jailed
for 20 years

UMTATA — A 36-year-old Transkeian, Marelane Kopman, was sentenced in the Umtata Supreme Court to 20 years' jail yesterday after being found guilty of undergoing guerilla training and being in possession of firearms and explosives.

Kopman had pleaded not guilty to the main count of intending to endanger the maintenance of law and order in Transkei by being in possession of seven hand-grenades, an AK-47 rifle, an AKM rifle and 300 rounds of live ammunition contained in 10 magazines.

He pleaded guilty to an alternative count of possessing the arms but said he had not intended to injure people or damage property.

Mr Justice M Mitchell convicted him on the main count.

The court heard that security police arrested Kopman on December 22 1985. He was recruited by the ANC in 1981 and had training in Angola and Germany.

He returned to Angola in December 1984 and entered Transkei with instructions to create arms depots and recruit people to the ANC. — Sapa.

CMLG Times 24/10/86 (11A)

Buthelezi: My people and I are impatient

Q: How much longer can you afford, in political terms, to remain sitting in the wings while President P W Botha procrastinates over abolishing apartheid and ending white minority rule in South Africa?

A: Well, if you are hoping that the person concerned is going to see sense, then you are really saying that every day you hope that tomorrow he will do something. So it is difficult for me to say how long I am prepared to wait, because both my people and I are impatient. But what guides me always is that as a leader one must not react in such a way that if there is to be a victory it will be a Pyrrhic one. But one must calculate how long that process itself would take to bring about change here. So cannot say how much longer I can afford to wait, but the people are impatient.

Q: Given the process of increasing polarization that is taking place in South Africa, how long do you think you can restrain your supporters — given their thirst for fundamental change — from resorting to violent options?

A: The people are holding back their anger, by God's grace, every day. Violence and anger can escalate at any time — but I always try to say to my people: "Let us use our anger in a constructive way." I try to say to my people that there is nothing to be gained by creating mayhem or unleashing mindless violence. I try to say to them that there is nothing for us to gain there. It would be an outlet, of course, for the pent-up anger but there are no returns for us. This is my political stance, but if tomorrow something snaps within the people even I cannot do anything about it.

Q: What is it that makes you believe, unlike many others, that President Botha is going to produce the political goods that will make it possible for credible black leaders to become involved in negotiations towards a new dispensation?

A: I believe this because I am a Christian and this is God's world and I somehow,

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI believes that black distrust, anger and impatience are growing to such a degree that attempts by honest brokers to defuse conflict in South Africa are becoming almost impossible. He speaks to Political Correspondent **ANTHONY JOHNSON**.

naively if you like, believe that God is on the throne and the situation will be resolved ... it is inevitable. I cannot abandon hope. I may be desperate, in a situation where hope literally vies with despair, but as a Christian I must still believe that God is capable of performing miracles.

Q: You are seen in some circles as a moderate who is capable of building political bridges. But given the growing polarization taking place within the country, do you feel you can perform such a role in the face of competition to erode your political constituency?

A: I really don't know. I am very concerned by the polarization because violence can explode before reconciliation is possible. It is important that while you are conducting the struggle, groups have to reconcile with each other, but I know how difficult that is today. This is because there is much mutual distrust between blacks and whites and to play the role of honest broker in such circumstances is a very difficult, almost impossible task.

Q: How do you personally cope with the pressure and frustrations of being called a collaborator or with the constant criticism levelled against you by political opponents who disagree with the strategies you deploy in a bid to bring about change?

A: I am not prepared to answer that question. I have a court case against one newspaper that used that word against me. In black politics if you call a man a collaborator you sentence him to death. There are people that are trying to establish a ratio-

nale for killing their enemies in black politics, where the feuds can become very bloody. I am not as isolated as you may think. My opponents may be vociferous, they may have access to the press, and to churches and radicals abroad who have their own programmes. But Inkatha itself consists of over a million people — the largest political organization this country has ever seen. How could it matter what isolated people whose constituencies hardly exist, and are certainly smaller than mine, have to say ... they don't bother me. I consult my people more than any other leader and tens of thousands of people attend my rallies.

Q: Given this large constituency, would you, given a universal franchise system, be prepared to serve under someone like Mr Nelson Mandela or Mr Oliver Tambo?

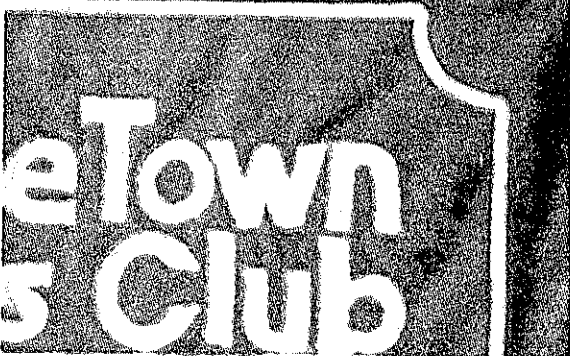
A: I would be prepared to serve under Mr P W Botha if he was elected by all the people, so why do you single out Nelson Mandela? I would serve under any person that was democratically elected — whether he was coloured, Indian, white or black.

Q: To what degree does the hero of the SABC series "Shaka Zulu" approximate to your ideal of a leader?

A: How can I have an opinion of that. I have not seen the whole series. But I know what King Shaka did. He was a brave man who when he unified and conquered people did not make them slaves. He is definitely an inspirational leader to me.

Q: You have been known for your many exhaustive, and some would say exhausting, speeches, but what do you do when the time comes to unwind?

A: Well, my wife and I sing together and when I can afford the time I watch films, visit the health farm (in Stellenbosch) — when I can get in. I also enjoy walks. I am too busy to play any sport at present but I do have a rowing machine in my room and a cycle for exercising.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressing the Cape Town Press Club in the Cape Sun hotel yesterday.

Botha making negotiation impossible — Buthelezi

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**
Political Correspondent

BLACKS would either have to negotiate with the government or destroy it — and President P W Botha was making negotiation impossible, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday.

The leader of the million-strong Inkatha movement also served notice that he would have "nothing to do" with the government's National Council (NC) negotiating forum unless "the death sentence has been pronounced on the present constitution" and

the government released political prisoners. Speaking to the Cape Town Press Club, Chief Buthelezi said that unless these prerequisites were met the NC would not succeed and "then it is not I who block negotiations but the State President who has not got the courage to mount them".

He said that despite claims to the contrary by Mr Botha, it was "just not true" that negotiations were taking place between black and white in South Africa.

"Mr Botha can be petulant at times, he can puff out his cheeks and he can bluster that

negotiations are taking place between black and white. But you know and I know and the world knows that this is just not true."

Chief Buthelezi said he and millions of other blacks would still be prepared to negotiate with the government — "but before negotiations can get off the ground black democracy must be unshackled".

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said blacks would unite to negotiate after ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released.

Chief Buthelezi said that part of the ANC's

refusal to abandon violence as a prerequisite to negotiation was that it knew it could not halt that which was already taking place.

"Gangs of so-called comrades will ever-increasingly plunder at will and ever-increasingly become ugly fragments of force which will develop a way of life which neither the ANC mission in exile or the UDF could direct or control."

There was no time left for false starts. "We have already witnessed how dearly South Africa is paying for the introduction of the tricameral parliament."

Shock at murder of activists' father

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE murder this week of 57-year-old Thabo Jacob Lengane, father of well-known political activists Jefferson and Kabelo, has sent shockwaves through both the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Lengane was found with a bullet wound in his head on Tuesday morning after being abducted by armed men from his Soweto home the previous night.

His death comes two days after the brutal slaying of Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) member, Masabata Loate, by a group of about 20 armed men.

Loate was recently released after being sentenced to five years on Terrorism charges. She was charged together with the outlawed Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) president Khotso Seathlolo, after the latter re-entered the country secretly a few years ago.

Seathlolo is still serving a 10-year sentence on Robben Island.

UDF publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, said although there is speculation that both deaths were a result of the conflict between Azapo and the UDF, he refuses to accept that as the case "because we had already overcome the major hurdles of the conflicts".

Morobe said the UDF has not supported such deeds because "we find it difficult to see how the killing of the father of someone you disagree with will advance any cause. Instead this type of action plays into the hands of the system."

He said he hoped there will be restraint on the part of everybody

"We are presently involved in a campaign for national united action and we will not tolerate any action on

the part of our supporters or organisations that would undermine this campaign.

"We believe that there are more progressive and productive ways that could be employed to resolve conflict. Therefore the recent acts of killings are clearly coldblooded acts committed by misguided elements who do not seem to have any sense of discipline and organisation."

Morobe said the perpetrators of this acts have remain faceless and there is no conclusive evidence of who is involved.

Soon after Loate's death a senior Azapo official said negative press reports on Loate's death would only serve to worsen the situation.

He was referring to a Sunday newspaper's report that linked Loate's death to that of four Orlando West schoolboys two months ago. Jefferson Lengane, an Azapo member and former SSRC executive member, was charged with others for involvement in the deaths.

In a statement condemning the "brutal" killing of Loate, Soyco said "this act of barbarism is a reflection of the fact that apartheid breeds crime. Those who have committed their lives to fighting apartheid are seen by the forces of darkness as obstacles and are therefore eliminated."

A day after Loate was murdered the family was allegedly approached by a group of people who instructed them that she should not be buried in Soweto.

"We in Soyco want to assert that no one will dictate to us as to how and where to bury her. Like all freedom fighters she will be given a heroine's funeral," the Soyco statement said.

N/M 24/10/86 (11A)

Friday, October 24, 1986

We will negotiate or destroy, says chief

CAPE TOWN—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that blacks would have to negotiate with the Government or destroy it.

Speaking at the Press Club here he said he and many millions of fellow blacks would still be willing to take part in such negotiations — if only the Government made them possible.

However, in spite of claims to the contrary by the State President, there were simply no negotiations taking place between blacks and whites in South Africa.

'Imperative'

Chief Buthelezi said part of the ANC's refusal to abandon violence as a prerequisite to negotiation was that it knew it could not halt what was already taking place. It was simply not their violence and they

could not control it. Whereas before it was morally and even political right to release Nelson Mandela, it was now 'absolutely imperative' to set him free.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said blacks would unite to negotiate after Mandela and other political prisoners were released, even if the former detainees subsequently set their faces against negotiations.

History itself would produce black negotiators if black democracy were unshackled. But the Government should not be held to ransom by fear of what Mandela as an individual might do.

'Whatever their assessment is of Mandela the man and the leader, it is imperative that they unshackle black democracy, because without it there are no negotiations,' he said.

'And if there are no negotiations, we face the late BJ Vorster's future which is too ghastly to contemplate.'

Promises

Chief Buthelezi said he was often accused of being unwilling to negotiate with President Botha and was even blamed for the fact that such proceedings were not taking place. However, the fact was that there was no time for more false starts.

It was already quite clear how dearly South Africa was paying for the false start made with the introduction of the tricameral Parliament. One had only to compare the referendum promises and the picture of hope the Government had painted with the reality of what the new Constitution had done to South Africa's politics and to its international relationships.

That was why he had had

nothing to do with the black Advisory Council with which Mr Botha was trying to legitimise the tricameral Parliament.

Similarly he had had nothing to do with the Special Cabinet Committee or with the Non-Statutory Negotiating Forum, both of which the Government had tried to set up for the same purpose.

'I say very bluntly that I will have nothing to do with the National Council unless it is given teeth, unless it orchestrates a transition to a new constitution after the death sentence has been pronounced on the present constitution, and unless it is made possible for all blacks to participate in it by releasing political prisoners,' Chief Buthelezi said.

BHC in mutton 'was not from locust spray'

Mercury Reporter

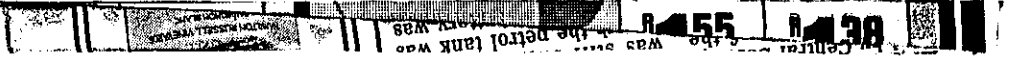
THERE was no evidence that meat had been contaminated by BHC insecticide sprayed to combat locusts, and the public could eat mutton 'with full confidence', the Deputy Minister of Agriculture said yesterday.

Mr G J Kotze said in a statement only 10 sheep

carcasses at the Cato Ridge abattoir had been found to have 'more than the permissible 2 mg/kg BHC residue in the meat'.

The sheep had apparently been contaminated by being carried in a vehicle which had been used to transport BHC. All other tests for the poison in meat had proved negative.

● See Editorial Opinion



24/10/78
WCCALIA 1/1/78
Ciskei swoop nets
Stofile and Hebe

By FRANZ KRUGER, East London
A CISKEI security swoop in Alice has netted leaders of the United Democratic Front and relatives of Ciskei President Lennox Sebe, facing opposition from the rest of his family.

Among those held are believed to be Rev MA Stofile, general secretary of the Border UDF. Stofile, detained and released earlier this year, first came to prominence when he played a key role in blocking a planned New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa last year.

The president's brother, Namba Sebe, said his sister, Caroline Hebe, has been detained in Alice. He said he feared her husband, Chief SM Hebe, who is an MP and chairman of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, had also been detained.

Lawyers for Stofile confirmed he was being held under Section 26 of the Ciskei National Security Act, along with a brother, a sister and other UDF supporters from Alice.

Ciskei police had not responded to a telexed request for confirmation of up to eight detentions by the time of going to press.

● See pages 14-15.

JOHANNESBURG — Teargas was fired and hundreds of students were baton charged yesterday after a memorial meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand to mourn the recent death of Mozambique's President Samora Machel in an air crash.

The meeting was addressed by a president of the UDF and wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the Release Mandela Campaign's Mr Aubrey Mokoena and the UDF's

(11A) 2024/10/86

Teargas, baton charge at memorial meeting

Reverend Frank Chikane.

Mrs Sisulu said the death of President Machel was a "setback for the struggle".

Zimbabwe began a two-week mourning period yesterday as demonstrators marched through Harare to protest for the third day against President Ma-

chel's death.

Meanwhile, Mozambique has postponed for a day the lying-in-state of President Machel, due to be buried on Tuesday, "for operational reasons" and has suspended voting in general elections.

The elections, underway since August, were scheduled to end in mid-

November. A new timetable will be announced after Tuesday's funeral, a statement said.

The body of Mr Machel, 53-year-old founding President of Mozambique's Marxist republic, had been due to lie in state in Maputo's City Hall from 5 pm yesterday for people to pay their last respects.

Mr Machel's death

sparked demonstrations in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho.

On Wednesday, Lesotho police used teargas to break up a march on Maseru by several hundred students from the country's university at Roma, 50 km east of the capital. About 100 were arrested.

In Moscow, the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, observed a minute's silence in Mr Machel's memory when he visited the Mozambican embassy to sign a book of condolences. — DDC-Sapa-RNS

Handwritten marks at the top of the page: a scribble, the letters "IIR" in a circle, and the date "DD 25/10/86".

2 convicted of terror training

Dispatch Reporter

BISHO — Two Zwelitsha-born African National Congress members, Mr Mzimasi Isaac Giwu, 31, of Tyutyu Village in Zwelitsha, and Mr Sivuyile Botwe Qegu, 31, of Zone 4, Zwelitsha, were convicted in the Supreme Court here yesterday of undergoing terrorism training and of being in possession of firearms and explosives.

The state had alleged that the two men had left the country in August 1982 to undergo military training in Angola, Zambia and other places in order to overthrow or endanger the state authority.

They had unlawfully imported several weapons of Russian origin on their return to Mdantsane in December 1985.

The two men were also charged for being members of a banned organisation, the African National Congress (ANC), and the furthering of the aims of the ANC.

Mr Giwu and Mr Qegu had pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The defence advocate, Mr M. T. Moerane, submitted to the court admissions made by the two accused.

In the statements, the two admitted having left the country to join the ANC and having undergone military training.

They also admitted to having been found in possession of weapons in house 3021, zone 7, Mdantsane, in December last year.

They also admitted the ANC was outlawed and that it sometimes used violent methods.

Mr Chief Justice De Wet found the two men guilty as charged.

A senior lecturer of the Department of Political Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr T.J. Lodge, who gave evidence in mitigation of sentence, said he had specialised in ANC activities and had written books and several articles on the organisation.

He said the ANC had first used non-violent means to protest against the disadvantages meted out by the South African Government against blacks. A military wing had been formed after members of the ANC's high command had been banned in April 1960.

Because the organisation could not operate inside South Africa after its banning, thousands of its members left the country and formed networks and headquarters in other countries.

Mr Moerane, for the defence, also addressed the court in mitigation of sentence.

He said both the accused had no previous record. Both had attained matriculation standards of education and both had read and heard about the ANC.

He also argued that it seemed that no end to apartheid was in sight and that the South African Government was not prepared to change its policies towards blacks. This resulted in blacks leaving the country and committing themselves to the ANC.

The two men had told the court the truth about their commitment and activities. They had not committed any acts of violence since their arrival in Mdantsane in November because they had been waiting for instructions as to how the weapons were to be used.

They had not used the weapons against Ciskei as it was not an immediate target, apartheid was the target.

Citing several decided cases, Mr Moerane said the court should weigh the circumstances surrounding the men and the prevailing situation in South Africa.

Sentence will be passed next week.

Mr L. Langeveld, assisted by Mr G. W. Visagie, appeared for the state.

'50 trained ANC fighters go into SA every month'

12/6 25/10/86
11/9

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Recruitment to the African National Congress has increased above the levels of the pupil exodus that followed the Soweto riots in 1976 and about 50 trained fighters are returning to South Africa every month, according to a Witwatersrand University academic, Dr Tom Lodge.

Dr Lodge, a recognised expert on the ANC, has contributed an article on the organisation to the latest International Affairs Bulletin.

Dr Lodge says there is no reason to disbelieve ANC claims that it is dispatching about 50 trained men or women a month, and that it is recruiting more people than it did during the Soweto pupil exodus.

The increase in the number of security force-inflicted losses indicated that counter-insurgency measures were keeping pace with the increase, but not exceeding it.

"But the army and police have forces and resources in reserve," he adds.

According to Dr Lodge the ANC

expanded its traditional "urban constituency" and began a programme of rural recruitment. The increase in the number of rural landmine attacks reflected this.

Indications were that in some rural areas the ANC had been recruiting farm workers and trying to mobilise them against their employers. The fact that wages in some areas could be as low as R2 a day was an inducement to labourers to join the movement.

According to figures compiled by Dr Lodge on the activity of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) for the first six months this year (compared to the last six months of 1985), there has been a significant increase in attacks on so-called "soft targets" accompanied by a stepping-up of attacks on "hard targets".

There were nine attacks on "soft targets" (restaurants, hotels, commercial buildings and so on) in the first six months of 1986 (two in the preceding six months).

114
RP

Rally will honour Machel

25/10/88

By CLARE HARPER

A MEMORIAL rally honouring the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique, organized by the United Democratic Front, will take place at the Hanover Park Civic Centre, Athlone, tomorrow.

Seventy thousand pamphlets and hundreds of posters advertising the meeting were distributed throughout the Peninsula yesterday.

Executive member of the UDF, Western Cape, Mr Goolam Abubaker said: "I would ask that Brigadier (Christoffel) Swart keep his men away to allow our people to express their sorrow peacefully."

The last UDF rally scheduled for August 13 at the same venue was banned by the Divisional Commissioner of the SA Police, Western Cape, Brig Swart.

Mr Abubaker said: "Machel's death comes at a time when Mozambique is under attack from SA-supported forces. We grieve the loss of Machel and express our solidarity with people in the frontline states who are suffering as a result of apartheid destabilization."

The rally begins at 2pm.

Now Azapo's Myeza slams Lengane killers

IVA
CITY PRESS
26/10/88

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation has strongly condemned the killing of a father of four activists, whose bullet-riddled body was found this week at Moletsane.

Jacob Lengane, 67, was the father of trade unionist Jefferson; Dr Kelelo - who serves in the Azapo health secretariat; Azasm founder president Kabelo; and Katiso, Azasm's Tladi Moletsane branch chairman.

Lengane was kidnapped at his home shortly after the evening prayer by a group of about 20 youths. He was dragged out of the house and his body was later found near the Entokozweni Centre.

Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza said: "It is saddening when people resort to such barbarism to resolve problems of whatever nature. Lengane never hurt anybody in his life and it is disgusting cowardice

for people to attack and kill a parent of activists with whom they disagreed.

"We have always stated and practised the belief that black people have a common problem which is the system. Whatever differences that may arise with regard to the approach to the problem must not be transformed into antagonistic violent action among ourselves," said Myeza.

Myeza added that Azapo challenges organisations of a different tendency to black consciousness to come out and categorically condemn and disown the perpetrators of such evil as they do.

He also said that Azapo's investigations are nearing an end as to the perpetrators of this dastardly act.

In the meantime Soweto police have launched a massive hunt for the killers who gatecrashed into the house, claiming they were policemen. Funeral arrangements will be announced later.

SUNTIMES

Swarts to hang for murder

11A
26/10/86

BY JEREMY McCABE

THE killer of the country's first white "necklace" victim was given the death sentence this week.

Henry Swarts, 36, was sentenced in the Grahams-town Supreme Court by the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Cloete, to hang for the "gruesome and barbaric" murder of Mr Lodewyk Vlooh in June this year.

A railway worker, Mr Vlooh, 40, was brutally beaten to death with a stone by Swarts outside Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle Township.

Accomplices

Mr Vlooh was then robbed of his clothing and money before being set alight several times with car tyres, paint and paraffin.

Swarts's four accomplices — all members of the same family — were also convicted for the part they played in the killing.

Marie, 19, and Pamela Lewis, 28, were convicted as participants to the robbery and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

Their two brothers, David, 25, and Bernard, 18, were convicted as accessories to murder after the fact.

Bernard Lewis was jailed for five years and David for six.

SA issue lays out tricky path for Shultz

Reagan Administration officials expect that the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, will encounter hostility from both whites and blacks when he visits Southern Africa early next year.

The trip was to have taken place this month but was postponed because of the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland. It has now been rescheduled tentatively for January.

With relations between Washington and Pretoria at their coldest for many years because of the congressional sanctions, the feeling in Washington is that Mr Shultz will be given a correct but frosty reception by white South Africa.

Ironically, Mr Shultz fought a game political battle against the sanctions Bill, pleading unsuccessfully with senators to help President Reagan kill the measure.

He has also repeatedly urged American corporations not to cut and run but to stay in South Africa as a positive force for change.

However, as the representative of the United States, he will have to accept responsibility for the decisions of his country, even those he opposed vigorously.

He will also have to face the growing irritation of the South African Government at increasing US ties with the African National Congress, a development for which he does have a direct responsibility.

In a further irony, it is likely to be those same two factors — sanctions and ties with the ANC — that will underlie black hostility towards the Secretary of State during his trip.

But perceptions about them among many black leaders in both the Republic and the Frontline states are certain to differ sharply from those of the whites.

Mr Shultz is viewed by black leaders not as the official who must carry responsibility for the sanctions, but as a man who resisted them to the end.

And, in the case of the ANC, his presence in Southern Africa will probably be seen as an attempt to put pressure on the organisation to opt for peaceful negotiations and to end violence at a time when violence seems to be pushing the South African Government into a corner.

In this latter case, the perception will be at least partially accurate. The Reagan Administration does want the ANC to end its commit-

27/1/83 TMR
Officially of the Reagan Administration are sensitive, even touchy, over the uncertainties in their new attitude to the African National Congress, reports Neil Lurssen of The Star's Washington Bureau.

ment to violence, but its drive to improve ties is more profound than just humanitarian concerns.

The feeling in Washington is that the ANC is the most significant black organisation in South Africa and that it has to be taken into account even though US intelligence agencies have confirmed the heavy communist infiltration in its leadership.

Some officials believe that the longer the ANC is left out of the South African equation, the greater the chances that it will lose its ability to function, perhaps as an alternative government, or as part of one, in a moderate, non-violent way.

Mr Shultz is expected to meet ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, probably in Lusaka, and is bound to spell out forcefully the Reagan Administration's opposition to violence — as well as the rewards that may follow if it behaves in a reasonable manner.

It is a tricky path for the Secretary of State to follow. He is not well liked by American right-wingers who question his commitment and that of Assistant Secretary for Africa Dr Chester Crocker, to the struggle against communist regimes in Africa.

The right-wingers' fear is that in

the rush to cosy up to the ANC after the sanctions vote in the Congress, the US may be helping to hand Southern Africa to the Soviets on a platter.

They — and many other moderate Americans — also fear that South Africa's "Third Force", the vast untapped body of non-violent and non-extremist South Africans of all races, may be left out of the picture as new policies and new approaches toward the region are shaped in Washington now that constructive engagement has crumbled.

American officials are sensitive, even touchy, about the uncertainties of their new attitude toward the ANC.

When one top White House aide, now a senior official at the National Security Council, was asked why the US Government expected Pretoria to deal with a group that supported terrorism when it did not ask the British to deal with the IRA or the Israelis to talk to the PLO, his irritation surfaced immediately.

Accusing the reporter of trying to be too clever, the official argued that each situation had to be judged separately.

But it is a question that will probably be put to Mr Shultz when he visits Pretoria in January.

the small society

THE MOST DIFFICULT AGE FOR A WOMAN IS THE ONE HER HUSBAND HAPPENS TO BE GOING THROUGH!



Boycott critics racist — Azaso

27/10/86
11A
STAR

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Leaders of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso), whose members made Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien cut short his visit to the University of Cape Town, called a Press conference here to put the academic boycott of South Africa "in proper perspective".

Students were angered by reports that academics were worried the University of Cape Town could become an "African campus" plagued by low standards and ruled by the mob.

This, the students said, was racism. "African" was not synonymous with poor standards, they said.

Said Azaso president Billy Ramokgopa: "The debate has been one-sided. The views of black students are missing. Even academics who are sympathetic to our struggle have criticised the boycott.

"People have not bothered to find out why we support it."

Mr Ramokgopa said Azaso and many other organisations were committed to South Africa's total isolation and the ban on overseas academics was part of that isolation strategy.

The ban, he added, should be seen in the same light as economic sanctions and sports and cultural boycotts.

Mr Ramokgopa said it was absurd to talk of academic freedom amid Government repression.

DETENTION

He said many students and academics who supported the boycott were in detention.

Their detention — an attack on free speech and academic freedom — had not aroused similar passions on English campuses.

Mr Ramokgopa added: "The universities are grounds of apartheid. Many people, mainly whites, have places guaranteed, but few black students make it."

Said one student leader: "In a normal society we would support academic freedom, but South Africa is not a normal society.

"The people of South Africa are involved in a struggle for national liberation and all the struggles, whether on the shop floor or in schools are geared to that goal.

"The question of academic freedom cannot be viewed in isolation."

The students said if academic freedom meant the free flow of ideas, why were protests from liberal institutions muted

when black students were shut off by Government decree from enrolment?

They claimed allocation of facilities to black and white students in many "English" universities was racist. Black facilities were "always inferior".

Mpetha campaign launched

CAPE TOWN — A campaign has been launched to urge authorities to reconsider their decision not to allow a trade unionist jailed for insurgency, Mr Oscar Mpetha, 76, to attend the funeral of his wife next Saturday.

Mrs Roselyn Mpetha, 77, died after a long illness last Saturday.

Mpetha's attorney said he telexed Pollsmoor Prison authorities last week at the request of his son, Mr Themba Mpetha, appealing for his

father's release for the funeral.

"They replied by asking for more specific details, which I gave. In a later telex, however, they said permission was refused."

Replying to a telex from a Cape Town newspaper, a Prisons Service liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Aubrey van Vuuren, said: "The policy is that prisoners are not allowed to be present at burials for obvious reasons." — Sapa

(11A)

DD 27/10/86

ARBUS 27/10/86
114

Mob wanted to necklace me — special constable

Crime Reporter

A SPECIAL constable has been saved by his permanent force colleagues from being necklaced.

Constable Richard Moposa was abducted from his home in New Crossroads.

Reaction unit police found him wounded and surrounded by a crowd near KTC squatter camp.

The crowd fled when the police arrived and Constable Moposa was taken to hospital.

DRAGGED OUT

He is a member of the first batch of about 340 special constables to be stationed in townships near Cape Town.

The special constables were paraded in front of residents of Nyanga on Friday when a police station was opened in a refurbished beerhall.

It is understood that Constable Moposa was at home at 6.30pm yesterday when about 50 men and women dragged him out and took him away.

EYE WOUND

Police were told and members of the reaction unit went to a spot near KTC where they found Constable Moposa.

He had a wound under his right eye and told them he was about to be necklaced.

The Bureau for Information today confirmed the incident and said a man had been arrested.

Mandela letter expresses condolences

A LETTER from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, expressing condolences at the death of President Samora Machel, has been smuggled out of Pollsmoor Prison and taken to Maputo.

The contents of the letter, and to whom it was given, are not known, but a Maputo source said the letter arrived on Friday.

He also said the letter would probably be made public at Machel's funeral on Tuesday.

Mozambican officials, who visited the crash site near Komatipoort on Friday, remained as tightlipped as their Russian and SA counterparts during their first round of talks on the probe into the crash.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

However, a Soviet delegation member said they were not as happy about the outcome of their talks with the SA civil aviation and police team as SA officials indicated after the talks.

The official, when asked if their talks behind closed doors went well, said: "I wouldn't say so. We have lots to sort out still."

And he said it was difficult to comment because aspects of the investigation still had to be resolved by the three countries.

It is understood the Soviet delegation

27/10/86 BUS DAY
may have been upset about the course of investigatory procedures suggested by the SA team.

Sources said the South Africans made it clear they would be in charge of how the investigation was to be conducted, as it would take place on SA soil.

An SA civil aviation official said the investigation could involve a preliminary report drawn up by the SA team. It will be submitted to the board of inquiry under Mr Justice Margo, while the Mozambicans will submit their preliminary report to their Maputo-based inquiry chief.

See Page 3.

CHOC, Times 27/1/86

KwaZulu 'won't employ necklacers'

DURBAN. — Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that no member of any organization which supported necklacing would be tolerated as an employee of the KwaZulu Government.

At a prayer meeting for nursing organizations held at Mandleni, he read a detailed description of the practice to indicate why KwaZulu was demanding pledges of loyalty from employees.

He reminded the nurses that the secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, in a recent interview with the London Sunday Times, had given the ANC's offi-

cial blessing to necklacing.

Chief Buthelezi read out British Labour MP Sir Woodrow Wyatt's MP's description of a necklacing.

"... The terrified victim is captured by his (her) executioners. Frequently his hands are hacked off as a first deterrent to resistance. Barbed wire is otherwise used to tie the helpless victim's wrists together. The tyre is placed over the shoulders and filled with petrol or diesel.

"The fuel is ignited with a match — exhibiting boxes of matches is one way the Comrades, the black township militants,

earn the respect of fear in the townships.

"The victim, if his hands have not been hacked off, is usually forced to light his own necklace" which reached temperatures of up to 400°C to 500°C. The victim might take up to 20 minutes to die.

"Whilst this is happening the Comrades stand about laughing and ridiculing him."

Chief Buthelezi said he had read out this "terribly hideous" account of necklacing because it dramatized the dilemma all South African blacks faced. — Sapa

Cape Times 27/10/86
**Mandela's letter
to Mozambique**

(LIP) Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A letter from jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, expressing condolences at the death of President Samora Machel, has been smuggled out of Pollsmoor Prison and taken to Maputo, according to a well-placed source in the capital.

The letter has not yet been read to the people of Mozambique, but the source said it was expected the letter would be made public at Mr Machel's funeral tomorrow.

Mbas 27/10/80

Free Oscar Mpetha, says union

Labour Reporter

THE 62 000-member Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) has demanded the unconditional release of jailed unionist Oscar Mpetha.

Prison authorities have refused 77-year-old Mr Mpetha permission to attend his wife's funeral next Saturday.

In a statement today the union said it mourned the death of Mrs Rose Mpetha, and was outraged that she died separated from her husband who, in spite of old age and ill health, was still imprisoned.

"We demand that the authorities allow Oscar Mpetha to attend his wife's funeral. However, this in itself is not enough. He must be released.

"Oscar was at one time general secretary of Food and Canning Workers' Union and at the time of his arrest was a national organiser."

STAR 28/10/86

British TV viewers to meet leaders of ANC's 'Spear of the Nation'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Tonight British television viewers are being introduced, through the film "Spear of the Nation", to several leading figures in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing.

The film traces the development of an organisation which grew from black dissent over their exclusion from South African politics early this century.

Coming a month before the 25th anniversary of the founding of the armed wing, the hour-long documentary focuses on the armed struggle, featuring an assessment of it by key ANC members — including Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff Mr Joe Slovo, deputy

commander Mr Chris Hani, executive member Mr Pallo Jordan and chief spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki.

X Report Restricted

ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Slovo are interviewed at length. Because they are banned in South Africa, all paragraphs quoting what they say in the film have had to be omitted from this report.

Viewers are told the ANC is "inspired by the confidence that victory is in sight" and its members are willing to pursue a dangerous strategy "because of the feeling that we are winning".

The ANC is eager to continue "to exhaust (the Government) and destroy its will to fight".

Deputy commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, says "ANC units have been instructed to avoid indiscriminate bombing", but adds that the level of anger in the country has led people to take matters into their own hands.

Other prominent figures in the film include members of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group, who speak highly of the ANC and, particularly, Nelson Mandela.

Dame Nita Barrow recalls their meeting with ANC officials: "They were cool and didn't promise anything. They gave us reasoned logic. They wished for a peaceful solution."

Archbishop Ted Scott says in their meetings with the South African Government it was clear the Government saw "the

ANC as the group they had to respond to".

He also says of Mandela: "I have never met a human being who impressed me more."

Mandela struck Lord Anthony Barber as "a remarkable man". He says in the documentary: "I am convinced he is not a communist ... and that people would respond if he were to call for an end to violence."

Mr Sam Motsuenyane of the National Federation of African Chambers of Commerce tells viewers: "I am not particularly apprehensive about an ANC Government in South Africa."

Mr Gavin Relly, head of the Anglo American group — and a member of the deputation of businessmen who held talks with the ANC — speaks of common ground.

"The common ground is that we want a better, more equitable country ... in the distribution of resources, education, health, housing and a whole host of issues."

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda expresses a similar view. South African blacks, he believes, have been forced against their will to take up arms.

He said: "They are struggling to change the structure to something better ... and I go back through the history of this armed struggle and I have no cause at all to condemn them."

"They have been forced at each point to do what they are doing now and I have come to the conclusion that I have no moral or spiritual reason to say 'Do not come to Zambia'."

ANC courier found guilty of terrorism

By Inga Molzen

Stephen Johannes Marais (29), convicted yesterday of terrorism after admitting support for the African National Congress, will be sentenced next Wednesday.

In mitigation of sentence, Johannesburg magistrate Mr T J la Grange heard that since 1981, Marais — a field worker for the Environmental and Development Agency (EDA) — was a committed worker who had been faced with harsh conditions of poverty.

ARMS IN HIRED CAR

Mr D Cooper, of the EDA, said having been faced with these conditions, Marais would have strongly wanted to participate in changing them.

Marais admitted travelling from Lesotho with Miss Marion Sparg in a hired car in which arms were concealed. He stored six limpet mines at his home in Transkei and accompanied Miss Sparg to East London in February.

Marais could not talk to family

Police and security branch officials would not allow Marais to talk to family members during court proceedings.

A court orderly stood as if on guard behind the witness box from where Marais yesterday sketched for the court his background and ideals.

Other policemen stood at the back of the dock while Mr H van Heerden, for the State, asked that a long term of imprisonment be imposed in the interests of the community.

MARAIS'S MOTHER

Marais's mother, who lives in Stellenbosch, was asked to sit at the back of the court by a security branch captain, who told her: "No conversation!" ("Geen geselskap nie!").

Travelling together, they could pose as a couple on holiday and not be stopped at roadblocks.

He assumed that a limpet mine which exploded at a police station there had been placed by her, but had no confirmation of this.

Marais was instructed in the use of an AK-47, a pistol, grenades and limpet mines but had "never handled them". He conceded these were "weapons of war which may result in death or serious injury".

Marais admitted posting two letters and transporting an ANC member on behalf of the ANC.

He said he had a deep-seated belief that the South African Defence Force existed to maintain white domination in South Africa and that the present situation was upheld by violence.

He had avoided student politics because of "reactionary notions that they could not change things in South Africa", he said. He became inward-looking and religious.

According to Marais the South Africa Voluntary Service (SAVS), which he joined, was his only alternative to national service. He left university in 1978 after receiving his final call-up for national service and joined SAVS.

He assisted rural villagers in Lesotho and later in Transkei to plant trees and grow vegetables.

Through ANC members in Lesotho, Marais became convinced that the banned organisation was "the most important organisation fighting for changes away from the apartheid system".

25/10/83 MAR

11A

Ten are charged with 'necklace' murders

GRAHAMSTOWN — Ten people appeared in the East Cape Supreme Court yesterday on three counts of murder by "necklacing".

They are alleged to have murdered three people. Two of them, Mr Buyile Patrick Peter (21) and Mr Mncedisi Eric Stengile (19) were said to have been former members of the "Comrades". The third, Mr Aubrey Jacobs, was described as a former policeman.

The State alleges that Mr Peter and Mr Stengile were brought before a

"people's court" on April 18 last year for having robbed and murdered two people.

They received the death sentence, and were assaulted and set alight with the "necklace" method near the salt pans outside Port Elizabeth.

Mr Jacobs, the State alleges, was taken from his bed on the evening of April 28 last year, judged by the "court" in a similar fashion, and set alight while still alive.

It has also been alleged by the State that all the accused except one are members of the "Comrades".

They are Mr Sandi Ntlanki, Mr Tobile Lloyd, Mr Siphwo Lande, Mr Sithembiso Basie Nda-bangaye, Mr Mzwabantu Mzimba Zangqa, Mr Tamsanqa Magaba, Mr Mbulelo Tou, Mr Velile Williams, Mr Tatise Mesami and Mr Mtunzi Tshibo.

Yesterday a girlfriend of one of the accused testified in camera as a State witness. She said six of the accused were present at a meeting at which it was decided to execute Mr Peter and Mr Stengile.

In cross-examination she admitted that Mr Magaba was with her at the time of the murders, and that they had been some distance from the scene.

It also emerged that he was with her at the time of the third murder. They were again watching the incident from a distance.

The hearing continues.
— Sapa.

British viewers will see ANC secrets tonight

28/10/86 Eve Post

11A

Post Correspondent
LONDON — The African National Congress has gone public and shown some of its secret operatives and operations to the world for the first time.

It has done this in a dramatic television programme to be screened here tonight on the independent TV channel.

At the start of the programme a commentator points out that to some the ANC men are guerillas, to others freedom fighters and to yet others terrorists.

In this programme, called *Spear of the Nation* — after the ANC's military wing — they are clearly seen as freedom fighters.

Emerging from top security, possibly for the first time, is Joe Slovo, 58, who is shown in casual, open-neck attire, with grey hair and glasses, speaking seriously of the organisation's operations.

Slovo is described as Umkonto We Sizwe's chief-of-staff and the sole white in the leadership of the ANC.

Another amazing glimpse is given of the ANC clandestine propaganda organisation, Radio Freedom, showing

scenes of broadcasts being beamed from professional studios somewhere in Africa into South Africa itself.

Among those who are interviewed in the programme are Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki, an ANC spokesman and political secretary to Tambo.

The curtain is lifted also on Chris Hani, 44, deputy commander of Umkonto We Sizwe.

Others who give their views on the programme include Winnie Mandela and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Others include Gavin Relly, head of the Anglo American Corporation, who led a delegation to Zambia for talks with the ANC, and Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

The message in the 60 minutes that British viewers will see is that the ANC is central to any solution in South Africa.

It coincides with a lengthy interview in the Financial Times with Tambo, which portrays him not as the archetypal guerilla leader, but as a serious and greying lawyer at the helm of the organisation.

Police probe pamphlets

POLICE are investigating the dumping of copies of "Umsebenzi", the official mouthpiece of the South African Communist Party, on the steps of a Port Elizabeth church on Sunday morning.

A member of the congregation found copies of "Umsebenzi" on the church steps and handed them to the police, said Major Eddie Everson, police liaison officer.

(1/A) Ewe fast 28/1/78

ANC emerges into spotlight on British TV

Own Correspondent

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They have done this in a dramatic television programme to be screened here tonight on the independent TV channel.

At the start of the programme a commentator points out that to some the ANC are guerrillas, to others freedom fighters and to yet others, terrorists. In this programme, called *Spear of the Nation* — after the ANC's military wing, they are clearly seen as freedom fighters.

Emerging from top security possibly for the first time is Mr Joe Slovo, 58, who is shown in casual, open-neck attire, with grey hair and glasses, speaking seriously of the organization's operations. Mr Slovo is described as Umkonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff and the sole white in the leadership of the ANC.

The makers of the film decline to disclose where the interview was conducted, but say that it was filmed in the African frontline states and inside South Africa as well.

Another amazing glimpse is given of the ANC clandestine propaganda organization, Radio Freedom, showing scenes of broadcasts being beamed

from professional studios somewhere in Africa into South Africa.

Among those who are interviewed in the programme are Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, and Mr Thabo Mbeki, an ANC spokesman and Mr Tambo's political secretary. The curtain is also lifted on Mr Chris Hani, 44, deputy commander of Umkonto we Sizwe.

Others who give their views on the programme include Mrs Winnie Mandela and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Mr Gavin Relfly, head of the Anglo American Corporation, who led a delegation to Zambia for talks with the ANC earlier this year, and

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

While a good deal of time is given to spokesmen of the ANC, President P W Botha is shown delivering a speech where he talks of having been lenient and patient, and warns that he should not be pushed too far.

But the message in the 60 minutes that British viewers will see is that the ANC is central to any solution in South Africa. It coincides with a lengthy interview in the *Financial Times* with Mr Tambo, which portrays him not as the archetypal guerrilla leader but as a serious and greying lawyer at the helm of the organization.

11A

Argus 28/10/84 (11A)

SA should be called Malundi — Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today disclosed how he and Mr Oliver Tambo had discussed changing South Africa's name to Malundi.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president told guests of this when he officially opened the new Prince Mangosuthu Airport here.

He said that in discussions with the president of the African National Congress some years ago Mr Tambo expressed reservations about naming the Kwazulu capital Ulundi, because of the defeat of the Zulus by the British in the battle of that name. These reservations were allayed, however, when the older Zulu historical significance was explained.

Chief Buthelezi said the subject arose "when we were talking about the possibilities of naming a new liberated South African state the Republic of Malundi."

This was a combination of Ulundi, the Nguni name for the Drakensberg, and Maluti, the Sotho name for the same range of mountains.

British TV viewers to see history of ANC's army

Argus 28/10/86 (11A)

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — A TV film, *Spear of the Nation*, will introduce British television viewers tonight to several leading figures in Umkonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing.

It traces in detail the development of an organisation that grew from black dissent over exclusion from South African politics at the turn of the century.

Coming a month before the 25th anniversary of the founding of the armed wing, the hour-long documentary focuses on the armed struggle.

It features key African National Congress members, including Umkonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff Joe Slovo, deputy commander Chris Hani, executive member Pallo Jordan and chief spokesman Thabo Mbeki.

Other prominent figures in the film include members of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group who speak highly of the ANC and, particularly, imprisoned leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Dame Nita Barrow recalls their meeting with ANC officials: "They were cool and

didn't promise anything. They gave us reasoned logic. They wished for a peaceful solution."

Archbishop Ted Scott says that in their meetings with the South African Government it was clear the Government "saw the ANC as the group they had to respond to".

Mr Mandela struck Lord Anthony Barber as "a remarkable man". He says in the documentary: "I am convinced he is not a communist and that people will respond to his call for an end to the violence."

Mr Sam Motsuenyane of the National Federation of African Chambers of Commerce tells viewers: "I am not particularly apprehensive about an ANC government in South Africa."

Mr Gavin Relly, head of the Anglo American Corporation, says: "The common ground (with the ANC) is that we want a better, more equitable country... in the distribution of resources, education, health, housing and a host of similar issues."

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Own Correspondent

LONDON — The ANC has gone public and shown some of its secretive operatives and hush-hush operations to the world for the first time.

It did that in a dramatic television programme which was due to be screened in Britain on the Independent TV channel last night.

In the programme, called "Spear of the Nation" — after the ANC's military wing — the ANC is portrayed as an organisation of freedom fighters, not terrorists.

President P W Botha is shown delivering the speech where he talks of having been lenient and patient, and warns that he should not be pushed too far.

The programme coincides with a lengthy interview in the prestigious British national newspaper, the *Financial Times*, with ANC president Oliver Tambo, which portrays him not as the archty pal guerrilla leader, but as a serious and greying lawyer at the helm of the organisation.

The ANC is getting a considerable amount of positive mileage here out of the media.

ave retr 29/10/81

10 years' jail for young field worker who supports ANC

JOHANNESBURG — Stephen Johannes Marais, 29, a field worker involved in rural development in homelands, who was convicted of terrorism this week, was sentenced in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today to 10 years' imprisonment.

Saying he was exposed to the harsh living conditions of the villagers among whom he worked, Marais, who was born in Stellenbosch and studied fine art at the University of Cape Town between 1975 and 1978, admitted supporting the aims of the African National Congress.

The magistrate, Mr T J la Grange, said Marais regarded the aims of the ANC to be of paramount importance and human life of secondary importance.

"There's no point in trying to uplift the lives of some people and trying to destroy the lives of others," he said.

Marais pleaded guilty but there was no evidence of any remorse only his justification for his actions, said Mr la Grange.

Referring to Marais' work with the Environmental and Development Agency, the magistrate said: "There's no doubt that his task was a commendable one."

Through ANC members in Lesotho, Marais became convinced that the ANC was "the most important organisation fighting for changes away from the apartheid system", the court heard.

It also heard that Marais assisted in the transportation and storage of mines, travelling from Lesotho with Miss Marion Sparg in a hired car in which arms were concealed.

Clenched fists were raised by friends and colleagues after sentence was passed. — Sapa



Discharge of treason trialists to be sought

BUSINESS
29/10/86
UFA

THELMA TUCH

AN application will be made today for the discharge of the 22 men — most of them linked to the UDF — who have been facing charges of treason in the Delmas circuit court for more than nine months.

The state closed its case last Wednesday after leading the evidence of 170 witnesses, which has been documented into close on 8 000 pages.

In addition, about 13 000 pages of documentary evidence have been presented to the court.

Senior counsel for the accused, Arthur Chaskalson, will be making today's application for the discharge. Argument is expected to last for three days.

It is the procedure in criminal trials for the defence to ask for the discharge of the accused if, at the end of the state's case, there is no evidence upon which a reasonable person could convict the accused.

If this is the case, then the accused are entitled to be acquitted before the defence leads its case.

The marathon trial, believed to be the longest since the 1956 treason trial, began on January 20.

Among the accused are prominent UDF leaders — publicity secretary Patrick Lekota, general secretary Pope Molefe and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane.

The charges arise from unrest in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984. The state alleged that all 22 were responsible for inciting residents to attack and kill members of town councils.

It further alleged that the UDF had allied itself with the ANC and the SA Communist Party to overthrow the government.

29/10/84 BUS DAY (114) (S)

Man up for economic subversion

SOUTHERN Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce president William Arthur McBain Charles yesterday gave evidence in the case of UDF East Rand organiser Abiot Motsegwe, who is facing charges of economic subversion under the Internal Security Act in the Benoni Regional Court.

Motsegwe, 34, has been charged for his role in advocating a consumer boycott. He is believed to be the first person to appear on economic subversion charges in the Transvaal.

McBain Charles told the court he had been appointed by the chamber — a Nafcoc affiliate — to investigate whether the services offered by the existing tradesmen in East Rand black townships were sufficient to meet consumers' needs.

SOPHIE TEMA

He said Nafcoc once initiated a boycott in the form of the "Buy at Home Campaign". These types of boycotts were seen as a method of securing political change for black businessmen.

McBain Charles said a campaign was organised in 1979 in which Nafcoc called on the black community to support black business and tradesmen in the townships.

Nafcoc had never regarded the boycotts as unlawful. Such campaigns or boycotts were not politically motivated but were regarded as a means by which the community envisaged a solution to their problems.

They re-emphasised the need for

the restructure of laws which had confined black businessmen and tradesmen to certain group areas.

He said: "Black businesses were restricted according to the general policy of the country and Nafcoc had to avail itself to address and assist the black businessman to strive for full participation in SA's economic structure.

"In the event of a boycott, the organisers need to appeal publicly to the people to exercise restraint and caution and traders would have to secure enough stock from distribution organisations to last the campaign.

"If there is insufficient stock available during the boycott, businessmen will not make their profit and the consumers will not be inclined to support the boycott."

Woman witness tells of 'necklace' execution

GRAHAMSTOWN — A young woman told the Grahamstown Supreme Court yesterday how she escaped with her life after witnessing the "necklace" execution of a former Port Elizabeth policeman.

The woman, who may not be identified, was testifying against 10 people, aged between 21 and 27, before the Judge President of the East Cape Division, Mr Justice J D Cloete.

They are alleged to have murdered three people, two of whom were apparently former members of a group known as the "Comrades".

They were Mr Buyile Patrick Peter (21) and Mr Mncedisi Eric Stengile (19). The third deceased, Mr Aubrey Jacobs, was apparently a former policeman.

The State has alleged that Mr Peter and Mr Stengile were brought before a "people's court" on April 18 last year for having allegedly robbed and murdered two people.

They received the death sentence, and were assaulted and set alight in the "necklace" method near the salt pans outside Port Elizabeth.

Mr Jacobs, the State alleged, was taken

from his bed on the evening of April 28 last year, judged by the "court" in a similar fashion and set alight while still alive.

It was alleged that all the accused, except one, were members of the "Comrades".

They are Mr Sandi Ntlanki, Mr Tobile Lloyd, Mr Siphiwo Lande, Mr Sithembiso Basie Ndabangaye, Mr Mzwabantu Mzimba Zangqa, Mr Tamsanqa Magaba, Mr Mbulelo Tou, Mr Velile Williams and Mr Tatise Mesiame.

The other accused, Mr Mtunzi Tshibo, is, according to the State, a family member of the people allegedly killed by Mr Peter and Mr Stengile.

Shot in the leg

In court yesterday, the woman witness said Mr Jacobs was taken from his bed on April 28 to be questioned by a group of people, some of whom were armed.

He was shot in the leg when he tried to rise from the bed, she added.

During questioning at a house in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, she said, Mr Jacobs had been accused of assaulting a man who was

a member of the group during his service in the police force.

Mr Jacobs admitted this and apologised to them, she said. The woman said she then saw Mr Jacobs being led out of the house, accompanied by a number of people. They carried four car tyres.

One of the accused, Mr Zangqa, poured a can of petrol over Mr Jacobs, the woman claimed.

She said she saw Mr Jacobs's body go up in flames, although she could not see who lit a match.

The woman identified six of the accused as having been present at the time.

Mr Jacobs was killed alongside a "danger" sign, she said. This was later identified as a sign at the electricity sub-station in Soweto.

She also said the accused had planned to murder her in the same fashion but it seemed that they decided against it because she was pregnant at the time.

She reported the incident to the police when she returned to work a few days later.

The remainder of her evidence may not be reported for fear of identifying her.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

11A
29/10/88
STAR

I escaped necklacing, says woman

GRAHAMSTOWN. — A young woman has told the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, how she escaped with her life after witnessing the "necklace" execution of a former Port Elizabeth policeman.

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They are alleged to have murdered three people, two of whom were apparently former members of a group known as the "Comrades".

The victims were Mr Buyile Patrick Peter, 21, Mr Mncedisi Eric Stengile, 19, and Mr Aubrey Jacobs, who was apparently a former policeman.

The State has alleged that Mr Peter and Mr Stengile were brought before a "peoples' court" on April 18 last year for having robbed and murdered two people.

They received the death sentence and were assaulted and set alight by the "necklace" method near the salt pans outside Port Elizabeth.

Still alive

Mr Jacobs, the State alleged, was taken from his bed on the evening of April 28 last year, judged by the "court" in a similar fashion and set alight while still alive.

The witness alleged that she was to have been murdered in the same fashion. From her evidence it appears that this was decided against because she was pregnant.

It was also alleged that two of the accused were former members of the "Comrades".

The 10 facing trial are Mr Sandi Ntlanki, Mr Tobile Lloyd, Mr Siphiso Lande, Mr Sithembiso Basie Ndabangaye, Mr Mzwabantu Mzimba Zangqa, Mr Tamsanqa Magaba, Mr Mbulelo Tou, Mr Velile Williams and Mr Tatische Mesami.

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One of the accused, Mr Zangqa, poured a can of petrol over Mr Jacobs, the woman claimed.

She said she saw Mr Jacobs's body go up in flames but could not see who lit a match.

The woman identified six of the accused as having been present.

She reported the incident to the police when she returned to work a few days later. — Sapa.

(Proceeding).

Apartheid 'taking SA to point of no return'

CAPE TIMES 29/10/86
11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Apartheid, maintained by State violence and opposed by counter-violence, was steering South Africa towards a point of no return, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha received the Man of the Year award from the Institute of Management Consultants of Southern Africa.

In speech prepared for delivery at a function here, Chief Buthelezi said: "We are already on the road to a final conflagration in this country which can only produce a Beirut-type situation."

The government's refusal to go to the negotiating table with a package deal that was meaningful to blacks continued to be the root cause of violent developments.

Apartheid was more than the separation of races, the exclusion of blacks from their full share of the economy, or the curtailment of freedom of movement.

No democracy without equality

Apartheid was fundamentally evil because it was the exercise of white decision-making over blacks, with whites continuing to arrogate to themselves these powers in four-fifths of South Africa.

White decision-making power exclusively controlled the country's transport system, the civil service, the police force, the defence force, the economy and domestic and foreign policy.

There was no possible democratic solution within the framework of the new constitution.

"You cannot have democracy without equality before the constitution and equality before the law, and while the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and a host of other acts remain on the statute books, democracy will remain undermined and the group rights they are designed to protect will remain under threat of violent annihilation."

Leaders like Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothopeng had to be released. — Sapa



Religious leaders from around the world accompanied Pope John Paul on his walk through the streets of Assisi in northern Italy yesterday. Among those accompanying the Pope were Dr Allan Boesak (bottom left) and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, (left of the Pope).

Picture: REUTERS

CAPE TIMES 29/10/86
Boesak calls for press truth 11A

LONDON. — Dr Alan Boesak challenged the South African press to tell the story of the country's "suffering people" yesterday — and Britain's National Union of Journalists launched a fund to establish an "independent news agency" in the country.

Dr Boesak told about 400 people at a meeting organized by the NUJ: "All the newspapers belong to Anglo American. Why don't they decide the time has come to speak the truth, find out what is happening in the townships and challenge the government to close down all those newspapers?"

Dr Boesak said he believed the South African press was protecting white interests in the country, and he also criticized foreign correspondents based in South Africa.

PFP calls for urgent judicial inquiry into detainee 'suicides'

CAPE TIMES 29/10/86
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A JUDICIAL commission of inquiry should be appointed as a matter of urgency to investigate the alleged suicide of emergency detainee Xolusi Johannes Jacobs, in Upington, two PFP MPs, Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Jasper Walsh, said yesterday.

Mr Van Eck and Mr Walsh, both members of the party's Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee (Umac), made this call after they interviewed dozens of people in the black township of Pabalello, Upington, about the alleged suicide.

They said: "In the present very volatile situation it is imperative that im-

mediate and urgent action is seen to be taken in every single case where a person detained for his political convictions dies in detention.

"Nothing less than a judicial inquiry will remove the suspicion that surrounds such cases."

They also said that in the case of Johannes Jacobs, there were a number of additional reasons for such an inquiry:

"There exists deep and widespread suspicion in the community that his death was not suicide. After having interviewed dozens of people we could not find anyone who believed that the deceased would have committed suicide."

State case in Delmas trial 'too weak'

By Estelle Trengove
The State failed to show that the United Democratic Front (UDF) could be linked to episodes of violence which broke out in the Vaal Triangle in 1984, defence counsel in the Delmas treason trial said yesterday.

Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, appearing for the defence, is applying for the discharge of all 22 treason trialists on the grounds that the evidence presented by the State was not sufficient to prove the allegations against them.

The State alleged the accused had acted with common purpose, taking part in a grand conspiracy conceived by the UDF on its

own, or in co-operation with the African National Congress (ANC), to overthrow the Government through violence.

UDF MEMBERS

Among the accused are several prominent members of the UDF.

"The State must show the 22 accused conspired with the intention of overthrowing the Government. We submit that this has not been shown," Mr Chaskalson said.

The State contended that the UDF was formed after the ANC called on democratic forces to unite and form one front for national liberation.

Mr Chaskalson said even the evidence of for-

mer ANC members was destructive for the State's case. Reports of gossip in ANC camps on how the UDF came into existence took the State case no further.

"The ANC cannot pros-
scribe political action inside South Africa by what it says outside," he said.

LOW PROFILE

In their evidence, the former ANC members told the court that ANC cadres sent back into South Africa would act clandestinely. Politically, they kept a low profile to avoid attracting the attention of the police.

The witnesses said the ANC capitalised on events such as bus boycotts or any protest which had pop-

ular support — if it was successful, they would sometimes even take the credit.

The violence in the Vaal Triangle could have been the result of agitation by such low-profile ANC cadres, Mr Chaskalson said.

"There is no way a reasonable person can conclude that the UDF was behind the acts of violence," he said.

The violent outbursts could even have been the result of local grievances, of agitation by other political groups or organisations or it could have been a sign of the difficult times the people were living in.

The hearing continues today.

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30/10/86
BUS DM

Yeoville man gets 10 years for terrorism

11A
LIAM EGAN

STEPHEN JOHANNES MARAIS was sentenced yesterday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to 10 years jail for terrorism.

Marais, 29, of 6th Street, Yeoville, Johannesburg, who had pleaded guilty to the charge, was convicted of transporting an ANC member and eight limpet mines into SA from Lesotho. He admitted in papers he supported the objectives of the ANC.

The court heard that Marais, with Marion Sparg, had transported the limpet mines on February 16 this year. One mine, it was alleged in court papers, had been detonated by Sparg on February 18 at East London's Cambridge Police Station.

Marais also admitted providing topographical maps of SA terrain for the ANC, trying to recruit members for the ANC, and distributing ANC literature.

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~~UDF~~ ~~ANC~~ 11A

THELMA TUCH

Delmas trial hears denial of UDF plot

THE State had provided no evidence that the UDF or its affiliates conspired with the ANC to overthrow the government with violence by making the country ungovernable, senior counsel Arthur Chaskalson said yesterday.

He was arguing for the discharge of the 22 men — most linked to the UDF — facing charges of treason in the Delmas circuit court in a trial that began in January.

Among the accused are UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota, general secretary Pope Molefe and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane.

The charges arose from unrest in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984, with the State alleging all 22 incited residents to attack and kill town councillors.

The State alleged all the accused had acted with common purpose as part of a grand conspiracy to make the country ungovernable. The conspiracy, it alleged, was conceived by the UDF or in co-operation with the ANC.

Chaskalson said yesterday the UDF and its affiliates were *prima facie* lawful organisations.

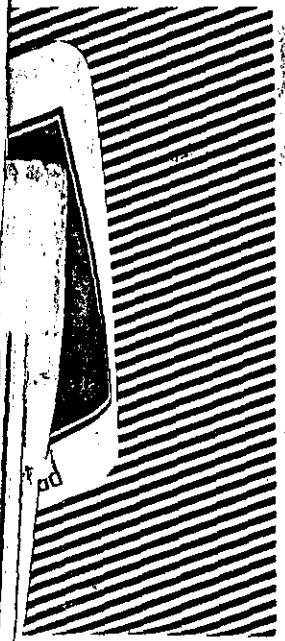
There was no evidence that people who joined these organisations were told the organisations' stated goals were not their true goals, and that there was a secret agenda to overthrow the State by violence.

There was no evidence the UDF had masterminded various acts of violence and destruction. These acts could have been the result of township hardships, local grievances, agitation at local level by groups or individuals or agitation by the ANC or other political groups.

The documents produced by the State did not support its case that the UDF was established by the ANC to pursue its policies.

Chaskalson challenged the State's suggestion that the boycott of town council elections had been planned to bring about chaos.

THE
ACH



I meet the denimed Comrades, in arms

11A
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SIPHO NGCOBO meets members of the

"Comrades," a faceless organisation which sows fear and terror in townships throughout South Africa

I feel it. It is very light.

The men, all wearing denim, were quiet again; there was no laughter. Not even a smile.

I'm sitting with four comrades, township political activists, on an assignment to interview these young men who are said to be tough killers, people who can take a life without emotion.

I had set out to find members of the "Comrades" and managed to get hold of some of them, the four that I am with now. It had been extremely difficult, involving days of unfulfilled promises and deliberate disappointments.

At times I was threatened with the "necklace" if I was found out to be a police spy. I was even blindfolded at times, for long distances.

But I finally made it and found myself sitting face-to-face with the comrades at 9.20pm in this room in a Soweto house which was to serve as a meeting place.

"Now, about the necklace?" I ask, knowing well that I am touching on a sensitive issue.

"Well com, some of us are not for this method of punishing sell-outs.

But of course others are for it. And you know com, this is a revolutionary situation where many things happen. People are angry, you know.

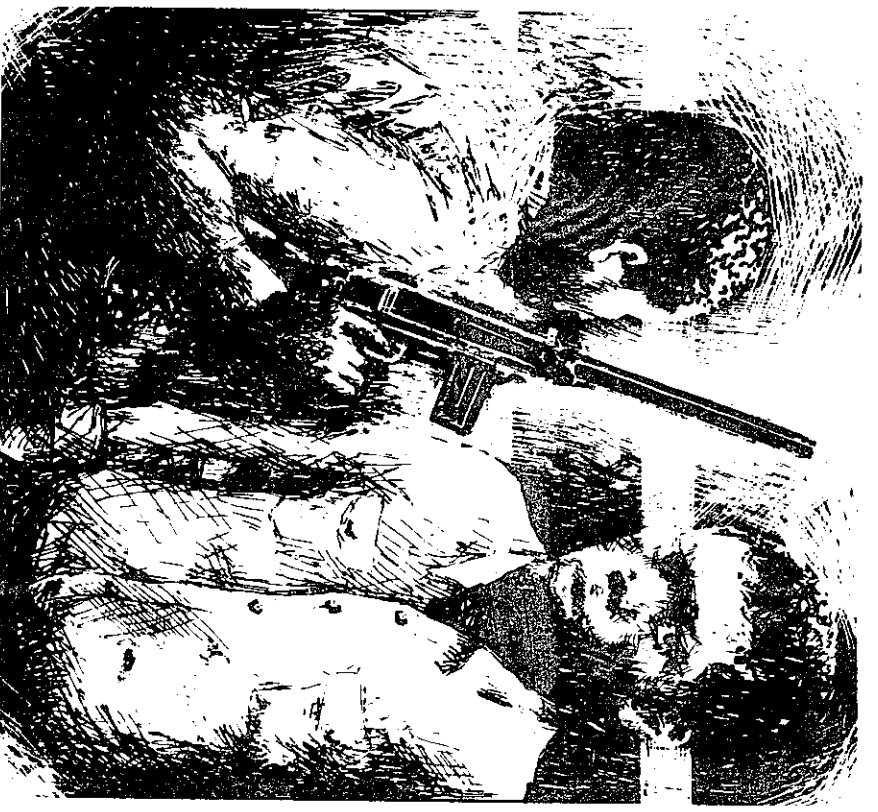
"Burning a sell-out leaves one with some satisfaction and burning and killing a sell-out is tantamount to burning and killing apartheid itself. Sell-outs are such a problem, and without them there would not be so many people in jails," he says.

"Victory is within sight, comrade," says one of the four, looking me straight in my eyes.

'Ruthless'

"Umkhonto is fighting. But as supporters we must open another front within the country. That will frustrate the system, you know com," he says in a slightly stammering voice. More silence.

"Well com, you know the system is well armed. I mean Hippos, helicopters, tanks and jet-fighters. They are ruthless, because they just shoot at us. But com, our determination to free ourselves from oppression, the little material that we have and, of course, the numbers that we boast of are



Graphic: JOHN MCCANN

enough. The system will end up losers.

"Of course some of us will die in the process — but not all of us."

The person I am talking to is young. Like his comrade with the gun he is about 19 years of age. Yet at this age they are already veterans of many riots and violent experiences.

By Umkhonto the youth is referring to the military wing of the ANC, which he subscribes to ideologically; and by the "system" he means the South African government, which he hates because of what he terms "its willingness to oppress forever".

"Who provides you with all this?" I ask.

"All revolutions have supporters, and ours is not an exception. We too, have supporters who give us moral and material support."

"Unfortunately, I am not allowed to reveal their names. But they are here, in the midst of our people and some of them are well-known personalities. Do not worry about their identities; you will know them after liberation," he says and smiles.

"How have you been able to avoid arrests for more than three months?" I ask.

"We are just careful and our network of informants is always on the watch-out for the police. They keep us informed," says the comrade.

I inquire if they are members of the ANC? The young man laughs again. "I support the ANC," he says.

Clenched fist

"What about the PAC and Azapo?" "I know that the PAC is fighting, and that is good. We support them in their fight. They are comrades in arms," he says, clenching his fist.

"How do you manage to arm yourselves? Where do you get the arms from?" I ask.

They look at one another, smiling. "Well, com, that is our revolutionary secret, and as I told you earlier I am not allowed to reveal some of these things to you. I think it suffices to say we have arms, and plenty of them for that matter."

Just then the gun-owner turns to his four comrades. "Hey, comrades. There is a street committee meeting tonight. We must definitely attend. Please, please, please. I nearly forgot, and it's time up already," he says.

Going through the same procedures which took me to this meeting, I was taken back to where we would part, the "Comrades" waving a smiling farewell.

What a world we're living in, I thought, waved, and marched straight home.

'No sadist'

He takes another look at me and, flashing a strong set of teeth, says: "This is only to protect ourselves and the oppressed masses, comrade. I am a no killer. I am no sadist. I am a liberator. Be free, comrade. You and ourselves are one. Be free."

"How do you move around with such a big gun? Is it not heavy?" I ask. The four burst into laughter. The smiling comrade starts, "No comrade, this is not heavy," he says, holding the gun high up with his three fingers and a thumb. He hands it over to me.

"Feel it. It's a sub-machinegun. It's Czechoslovak sub," he says.

Merger-time once more for Cosatu unions

Cosatu's deadline for merging rival affiliates lapsed in May, with only one success. Now the union federation is launching a new unity drive, reports CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

But many mergers have not yet occurred, creating some organisational problems for the federation. Naidoo said these problems had largely resulted because Cosatu's national structures were designed to cater for a set number of large industrial unions. But he added, local structures had not been affected.

At this stage there are several factors which have complicated merger talks. While ideological differences have cropped up between occasional unions, these are not generally cited as stumbling blocks to mergers.

Problems of a more practical nature seem to be at the heart of the delay. Verifying the paid-up membership of the unregistered, general unions who do not enjoy stop-order facilities has held things up in some cases.

The phasing out of general unions

into the larger industrial unions has proved complex and Mafumadi said it now appeared that affiliates had not discussed this matter as thoroughly as they could have before Cosatu's launch.

"General unions feel they are being pushed too fast and need more time to discuss practical changes. But the industrial unions feel general unions are dragging their feet and it is the central executive's task to try and strike a balance," Mafumadi said.

Some say general unions are fearful of being "swamped" by larger unions by entering into mergers before all practical matters have been resolved.

However, Naidoo said mergers between similar-sized unions, which had emerged under varied circumstances with different organising traditions, had proved most difficult. "But merger talks have largely been slowed down by the Emergency, difficulties with procedures, other practicalities and the drafting of constitutions," he added.

Naidoo said recent talks had been taking place in the commercial and catering industry. It was hoped that members from Gawu, Saawu and the

Retail and Allied Workers Union would be drawn into the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA (Ccawusa) over the next few months.

He said the chemical sector was not faced with major talks because the Chemical Workers Industrial Union was a key figure and those to be included were a few Gawu factories and Saawu members in East London.

In the mining industry, many SA Mine Workers Union and United Metal, Mining and Allied Workers Union members had already been handed over to the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), he said.

The National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, Mawu and the Motor Industry Combined Workers Union (Micwu) have set a target of July/August next year for their inaugural congress. Micwu general secretary Des East said although progress had been made in the talks, there were still some important issues to clear up.

The organisation of farmworkers has become Fawu's responsibility, with attention being focussed on Western Cape citrus farms, sugar farms and chicken farms linked to Fawu-organised factories.

Cosatu is also working closely with the Unemployed Workers' Coordinating Committee (UWCC) with a view to forming a national union for unemployed workers. About 15 such associations are now working together.

Cosatu presently has an intake of 34 unions, claiming a paid-up membership of about 700 000. It attributes this membership leap to the rapid growth of all its unions (the NUM, Mawu, Ccawusa and Fawu in particular) and the affiliation of the 6 000-member Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. It also says that specific branches of two outside unions have recently joined Cosatu.

Cosatu decided to disband its Witwatersrand executive committee recently when alleged differences developed. Although Naidoo declined to comment on these differences, he said the region would be administered by the head office until November 23, when a new regional executive committee would be elected.

Cosatu leaders have also evaluated the reasons for the failure of their stayaway call following the declaration of the Emergency in June.

"We did not understand the extent to which our structures had been disrupted and did not allow sufficient time for proper communication with our membership. We also did not consult with democratic organisations in the townships," Naidoo said.

"These problems will be avoided in future and there is an ongoing evaluation of what forms of action Cosatu will initiate in the broader struggle against repression."

CAPE TOWN 30/10/80

22 prisoners held after cellmate's death

~~OWN CORRESPONDENT~~ 11A

PORT ELIZABETH — Police have arrested 22 people in connection with the death of an awaiting-trial prisoner in Louis le Grange Square on Sunday morning.

A post-mortem on Mr Lungisile Bako, 18, of Sabaku Street, Zwide, showed that he died of internal injuries, police said.

Mr Bako was found seriously injured and unconscious near the shower of his cell by police who investigated a noise coming from the cells at 12.30am on Sunday.

He was taken to Livingstone Hospital, where he died the following day.

Mr Bako was arrested on October 16 in connection with the murder of Constable Johnson Nogokwene, who was shot in his neck and abducted by "comrades" earlier this month.

Const Nogokwene's body was later found in a shallow grave near Motherwell.

After his appearance in court on October 20, Mr Bako was put in a cell at Louis le Grange Square with the 22 other prisoners.

11A

30/10/86
SABR

—Limpet mine smuggler jailed for 10 years—

Stephen Johannes Marais (29), who admitted smuggling limpet mines into South Africa to be used "in accordance with the aims of the African National Congress", was sentenced yesterday to 10 years' imprisonment for terrorism.

In passing sentence, magistrate Mr T J la Grange said Marais regarded the aims of the ANC as of paramount importance — and human life as secondary.

Marais, an Environmental and Development Agency field worker assisting villagers with vegetable gardening, water and health projects, accompanied Miss Marion Monica Sparg to East London in February, Johannesburg Magistrate's Court heard. Six limpet mines were stored at his home in Transkei.

Miss Sparg is awaiting trial in the Rand Supreme Court for treason.

A short while after the trip, Marais heard that a limpet mine had exploded at a police station in East London — causing no injuries and limited damage.

The magistrate said Marais was prepared to justify the use of limpet mines as long as these were aimed at striking military, political and economic targets.

SERIOUSLY INJURED

Marais said under cross-examination: "It is tragic, but inevitable, that the innocent may be seriously injured or killed."

He was asked to comment on the ANC aim of overthrowing State authority by violence.

He said he did not condone indiscriminate killing of civilians by striking "soft" targets, such as supermarkets.

The magistrate said he could not reconcile these two views.

"There's no point in trying to uplift the lives of some people and trying to destroy the lives of others," said Mr la Grange.

Marais did not complete his fine arts degree at the University of Cape Town because he received his call-up papers in 1978. He refused to do his national service but became involved as a field worker in rural development projects.

Mr la Grange said Marais pleaded guilty, "but there was no evidence of any remorse only his justification for his actions".

At a previous hearing, the court heard that through ANC members in Lesotho, Marais became convinced the ANC was "the most important organisation fighting for change from the apartheid system".

30/10/76
BUS DM

Yeoville man gets 10 years for terrorism

LIAM EGAN

11A

STEPHEN JOHANNES MARAIS was sentenced yesterday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to 10 years jail for terrorism.

Marais, 29, of 6th Street, Yeoville, Johannesburg, who had pleaded guilty to the charge, was convicted of transporting an ANC member and eight limpet mines into SA from Lesotho. He admitted in papers he supported the objectives of the ANC.

The court heard that Marais, with Marion Sparg, had transported the limpet mines on February 16 this year. One mine, it was alleged in court papers, had been detonated by Sparg on February 18 at East London's Cambridge Police Station.

Marais also admitted providing topographical maps of SA terrain for the ANC, trying to recruit members for the ANC, and distributing ANC literature.

Bomb blast suspect escaped, say police

By Philip Botha

ONE of the alleged ANC terrorists linked to the Marine Parade bomb blast in Durban in which three people died this year, escaped from police custody early last month but was later rearrested after being shot, police revealed yesterday.

The detainee was Robert McBride, who was alleged in court papers to be responsible for the Marine Parade blast and various other acts of terror in the Durban area.

A spokesman for police headquarters yesterday confirmed that a detainee being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act escaped from custody in Durban about 7 p m on September 11.

He said the escaper was arrested within 30 minutes after police shot and wounded him in the foot.

'We confirm that he is one of the persons arrested in connection with certain acts of terror in and around Durban some time ago,' the spokesman said.

A security policeman, Capt Jacobus Adriaan Vorster, alleged in papers before the Supreme Court, Durban, opposing the urgent application for the release of Mr George Webster, that Mr McBride had been responsible for a number of terror incidents.

These included, apart from the Marine Parade blast, an explosion at the Mayville sub-station, an explosion at the Chamberlain sub-station, which led to the death of Lt-Col Robert Welman, another explosion at the same sub-station and a grenade attack on the home of a member of the Labour Party.

Other acts allegedly committed by Mr McBride were the grenade attack on the home of another Labour Party member, the dramatic rescue of Gordon Webster from Edendale Hospital in Pietermaritzburg in which one person was killed and several wounded, the placing of a 15 kg bomb in Pine Parkade, the explosion at the Copper Shop in West Street, an explosion at an oil tank in Jacobs and the sabotage of a water pipeline in Westville.

'UDF has no link with ANC'

ARGUMENT for the discharge of the 22 men appearing in the Delmas treason trial began in the Circuit Court yesterday.

Severfan

MA

30/10/86

The defence counsel, led by Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC, submitted that there was no evidence which proved beyond reasonable doubt that the United Democratic Front was a creation of the banned ANC.

The State alleges that the UDF conspired with the ANC to overthrow the system by violent means. It is alleged that the UDF and its affiliates had conspired with the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable.

Argument

(Handwritten mark)

In his argument Mr Chaskalson said despite the evidence of former ANC members that in the ANC camp they were extolling the virtues of the UDF, that fact did not mean the UDF's goal was to overthrow the State by violent means.

He said although the ANC saw progressive organisations inside the country as sources, and instructed its members to endeavour to make contact with people in these organisations, there was no direct evidence suggesting that the UDF and its affiliates had agreed to pursue the goals of the ANC.

Treason

The 22 men have pleaded not guilty on charges of treason, alternatively terrorism, murder and subversion. The trial is a sequel to the violence which broke out in the Vaal Triangle townships on September 3, 1984.

"We submit that the evidence by former ANC members is destructive rather than supportive," Mr Chaskalson said.

He quoted evidence by Rev Lord McCamel on the Vaal Civic Association which said it was formed to get the com-

To Page 2

'UDF, ANC not linked'

From Page 1
munity to discuss their grievances.

Mr Chaskalson said the VCA was formed after assistance was obtained from the UDF and the Soweto Civic Association.

There is no evidence to suggest that the VCA would be anything other than a bona fide community organisation.

"The State's case is pure speculation," Mr Chaskalson said.
(Proceeding).

30/10/86

Severfan

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MA

Scrap Mpetha funeral restrictions, urges PFP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Efforts were being made today to scrap restrictions on the funeral of Mrs Rose Mpetha, wife of imprisoned trade unionist Oscar Mpetha.

The funeral is due to take place tomorrow.

Among the restrictions imposed were that the funeral may not be attended by more than 200 people, that it may not last for more than three hours, that the Government or any of its actions or policies may not be criticised and that only ordained ministers may take part.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point and PFP spokesman on Law and Order

matters, said today he would approach the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to have the restrictions scrapped.

He said if the Minister was really concerned with maintaining peace and order he should not allow offensive restrictions of this nature to stand.

The Government's refusal to allow Mpetha (77) to attend the funeral has been condemned by the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Cosatu spokesman Mr Frank Meintjies said such actions by the Government made workers even more determined to remove it and replace it with a humane Government.

KIA
STAR
31/10/86

TV shapes Western view of SA: Worrall

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa is perceived as the “great public international moral problem of the last quarter of the 20th century”, but the debate risks being trivialised by a simplistic international approach, says Dr Denis Worrall.

The South African ambassador said yesterday he believed television reporting had played a particular role in shaping Western perceptions.

In an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs,

he said television reports cast black religious leaders in the “easy mould” of Martin Luther King and the American civil rights struggle, and portrayed “relentless” and “uncaring” State authorities in a society marked by first and third world contrasts.

“South Africa is not only the stuff of good television, but of profitable television, and the result is a highly emotional and superficial picture of a unique situation.”

Western public figures “capitalised” on this, but there “is no

sense of perception on the part of the critics”.

Public figures “moralise and criticise”, but they were “dishonourable” about South Africa because they were often promoting their own interests.

“In fact, there is an abysmal lack of standards in the international public commentary on South Africa. The more enduring issues of South African society, which turn on differences of language, culture and nationalism, are lost sight of.”

A major consequence of international perceptions of South Africa was that it was seen in “simplistic moral terms” of black versus white, and there was no sense of history and little appreciation of the “non-black psychological dimension”.

He warned that the international community would fail to influence South Africans by “belittling their achievements, insulting them, ridiculing or ignoring their fears and anxieties”.

Black liberation, he said, would not be achieved without assuring “white African security”.

ANC film a distortion — embassy

LONDON — The South African Embassy in London has slammed an independent British TV channel for showing a film on the ANC's armed wing this week, because it “creates a gross distortion”.

The embassy says the film, “The Spear of the Nation” - shown on ITV on Tuesday night - “fails to acknowledge that the ANC clearly supports a revolutionary transformation of South African society. It is committed to a strategy of terrorism to achieve this end”.

The embassy accuses ITV of doing “a disservice to democracy and the vast majority of law-abiding South Africans who oppose violence. To present Umkhonto we Sizwe as a moderate organisation driven to desperation is a travesty of the truth.”

It says all ITV companies' future reportage of South African affairs is placed in jeopardy by the decision to screen such “pure propaganda”.

No case against treason accused, argues defence

By Estelle Trengove

None of the 22 Delmas treason trialists could be linked to the killing of four community councillors during the September 1984 riots in the Vaal triangle, their defence counsel argued yesterday.

The defence is arguing for the discharge of all 22 accused.

CONSPIRACY

They include three prominent members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Azapo members, an Anglican priest and a South African Council of Churches worker.

The State has alleged the 22 men took part in a UDF conspiracy to make the townships ungovernable and to eventually overthrow the Government through violence.

On September 3 1984, violence erupt-

ed and four community councillors were killed in Sebokeng. On the same day, a march took place to protest against increased rents. The march was organised by people associated with the UDF and the State alleged it led to the violence which claimed five lives.

The 22 accused were charged with murdering the councillors, but the State had failed to produce any evidence to link any of them or any other marchers to the deaths that occurred on that day, said counsel for the defence, Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC.

From the evidence of State witnesses, it was clear the attack on the house of the first councillor who was killed, started before the march. When the march passed close by the scene of the murder, some of the marchers might have gone to look out of curiosity, but there was no evidence they had taken part in the killing.

The State claimed that at that time, meetings were being held in the Vaal to incite the "black masses" so that the country would become ungovernable, leading to a violent revolution.

Mr Chaskalson said evidence on the planning of meetings and marches made it clear they were intended as peaceful protests against rent increases. The Vaal riots erupted following the Lekoa Town Council's decision to increase rents.

The decision was taken at a time when the community was experiencing severe economic difficulties, partly due to retrenchments and unemployment.

There had also been dissatisfaction for some time over the community councillors. They were seen as having no real power and doing nothing for the people while using their positions to enrich themselves.

Against this background, it was decided that a peaceful mass meeting should be held.

The hearing continues.

Suspended sentence for banned literature

Strike Michael Ralegoma (28) was sentenced by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday to 18 months' jail, suspended for five years, for possessing banned literature.

The magistrate, Mr T J la Grange, said he had found Ralegoma guilty of possessing banned literature disseminated on behalf of the African National Congress, and literature for which a permit was required from the Minister of Law and Order.

The sentence was conditionally suspended on the grounds that Ralegoma is not again convicted of either possessing or distributing banned literature.

Ralegoma, a dispatch department clerk for an outfitting firm, pleaded guilty to possessing the literature at his home in Dube, Soweto, on October 7.

COPIES OF FREEDOM CHARTER

Police seized two copies of the Freedom Charter, possession of which is made illegal by a line at the bottom which noted that it was published on behalf of the ANC; two copies of a message delivered by the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to the national executive committee of the ANC on January 8 this year; and an untitled booklet containing resolutions taken by the ANC at a national consultative conference in Lusaka in June last year.

The court heard that Ralegoma was a first offender, employed in a responsible position and was needed by his employer to get out orders for the Christmas season.

He is one of nine children and helps to support two of his younger family members.

He said he kept the material not to distribute to others but out of an educational interest and an interest in history.

UDF man threatened

AN attempt was made on the life of Cosatu's Northern Transvaal regional secretary Mr Donsie Khumalo this week, a spokesperson for Cosatu said in Pretoria.

The spokesperson said Mr Khumalo of Maelodi was awoken by

two gunmen wearing balaclavas at about 1am. The two gunmen demanded that he opened the door but he refused after noticing through a window that both men were armed and he could not identify them.

Mr Khumalo was

among the people who were arrested at the start of the state of emergency on June 12. He was released on September 12 but restricted.

He is not allowed to make press statements, according to Cosatu's spokesperson.

Talking to a comrade

Comrade Bongani (about 20) hails from Tumahole, but says he is living "underground" at the moment because of the emergency.

FM: Why do comrades "necklace" people?

Bongani: Collaborators and sell-outs are delaying our struggle. They take information to the police. Do you think people will be happy about that? So they are retaliating. We don't have guns or anything to protect us. Imagine kids of eight, nine and ten years old being killed by the forces. So that (necklacing) is the only thing left, that is the people's language.

If there are rumours about (an informer), people will keep a low profile and investigate them. Sometimes they will be warned, and have to appear before meetings . . . But the people are angry and impatient . . . It is a pity we cannot buy our struggle with money. **Have you ever taken part in a necklace execution?**

No. As you may well know, there have not been many of these.

How has the State of Emergency affected your activity?

The aim of the emergency is to try to blackball all progressive organisations. Secondly, the aim is to detain certain people for high treason, because the atmosphere in the different townships is such that the people are aware of overthrowing the government by violence.

It has had an effect on organisations. We can no longer call mass meetings to discuss matters affecting the community. So the only thing is to work through street committee level.

How do street committees operate?

I don't want to go far into the issue. Most of the townships have been organised in this way, seeing it has become impossible to call public meetings. So each and every street has one, with a chairman, and so on, where issues are discussed, so that all the people in the township (are in the) know.

What organisation do you belong to?

I am a member of Tumahole Youth Congress, which is an affiliate of the United Democratic Front.

Who do you regard as your leader in this country?

Baba Nelson Mandela.

Why?

In the Fifties, it was difficult for people to organise, but he was brave enough. And

then, even though he was from a royal family, he just left all the opportunities, and made the sacrifice for the black people. He is fighting for justice. I don't think we can have peace as long as Nelson Mandela is in detention; I don't think the situation can be normal as long as the State of Emergency is on, and as long as people are being harassed, killed and banned.

Government says the emergency is necessary because the townships are out of control, and because people must be protected from being necklaced?

I don't believe the emergency is being effective. Today we have about 25 000 comrades in detention. But still, you can see what is happening in the country. Their aim was to detain people and to silence their democratic voices.

Unfortunately, people are now aware of what is happening, and then nature is on the side of the people too.

What kind of government do you want in this country?

I want a people's government, whereby all the people will be represented in decision-making. You can see what is happening in our country. The minority are regarded as superior, while the majority of the blacks are not regarded as being people. When decisions are taken, we are not consulted. An example is the DET, in July, with their master plan (to solve the boycotts). They never consulted our parents. They just decided for us. In the long run it proved itself to be a failure because, as you can see, there is no longer effective teaching, and the majority of the students are not going to write exams this year.

Do you believe in liberation before education?

The problem is that the type of education we are getting is such that the people don't actually have any particular interest in it. I personally believe that education and liberation go hand in glove. But, at the same time, if the people decide otherwise, I will go along . . .

And what have your comrades decided?

That sitting under this Bantu education is really a waste of time. The National Education Crisis Committee is trying to negotiate with this government, but then the government don't want to talk to them. They want to settle this problem because it's in crisis now.

Many students, even kids of nine and ten

years old, are in detention. We want them to be released. Also some of our parents.

You don't think exam boycotts are damaging your future?

This is not our own education. It has been designed by the capitalists to make us perpetual slaves of industry. Since 1953, when Bantu Education was implemented, it has never succeeded. It is totally wrong. We would like to have people's education.

It would be unfair for me to write matric this year when some of my fellow students, teachers and parents are still in detention. **What do you mean by people's education?**

I mean that type of education whereby all the people are satisfied with it because they are involved in the decision-making for the benefit of all.

For instance, when dealing with the Russian Revolution of 1917, because Russia is a Communist country, Bantu education will tell you this and that about communism and how bad it is.

They won't tell us the true facts about what happened in Russia during that time. Then (the teaching of) our history is totally out. But fortunately we are now aware of what is happening.

From my point of view, there is nothing wrong with communism so long as people accept it.

Would you like to see socialism in this country?

Yes, because it's going to do away with capitalism.

What do you understand by capitalism?

It is a system of private ownership by certain individuals who own the means of production. My parents, from Monday to Friday can make a production of R1 000, but he or she is going to get, say, R50. So our parents are being exploited so that certain individuals can get rich.

That's why I prefer socialism, because the working class will control production.

How do you feel about sanctions; won't blacks suffer most because of them?

I totally support sanctions because that is a non-violent method. It is also a policy of the United Nations to avoid war.

It's true that blacks will suffer. But, from the economic point of view, I haven't enjoyed the fruits of SA — I have been suffering up till now. And from the political point of view, in the long run we are going to have our liberation.

CAPC Tm's 31/10/86 (11A)

Buthelezi rules out disaster theory for SA

PORT ELIZABETH. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday discounted prophecies of inevitable disaster for South Africa and said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had the power to bring about a new fully non-racial dispensation.

He said the people of the country had already accepted this new dispensation in their hearts and minds.

The question now was whether Afrikaners had learnt to be Africans of Africa or whether they would perish "as aliens from abroad, who were incapable of abandoning political tyranny," Chief Buthelezi told students and staff at the University of Port Elizabeth.

He said he believed Mr Botha to be sincere in his commitment to negotiation.

But he warned that if the State President thought he had the whip

hand because his party controlled Parliament, black South Africa would abandon attempts to use the parliamentary process to ratify the decisions of the people.

Black South Africa would then destroy Parliament, he said.

The analyses foretelling only doom were limited because of their underlying failure to understand the richness of man's ingenuity in regulating the affairs of society, he said. If it were not for this, there would indeed be no hope for South Africa, he added.

He said those who saw the NG Kerk synod as "scuttling to define racism as a sin and jumping off the sinking apartheid ship like a rat" misconceived South Africa.

This was a historic move a long time in the making. — Sapa

Fourth court bid to find missing Pebco leader

By JIMMY MATYU

AN application will be filed in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on Monday calling on the State and the South African Police to produce the president of the PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi who disappeared mysteriously last year.

The *habeas corpus* application will be brought by Mrs Benedicta Nobubele Godolozzi, who believes her son is still alive.

Mr Godolozzi disappeared on May 8 last year with two other Pebco

executive members, the secretary-general, Mr Siphso Hashe, and the organising secretary, Mr Champion Galela.

This will be the fourth attempt made in court to establish the fate of Mr Godolozzi

An attorney for Priscilla Jana and Company in Johannesburg, which is representing Mrs Godolozzi, said that according to papers to come before court, Mrs Godolozzi was calling on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the officer

commanding the Alexandria Police Station to produce her son.

The matter was last heard in the PE Supreme Court in April.

He said that since April he had been conducting research in PE on the matter and that 15 witnesses from various places would give evidence for the applicant.

The attorney said the evidence would incorporate testimony on behalf of Mr Hashe and Mr Galela.

The three Pebco leaders disappeared on May 8 last year.



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CAPETOWN 31/10/86

Indaba a precedent ~~Worrall~~

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The KwaNatal Indaba was an important development and could draw KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into national politics, South Africa's ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, has said here.

Dr Worrall was answering questions after addressing the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Asked what he thought about the Indaba, Dr Worrall said: "I believe it is a very important development which could create a precedent for other parts of the country."

He said it was understandable that the initiative had run into some difficulty because the participants were "getting down to the nitty-gritty of discussing power-sharing in the legislature".

He also said: "One of the virtues of the Indaba is that it could bring Chief Buthelezi into national politics."

Within the context of the National Statutory Council initiative, he said, the KwaZulu leader had made his participation dependent on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison.

"When Chief Buthelezi says he wants Mr Mandela out of prison he is doing so in the confidence that once out of prison Mr Mandela will become another political leader facing very real practical problems," Dr Worrall said.

Mr Mandela had become a "myth" both internationally and within South Africa.

"He is a very important factor in the South African situation."

Dr Worrall argued that it was quite reasonable for the government to ask Mr Mandela to renounce violence as a pre-condition for his release.

He placed the onus on the West to bring pressure to bear on the African National Congress to renounce violence.

"The West should tell the ANC: call South Africa's bluff but accept the open-ended negotiations."

In his address Dr Worrall said South Africa's future depended as much on the quality of leadership "both inside and outside South Africa" as it did on policies and constitutions.

He said the West made a fundamental error with its assumptions that white South Africa was uniquely evil and white South Africans a unique breed.

"You are not dealing with people who are arrogant but people who are very anxious and who feel very insecure about the future," he said.

Black liberation could only be achieved by assuring white African security, he added.

The

Officials told to:

Use media to discredit the UDF

Cast suspicion on UDF among Union leaders

Promote disunity among black organisations

Disinformation

Scandal

CIVIL SERVANTS have been involved in covert efforts — using their official positions — to discredit and spread disunity within legal black political organisations, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the SA Council of Sport (Sacos).

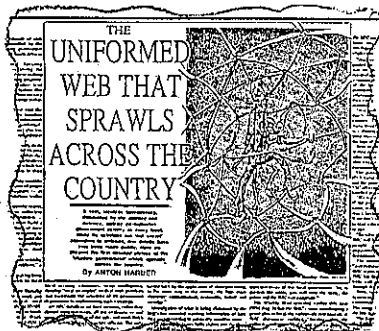
The Weekly Mail has information that the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information and the Joint Management Centres (JMCs), the semi-secret local branches of the State Security Council, have been involved in a campaign reminiscent of the "Information Scandal".

Sources have informed us that officials, in the course of their official duties in the JMCs, have been collecting information that can be used to promote disunity in a wide range of organisations and to discredit them, in what could be dubbed a "Disinformation Scandal". The UDF and Sacos received particular attention, even though they are both open and lawful.

Taxpayers' money is thus being used to finance, not a security and communications system, but a political machine aimed at quelling legitimate opposition to the National Party and its policies.

Officials have been instructed to use "sympathetic" media to spread such disinformation and to find publications that can be "bought" for this use. They were to place "background" articles in the sympathetic media to raise questions about UDF policies and highlight its links with "subversive" organisations.

They have, for example, been told to raise questions about the UDF's commitment to democracy and its policy towards minority



Our recent expose of the 'security' network. Right: Eglin calls for inquiry

Report by ANTON HARBÉR

groups. The evidence suggests that the department had hoped to discredit the UDF in the eyes of coloureds and Indians by suggesting that their interests as "minority groups" would be subsumed within other interests in the organisation.

Officials were also instructed to contrast the new constitution to UDF policy in order to discredit the UDF.

They were told to:

● Inform people about the connections between UDF leaders and "subversive organisations" in order to promote disunity within the UDF.



Louis Nel, head of Information Bureau

PFP call for probe

COLIN EGLIN, leader of the official Opposition, reacted yesterday to the Weekly Mail's evidence of a "disinformation scandal" by calling for an investigation by an all-party parliamentary select committee.

It was clear that the "dirty tricks" element of Dr Connie Mulder's old Department of Information lives on in the Bureau for Information, the Progressive Federal Party leader said.

"South Africa's problems are difficult enough to solve under present circumstances. Heaven help us if these differences are turned into impossibilities by the Bureau for Information's dubious tactics.

"Before South Africans are trapped in a quagmire of government-sponsored misinformation, the work and function of the Bureau should at the very least be investigated by an all-party parliamentary select committee," he said.

● To PAGE 2

circumstances and requirements.

●Encourage political divisions in local communities and use sympathetic organisations against organisations with "negative" goals.

Officials were told to report regularly on their progress in these areas.

The campaign involved Department of Foreign Affairs officials, even before it was expanded to re-incorporate the discredited Information Department. Louis Nel was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs before moving across to head the Bureau for Information.

But much of the work was done through the controversial JMCs, which are widely suspected to be giving the Security Forces an increasing influence on the making and implementation of decisions at all

Officials told to discredit UDF

levels of the South African state.

The JMCs, part of the National Security Management System, were first exposed in detail in the Weekly Mail earlier this month. An elaborate network of hundreds of committees across the country, the system give the military and police a direct influence in decision-making at every level, from the Cabinet down to local government. The JMCs form a shadow government structure, answerable only to the country's security chiefs.

The details of what the JMCs were doing and how they were influencing policy have been largely secret, although security officials have

frequently said the workings of the JMCs were "nie 'n geheim nie (not a secret)". Challenged on the apparent secrecy of the committees, State Security Council representatives have previously invited the Weekly Mail to speak to JMC members about the work of the committees.

The JMC system was the brainchild of PW Botha, as Minister of Defence and later Prime Minister. Botha came to power in the wake of the "Info Scandal", promising a clean administration.

There have been previous allegations — but little evidence — that the JMCs were involved in

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●From PAGE 1

disinformation and action against legitimate political organisations.

Officially, the JMCs and hundreds of sub- and mini-JMCs are intended to coordinate the work of all government departments in relation to security matters.

Effectly, however, they allow the police and military, who control the committees, to exert their influence over almost all decisions. Security Council officials have made it clear they consider almost any matter as a security matter and are therefore dealing with a wide range of issues.

In an interview last month, a member of the SSC secretariate admitted it was possible that the JMCs

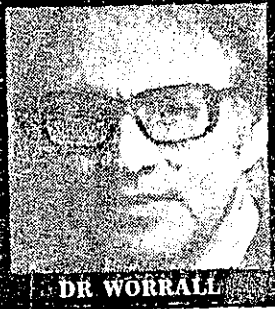
were involved in disinformation.

He said it was theoretically possible, but highly unlikely. "I suppose they can, but it would be damn risky. If you want to do things like that, it must be done covertly. And I have never heard of a committee doing something covertly," he said.

PFP researcher James Selfe, who has done intensive investigation of the JMCs, has said he believes they may be involved in disinformation and the distribution of fake smear pamphlets aimed at resistance organisations.

Although the JMCs do not have any funds of their own, their work is all financed by the taxpayer through the budgets of other departments. For example, if they recommend that certain information be published, the Bureau for Information will carry out the recommendation and bear the cost.

Worrall: ANC film was distorted



DR WORRALL

Dispatch Bureau

LONDON — The South African Ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday accused Britain's Independent Television (ITV) network of showing a "grossly distorted" and "flagrantly inaccurate" documentary this week on the banned African National Congress.

Dr Worrall warned that the film had placed future reportage on South Africa by ITV companies in jeopardy.

He said the ANC's commitment to "make South Africa ungovernable" through violence, murder and "necklacing" received "very little emphasis".

In a formal written protest to Lord Thomson, head of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), Dr Worrall protested "in the strongest possible terms" that the 60-minute film failed to acknowledge the ANC's links with communism and its commitment to terrorism.

Dr Worrall questioned why the documentary made no reference to Mrs Winnie Mandela's pledge at Munsieville on April 15 this year, that "with our boxes of matches and our necklaces we shall liberate the country".

"This is not the empty rhetoric that the producers could conveniently ignore if they were honest in wanting to make an objective film on the evolution of the ANC, its nature and its present policies," said Dr Worrall.

"ANC terrorism has not only been indiscriminate, but it is also responsible for the brutal assassination of over 600 black people through 'necklacing'. Most of those killed have been moderates persecuted by radical ANC supporters under the arbitrary charge of 'collaboration' with the South African Government."

Dr Worrall protested that the film had created "a gross distortion of an organisation which, in the words of the British Prime Minister, 'is dedicated to the violent overthrow of a country with which Britain has full diplomatic relations'."

The ambassador said ITV had "done a disservice to democracy and the vast majority of law-abiding South Africans who oppose violence".

He said the decision to screen the documentary, titled *Spear of the Nation*, reflected on the credibility of the IBA, which is the controlling body of the 16 ITV companies in Britain.

Dr Worrall said their future reportage of South African affairs had been "placed in jeopardy".

He emphasised that the term "pure propaganda" was taken from a Fleet Street critic's impression of the ITV film, screened on Monday by Thames Television.

Illegal whites also sought



PRETORIA — There were many illegal white workers in South Africa and the government's search for an estimated 1.3 million people in the country illegally was not an operation against black workers, the Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said yesterday.

"I want to emphasise this is not an action against illegal black workers specifically... there are many, many illegal whites in South Africa too and we are also looking for them," he said.

Responding to media reports of a "crack-down" on illegals in the country showing results, he confirmed about 22 000 illegal workers had been repatriated from South Africa to frontline states from the beginning of the year to the end of August.

The majority of these, 13 000, were sent back to Mozambique, while 5 000 had been returned to Botswana, 2 000 to Zimbabwe, 1 500 to Lesotho, 400 to Swaziland, 22 to Malawi, three to Tanzania and one to Zambia.

Mr Van Zyl also said citizens of the TBVC independent states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) were excluded from the provisions of the Aliens Act since legislation was passed earlier this year. — Sapa

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US-ANC contacts

WASHINGTON —
The United States is continuing to develop contacts with representatives of the African National Congress and meetings between US and ANC officials have taken place in several world capitals recently.

But a meeting with the ANC is not on the agenda during a 10-day visit to Africa by Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State, which began this week.

Instead, Dr Crocker will confine his visit to Sudan, Kenya and Somalia and to discussions of conditions in those areas.

US officials are not disclosing in public the details of their talks with the ANC — which have been mostly at ambassador level or lower — but it is reliably understood that Washington is seeking a commitment to non-violence from the banned organisation.

3/10/86
SECRET/IA

Sparg treason trial on Monday

THE treason trial of Marion Sparg, 29, the first white woman to be charged with undergoing military training for the outlawed African National Congress, is scheduled to begin in the Rand Supreme Court on Monday.

Stephen Marais, 29, who was found to have assisted Sparg in smuggling arms into the country, was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a Johannesburg magistrate this week.

Sparg, a former Sunday Times journalist who was held in solitary confinement for five months after her arrest in March, faces charges of treason and arson.

The state alleges she planted the limpet mines which exploded in Johannesburg's John Vorster Square police headquarters and East London's Cambridge Police Station last year. She is also charged with having assisted two former Johannesburg journalists, Arnold Geyer and Damian da Langa, in petrol bombing the offices of the Progressive Federal Party in 1981.

Sapa reports that Marais, a field worker involved in rural development in the "homelands", pleaded guilty to terrorism and admitted supporting the aims of the ANC.

He said he was influenced by the harsh living conditions of the villagers among whom he worked.

The magistrate, TJ la Grange, said there was no evidence of any remorse, only Marais' justification for his actions.

3/10/86
WEEKLY MAIL

Treason court hears of 'forgotten' accused

WEEKLY MAIL, October 31 to November 6, 1986 3

By JO-ANN BEKKER

MORE than a year has elapsed since Maxala Simon Vilakazi and his 21 fellow trialists were formally charged with high treason. But, according to defence lawyer Arthur Chaskalson SC, not one word of state evidence referred to 25-year-old Vilakazi, a former dispatch clerk for the SA Committee for Higher Education (Sached).

Applying for the discharge of all 22 accused, at the end of the state's case in the Delmas treason trial this week, Chaskalson said many of the trialists had been "simply forgotten" in the months of evidence during which scores of State witnesses were called. The record of the hearing, which began in January, is already 8 000 pages long.

"After all this time our submission is the evidence is not sufficient to make out a *prima facie* (sufficient to support the bringing of a charge) case against the accused," he added. "A mass of information, evidence and documentation has been put before the court but the relevance of a particular piece of evidence to a particular accused person has been lost sight of."

For example, he said the only evidence concerning Vilakazi was that two invitations had been found at his home. "There was no evidence that he attended the meetings, nor would it have been a crime to have done so. He admitted he was a member of the Vaal Action Committee and for that he's had to sit here for a year, refused bail."

Chaskalson said the "very complicated indictment" charged the 22 Delmas trialists with being party to an alleged conspiracy by the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), or the UDF alone, to overthrow the South African government by violence or threats of violence. They are charged with a main count of treason, alternately with three charges of terrorism, two of subversion and five of murder — most relating to the Vaal uprising of September 1984 which sparked a continuous wave of civil unrest.

"What is significant is that no direct evidence has been produced to suggest the UDF or any of its affiliates ever agreed to pursue such an aim (to overthrow the government by violence) or ever publicly or even covertly professed that this was their aim," he said.

The UDF and its affiliates were lawful organisations, conducting their affairs openly, holding public meetings and inviting membership from the public at large, Chaskalson added.

"There is no evidence that people joining an affiliate of the UDF or holding office in the UDF were told there was a secret agenda which could not be disclosed to anybody other than members, to overthrow the State by violence."

He said while it was possible individuals associated with the UDF or its affiliates were secret members of the ANC — "indeed having regard to the evidence of the way the ANC operates it would be surprising if this were not so" — it was not the State's case that the accused were members of the ANC and no such evidence had been led.

Chaskalson said while the State had tried to link the UDF to unrest in 22 areas, in most cases the evidence went no further than to show damage occurred during a period when UDF affiliates were active in the areas.

"There is no direct evidence as to what was said at the meetings called by the affiliates, nor what the precise nature of the activities of the affiliates were," he said. The State made no attempt to analyse the cause of the violent outbursts, nor to determine the local issues which gave rise to the conflict, Chaskalson added.

"There is in the circumstances no basis for inferring the UDF was the mastermind behind the various acts of violence and destruction. They could have been the result of local grievances expressing themselves at a time of economic hardship, which is the usual cause for such actions."

The case is proceeding.

Delmas counsel denies conspiracy

THERE was no evidence to link any of the 22 men facing charges of treason in the Delmas circuit court to the deaths of town councillors in the Vaal Triangle on September 3 1984, senior counsel Arthur Chaskalson said yesterday.

He was arguing for the discharge of the 22, on trial since January. Among the accused are prominent UDF leaders — publicity secretary Terror Lekota, general secretary Pope Molefe and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane.

Chaskalson said evidence showed the events of August and September 1984 arose from the decision of the Lekoa

BUS DAT 3/10/84
WA THELMA TUCH

town council to increase rents, rather than a joint conspiracy of the accused to violently overthrow the State.

The events occurred against a background of severe economic pressure on Vaal Triangle residents, such as retrenchments in the surrounding industries and unemployment.

Further, he said, there was a widespread perception in the community that councillors were the instruments of administering government policy.

One dead, 6 mutilated

W/EVERSON
1/11/80

From KEN VERNON
Weekend Argus Bureau

W/EVERSON
1/11/80

PORT ELIZABETH. — A youth is dead and another six are in the intensive-care ward of Grahamstown Hospital after they were found badly mutilated on the outskirts of the city.

A passing motorist discovered the black youths lying beside the Grahamstown-Port Alfred road yesterday afternoon, and the police were notified.

The police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Major Eddie Everson, said it appeared that the youths, who were aged between 11 and 15, had been stoned and beaten and then dumped at the roadside.

Hiding in bush

When the police arrived they found that one youth was dead and three others were critically injured and unconscious.

While they were investigating, three other youths, all of them seriously injured, crawled out from the roadside bush where they had been hiding, Major Everson said.

"None of the youths is in a condition to be interviewed so we have no idea of what happened," he said.

It was expected that Monday would be the earliest that any of the youths could be questioned.

Meanwhile, the police have opened a murder docket in connection with the incident.

Squatters make 'peace'

with news
11/11/86
11/11/86

Weekend Argus Reporter

BLACK affairs official Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud says Crossroads leader Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and three squatter leaders forced off their land by "witdoeke" in May have agreed to "make peace".

He said Mr Ngxobongwana, Mr Melford Yamile, Mr Christopher Toise and Mr Alfred Sipika agreed to this during a two-hour meeting in his office yesterday.

It was agreed each leader would "report back to his followers" and then "get together to see how to get their people to make peace among themselves", Mr Bezuidenhoud said. Another meeting would then follow.

Four months of "behind-the-scenes" meetings with individual leaders preceded the peace talks, Mr Bezuidenhoud added.

Displaced leaders

Asked whether the peace agreement raised the possibility of refugees being able to return at some stage, Mr Bezuidenhoud said: "I cannot comment on whether any will be going back to Crossroads".

The affected area — about 25 hectares, encompassing the Nyanga Bush, Portland Cement and Nyanga Extension areas once controlled by the three displaced leaders — is presently being upgraded in line with the Government's original plan for Crossroads. About 1 500 sites will initially be serviced.



Gun threat is thuggery, says UDF

By Mudini Maivha

The threat that Soweto Management Committee councillors would use guns to administer the township's affairs, has been condemned as thuggery by the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Councillor Leksatsi Radebe made the threat at a monthly council meeting on Thursday in the wake of increasing difficulties facing the council in running the township's affairs.

Councillors have fled to Johannesburg and gone into hiding after attacks on their homes.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said at

meeting that some town councils had been unable to collect rent and service fees.

UDF treasurer Mr Azaar Cachalia said it (the council) would "sit and fold its arms while our people are massacred".

"It is not surprising that Soweto councillors will now openly display that thuggery. If they are going to threaten our people, they are looking for trouble," said Mr Cachalia.

The threat by Mr Radebe to use force is not new.

Earlier this year he called on councillors to form vigilante groups in their wards to fight the "comrades".

sunrise news

Despite pleas, Mpetha will not be at funeral

Oscar Mpetha is a 77-year-old diabetic who is serving a five-year prison sentence under the old Terrorism Act. And today he will be the most conspicuous absentee from the funeral of his wife, Rosslyn, in Cape Town.

The Government has been widely condemned by groups such as the South African Congress of Trade Unions for their refusal to allow the old man to attend the funeral, which has been restricted to 200 people. The Release Mandela Cam-

paign made a strong appeal on behalf of the family for him to be allowed to attend.

Since his appeal against his sentence was rejected in Bloemfontein last year, a campaign has been launched for his release. Groups such as the International Labour Organisation have joined in the call to free him.

In 1983, Mr Justice Williamson said he was reluctantly compelled to sentence Mpetha to the minimum five years re-

quired for a conviction under the old Terrorism Act.

Passing sentence, the judge said Mpetha (then 73) was "old and very ill". Justice did not require he be sent to jail and he would have preferred to give him a totally suspended sentence.

Granting him leave to appeal, the judge ordered that he be released on bail of R1. His appeal was finally heard last year.

In and out of hospital for the past six years, Mpetha had his leg amputated soon after he was sentenced in 1983 because of his serious diabetic condition. He was again recently reported to be seriously ill.

The Mpethas were married in 1936 and Mrs Mpetha is reported to be suffering from "mental depression" since her husband's conviction.

Victor & Trevor - brothers in arms?

2/11/86 (11A)
THE two brothers of alleged ANC guerilla Gordon Webster - sprung from Edendale Hospital in Maritzburg earlier this year - appeared in the Durban regional court on allegations of contravening the Internal Security Act.

CITY PRESS
No charges were put to Victor Webster, 44, and Trevor Webster, 36, and they were released on R1 000 bail each.

Webster was shot and arrested on April 27.

The State alleges that the two unlawfully harboured or concealed Webster after he escaped from police custody at the Edendale Hospital on May 4.

The case was postponed to December 9.

'Free the Delmas 22 - there's no conspiracy'

CITY PRESS
11A
2/10/86

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

THE defence in the Delmas treason trial this week asked for the acquittal of the 22 accused - saying the State's case is construed around alleged conspiracies involving the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front.

Defence counsel made this final argument as the marathon trial drew to its close.

The 22 men face charges of high treason, alternatively sedition, or planning to overthrow the government by using violence.

Vaal Civic Association members and other ac-

cused were detained and later charged after violence broke out in the Vaal over rent increases in September 1984.

Advocate Arthur Chaskalson, assisted by G Bizos and G Magrus, argued that the State had failed to prove that the UDF and the VCA acted on behalf of the ANC.

"Even if it was assumed that the ANC had contacts or even members in the UDF or affiliates, the State has still failed to prove that the UDF or the VCA were members or acted on behalf of the ANC to overthrow the government by vio-

lence," Chaskalson said.

"Evidence of the ANC members in this court is destructive to the State's case rather than supportive. The ANC would act clandestinely and not openly.

"Indeed the ANC's job was to seek to influence individuals in a way that would leave other ANC members unaware of the organisation's involvement," he argued.

The defence submitted that if a conspiracy with the ANC or a common purpose is not proved, the State was trying to hold each accused liable in their personal capacities for their own acts.

There was no direct evidence suggesting that the UDF or VCA had agreed to pursue a goal to overthrow the State by means of violence.

Chaskalson also said that the "secret agenda" - that the UDF leadership is in constant contact with the ANC mission abroad with the motive to overthrow the State by means of violence - should be dismissed.

The defence further argued that when the VCA was formed, it was not for the purpose of overthrowing the government - but because of grievances in the Vaal Triangle, such as high rents.

Chaskalson added that people at the first meeting held in the area were not told to use violence. All that was said was that residents should not vote for the community councillors as they were "puppets".

"Though there was violence in 31 areas around the country, there was no proof that the UDF masterminded the acts of violence.

"It could be other political organisations responsible for the agitation of the people," he said.

"Nowhere in the evidence will you find that the VCA acted in lines drawn by the ANC."

He added: "The State also alleges that the UDF had distributed T-shirts with its logo on them.

"The mere fact that documents were distributed which had the UDF logo does not in itself prove or mean that it comes from the UDF."

17 NUM members appear in court

By DAN DILAMINI

SEVENTEEN National Union of Mineworkers members - eight of them women - face charges of attempted murder, attempted rape and robbery.

The hearing in the Odenaalsrus Magistrate's Court follows an incident on September 16 at Welkom's Geduld Gold Mine when the accused allegedly attacked a "sellout" female supervisor.

No further details were given. The accused were not asked to plead.

Life of fear for Cosatu secretary

By MONO BADELA

CONGRESS of SA Trade Unions Northern Transvaal region secretary Donsie Khumalo is living in fear - after two hooded men armed with revolvers tried to get into his Mamelodi home in the early hours of Wednesday morning.

Khumalo was detained in terms of the emergency regulations and spent 92 days in detention.

He was banned on release from detention and is not allowed to speak to the Press.

A Cosatu statement this week said: "The Mamelodi incident follows the

arson attack and gutting of our East London office, the theft of a computer from our education and printing unit, and anonymous bomb threats received by phone at our head office.

"Cosatu is engaged in a dignified struggle to defend the rights of the most oppressed and exploited people in the country.

"Our struggle is being waged in a democratic fashion, and we have pursued all avenues to convince the government and the bosses that repression will not solve their problems, but only raise the level of conflict," the statement said.

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Sogwayi murdered

CP Correspondent

A FORMER Robben Island prisoner was gunned down by a mysterious assailant on Saturday evening in Port Elizabeth's Red Location.

Relatives of Mzimkhulu "Bob" Sogwayi, 63, said he was travelling home in his car when it was stoned.

A friend said he stopped

to check the stone-thrower and was shot in the chest.

A former professional boxer and a club owner, Sogwayi was arrested and convicted for Pan-Africanist Congress activities. After three years on Robben Island he was released in 1966.

His friends said Sogwayi's major aim was to uplift of his people and help the needy. He opened a social club in a Red Location shop basement to try and prevent juvenile delinquency and was working to establish a Reformed Church of SA to unite all black worshippers.

Eastern Cape police spokesman Major Eddie Everson said Sogwayi died of a single bullet wound in the right side of his chest.

No arrests have been made but a murder docket has been opened.

● A family member said Sogwayi would be buried at Kwabhele Location near King William's Town on Sunday.

UDF AND INKATHA MEMBERS 'UNITE'

CUM PRESS BY SIBU MNCADI
AT an extraordinary meeting in Magabeni, Natal this week, United Democratic Front and traditional Inkatha supporters united in condemning gun-toting Inkatha "thugs".

The meeting, called by Magabeni Chief Siyanda Luthuli was attended by over 600 residents and chaired by KwaZulu urban representative AZ Mlotsha. Mlotshwa and other Inkatha dignitaries, including KwaNatal Indaba delegate Simon Oscar Xaba, heard speakers tell of gun-toting thugs roaming townships under instructions to "eliminate" UDF supporters. The vigilantes were allegedly led by local councillor and Inkatha Central Committee member Colbert Nkushubane.

An Inkatha member, claiming he was instructed to join the vigilantes, said he was told they had "buckets of bullets". "What kind of Inkatha is this? It is not the Inkatha we know," he said.

Nkushubane said he was a victim of a smear campaign and his house was petrol-bombed twice recently.

Defending Inkatha, Mlotshwa said while a man could be a party member, what he did in his own time did not necessarily demonstrate that party's policy.

Since August, Magabeni Youth Organisation executive members Jomo Mkhize and Sipho Shange and a female Inkatha member have been killed in clashes purportedly between Mayo members and Inkatha vigilantes.

Nkushubane and nine Inkatha supporters have been charged in the Umbumbulu magistrate's court with Mkhize's murder and public violence.

● Umlazi councillor and Inkatha leader Zithulele Ngcobo was served with a murder and attempted murder indictment this week. The charges arose from the killing of Umlazi Youth League member James Ntuli on May Day at Durban's Berea station, after he attended a Congress of SA Trade Unions rally.

The state alleged Ngcobo shot at Cosatu supporters - hitting Ntuli in the neck and Cyril Cele in the arm. The Durban Supreme Court will hear the case from November 13.

Inkatha Central Committee member and Lindelani "m" Thomas Mandla Shalala and aide Emmanuel Anyile appeared before Ntuzuma magistrate on charges of attempted murder and arson. Their case adjourned for investigation. It concerns an attack on shack shopowner Zaphania Dlamini's home who allegedly refused to pay a R400 protection fee.

Azania?
No, 2/11/86
Malundi!

copy press (11A)

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha president MG Buthelezi says he and ANC president Oliver Tambo have discussed changing South Africa's name to Malundi.

Buthelezi told guests at the official opening of the new Prince Mangosutho Airport in Ulundi that Tambo had expressed initial reservations about naming KwaZulu's capital Ulundi.

Buthelezi said that the subject had arisen "when we were talking about the possibilities of naming a new liberated South African state, the Republic of Malundi".

This was to be a combination of Ulundi, the Nguni name for the Drakensberg, and Maluti, the Sotho name for the same range of mountains.

He said this had been suggested as the ANC did not accept the name Azania, which the Pan-Africanist Congress favoured. - Sapa.

Limpet mine courier jailed ^{2/11/86} for ten ^{years} years ^{11/17}

By MARTIN NTSOLENGOE

FAMILY members and friends sat quietly in the Johannesburg regional court this week as an African National Congress courier was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment under the Internal Security Act.

Steven Johannes Marais, 29, of Herschel in the Transkei, had pleaded guilty before magistrate TJ le Grange.

Marais, an Environmental and Development Agency fieldworker, admitted posting two letters and transporting an ANC member on behalf of the ANC.

Religious

Earlier, Marais told the court he had avoided student politics because of "reactionary motions that they could not change things in SA".

He said he then became inward-looking and religious.

According to Marais, two incidents during late 1985 made him become more militant.

His fiancée and former University of the North student, Khetive, was detained and friends of his in Lesotho were killed in December during a raid which, at one stage, was blamed on either the SA Defence Force or the SA police.

Maseru

Marais said he had seen friends in Maseru the day before the incident.

He was horrified when three of his friends and two acquaintances were killed, he said.

In February this year, he was recruited by the ANC for transport means - allegedly by Marion Sparg, who is awaiting trial on charges of high treason.

Marais told the court that when stopped at roadblocks, he and Sparg often posed as a couple going on holiday.

He said they had transported limpet mines to East London.

Sparg left him for a while - and shortly afterwards, he said, he heard the news of a limpet mine blast at an East London police station.

They returned to the Transkei where he handed over six limpet mines.

He did not see Sparg again, he said.

CAPK Times 3/2/86

Nusas are 'white elitist fat cats'

DURBAN. — "Fat cat" white students who claimed to be fighting for black advancement were nothing more than elitist hypocrites, the acting Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said yesterday.

Reacting to an attack by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) president, Mr Brendon Barry, in Maritzburg on Monday, in which the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba was described as "elitist and undemocratic", Dr Dhlomo said blacks were sick and tired of such arrogance.

Dr Dhlomo is also the KwaZulu representative at the Indaba.

"What can Mr Barry tell us about elitism when he and his fellow members in Nusas attend elitist white schools, live in elitist white suburbs and attend elitist white universities?" he asked.

"We are sick and tired of the arrogance of white pseudo-liberals like Mr Barry who claim to be speaking on behalf of blacks during the day, but disappear into their elitist white suburbs at night and thank God for the Nationalist Party."

Dr Dhlomo said it was significant that in spite of Nusas's claim to be fighting for non-racialism, Nusas had no black members, nor had they had a black president throughout their decades of existence. Consequently, Inkatha had long since ceased to take Nusas seriously.

"To us, Nusas is an elitist, bourgeois and racially exclusive white student organization which uses slogans of democratic and progressive black political forces to gain credibility.

"During my university days I knew many white student leaders in Nusas who claimed to be political champions of the black underdogs.

"When they completed their studies they either became capitalist 'fat cats' or police informers. I wonder why Mr Barry expects Inkatha to treat him differently." — Sapa

Squatters hold 'peace' talks

Mr Timb 3/11/86 Staff Reporter

THREE squatter leaders forced off their land after the Crossroads battles in May have met the Old Crossroads leader of the "witdoeke", Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

The regional representative of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud, said Mr Ngxobongwana met Nyanga Bush leader Mr Melford Yamile, Portland Cement leader Mr Christopher Toise and Nanga Extension leader Mr Alfred Sipika for two hours on Friday.

He said the talks were "about peace" and the date of the next meeting would be established this week.

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(C&B)

Sparg trial due to start today

The trial of former journalist Miss Marion Monica Sparg in connection with several charges, including treason, is expected to begin in the Rand Supreme Court today.

Miss Sparg (28) is expected to face a charge of treason, two counts of arson and one count of attempted arson.

The charges relate to, among other things, explosions at the Cambridge and John Vorster Square police stations, the planting of a limpet mine at the Hillbrow police station earlier this year and the burying or attempted burning of three Progressive Federal Party offices in Johannesburg in 1981.

Mozambique denies any part in mine blast

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambique has denied any responsibility for a landmine explosion in the Eastern Transvaal and has accused South Africa of concentrating troops along its borders.

The Mozambique news agency, AIM, quoted a government spokesman as saying the landmine explosion claim was "a pretext for a new aggression against Mozambique".

The SADF has accused ANC members operating from Mozambique of planting the mine which killed Lance Corporal Albertus le Roux (20).

But AIM pointed out that the

blast took place 18 km from Swaziland and more than 90 km from the Mozambican border.

The Mozambican spokesman recalled declarations by the South African Government that an electrified fence had been erected along that part of the Mozambican border.

"There is also a massive concentration of South African troops along the border between the Eastern Transvaal and Mozambique," the spokesman said.

"We therefore do not understand how they can talk about the ANC launching actions from Mozambique".

The spokesman said the accusations could be a pretext for new attacks on Mozambique.

Mob jeers, pelts Winnie Mandela

By ROB MEINTJIES and SHAUNA WESTCOTT

MRS WINNIE Mandela was attacked outside the Supreme Court yesterday afternoon by a crowd infuriated by her apparent support for Guguletu socialite Lindi Mangaliso, convicted on November 24 of murdering her husband, Victor.

The mob cornered Mrs Mandela in Queen Victoria Street, some distance from the back entrance of the court, and pelted her with cooldrink cans, litter and handfuls of building sand.

At first Mrs Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and who has been intermittently attending the trial, stood her ground in proud silence, arms folded, as members of the crowd harangued her for attending the trial of her friend.

She remained impassive as the occasional well-aimed missile struck her on the face and chest. Then she walked slowly up Queen Victoria Street towards Green Street.

Jostling crowd throws sand

The crowd surged behind her, jostling her and throwing handfuls of sand grabbed from a heap on the pavement before she escaped in a luxury white sedan which drew up as she reached the corner.

"Winnie Mandela is the wife of our leader. She should not be supporting Lindi Mangaliso," a Guguletu woman told a reporter.

"But how can you attack the wife of our leader?" objected a City worker in blue overalls. "Must she drop her friend Lindi because she has been found guilty?"

The crowd then surged back to Keerom Street where up to 500 people stayed just out of reach of barking, leashed police dogs as they waited for Lindi Mangaliso to be led out from the entrance to the cells below court.

More people leaned from windows in the provincial administration building and others overlooking Keerom Street.

When Mrs Mangaliso came out she was hustled into the back of a truck with the mob racing after it, yelling insults and some screaming "Kill! Kill!"

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Manhunt by forces for ANC insurgents

SPR
4/11/86
2
11A

Military Correspondent

Police and the SADF have been scouring the Barberton area since national serviceman Lance Corporal Albertus le Roux (20) was killed by a landmine on Sunday.

The SADF says the mine was laid by ANC insurgents from Mozambique and the incident has placed more strain on relations with Mozambique.

South Africa has vowed to retaliate for attacks launched from Frontline states.

INSURGENTS

Corporal Le Roux's death brings to 11 the number of civilians and soldiers killed by 14 mines in the Eastern Transvaal since April.

This toll includes three ANC insurgents.

Another 24 people have been injured by landmines in the area over the same period.

Corporal Le Roux, who went to Springs Technical High School, started his national service in July. He leaves his mother, Mrs Anna van Tonder of Kloofsig, Pretoria, a brother and a sister.

Essop applies to join Labour

ONE OF the three members of the official opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Anver Essop, MP for Nuweveld, has applied to join the majority Labour Party.

Speaking from his home at Beaufort West yesterday, Mr Essop said he no longer wished to be a member of the Democratic Workers Party (DWP).

"They are not serious about politics. I have been negotiating with the Labour Party. I was going to walk over to them at their congress but I was not

able to attend.

He said he saw no future in the DWP, which is led by Mr Dennis de la Cruz and has Mr Yusuf Rhoda, MP for Bokkeveld, as its other member.

Mr Essop also saw no future for the other opposition party in the House of Representatives — the Freedom Party — whose leader, Mr Arthur Booysen, MP for Bosmont, died recently.

He said the FP's sole member, Mrs Soheir Hoosen, MP for Tafelberg, would probably join the DWP. — Sapa

Buthelezi warns of fifth column

CAG TOLLS

4/11/80

11A

230

BONN: — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned a top international conference yesterday that South African whites would form "a horrendous internal revolutionary fifth column movement" if a new government were brought about through the barrel of a gun.

The overthrow of the present government by black military violence would lead only to a counter military force in turn taking over the new government.

He was addressing heads of state, ministers and other representatives of Asian, European, American and African countries at a seminar organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister

said that, for the next South African government to work, it was an absolute prerequisite that blacks and whites co-operated in replacing apartheid with an open democracy.

There was a race against time between democracy and violence, Chief Buthelezi said. And the struggle had to be waged in South Africa by South Africans.

However, whether it could be won by democracy might well be decided outside the country.

The sooner it was realized that sanctions were not going to stampede State President P W Botha into capitulating, the less danger there would be for South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said the black

people's most powerful form of democratic opposition to apartheid at present was their refusal to participate in any government move which was not a meaningful step forward.

The South African Government had in fact now recognized that apartheid had to be scrapped, that South Africa was one country and that political reform had to be radical and far-reaching.

"I am now confronting the State President with the reality of the fact that he cannot go backwards," he said. "He cannot return to classical apartheid and he cannot move forward unless he initiates meaningful negotiation with black leaders who have the kind of constituency I have."

No evidence against UDF — counsel

By Claire Robertson

Defence counsel in the Delmas treason trial has argued that there "is absolutely nothing" in the State's documentary evidence to link the United Democratic Front to the campaign against rent increases in the Vaal triangle.

The State alleges that the 22 accused in the marathon treason trial conspired with the banned ANC to overthrow the Government, and promoted township unrest — which led to the Vaal riots.

PROMINENT MEMBERS

Among the accused are prominent UDF members Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary, and general secretary Mr Popo Molefe.

In his application, defence senior counsel Mr Arthur Chaskalson submitted that the campaign against the high rentals was a local issue. It was a project of the Vaal Civic Association (VCA), which was not pursuing any instruction from the UDF.

If violence had been promoted at Vaal meetings, it was not in accordance with UDF policy and there was no evidence that its policy changed at that time

from one of shaming black councillors into resigning, to one of violence, he argued.

"Evidence (submitted by the State) shows that the rent issue was a local issue (taken up) by anti-rent-increase groups and the VCA. This little 'sub-conspiracy' is not covered by the indictment, and certainly does not implicate the UDF," Mr Chaskalson said.

The defence last week launched an application for the discharge of the treason trialists. The defence can launch such an application if it believes that, on the State's evidence, the accused cannot be convicted.

The trial has lasted almost a year and the State has presented thousands of pages of evidence. Mr Chaskalson spent an average of less than 15 minutes on each of the accused's case before submitting:

"We submit that there is no *prima facie* evidence against (the accused) that he was party to the alleged conspiracy or conspiracies, nor that he committed any of the offences charged in the indictment, either in the execution of the alleged conspiracy or conspiracies, or in his personal capacity. So we make the submission that he be discharged on all counts."

Former journalist admits planting mines in police stations

Marion Sparg convicted of treason and arson charges

By Don Holliday
and Jenni Tennant

It took less than an hour for former journalist Marion Monica Sparg to be convicted in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday of treason, two counts of arson and one of attempted arson.

Sparg (28), address given as Emberton Court, Hillbrow, pleaded guilty to the charges.

She confirmed in a clear, firm voice the contents of a statement she made to a magistrate after her arrest on March 7 this year, as well as of a letter to her mother.

In the statement, she said she joined the *Sunday Times* as a reporter in early 1980.

During the course of her work she met Mr Arnold Geyer and Mr Damian de Lange. She accepted an invitation from them to join a Marxist reading group.

"De Lange, Geyer and myself ... decided to carry out petrol bomb attacks against three PFP (Progressive Federal Party) offices, which we did on the eve of the Republic Day celebrations in May 1981," she said.

They left South Africa for Botswana, where she was recruited by the ANC.

In early 1982 she underwent military training in Angola.

She worked for *Voice of Women*, an ANC publication, before joining the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1984.

In February 1985 she and Stephen Johannes Marais smuggled

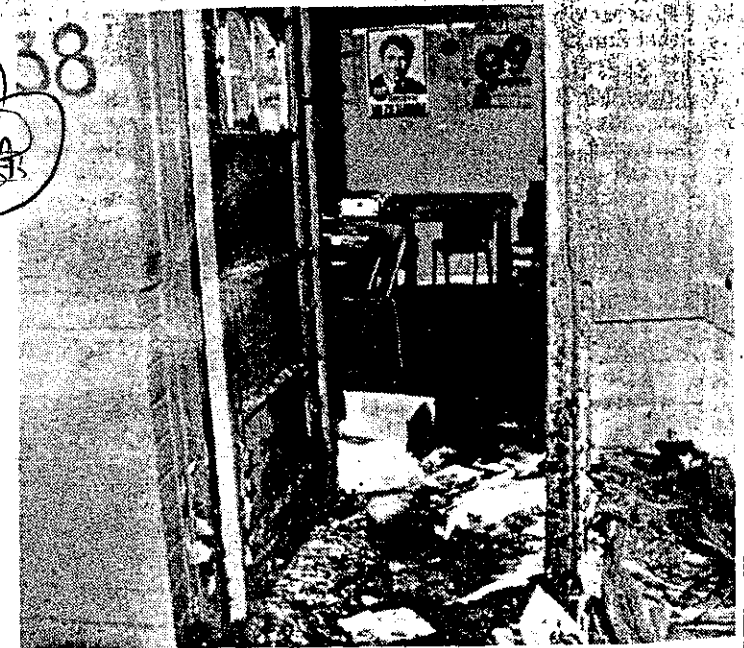
eight limpet mines and detonators, hidden in the door panels of their hired car, into South Africa from Lesotho.

On February 19 she placed two limpet mines in the toilet of the Cambridge Police Station in East London. Both exploded.

On March 4 1986 she placed two limpet mines in the toilets at John Vorster Square and one in the toilets at the Hillbrow Police Station.

The mines at John Vorster Square exploded, but the mine at Hillbrow was discovered and detonated by police.

No one was injured in any of the explosions.



Part of the damage caused when petrol bombs were hurled into the offices of the Progressive Federal Party in Norwood, Johannesburg.



An unexploded petrol bomb hurled into Progressive Federal Party offices by Marion Sparg.

Why Sparg rejected 'a normal life'

By Don Holliday

A letter written by Marion Sparg to her mother on March 3 this year was read in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, minutes before she was convicted of treason, two counts of arson and one of attempted arson, to all of which she pleaded guilty.

In the letter Sparg explained her reasons for rejecting "a normal life" and joining the military wing of the African National Congress.

The letter said:

"I can understand that, in a way, you have cause to hate and resent me for bringing more pain and problems to a family that has already had more than its fair share of trouble.

"Quite simply, there is no other life for me except the one I'm living.

"I do not regret giving up my previous life. The struggle to set this country free, is my life now.

"My life has meaning now. I know where I'm

going and I know we'll reach there — even if I don't personally make it. I've never felt more fulfilled.

"In Alexandra last week more than 80 people were shot dead. Most were simply teenagers with nothing more than stones in their hands.

"But I can understand the fear of the white policemen and soldiers as they faced those children. I can understand their fear as they failed to understand that children with stones were prepared to take on armoured cars and sub-machine-guns.

"In a way I have made enemies of my family and some previous friends. For, if they are to defend apartheid, then I am their enemy for life.

"You see, there really is no going back for me. One can only move forward now. If it means my life, I'm quite prepared.

"This war has to be fought to the bitter end. And it is going to be bitter."

4/11/86

Brisson

Sparg convicted of treason

HVA

LIAM EGAN

FORMER reporter Marion Sparg, 28, was convicted yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court of treason, for placing limpet mines in the toilets of three police stations in February and March.

She was also convicted on two counts of arson and one of attempted arson for petrol-bombing three Johannesburg premises belonging to the PFP in 1981.

She pleaded guilty before Mr Justice van der Walt to all the charges, submitting written admissions to the court — through her advocate Jules Browde, SC — acknowledging culpability for damage, estimated at R73 400, to the six premises.

Sparg was convicted of treason for detonating two mini-limpet mines at East London's Cambridge police station on February 19; detonating two such mines at John Vorster Square, Johan-

nesburg, on March 4; and, later on the same day, placing a limpet mine at Hillbrow police station.

She was convicted of arson and attempted arson for petrol-bombing — with two accomplices listed in court papers as Arnold Geyer and Damian de Lange — a Norwood home belonging to the PFP and two of its offices in Oxford Road and Jan Smuts Avenue, Parktown.

Sparg admitted, in a statement, joining the ANC in 1982, first as a member of its publicity department and, from March 1984, as a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

She also admitted undergoing military training at ANC camps in Angola. The trial continues today.

'No evidence of UDF role'

THELMA TUCH

THERE was no evidence to link the UDF with the campaign in the Vaal Triangle against rent increases, Arthur Chaskalson, SC, said yesterday.

Arguing for the discharge of the 22 men accused of treason in the Delmas circuit court, he said also there was nothing to indicate UDF policy had been dictated by the ANC, or that the UDF dictated policy to any of its affiliates.

The state alleges that all 22 — including UDF leaders Patrick Lekota, Pope Molefe and Moss Chikane — were responsible for inciting residents to kill town councillors. A UDF conspiracy to overthrow the government with violence is also alleged.

Mandela blames attack on pressmen

Cape Times & Telugu

Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent

MRS Winnie Mandela yesterday blamed the "system" — and two journalists — for "orchestrating and stage-managing" an attack on her by a group outside the Cape Town Supreme Court on Wednesday.

At a press conference held at her home in Orlando West, Soweto, Mrs Mandela said "an Indian photographer working for the Cape Times" and a magazine journalist had been among those responsible for the incident.

Behaved responsibly

The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, said last night: "Mrs Mandela must have her newspapers mixed up — the Cape Times did not have a photographer present at the incident."

And an Argus photographer, Mr Willie de Klerk, who is understood to have been the only photographer outside the court at the time, rejected Mrs Mandela's accusation.

"The attack was already in progress when I arrived — I behaved responsibly and certainly did not incite anyone. I just did my job there," Mr De Klerk said.

Work of the system

Mrs Mandela said: "The attack was the work of the system aimed at discrediting our leadership and to give an impression to the country and the world of how divided and unorganized we are."

Repeated attempts by the Cape Times to contact Mrs Mandela for clarification of her remarks failed.

The attack by a group who pelted her with soft-drink cans, litter and sand took place when she was leaving the court after attending the hearing of Guguletu socialite Lindi Mangaliso, convicted of murdering her husband, Victor.

Justifying her attendance of the trial, Mrs Mandela said Mangaliso was the daughter of the late Vincent Qunta, an ANC activist who had played a major organizational role for the ANC in the Western Cape.



Mrs Winnie Mandela at yesterday's press conference

"I felt I could not turn my back against her because of her facing murder charges," she said.

Mrs Mandela also strongly criticized the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) for "exaggerating the incident" in its news bulletins.

At the press conference, the chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, said activists had been outraged by the attack.

He said the "system" had got "onto the streets and manipulated these chaps to do their dirty work for them".

□ Mrs Mandela did not attend the Mangaliso trial yesterday.

Before trial proceedings began, Captain Leonard Knipe, the investigating officer in the case, warned those in the packed gallery to behave themselves and not interfere with Mrs Mandela and others.

Dr W E Cooper, counsel for Mangaliso, said in court that some spectators had become so unruly on Wednesday that two people "sympathetic to my client" were assaulted.

"Threats have been made on the life of Mrs Qunta," (Mangaliso's mother), he added.

Mr Justice M R de Kock said if there was anything the court could do, it would.

Mandela blames attack on pressmen

CAPE TIMES 5/12/86

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Inkatha sues Sunday Tribune

DURBAN. — Inkatha has brought a R20 000 defamation suit against a Durban newspaper for the publication of an article that the organization said held it responsible for violence at a conference in Durban earlier this year.

The action, brought by the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, against Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd, is being heard by Mr Justice J A van Heerden.

The claim arises from an article published in the Sunday Tribune headlined, "Two killed as violence flares".

Dr Dhlomo claims that the article was defamatory because it was intended to mean and was understood by readers as meaning that Inkatha:

- Caused delegates at the conference to be attacked.
- Destroyed or supported fire bomb attacks on property.
- Was responsible for the premature termination of the conference.
- Had intended to kill or supported the killing of a large number of delegates. — Sapa

ANC plea to business

5/11/86
BLOOMING
11A

THE ANC, in a telexed message from Lusaka, has appealed to SA businessmen not to allow themselves to be diverted from their efforts to end apartheid.

Spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday that President P W Botha's invitation to the business community to attend an economic summit on Friday was intended "to buy time to continue and entrench old policies".



● BOTHA

And in Pretoria, Botha told a Press conference that reports that a number of prominent businessmen were going to stay away from the meeting "made him laugh". But, he added, he also took the strongest exception to them.

The ANC's appeal was distributed at

MAX DU PREEZ
and LINDA ENSOR

the meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries' executive council.

Sebina said it would be unfortunate if business people allowed themselves "to be used to improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis."

Botha said yesterday he "took the strongest exception to a part of our Press that is bent upon sabotaging SA at every corner. I call it nothing else but economic sabotage, and I do it with revulsion (*veragting*)".

He hoped all the members of his new Cabinet would attend the summit. He said the hall where the summit was to be held had room for only 200 people.

● To Page 2



CAP. TIMES 5/11/86 (110) 304A

ANC appeal to SA business

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC tel-axed an appeal from Lusaka yesterday to SA businessmen "not to allow themselves to be diverted" from their efforts to end apartheid.

Spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said State President P W Botha's invitation to the business community to attend an economic summit on Friday was intended "to buy time to continue and entrench old policies".

And in Pretoria, Mr Botha told a press conference that reports of a number of prominent businessmen staying away from the meeting made him laugh. But he also took the strongest exception to the reports.

The ANC's appeal was distributed at the meeting of FCI's executive council in Johannesburg. It has also been sent to Assocom, Nafcoc, the SA Foundation, the Afrikaanse Handels-

instituut and the Chamber of Mines.

Mr Sebina said it would be unfortunate if business people allowed themselves to be used to "improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis. We are of the view that this can and must be avoided".

It was necessary for all SA's peoples to treat meaningful communication with the utmost seriousness. South Africa was heading for a catastrophe as the Pretoria government persisted with its present course.

Meanwhile, Mr Botha, objecting to reports of businessmen staying away from the summit, said yesterday that he "took the strongest exception to a part of our press that is bent upon sabotaging SA at every corner. I call it nothing else but economic sabotage, and I do it with repulsion (veragting)".

"If we had more space, we would

probably have had 400 people. We sit with a long list of applicants who have been nominated, but we cannot admit them, because we don't have the space."

Mr Botha said government did not invite individual businessmen.

"We asked different interest groups to nominate their own people. But as is the case with busy businessmen, some had long-standing appointments overseas. They wrote us letters expressing regret that they could not attend."

Our London correspondent reports that the text of the ANC appeal, in the name of Mr Tom Sebina, reads as follows: "We believe that the convening of this meeting on November 7, 1986, is a matter of public interest.

"It is for this reason that we send you this letter.

"We are convinced that there is a

pressing need for the people of South Africa of all races and walks of life greatly to increase the amount of meaningful communication among themselves.

"The certainty that we are all heading towards a catastrophe as the powers-that-be in Pretoria continue to persist on their present course, makes it necessary that all people of goodwill in South Africa should treat such communication among themselves with the greatest seriousness.

"It is clear both to ourselves and to many people throughout the world that those who hold power in our country are not interested in any meaningful communication with anybody except themselves and those who agree with them.

To Page 2

From Page 1

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Eluka
ANC
304A
Any discussions they may hold with those who do not fall in these categories are only intended to give the impression of interest in dialogue in order to buy time to con-

tinue and entrench old policies.

"Over the last few months we have noted with interest the increased number of public statements issued by business people and their organizations dealing with important political questions facing our country.

"We have entertained the hope that this marked the beginning of a process which could lead to the serious involvement of the business community in the efforts of the majority of our people to end apartheid and bring into being a democratic society.

"It would be most unfortunate for our country if concerned business people were to allow themselves to be diverted from this path and to be used to improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis.

"We are of the view that this can and must be avoided.

"We would be grateful if you could circulate this communication to all your members as some of them will have been invited to the meeting of 7th."

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(Handwritten initials)
 3
11A

LIAM EGAN

SENTENCE will be passed tomorrow on Marion Sparg, convicted on Monday in the Rand Supreme Court of treason for placing limpet mines in the toilets of three police stations during February and March.

The State yesterday asked Mr Justice van der Walt to impose a life sentence of 25 years on Sparg, who pleaded guilty to treason, arson and attempted arson.

Sparg, 28, was convicted of treason for detonating two mini-limpet-mines at East London's Cambridge Police Station on February 19; detonating two such mines at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, on March 4; and, later on the

Call for life sentence for treason trialist Sparg

same day placing a limpet mine at Hillbrow Police Station.

Sparg was convicted of arson and attempted arson for petrol bombing PFP premises in Norwood and Parktown on Republic Day, 1981.

Sparg said yesterday in testimony from the dock she was a committed member of the ANC, "fighting the apartheid evil — a threat to world peace — in the belief that SA belongs to all the peoples who live in it".

Sparg said she had attacked the premises of the PFP, together with accomplices Damien de Lange and Arnold Geyer, to reciprocate the PFP's refusal to boycott the Republic Day celebrations.

She said she attacked the police stations in accordance with a recent Umkhonto we Sizwe policy decision to "attack targets directly representative of the brutality of apartheid in broad daylight so as to pre-empt the routine suppression of information relating to acts of sabotage".

State demands long sentence for 'revolutionary' Sparg

By Jenni Tennant

African National Congress member Marion Monica Sparg was a dedicated revolutionary, the State argued in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday when it asked for a long sentence to be imposed on the former journalist.

Sparg (28), address given as Emberton Court, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, was convicted on

Monday of treason, two counts of arson and one of attempted arson after pleading guilty to the charges.

Sentence is expected tomorrow.

Yesterday, after evidence in mitigation of sentence had been led, the defence and the State concluded their arguments.

Mr J Browde SC, for Sparg, said that, in assessing an appropriate sentence, the court had to

take into consideration the particular facts as seen by Sparg which motivated her actions.

Sparg, who said she considered herself a patriot and not a traitor, did what she did because of her convictions, Mr Browde argued.

The deputy attorney-general, Mr K M Attwell, submitted that the sentence should be an extremely long period of imprisonment and recommended that the

court consider imposing life imprisonment. He said that rehabilitation would have no effect on Sparg as there had been no real hint of remorse for what she had done.

Earlier yesterday Sparg — a member of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe — told how she joined the banned organisation and described some of the influences which helped shape her political thinking.

She met leaders of the ANC and also studied its history.

"I consider it a privilege to have met people of the calibre of Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and others," she said.

"I believe my actions amount to patriotism, not treason."

Her motives for placing limpet mines in three police stations were that of a soldier, she said.

5/11/86 (circled) 11A S.M.K.

By Claire Robertson

Delmas defence says State evidence irrelevant in part

Defence counsel in the Delmas treason trial has asked that a piece of State evidence be struck out as "not relevant".

Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, appearing in an application for the withdrawal of charges against 22 men accused of charges under the Internal Security Act and of high treason, concluded yesterday's sitting by asking that evidence of the "31 regions" be struck out.

VIOLENCE

The State attempts to show that the United Democratic Front had organised in those areas to mobilise the masses to violence or intimidation.

The trial, which has

lasted almost a year, "is almost trial by T-shirt," said Mr Chaskalson, referring to "witnesses who always say: 'I saw a UDF T-shirt' (in the crowd at an incident of unrest)".

The State had failed to produce evidence on at least three of the regions mentioned, Mr Chaskalson said. The evidence presented mainly dealt with incidents alleged to have occurred in the remaining areas and one could not infer from the fact that damage done was the work of the UDF.

"It does not help to show that in 1983 or 1984 someone made a speech in Johannesburg, and a year or 18 months later in the Eastern Cape someone threw a stone at a policeman."

He said: "Children getting angry in Grahams-town have nothing to do with a plot to make the country ungovernable".

This is one of the charges levelled against the accused, who include the UDF general secretary Mr Terror Lekota and publicity secretary Mr Popo Molefe.

Defence counsel last week launched an application for the discharge of the treason trialists. The defence can launch such an application at the close of the State case if it believes that, on State evidence, the accused cannot be convicted.

In yesterday's hearing Mr Chaskalson reviewed the State's evidence on the 31 regions, submitting: "The evidence does not link the acts of violence that occurred to any UDF campaign."

Earlier he dealt with a

State witness whose evidence, heard in camera, had changed overnight.

In camera witness 17 originally did not mention the UDF having been at a certain meeting in Tumahole in July 1984, but returned to court the next day and "as an afterthought" said UDF members had been there, Mr Chaskalson said.

Other evidence contradicted this.

"What induced him to say that I do not know — but what we do know is that there was another witness who came to this court and said her whole evidence had been fabricated — and that she had been made to fabricate it," he said.

The hearing continues.

Gorbachev Tambo meet 11A

Copy 1/11/86 5/11/86
MOSCOW. — Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev met African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday and pledged support for the overthrow of South Africa's government.

The official news agency Tass said both sides denounced the United States policy of constructive engagement with Pretoria.

Tass said Mr Gorbachev told Mr Tambo he regarded the ANC "as the spokesman for the genuine interests of the South African people" and Mr Tambo as the "recognized leader of the national liberation movement in that country". — UPI

Bomb expert tells of OK blasts

MARITZBURG — A police explosives expert testified at the trial of 12 alleged ANC members yesterday that a few hours after he investigated an explosion at an OK Bazaars branch in Durban last September another bomb exploded in the same store.

Captain S J Weyers was giving evidence in the Supreme Court in Maritzburg against the 12 charged with terrorism and 22 other counts. They are allegedly linked to a spate of bombings in Durban last year, including blasts at a number of supermarkets, a school, a hotel and at the Aman-

zimtoti shopping centre. Captain Weyers told the court that in the early evening of September 27 last year he was called to OK Bazaars in West Street, Durban where a mine had exploded on the crockery display shelf.

HOTEL BOMB

He returned early the next morning to find that a similar explosion had occurred several shelves from the first blast.

On the same day as the first OK explosion a mini limpet mine exploded at Game, just across the road from OK, the captain said.

An explosion at the

Umlazi Executive Hotel two days later was probably caused by a bigger limpet mine, he said. It was placed under a washbasin in the men's toilet and the explosion demolished three walls.

The accused are Mrs Duduzile Buthelezi, Dr Sibongiseni Dhlomo, Dr Velaynand Ramlakan and Mr Sibusiso Ndlanzi, Mr Jude Francis, Mr Ordway Msomi, Mr Sipho Bhila, Mr Phumezo Nxiweni, Mr Mapiki Dlomo, Mr Bafo Nguqu, Mr Malusi Majola and Mr Vusumuzi Mahlobo.

The hearing continues.

— Sapa.

CAPE TIMES 6/11/68

SASJ rebuts Mrs Mandela

Staff Reporter

MS PAT Sidley, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, said yesterday it was "regrettable" Mrs Winnie Mandela had accused Cape Town journalists of "orchestrating" an attack against her this week.

"It is regrettable that journalists are being accused in this way. The journalists involved are highly unlikely to have orchestrated any news event on anybody's behalf, least of all on behalf of the system."

A crowd shouted abuse and pelted Mrs Mandela when she left the Supreme Court on Wednesday after attending the trial of her friend and convicted killer Lindi Mangaliso.

Mrs Mandela said last night she "merely gave a report of what I saw".

She claimed that she had seen a magazine photographer "beckoning these hooligans and pointing to where she was standing".

She apologised to the Cape Times and the Editor, Mr Anthony Heard, for mistakenly accusing a photographer from the newspaper of involvement in the attack on her.

D "

PE community problems tackled at joint meeting

By MZIWAKHE HLANGANI

TALKS about community problems have been held between a representative of commerce and the Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee (CBC).

Confirming this today, the committee's acting head, Mr Mike Xhego, said "informal and fruitful" talks had been held with the director of the PE Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Gilson.

Mr Xhego, who is also vice-president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, said it appeared that the chamber was committed to trying to find solutions to current problems.

"As a result of the frank discussions with business representatives, certain issues were cleared and we have taken note of the problems being experienced by the white business community," Mr Xhego said.

He pointed out that the committee stood by its short-term demands for ending the boycott in Port Elizabeth. These included the release of detained CBC spokesman Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, Mr Henry Fazzie and other community leaders.

The informal talks followed a call by the president of the PE Chamber of Commerce, Mr Carl Coetzer, on Tuesday for CBC members to come forward and present their grievances to the business sector following the reinstatement of the consumer boycott on Monday.

In a statement issued after the meeting, Mr Gilson said the chamber would be making representations to various authorities in the near future.

● Mr Xhego dismissed reports that there was confusion about the boycott in the townships, saying that boycott organisers were conducting a door-to-door campaign, explaining the aims of the boycott to residents.

New book warns on Britain's ANC ties

Dispatch Bureau

LONDON — The willingness of the British Government and the Commonwealth to recognise and deal with the African National Congress (ANC) could prove catastrophic for the majority of South Africa's blacks, a new research organisation warned.

In a booklet titled ANC — a Soviet Task Force?, the Institute for the Study of Terrorism, a group founded in June, contended that Britain was greatly under estimating Moscow's influence on the ANC and its violent purpose.

The booklet, written by a former University of Witwatersrand senior tutor in international affairs, Mr Keith Campbell, concludes the ANC in alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), which is described as "an instrument" of Moscow, is dedicated to take-over through terrorism.

Mr Campbell, who yesterday denied anti-apartheid suggestions that the institute may have South African links, wrote that as far back as 1927 the SACP was sent a directive from Moscow.

Mr Campbell said the ANC's claim that it was "forced" to adopt a policy of violence was questionable. He said violence was "adopted" because the tactics of "armed struggle" were prescribed by the Soviet Union.

In a foreword to the booklet, the former British Labour government Defence Minister, Lord Chalfont, who is closely identified with several pro-South African causes, said the booklet indicated that "if the ANC has its way, it (South Africa) will be a one-party Communist dominated state, and like most regimes which gain power by terror it is likely to perpetuate itself by the same means".

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Crocker: SA should halt aid to rebels

NAIROBI — The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said yesterday that South Africa should halt support for rebels in Mozambique.

Dr Crocker also re-affirmed the commitment by President Ronald Reagan's administration to enforce the economic sanctions against South Africa that Congress approved over Mr Reagan's objections.

Dr Crocker told a news conference here: "There are goals that all of us in the US share — to see an end to apartheid, to see reconciliation (in South Africa), to see a healthy economy there."

Dr Crocker said US officials had discussed, without making a decision, the possibility of providing military aid to Mozambique's Marxist government for its fight against the rebels.



DR CROCKER

"There's already a lot of arms in that country," said Dr Crocker, noting that Mozambique received US economic and food aid. "What we would hope is that neighbours would leave Mozambique to settle its own problems, and some of them have not been doing that."

Asked if the South African Government, despite its denials, was ac-

tively aiding the rebels, Dr Crocker replied: "It is our impression that a pattern of communication and support does exist."

Several journalists questioned the validity of US support for the Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels who are fighting Angola's government. Dr Crocker replied that Angola's government, in contrast to Mozambique's, was propped up by "massive outside combat power" — Cuban troops whose removal has been demanded by Washington.

Dr Crocker, due to fly to Sudan today, also offered American help in ending the country's civil war.

He said the US sought both to end the civil war between Sudan's government and southern rebels and to avert a possible famine in the south. — Sapa-AP

New book warns on Britain's ANC ties

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11/4-11/1/76

FCI taken by surprise by warning from ANC

By Michael Chester

Members of the National Council of the Federated Chamber of Industries have been taken "completely by surprise" by a telex from the banned African National Congress, warning them about the November 7 summit called by President P W Botha.

The telex, signed by ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina, said the summit discussions were "only intended to give the impression of interest in dialogue in order to buy time to continue and entrench old policies".

Dr Johan van Zyl, executive director of the FCI, said he did not plan to reply directly to the ANC.

"They will see our response when they read the Press statement we intend to issue at the end of the summit session," he said.

Mr Sebina's telex said: "It would be most unfortunate for our country if concerned business people were to allow themselves to be diverted from the path towards a democratic society and to be used to improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis."

7/11/76
SOWETO

People in crisis

Soweto's chronic education and social problems now seem to be tearing the township apart.

Even residents who thought they were inured to squalor, deprivation and violence are appalled at the extent to which conditions have deteriorated. The focal point of chaos and anarchy is education.

Most residents, including reputable civic

FINANCIAL MAIL NOVEMBER 7 1986

bodies, want the children to write the current end-of-the-year exams and also to continue with their schooling. But a tiny, apparently well co-ordinated group, which has been described by some as "anarchist," appears to be disrupting moves to normalise the situation.

Nobody seems to know who these "anarchists" are, nor who their sponsor or co-ordinator is. It is, however, suspected they comprise mainly idle, unemployable elements who dropped out of school because of the repeated school disruptions in the Seventies following the 1976 Soweto uprising.

Some township people now feel strongly that only a forthright, unequivocal statement from the leadership of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), impressing upon the children the importance of continued schooling, can remedy the situation. For whether Pretoria likes it or not, they point out, the banned organisation is probably the only one black youth seem prepared to listen to. However, there may well be tactical differences over this line of approach between the ultra-Leftists and others in the ANC.

Violent conflict between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) in Soweto has aggravated the crisis. State of Emergency detentions and the fact that some leaders are living "underground," are said to have left a leadership vacuum in certain townships. This has deepened the conflict. UDF-Azapo hostility has become a casus belli of schoolground warfare.

As a result of the crisis, two local private schools — Immaculata High, a Roman Catholic school at Diepkloof, and Pace Commercial College, which is run by the American Chamber of Commerce at Jabulani — recently decided to suspend tuition.

Immaculata parents were told by Johannesburg Roman Catholic Bishop Reginald Orsmond at the weekend that the decision to close the school was taken because of school boycotts and violent threats against nuns teaching there. The children of policemen and councillors had also been victimised. Pupils had become unruly and a law unto themselves, explained Orsmond. For example, they had demanded and burnt 50 boxes containing books sent to the school by the Department of Education and Training (DET); class registers were also burnt.

School funds have also dried up because only a third of the pupils have paid their fees this year. Immaculata receives no government subsidy and depends largely on donations from the church.

Amcham is also under severe financial pressure because of a drop in income from both parents and donors. "Activity at the college has been severely restricted because of events in Soweto, which are preventing senior school education," it announced. Pace's temporary suspension awaits the outcome of negotiations with the black community, "which will formulate a new direction for the college," said Amcham's president Frank Lubke. ■

FINANCIAL MAIL NOVEMBER 7 1986

MARION SPARG, a former journalist who was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment yesterday on charges of high treason and arson, told the Witwatersrand Supreme Court she had acted as a soldier of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

The 29-year-old Rhodes University graduate is the first white South African woman known to have served as a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Pleading guilty to all the charges against her, Sparg admitted planting the limpet mines which exploded in Johannesburg's John Vorster Square police headquarters and East London's Cambridge Police Station at noon earlier this year. She said the ANC regarded South African police as highly trained combatants who had brutally suppressed legitimate opposition to apartheid.

Sparg said she knew it was possible policemen or civilians would die in the blasts — several police received minor injuries at John Vorster Square. "But my motive was not to injure or kill people. It was one of a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe, a military army. I followed orders just like any other soldier."

She said she regarded herself as a patriot rather than a traitor. "Even as a white South African I do not owe any loyalty to a government which is clearly not based on the will of the people," she said.

Passing sentence before a packed public gallery yesterday, Justice PJ van der Walt said it was providential no one had died in the police station explosions, as Sparg was indifferent to causing loss of life. He said she was a dedicated Marxist and revolutionary and while this was understandable, though not excusable, in black South Africans, he found it difficult to understand in a white South African.

Shortly after her arrest in March, certain newspapers described Sparg as a lonely, overweight person who turned to revolutionary politics out of a desire to belong. It was an image difficult to reconcile with the woman who spoke in confident, measured tones about her political commitment.

Giving evidence in mitigation of sentence on Tuesday, Sparg said her political development began in 1977 when she enrolled at Rhodes University's journalism department to

A white woman tells why she joined Umkhonto

The judge who sentenced Marion Sparg to 25 years for planting limpet mines, said he found her actions inexplicable for a white. Sparg told the court how she came to accept violent change. JO-ANN BEKKER reports

pursue a love of writing. "At Rhodes for the first time I met blacks, not as servants but as equals," she said.

The death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko that year horrified her, Sparg added, as had the reaction of most whites around her, "who simply did not seem to care".

Biko's death set her thinking about violence and pacifism. "At one time I believed to respond to violence with violence was to sink to the same level as the authorities, but my contact with black students convinced me that was a relatively easy position to adopt as a white South African."

Although she participated in the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and Delta, a self-help organisation, Sparg said "on the whole I felt rather disillusioned by what I saw as a lack of action and commitment in white student politics at that time."

While at Rhodes she rejected the notion that a journalist could be neutral or objective, she said, and still held this view. "A journalist is part of society and therefore has to take sides."

After completing her degree in 1979 she worked on the Daily Dispatch in East London for several months and then took up employment on the Sunday Times. It was as a reporter that she saw for the first time the squatter camps she had read about, and witnessed police baton-charging parents of detained schoolchildren.

However, she felt "very frustrated on the newspaper, not only because of restrictive press legislation, but by the editors' self censorship. I felt it was an excuse to cover up their own political

bias."

During her employment at the Sunday Times, she became friendly with another journalist, Arnold Geyer, and participated in his Marxist discussion group. "It offered a political outlet at a time when I could see no other."

Her first act of political violence had been to join Geyer and another reporter, Damien de Lange, in petrol-bombing the offices of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in 1981. Sparg said she had been angered by the PFP's refusal to join extra-parliamentary organisations in boycotting the government's celebrations of the 20th anniversary of Republic Day.

"I decided to use violence in a limited way to shock whites into an awareness of the conflict in South Africa which then, as now, was mostly confined to black townships."

Sparg said in retrospect her choice of the PFP as a target had been immature and emotional. "But, quite honestly, I cannot say I regret the violent action," she added. Replying to a question from Judge Van der Walt, Sparg said had she known then what she did now, she would have selected a police station as her target instead.

Shortly after the night-time PFP petrol bombings, Sparg followed Geyer to Botswana, but severed contact with him after she made contact with the ANC.

"I regard it as a privilege to have met Thabo Mbeki, Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo," she said of the exiled organisation's leadership.

Like all ANC members, Sparg said, she attended a standard three-month period of military training in an

Angola camp. "Most of the people I trained with were black South Africans of my own age group who had left the country after the 1976 Soweto killings. I was continually aware that for many it was my presence that proved the ANC was not fighting a racist war; that whites were prepared to fight alongside them."

After completing the camp, Sparg was assigned to the ANC's Department of Information and Publications, where she worked mainly on a publication, the Voice of Women.

However, after the SADF killed 30 South Africans in its December 1982 raid on Lesotho, Sparg said she felt compelled to join Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

After a second period of training in Angola, where she received political training and was instructed in the use and maintenance of firearms and explosives, she returned to South Africa and scouted selected targets for attack — "I was amazed at the lack of security at the police stations, I could have placed the limpet mines in the charge offices."

In February she planted the mini-limpet mines which exploded in Cambridge Police Station, and in March the mines which damaged John Vorster Square — "the police station which has come to represent all the brutality of the apartheid policy." Damage to the police stations and PFP offices was estimated at nearly R40 000. Sparg also planned to attack a third police station, the Hillbrow Police Station, but the mine failed to explode. When police detonated the landmine, the controlled explosion caused nearly R8 000 damage to surrounding buildings.

However, she said, she did not regard herself as a violent person. "I still maintain the hope that white South Africa and the Botha government will come to its senses and realise the conflict can be solved at a conference table. But it should not expect the ANC to suspend violence without a similar undertaking from the Botha government."

Sparg received a total of 13 years imprisonment for the three attacks on the PFP offices, but the terms will run concurrently, making an effective five years jail term. She was sentenced to 20 years for high treason.

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AN avowed Marxist and listed communist, Mr Rowley Arenstein, recently unbanned after 26 successive years under restriction, has become a key adviser to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and an active supporter of the KwaNatal indaba.

Mr Arenstein, struck off the roll of attorneys because of a law which prohibited communists from practising, is Inkatha's new legal adviser.

Mr Arenstein may not be quoted as he is still listed in terms of the Internal Security Act.

His involvement with these groups is a stunning political coup for Chief Buthelezi, who has been in constant

Marxist is Buthelezi's legal man

LONDON. — Sir Laurens van der Post, in an interview yesterday in the Independent of London, said he believed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a man of destiny for the country. He decried the ANC and its methods such as indiscriminate bombings saying "this sort of killing is not instinctive African killing — it is imported from Europe". Sir Laurens also criticized Bishop Desmond Tutu saying he represented a "divided and empty" church and "did not deserve his Nobel peace prize".

conflict with the exiled wing of the African National Congress (ANC).

But it is bound to ruffle some feathers on both the right, who are suspicious of the indaba, and the left, bit-

terly opposed to Inkatha.

Although he was sentenced in 1966 to four years' jail after being convicted of furthering the aims of communism, evidence was given that he was totally opposed

to the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the guerilla wing of the ANC.

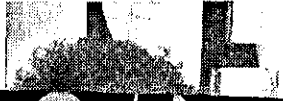
Mr Arenstein is understood to be opposed to violence and sabotage as strategies against apartheid.

Mr Arenstein is understood to be sharply critical of the deviation of the USSR and China from the key Marxist principle of democratic leadership.

He is said to be strongly opposed to disinvestment on the basis that it would weaken the working class's negotiating base and undermine trade unions.

Despite his firm stand as a communist, he is also understood to show tolerance of the fact that Inkatha supports the free-enterprise system.

reward



A REAL
GENUINE PARCAIN

Snipers guard treason trial

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

SNIPERS, video cameras and a phalanx of uniformed police controlled the more than 400 singing people who greeted the terror trial accused as they arrived at the College Road Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg on Monday.

Twelve Durban residents, including two doctors and the mother of a two-month-old baby, have pleaded not guilty to a main charge of terrorism and 22 alternative charges relating to the possession of banned literature, the training of ANC insurgents and charges under the Arms and Ammunition Act.

The 12 entered the court singing freedom songs — including a tribute to the recently executed ANC guerrilla, Andrew Zondo — and were greeted by a packed gallery who rose to the clenched fist salute.

A large crowd, unable to get access to the court, were kept beyond a four metre-high security fence erected around the court buildings after a bomb blast there last year.

All the accused have pleaded not guilty to the charges.

The state alleges the 12 were involved in 17 bombings in the Durban area between April 18 and

December 24 last year. They also claim that one of the trialists, Sibusiso Ndlanzi, instructed Zondo to blow up the Sanlam arcade in Amanzimtoti as revenge for the SA Defence Force attack on Maseru in 1985.

At least 80 witnesses will be called by the state. The names of some witnesses have not been listed, as the state's attorneys say this would prejudice their safety. Among those listed as a state witness is the executed Zondo.

The first three days have been filled by police officers and supermarket personnel describing the damage caused by the various blasts.

Justice Thirion is presiding.

UDF takes 'affected' order ^{11A} ~~23~~ to court _{7/11/86}

THE United Democratic Front's legal challenge to the government's action in declaring it an affected organisation comes to court in Durban next Thursday.

The UDF will be challenge the validity of the restriction which prevents it receiving foreign funds. The matter is likely to be postponed till February.

In papers before the Natal Supreme Court, the UDF, its national executive chairman Curnick Ndlovu, and its affiliates, the Durban Housing Action Committee and the Natal Organisation of Women, claims the state's declaration is of no force or effect in law.

The applicants are also demanding the State President give reasons for declaring the UDF an affected organisation.

According to the application, the UDF's current budget is R2-million, although it only received about R200 000 this year. In previous years its budget had been R800 000.

The organisation's funders included individuals and organisations abroad who were interesting in "encouraging a movement towards a non-racial, democratic and unfragmented dispensation" in South Africa. Principle funders were the Swedish labour movement and Novib, a Netherlands-based church organisation.

According to the application, the UDF used its funds for administrative expenses, made allocations to its more than 600 affiliated organisations for their respective sporting, cultural, religious and community objectives, and assisted families of people detained without trial.

The UDF said its affiliates consisted almost exclusively of disadvantaged persons in the country who did not have the economic resources to pursue their aims without substantial financial backing from abroad.

In a supporting affidavit Ndlovu claims that the Minister of Law and Order — and not the Minister of Justice, as required by law — appointed a committee of three magistrates to investigate the need to restrict the UDF. He claims the Minister of Law and Order, and not the Minister of Justice, considered the magistrate's report.

The UDF also claims an official statement released by the Bureau for Information when it was declared affected on October 9 clearly showed it was issued "on behalf of the Minister of Law and Order". Finally, the Front contends the proclamation was countersigned by the Law and Order Minister instead of Minister of Justice. — The Other Press Service

ANC to set up mission in Moscow

MOSCOW — ANC President Oliver Tambo is in the Soviet Union preparing to set up a full, permanent mission.

The ANC has long had close relations with the Soviets, but has lacked the sort of status given to the Palestine Liberation Organisation, whose head of mission receives ambassadorial treatment.

Tambo has been meeting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and other senior Russian dignitaries. He is also being given

the honour of a place near Lenin's mausoleum from which to watch today's celebration in Red Square of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution.

The Soviet Union's support for the ANC comes in the form of weapons, food, medicine, transport and clothing.

The ANC has said it is confident the Russians have no desire to establish a sphere of influence in Southern Africa.

The organisation says it has been

obliged to turn to Eastern Bloc countries for arms because the West will not supply them. A number of Western countries, such as Sweden, Canada and the Netherlands, provide the ANC with humanitarian assistance.

However, relations with the US and British governments have improved of late, thanks to their recent readiness to meet the ANC at official level. — *Daily Telegraph*.

WIA ~~SA~~ ~~SA~~

BUSDAY 7/11/86

Sparg's lawyers tight-lipped on appeal against sentence

NO INDICATION has yet been given by lawyers for Marion Sparg whether they will appeal against the effective 25-year prison sentence imposed on her in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Her lawyers would only confirm that no decision had yet been made to appeal to the Appellate Division against the sentence.

But they emphasised that 14 days remained in which to lodge an appeal.

ANC member Sparg, 28, was sentenced yesterday to 20 years imprison-

LIAM EGAN

ment for treason, and to an effective five years imprisonment for two counts of arson and one of attempted arson.

She pleaded guilty to the charges and was convicted by Mr Justice Van der Walt for placing limpet mines in three police stations in February and March and for petrol-bombing three Johannesburg premises of the PFP in 1981.

During his 20-minute judgment yes-

terday, Mr Justice Van der Walt said it was a tragedy for Sparg and her family that she had allowed herself to "be misguided by persons like Joe Slovo".

In acknowledging Sparg, standing in the dock wearing ANC colours, as a "dedicated Marxist and revolutionary", the judge described her formative years as "without any significant hardships".

Describing her circumstance as a white South African as "an aggravating factor" in his consideration of sentence, he said he would "understand though not

excuse" the actions if a black South African had perpetrated them.

He attributed her actions instead to a history of obesity, a condition which a defence witness had earlier described as negatively influencing her ability to relate socially.

The judge said he hoped her sentence would act as a deterrent to "all those against law and order in SA who chose to align themselves with an organization dedicated to revolution and terror".

~~UDF~~ (11A) 7/11/86

FOR seven days the defence for 22 men — facing charges of treason in the Delmas circuit court since January this year — has argued that all the accused are entitled to be acquitted.

The accused — most of them linked to the UDF — include UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota, general secretary Popo Molefe and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane.

The application for the discharge of the accused on Wednesday last week came after the State eventually closed its lengthy case last month.

For months it led evidence from about 171 witnesses and presented 8 000 pages of written and 13 000 pages of documentary evidence.

Although the trial began officially in January this year, many of the accused have been incarcerated for more than two years.

The time factor has become a critical issue. The case has tediously dragged on in the small town of Delmas, effectively isolated from the public eye.

Now, at the request of Deputy Attorney-General P Jacobs, appearing for the State, the case has been postponed to November 17 to enable the State to prepare its argument in response to the defence's application.

Summarised

That is expected to last a few days and then the anxiously awaited judgment — spelling out the outcome of the application — should be given by Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst before the end of this month.

If the accused are not all discharged, the defence will have to present its case to the court, a process which could last several months.

On Wednesday, the defence concluded its application — summarised in 550 pages — after a week of argument by Arthur Chaskalson, SC.

Chaskalson challenged the State's allegation that all 22 had incited residents in the Vaal Triangle to murder town councillors in September 1984. Another allegation central to the case is that all 22 conspired to overthrow government with violence.

The conspiracy, according to the State, had its origin in the UDF, possibly in alliance with the ANC. It was finalised by August 20, when the UDF was officially launched in the Western Cape.

Chaskalson argued at length that there was no evidence to show that any of the accused or the UDF were part of such a conspiracy.

Any sub-conspiracy which might

Delmas: the long, tortuous process of justice . . .

THELMA TUCH

have occurred after August 20 was not relevant to the case, as it had not been spelt out in the indictment, he said.

He said all 22 were entitled to be acquitted, as the State had not produced *prima facie* evidence of the conspiracy it had laid out in the indictment. He said that virtually no evidence had been led against some of the accused and argued for their immediate acquittal.

Charges of murder, he said, should be immediately dropped against UDF leaders Lekota, Molefe and Chikane as there was no evidence of any connection between them and the death of the five town councillors in the Vaal Triangle.

Support

Further, he said there was no evidence to link the UDF with the campaign in the Vaal Triangle against rent increases, or the stayaway and march on September 4.

There was also nothing to indicate that UDF policy had been dictated by the ANC or that the UDF dictated policy to any of its affiliates.

The courtroom was packed to capacity on Wednesday last week when the defence submitted its application for their discharge. As the days went by fewer people arrived to offer their support.

Last Wednesday former Transvaal secretary of the UDF Moss Chikane (accused No 21) wrote out a birthday card for his son, who turned one year yesterday. He asked his co-accused to inscribe messages.

Summit 'snub' for foreign companies

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Executives at multinational subsidiaries and bilateral trade organizations have been excluded from the State President's summit meeting with the business community today.

Leaders at major foreign corporations yesterday confirmed that they had not received invitations to the day-long meeting in Pretoria.

And representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce, the SA-Britain Trade Association and the German Chamber of Trade and Industry said they also were not asked to attend.

"Obviously, they don't regard us as being a part of the business scene here," said Amchem director Kenneth Mason.

He said he had contacted the State President's office, and was told that invitations had not been extended to executives at American subsidiaries.

A spokesman for the State President

said she could not confirm the exclusion of foreign multinationals from the summit. A list of those invited would not be released, she said.

Executives at Mobil, Hewlett-Packard, Burroughs-Memorex and Kodak said they had not received invitations, and Shell SA chairman John Wilson has already stated publicly that he was not asked.

American corporations employ between 80 000 and 90 000 South Africans. British multinationals are said to employ twice that number.

Linda Ensor reports that black businessmen have distanced themselves from both parties. A blacks-only "economic summit" later this month was announced which will seek closer co-operation with black progressive organizations.

The conference will debate the "Africanization" of the economy and its handover by whites to blacks — in sharp contrast to today's summit which will in part be talking about the handover of state-

controlled economic functions to the private sector.

The 15 000-strong National African Chambers of Commerce and Industries rejected participation in the summit.

Nafcoc said no meaningful discussion on economic strategy could take place without debating critical political issues.

Nafcoc's Transvaal Regional Convention is organizing the conference, which will be held in Johannesburg on November 27 and 28. It is keeping top secret the list of "progressive organizations" and speakers it will invite.

The outcome of the meeting will be closely watched by the British Government for signs of what it regards as the will needed to break the political stalemate, reports John Battersby.

"What is needed now is the political will to move the situation forward," a Whitehall source said. The British Industry Committee on SA is also keenly awaiting the result.

Picture: Reuter
 All Times 8/12/86
**Buthlezi says
 he has power
 to tear SA apart**

SAN FRANCISCO. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Americans in San Francisco at the weekend that if he used his vast power to back violent revolution it would tear South Africa apart and bring about rapid change.

If he were selfish, egotistical and bent on his own glory he would very soon reach the pinnacle of revolutionary eminence, he said.

But because he opted for negotiation, there was an outcry against him in certain quarters.

In addresses to San Jose's prestigious Churchill Club and to academics at Stanford University, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said President P W Botha was a confused man who could not understand true democracy.

Chief Buthelezi said it was not violence but blacks in South Africa "on the ground and in the forefront of the struggle" who had made it necessary for the State President to move into reform.

He denied claims that Inkatha's power was waning.

It remained the biggest African movement in history and had become stronger than ever in the climate of increasing violence, he said.

BAKING AND/OR CONFECTIONERY INDUSTRY, DURBAN AND DISTRICTS

- Parties Employer Organisation: Durban and District Master Bakers' Association
 Trade Union: The Natal Baking Industry Employees' Union, Food Beverage Workers' Union of S.A.
- Area Magisterial Districts of Durban*, Inanda, Pinetown and Lower Tugela.

1. Additional Allowances - Bicycle allowance

Footnotes

Unionists killed, youths attacked

CALL TIMES 8/12/86 *7:00 11:45*

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Police are carrying out an intensive investigation after a weekend of violence in the township of Mphophomeni, near Howick, where four people — including two trade unionists — were killed.

Mr Phineas Sibiya, 32, Mr Simon Ngubane, 30, and Miss Flora Mnikathi were allegedly forced into a car, taken to a secluded area and shot dead on Friday night. Their bodies were set alight in the car.

Mr Sibiya and Mr Ngubane were members of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union and former BTR Sarmcol workers. Miss Mnikathi was the daughter of a Sarmcol worker.

The Bureau for Information said the killings were only reported to police at 6.20am on Saturday morning by an Indian motorist who passed

the scene of the killings.

Earlier reports said Mr Michael Sibiya had been forced into the boot of the car but managed to escape before the others were shot. Police later found Mr Michael Sibiya, who allegedly did not report the incident.

Assegai

He had suffered assegai wounds and a bullet wound in his hand.

A Mphophomeni Youth Congress member, Mr Alpheus Nkabinda, died on the way to Edendale Hospital on Saturday morning after being attacked by about 100 chanting and heavily armed vigilantes in the streets of the township, Sapa reports.

Twelve more residents of the strife-torn township, including a 10-year-old boy and

14-year-old girl, were admitted to hospital for injuries ranging from lacerations and fractures to stab wounds. Three are still being held for observation. One person is in a serious condition.

Mr Phineas Sibiya, a member of the Mawu branch executive, was a leader of the 1 000 workers sacked by Sarmcol in March last year, after a strike for union recognition.

Two months ago he was refused a passport to travel to Brussels, where he was to address the European Parliament on the BTR Sarmcol dispute.

The parliament is investigating multinational companies that are abusing the European Community code of conduct in South Africa.

The dispute between Mawu and Sarmcol is a subject of an Industrial Court hearing.



Cape Town 11/11/86
9/12/86

Leaders 'power struggle'

Staff Reporter

SIX shacks and a "community centre" have been demolished in Khayelitsha in the last week.

The destruction appears to be a power struggle between opposing factions vying for leadership of the nearly 200 000 people living in the settlement.

The demolished shacks belonged to Mr Isaac Gwizila and members of his "Site C and Site B Action Committee", which claims a following of 100 000 people.

'Retaliation'

Mr M Hoza, leader of the established Lingeletu Committee and members of his committee yesterday admitted destroying the houses and the community centre.

He said it was in retaliation for the earlier destruction of houses by Mr Gwizila's committee.

But late yesterday a resolution to the conflict became possible. Both Mr Gwizila and Mr Hoza said they were prepared to negotiate as long as their two committees met on neutral ground under the auspices of the office of Community Services.

Mr Sampie Steenkamp, liaison officer for Community Services in the Western Cape, said he did not know of a new committee in opposition to Mr Hoza's committee. But he said both parties were welcome to approach him at his office "first thing in the morning so that we can clear this thing up".

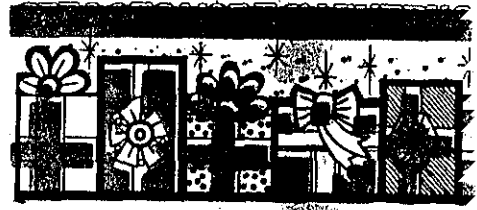


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- 8.00: T
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- 3.45: T
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- 4.05: D
- 4.10: V
- 4.25: D
- 5.20: R
- 5.50: D
- 5.55: K
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- 6.15: P
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Tomorrow
MIDWEEK
PROPERTY

49.9



And now
it's Slovo
the movie!

Sunday Times
9/10/86

Sunday Times Reporter
BUSINESSMEN at the conference with Government leaders in Pretoria this week were shown a video recording of Joe Slovo addressing the annual meeting of the South African Communist Party.

Slovo is a member of the executive of the banned African National Congress and commander of its military wing.

Soon after the start of proceedings on Friday, the 200 top businessmen heard Slovo's advocacy of revolutionary violence as he addressed about 700 delegates to the SACP's conference in London in July.

The video was presented as proof of the alliance between the SACP and the ANC.

It's war with PFP — Rabie

By STEPHAN
TERBLANCHE

THE coloured Labour Party (LP) has declared war on the PFP in a bid to stop further inroads into Labour's ethnic support base.

The LP's Transvaal leader, Mr Jac Rabie, fired the first shot when he accused the PFP of being opportunistic and wanting to use the coloured community in a political ball game because it was a spent force in white politics.

But the PFP's Mr Peter Gastrow dismissed Mr Rabie's claims as naïve.

He said the PFP had growing support and had opened branches in coloured communities on the Cape Flats and would be opening another branch in the Indian suburb of Phoenix, near Durban.

Cause

Ironically, the cause of the war of words has been information from Nationalist sources that the PFP plans to put its new across-the-colour-line drive to the test for the first time in Bosmont, where it wants to field a candidate against the Labour Party.

A by-election is due in Bosmont owing to the death of its MP, Mr Arthur Booyens.

Mr Rabie threatened that, if the PFP entered areas where the LP was active, the gloves would be off and the PFP could expect similar treatment to that which it received in Lenasia.

Mr Gastrow laughed off Mr Rabie's claim that the PFP was a spent force in white politics, and said the party's analysis showed differently.

ANC 'soldier' Sparg gets 25 years

By MARTIN NTSOLENGOE

FORMER journalist Marion Sparg - described in court as a "dedicated and unrepentant member of Umkonto weSizwe" - has been jailed for 25 years.

Sparg, 28, was sentenced yesterday by Judge PJ van der Walt after being found guilty of treason, arson and attempted arson.

The woman who described herself as "an African National Congress soldier" had pleaded guilty to all charges.

She was jailed for 20 years on the treason charge, five years each on the arson charges and two years on the

attempted arson charge. All but the treason charges will run concurrently - so she will serve an effective 25 years.

The State had asked that she be jailed for life.

Sparg hugged and kissed her crying family before she was led to the cells after being sentenced.

A few of the 100 spectators in the Rand Supreme Court carried yellow flowers.

Passing sentence yesterday, Judge Van der Walt described Sparg as "a dedicated and unrepentant member" of MK.

"I regard it as an aggra-

vating factor that, as a white South African, you chose to espouse the cause of revolution," he said.

During the trial, Sparg had admitted planting limpet mines at three police stations this year.

Two of the mines exploded - at Cambridge police station in East London, and at John Vorster Square. The third, planted at Hillbrow police station, was detonated before it could explode.

Sparg also admitted petrolbombing three Progressive Federal Party offices in 1981, during Republic Day protests.

● Sparg's defence advocate, Jules Browde, had argued during the trial that his client's case was "a difficult one".

He added: "It is inherent in our justice system that because of our troubled history, with treason being committed for various political reasons and beliefs, judges should not mete out heavy sentences which may create martyrs."

Browde said Sparg's motives were laudible - but the judge quickly answered that her motives were irrelevant and that she would be sentenced for her actions.

● During cross-examina-

tion, prosecutor Keith Atwell had asked Sparg whether she regarded herself as a traitor.

She answered: "I regard myself as a patriot."

Atwell pointed out that Sparg was "educated, sophisticated and intelligent".

"She does not come from a deprived family, nor has she endured hardships - or been part of people victimised by the system so as to prompt her extreme actions," he said.

"She has shown no sign of remorse."

● In her own evidence, Sparg said her political involvement started when she

enrolled at Rhodes University in 1979 to study for a degree in journalism.

She took part in an eight-day hunger strike in protest against Biko's treatment before he died.

After completing her journalism course at Rhodes, she said, she joined the *Sunday Times* as a political and labour reporter.

She said there was a lot of self-censorship at the *Sunday Times*, and she therefore had many clashes with the editor.

Sparg also took part in a one-day strike at the newspaper, but later decided she had had enough of "the so-

called liberal Press".

Sparg said she had become a journalist because she loved writing - but later thought she could help change society.

The judge then asked her if she rejected the idea of a journalist as an objective observer.

She answered that journalists are part of society and have to take sides.

● Sparg also rejected an allegation that the ANC trained people to commit murder.

She referred to her uncle, who was imprisoned by the Nazis during the last world war.

"Whites and blacks who fought the Nazis during the last world war were not murderers."

"Nazism was an evil crime against humanity and a threat to world peace."

"Apartheid is also a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace."

She said she had attacked police stations because it was MK policy to attack targets "directly representative of the brutality of apartheid".

This was done "in broad daylight so as to pre-empt the routine suppression of information relating to acts of sabotage".



Roselyn Mpetha's coffin is carried to the cemetery.

Mpetha had to mourn his wife alone

CP Correspondent
 OVER 20 000 people attended the funeral of Rose Mpetha, wife of jailed trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, currently serving a five-year jail term.

Mpetha was refused permission by the prison authorities to attend his wife's

funeral last Saturday. No flags were displayed but one banner honoured the jailed trade unionist.

As the funeral proceeded from the Moravian Church in Gugulethu for the NY 108 graveyard at 4pm, police fired teargas.

A Bureau for Information spokesman confirmed teargas was fired.

The funeral, which began at the family home in Nyanga at 11am took place without any incident until the teargas incident when mourners headed for the

graveyard in buses and cars and on foot.

Throughout the church service women of the United Women's Congress of which Mrs Mpetha was a member, formed a guard of honour. Archbishop Desmond Tutu and members of the UDF, Congress of SA

Trade Union, UWCO and civic and student organisations addressed the crowd.

Tutu said: "We have been told we must not speak any politics, but I never speak any politics, I preach the gospel of the lord Jesus Christ."



Aubrey Mokoena salutes the crowd after his speech.



A final salute from Cape Town activists for Roselyn Mpetha as the hearse carrying her coffin goes by.



A group of Cape Town women's activists took the coffin on its final journey to the grave.

9/11/86 Sun M&S

FATE DEALT young Marion Sparg a crushing double blow. She was a desperately lonely schoolgirl, and a weight problem caused even her fellow students at university to reject her.

Haunted and consumed by her desperate loneliness, Sparg was perfect terrorist material many years before she ever thought of planting bombs.

In fact the obese little girl who was rejected by her classmates, and whose high level of intelligence made her alienation even more painful, was just 13 when the seeds of terrorism began germinating within her.

Years later they would finally be unleashed in an orgy of petrol bombings and limpet mine attacks with scant regard for the consequences of her mindless actions. These actions resulting in an effective prison sentence of 25 years being imposed in the Rand Supreme Court.

Yet at the age of 13 Marion Sparg was already crying out in plaintive desperation... a warning of things to come.

In a poem penned for the annual school magazine when she was in Standard 6 at East London's Cambridge High School she wrote:

"Terror on this war-darkened morn,
Alarm bells suddenly shrill,
A child looks up like a frightened fawn,
Somehow it doesn't seem real.
The sudden chatter of gunfire,
The deadly whine of a bomb,
The walls crash down in the bloodstained mire,
Then the final despairing cry,
Farewell little one..."

Two years later Marion Sparg's perception of life for her read, if anything, reached new depths of lonely despair. Then she was in Standard 8 at the same school, and again she said it in poetry:

"LONELINESS...
Evades one's soul, with soft,
Fingers that drip tears of regret and remorse.
Softly stealing all bright laughter
eyes are dimmed by clouds of black emptiness.
Wild illusions glimmer — and
Happiness, peace and joy
and solitary footsteps echo
And in yet another poem during the same period she again refers to

Inside the tortured mind of Marion Sparg



ANN PALMER
who knew Sparg as a reporter, traces the path of loneliness and rejection that led her to jail



the loneliness of a child... at a table alone with empty eyes that have forgotten how to twinkle, bitter, twisted lips that once curved in happy laughter...

In court, Sparg denied that the first poem was the start of her political motivations. She said the poem described "just simply thoughts of violence and the consequences thereof".

One of her classmates at school said she was rather large but struck him more as "big-boned" than fat. "She did not seem too concerned with her size and did not involve

seated in 1981 in East London but failed to gain election.

The policies of the various political parties were often a topic of discussion and heatedly debated at family gatherings in the Sparg home in Southernwood, East London.

Sparg's observations on violence in this country really began when she started her first year at Rhodes University in Grahamstown in 1977.

There she met and became close friends with another aspiring young student, Alison Gillwald, who became a confidante throughout her university and journalistic career in this country.

This week in court, Alison — whose married surname is Morrell — told the court that Sparg's weight problem led to her social alienation on the campus.

"I was the head student of the residence, Atherson Hall, where both Marion and I stayed. We came into close and regular contact," said Mrs Morrell.

"As a student, Marion's intellectual ability was obvious. She came across as a caring and compassionate person who was equally perceptive.

"However her problem with weight did lead to an alienation with fellow students. In passing sentence, Mr Justice Van der Walt said he accepted that "Sparg's obesity and subsequent alienation had provided a clue to her later actions".

In September 1977 Steve Biko died in police detention. This was the start of Sparg's political awareness, and she took part in a eight-day hunger strike organised by students and lecturers at the university to protest against the claim that Biko could have starved himself to death during the same time period.

In court she was asked if she ever considered pacifism as an alternative to violence. "After Biko's death I did think a lot about violence, non-violence and pacifism.

"At one time I thought that to respond with violence in such a situation would simply be to sink to the same depths as the authorities in that particular case."

She also participated in the National Union of South African Students and Delta — a self-help organisation which looked after the people at the relocation camp of Thornhill.

"The infant mortality rate at the camp in 1978 was said to be about 80 percent and Marion was particularly affected by the plight of the children in the camp," said Mrs Morrell.

Sparg next sought out an avenue for her political ideals in the ranks

er family had a history of involvement with the official opposition the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). Her father's brother, Mr Ivor Sparg, stood as a member of the party for a parliamentary



BACK TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME... Sparg outside the lavatory she tried to bomb in...

of the country's journalists, but she did this on her own terms.

"I reject the idea that a journalist could be a so-called neutral or objective observer of events. Journalists are a part of society and therefore have to take sides."

She joined the Daily Dispatch at the end of 1979 and the Sunday Times at the beginning of the following year.

Here, she again became "disillusioned" this time with the "so-called liberal English language Press" and resigned after 18 months. While working for South African

Associated Newspapers she met Arnold Geyer, who was working on the Rand Daily Mail on similar stories in the religious and black consciousness fields.

Geyer acted as a Sengalli-type character within the newsroom of the newspaper, particularly drawing young women into his circle.

On leaving newspapers Sparg joined a Marxist reading group which she felt offered a political outlet at a time when she could see no alternative.

A plan was hatched between Geyer, Sparg and another reporter,

Damian de Lange, to firebomb three PFP Johannesburg offices because of the party's failure to support the boycott of the 1981 celebrations for the 20th anniversary of the Republic.

"I feel my political thinking was immature and emotional. I regret that I chose the PFP as a target for violence. There were speculative Press reports claiming the attacks were a right-wing action. It was very confusing to Sparg told the court.

She fled South Africa within days, together with De Lange

ing all ties with... refused to support... national Congress... political "matron" in the... Information an... "soldier" f... cut for her... nger to her p... would lead h... ary training... of defence and... trained as a "So...

11/6/82
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Ex-security policemen charged with spying for the ANC

PRETORIA. — Two former security branch policemen who allegedly spied for the banned African National Congress, giving it information relating to State security, had been charged with terrorism and espionage, the Sowetan newspaper reported.

Mr Matshwenyego Daneil Mokgaabudi, 29, of Atteridgeville, and Mr Tshifhango Cedrick Rabuli, 33, of Soshanguve, near Pretoria, appeared before Mr W J van den Bergh in the Pretoria Regional Court on Friday on 10 charges of terrorism, furthering the aims of the ANC and of espionage.

They were not asked to plead and the hearing was postponed to January 6 next year. They were remanded in custody.

The State alleges that the accused were members or active supporters of the ANC and furthered its aims from 1980 to July 12 this year.

In their official duties, both allegedly had access to information concerning actions of the ANC in South Africa and how to combat these actions.

SECRET FILES

The accused also had documents or duplicate copies of secret files relating to ANC activities. They were attached to the security branch in Pretoria at the time of their arrest early this year.

The documents the accused had access to also related to security and military matters and anticipated actions of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

These documents, the State alleges, were given to members or active supporters of the ANC or a certain Malaza between June 16, 1982, and July 12 this year.

Lawyers acting for the police indicated to the magistrate on Friday that they had applied for a certificate from the Attorney-General prohibiting bail for the accused under a section of the Internal Security Act.

Defence counsel is expected to file replying affidavits within 14 days, challenging the application. — Sapa.

Backing for Azapo over Putco issue

THE Azanian People's Organisation has received support from at least 13 black organisations for the demands it made on Putco in the wake of the continuing bus boycott in Soweto.

The boycott, which entered its second week yesterday, was sparked off by the 17,5 percent fare hike which came into effect at the beginning of this month.

Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary for Azapo, said yesterday that Putco's recalcitrance stems from its apparent support for the Government.

He said black people were obliged to live far from their places of employment because of the Group Areas Act.

"Our people, using other modes of transport, including taxis, are harassed by the security forces because Putco is being boycotted.

"Putco has not consulted with the majority of the people concerning the fare increases," Mr Myeza said.

He said Azapo, therefore, demanded that Putco should show that it cared for the people it served by freezing the fare increase until the Government agreed to subsidise 65 percent of every rand in the fare. It should denounce the Group Areas Act and call for the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all detai-

nees.

Organisations which supported these demands include the National Forum, the Azanian Youth Organisation, the Community Health Awareness Project, Community Solidarity Committee, Community Support Committee, Black Electrical and Engineering Workers' Union, the Azanian Students' Movement, Black Allied, Mining and Construction Workers' Union, Bureaux Resources Centres for Community Advice, Southern Transvaal Rent Crisis Committee and the Black Domestic Workers Association.

Judge says 3 State witnesses lied

Three State witnesses, including a magistrate and a policeman, who testified in the treason trial of seven Duda residents, were described yesterday as untruthful witnesses by a judge in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Mr Justice Stafford said the evidence of the policeman, a Warrant Officer van Dyk, was false and said he had attempted to escape being cross-examined.

The policeman was involved with the magistrate, Mr Peter Marx, and an interpreter, Mr Boy William Mabena, when a statement was obtained from Mr Joseph Mazibuko in hospital on June 28 last year.

Mr Mazibuko told a court in his evidence-in-chief that he twice refused to make a statement but consented on the third day "in order to get rid of the magistrate".

The judge yesterday said Mr Marx and the two other officials gave false and contradictory evidence. Although the accused was ill the magistrate had attempted to impress upon the court that he was sleeping peacefully.

^{SMC}
The accused earlier testified that he twice told the magistrate that he could not make the statement because he was too sick.

During part of his judgment on the admissibility of statements made by five of the seven accused, Mr Justice Stafford also ruled that medical evidence led by State witnesses Professor Laubscher Walters and Professor Adriaan Plomp had been accepted by the court as being more comprehensive and logical than those of their counterparts — Professor Donald Moyers and Dr Dion Fine who had testified for the defence.

The judge ruled that medical evidence had shown that the accused were in sound and sober senses at the time the statements were made.

Professor Plomp's evidence, the judge added, was unbiased and impressive.

The judge said he appreciated that the five accused were not normal when they made the statements. They had lost their hands or fingers and were operated upon and were in pain at various hospitals.

The trial is proceeding.

Blasts linked to PW's visit to France

Paris hit by three

anti-SA bombs

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

Paris

Three bombs exploded almost simultaneously in Paris in the early hours of this morning and the French terror group Action Direct, which has links with the ANC and PAC, has claimed responsibility — saying they were planted in opposition to President Botha's visit.

One blast which went off at a Peugeot Motor Company showroom in the Champs-Elysees shook the hotel where most of the South African contingent in France for today's inauguration of the Delville Wood Memorial are staying. Firemen said one person was injured.

President Botha and several of the VIPs in his party are staying at a different hotel.

The Peugeot showroom is only a few blocks from the Arc de Triomphe, which will be the centre of the French commemoration of Armistice Day.

The other blasts were at the multi-storey Manhattan Tower and the Total Tower, both of which are in the huge suburban office complex of La Defense.

Direct Action is reported to have said they were set off because of the firms' commercial links with South Africa.

There was plenty of evidence yesterday of top security for the South Africans in Paris, as well as at the South African Embassy on the banks of the Seine River.

Although there has been no official contact with South African Government members in Paris — the French are showing a cool stance towards the visit — French Minister of Military Veterans Mr G Fortes met the chairman of the Delville Wood Fund-raising Committee, Mr Justice Tienie Steyn.



State President Mr P W Botha arrives at Orly Airport, near Paris, yesterday. On the left is a French official.

Tension over PW's trip to Madeira

LISBON — Tension increased in Portugal yesterday over the planned visit later this week of Mr P W Botha to the island of Madeira.

Officials in Lisbon took pains to distance the Portuguese state from Mr Botha's visit to the island.

Reports from Funchal, the island's capital, that regional President Alberto Joao Jardim would hold a reception for Mr Botha remained unconfirmed.

Mr Botha's party is scheduled to visit major tourist attractions on the sub-tropical island and neighbouring Porto Santo island "at the invitation of businessmen of the Madeiran emigrant community in South Africa".

"There is some consternation over this visit," Mr Miguel Almeida Fernandes, spokesman for Portugal's President Mario Soares said.

He said the president's office "is concerned over possible protests. There have been protests in France". — Sapa-Associated Press.

Seamier side

President Botha — unwittingly and probably unknowingly — came into contact with the seamier side of the French capital yesterday.

He and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, surrounded by a posse of security men and aides, went for a walk in the Bois de Boulogne, a thickly wooded area in central Paris.

This is a notorious haunt for prostitutes, who were very much in evidence plying their trade in the early afternoon.

None made any approaches to the presidential party, and although the South Africans attracted attention, no one seemed to realise who they were.

President Botha is in France to inaugurate a memorial to South Africans killed in the two world wars and Korea.

He has made the trip despite a cold shoulder from the French Government, and he has been received by only low-level officials.

● See Page 19.

Fire-bombers hit Azapo man's home

By Mojalefa Moseki

Five people narrowly escaped a fiery death in Soweto when the home of the national general secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr George Wauchope, was petrol-bombed yesterday.

The home of an executive member of the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), Mr Thami Mcerwa, was attacked minutes later. The roof was damaged and the windows smashed. Both men live in Dlamini township.

About 50 attackers fastened the doors of Mr Wauchope's house from the outside at about 3 am and set it ablaze. Five people including a three-year-old boy were trapped inside.

Mr Wauchope's mother, Mrs Ethel Wauchope, said they smashed the doors to get out.

The attack on Mr Wauchope's home came within a day of a meeting held with about 500 parents in Moletsane, Tladi, Zola and Jabulani townships, condemning "black-on-black" violence.

KILLINGS

The parents, who formed the Concerned Parents' Group, resolved that youths should stop the killings and fighting among themselves over ideological differences.

The outcry by parents follows the recent death of Mr Thabo Lengane who was abducted from his home and killed by youths who pretended to be policemen. The youths had asked for Mr Lengane's son, Jefferson, who was an Azapo member, and taken Mr Lengane when his son was not home.

The meeting was attended by residents from various ideological groupings and community organisations. They all pledged to fight for unity among blacks against the common enemy, apartheid.

They said in a statement that "as parents we call upon all organisations to condemn publicly the senseless killing taking place in the name of the struggle. Ideological differences can never be resolved through violence".

Security witness cross-examined

MARITZBURG — The terrorism trial of 12 people allegedly connected to a series of bomb blasts in Durban continued in the Supreme Court yesterday with the cross-examination of a security policeman.

Lieutenant A P Robertshaw was cross-examined by defence counsel

Mr A Magid on his evidence that one of the accused, Dr Sibongiseni Dhlomo, had taken policeman to Alan Taylor medical residence where, in a storeroom, they had found ANC literature and chemicals.

The lieutenant was also examined on his evidence that Dr Dhlomo

had taken the policeman to open ground opposite an Umlazi hotel where the police had found a bag containing an AK47.

Lieutenant Robertshaw said that police had searched the site for one to two hours before they found the weapon.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

UDF, State in court

13/11/86
11A
Sowetha
THE United Democratic Front (UDF) is challenging the Government in the Natal Supreme Court today for declaring it an affected organisation.

President Botha signed the order in terms of the Affected Organisations Act of 1974, and was published in a special Government Gazette on October 7.

The move effectively cuts off UDF's foreign funding but does not affect its internal activities.

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Police warning on ANC terror

14/11/86

Even Post

11A



ELLE JEANNE-MARIE LARONDE, 23, Miss Trinidad and Tobago, 1986 Miss World in London last night. Blonde 19-year-old Pia Denmark was runner-up, with Miss Austria, **CHANTAL SCHREIBER**, third.

Strawberries and champagne for world's top beauty

First representative of the Caribbean island chain to win the title, was chosen from among 17 contestants. Denmark's Pia Larsen, was first runnerup, with Austria's Chantal

Schreiber in third place. Miss Laronde this morning had a croissant and orange juice for breakfast, along with the traditional strawberries and champagne. With the title, she won

£5 000 (R15 000) in cash and a £25 000 (R80 000) contract to promote clothes and beauty products.

Miss Laronde, who is 1,65m and measures 86-63-88cms, dismissed a suggestion that her victory meant she was the world's most beautiful woman.

"I'm sure there are more beautiful girls in the world than me. I'm was fortunate to have been chosen on the night." — Sapa-AP

PRETORIA — Police have warned that African National Congress guerillas may step up their activities during the Christmas festive season.

The SA Police have appealed to the public to be on the lookout for suspicious objects which may be explosive devices.

A statement from the police public relations division said: "Experience has taught that an increase in deeds of terrorism may occur over the coming festive season.

"It is well known that the ANC has declared 1986 to be the year of *Umkonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), which is celebrating its 25th anniversary this year.

"The possibility that the ANC will commit further deeds of terror during the last few weeks of 1986 to regain imagined prestige, cannot be excluded."

In Port Elizabeth, security measures are being stepped up for the Christmas season.

Major Eddie Everson, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said surveillance of sensitive areas was being increased.

Officials at shopping centres in the city are confident current security measures are adequate.

The manager of the Greenacres Centre, Mr P B Lawrence, said ex-

tra precautions were being taken for the season and that security personnel were highly trained for their jobs.

Mr Fred Pearl, general manager of the Pick'n Pay Hypermarket, said the area was well covered, including the perimeter doors and parking lots.

Everything possible had been done recently to ensure the safety of customers.

As part of the measures to avoid terrorist attacks, police in Pretoria said the public were requested to be especially observant and to report any suspicious behaviour or objects to the police immediately.

Here are some safety precautions recommended by the police:

- Any object which is lying around, is not in its normal position or has not been noticed before — such as trunks, suitcases, thermos flasks, books and shopping bags — could be a bomb or contain a bomb.

- Do not touch it or try to remove it — it may explode.

- You must leave the premises where the bomb is, open all doors and windows of the building.

- When you are near the site of an explosion you must call the police, fire

brigade and ambulance, render first aid, help remove the injured, leave the site after you have done what you can to help and leave your name, address and telephone number with the police.

INSIDE
Game EP
must win
— Page 24



Plet plans
proceeding
— Page 5

- It's All Happening — Page 10
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11/11/80

Tambo's 'abducted' driver let free in SA

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE release from police custody of trained African National Congress guerrilla and one-time personal bodyguard of ANC leader Oliver Tambo, Sidney Msibi, has thrown new light on the activities of the South African authorities in Swaziland.

Msibi was released from South African Police custody last Friday after his lawyers had accused the South Africans of abducting him from Swaziland and threatened court action to have him released.

The South African Security Police could yesterday not shed light on how Msibi landed in a South African prison as an Emergency Regulation detainee.

According to Msibi's lawyer, Azhar Cachalia, the ANC member was abducted from Swaziland by members of the South African Security Police and held in South Africa for over four months.

Msibi, who lived in Soweto before he left the country at the height of the 1976 student uprising, was abducted outside the Central High School in Mbabane on the morning of June 26 this year.

The abduction allegedly took place in full view of a group of women who screamed when they saw Msibi being bundled into a car by about 10 men in plainclothes. The men were travelling in three cars.

He was handcuffed, placed in leg-irons and gagged before being forcibly brought across the border.

He was allegedly driven on a side road at the Oshoek border gate and when his captors stepped out of the car the first thing they said to him was "Welcome to South Africa".

Msibi was constantly interrogated while in the hands of his captors whom he identified as Security Police because of their line of questioning.

During his detention, Msibi was held at different places in the Transvaal.

The first Cachalia heard about Msibi's detention was when Msibi's mother showed him a report from a Johannesburg newspaper claiming that he had been abducted from Swaziland. The ANC also issued a report that one of their members was abducted from Swaziland.

On August 6, Cachalia wrote to the police enquiring about Msibi's whereabouts. Cachalia wrote another letter on August 27 after Msibi's name

was published under the list of Emergency detainees officially released by the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange.

The police responded that Msibi was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

When Cachalia pointed out that the Act doesn't apply outside South Africa, he was told that Msibi is a "trained terrorist of the banned ANC" and had played a leading part in the activities of that organisation.

But Cachalia pointed out that he needed a report on the circumstances surrounding Msibi's arrest and detention as well as reports from the district surgeon and a magistrate.

A few days ago, after Cachalia had indicated to the police that he would be taking the matter to court, Msibi's mother was informed that her son would be released within the next few days.

Soon after his release, Msibi repeated his claim that he had been abducted, thus strengthening a widely held belief that South African Security Police have in the past abducted ANC members from neighbouring countries.

The police had no immediate comment.

ANC stakes all on weak-kneed trot weekly WA

THE African National Congress' chief representative to Sweden, Lindiwe Mabuza, is not the gambling kind.

But recently, she has been taking almost as keen an interest in the racecourse as the Weekly Mail's Thomas Equinus.

It's not that the ANC's External Mission has suddenly deserted the parlours of diplomacy and the bush of Angola for the bookie's stall. But its fortune's now depend also in some degree on the racecourse.

The reason is the ANC has a half-share in a Scandinavian racehorse.

No, the ANC didn't buy the share.

The half-share was donated to the children of South Africa, care of the ANC, by a Swedish computer expert

By HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

Bengt Nordbrand. Nordbrand had been outraged by television coverage of the State of Emergency and the terrible toll being taken by children, whose spirit he admires tremendously.

Mabuza contacted ANC headquarters in Lusaka for the "okay" to accept the somewhat unusual donation, and it came.

Perhaps appropriately, the horse is called Never Despair.

Never Despair's winnings, which have so far totalled about R4 500, are forwarded to the ANC's school at Mazimbu in Tanzania, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College

(Somafo). They are then used to buy much-needed equipment for the hundreds of ANC scholars there.

Nordbrand, whom Mabuza says is a "warm" and "amusing" person, pays all stabling and training fees.

Mabuza describes the first time she went to the track to watch Never Despair. "I don't like gambling or racing, but I had to tell myself that this was a political act. "I never thought I could get so excited," said the one-time Soweto and Roma University political activist, who left the South Africa for exile in 1964.

She has been ANC chief representative in Sweden since 1979.

When the horse performed extremely badly, Mabuza thought it

had to have been a "political conspiracy". But a vet later pronounced the problem had been fluid on the knee.

Never Despair is not yet racing in the ANC's black, green and gold colours. "But we are working on it," says Mabuza.

Until then, Never Despair's present racing colours — red stars on a white background — will suffice.

An ANC representative in Lusaka this week declined to confirm the movement had just recently received an application from one Thomas Equinus for an as yet undeclared new post on the national executive committee — Political Commissar (Theological and Equestrian Affairs).

Protest Christmas

THE United Democratic Front has called for a 10-day "Christmas against the Emergency" campaign.

In a statement released last night, Murphy Morobe, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, said the UDF was consulting with the Congress of SA Trade Unions, soccer administrators and shebeen owners to co-ordinate an appeal for "10 days of unity".

The UDF has issued a pamphlet calling on people to observe the 10-day period with dignity, avoid drunkenness in the streets, turn off lights and light candles at night, visit families of those in detention and exile and conduct family functions in this spirit.

The campaign begins on December 16.

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Police call for public vigilance

PRETORIA — The South African Police said yesterday there was a possibility that African National Congress (ANC) guerillas would step up their activities during the coming Christmas festive season.

It was also reported from Brussels yesterday that the ANC would soon step up its operations against the South African Government with the help of an increased supply of arms from the Soviet Union.

The SAP has appealed to the public to be vigilant and watchful for suspicious objects which may be explosive devices.

A statement from the police public relations division said: "Experience has taught that an increase in deeds of terrorism may occur over the coming festive season.

"It is well known that the ANC has declared 1986 to be the year of Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) which is celebrating its 25th anniversary this year."

Some of the safety precautions recommended by the police are:

- Any object which is lying around, is not in its normal position or has not been noticed before, such as trunks, suitcases, thermos flasks, books, or shopping bags, could be a bomb or contain a bomb. Do not touch.

- Leave the premises where the bomb is, open all doors and windows of the building.

When you are near the site of an explosion:

- Call the police, fire brigade and ambulance. After you have done what you can to help leave your name, address and telephone number with the police.

- Do not take pieces of clothing, glass, motor car parts or anything else for mementoes, disturb the rubble, or loiter in the vicinity.

- Leave old military ammunition and bombs where they are found and keep other curious people away. Call the police immediately. — Sapa

00 (11A) 14/11/86

ANC suspects held

JOHANNESBURG — Two men suspected of being African National Congress terrorists have been arrested in connection with the two bomb blasts in Newcastle this week, as well as other acts of terror.

The Commissioner of Police, General P. J. Coetzee, said in Pretoria yesterday that, apart from the Newcastle blasts, the suspects had also been linked to a limpet mine explosion at Glencoe railway station on September 20 this year and an AK-47 rifle attack on the Osizweni police station on October 10.

Plastic explosives, detonators and fuses were recovered by police after the arrests.

In the Newcastle explosions, which occurred within less than minutes of each other, 30 people were injured, four of them seriously.

The blasts were at a shopping centre and the magistrate's court.

11A

PAC envoy meets US officials



Mr AHMED Gora Ebrahim . . . PAC's secretary for foreign affairs.

A SENIOR member of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is to hold talks with head of the South Africa desk at the State Department in Washington DC today.

Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, was invited for the talks last week. Although United States government officials have in the past met with PAC leadership at the PAC headquarters, it is the first time that the State Department had proposed such a meeting in Washington.

Last Wednesday, Mr Ebrahim addressed the United Nations General Assembly during a debate on the policies of apartheid and the South African Government.

Mr Ebrahim said in the past 25 months South Africa had witnessed an unprecedented determination by the oppressed to eliminate apartheid.

Oppressed minority

He said he remained convinced that "apartheid cannot be reformed, and therefore, must be totally eliminated." The vehicle for genuine change, he said, could only be the oppressed majority.

"Since the Sharpeville killings of 1960, the South African authorities have intensified their repression to subdue a determined but unarmed people. However, the people have lost fear for the Government's prisons and after the June 1976 uprising they have also lost fear of the Government's guns," he said.

He rejected the new constitution which he said had attempted to entrench apartheid through segregated parliaments. He said confrontation in the townships had led to the death of more than 2 500 Azanian patriots.

He said unprecedented number of workers had been organised and unionised. Youth workers, peasants, women and all those apposed to the Government found a political home in the PAC. Al-

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

though the PAC, was banned, more and more people openly identified themselves with it and its policies.

"The PAC had no military bases in any frontline or neighbouring states. Its bases were its people in the townships and rural areas — including those in the homelands. The struggle against apartheid was being waged by the PAC and the Azanian people through great sacrifices and loss of many lives," he said.

He slated the United States and United Kingdom for protecting South Africa by using their veto power. He said PAC would continue to demand the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. He called on the people of the USA and UK to apply all possible pressure to immediately end collaboration with South Africa.

He denied that PAC was a "terrorist" organisation. He said the so-called "black on black" violence was being promoted in an attempt to extend the divide and rule policy of the SA Government. He further said PAC had no ties whatsoever with the South African Communist Party.

Individual rights

"The PAC is not in the game of being everything to everybody. We clarified that position when the organisation was formed on April 6, 1959. We remain scrupulously loyal to those adopted principles. We guarantee individual rights to all provided they owed their allegiance to Africa and accepted African majority rule.

"We were the first to propound and practice genuine non-racialism by opposing both racism and multi-racialism. We wish to be judged by those adopted principles rather than statements made for purposes of expediency or opportunism," he said.

THE ECONOMY

Why the Joe Slovo show didn't spook PW's guests

The businessmen who turned out last Friday to hear PW Botha were in for a surprise — they found themselves listening to the communist party leader instead. But the shock treatment does not seem to have rattled the guests, reports PATRICK LAURENCE

THE SLOVO LINE ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

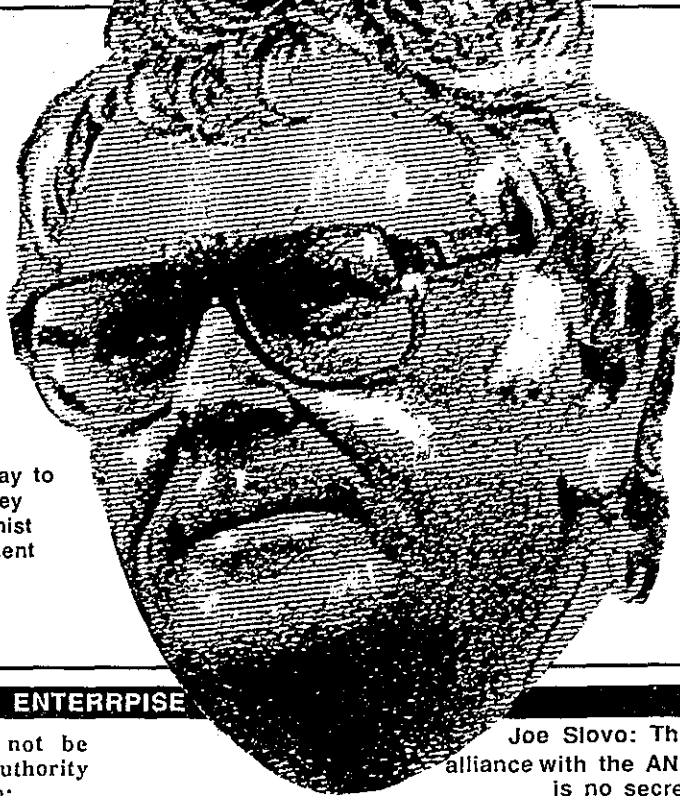
SINCE Joe Slovo is banned and may not be quoted, we asked Dr TOM LODGE, an authority on the ANC and SACP, to assess the speech:

"The irony of Joe Slovo's speech is that it took a surprisingly conciliatory line.

It by no means ruled out a role in a post-apartheid South Africa for private enterprise.

In summary, what Slovo had to say was this. It is no secret, nor has it ever been, that communists and people in the ANC have worked together for a long time. The connection between national and socialist struggle reflects the historical link between capitalism and apartheid.

The creation of a majoritarian democracy would necessarily involve redirection of the economy. To meet the needs of the majority, the state would have to reorganise land distribution



Joe Slovo: The alliance with the ANC is no secret

The ANC and its closer partners also represent a social coalition. Its constituents do not have a unanimous view of the post-apartheid future. The SACP, for example, owes its loyalty only to the working class.

In the long term the SACP believes the economic needs of the majority can best be provided by an egalitarian economic order. For a transitional period, though, a mixed economy will have to persist, allowing space for private entrepreneurs, black and white.

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conveyed his belief that racially open capitalism is the best hope for the future, as it — in contrast with socialism — is the surest guarantor of producing the wealth necessary to rescue the poor.

Slovo is a proscribed person and may not be quoted without official permission. But salient points in his speech can be inferred from comments and appraisals by businessmen who heard it.

One is that government, anticipating the eventual need to deal with the ANC, is hoping to split the ANC leadership into nationalist and communist camps. Botha has publicly declared his willingness to talk to ANC nationalists, provided they renounce violence.

The second key point is that the ANC-CP alliance is not a secret affair and neither party has any reason to hide its identity.

Another point is that political freedom is not enough, a mere re-arrangement of the voting system which leaves whites in control of the productive resources of the economy is not considered liberation.

A fourth point is the Freedom Charter is the minimum platform for change toward a new South Africa, a starting rather than an end position. The Charter, of course, envisages nationalisation of mining and banking and redistribution of land.

Yet another point is dismissal of Botha's expressed concern over the "fate of minorities". It is repudiated as code language for concern over future of the white minority by people who, for decades, have not cared about the

PRESIDENT PW Botha had a surprise for the 200 businessmen who attended his conference in the sumptuous presidential guesthouse last Friday: the political equivalent of shock treatment.

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Slovo is the reputed *eminence grise* of the outlawed African National Congress and, according to the Security Police, a colonel in the Soviet KGB.

Slovo is certainly a key man in the ANC-CP alliance, serving as chief of staff of the ANC guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and as the only known white member of the 30-man ANC national executive.

As a dedicated communist, Slovo is the personification of the ultimate threat to businessmen, standing as he does for fundamental redistribution of wealth and the means of production.

Judging from Botha's speech to the Transvaal National Party congress last year, shortly after Anglo-American chairman Gavin Relly led a team of business and community leaders to Zambia for talks with the ANC, Botha's purpose was simple: he wished to remind business of the perils of talking to the ANC; that behind the ANC stands the CP, waiting to expropriate businessmen of their wealth in the name of socialism.

If, however, businessmen were meant to cower before the image of Big Brother Slovo and to seek protection in the arms of *Groot*

broader Botha as the defender of capitalism, the shock treatment seems to have failed.

Raymond Ackerman, of Pick 'n Pay, was surprised but not unduly impressed when he was shown the video of Slovo.

"It was illuminating to hear Slovo's views," remarked Ackerman matter-of-factly. "Not that they are all that new. We know there are lots of communists in the ANC."

The presence of communists in the ANC — according to the government nearly two-thirds of the ANC national executive are communists — underlined the need for political

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Another top businessmen said of the video: "I don't know if it was meant to spook us. But it didn't spook me."

The business leader, who declined to be identified, added: "I don't know why they showed the video. Perhaps to justify the stand against talking to the ANC."

Clive Weil, of Checkers, was not at the conference. But his comments seemed to sum up the feelings of many business notables.

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That, incidentally, is roughly what Relly told Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, after their meeting in Zambia. However Relly pointedly

Finally — and predictably — there is renewed commitment to revolutionary violence and mass political struggle.

But, extrapolating from the remarks of Ackerman, Graham Boustred, deputy chairman of Anglo-American, and some their fellow business leaders, Slovo's words did not deter them from pressing for political reform, faster. Nor did Botha's warning in his opening address that the Pretoria conference was "not a party-political congress".

Ackerman said: "We were able to stress the need for strong political reform." Changes demanded included the scrapping of apartheid, the release of detainees, the lifting of the State of Emergency.

By the abolition of apartheid, Ackerman meant, specifically, the abolition of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act. It further presupposes the need to hold meaningful discussions for the creation of a "new constitution acceptable to all", Ackerman added.

Boustred said: "We indicated that while we heard the State President renew his commitment to reform, we needed to hear from the government on what positive steps it proposed to take."

There was a degree of scepticism about Botha's familiar reformist rhetoric. It was succinctly expressed by Fred du Plessis, powerful chairman of Sanlam, who is reported to have said, "We are totally unsighted and uncertain as to how the government is going to achieve these objectives."

The scepticism of businessmen is perhaps reflected in their desire to hold a fourth conference at which they, rather than Botha, will be the hosts.

Its purpose will be to monitor progress in the achievement of the government's declared objectives.

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BUSINESS IN PROFILE

ROBERT Selwyn Kidger Tucker (better known as Bob), the youthful, outspoken and engaging MD of the SA Permanent Building Society, has spearheaded his company's growth to a R6-billion giant in the South African economy.

He has also forged a thoroughly modern econo-political profile for the Perm; and one which leaves him, he says, "somewhat out on a limb".

The 36-year-old Tucker is unequivocal in his criticism of the South African version of capitalism: "the most greedy, acquisitive form of capitalism in the world". This has led to the rather bizarre situation of him being called a "socialist" by conservative commentators.

Tucker has committed the Perm to a "vision of a non-racial South Africa", and has attempted to put this into internal practice through an aggressive programme of integration amongst his 6 000 employees.

SHAUN JOHNSON put the following questions to him

What role do you see for the Perm in the process of change in South Africa?

We have a clear stance. We believe we only have a role to the extent that

We relaunch our series of Business Profiles in which we ask executives how they see their role in a changing society. Here BOB TUCKER of the SA Perm, described by conservative commentators as a 'socialist', talks about affirmative action, the Botha summit, sanctions and labour

of all the communities of South Africa. But the consequences of that are very significant. Where other financial institutions created barriers to the entry of lower income groups into the financial services industry, we have not. The result is that we are growing at the rate of about 3 000 new accounts every day.

We lend R30-million a month to blacks, which is probably as high as 70 percent of the industry total. We have a public vision statement which commits us to operating as a non-racial institution. We are a large organisation publicly committed to a non-racial South Africa, and believe there is an enormous amount we can do in the way we conduct our business.

But that is not direct political intervention?

You only have power to the extent that you have a sanction. In the



Bob Tucker

Afrikanerdom and the various black groupings.

Did you attend last week's Botha-Business summit?

No. We took a decision and the reasons for non-attendance were sent to the State President. I don't want to disclose them — that is up to the State President; it is a common courtesy to someone who has invited you.

What is your company's attitude to affirmative action?

To have an equal opportunity programme without an affirmative action policy is meaningless. You have

whole economy is affected by sanctions. Every one of us is indirectly affected.


What is the attitude to trade unions in your company?

Trade unions have played a very low role in financial institutions, and in buildings societies in particular, because you are talking about clerical staff who have, in the South African context, not traditionally been unionised to any great degree.

I have no doubt that unions will play an increasingly important part. I certainly don't see trade unions as opposition, but essentially effective mobilisers of worker attitudes. We regard them as a very important part of the development of employer/employee relations.

What suggestions would you make for government economic policy?

We have a view that, as in the labour field, equal opportunity is meaningless without affirmative action. In the economic field, a vigorous, raw, unmoderated free enterprise economy at this point in time would result merely in the substitution of economic domination for racial discrimination and the maintenance of the status quo.



Black rhinos charge ... from white Pretoria

THE United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP) will hold its first public rally in the whites-only heart of the establishment — the Pretoria City Hall — on December 13.

According to the UCCP's liaison officer, Dr Evangel Malamb, the decision to hold the rally in Pretoria was taken because of the "volatile situation that exists in black townships".

Most black leaders, including the militants, are aware that the government has been pushed into a position where it now accepts that it has to negotiate with black leaders about the future of the country, Malamb said.

"But instead of coming together to negotiate for a peaceful solution militants are involved in harrasing and intimidating those who advocate peace.

"The houses of moderates are petrol-bombed and some are even assassinated for their role in trying to find a peaceful solution," Malamb said.

When the party was launched about a month ago its leaders, who include no fewer than six councillors, stated they would be staging a massive recruitment campaign in the black townships.

Malamb also denied reports that three whites, including two university

When the new centrist black party, nicknamed 'the Rhinos', holds its first public rally next month, the venue will not be a township, reports SEFAKO NYAKA

professors, were behind the formation of the UCCP.

Wits University's International Relations professor, Collin Vale, Unisa's Professor Andre Thomashausen of the Institute of International Law and a Graham Levin, all members of the UCCP, have been rumoured to be "effectively in control" of it.

Vale also works with the training section of the Department of Foreign

Affairs in Pretoria and is a member of the South African diplomatic service.

According to Malamb, the three men joined the party two months after talks of the formation of a party were held.

He said the idea of forming the UCCP came about as a result of a "dream Mokoena and some of us had about a party for moderates. At no stage were the people you just mentioned involved."

Meanwhile a "high-powered" UCCP delegation met with the leadership of the New Republic Party in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

A statement issued by the Transvaal secretary of the NRP, Klasie Viljoen,

said the two parties found common ground but "it would be wrong to expose the discussions to public scrutiny.

"All I am prepared to say is that Bill Sutton, leader of the NRP, and members of his party today met with Bishop Isaac Mokoena, leader of the UCCP, and discussed matters of common interest."

Viljoen said the meeting was held in a private house in Westcliff, Johannesburg and was in line with Sutton's statement of seeking an alliance of moderates.

Viljoen said at the moment the NRP had difficulty in identifying moderates but did not rule out the possibility of talks with the coloured Labour Party or the Indian National People's Party.

"It will be wrong to say A is moderate or that B is radical, but we are going to hold talks with certain established political parties," Viljoen said.

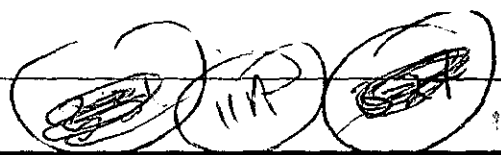
However Malamb said it was not in his party's interest to seek a merger with the NRP, but the doors were always open for negotiations.

He said the NRP was interested in bringing together all moderate groups in a "federated type of platform".

The NRP did not hide the fact that it is a party on the wane and he believes the talks might have been prompted by the NRP's desire to survive.

He declined to say what was discussed at the two-hour meeting.

STARR
14/11/86



Hearing for UDF funding deferred

DURBAN — An application by the United Democratic Front to have rescinded a Government ruling, which lists the body as an affected organisation, was yesterday postponed in the Supreme Court, Durban until February 10.

The hearing was due to take place before Mr Justice D L L Shearer, but when it was called the judge was told both parties had agreed to the adjournment.

The body was listed as an affected organisation last month. The listing means it cannot get funding from overseas sources.

Respondents in the application are the State President, the Government, the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice and the Registrar of Affected Companies.

Applying with the UDF are the Durban Housing and Action Committee, the Natal Organisation of Women, and Mr Curnick Ndlovu, chairman of the UDF's National Executive Committee.

In an affidavit Mr Ndlovu claimed the State President, as the first applicant, had no jurisdiction to ex-

ercise the power to list the UDF as an affected organisation unless the Minister of Justice appointed a committee consisting of three magistrates.

This committee would have to make a factual report and the Minister of Justice would then have to consider it.

He claimed the committee of magistrates was not appointed by the Minister of Justice, but by the Minister of Law and Order.

He added the Minister of Law and Order, and not the Minister of Justice, had given the required consideration to the report by the committee.

He said the applicant received funds from both outside and inside South Africa, which it distributed to various organisations affiliated to it — the bulk of the funding from abroad emanated from the Swedish labour movement and a church organisation based in the Netherlands.

He added the UDF was interested in encouraging a movement towards a non-racial, democratic and unfragmented dispensation in the country. — Sapa.

IVA

Business Day Reporter

Suspected ANC men arrested after bomb

TWO suspected ANC terrorists were arrested in connection with the two bomb blasts in Newcastle on Tuesday, SA Police Commissioner General P J Coetzee said yesterday.

One bomb exploded in the CNA at Game Centre and the other in a dustbin outside Court B of the Newcastle Magistrates Court.

The two men were also being held in connection with a mine explosion at the Glencoe Railway Station and an attack with AK rifles at the Osizweni Police Station on October 10.

Police had confiscated explosives, plastic detonators and switches.

Police yesterday warned it was possible the ANC would be more active this festive season.

They appealed to the public to be vigilant and on the lookout for suspicious objects that may be explosive.

A statement said: "Experience has taught that an increase in deeds of terrorism may occur over the coming festive season.

"It is well known that the ANC has declared 1986 to be the year of Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation

— the ANC military wing) which is celebrating its 25th anniversary this year.

"The possibility that the ANC will commit further deeds of terror during the last few weeks of 1986, in order to regain imagined prestige, cannot be excluded."

The SAP recommended the following safety precautions:

Any object not in its normal position or previously not noticed — such as trunks, suitcases, thermos flasks,

books, shopping bags — could be, or contain, a bomb. Do not touch it or try to remove it as it could explode; Leave premises housing a bomb but open all doors and windows of the building.

When you are near the site of an explosion:

Call the police, fire brigade and ambulance, render first-aid, help remove the injured, leave the site after you have done what you can to help but leave your name, address and

telephone number with the police; Do not loiter in the vicinity or take pieces of clothing, glass, motor car parts or anything else for mementoes, or rummage in or disturb the rubble;

Leave old military ammunition and bombs where they are and keep other people away.

Always be on the lookout for strange objects or packages in or near entrance halls, offices, public places, toilets or dustbins.

dropped so dramatically that SA is in danger of losing a major part of its world lead.

UDF CALLS FOR 10 DAYS OF DIGNITY

11A

THE United Democratic Front has called for the period between December 16 and 26 to be observed as "Christmas Against the Emergency".

It has called on members of the community to observe these 10 days with dignity and pay tribute to leaders inside and outside the country, and to those who had died in the struggle.

The organisation also made three specific requests to be implemented by the community on these 10 days. They are:

- Shebeens to close early;
- Sporting events and jazz festivals to be cur-

SOWETAN Reporter

tailed;

- The third request cannot be published on the advice of our lawyers.

An appeal has been made to young militants to exercise "maximum political discipline" and to ensure that the campaign is explained to all people well before December 16.

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF's acting publicity secretary, said in a statement issued in Johannesburg this week that the period was also dedicated to more than 500 children who faced the prospects of spending Christmas in jail as they had been detained

under emergency regulations.

"In addition to making the call, we have formulated guidelines which we hope will eliminate most of the problems that may arise. By making the call about one month in advance, we hope to give our people sufficient time to prepare themselves and thus ensure that maximum unity prevails," Mr Morobe said.

The guidelines include:

- Observing the period with dignity;
- Avoiding drunkenness in the streets;
- Observing moments of silence and singing the national anthem;
- Visiting people in de-

tention and exile; and

- Conducting weddings and functions in the spirit of a Christmas Against the Emergency.

On December 16 and 23 all households have been requested to switch their electricity off and light candles. This symbolism must be accompanied by the singing of national songs and family rededications to the struggle.

"Christmas Against the Emergency will begin with the ringing of Church bells at 6am on December 16," the statement said.

The organisation will also distribute a unity pledge to be read in church services, ceremonies and all other gath-

erings.

It calls for the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of the African National Congress and other banned organisations, the re-opening of schools and an end to rent evictions.

The statement also noted:

- Thousands of people have been detained since January;
- Several people have died in police custody;
- Thousands of students have been locked out of classes;
- Millions of people are without jobs; and
- Troops occupy townships and schools.

PAC BOSS FREE SOON

See for
11A
14/11/86

A SOWETO father, whose wife and six-year-old daughter were shot dead by members of the South African Defence Force at a roadblock in Soweto in May this year, is suing the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, for R56 000 as a result of the incident.

Mr Jacob Masuku, who was treated at Baragwanath Hospital after he was shot in both legs during the incident, is suing the Minister for his medical and hospital expenses and for general damages for pain and suffering, loss of amenities and emotional shock as a result of the death of his wife Besie (29) and daughter Thea.

Mr Masuku (34), formerly of Zone 10, Meadowlands, who now lives in Dobsonville Extension 2, is also claiming an

Age and health main factors

THE president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Mothopeng (73), may soon be released from prison because of his age and deteriorating health.

Officials of the Prisons Department this month obtained an affidavit from his wife in which she undertook to look after him and ensure that he receives proper medical attention, should he be released.

A spokesman for the department yesterday refused to confirm or deny this. He said it was not policy to comment on the medical condition or speculation on the release of individual prisoners.

Nursing home

Mr Mothopeng spent several weeks at a private nursing home in Johannesburg early this year.

Commenting on her husband's likely release from prison, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng said the family would welcome it. "But only on condition that it is only for health reasons and there are no strings attached," she said.

Mr Mothopeng rejected an offer by State President P W Botha early last year to be released on condition he renounced violence.

African National Congress leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu also rejected this offer. Mr Mothopeng is serving two 15-year jail terms. Mr Mothopeng is serving two 15-year jail

terms in the Johannesburg Prison after being sentenced in 1978. He is due for release in 1993.

Mrs Mothopeng yesterday said, on her last

but one visit she was asked by the authorities if she could look after him and assure that he gets proper medication if released. She agreed



Mrs MOTHOPENG... signed affidavit.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

and signed an affidavit in which she undertook to look after him properly if released.

She and her husband were assured by the authorities that the re-

Zeph to be freed

From Page 1

lease would purely be on medical grounds.

"I am happy that Zeph may be released at last. He earlier turned down an offer by the government to release him on condition he renounced violence and said he would rather serve his term," she said.

He is one of the 17 members of the banned PAC who were jailed to sentences ranging from five to 30 years by Justice D J Curlewis in the marathon Bethal terrorism trial in June 1979.

While in prison, Mr Mothopeng was selected president of the PAC succeeding Mr Robert Sobukwe, founder-leader of the organisation, who died in 1978.

To Page 2

Taxi conflict turns to violence

CARE *Tim*
15/11/86

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Staff Reporter

TENSION between the so-called "legal" and "pirate" taxi owners in the townships erupted in violence yesterday when drivers from the "illegal" faction allegedly attacked rival vehicles in Guguletu and Claremont.

Four men were arrested and two firearms confiscated in two separate outbursts. An unidentified 34-year-old man was admitted to Victoria Hospital with head lacerations and a broken arm after being hacked with a panga about 4.30pm at a taxi rank near the Claremont railway station.

Two men were arrested and a revolver was confiscated after a shot was fired in the Claremont fracas.

About three hours earlier in Guguletu, police fired tearsmoke after two rival taxi groups clashed and later refused to disperse, a police spokesman said.

He said a number of tyres had been slashed and taxi windows broken. Two other men were arrested and a firearm was confiscated.

Publisher Mr David Phillip, who has offices near Claremont station, said he heard women ululating and saw them running "as if for cover" near the taxi rank outside the station about 4pm.

Vigilantes 'took over pirate' taxis

He had an "imperfect view" of what was happening, but had heard shots and his wife, Marie, had seen people with what looked like knives or sharpened pieces of steel.

The commotion had lasted about five minutes, he said.

One of the "legal" owners, Mr Gordon Makuluza, said last night that "wi tdoek" vigilantes had taken control of the pirate operation and were trying to prevent legal taxis from operating on the Nyanga East/Claremont route.

Mr Makuluza said two of his drivers had been assaulted by "witdoek" drivers this year and that many legal taxis had been damaged by the "pirates".

S A may free 73-year-old PAC leader

JOHANNESBURG—The president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Mothopeng, 73, may soon be released from prison because of his age and deteriorating health.

Officials of the Prisons Department this month obtained an affidavit from his wife in which she undertook to look after him and ensure that he received proper medical attention, should he be released, the Sowetan reported yesterday.

A spokesman for the department yesterday declined to confirm or deny this. He said it was not the department's policy to comment on the medical condition of individual prisoners.

Mr Mothopeng spent several weeks at a private nursing home in Johannesburg early this year.

Commenting on her husband's possible release from prison, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng said the family would welcome it — 'but only on condition that it is for health reasons only, and there are no strings attached'.

Affidavit

Mr Mothopeng rejected an offer by President Botha last year to be released if he renounced violence.

African National Congress leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu also rejected such an offer.

Mothopeng is serving two 15-year prison terms in the Johannesburg Prison after being sentenced in 1978. He is due for release in 1993.

Mrs Mothopeng said yesterday that on her last but one visit she was asked by the authorities if she could look after her husband and ensure that he received proper medication if released. She agreed and signed an affidavit to that effect.

Mothopeng is one of the 17 members of the banned PAC who received sentences ranging from five to 30 years in the Bethal terrorism trial in June, 1979.

While in prison, he was elected president of the PAC, succeeding Robert Sobukwe, founder-leader of the organisation, who died in 1978. — (Sapa)

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Capo Times 15/11/86

Youth leader shot

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A youth leader was shot and killed by a group of men wearing balaclavas as he knocked on the door to his home in KwaNobuhle on Thursday night.

Mr Lindile Christopher Mente, 26, was an executive member of the Uitenhage Youth Congress and of an area community committee.

Yesterday Mr Wonga Nkala, president of the Uitenhage Youth Congress, and Mr Mpumelelo Ndoni, chairman of the Uitenhage Residents Civic Organization, who are in hiding, said residents were shocked by Mr Mente's death and condemned the incident as "barbaric".

Mr Nkala said: "But his death does not surprise us greatly, especially after threats on the lives of our members have been made by a rival organization which has vowed to eliminate us."

Major Eddie Everson, a police liaison officer, said a murder docket had been opened.

UDF calls for Black Xmas campaign

11/11/86
City Press

By MONO BADELA

THE United Democratic Front has called on South Africans to observe the period from December 16 to 26 as a "Christmas against the State of Emergency".

This declaration is in pursuance of the UDF's campaign for National United Action, launched two months ago.

In a statement issued this week, acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said the campaign would be taken up by all UDF structures nationwide.

Morobe said during the 10 days "we will be asking the people to rededicate themselves to the struggle for national liberation".

"We shall be remembering all our heroes, past and present, in jail and in exile and those who have fallen in the fight against injustice."

He said people would be dedicating this period to "our children - about 500 or more - who are facing the prospect of a Christmas in jail under the state of emergency".

He said the call has been made about a month in advance and the UDF hopes to give the people sufficient time to prepare themselves and thus ensure that maximum unity prevails.

Morobe said there was a need for all progressives, democrats and workers to unite in action against apartheid and against the emergency in particular.

The statement said the government had:

- Wrecked the country's economy and caused massive unemployment.
- Completely disrupted the destroyed the future of thousands of young South Africans through their pursuit of Verwoerdian education policies.
- Detained thousands of South Africans.
- Sent the army into the townships.
- Uprooted millions of South Africans through forced removals.

Morobe said the UDF was calling for:

- The immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.
- The unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.
- The reopening of schools.
- The repeal of the draconian controls imposed on students and the establishment of people's education.
- An end to rent evictions.
- Freedom of expression and association.
- A living wage for all workers, an end to retrenchments, jobs for all, adequate security and the right to strike.

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SA police release Msibi

CP Correspondents

THE sudden release from police custody inside SA of African National Congress member Sidney Msibi - abducted in Swaziland in June - has caused surprise.

Msibi was overpowered and abducted on June 26 inside Swaziland by a group of gun-wielding men.

Swaziland said it knew nothing of the alleged kid-

napping of Msibi. Exile sources view Msibi's sudden release as an indication that the SA government did not want evidence led in open court about the abduction in Swaziland.

Msibi's lawyers in SA were bringing a court action to have his detention or arrest declared unlawful when the SA authorities suddenly decided to release him.

Meanwhile a sworn statement by Msibi given to his lawyers in Johannesburg said he was abducted by ten white men at 9.30am on June 26 near the Central High School, Mbabane.

Msibi's lawyers said they believe he was suddenly released because they were in the process of bringing an action against the police on the basis that he was arrested or kidnapped outside SA.

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Malawi. The Democratic Law-
to divert world attention
from the ongoing investiga-

lental recordings for
analysis and decoding in

Diane will be buried at
Avalon cemetery at 11am -
the procession will leave
from his home.
Kganitsoe will be buried
at Doornkop cemetery at
noon and the procession will
leave from the Holy Cross
Church after the service,
which starts at 10am.
Mbundu will be buried at
Avalon cemetery at 11am
after the service at the

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16/1/86
CITY PRESS

Latest 'rent war' victims to be buried

By SELLO SERIPE

THREE Orlando West residents - allegedly shot dead by Soweto council police - will be buried tomorrow.

They are council clerk Mceba Mbundu, 25, Jacob Dirane, 40 and Vincent Kganticoe, 29, all of Orlando West.

Dirane will be buried at Avalon cemetery at 11am - the procession will leave from his home.

Kganticoe will be buried at Doornkop cemetery at noon and the procession will leave from the Holy Cross Church after the service, which starts at 10am.

Mbundu will be buried at Avalon cemetery at 11am after the service at the AME Church, which starts at 8am.

Meanwhile, the Soweto council released a statement this week saying it was investigating "the unfortunate incident" at Orlando West.

Soweto town clerk Nico Malan said the council police were not involved in the incident.

Orlando West residents alleged that council police were trying to evict people from their houses when the fight broke out.

But Malan said: "We would like people who were threatened with evictions to come forward and give their names and addresses."

The council, he said, never took action against rent defaulters in the middle of the night. They would also first have been served with written notices, he said.

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By SOL MORATHI

A MAN who allegedly murdered a black policeman, doused him with petrol and necklaced him, will stand trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court after his defence counsel withdrew his third application for bail.

Henry George Burt, 33, of Plot 47, Laezonia, will be charged with the murder of Sergeant Johannes Boetie Ndimande.

Burt allegedly hit him over the head and necklaced him on the evening of June 6.

Burt had applied unsuccessfully for bail twice and his defence counsel withdrew the third application after the Attorney-General instructed that he be charged in the Supreme Court.

Earlier in the trial, the magistrate said in view of the seriousness of the charges which carried possible death sentence and because co-accused Roger North accused had fled the country, it was not in the interest of justice to grant him bail.

North, an acquaintance of Burt, said in a statement that Burt came to his house on the night of June 6 and told him he had picked up a drunken black policeman.

North said Burt told him the policeman was dead. When North suggested he phone the police, Burt replied he could not as he had killed the policeman.

North said that Burt said

'Let's burn the body to get rid of the evidence'

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CITY PRESS
16/11/66

they should burn the body and make it look like "a black killing."

There was a tyre nearby and Burt suggested they burn the body and get rid of the evidence.

North said he gave Burt petrol from his bakkie, put the tyre in the boot and drove off.

He said he helped pull the body out of the car and it was then set alight.

Earlier, Burt told the court that on his way home after a civil defence meeting that evening, he followed a car he suspected of being involved in a crime.

The car stopped at a house, he said, so he decided to go home.

He then saw the policeman at the house, so he stopped and gave him a lift. He said he then dropped the policeman, who was drunk, and never saw him

again.

He was arrested and charged with murder on June 16.

North left the country, leaving behind his pregnant wife and children the day he made the statement to the police.

State-Attorney A Poggenpoel said Burt had moved 14 times in 12 years and has had nine different jobs.

She said there was evidence he had phoned the forensic laboratory to find out the results of the tests on blood samples from his car and had threatened to interfere with State witnesses.

Investigating officer Lt Hendrik Viljoen said sworn statements from Burt's colleagues said Burt often bragged about assaulting people.

The trial date has not yet been set.

114 220
Cape Times 17/11/86

Family awaits Mothopeng release

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The family of Mr Zephania Mothopeng, the 73-year-old jailed leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, is anxiously awaiting further details from prison authorities on his possible release from prison, where he is serving a double 15-year jail term.

His wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng, said that if her husband, who spent several weeks in a Johannesburg nursing home this year, was released it would

be only because of his failing health.

Mr Mothopeng rejected an offer to be released last year on condition he renounced violence.

A spokesman for the Prisons Department said it was not policy to comment on the release of individuals.

Mr Mothopeng, currently serving his third spell in prison, was found guilty in the marathon Bethal trial in 1979 on charges under the Terrorism Act. He was convicted with 17 other members of the PAC.

Mr Mothopeng is the second member of the organization to hold the post of PAC president, succeeding the late Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. The PAC was founded by the two men in 1959 and both were arrested in 1960 for their parts in the anti-pass campaign.

After their release both were banished to respective areas in the country — Mr Mothopeng to Witziesshoek and Mr Sobukwe to Kimberley where he lived until his death in 1978.

Six months after his banish-

ment Mr Mothopeng returned to his Orlando West home where he was placed under stringent banning orders.

He was again arrested in 1976 and was convicted in the Bethal trial after spending nearly three years in prison.

In September this year Mr Mothopeng was informed by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid of his appointment as the new president of the organization.

Mr Mothopeng is a former teacher and holds a Bachelor of Arts degree.

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Ailing PAC leader may be freed

THE family of jailed PAC leader Zephania Mothopeng are awaiting further details from the Prison authorities on his possible release from prison.

Prisons Department officials have obtained an affidavit from Mothopeng's wife Urbania, in which she undertook to look after him and ensure that he received proper medical care should he be released.

Urbania Mothopeng said if her 73-year-old husband was released from prison, where he is serving a double 15-year term, it would only be because of his ill-health.

SOPHIE TEMA

Mothopeng rejected President P W Botha's offer of freedom last year on condition he renounced violence.

His family said he had spent several weeks in a Johannesburg nursing home this year and was not in the best of health. He was jailed in 1979 under the Terrorism Act.

A spokesman for the department said it was not policy to comment on the medical condition, or speculation on the release of individuals held in prison.

SA's might measured

LONDON — SA's military manpower consists of 106 400 regulars and 317 000 reservists, and the air force has 372 combat aircraft, according to figures issued yesterday by the respected International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).

The IISS annual report on the world's military balance puts the regular forces of the six Frontline states at around 167 350, with varying numbers of reservists.

Together, they have 331 combat aircraft, but not all are operational.

IISS officials were reluctant to estimate SA's operational levels, but the SA Air Force is considered to be as efficient as forces in Europe, whereas this is not the case in the black states.

The report estimates that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has "perhaps" 10 000 trained guerrillas, with up to 3 000 based in Angola.

Swapo's strength is put at around 8 900.

The report estimates there are 27 000 Cuban troops in Angola and 8 000 civilian instructors and advisers.

Unita's strength is put at 26 000 "regulars" and 34 000 militia.

Zimbabwe is said to have deployed 5 000 troops in Mozambique, and Tanzania 3 000.

The strength of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) is put at 18 000.

The break-down of regular forces in the Frontline states: Angola 50 000, Zimbabwe 42 000, Tanzania 40 000, Zambia 16 200, Mozambique 15 800 and Botswana 3 000. — Sapa.



SAFTO CONGRESS

still under pressure as a result of the 24% stocked for the Christmas season. We

The audited consolidated results of the group for the

CMT Trip 17/11/86 232
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Taxi war: 2 die, 20 hurt

By TONY WEAVER

A VICIOUS war has broken out in Cape Town's black townships between rival taxi factions, leaving at least two drivers dead, close to 20 wounded, more than 10 kidnapped and more than 50 township taxis smashed up or hijacked.

Thousands of township commuters have been left stranded because the minibus service has all but ground to a halt as taxi drivers vowed to take the fight into the heart of Cape Town — the Claremont and Mowbray taxi ranks.

Late on Saturday and early yesterday, rival taxi owners armed with pangas, makeshift swords, kieres, knives and guns roamed Guguletu, Nyanga, New Crossroads and Khayelitsha, and several skirmishes were reported.

Licensed taxi drivers — the "legals" — are battling it out with unlicensed drivers — the "pirates" or "illegals" — in a bid to gain control of several key taxi ranks and routes, including the Claremont and Mowbray station ranks.

The hopelessly over-traded taxi market has been even more squeezed recently by City Tramways' introduction of several hundred minibuses on to the lucrative township market.

At the single quarters off NY1 in Guguletu, a vicious battle broke out about 3.30pm, leaving two dead and about 15 wounded, eyewitnesses said.

An eyewitness to the Nyanga barracks battle, who asked not to be named, said two kombis filled with "legal" owners went to the hostels to search for kidnapped drivers and he and friends followed in "a private car as camouflage".

As the two kombis arrived, they were met with a hail of gunfire as more than 100 pirates hiding in the hostels attacked the kombis.

"Our men were surrounded and they attacked them with pangas, assegais and there were many, many gunshots. Two of our drivers were hacked to death right there with pangas, and the pirates drove a taxi over the body of one of them.

"We were not well enough organized, we were outgunned.

"I and the others managed to escape, but at least 15 of our men are wounded, they have head and body wounds from pangas and axes."

He said "many legal taxis" had been hijacked and taken to the witdoek vigilante stronghold in Site C, Khayelitsha, from where "the pirates are using our taxis to attack us, they are camouflaged because we think they are ours".

But, according to a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, there



This pirate taxi was smashed up in Klipfontein Road on Saturday morning.

Picture: TONY WEAVER

have been no deaths reported to the police. Police have arrested four men in connection with the fighting — two in Guguletu and two in Claremont.

The condition of one person who was seriously injured in the fighting had improved considerably, he said.

He appealed to those with any information about the fighting to contact the police "rather than the press".

Since the war broke out on Friday in Claremont and at the Nyanga terminus, a minimum of 37 taxis have been smashed up and their tyres slashed, with a large number of vans hijacked by both sides — although it appears that the pirates are winning the war.

About 5pm on Saturday, a group of about 30 pirates were gathered in Klipfontein Road, heavily armed with pangas, swords and kieres.

They told the Cape Times they were preparing to "move in convoy all over the place and we will kill them (the "legals"). Today we lost seven taxis, but we got eight of theirs.

"Some of our drivers have been kidnapped and we think they are being killed. We know that two of the legals were killed today in Guguletu.

"What we are trying now is we will show them we will fight to the death, until we all die."

Taxi rivals agree on truce

Staff Reporter

AN uneasy truce has been reached between rival taxi drivers in Cape Town's townships after a series of meetings between community leaders and members of the "legal" and "pirate" taxi camps.

However, drivers seemed reluctant to ply the disputed Mowbray and Claremont routes, and taxi ranks in these two suburbs were almost deserted throughout most of yesterday.

Delegations from both factions met at a Guguletu hostel on Sunday and agreed to spread the word to drivers to "cease fire", according to the hostel resident who called the meeting, Mr Welcome Zenzile.

Another round of "peace talks" was held in Khayelitsha yesterday afternoon and last night in an attempt to find a permanent solution.

But members of the Lagunya Taxi Owners' Association, which represents the "legal" owners, still appear unwilling to talk to the "pirates" or to abandon their fight for total control of the township taxi market.

A member of the association, who did not want

to be named, said there was "no way" the legal owners would meet the "pirates" because this would amount to "recognizing their right to exist".

"If we meet them it means we must share with them. But they are illegal, they do not exist. We must push out the illegals altogether," he said.

According to two sources, the chairman of the association, Mr Lawrence Memani, and two members of the executive attended Sunday's talks.

Mr Memani yesterday denied knowing about the meeting.

Another "legal", Mr Gordon Makulutza, confirmed that the association's executive had attended Sunday's meeting.

The "legals" have accused the traffic authorities of failing to clamp down on unlicensed taxis.

Cape Town traffic chief Mr Harry Attwood admitted there was "a problem", but said his officers were "doing their best under the circumstances".

"We have taken action against 72 illegal taxi drivers this year," he said.

Mr Attwood conceded there was a heavy demand for taxis, but said his department could not issue more permits until more taxi ranks were provided.

He said the demand for taxis and the lack of facilities was being investigated by the Department of Transport, but that this was a "long-term project".



Mr Harry Attwood

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ARGUS 18/11/86. (330/114)

New moves to halt city's 'taxi war'

Staff Reporter

AN ATTEMPT to call a truce between warring taxi operators ended inconclusively when one of the principal legal taxi-owners' bodies failed to attend a peace meeting.

About 200 taxi-owners and drivers and representatives of civic associations met in the Site C community centre, Khayelitsha, last night for the second meeting of the day to discuss the problem.

Several "pirate" taxi-owners claimed that most of the legal owners involved in the feud were members of Lagunya — the Langa, Gugeletu and Nyanga Taxi Owners Association — which had no representative at the meeting.

Speakers suggested that Lagunya might have been afraid to come to a meeting in Site C and it was decided to convene another meeting which would include Lagunya, possibly at a different place.

Members of the Site C executive committee, who called the meeting, and other commu-



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

TRUCE BID: Part of the crowd of about 200 taxi-owners who attended a meeting in the Site C community centre in Khayelitsha last night in an attempt to arrange a truce between illegal and legal taxi factions. The meeting ended inconclusively.

nity leaders appealed to the taxi-owners to lay down their weapons in the meantime, saying the war was disrupting the community.

Asked how they would like the conflict to be resolved, both legal and "pirate" taxi-owners said they wished to return to the situation which prevailed before fighting erupted — that legal taxis should ply mainly the township routes and the il-

legals the routes outside the townships, such as the Nyanga East/Claremont run.

However, community leaders said the real problem was the Government which provoked conflict by giving licences to some and not others while jobs were scarce.

They asked the taximen to ignore the distinctions between legal and illegal.

Pirate taxi-owners claimed the feud had started in June when "legals" tried forcibly to assert their rights to take first fares at the Claremont rank.

Civic associations had failed to resolve the dispute then and it had flared again in September. The present round of violence had begun last Wednesday.

● The minicab war, Page 21.

Natal indaba won't please all, Ray Swart warns

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Few people would find the Natal-Kwazulu indaba package "perfect" when the final agreements were reached within the next few weeks, says the Progressive Federal Party's Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart.

Mr Swart told a meeting in Durban North last night that this was to be expected as the indaba was a process of concessions and compromises.

He said: "It would be strange if anyone does find the final deal perfect. But if we can achieve a broad consensus on a system in which the principle of a non-racial, democratic government is pre-eminent, that will be a considerable achievement."

Mr Swart said there were aspects of the indaba he disagreed with but in the interest of consent and compromise, the PFP had indicated that it could "live with them".

He said: "Whatever comes out will be assailed by the left

and right wings. That had to be expected from the start.

"But individuals should look objectively at the crisis in this strife-torn country of ours and recognise the vital and urgent need for reconciliation among South Africans of all backgrounds if we are to avoid disaster overtaking us."

He said it was likely that a referendum would be used to test public opinion in Natal once the final proposals were out, and this could be also be used to gauge the support of the "extreme wings" which had boycotted the indaba.

"No system of government is free of risk, as much of Africa shows," said Mr Swart. "But if we look at the alternatives, can a minority government really hold out indefinitely against the wishes of the majority?"

"There is no doubt in my mind that we will eventually have a non-racial government in South Africa. The only doubt is how we will get there."

ANC speaks

From Page 1

will meet some of the parents in the areas of conflict with a view to the resolution of the conflict," Mr Cachalia said.

Dean Farisani said his delegation will visit the PAC and the BCMA as soon as proper arrangements were finalised.

"Our failure to meet the other organisations was not a snub or due to favouritism or protest by any organisation. We realise that we will not be able to do justice to our mission if we were to rush all the meetings.

"We are urgently and enthusiastically looking forward to meeting the other liberation movements. The church encompasses people of all political ideologies and we cannot choose one organisation over the other".

Returned

The delegation, which returned on Friday, comprised Dean Farisani, Bishop S E Serote, Dean C N Molefe, Reverend N P Phaswana and Mr Don Nkadi-meng.

Meanwhile residents in KwaThema, Springs, have appealed to local political organisations to unite and stop fighting each other, MZIK-HAYISE EDOM reports.

This plea was made at a public meeting held last week at the Kwa-Thema Civic Centre.

In Soweto yesterday concerned parents met at the St Phillip's Roman Catholic Church in a bid to get the two warring parties around a conference table, writes ALI MPHAKI.

ANC SLAMS CLASHES

Abigail is overcome



ACTRESS and songbird Abigail Kubbeka is overcome by grief at the weekend burial for showbiz personality, Dan Pohlo, at Uncle Tom's Hall. See Page 5.

THE African National Congress condemns the ideological clashes between black organisations in the country and is deeply committed to the reconciliation of the warring parties.

This is the message brought back by a Lutheran Church delegation which travelled to Lusaka, Zambia, last week for talks with the ANC on reconciliation between black organisations.

The delegation, from the church's Northern Transvaal diocese, was originally scheduled to also hold talks with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), but this did not materialise because of "time and lack of proper arrangements", according to Dean T S Farisani.

Unity

Dean Farisani said the ANC delegation, led by its general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, had stated its commitment to unity with other organisations of the oppressed majority and added that their door was always open for negotiations in this regard.

"They even told us that they were very proud that despite their differences with both the PAC and the BCMA, no fighting had

Priests bring message from Lusaka

occurred among them," he said.

The delegation's message comes in the wake of violent clashes between elements of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Azapo alleges that UDF elements were responsible for attacks on homes of their members in recent weeks.

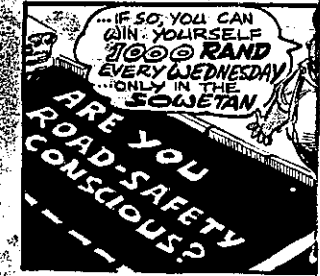
They claim that these UDF elements were bent on destroying their organisation.

But UDF treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said yesterday his organisation was as much concerned about the latest developments as the priests who went to Lusaka as well as other people were.

"In view of this a top delegation of the UDF

To Page 2

By MATHATA TSEDU and JOSHUA RABOROKO



Sixishe shot dead

CHRISTMAS AT ELLI



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UDF aims to overthrow Govt, treason trial told

By Rob Nuttall

The State submitted at the Delmas treason trial yesterday that the United Democratic Front was formed with the sole purpose of fighting the Government and government laws with the aim of overthrowing it.

Argument by Mr P B Jacobs SC, for the State, in opposing an application by the defence for the discharge of all 22 trialists, is expected to

last until the end of the week.

Mr Jacobs referred to a series of speeches and policy statements by leading members of the African National Congress.

He said these showed that the UDF was formed after the ANC had repeatedly stressed the need for the formation of an undercover and broadly based democratic front to tackle the Government

and its laws at grassroots level.

Asked whether the State alleged that the founding of the UDF was itself a conspiracy, Mr Jacobs said the State submitted that inherent in the aims of the UDF was its aim to overthrow the Government.

Mr Jacobs said that for an application for the discharge of the accused to be successful there had to be a great lack of credibility of the evidence.

He contended that evidence before the court showed a conspiracy to overthrow the Government existed between UDF officials and between the UDF and the ANC.

Among the accused are Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary and Mr Moss Chikane, former Transvaal secretary.

The hearing continues.

BUS DAY 18/11/86

IN THE COURTS

Delmas trial told of UDF role

THELMA TUCH

THE Delmas treason trial resumed yesterday with the State's response to the defence's application for the discharge of the 22 men — most of whom are linked to the UDF.

Deputy Attorney-General P B Jacobs said there was evidence upon which a court might convict the accused.

He said the UDF was not only a movement formed in August 1983 to oppose government's new constitution, but it also mobilised people towards violence.

For the past 11 months, the 22 men have been facing charges of treason, alternatively subversion, terrorism and murder. It is alleged that they incited people to kill five town councillors in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984.

Ndamase back from visit to France

DD 13/11/86
11A

Dispatch Reporter
UMTATA — Participation by people of all races was needed to build a new peaceful South Africa whose interests would be shared by all, the Transkei State President, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, said here yesterday.

He was addressing a ceremony to welcome him back from a week's visit to France, where he took part in a ceremony to inaugurate the Delville Wood War Memorial Museum.

The ceremony commemorated 25 000 South Africans who died during the first and second world wars and in Korea. This figure included 600 black soldiers from Southern Africa who died in the Mendi troopship in the English Channel in 1917.

Relating his journey to the town of Longueval, near the Delville Wood battlefield, the president said:

"The unique participation in the ceremony by people of all races and creeds is all that is needed in order to build a new and peaceful South Africa whose interests shall be shared by all, irrespective of colour, creed or national origin."

President Ndamase said he had been third to lay a wreath at Delville Wood, following behind President Botha and a representative of the French Government. "It was a symbol of honour to the death of those sons of Africa of all races and creeds who gave their last full measure of devotion to what they believed was right and in the interest of



PRESIDENT NDAMASE

freedom for all," he said.

● President Ndamase said the situation in France was a "bit tense" because they were received with three protest bomb blasts on their first night in Paris.

On the second night a dinner cruise with about 150 others in a boat on the River Seine was interrupted by a bomb threat.

"We could not finish our dinner and had to go back to our hotel," he said.

However, to their surprise they found out on arrival at the hotel that people had already vacated the ground floor because of a bomb threat.

In her vote of thanks the Minister of Post and Telecommunications, Miss Stella Sigcau, commended the President for not being scared away by the bomb threats.

11A
Argus 9/11/86

Release of Mandela is 'unlikely', says Winnie

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — President P W Botha is unlikely to release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela because it would reflect an admission of wrong-doing, according to his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

She says in a British television film to be screened here next week that she holds little hope of South Africa releasing her husband because it would be an "admission that we (black people) and the rest of the world have been right all along".

She also describes the pain she experienced at having to explain to her children that their father "was in prison for life but that he was not a criminal".

She says: "In South Africa it is so difficult and complex to bring up children and have to explain the difference between right and wrong.

"If a black has not been to prison he can only be a part of the system ... that concept has been most difficult to explain to young children."

● Sapa-Reuter reports from New York that South Africa has indicated it wants to release the ailing Pan Africanist Congress president Zephania Mothopeng from jail, a leading member of the movement said today.

Mr Ahmed Ebrahim, foreign affairs secretary for the banned opposition movement, told a news conference in New York that the South African Government had asked Mr Mothopeng's wife, Urbania, to sign an affidavit that she would look after him if released.

SOWETO RIOTS

Mr Ebrahim said: "The South African authorities are making definite overtures for the release of Mothopeng. That can be ascertained from the fact they asked Mrs Mothopeng to sign the affidavit."

Mr Mothopeng, 73, is serving a 30-year sentence for his role in the Soweto riots of June 16 1976. Last year Mr Mothopeng rejected a Government offer to release him if he renounced violence.

A Prisons Service spokesman refused to comment.

... and came ... gave him the go-ahead to ... the third of the

(S) (11A)

THE Freedom Charter is a revolutionary document, the State submitted in the Delmas treason trial yesterday.

Deputy Attorney-General Mr P B Jacobs, said the document was used to mobilise the people for a revolutionary warfare.

This was during the State's response to the application for the discharge of the 22 trialists.

The 22 include members of the United Democratic Front, Azanian People's Organisation, the Azanian National Youth Unity and the Vaal Civic Association. They appear before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst.

They have all pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, alternatively terrorism, subversion and murder. Their appearance is a sequel to the violence which broke out in the Vaal Triangle on September 3, 1984.

Mr Jacobs said the Charter was not a revolutionary document per

REVOLUTIONARY

That's how a State lawyer describes Freedom Charter

By ALI MPHAKI

se, but if viewed in the context of the whole evidence heard in the trial, it was a revolutionary document.

He was asked by one of the assessors how he understood the term revolution and how he connected it with the Freedom Charter.

In his reply he said the way it was used

showed that it was the basis on which the masses were organised, politicised and mobilised.

He added that the Charter demanded one man, one vote and that

it was also adopted by the ANC and several organisations.

"It should be borne in mind that the ANC is a revolutionary organisation," he said.

This was the second

day of the State's response to the application that the 22 men be discharged.

Mr Jacobs told the court that the UDF was using leaders of the ANC in order to condi-

tion the masses to associate with the banned organisation.

He also quoted a speech by Oliver Tambo from an ANC newsletter of 1983 where it is said that the masses should be mobilised, politicised and organised.

He also quoted a UDF speaker who said: "Comrades, time has come for the revolution is now beginning under the banner of the UDF".

(Proceeding)

Activist's home shot at

11A
SOWETAN
17/11/84

A NUMBER of shots were yesterday fired at the home of Mr Jabu Ngwenya, chairman of the Consumer Boycott Committee.

No one was injured in the incident.

Three spent cartridges and a live bullet were later found in the yard of Mr Ngwenya's home in Senoane, Soweto.

A spokesman for the family said they were awakened by the screeching of car tyres about 2am yesterday.

By SY MAKARINGE

Shots rang out shortly afterwards.

Mrs Ngwenya said she saw a car driving off. She said the family was puzzled as to who could be behind the shooting as the only people "who come to our house are the police".

Mr Ngwenya yesterday deplored the attack on his home. "I do not know who could be responsible. I am friends with people of all progressive political persuasions. I condemn the black on black clashes as they give people against our struggle an opportunity to do their own thing," he said.

• The African National Congress' condemnation of ideological clashes between mem-

bers of black political organisations has been welcomed by the Azanian People's Organisation.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary, said this week that as the condemnation has come from one section of "our exiled compatriots", the organisation was also anticipating similar deplorations from the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the banned Pan Africanist Congress.

Message

A Lutheran Church delegation which visited the ANC in Lusaka recently brought a message from the banned organisation condemning the ideological clashes between black

organisations.

The message also said the ANC was committed to the reconciliation of the warring parties.

Dean I S Farisani said the ANC delegation told the South African priests they were proud that despite their differences with both the

PAC and BCMA no fighting had occurred among them.

He said the priests were originally scheduled to also hold talks with the PAC and the BCMA, but did not because of "lack of proper arrangements and time".

Man saved from necklace

Ge Post
12/11/86
(11A)

VAN DER BIJLPARK —
A truck driver's six colleagues stormed through a township to save him from a necklace execution this week.

Mr Gawie Rossouw, 29, is being treated in hospital here for multiple injuries.

Colleagues from a nearby temporary workshop apparently saw the incident and rushed to help Mr Rossouw and his helper. They were both being attacked.

The helper managed to escape but Mr Rossouw was found unconscious by his rescuers.

Two men, joined a short while later by four others, jostled with the mob to try and reach Mr Rossouw.

The rescuers were attacked and pushed as they made their way through the crowd. But eventually the men were allowed to carry Mr Rossouw to the office. — Sapa

'Little hope' of Mandela's release

The Star Bureau

LONDON — President P W Botha is unlikely to release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela because it would reflect an admission of wrongdoing. This is the view of the leader's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mrs Mandela says in a British television film to be screened here next week, that she holds little hope of South Africa releasing her husband — one of the most publicised prisoners of the modern world — because it would be an "admission that we (black people) and the rest of the world have been right all along".

She also reveals the pain she experienced having to explain to her children that their father "was in prison for life but was not a criminal".

"In South Africa it is so complex and difficult to bring up children and have to explain the difference between right and wrong.

"If a black has not been to prison he can only be a part of the system ... that concept has been the most difficult to explain to young children."

Film depicts SA's return to hostile, frontier life

By Michael Morris,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — A new British television film to be screened soon finds white and black nationalists in South Africa ranged defiantly along an old African frontier.

They are on opposite sides — the whites speaking of confrontation and spilt blood as the price of preserving the barrier, the blacks of their willingness to die to destroy it.

"Back on the Frontier", to be screened on ITV next Tuesday, records the will and sentiments of a handful of ordinary South Africans and assessments by more prominent figures.

Film-maker Mr Francis Gerard — who once lived in South Africa and is the producer of the acclaimed documentary "The White Tribe of Africa" — chose Kirkwood, one of the Eastern Cape's historic frontier towns, to explore today's frontier.

The film includes interviews with people living in other parts of the country, facing each other across much the same boundaries. Significantly, it was an Afrikaner featured in the documentary, whose family settled in the Sundays River valley two centuries ago, whose telling comment, "we are back on the frontier", suggested the title of the film.

Mr Gerard traces the history of the initial frontier clashes between white settlers and Xhosa tribesmen, the early colonial conflicts and the construction of white dominance through apartheid.

He returns to present-day Kirkwood to find the old frontier little changed. Mr Andries Hartman says: "Our forefa-

thers fought, but it was altogether a different sort of war. I could never dream that things would work out this way. We are back on the frontier." He believes that "you can never bring the two peoples together".

His brother, Tinus, chairman of the local National Party, shares that view. He says: "Our ancestors fought years ago in tribal wars, in wars of civilisation against uncivilised peoples, and boundaries were drawn. We want to remain a European white community and we do not want to become part of a community which is not here or there."

His wife, Elna, explains: "We want to use our own Bible and go to our own church and stay what we are." The Hartmans speak of their strong desire to preserve their way of life for their children. Sharing the country with the black majority would be unsatisfactory.

DETAINED

Some kilometres away, in Kirkwood's black township, Bontrug, the Rev Ngeva, the local Dutch Reformed minister, who was detained for seven months recently without being questioned, warns: "Blacks can't stomach it any longer, especially the younger generation. You see they are prepared even to die, they are prepared to go to prison. Many of them have gone to prison and they come out boasting that they are prepared to go back again, because they value their human dignity, because it is a God-given gift to any person in this world."

Young activists say their imprisonment has strengthened their resolve. One, Mond

Ngonyama, describes the prison cell as the "college of politics, the college of spirit".

Sanlam group chairman Mr Fred du Plessis singles out apartheid's separation of people as a key factor in the modern frontier. "One should have started (in the past) to increase the area of overlap in value systems (of blacks and whites) ... But we built on differences and tried to avoid overlap by keeping people apart."

Group identity and minority rights, says Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis in the film, must be a feature of South Africa's future political structure and the "upgrading of communities" will mean that "blacks, coloureds and whites, will have to be resettled".

Resettlement, he argues, will be to improve the "quality of life" for those affected, and will not be undertaken for racist or political reasons.

For some, though, the frontier is a battle line. Mr Dries Alberts, a follower of the right-wing leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, says: "I will die fighting ... for the existence of the Afrikaner nation."

Also sensing a looming confrontation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, newspaper editor and son of the jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, admits: "The time is not far off when it will be said: 'To hell with newspaper offices — let's go to the bush'. That is where this whole battle is going to be decided."

Filmed under emergency regulations, the documentary survived police surveillance, although some rolls of film were stolen and the crew had to be smuggled past the army and police on some occasions.

Azapo appeals to 'comrades' over Black Christmas

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is to convene several meetings to consult the community over the observance of a Black Christmas.

Last year, many shoppers carrying groceries from the city were involved in nasty incidents.

Some, including elderly people, were reported to have been forced to drink cooking oil and eat other raw food found in their parcels. Others were beaten.

The pamphlet said the Black Consciousness Movement had observed a Black Christmas since 1976.

"This means refraining from activities that increase the profits of our oppressors and create the impression that we are a happy oppressed people.

"We are open to suggestions and recommendations, nevertheless we insist that:

● Hooligans must not exploit the situation where our people are robbed, forced to drink detergents and fish oil, when the people do not understand. We must decide whether buying in town is in order to support black capitalists or to further our desired aims.

● Black businessmen must be consulted with the view to lowering their prices, bearing in mind that they must buy their stock from town and therefore must not be molested.

● Street committees are formed to defend and advise the community and not to launch them into suicidal missions."

Azapo said it wanted to make known to "the comrades" that:

● They are not a people apart from the community.

● They must not demand or take by force things to which they are not entitled.

● Comrades must respectfully ask for what they need, or buy or borrow such items.

● No effort must be spared in explaining to the community their actions and reasons for such actions.

● They must show respect to parents and elders in the community and give guidance and assistance where necessary.

● The comrades must consult and listen to the views of the community.

Exam lineup for pupils

Transvaal Education Department pupils write English literature today and anatomy and music, Hebrew, economics and sculpture tomorrow.

Std 10 DET pupils write Afrikaans, Venda and accountancy today and German, economics, Sotho and Tswana tomorrow.

JMB candidates write art theory and French today.

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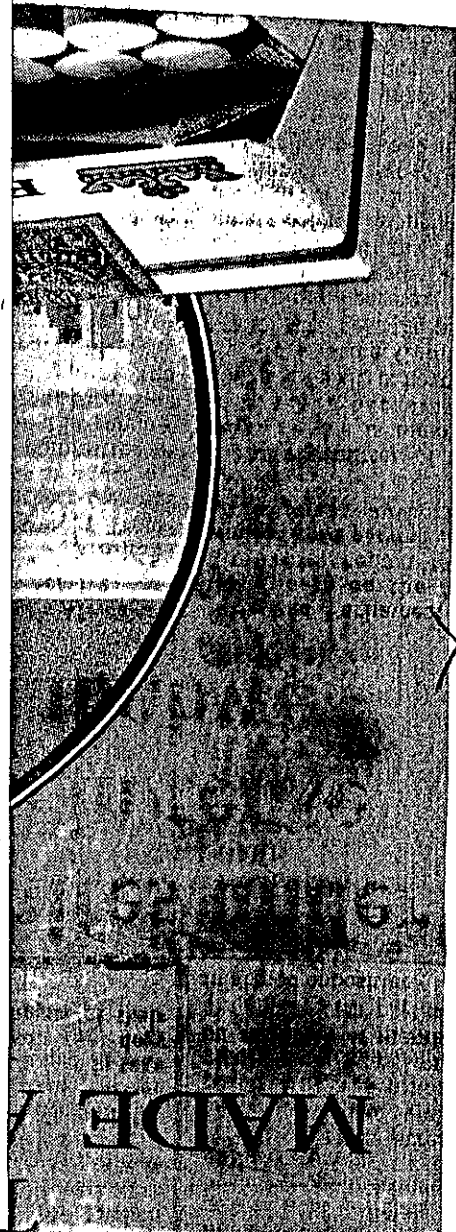
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SA may release PAC president

11A
20/11/86

NEW YORK — South Africa has indicated it wants to release the ailing Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) president Zephania Mothopeng (73) from jail, a leading member of the movement said yesterday.

Mr Ahmed Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs for the banned opposition movement, told a news conference in New York that the South African Government had asked Mothopeng's wife Urbania to sign an affidavit that she would look after him if released.

"The South African authorities are making definite overtures for the release of Mothopeng," Mr Ebrahim said. "That can be ascertained from the fact they asked Mrs Mothopeng to sign the affidavit."

All a Prisons Service spokesman would say yesterday was that "it is the policy of the Prisons Service not to comment on speculation regarding the release and medical treatment of individual prisoners".

Mothopeng is serving a 30-year sentence for his role in the June 16 1976 Soweto uprising.

Over 300 GM workers vote to continue strike

PORT ELIZABETH — More than 300 General Motors workers have voted at a meeting to continue striking despite the large-scale return to work by fellow workers.

"Now we will just have to sit back and see if GM can produce any cars," said Mr Freddie Sauls, general secretary of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union.

General Motors say they are producing cars. Industrial relations manager Mr Rob McIlwaine said the production target for today was 50 vehicles, rising to the normal 130 vehicles by next Monday.

Mr Sauls explained the implications of Tuesday's industrial court decision interdicting Naawu from inciting GM employees to take part in the strike.

He said the decision changed little as it did not interdict the Motor and Component Workers' Union of South Africa or the workers themselves from doing so. — Own Correspondent.

Last year Mothopeng rejected Government offer to release him if he renounced violence.

"We (the PAC) believe the authorities want to release him because he is seriously ill and may be dying, and the regime does not want him dead on their hands because of his great popularity in the country," Mr Ebrahim said.

"We have asked Amnesty International and the Red Cross to find out the cause of his illness but so far we have heard nothing," Mr Ebrahim said.

Mothopeng should be allowed to leave the country to obtain proper medical treatment, Mr Ebrahim said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Louis Nel to retain his seat

The outgoing Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, has opted to retain his parliamentary seat, saying that "family considerations" have caused him to turn down an overseas ambassadorship. Mr Nel informed the regional executive of the National Party in Pretoria Central last night that he intended to stay on. The executive had asked him to remain. — Pretoria Bureau.

Hearing of ANC accused to resume

The hearing of Mr Rocklyn Williams (26), of Braamfontein, accused of assisting the African National Congress in an anti-conscription effort, resumes in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today.

Yesterday's postponement of the hearing was by agreement of both the State and defence counsel.

Mr Williams, a teacher who has been held in custody since his arrest on April 4 this year for two alleged contraventions of the Internal Security Act, was not asked to plead.

The State alleges that between January 1979 and February this year he became a member of the ANC. Between November 1979 and February this year he allegedly furthered the aims of the banned organisation.

Case file 20/1/86
11/1/86

SA 'may free' PAC president

NEW YORK — South Africa has indicated that it wants to release ailing PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng from jail, a leading member of the movement said at the United Nations.

Mr Ahmed Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs for the Pan Africanist Congress, told a news conference yesterday that Pretoria had asked Mr Mothopeng's wife, Urbania, to sign an affidavit that she would look after him if he were released.

"The South African authorities are making definite overtures for the release of Mothopeng," Mr

Ebrahim said. "That can be ascertained from the fact they asked Mrs Mothopeng to sign the affidavit."

Mr Mothopeng, 73, is serving a 30-year sentence for his role in the 1976 Soweto uprising.

Last year Mr Mothopeng rejected a government offer to release him if he renounced violence.

"We (the PAC) believe he is in dire need of medical attention," Mr Ebrahim said.

"We believe the authorities want to release him because he is seriously ill and may be dying,

and the regime does not want him dead on their hands because of his great popularity in the country," he added.

He quoted Mrs Mothopeng as saying she would welcome her husband's release, "but only on condition that it is for health reasons and there are no strings attached".

Mr Ebrahim also gave details of the first official contact between the PAC and the US State Department, which took place in Washington last Friday at the invitation of the US. — Sapa-Reuter

Zeph's release

UNITED NATIONS
South Africa has indicated it wants to release the ailing Pan Africanist Congress president Zephania Mothopeng from jail, a leading member of the movement said yesterday.

Mr Ahmed Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs for the banned opposition movement, told a news conference in New York that the South African Government had asked Mr Mothopeng's wife Urbania

to sign an affidavit that she would look after him if released.

"The South African authorities are making definite overtures for the release of Mothopeng," Mr Ebrahim said. "That can be ascertained from the fact they asked Mrs Mothopeng to sign the affidavit."

Last year Mr Mothopeng rejected a government offer to release him if he renounced violence — Sapa Reuter.

Following the surprise court appearance of two

security policemen charged with furthering the ANC ...



Soft spots in the uniformed ranks

The police often boast of their ability to penetrate the top echelons of the ANC. How far are the police open to the same kind of infiltration by the ANC?

PATRICK LAURENCE reports

The *Kitskonstabels* — trained for six weeks before being unleashed on the townships for "special duty".
Picture: GUY TILLIM, Africa

THE surprise appearance in court of two black Security Policemen on charges of furthering the aims of the outlawed African National Congress has triggered intense speculation among political pundits.

The Security Police have often boasted of their ability to penetrate the ANC to the "highest levels".

But the court appearance of the two black policemen raises the question of the extent to which the police in particular, and the Security Forces in general, are open to counter-penetration by the ANC.

Three events in recent years establish that it is not an idle question.

The first occurred in May 1979 when a policeman was killed during an ANC attack on Moroka police station in Soweto. One of the attackers was recognised as a former policeman. He was arrested after the attack but later escaped.

The involvement of a policeman in the 1979 Moroka attack was evidence of the importance to the ANC of recruiting policemen to its ranks even then, when ANC insurgency was still in its infancy.

Know thy enemy, strategists of guerrilla war have long advised. What better way than to recruit from his ranks?

The second incident received wide exposure in December 1983 when Dieter Gerhardt, the former commanding officer of the Naval dockyard in Simonstown, was convicted of treason and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was a spy for the Soviet Union, the main supplier of arms to the ANC.

The third involved the jailing in 1984 of Roland Hunter for five years.

Hunter, a military conscriptee, disclosed "sensitive military information". He was originally charged with high treason, as were a married couple, Derek and Patricia Hanekom, who allegedly helped him communicate information to the ANC. It is against that background that the charges against the two black Security Policemen in the Pretoria Regional Court last week should be seen.

The two men, Daniel Mokgaabudi, 29, and Tshifhango Rabuli, 33, were alleged to have been members of the ANC and to have advanced its aims between 1980 and July 1986, a substantial period of time.

They are purported to have had access to information relating to anticipated ANC actions and to Security Police plans to anticipate and counter them. They are accused of passing on information and documents to the ANC in return for a "contribution".

The two men, who are alleged to have been recruited by the ANC's special intelligence department, were not asked to plead. Pending their re-appearance in court early next year,

they will remain in police custody. A senior Security Police officer told Weekly Mail that it was the first time Security Policeman had allegedly been recruited by the ANC.

Tom Lodge, senior lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and an acknowledged expert on the ANC, was only aware of one analogous case: the charging of a black policeman some years ago in the Eastern Cape for joining the ANC.

But that policeman was a uniformed policeman and he did not have access to the sensitive information which the two Security Policemen are alleged to have had, Lodge said. He added that the presence of the two suspected ANC agents in the Security Police poses questions about the success of the police in preventing infiltration of their ranks.

Deon Fourie, professor of strategic studies at the University of South Africa, said of the alleged ANC agents: "I have never heard of anything like that before."

But, he added, the police, unlike the Defence Force, lack a comprehensive system of "command and control",

saying of the police officers: "I find them very unsophisticated."

Thus, in Fourie's view, infiltration of the Security Police by suspected ANC agents is "surprising in one way but unsurprising in another way".

An observer with knowledge of secret police methods agreed that the court appearance of the two suspected agents was most unusual.

In the murky world of espionage, men discovered to be working for the ANC would usually suffer one of two fates, he said: either they would be "turned" — used as double agents against the ANC — or they would "just disappear".

These were the "facts of life" in the war between the Security Police and the ANC. Police agents detected by the ANC suffered the same fate, the observer added.

He suspected that the two alleged ANC agents might be captured ANC guerrillas whom the police tried unsuccessfully to use as double agents against the ANC. Their failure to cooperate resulted in the decision to charge them with their original ANC activities, he speculated.

The senior security officer,

however, dismissed conjecture that the two alleged agents were ex-guerrillas. The charge against them is that they were recruited by the ANC while serving as policemen, he said.

The officer accepted that the Security Police are a priority target for ANC infiltration. He did not disclose details of how the two alleged agents were caught. Nor did he divulge what precautions the police took against penetration by enemy agents posing as allies.

The ANC has set itself the ambitious task of subverting black policemen and not merely of penetrating police ranks.

As more and more blacks are recruited into the police and the paramilitary auxiliaries which augment them, the chances of disaffection may well increase.

The controversial black council police have hardly been in existence for 18 months. But there have already been three strikes in their ranks.

One strike was allegedly violent and resulted in the arrest of 115 council police in Kaitlhomg, near Germiston. It did not prevent another strike by 100 council police in Kagiso on the West Rand.

It does not, of course, follow that the ANC is behind the strikes. But the ANC has been quick to capitalise on labour strife — witness the bombs at Putco depots in Soweto — and it will almost certainly try to exploit dissatisfaction in the ranks of black police, regular and auxiliary.

Trial-within-a-trial poses challenge in terrorism case

MARITZBURG — A trial-within-a-trial began in the Supreme Court terrorism case yesterday after defence counsel contested the admissibility of a statement to a magistrate allegedly made by one of 12 accused.

The statement was allegedly made by Mr Vusumuzi Wesley Mahlobo (27), of kwaMashu, to magistrate Mr G H van Niekerk.

Mr Mahlobo, who the State alleges was a member of the African National Congress, is charged with terrorism along with 11 other Durban residents following a series of bomb blasts in Durban last year.

All 12 have pleaded not guilty to the charge and to a variety of alternate counts.

FREELY AAND VOLUNTARILY

Counsel for the defence Mr A Magid yesterday argued that the statement allegedly made by Mr Mahlobo was not admissible as it had not been freely and voluntarily made.

Mr Magid pointed to a section of Mr Mahlobo's alleged statement which read: "I am not sure I am making this statement in the right way."

This remark could be an indication that Mr Mahlobo had been "primed" to make the statement, Mr Magid argued.

Mr Justice P W Thirion, however, found that "on the face of it" this comment appeared to be no more than a passing remark. The onus rested on the defence to prove otherwise, he said.

He said the court would presume that the entire statement in question had been made freely and voluntarily unless "the evidence of the accused (gave) a different colour to the remark".

The hearing continues. — Sapa.



ZINZI Mandela . . . read her father's speech.

Mandela speech read out at trial

EXTRACTS of a speech by imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela were read in the treason trial of 22 men in the Delmas Circuit Court yesterday.

The extracts were taken from a speech which was read by Mandela's daughter Zinzi at a public meeting in the Jabulani Amphitheatre last year.

Deputy Attorney General Mr P B Jacobs read: "My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor are grateful to the UDF."

The speech also sent

greetings to the people who attended the meeting and it was also said that Mandela was speaking for all those in jail, exile, bannishment and those who suffer from oppression and exploitation.

The State wants to prove that there was a conspiracy between the UDF, its affiliates and the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable and to overthrow the system by violence.

The State also argues that there is enough evidence for the conviction of the 22 men.

This was the third day the State had been re-

sponding to the application for the discharge of all the trialists. The defence councils led by Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC had argued that there was no prima facie evidence that the accused were part of the alleged conspiracy and that they should all be discharged.

Mr Jacobs said the fact that the UDF spread Mandela's message proved that they identified with him and the ANC. "It is important to note that the UDF has never disassociated itself from Mandela" he added.

The Deputy A-G also quoted Mr Oliver

Tambo where he was talking of the national democratic struggle, which he (Tambo) said rested on four pillars, **u n d e r g r o u n d** movement, united mass action, armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto We Sizwe and the international drive to isolate South Africa.

Mr Jacobs argued that the UDF was a revolutionary organisation and its leadership were also revolutionary.

He read a message from the Seshego Youth Congress which said: "The struggle is not a dinner party." Mr Justice van Dijkhorst is presiding.

Incursions: SADF accuses Botswana

PRETORIA — Guerillas were using two infiltration routes from Botswana, with collaborators in Gaborone providing them with shelter — apparently with the knowledge of the Botswana Government.

This was said yesterday by the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General A. J. "Kat" Liebenberg, in reaction to remarks by the President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, who said this week that South Africa was looking for excuses to attack its neighbours.

This could trigger a war, Dr Masire said.

Gen Liebenberg told military correspondents at a briefing in Voortrekkerhoogte that African National Congress terrorists operating from Botswana had so far this year been responsible for six mine incidents and 14 other incidents. Eight guerillas had been captured.

One of them, "Junior," had confirmed that two infiltration routes were being used from Botswana. Collaborators in Gaborone provided shelter for terrorists, apparently with the knowledge of the Botswana Government.

"Junior" said the main tasks of terrorists operating from Botswana was to intimidate farmers in the Western Transvaal into leaving their farms.

Gen Liebenberg said the South African Defence Force did not plan to invade any of its neighbours, but the SADF reserved the right to strike against guerillas wherever they hid themselves.

Meanwhile, a Daily Dispatch Johannesburg correspondent reports that Botswana's External Affairs Minister, Dr Gaofitwe Chiepe, last night denied Gen Liebenberg's claim that the ANC was using infiltration routes through his country.

He said his government was expecting another attack on its citizens by the SADF.

SA and homelands pledge co-operation

Pretoria Bureau

The signing of various treaties in Pretoria yesterday signalled a more intensive era of co-operation was underway between South Africa and the four independent homelands, delegates said.

More than 40 Cabinet Ministers from the five states met at the Union Buildings yesterday to formalise the multi and bilateral agreements.

Most said the formal setting up of the Secretariat for Multilateral Co-operation in South Africa (Secosaf) was the highlight of the meeting, al-

though Bophuthatswana refused to sign it. *SMA*
The Boputhatswana Foreign Minister, Mr T M Molathwa, who also chaired the meeting, said his government had reservations regarding certain clauses. He refused to elaborate.

However, Boputhatswana will continue to contribute to Secosaf's operating budgets.

Secosaf has been operating since April last year in terms of an informal agreement.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning led the South African delegation.

ANC issues call

The Star's Africa News Service LUSAKA — The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has issued a call to the international community relating to the ANC's 75th anniversary, which is due to be celebrated on January 8.

X Report Restricted

Mr Tambo is on the banned list and may not be quoted in South Africa. The Star is therefore unable to publish details of Mr Tambo's statement.

Retrenchment dispute ends in out-of-court settlement

The battle to secure full retrenchment benefits for 76 workers employed by Cargo Carriers in the Transvaal has ended in an out-of-court settlement with the Transport and General Workers' Union, said a union spokesman.

The dispute between the company and the union began in September when 76 people were retrenched.

"Negotiations failed to settle the dispute and the union applied to the Industrial Court. On Wednesday, at a meeting with Cargo, the dispute was settled out of court," said the union spokesman.

In terms of the settlement workers were given a further two-and-a-half months' wages extending to the middle of December. All those eligible for pay increases in terms of a recent wage agreement will be given backpay from June to September.

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STANDARD WAREHOUSE

'Masire aware of shelters'

Army chief tells of ANC attack routes



● MASIRE

TERRORISTS were using two infiltration routes from Botswana, and collaborators in Gaborone provided them with shelter — apparently with the knowledge of the Botswana government.

This was revealed yesterday by Chief of the Army Lieutenant-General A J "Kat" Liebenberg.

He was reacting to remarks by Botswana's President Quett Masire this week that SA was looking for excuses to attack its neighbours.

Liebenberg told military correspondents at a briefing at Voortrekkerhoogte that ANC terrorists operating from Botswana had so far this year been responsible for six mine incidents and 14 other incidents. Eight suspects had been detained.

One of them, called "Junior", confirmed that two infiltration routes were being used from Botswana.

The Botswana government apparently knew that people in Gaborone provided shelter for the ANC members who were intending to stage attacks in SA, he said.

"Junior" said the main task of terrorists operating from Botswana

was to intimidate farmers in the Western Transvaal into leaving their farms.

His designated operating area had stretched from Thabazimbi to Pietersburg.

Liebenberg stressed that the SADF did not plan to invade any of its neighbours, but that it reserved the right to strike against terrorists wherever they hid themselves.

Remarks such as Masire's could only worsen relations between the two countries, he said.

Liebenberg added that the ANC planned to escalate its mine warfare campaign to mark its 75th anniversary next year.

He said there was a R2 500 reward for reporting a terrorist and a R3 000 reward for reporting a vehicle mine.

Big limpet mines fetched R2 000 and small ones R1 000.

Reporting a rifle carried a R600 award, bombs and grenades R200, while petrol bombs carried a R50 reward.

Masire told the Botswana parliament on Monday that if SA attacked its neighbours it could trigger a full-scale war. — Sapa.

Military Correspondent
Rewards of up to R3 000 are being offered for information leading to the recovery of certain explosive devices or the capture of ANC members, said Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General "Kat" Liebenberg.

General Liebenberg told military correspondents in Pretoria that the ANC was expect-

R3 000 rewards offered for information on terror

ed to step up its campaign against South Africa in 1987, which was the 75th anniversary of the banned organisation.

Rewards were being offered to those who volunteered useful

information. A number of people had already been paid out.

For example, information leading to the capture of a terrorist could net a person R2 500.

Anyone who spotted a vehicle mine could earn R3 000, while a large limpet mine would bring R2 000 and a small limpet mine R1 000.

Information leading to the recovery of various bombs and grenades would fetch in the region of R200 to R400, while R600 was paid for a rifle and R50 for a petrol bomb.

ANC 'still operates from Botswana'

By Sue Leeman, Military Correspondent

Information from a captured African National Congress operative has shown that Botswana is still providing a base for ANC operations, according to Chief of the Army Lieutenant-General "Kat" Liebenberg.

Addressing newsmen in Pretoria yesterday, Lieutenant-General Liebenberg said in spite of recent SADF raids on Gaborone and diplomatic approaches to the Botswana Government, that country was still permitting its citizens to house ANC members and was allowing ANC infiltration routes through its territory.

The captured ANC man, who had been based in Botswana and used the combat name "Junior", had revealed that one of his goals was the selective murder of white farmers in South Africa, he said.

While South Africa wanted peace in the sub-continent, it reserved the right to root out terrorist nests "wherever they are".

Lieutenant-General Liebenberg said statistics showed that since January this year there had been six mine attacks near the South Africa/Botswana border. Three people had been killed and five injured.

Nine alleged ANC terrorists had been killed in contacts with the security forces, two had escaped and eight had been captured, "Junior" among them.

"Junior" told his captors that his overall goal had been to intimidate white farmers and drive them off their land.

Before his capture, he had been responsible for the area between Thabazimbi and Pietersburg, and his job was "to selectively murder white farmers and to find deserted farms where (ANC) bases could be set up. He was instructed to keep in touch with Botswana in order to ensure his logistics.

"He also confirmed that there were two different (ANC) infiltration routes through Botswana.

'Government aware of aid'

"He ended up in Gaborone, where he stayed in the house of a Botswana citizen who was giving open aid to ANC members passing through Gaborone.

"This citizen gave aid with the full knowledge of the Botswana Government."

Lieutenant-General Liebenberg said Botswana's role was, therefore, very clear. "It is still a base from which the ANC operates."

The ANC, he said, was clearly going for soft targets and was not limiting its sights to whites.

"The kind of support Botswana supplies to terrorists, coupled with recent unfounded remarks by President Masire, can only harm relations (between South Africa and Botswana)."

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24-hour police guard on hurt ANC suspect

The Star's Africa News Service

Swazi police confirmed here today they are maintaining a 24-hour guard at the hospital bedside of a man they believe to be an African National Congress activist hurt in a car crash on November 6.

Security chief Assistant Commissioner Francis Maphalala said today that after the crash, in Manzini, police found an arms haul in the car. He would not say why the arms find had not been revealed earlier.

Police have named the man as Mr Nsiza Khumalo and said he was an ANC member who had already been deported twice from Swaziland. They said he had not yet regained consciousness.

Mr Maphalala said police had been actually tailing another car which appeared to be making a rendezvous with the car with the arms.

When the occupants of this car saw the police, it sped away, but had an accident at a roundabout. The car rolled but two men escaped, leaving Mr Khumalo, who was too seriously injured to move.

He said the arms haul included anti-personnel mines, 16 small limpet mines and 216 rounds of ammunition for AK-47 rifles, as well as AK-47 magazines.

'Lengane home raided'

THE Soweto home of Mr Jacob Lengane, slain father of political activists Jefferson and Khotso Lengane, was allegedly raided and ransacked by unknown people travelling in a white kombi this week.

An eye-witness, who asked not to be identified, told the *Sowetan* yesterday that there was no one in Mr Lengane's Moletsane home when the house was raided in the early hours of Wednesday morning and later at night.

The witness said a number of documents were seized during the raids,

2/11/86
conducted by people who appeared to be in uniform and others in civilian clothes.

"I and other people were out in the street on Tuesday night when we saw a white kombi parking next to Mr Lengane's home. About nine people jumped off the vehicle and stormed the house. They forced the kitchen door open while others climbed onto the roof," he said.

He said the people searched the house from 12 midnight to 1pm. They left after taking some documents from the house, he said.

ANC issues call

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has issued a call to the international community relating to the ANC's 75th anniversary, which is due to be celebrated on January 8.



Report Restricted

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ANC bases:

Prove it, says

114 Botswana

GABORONE — Botswana has challenged South Africa to substantiate allegations by the chief of the SA Army, Lieutenant-General "Kat" Liebenberg, that it was allowing the ANC to use its territory as a base for terrorist attacks in the Republic.

In a statement issued in Gaborone today, Botswana's Minister of for External Affairs, Dr G K Chiepe, said she "treated seriously this accusation from South Africa, which can only be a prelude to further unwarranted attacks on Botswana".

Dr Chiepe said Botswana's position on the subject was well known. "The Government does not allow its territory to be used by any persons, or groups of persons, or guerillas as a springboard for attacks on South Africa."

Anyone who violated this cardinal principle was arrested and prosecuted, as had happened many times before.

"It is absurd for any South African official to accuse the Government of Botswana of aiding guerillas infiltrating into South Africa," Dr Chiepe said.

"Similar accusations have been made before and sometimes have been followed by attacks on Botswana, resulting in the deaths of innocent people."

The Botswana Government had sent a message to the South African authorities challenging them to substantiate their allegations.

9th Times 22/11/86

Chief warns on 'non-free' choices

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Washington yesterday that he could not participate in State President P W Botha's National Council on constitutional development if he was not free to test its conclusions against mass black opinion.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister, addressing the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said he was a democrat and had no intention of imposing Inkatha's thinking on all black South Africans.

"I strive for a multi-party democracy and unless all political leaders are free to support or oppose the kind of conclusions that might arise in the National Council, I cannot participate in coming to conclusions in it.

"We dare not make another false start in constitutional development in SA and we dare not even come to the right conclusions about the future at the wrong time and in the wrong circumstances."

He said the stated primary objectives of the National Council were to offer participation in the planning of a constitutional dispensation which provided for the participation of all SA citizens in the process of government; and to grant black SA citizens on an interim basis a voice in the processes of government which affected their interests.

Regarding the consequences of sanctions, Chief Buthelezi said there was no doubt the burden would fall on black South Africans.

Those who supported sanctions must ask whether they could live with the consequences if Pretoria remained recalcitrant and sanctions failed to do what they were intended to do. — Sapa

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Gerwel: ANC 'major force' in SA's future

Chief Reporter

IN the quest for a new centre of a "disintegrating" social order, many people were coming to recognize the African National Congress as a major force in South Africa's unfolding political drama, Professor Jakes Gerwel said yesterday.

Prof Gerwel, who took part in recent talks in Lusaka between the ANC and leading academics from SA, takes over in January as Rector of the University of the Western Cape, in succession to Dr R E van der Ross who is retiring.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he said he and the other academics including the Principal of UCT, Dr Stuart Saunders, who visited Lusaka at the invitation of the University of Zambia, had had an opportunity to meet an ANC delegation headed by the secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo.

Sensitive

"Mr Nzo is the number-two man in the ANC, so that his presence there was indicative of the seriousness with which they approached our talks.

"It was a major experience for all of us. They were anxious to hear the views of people from inside South Africa, and we seldom heard a pre-



Professor Jakes Gerwel

scriptive tone from them.

"It became clear that these were not people engaged in the rhetoric of politics, but clearly men and women open and sensitive to the real dynamics of forces within this country.

"It struck me that these people were truly non-racial in their approach and conviction. In fact they became aggressively impatient with the way we tended to mould things in terms of racial realism.

"They also struck us as a people who recognize the importance and value of universities in preparing for and ultimately serving the kind of society they are working for — non-racial and democratic."

Prof Gerwel said the SA universities delegation had found the ANC representatives to be "without exception very warm and human persons, seeking the best for their country and driven by an ideal for it.

"Although a liberation movement obviously involved in a struggle for really fundamental change of society, the ANC is seeking this in a multi-faceted way, the armed struggle aspect of which is often emphasized in one-sided propaganda."

Replying to a question, Prof Gerwel said he did not get the impression from the ANC that "liberation before education" was their principal stance.

PFP to continue talks with ANC

The Progressive Federal Party has voted to continue discussions with the African National Congress and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

A resolution proposed at the PFP's Federal Congress at Gold Reef City in Johannesburg yesterday voted by an overwhelming majority to continue initiatives with the outlawed organisation. The motion also congratulated the party leadership for initiating contact with the ANC.

The resolution was accepted in its original form after an amendment proposed by PFP MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, was ruled out of order.

Mr van Rensburg was hissed at one stage when he addressed the congress, proposing in his amendment that the party pursue dialogue with all significant groups and disassociate itself from any policy of violence.

Mr van Rensburg, who drew applause at the end of the speech, said he agreed with the

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

sentiments expressed in the original motion, but believed the PFP should not be seen to be giving preference to one political group.

The chairman, Mr Peter Gastrow, accepted a point of order raised by Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, that Mr van Rensburg's amendment was a substantive replacement resolution which could not be debated because it had been submitted late.

VIOLENCE

The leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, who proposed the resolution, said although his party rejected the ANC's policy of violence, it was important to keep the lines of communication open.

Mr Rowan Haarhof, Northern Transvaal regional chairman of the PFP, said the ANC had millions of supporters and had to be consulted.

● PFP MP for Berea, Mr Ray

Swart, warned that right-wing groups were trying to wreck the Natal-kwaZulu indaba.

In recent weeks, right-wing supporters had appeared at the indaba and had been critical of the proposals.

He said the next few weeks were critical for the indaba as it was within reach of achieving consensus on a new nonracial provincial authority in Natal.

● The congress also adopted a resolution calling on the Minister of Health, Education and Justice to take heed of warnings from professionals that social and political structures in South Africa were affecting mental health.

The congress called on these departments to "acknowledge and condemn the deleterious effects that the Group Areas Act and the current state of emergency have on family life and stress levels".

● Inequality in health and welfare services was also criticised

by the congress.

The congress adopted a resolution calling for urgent attention to be given to the "gross maldistribution of medical personnel in the country where the vast majority of doctors trained in South Africa concentrate on the provision of medical and health services in the urban and peri-urban areas".

● Sapa reports that key-note speaker, Professor Alexander Thembela, called for equal education in a post-apartheid society.

Professor Thembela, president of the Natal African Teachers' Union and a vice-rector of the University of Zululand, said there would be no question of whites being "swamped" in schools in a post-apartheid society.

SHARING

He said everybody would have to accept that "the available cake will have to be shared equally".

"That is the price that whites

must pay for living in Africa where people share and even drink out of the same pot," Professor Thembela said.

It was not acceptable to blacks to hear whites saying they should not accept blacks into their schools because this would lower standards, he said.

"Blacks would of course need a compensatory budget before we talk about equality of provision because a lot of harm has been done to them through under-provision for so long."

Professor Thembela acknowledged that there would be a lowering of standards for white children as a result of equal education.

In education under apartheid, white schools might have enjoyed a ratio of 20 pupils per teacher, whereas blacks might have had 50 per teacher.

"Equalisation would obviously mean 35 pupils per teacher, which would be a tremendous gain for blacks but a real drop for whites," he said.



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Opposition over ANC

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talks

JOHANNESBURG — The Progressive Federal Party congress erupted into a row yesterday before delegates voted in favour of continued dialogue with the banned African National Congress and other extra-parliamentary bodies.

The resolution was passed only after a substantially different amendment, omitting specific mention of the ANC and moved by the MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, was ruled out of order by the chairman and MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow.

He accepted a point of order raised by the MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, that Mr Van Rensburg's amendment was a replacement resolution which could be considered separately but could not be deliberated by the congress because it was submitted too late.

A second amendment calling on the PFP to continue its initiative with the ANC and other groups, with the purpose of developing alliances committed to bringing about a change of government, was rejected.

Votes by delegates for and against this motion had to be counted after an initial show of hands did not make a majority rejection clear.

The original motion, moved by the Transvaal leader of the PFP, Mr Douglas Gibson, firstly congratulated the party leadership for initiating contacts and discussions with the ANC.



MR VAN RENSBURG

It also urged the leadership to "continue with such initiatives and to do the same in respect of other extra-parliamentary organisations and leadership figures".

Mr Gibson emphasised the importance of opening up lines of communication with extra-parliamentary groups to help solve the problems in South Africa, and said no pre-conditions should be set, as the National Party government had done, which were impossible to meet.

The fact that the PFP talked to the ANC did not mean it supported it.

Moving his amendment, Mr Van Rensburg

called on the party leadership to "vigorously pursue meaningful dialogue with all significant political groups in South Africa and at the same time dissociate the PFP from any strategy or method applied by organisations which involve the use of violence".

Mr Van Rensburg was loudly hissed by a number of delegates as he read out his amendment, and Mrs Suzman was applauded when her point of order was accepted by Mr Gastrow.

Mr Van Rensburg continued speaking, saying he accepted the chairman's ruling but did not agree with it.

He said he had no argument with the sentiments in the original resolution and he in fact agreed with it. His amendment was to give it another interpretation and not to replace or change it.

He was called to order a second time after the chairman accepted another point of order from Mrs Helen Suzman.

Mr Van Rensburg said the resolution as it stood gave the impression the PFP was "giving preference to one political organisation (the ANC)".

More reports P11

Marketing win

Business Editor

EAST LONDON — Mr Jonathan Schewitz was last night presented with the Daily Dispatch Dolphin floating trophy as the Border area's Marketer of the Year.

Mr Schewitz, the chief executive of the Atlas Filter Company and the Atlas group of companies based in East London, received the trophy from the managing director of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Terry Brice-land.

The annual competition is organised by the Border branch of the Institute of Marketing Management.

Mr Schewitz won the award for innovative marketing which has brought his company an estimated 65 per cent of the commercial filtration plant market in South Africa against both national and international competition.

The filter developed by his company was one of 11 products to win Shell/SABS Design Institute awards earlier this month.

The other finalists were:

● Mr Dennis Boardman, a director of Boardman Brothers in Stutterheim, for his con-



The Marketer of the Year M trophy on the stage

tribution towards marketing pany's specialised products black consumer market.

● Mr Anthony Tarrant, managing director of Hoover SA, who is responsible for a sales campaign brought a sharp increase in sales in a time of depressed consumer demand.

● Mr Phillip Kahts for his achieving increased sales Kurtsy candle manufacturing company, of which he is sole shareholder and Farm Implements Kaf, which he is a partner.

● Mr Kola le Roux, South African and Border waveski champion design and marketing of su-

WHEN trouble began to rumble in the Orlando West region of Soweto — in an area the locals call "Russia" — on the evening of November 5, something quite new happened.

Whistles blew, the word went round, and from house after house the residents came out into the streets.

In the resulting clash with the police and security forces, the Bureau for Information later confirmed, two men were shot dead and eight wounded. The body of a third man was later found at the scene.

They may have died in vain — their belief that some people were about to be evicted from their houses for not paying rent was quite possibly a false rumour.

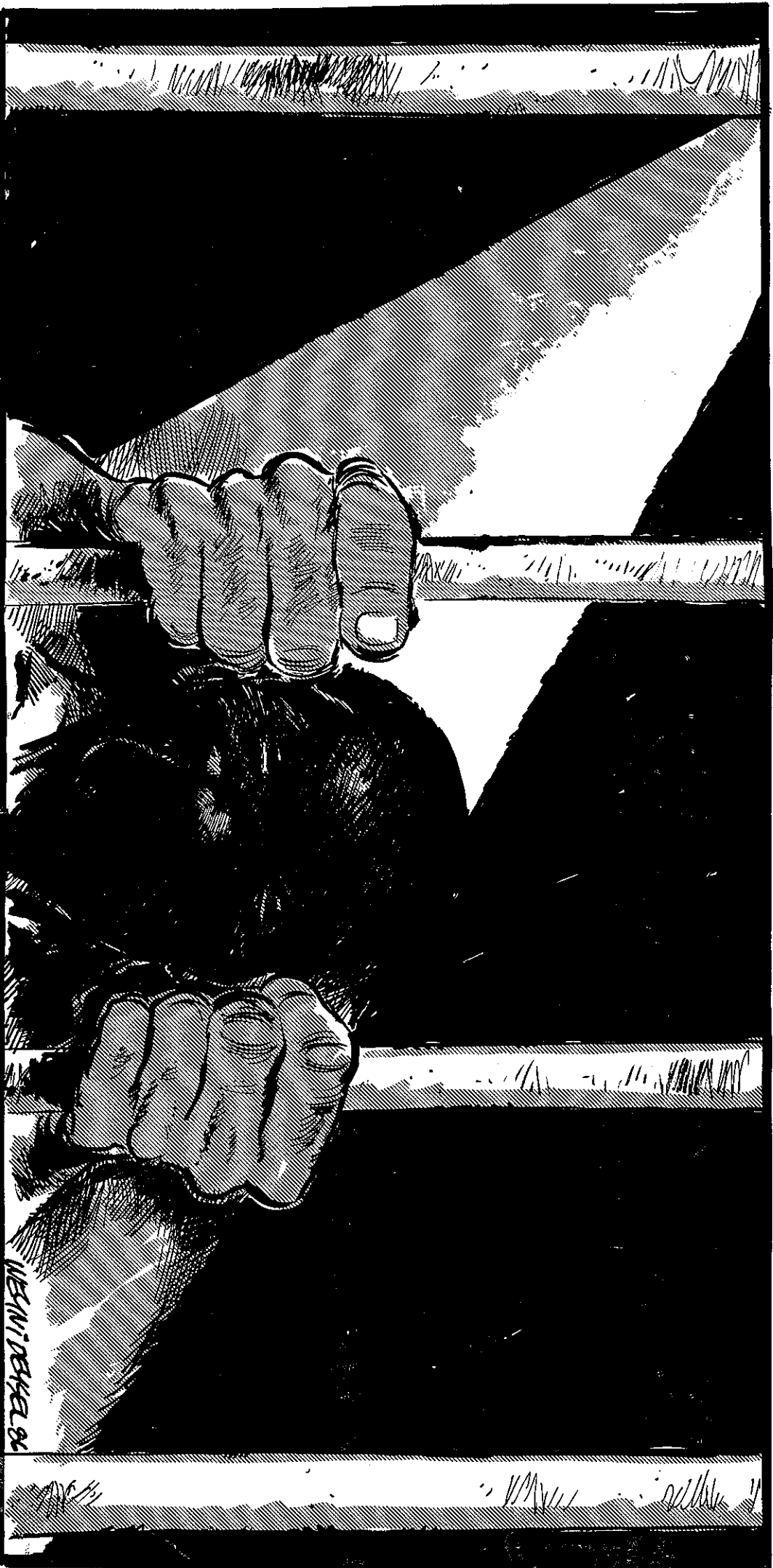
But the unity shown by the residents at street level marked a significant change that has taken place not just in Soweto, the sprawling black township perched on the edge of Johannesburg, which is home to about 2-million blacks, but all over South Africa in the last few months.

"Street committees", groups of five or six people elected by the residents of a street to organise the people in times of trouble, have sprung up in Alexandra township, Sharpeville, Guguletu and Langa in the Cape Town area, in the townships of the Eastern Cape — as well as in Soweto.

The street committees are, in the words of Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front (UDF), "the broadest-scale grassroots organisation ever".

The UDF itself is the largest official anti-apartheid organisation in the country, with nearly 22-million members. But the street committees embrace all black political groups and ideologies — trade unions, the powerful student groups, the UDF and the main black political rival to the UDF, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

THEY 15A PLANNED Mandela planned it all 33 years ago: A cell in every street Though some deny it, the project is alive and try- ing to take root in Soweto



WESNI DEKER 88

JEREMY GAVRON of the London Daily Telegraph provides a fresh look at changes in the townships

CONT. →

IO understand what this means in South Africa and to see how the street committees came out, it is necessary to go back six months or so, to the height of the violence in the black townships.

In April, May and June the townships went up in flames. In Crossroads, the giant squatter camp outside Cape Town, the stacks where 80 000 blacks live were burnt down.

In Soweto, necklacing of blacks by blacks — where a tyre filled with petrol is put round the victim's neck and set alight — was an everyday occurrence.

"It was a frightening scenario," said Dr Nkhato Moflana, head of the unofficial Soweto Civic Association, which claims over half of Soweto as its members.

Certainly the violence came partly from political divisions among blacks. In Soweto, gangs of thugs known as "Kabasas" were allegedly being used by Azapo to attack UDF members. In Crossroads there was a power struggle between the established "vigilantes" and the young radical "comrades".

But most black leaders believe that the intensity of the violence grew from attempts by the police to destroy the political networks in the townships. The Government acknowledges

that it has detained without trial thousands of black activists under state of emergency laws imposed on June 12.

What it hotly denies — and what black leaders just as hotly insist — is that Government agents were paying, encouraging and even joining with groups like the Kabasas and false comrades called "comsotsis" (which roughly translates as thugs pretending to be comrades) to weed out and kill the "so-called agitators".

In May, the UDF and the Soweto Civic Association together decided that "the people must be protected against all manner of strange elements operating in the black communities".

The association, which already had branches in two-thirds of Soweto, sent out students and comrades to go "from house to house, from street to street" calling "hit-and-run" meetings (political gatherings

are illegal under the state of emergency) and explaining the purpose of the committees.

Street committees are not something new, even in South Africa. In 1953, Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC), proposed in his "M-plan" that cells should be set up in every street and neighbourhood.

The aim, he said, was "to enable the transmission of important decisions taken on a national level to every member of the organisation without calling public meetings, issuing Press statements and printing circulars, to build up local branches, which will effectively represent the strength and will of the people".

THE call faded when the ANC was banned in 1960, and through other leaders acknowledge the

get in touch with the people next door easily — by blowing whistles or flashing lights — and within seconds the word will spread down the street."

The street committees were formed to wrest back peace from the battlefields of the townships and to make the widely untrusted police redundant.

Committees have been removing numbers from the houses to make it difficult for the authorities to find any individual or family.

In a shebeen — an illegal drinking den — in Orlando West, I met some members of a local street committee. Most committees have four to

debt street committees have to the M-plan, Dr Moflana strongly denies the connection.

He said that the M-plan was a product of the ANC, while street committees are for all the people and are a product of the community.

When the structure is fully in place, all street committees will have representation on block committees, which in turn will send members to branch committees.

Above that is the executive committee of the civic association. Already in Soweto the street committees have vastly improved the communication network among the people.

"The beauty of it," Dr Moflana said, "is that people come together who are neighbours and know each other.

"If someone gets attacked by elements she doesn't like, she can

emergence of street committees, a belief backed up by several people recently released from detention who say they were questioned more about street committees than anything else.

My own inquiries to the police over the space of a week, by phone and telex, failed to produce any reply on the subject of street committees.

Tribal divisions which have to a large extent broken down in Soweto anyway, have crumbled even further with the coming of street committees. I met a Xhosa, a Sotho, a Tswana and a Zulu all in the same street committee.

It is clear that for many people in Soweto the street committees are welcomed as a potential solution to social and domestic problems.

Indeed, it is because the immediate problems facing street committees are social rather than political — leaking roofs, no electricity, burglaries — that they have helped to break down ideological barriers and unite people.

Political differences within the community are still at the forefront but they are potentially a source of enormous strength in the struggle against apartheid.

In Port Elizabeth, the striking General Motors workers are using the street committees to ensure that "scabs" do not take their jobs.

And in Soweto, although the rent boycott began before the street committees were formed, it could not have lasted so long nor spread so far without them.

THE boycott began in June in protest against the official Soweto Council, which the Government bequeathed to the township. Many blacks believe that the black councillors are simply "tribber stamps for Pretoria".

The vast majority of Soweto is now withholding rent. Some have been coerced into joining the boycott. "Pay rent and die" is a piece of graffiti liberally spray-painted around Soweto, complementing the "resign or die" painted on the wall of one councillor's house.

But the street committees have helped explain the reasons why rent should not be paid and they give the people confidence against the threat of their electricity being cut off or eviction.

But quite what the next step in the politicising of the street committees should be is now a major question mark among black leaders.

Some believe that the leaders should start collecting rent and paying for Soweto's services themselves. But neither the UDF nor Azapo wants anything to do with any Government-sanctioned authority in Soweto.

Jeremy Gavron is a staffer for the London Daily Telegraph and is currently in South Africa on special assignment

Hopes of release dashed

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

HOPES that the Delmas treason trialists would be acquitted this week, were dashed when the State said that it would still be pressing charges against the 22 men.

But spirits of the families were lifted this week by the unexpected arrival of three United Democratic Front members from Durban.

UDF president Archie Gumede, Cassim Saloojee and Mewa Ramgobin

paid a surprise visit to the court, but left at lunchtime.

Ironically, similar charges against the three men were dropped in the Pietermaritzburg court recently.

Observers believe the Durban trio made the surprise visit hoping that some of the Delmas tria-

lists would be freed - and that they would be able to share in their joy.

But PB Jacobs, for the State, said he is pressing ahead with the charges that the 22 men had conspired to overthrow the government by violent means and had also tried to make the townships un-governable.

The men have pleaded not guilty to high treason, alternatively subversion under the Internal Security Act.

Earlier, Advocate Arthur Chaskalson, SC, assisted by George Bizos, SC, and G Tip, asked that the 22 men be acquitted as there was no evidence against them,

and that the State had failed to prove its case against them.

Jacobs said the Freedom Charter was a revolutionary document because it was adopted by the ANC, and the ANC was a banned organisation because it used violent means against the government.

He added that all organisations affiliated to the UDF did so because it is a directive from the ANC in Lusaka.

Jacobs also said the language spoken by the ANC, was similar to that used by the UDF.

He said UDF and the ANC were communist-orientated because they work hand-in-glove with the SA Communist Party, and everything the UDF did was from the ANC.

'Chequered flag' for sacked Checkers staff

CP Correspondent

THE dispute at Checkers stores in the East London region ended this week with the reinstatement of the 120 dismissed workers, and the union involved has hailed the development as a "victory".

A boycott of the stores had been called last weekend to force management to reinstate workers.

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union regional organiser Bones Skulu said all the workers had been reinstated without loss of benefits.

The issue which led to the dispute concerned a change in shift times for shelf packers at the Mdantsane branch. The workers were unhappy with the change, which would have seen them working an hour later every day.

A placard protest was held in the store, and the entire workforce of about 86 was dismissed. All other Checkers branches in the area came out in support, and when workers at the Amalinda branch mounted a placard demonstration, they were also fired.

I do, I do, she said

A 13-year-old Swazi orphan is officially married to two men.

The girl's deceased parents had arranged her marriage to a man when she was young.

However, her older sister's husband married her according to Swazi custom which allows a man to also marry his wife's younger sister.

The man who was supposed to marry her, "snatched" her away and also married her. - Sapa.

State funeral tomorrow

By SOL MORATHI

KWANDEBELE Chief Minister Simon Skosana will be buried in a state funeral at Klippaatsdrift from 8am to 11am tomorrow.

A number of dignitaries from South Africa, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Transkei, and Ciskei have been invited to attend the funeral.

Skosana died of sugar diabetes at the Rand Clinic in Johannesburg on Monday.

With him died the dream of SA-styled "independence" for the homeland.

Skosana's proposal for independence from the SA government earlier this year, sparked much dissatisfaction among many KwaNdebele residents that manifested itself in boycotts, assassinations, murders, abductions and unrest.

Resistance against independence culminated in a four month war which claimed over 150 lives.

'I'll die for ANC'

CP Correspondent

A ZWELITHEMBA man appealing against a 15-year sentence for arson surprised the Cape Town Supreme Court this week when he said during cross-examination he was prepared to die for the ANC and he approved of its work "to kill the boere".

Mtomelo was sentenced in the Robertson Regional Court in April to 10 years' in jail for setting development board offices alight; seven years for arson for burning the house of Swanie Qhangiso and five years for arson for burning the house of Alfred Malewa, whom he claimed

were informers.

He was also given a two years sentence for malicious damage to property.

While testifying in mitigation of sentence, Mtomelo was asked how he felt about the offences.

"I was satisfied and then at another stage I am not yet satisfied before I burn down the house of the magistrate and the prosecutor."

Asked during cross-examination about an ANC badge on his jacket, he said he was prepared to die for the ANC and he approved of its work "to kill the boere".

He said that when he set

development board offices alight, he had hoped a worker, "that dog Fourie", would be there.

Justice Baker said this week he was asked to reduce Mtomelo's sentence on the grounds that it was disturbingly inappropriate and the magistrate had been influenced by Mtomelo's statements.

Reducing the sentence would be "expressing approval of violent methods of changing the set-up in the country, which can't be allowed", said the judge.

The sentence was "perfectly reasonable", he said, dismissing the appeal.

Smith confirmed that nine workers had been

RIWAYI

THE dismissal of nine workers from the Renza

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DOWN

SUN TINES

Mourners scorn threats

By ALICE MOPELONG
and SAMKELO KUMALO

ABOUT 5 000 mourners ignored warnings by the "comrades" not to attend the funeral of KwaNdebele Chief Minister Simon Skosana at Klipplaatdrift cemetery near Siyabuswa yesterday.

Some businessmen, however, heeded the threats and did not attend - they had been told that if their cars were seen at the night vigil or at the cemetery their businesses would be burnt.

Chief Skosana died in a Johannesburg clinic earlier this week after a diabetes-related illness.

One of his close friends, Mr Michael Mohlala, said yesterday he and his 14 wives were among those who had

been warned not to attend the funeral.

"We feel hurt about being refused permission to bury our old friend," he said.

Several South African Cabinet Ministers and representatives of Bophutha-Tswana, Transkei, Venda, Ga-Zankulu and Lebowa did attend the funeral.

Ndebele crown princes Prince James Mhlangu and Prince Andries Mhlangu were unable to attend - they were detained earlier this month by security police in Siyabuswa.

It is still not known who will succeed Chief Skosana.

Missing German may

THE hideously mutilated and burnt body of yet another Eastern Cape "necklace" victim is feared to be that of a missing German immigrant.

Two white Eastern Cape men have already died by means of barbaric necklace executions this year.

The charred human remains were found by detectives of the Eastern Cape murder and robbery squad this week during a search for the missing man, Mr Gens Bessel-Lorck, 44, of Uitenhage.

The macabre discovery was made after police had been tipped off that the body of a white man was lying near the Veeplaas cemetery outside Port Elizabeth.

The body's head and limbs had been hacked off and the remains of several vehicle tyres were still around what remained of the corpse, which had placed under the wreck of a car in a clearing in the cemetery.

The body had been mutilated to such an extent that police said they were not optimistic about establishing an identity at this stage.

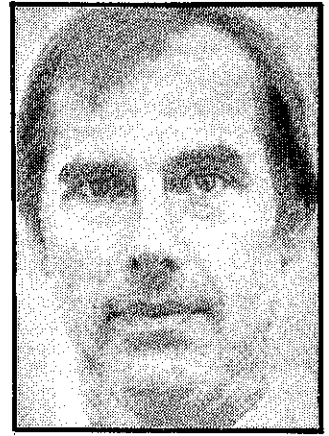
It had been so badly burnt that it was impossible to tell the sex, race or age of the meagre remains.

"Forensic tests will have to be done to see if we can come up with something ... even if it's just the unfortunate victim's blood group," Major Eddie Everson, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said.

Mr Bessel-Lorck, who emi-

have been hacked, necklaced

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23/11/86



MR BESSE-LORCKE

By JEREMY McCABE

grated to South Africa from West Germany in 1981, and is a talented musician, was last seen when he performed at a folk-singing club gathering on Sunday night.

Fellow musicians said he had left the club saying he was in a hurry but had not mentioned his destination.

The new red Volkswagen Golf car which Mr Bessel-Lorck had been driving on the night he mysteriously disappeared was used as a get-

away car in two armed robberies at service stations in Port Elizabeth and Despatch on the same night he disappeared.

The car was later discovered burnt out in a squalid township outside Port Elizabeth — only one kilometre from where the charred corpse was discovered three days later.

The police traced ownership of the vehicle to the Volkswagen motor company

where Mr Bessel-Lorck, a father of two daughters, works in the computer division.

The car had been booked out to him last Friday.

Police subsequently discovered that Mr Bessel-Lorck had not arrived for work on Monday and had not been seen at home since he left for his musical engagement at the Four Winds Folk Club in central Port Elizabeth on Sunday.

The missing man's wife said this week that she had no knowledge of her husband's recent movements because

they were in the process of separating.

But a close friend, who until recently lived in the same home as Mr Bessel-Lorck, said the missing man had often driven through the townships and had been in the habit of picking up hitch-hikers.

"He admitted that there was an element of risk in what he did but he believed he would be safe because he had a positive outlook on life," the friend, who did not want to be named, said.

He described Mr Bessel-Lorck as being likeable but a bit of a "Jekyll and Hyde" character.

"He is a very compulsive person," he said. "What he wants he must have."

"I warned him about the risks involved in going into the township but it seemed to me it was a buzz for him to do it."

Girlfriend

He confirmed that Mr Bessel-Lorck's black girlfriend lived with him at the smallholding he hired at Rocklands, outside Uitenhage.

Major Everson said there was no definite evidence at this stage linking the missing man to the gruesome remains found in the cemetery and the search for him would continue.

● On June 14, Mr Lodewyk George Vlooh, 40, became the first white to be subjected to a "necklacing".

He was battered and burnt to death near Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage, by a coloured man and his family.

One of Mr Vlooh's assailants, Henry Swarts, 36, was recently sentenced to death for his part in the barbaric killing.

● Three weeks after Mr Vlooh's murder another white man, Mr Johannes Gerhardus Oosthuizen, 73, also died horribly in a necklace-like killing.

Pitiful

The railway pensioner is believed to have been abducted when his car stalled on the highway between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

His pitiful remains were later found in the boot of his gutted car — also at Veeplaas — where the latest victim was found this week.

The dead pensioner had also been cruelly mutilated: his legs had been hacked off at the hips, his hands had burnt away and his head and shoulders had separated from his torso.

The remains of several car tyres were found around the body.

Canada reviews new SA investment

Threatened ban would affect few

CANADA'S threatened mandatory ban on new investment in SA — now seen as unlikely — would affect only a few corporations operating in SA.

Canadian External Affairs Minister Joe Clark announced last week his government would "review" the voluntary ban on investment it agreed to at a Commonwealth meeting in London last August.

The action came after Canadian mining company Falconbridge's announcement that it would raise its stake in Western Platinum to 49% from 25%, by paying \$31.6m for a Mobil Oil stake.

Clark said: "Voluntarism remains our preference, although the approach will be affected by the degree of compliance shown by Canadian companies."

But Canadian investment in SA is relatively insignificant. No more than 12 Canadian companies currently operate in the country, with a total investment of about R130m.

Canadian consulate officer Ed Willer said: "My reading of the Canadian business community is that there has not been much new investment, given the poor business climate here."

Bata Shoes, which announced last

Economics Reporter

Thursday it would sell its SA subsidiary, is the largest Canadian company operating in the country, with 3 200 employees. Falconbridge is the next largest. Alcan Aluminium and Dominion Textiles, other large Canadian employers, have already disinvested.

Falconbridge public affairs director Peter McBride said in Toronto the company's chairman, Bill James, had met Canadian Deputy Prime Minister Don Masenkowski on Wednesday to explain the company's position.

Falconbridge bought the new shares after receiving a \$64.5m offer last week for its share and Mobil's share in WestPlats. Mobil held the shares as the result of its takeover in 1984 of Superior Oil, which had owned a stake of Falconbridge.

The offer for the WestPlats interest was viewed as a "bad price", and Falconbridge was left with the option of buying Mobil's share itself or allowing a third party to buy the stock.

If a third party purchased Mobil's share, McBride said, Falconbridge would have lost its right to representation on WestPlats' board.



● MALAN

Botswana still hosts ANC, says Malan

TERRORISM against SA continued to be launched from Botswana, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said in Pietersburg at the weekend.

Unveiling a statue of Commandant Piet Joubert, he said last week's incident in the Pontdrift area was not an isolated one — it was part of the ANC's "plan of violence and murder".

The incidents continued in spite of repeated appeals to Botswana to curtail ANC activities.

He appealed again to Botswana to control ANC activity from her soil.

"I further appeal to the President of that country to show restraint and realism before going to extremes on the bandwagon of malicious accusations and unfounded statements."

GERALD REILLY

On accusations that SA was destabilising adjoining territories, Malan said: "If we really wanted to destabilise countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and even other countries to the north, they could have been quite different to what they are today."

Botswana's President Quett Masire was the latest to "climb on the bandwagon". He joined "the chorus chanting that SA was preparing to attack her neighbours".

Malan said that, apart from the thousands of troops being poured into the sub-continent, there was an ominous and continuous flow of weapons and war material to Southern Africa.

NUM 'disturbed' at deaths

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said on Friday it was "extremely disturbed" at the number of accidents at mines in the Gencor group in the past few months.

NUM spokesman Marcel Golding was reacting to news of the deaths of three miners in an accident at the Stilfontein gold mine. This follows the Kinross disaster in September in which 177 died and a mudslide at Bracken last month which killed three.

A Gencor spokesman said the latest

ALAN FINE

accident occurred in the early hours of Friday morning. The victims "were apparently overcome by carbon monoxide fumes 2 000m underground".

They were found in a tunnel beyond safety barriers erected to prevent access to ventilation seals which had been constructed on Wednesday to isolate an underground fire.

The dead miners' names will be released once next-of-kin have been told.

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Labour Party 'will not rest' until all race laws scrapped

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and related apartheid laws.

Everybody should be free to live and go to school where they chose, he said while opening the Labour Party's Cape Peninsula regional conference at the weekend.

He called race classification iniquitous and stupid and want-

ed all emergency detainees not being tried to be released. His party would not rest until all apartheid laws had gone.

Mr Hendrickse repeated his party's pledge that, if the Group Areas Act and related laws stayed, his party would review its participation in the tricameral Parliament.

The conference unanimously adopted a motion reaffirming the party's stand that the Group Areas Act and related apartheid laws such as the Population

Registration Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act be repealed "unconditionally and immediately".

These laws were condemned as "the prime sources of intergroup conflict and frustration".

The conference also urged the Government to embark on a public works programme like that which solved the "poor white" problem of the 1930s.

He promised his party would not support people or groups which resorted to violence and bloodshed to seek political change. Militant right-wing movements such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging should be "looked at".

Challenging AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, he said: "Whether he likes it or not, apartheid is going to be buried by us.

"We are not seeking black majority government. We are seeking majority government in which colour is not an issue."

Mr Hendrickse said laws were not needed to unite people or to protect their cultures: a culture with value needed no protection.

It was natural that people sharing culture, language and background would tend to live together.

No law was needed, for example, to ensure that people in Cape Town's northern areas were predominantly Afrikaans-speaking and those in the southern suburbs mainly English-speaking.

Mr Hendrickse said there was no sense building new schools for coloured children when white schools were empty.

The Ministers' Council would soon meet the State President about "the needs, hopes and aspirations of our people".

Labour call for new SA flag

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse called at the weekend for a new flag for South Africa that would "accommodate the aspirations of all South Africans".

He said in an interview the existing South African flag was "too much a thing of the past".

It was a reminder of British and Afrikaner roles in South African history.

"It is a flag of the past. We need a new flag for the future," he said.

Earlier Mr Hendrickse referred briefly to the flag issue when he addressed the Cape Peninsula regional conference of the Labour Party.

He said that during his recent visit to the Republic of China he had been impressed by the loyalty of the people there to their country.

South Africans could also have "an ultimate loyalty" with a new flag as a binding factor, he said.

Hendrickse has 'final say' on election

CAPE TOWN — A motion rejecting the idea of an early general election for the House of Representatives was put to the Cape Peninsula regional conference of the Labour Party at the weekend.

It was proposed that such elections should not be held before the expiry of the five-year term of the House in 1989.

The motion was not put to a vote.

The chairman, Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture, ruled that the motion could not be considered and that it be referred to the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

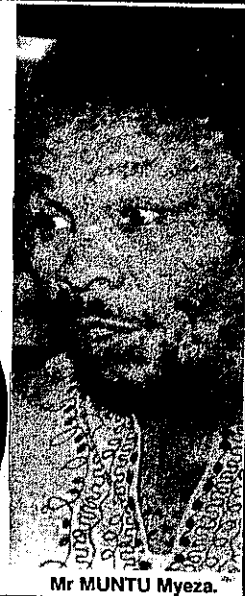
Mr Hendrickse was not present as he left the conference after his opening address.

Mr Ebrahim said at a news conference afterwards that the motion was a matter on which the party leader had to have "the final say".

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YOUTH KILLED



Mr MUNTU Myeza.

Unres
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THIS issue of Sowetan has produced un- conditions amount to censorship.

Some stories that relate to the state of emergency, activities of the security forces, have been heavily vetted by our lawyers to conform with emergency regulation.

Additional information which may have had relevance to the unrest had been approved by the bureau or cannot be published.

A 15-year-old youth abducted from a Soweto house two weeks ago, by about 40 youths was last Friday found dead at the Government mortuary — with a bullet hole between his eyes.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

this year the community was similarly shocked when six youths, members of the Soweto Students Congress were shot near Tshia-welo after they had been kidnaped. Four of them died.

Since the beginning of this year political violence has been on the increase and victims have been from both black consciousness organisations and the progressive democrats. Azapo, the major black consciousness organisations and the United Democratic Front (UDF), the standard bearer for progressive democrats, have condemned the violence.

Factions

The African National Congress (ANC) has also called for a halt to the violence.

Two weeks ago the Weekly Mail, reported that supporters of the Government were involved in a campaign aimed at deepening rifts within the black community and encouraging various factions to fight each other.

Fears in the community are that it seems the Government has at last succeeded in thwarting unity or co-operation between township anti-Government organisations. Instead, members of these organisations are hunting down and killing each other with

In wave of political violence

wanton savagery.

• Azapo last night repeated its call for an end to black on black violence. Publicity secretary Mr Myeza said his organisation had evidence that decisions had been taken to eliminate the leadership of Azapo.

He also disclosed that the homes of two members, Mda Mkhwanazi and Ms Tenji Leeuw, were attacked by groups of men. At Mkhwanazi's home his father and an Azapo member, were kidnaped and released two weeks later after being tortured. At Ms Leeuw's home an attempt was made to kidnap her father but he escaped while shots were fired at him.

An official, Mr Theo Boyi Manana, head of the Azapo youth secretariat, is critical in hospital after a knife attack.

Council money scandal — Page 2

The discovery of Fana Mhlongo's body on Friday marked the end of a long search by his family since the youth was kidnaped from the home of George Wauchope, Azapo general secretary, two weeks ago.

Fana, a former Form 4 pupil at Ibhengo High School in Dlamini is survived by his mother, Elizabeth, three brothers and a sister. His funeral service on Sunday will start at 11am at St Hilda's Anglican Church in Senaoane. Thereafter the cortege will proceed to the graveyard.

Early yesterday morning the home of Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo), was petrolbombed by unknown people. Mr Myeza confirmed the attack. Minimal damage was caused.

Earlier last week shots were fired at the home of Jabu Ngwenya, chairman of the Consumer Boycott Committee, according to his family.

This latest wave of killings has horrified the community. Earlier



femina

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Pik challenges Botswana's denial of aid to ANC

PRETORIA — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said at the weekend in a telex sent to Botswana's minister of foreign affairs, that Botswana was aware that African National Congress (ANC) guerillas operated against South Africa from its territory.

He was reacting to reports that the minister, Dr G. Chiepe, had denied that her government was aware of ANC operations being launched from Botswana.

She had reacted to a statement made on November 20 by the chief of the South African Army, Lieutenant-General A. J. "Kat" Liebenberg, that Botswana either assisted the ANC, or at least acquiesced in their activities against South Africa.

There have been six landmine incidents on the Botswana border this year, and eight guerillas have been arrested.

Mr Botha invited the Botswana Government to send security officials to interrogate, in the presence of the South Africa Police, one of them, "Junior," whom General Liebenberg had mentioned.

General Liebenberg said "Junior" had stated that the ANC used two infiltration routes through Botswana. His instructions were to murder farmers in the border area, convert vacated farms into ANC bases, and to maintain contact with elements in Botswana for logistical support.

Mr Botha also referred in the telex to the trial of an employee of the Botswana Housing Corporation, E. B. Bogatsu, who in 1986 was found guilty of transporting guerillas into South Africa from Botswana.

He added that the use of Botswana as an ANC infiltration route had been discussed during ministerial meetings in February and September 1985.

Moreover, the SAP had on various occasions informed the head of Botswana's Special Branch of ANC infiltrations routes, specifically the routes via Pitsane/Malopo and Ramatlabama.

"These are the facts. It is submitted that the Botswana Government is aware of them," Mr Botha said.

The telex was marked "highest consideration".
— Sapa



MR BOTHA

CAPC Tink's
24/11/86
11A

Hendrickse call for release of detainees

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE new Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has been challenged by a fellow cabinet minister, Mr Allan Hendrickse, the leader of the Labour Party, to release immediately all people detained under the state of emergency unless they are to be charged.

Mr Hendrickse has also warned the government that the Labour Party would withdraw from the tricameral Parliament unless the Group Areas Act and its associated laws were completely scrapped.

He said the Group Areas Act was an "evil" law and because of this "it must go".

Mr Hendrickse, who drove through the night from Port Elizabeth after his aircraft was unable to land because of mist, opened the annual conference of the Cape Peninsula region of the Labour Party saying his party has always been opposed to detention without trial.

"While the emergency has now served its purpose and a lot of good has come out of that — there are people who condemn the emergency because it doesn't suit them in terms of their own activities — I want to make the appeal that particularly because a lot of young people have been detained and particularly because we are moving into a period of goodwill to all men, I would now ask for the release of all detainees who will not be brought to trial.

"We cannot just allow children to sit in jail. If they have done bad things, punish them.

"I think it will be big of the new Minister of Law and Order make a new beginning by releasing them.

"Sometimes it is strange that people who have been the cause have been released but those who have been affected by them are still in jail," Mr Hendrickse said.

He said the Labour Party and its leadership would not rest un-

til the whole question of apartheid was removed.

Although the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act had been abolished, after the Labour Party had decided to participate in the tricameral system, the "iniquitous" Group Areas Act was being used to deny them the right to live where they chose.

The Labour Party would continue to make representations and talk where it counted "but we must remind the South African Government, or the Nationalist Party, that there comes a time when we don't talk any more.

Mr Hendrickse also disclosed that he had personally told President P W Botha: "Now is the time to steal the hearts and minds of the people who were dispossessed by opening District Six, even if this was only an indication of things to come."

Although District Six had become a symbol more than anything else, he welcomed BP's offer to develop the area as a positive contribution.

CAPE TOWN
25/11/86

Killing: Azapo blames rivals

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The publicity secretary of the Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo), Mr Muntu Myeza, has blamed members of a rival organization for the abduction and killing of a 15-year-old member of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm).

Mr Myeza, whose home was petrol-bombed at the weekend, also accused rivals of being responsible for the attack.

The 15-year-old youth killed was Fana Mhlongo of Azasm, a students' wing of Azapo.

Fana Mhlongo, a former Std 9 pupil at Soweto's Ibhongo High School, was abducted two weeks ago from the home of Mr George Wauchope, Azapo's general secretary.

His body was found at the government mortuary with a bullet hole between his eyes.

Both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have called for an end to inter-group ideological violence.

CAPG Tinka 25/11/86 11A

Cape

Socialite Lindi 'let in husband's killers'

Staff Reporter
GUGULETU socialite and businesswoman Lindi Mangaliso, and Mbusi Sheleni and Sipho Peter, the men she hired to kill her wealthy husband, were convicted in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, yesterday of murder.

Mr Justice MR de Kock found that Mangaliso "planned and arranged the attack on Mr Victor Mangaliso with the assistance of Mr Washington 'Manyosi' Nxawe".

She let the assailants into the house intending them to attack and kill her husband.

Mangaliso was refused bail pending her court appearance on Thursday when evidence in mitigation will be heard before sentencing.

In his judgment, Mr Justice De Kock described Mangaliso's denial of the crime or that she was in any way involved as "false beyond reasonable doubt".

He described her as "sophisticated, intelligent and a self-assured person with a strong personality ... prepared to



Lindi Mangaliso

adapt evidence for the State could not be rejected, even though he had been shown to be mendacious and unreliable.

His evidence was directly corroborated by another witness, Mr Kenneth Gobodo.

The court also rejected Peter's claim that he was ill in bed at the time of the murder.

The judge found Peter's testimony that he was beaten up by the police to force him to incriminate Mangaliso "a complete lie".

He described Sheleni and Peter as "blatant and obvious liars" and said "no reliance whatsoever could be placed on their evidence, except insofar as they incriminated themselves; or their evidence fitted in with other evidence".

Mr B L O'Leary and Mr K Schwietering were the assessors. Dr WE Cooper SC, with him Mr A H Veldhuizen, instructed by B Lutzno and Associates, appeared for Mangaliso. Mr D Kawalsky appeared pro Deo for Sheleni. Mr R W Tainton, instructed by Keith Hamblin and Associates, appeared for Peter.



Mrs Winnie Mandela at the Supreme Court yesterday after her friend Lindi Mangaliso was convicted of murdering her husband with the help of hired assassins.

CAM Times 25/4/86 11A

Court hears of 'flags' being made

Court Reporter

A POLICEMAN yesterday told a Wynberg Regional Court he arrested two people for making "ANC flags", although green, yellow and black — the colours used — also make up the Inkatha flag.

Lieutenant Frederick Frans Mostert was giving evidence in the trial of clothing workers unionist Ms Elizabeth Erasmus, 26, of Kimberley Street, Mitchells Plain, and Mr Fuad Carlie, 45, of Denchworth Road, Athlone.

Factory arrest

The two were arrested at a clothing factory in Simons Road, Athlone Industria, and are charged with furthering the aims of the ANC.

Lt Mostert said that at 9pm on December 9 last year he went to the factory accompanied by 20 men from Manenberg police station.

They entered the factory and found a heap of black, green and yellow material, some of which was sewn together. He saw four women sitting at sewing machines, one of them Ms Erasmus, and another Mrs Veronica Simmers, whom he knew as a secretary at the UDF offices. He also saw Mr Carlie.

He asked Ms Erasmus what she was doing and she answered: "You can see what we're doing."

They were unable to give him "reasonable explanations" for their presence in the factory at night.

He said he thought black, yellow and green were the colours used by the ANC.

"At a rally where 10 000 people had been present, two people had run into their midst carrying such a flag and had evoked a great reaction from the crowd, who screamed 'Viva', 'Amandla' and 'Viva ANC'," he said.

Asked whether any of the accused were members of the ANC, Lt Mostert hesitated then said "if they were, they would have been arrested".

He said the flags had had "no seams for sticks to fit into", but after examining one of them he said he noticed "at the black side it was stitched closed".

He said he knew Inkatha's flag was also green, yellow and black; but the ANC's flag had black at the top and Inkatha's had yellow at the top.

During cross-examination Mr S Desai, for the two, holding up a flag with unstitched sides, asked Lt Mostert how he knew the flags were ANC flags and not Inkatha ones.

He emphasized that at the time of arrest some of the flags were still in the process of being made.

The hearing continues today.

Mr J Marais was the magistrate. Mr M Sher prosecuted. Mr Desai, assisted by Mr SC Kirk-Cohen, both instructed by E Moosa, appeared for Ms Erasmus. Mr Desai, instructed by M Elmes, appeared for Mr Carlie.

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11A

CAM TWP 25/4/86

Court hears of 'flags' being made

Court Reporter

A POLICEMAN yesterday told a Wynberg Regional Court he arrested two people for making "ANC flags", although green, yellow and black — the colours used — also make up the Inkatha flag.

Lieutenant Frederick Frans Mostert was giving evidence in the trial of clothing workers unionist Ms Elizabeth Erasmus, 26, of Kimberley Street, Mitchells Plain, and Mr Fuad Carlie, 45, of Denchworth Road, Athlone.

Factory arrest

The two were arrested at a clothing factory in Simons Road, Athlone Industria, and are charged with furthering the aims of the ANC.

Lt Mostert said that at 9pm on December 9 last year he went to the factory accompanied by 20 men from Manenberg police station.

They entered the factory and found a heap of black, green and yellow material, some of which was sewn together. He saw four women sitting at sewing machines, one of them Ms Erasmus, and another Mrs Veronica Simmers, whom he knew as a secretary at the UDF offices. He also saw Mr Carlie.

He asked Ms Erasmus what she was doing and she answered: "You can see what we're doing."

They were unable to give him "reasonable explanations" for their presence in the factory at night.

He said he thought black, yellow and green were the colours used by the ANC.

"At a rally where 10 000 people had been present, two people had run into their midst carrying such a flag and had evoked a great reaction from the crowd, who screamed 'Viva', 'Amandla' and 'Viva ANC'," he said.

Asked whether any of the accused were members of the ANC, Lt Mostert hesitated then said "if they were, they would have been arrested".

He said the flags had had "no seams for sticks to fit into", but after examining one of them he said he noticed "at the black side it was stitched closed".

He said he knew Inkatha's flag was also green, yellow and black; but the ANC's flag had black at the top and Inkatha's had yellow at the top.

During cross-examination Mr S Desai, for the two, holding up a flag with unstitched sides, asked Lt Mostert how he knew the flags were ANC flags and not Inkatha ones.

He emphasized that at the time of arrest some of the flags were still in the process of being made.

The hearing continues today.

Mr J Marais was the magistrate. Mr M Sher prosecuted. Mr Desai, assisted by Mr S C Kirk-Cohen, both instructed by E Moosa, appeared for Ms Erasmus. Mr Desai, instructed by M Elmes, appeared for Mr Carlie.

CAM TWP 25/4/86

APR 25/1986 (11A) (10)

Mangaliso refused bail after guilty verdict

Staff Reporters

LINDI Mangaliso had been convicted of murder and would at the very least be imprisoned, Mr Justice de Kock said when he refused her application for bail.

Mangaliso and hired killers Solomon Mbuzeli Sheleni and Sipho Peter were convicted in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, yesterday of murdering her husband, wealthy businessman Mr Victor Mangaliso, in their Guguletu home in December 1984.

Mr Justice de Kock said there was no guarantee that Mangaliso, if granted bail, would attend the court proceedings.

He said there were indications that Mangaliso, a wealthy woman, had had funds transferred from the country.

Sending money

Yesterday Captain Leonard Knipe, investigating officer in the case, testified that a woman appointed by Mr Brian Lutzno, Mangaliso's attorney, to manage the Mangaliso businesses, had told him she suspected Mangaliso was secretly sending money out of South Africa.

She had told him that Mangaliso had expected to be acquitted and intended leaving the country after the trial.

Under cross-examination he conceded his informant had clashed with Mangaliso about the administration of the businesses and was "hostile" to her.

Captain Knipe said special security arrangements had been made at court because there was hostility in the black community against Mangaliso.

The trial, which started on March 18, aroused considerable public interest.

In the packed public gallery yesterday were Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and entertainer Donald Tshomela.

Mrs Mandela, a bosom friend of Mangaliso, talked to her during the adjournment after Mr Justice de Kock gave his judgment.

The trial was adjourned until Thursday.

Two arrested making ANC flags, court told

CAPE TOWN — A policeman yesterday told a Wynberg regional court he arrested two people after finding them making "ANC flags".

Lieutenant Frederick Frans Mostert was giving evidence in the trial of clothing workers unionist Miss Elizabeth Erasmus (26) of Mitchells Plain and Mr Fuad Carlie (45) of Athlone.

The two had been arrested at a clothing factory in Simons Road, Athlone Industria, and are charged with furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Lieutenant Mostert said on December 9 last year he had gone to the factory with 20 men.

They entered the factory and at the door lay a heap of black, green and yellow material, some of which was sewn together. Inside he saw four women sitting at sewing machines. One of them was Miss Erasmus and the other was Mrs Veronica Simmers, whom he knew as a secretary at the UDF offices. He also saw Mr Carlie, but did not know two other women.

He had asked Miss Erasmus what she was doing

and she had answered: "You can see what we're doing."

They were all unable to give him reasonable explanations for their presence in the factory at that time of night.

He said black, yellow and green were the colours used by the ANC.

He said there had been 274 big flags and "an unknown number of small flags".

"At a rally where 10 000 people had been present, two people had run into their midst carrying such a flag and had evoked a great reaction from the crowd, who screamed 'Viva', 'Amandla' and 'Viva ANC'."

When asked whether any of the accused were ANC members, Lieutenant Mostert hesitated then said: "If they were, they would have been arrested."

He said the flags had "no seams for sticks to fit into" but after examining one of them, he said there was a seam, "but at the black side it was stitched closed".

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

STAR 25/1/76
1884

25/11/86
SUNDAY
117

Venda security police detain Lutheran cleric

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

VENDA's security police chief Brigadier G Ramabulana yesterday confirmed the detention of a well-known Lutheran Church cleric who recently returned from a trip to Lusaka for talks with the ANC.

Ramabulana said Dean Tshenuwani Simon Farisani was detained on Saturday in terms of section 29 of the Maintenance of Law and Order Act for "interrogation purposes".

He said the detention had "nothing to do with the visit to Lusaka" and that Farisani was the only section 29 detainee in Venda.

Two Dutch immigrant white doctors were also detained while armed police in about 10 vans and two cars reportedly held Farisani's home under seige from midnight Friday until Saturday morning. The doctors were later released.

Farisani was part of a Lutheran Church delegation which returned from meetings with the ANC in Lusaka about 10 days ago.

Farisani was later quoted as saying the delegation intended to visit the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

DD 25/1/86

Row over cash appeal for ANC

(11A)

Dispatch Bureau

LONDON — Controversy has broken out here over an appeal, by British Labour Party Euro MPs, for funds for the African National Congress.

The target is R160 000 and the appeal is to provide funds for "those trying to fight back within South Africa and those who, in flight from the country, have to be sustained outside".

The controversy has been spearheaded by Conservative Party Euro-MPs, who feel the Labour Party is aligning itself too closely with the aims of the ANC.

In promotional material issued by the fund raisers, the ANC is described as needing funds for its work both within and outside South Africa.

The funds are to be used for housing, clothing and feeding thousands of "exiles" and sustaining medical centres in Tanzania, Zambia and Angola.

Boy kidnapped from unionist's home found dead

JOHANNESBURG — A Soweto teenager, Fana Mhlongo, kidnapped more than a week ago from the home of the national general secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr George Wauchope, has been found shot dead.

In more violence at the weekend, the Soweto home of Azapo's national publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, was attacked with four petrol bombs on Sunday morning. There was little damage. The attack was not reported to the police.

In Bosmont, two men accosted Mr Thabo Kumanano with a firearm as he left the home of an Azapo member, Mr Nicholas Tucker. Mr Tucker chased the men away. No shots were fired. The attempted kidnapping was not reported to the police.

Fana Mhlongo, 15, was taken away by a mob of about 40 youths who attacked Mr Wauchope's house on November 13.

Mr Wauchope said his nephew, Vuyisile Wauchope, and Mhlongo were cleaning up his house which was damaged in a petrol bomb attack by about 50 youths on November 11.

He said the group fired shots at the two boys. Vuyisile escaped, but they caught Mhlongo. It was the third attack on Mr Wauchope's home in one week.

Mr Muntu Myeza said Mhlongo's body was found in the veld near Kliptown and was identified by his family.

He said the people who kidnapped Mhlongo were members of a rival organisation. — Sapa

Stop the violence

25/11/86
Sowetan
11A

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

says BCMA

THE Black consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday condemned the political in-fighting among black organisations and called upon all organisations to take "practical steps" to stop the violence immediately.

In a statement released to the *Sowetan* by BCMA's chairperson, Mr Mosibodi Mangena, the organisation said the inter-black violence was not "politically justifiable" and only carried "ignominy for the perpetrators".

Mr Mangena said the BCMA was "forever prepared to do our part" in the resolution of the conflict which has left many families bereaved and homeless.

"In particular, we

condemn the harassment, abductions and killings of parents and relatives of black consciousness militants.

"This type of violence is not justifiable and all it does is retard and give the struggle a bad name.

"We call upon all militants and their organisations, regardless of ideological orientation, to do honest political work in the ghettos and villages and to shun the harassment and killing of the oppressed black people," the statement said.

The statement comes in the wake of similar condemnations by the African National Congress (ANC) which also expressed the willingness to arbitrate in the feudings.

The Azanian People

Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), whose members have been at the centre of the conflict, have also expressed concern and condemned the violence.

But the fighting rages on.

A 15-year-old Soweto boy, who was abducted by a group of youths from an Azapo member's house in Soweto last week, was found dead at a mortuary with a bullet hole in the head.

The abductions, killings, assaults and petrol-bombing of political activists' houses have been going on for more than three years. Some people have blamed some of the incidents on the Government.

ent 10/16 25/11/86

Bishop assaulted, dumped

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Isaac Mokoena, a moderate black churchman and honorary life president of United Christian Action, was snatched from his car in central Johannesburg last Saturday, beaten up and dumped outside the city, a statement from UCA said yesterday.

Bishop Mokoena returned on Friday from a trip to Germany where he addressed the International Strategy Symposium of the Hanns-Seidel Foundation on how the church in South Africa is "manipulated to stir up a civil war among the black population". — Sapa

ANC 'must be part of SA solution'

CAD Kemp 25/11/86
1182

Political Correspondent

ANY solution to the political crisis facing South Africa which excludes the ANC "is a bankrupt settlement", according to the national chairman of the Young Progressives, Mr Andrew Miller.

Mr Miller was speaking after returning from a two-week trip to Europe during which he held discussions with ANC officials in Germany.

The Young Prog leader, who met members of the ANC for the first time at a seminar for the International Federation for Liberal and Radical Youth in Cologne, said he was more convinced than ever "that it is vital to keep up contact with the ANC".

During their discussion the ANC had detailed their concerns about the increasing brutalization of black children in the townships and where these people would fit in in a post-apartheid society.

"They felt participation in and the witnessing of necklacing was a tremendous problem," he said.

Meetings with groups like the ANC were important, he felt, because this helped "break up the white laager" and gave the lie to the widespread perception in Europe that all whites in South Africa are racists.

"It is also noteworthy that members of the PFP are able to meet with groups ranging from the ANC to members of European governments while President P W Botha is almost universally ostracized."

Mr Miller also spoke to MPs from the Liberal-Christian Democrat ruling coalition at The Hague and to schools and the news media in Denmark during his visit.

"When speaking out against sanctions it is very easy to appear an apologist for the apartheid system. Even the most moderate leaders believe that sanctions are necessary to push for change in South Africa," he said.

● The PFP's federal congress at the weekend passed a motion urging the party leadership to continue initiating contacts and discussions with the ANC.

Carl Turis 26/11/86

Flags said to be for sports club

Court Reporter

A MAN who allegedly made ANC flags in a factory in Athlone, told a policeman he was making the flags for a sports club, the Wynberg Regional Court heard yesterday.

This was said by Detective-Warrant-Officer Christiaan Geldenhuys during the trial of trade unionist Ms Elizabeth Erasmus, 26, of Kimberley Street, Mitchells Plain, and Mr Fuad Carlie, 45, of Denchworth Road, Athlone.

The two are charged with furthering the aims of the ANC by making black, green and yellow flags at Orion Fashions, in Simons Road, Athlone Industria

DWO Geldenhuys said he had seen Mr Carlie through a window of the factory on December 9 last year and had asked him to open the door. Instead, Mr Carlie moved back inside, he said.

After he entered, Mr Carlie told him the four women sitting at sewing machines were making flags for a sports club, DWO Geldenhuys said.

At a previous hearing, Lieutenant Frederick Frans Mostert said he had gone to the factory accompanied by 20 policemen and had found a heap of black, green and yellow material, some of which had been sewn together.

Yesterday Warrant-Officer Anita Meyer, of the Security Police Library in Pretoria, agreed that Inkatha had the same colours in their flag as the ANC.

A video recording taken on the night of the arrests will be shown this morning when the hearing resumes.

Mr J P Marais presided.

M Sher prosecuted. Mr S Desai, assisted by Mr S C Kirk-Cohen, both instructed by E Moosa and Associates, appeared for Ms Erasmus. Instructed by Mr M Elmes, Mr Desai appeared for Mr Carlie.

26/11/86 SWAZI
11A

ANC man conscious again

5. MBABANE — The South African member of the ANC who was critically injured in a car accident near Manzini, Swaziland, three weeks ago, has regained consciousness in the Raleigh Fitkin Memorial Hospital in Manzini.

6. The man, identified by police as Nsizwa Khumalo, has been under heavy police guard at the hospital since he was admitted after a car carrying him and two other men overturned in

the early hours of the morning.

Manzini police driving to the scene of the accident, later intercepted another car at the scene. The two occupants of that car, also believed to be members of the ANC, ran away.

During a search of the crashed car, police discovered several limpet mines, an anti-personnel

mine, a large number of AK-47 rifle magazines, and hundreds of rounds of AK-47 ammunition.

They also took possession of other explosives equipment and a spade.

A reliable source at the hospital said an anonymous telephone caller, who claimed to be a member of the ANC, had warned that the local members of the organisation intended to "rescue" Khumalo. — Sapa.

LOWESTMAN
KAF
26/1/78

ANC helps solve issue

LONDON — The African National Congress has resolved a publishing dilemma by arranging to have a book which became a best-seller in the United States published in South Africa.

Earlier, American author Art Spiegelman, had refused to allow two British publishers, Andre Deutsch and Penguin, to distribute the book there because the ANC wanted South Africa to be barred from all works of art, entertainment and culture.

At issue was *Maus*, the story of a holocaust survivor drawn in cartoons which depict the Jews as mice, Germans as cats, and the Poles as pigs.

The trouble began when Mr Spiegelman sold Deutsch and Penguin the British and Commonwealth rights for hardback and paperback editions respectively, and Deutsch included South Africa as normal where the book would be sold.

After much correspondence, the publishers were about to

cancel their contract with Mr Spiegelman when the ANC let both sides off the hook.

He went to the ANC's New York office to seek their advice. The ANC looked at the book and came up with a plan which Mr Spiegelman relayed to Deutsch's co-director Tom Rosenthal.

He wrote: "To my surprise and pleasure, the ANC do see the significance of *Maus* and its relationship to their battle with racist oppression."

CAPE TOWN 28/11/86
11A

Golfers quit tournament after threats

GERMISTON. — All the country's top black golfers have pulled out of the R100 000 Germiston Centenary Tournament, which starts tomorrow, after threats by political activists.

There are no coloured or Indian players in the field either, except for Durban's Daddy Naidoo whose name was still in the draw yesterday.

PGA executive director Jimmy Hemphill confirmed yesterday that all the black players had either not entered or had withdrawn at the weekend.

"We did not ask them why they were withdrawing, and gave them back their entry fee if they pulled out before 5pm yesterday (Monday)," he said.

'Better pull out'

"We had heard of threats made to some of the players, so we did not try to persuade them either way."

The last player to withdraw was former French Open champion Vincent Tshabalala, the first-round leader at the Wild Coast last week.

Tshabalala, who lives in Soweto, rang the PGA offices yesterday morning, and when told he was the only black in the field, said: "Well, I'd better pull out, too."

Black golfers were reluctant to talk about the threats, but it is understood activists, mainly youths, have threatened them over the past two weeks.

This is the first time threats have been made against golfers, and it is understood to be because of the tournament's link with the 100th anniversary of the city of Germiston.

Activists also opposed the parallel celebrations of Johannesburg's centenary, calling it a celebration of "the black man's oppression".

'Upset about boycott'

The golfers are reportedly upset about the boycott, as it deprives them of a chance of winning a share of the prize money.

Fifteen "non-white" golfers played in last week's Wild Coast tournament, and that figure usually more than doubles in events on the Reef where most of the black golfers live.

Among those who pulled out of the Germiston event are Joe Dlamini, Theo Manyama, Solly Sepeng, Saxon Nkabinde, Peter Mkata, Richard Mogoerane, Gabriel Putsoe, Shadrack Molefe, Solly Mogare and John Mashego.

The players have been told the boycott affects only the Centenary tournament, and there will be no opposition to their playing in other Sunshine Circuit events. — Sapa



Abducted and shot

27/11/86 Sowetan (11A)

A SOWETO pupil, Mr Maduna Dlamini, who was a member of the Soweto Youth Congress, was abducted from a car in Phiri township, Soweto and later shot dead.

Sosco is an affiliate of the United Democratic Front and this killing is feared to be linked to the on-going conflict between political groups in black townships.

Mr Dlamini's body was found in a coalyard in Phiri on Monday night. He had bullet wounds in the head and

chest and was taken to Baragwanath Hospital where he died.

Some time ago, his home was attacked and riddled with 15 bullets. The incident was reported to the police.

Mr Dlamini was a pupil at the Ibhongo High School.

Mr Azhar Cachalia, the UDF's treasurer, said yesterday he was "shocked and disturbed". Mr Dlamini was a former member of the banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

ANC flags 9 charged

Staff Reporter

NINE Oudtshoorn residents appeared in the George Regional Court yesterday on charges of furthering the aims of the African National Congress (ANC) and/or the South African Communist Party (SACP).

The charges follow the April funeral of schoolboy Nkosinathi Hlazo who was shot on his way to school in Bhongolethu township during unrest.

Of the nine accused, the state alleges eight were funeral marshals.

The marshals allegedly wore khaki uniforms and the colours of the ANC on their lapels, while some of them allegedly furthered the aims of the ANC and/or the SACP by allegedly displaying the flags of the banned or-

ganizations.

A large part of yesterday's proceedings was taken up by a police video of the funeral. It showed a red flag with a hammer and sickle and an alleged ANC flag.

Five of the accused, Mr Zolile Mgo- lozi, Mr Kenneth Grootboom, Mr April Mpondo and two youths, are out on R800 bail.

Mr Zola Matikiti was refused bail and three others, a primary school teacher, Mr Zolile Jingqi, Mr Moses Dikgacwi and a journalist, Mr Nombu- lelo Grootboom, are being held under the emergency regulations. The trial continues today.

Mr Dullah Omar, instructed by Mr E Mo- hamed, appeared for the accused.

Money owing.

SA and overseas papers must contribute more to the struggle



DR ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and co-founder of the United Democratic Front, recently addressed the National Union of Journalists in London. Here are extracts from his speech.

WHAT is the level of torture in South African prisons? We have heard of three deaths in detention and regular as clockwork the old excuses come out again — he hanged himself; he fell out of a ninth-storey window; he slipped on soap in the shower; he committed suicide because, as a committed communist, that's the first thing you do when you get caught.

In a situation where we do not even have the opportunity to protest peacefully any more, we have to depend on the willingness of those who work in the press to try to continue to tell the story of South Africa's struggling people.

You can't do that if you don't go to extraordinary lengths to find out what is happening, what are the human realities behind the cold figures that you get from the Bureau for Information which almost always have to be lies because that's the reason we have a state Bureau for Information, that is the reason why journalists are not allowed to go into the areas and that is the reason for the restrictions on the press — so that the South African government can lie, unchallenged, about what is happening to our people.

If you do not have that willingness and those people who take risks in order to show the truth as *our* people see it, we have lost yet another ally in the struggle against repression in South Africa.

We have a civil war in my country, in which our people are systematically eliminated. Yet so many of the people who write in the western press are so easily impressed with what the South African government does. They look for signs of what they call hope and optimism.

Legal loopholes

When the United Democratic Front (UDF) challenges the government in court, the press here says: "Aha, you see there is still the rule of law in South Africa."

But new regulations have been made leaving us no legal loopholes, and so the situation for us has become progressively worse as far as that is concerned. But it seems to me there is no understanding of that situation...

I think the white South African liberal press can do much more than it is doing now. All those newspapers belong to Anglo-American. Anglo-American can decide to challenge the government.

Why don't they simply decide that the time has come for us to speak the truth? Why don't they decide that they will go to black people and hear what has happened in the black areas and that they will print all those atrocities committed by the security troops?

Why don't they do that, and then let the government decide to close down all those newspapers all over South Africa? Until they do that, the black people will continue to believe that those newspapers are not there to serve the truth as they should, but to cover white interests. They are making a mistake.

I have pleaded in South Africa that those newspapers should begin to make a new and better contribution to the struggle in South Africa than they have been able or willing to make until now.

There's another problem. Many or all of the foreign journalists in South Africa are white. Many of them are very fine journalists. The problem is that in that situation where it is so difficult for white people to even enter black townships, how are they reporting? How can they begin to understand what is happening to black people, what we are saying, and what we are thinking, so that our words can *actually* be reported?

British public

What can I do with interpretations of what I think, when it always has to come from a person who doesn't know me that well, who lives in a white area, who has never smelt tear gas except by accident when they've been with us at a funeral, who doesn't know what it means to be confronted with police and dogs every day of your life, who doesn't know what it means to send your children to those schools when you are not sure they will come home that night, or will be alive that night?

I have great difficulty with the fact that such people are the only people who interpret what I think and what I say and what happens in that country to the British public. The time has come that somehow newspapers in Britain must also do a little more than they have been doing so far.

I would like journalists here to understand we are not unwilling to help you, to smuggle you into townships if that is necessary. We're not afraid to take the risks. But it seems that when you send someone to South Africa there should be a basic requirement that such a person will take very seriously black voices who dare to speak under very difficult situations. It's not only the voices of Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak I'm talking about. There are other voices which speak at much greater risk than I.

We will not ask you to go to jail in our stead, or to give up the future of your children as we have had to do. We will not ask you to face teargas and guns. Those are the things that we must do. It's our country, our children, our future, our lives, our dreams that are at stake.

11/6/86 27/11/86

(11/11)

NATIONAL

27/11

Sacos code on 'ethnic' venue eased

Staff Reporter

A NEW South African Council on Sport (Sacos) resolution on the use of "ethnic university" facilities will enable affiliates of the non-racial sports body to play at such previously out-of-bounds venues.

This decision was taken at a special conference in Langa recently

Previously Sacos had forbidden its affiliates from using facilities at venues such as the University of the Western Cape.

University clubs had to practise and play off-campus, and in some instances changed their names. Last year this stance was eased when a resolution was passed allowing university clubs to use campus facilities for practice sessions and home matches.



Mr van der Horst, Sacos president

However, matches between non-university clubs, inter-provincial matches and organised tournaments on university grounds were still taboo.

Confirming the new resolution, Sacos general secretary Mr Colin Clarke said the decision had

been dictated in part by the pressures of local authorities on the use of community facilities.

"The new stance will also ensure that the student body at large identifies with Sacos," he added.

Other universities likely to be directly affected are Ngoye in Zululand, the University of the North, Turfloop, Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape and the University of Durban Westville.

Other decisions were that clubs on campuses now to be used should affiliate to Sacos and that sportsmen on such campuses actively oppose attempts to foist multi-national sport on them.

It was also decided not to use campuses where the majority of the student body supports multi-national sport.

Multi-million rand stadium

Some schools used UWC's multi-million rand athletics stadium earlier this year — against prevailing Sacos policy — because it proved cheaper than travelling to alternative venues in Athlone.

In March the Belhar Sports Union (BSU) was suspended by the Western Province Primary Schools Sports Board (WPPSSB) for having used the UWC athletics facility.

This meant that the 3 000 pupils at the six schools in the BSU could not compete against other WPPSSB affiliates in any code of sport.

Mr Ed Hellenberg, principal of Blackheath Primary School, one of the BSU members suspended, welcomed the new Sacos resolution.

Using UWC is purely a question of economics. It costs R160 for a bus to go to Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone, and then only 25 percent of my pupils can attend an athletics meeting. At UWC 80 percent of pupils can attend because it is nearer.

'UDF HAS BEEN INFILTRATED'

27/11/86
11A
Smeja

JOINT Management Centres, a complex security web spun around the country by the State Security Council, had infiltrated the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, the Divisional Council heard this week.

Mr Weil Ross told the Council if the UDF held a private meeting in the Peninsula, the JMC would know about it. They would know who spoke at the meeting and what was said.

The local branch of the JMC, headed by Brigadier C A Swart, Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, took counter measures against "political" funerals and was involved in a disinformation cam-

paign to alienate communities from alternative community structures like civic associations, Mr Ross claimed. JMCs were formed seven years ago. Officials of the Divisional Council served on the JMC and its subsidiaries without the sanctioning of the Council which also did not receive JMC reports.

Bluff

"Let's not bluff ourselves. Our officials are involved with a very political body. This Council has never received a report from our officials on how they help in the reduction of a revolutionary climate," Mr Ross said.

He said the JMCs and

their sub-committee reported directly to the State Security Council — a body dominated by the Nationalist Party politicians.

Politicians and officials who were members of the State Security Council include the State President, Mr P W Botha, the Minister of Defence, Mr Magnus Malan, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Neil Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service.

"The JMC is a highly political body. Its function is to defuse the country-wide revolutionary climate," Mr Ross said.

Dissecting the local arm of the JMC, he said

it had three sub-divisions, the Joint Intelligence Committee (Gesamentlike Intelligensie Komitee), the Constitutional, Economic and Social Committee (Staatkundige, Ekonomiese en Maatskaplike Komitee), and a communications unit known as Komkom.

The JIC was dominated by the Security Police and its objects were to identify possible local security threats and to co-ordinate a response to it, monitor organisations like the UDF, and adopt measures against "political" funerals.

At this point Mr L J Rothman, chairman of the Council, said the Divisional Council was not involved with the JIC.

Dominate

The CESC — on which the Divisional Council is represented according to Mr Rothman — was dominated by the Department of Constitutional Development.

"They examine things which may contribute to a revolutionary climate."

He said Komkom was involved in disinformation.

"We have numerous disinformation stickers, posters, and pamphlets which are printed by a State department in Cape Town. It is not a stone's throw away from the council."

He said he opposed the JMCs because they usurped the functions of local government.

However, the council adopted a proposal from Mr C G Bilski and seconded by Mr M J Aggenbachm, by six votes to five that it appoints officials to serve on the JMC and that it receives regular reports on its activities.

Nine in court on ANC charges

GEORGE — Nine Oudtshoorn residents appeared in the George Regional Court yesterday on charges of furthering the aims of the African National Congress and/or the South African Communist Party.

Defence council Mr E Mohammed said it was the first time such charges had arisen out of a funeral where the ANC colours were displayed.

The charges follow the April funeral of schoolboy Nkosinathi Hlazo who was shot on his way to school in Bongolethu township during unrest.

Of the nine accused, the State alleges eight were funeral marshals.

The marshals allegedly wore khaki uniforms and the colours of the ANC

on their lapels.

A large part of yesterday's proceedings was taken up by a police video of the funeral. It showed some of the marshals allegedly furthering the aims of the two banned organisations by displaying a red flag with a hammer and sickle and an alleged ANC flag.

Five of the accused, Mr Zolile Mgozi, Mr Kenneth Grootboom, Mr April Mpondo and two youths, are out on R800 bail.

Mr Zola Matikiti was refused bail and Mr Zolile Jingqi, Mr Moses Dikgacwi and Mr Nombulelo Grootboom are being held under emergency regulations.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Azapo makes a strong plea

THE Azanian People's Organisation has made a strong plea to hooligans and the so-called "comrades" not to exploit the situation when the black community observes "Black Christmas" this year.

In a statement this week, the organisation said it was calling meetings to consult with the community at which it would be open to suggestions and recommendations regarding a "Black Christmas".

"The Black Christmas means refraining from activities that increase the profits of our oppressors and create an impression that we are a happy oppressed people . . . We must decide whether buying in town is in order to support capitalists or to further our desired results," the statement said.

Demand

It said "comrades" were not a people apart from the community and must not demand or forcibly take things they were not entitled to.

They must show respect to parents and elders in the community and give guidance and assistance where necessary.

"The 'comrades' must consult and listen to the views of the community on any contemplated action," the statement said.

When announcing the "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign last week, the United Democratic Front (UDF) also warned "young militants" to exercise "maximum political discipline" between December 16 and December 26.

Explained

They were asked to ensure that the campaign was explained to all people well before

December 16.

The organisation called on members of the community to observe the 10-day period with dignity and pay tribute to leaders inside and outside the country, and those who had died in the struggle.

The period will also be dedicated to more than 500 children who faced the prospects of spending Christmas in jail as they had been detained under emergency regulations.

Activists praise 'arch-enemy'

Cap Times 28/11/80
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Soweto mayor Mr Ephraim "ET" Tshabalala, whom political activists have always regarded as their arch-enemy, suddenly became a hero yesterday.

Hundreds of activists, singing freedom songs and chanting slogans, marched on Mr Tshabalala's house yesterday to praise him shortly after he had resigned from the council in protest against the demolition of shacks.

Three children at the Mshenguville squatter camp are believed to have been killed and many more were injured when the council's bulldozers ploughed through the shacks.

When the activists arrived at the Soweto millionaire's home, he greeted the youths, saying: "Residents of Soweto, I greet you all in the name of God and I pray that we remain friends and neighbours like before."

'Armed guard at house'

However, four council policemen in full uniform and carrying shotguns were still guarding his house.

Mr Tshabalala called for the formation of an interim committee to represent civic organizations "to normalize the situation in Soweto".

"The primary reason for my resignation is the big outcry of the residents of Soweto that they no longer have confidence in the Soweto Council."

Mr Tshabalala resigned from the council in his capacities as mayor and councillor for Mofolo Village, which means he has cut all ties with the council.

His resignation is effective from November 30.

Meanwhile squatters at Mshenguville, where 100 shacks were demolished by council bulldozers on Wednesday, were struggling to rebuild them.

Some of them had their belongings soaked in the pouring rain.

They said many of their children were in hospital after being injured when the council's bulldozers ploughed through the shacks.

The Bureau for Information said: "In Mofolo (Soweto) illegal squatter dwellings were demolished on instruction of the Soweto Housing Council. Black youths threw stones at the council members and also attacked the security forces with stones and petrol bombs.

"The security forces dispersed the youths with tearsmoke. No injuries or arrests were reported."

Six years for aiding the ANC

Rocklyn Mark Williams (26) was yesterday sentenced by a Johannesburg magistrate to six years' jail for furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Williams, address given as Ameshoff Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, pleaded guilty to the charge.

According to the charge sheet, between January 1979 and February 1986 Williams joined the ANC and participated in activities to the benefit of the banned organisation.

PUBLICATION

Among other activities, during a trip to Botswana he accepted instructions to investigate anti-conscription feeling in the South African Defence Force.

He also agreed to distribute a publication, "The Resister", within the SADF.

He later undertook to recruit members to the ANC.

He compiled a document in which he reviewed the prospects of recruiting white South Africans to the ANC and suggested the ANC bomb military police stations.

A psychologist's report handed in to the court in mitigation of sentence said Williams's lifestyle was guided by a spirit of altruism and compassion.

He was of superior intelligence and had a degree of naivete in his personality.

He had enjoyed army life and could support the principle of a defence force as a defence mechanism but not as a machine of destruction.



Mrs Helen Joseph congratulates (from left) Mr Simon Vilakazi, Mr Mohapi More and Mr Mkhambi Malindi.

Tears of joy at Delmas treason trial as 3 freed

By Estelle Trengove

Yesterday was a day of tears in the Delmas trial court — tears of joy for the three men who were acquitted and tears of disappointment for the remaining 19 men who must still face charges of high treason and terrorism.

Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst yesterday acquitted Mr Mohapi More (26), Mr Simon Vilakazi and Mr Mkhambi Malindi (21), saying that on the State's evidence they had no case to answer.

The minute the court adjourned, the three were surrounded by their co-accused, who hugged and congratulated them. Mr More's wife, Maguata, held onto his hand, so overcome that she could hardly speak.

As they left the courtroom — two of them had been in detention for more than two years — they were surrounded by dozens of photographers.

But amidst the joy, others were grieving. They had come to Delmas hoping that their loved ones would be released, but the appli-

cation for the discharge of the other 19 men was refused.

Those who still face charges of high treason and terrorism include United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders Mr Popo Molefe (34), Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (38) and Mr Moss Chikane, as well as Anglican priest Father Geoffrey Moselane and members of the Vaal Civic Association and Azapo.

The State's case is that they conspired to overthrow the Government with violence.

REASONABLE MAN

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said that, on the facts placed before the court by the State, a reasonable man might find the UDF could have been involved in a conspiracy aimed at overthrowing the Government.

He had said earlier that the State's evidence showed a certain pattern emerged in areas where there had been disturbances: attacks were launched on councillors and damage done to their property and the

property of the local authorities, schools, post offices, police vehicles and public transport.

In cases where the disturbances conformed to this pattern and a UDF presence was shown, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said he was not prepared to find that there was no link between the damage done and the UDF.

On this basis, the judge said that evidence on the violence and disturbances in a number of areas was relevant to the rest of the trial.

He found, however, that the UDF and its affiliates could not be linked to the violence and disturbances in eight areas, including Witbank and Dunottar.

After two unsuccessful attempts to secure the release of all the accused, six of them were granted bail of R15 000 each. They are Mr Patrick Baleka, Mr Morake Mokoena, Mr Tsietsi Mphuti, Mr Tebello Ramakgula, Mr Serame Hloniyane and Mr Thabiso Ratsomo.

SA reform limited by black veto — Buthelezi

FORT WORTH, Texas. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday that reform options for President P W Botha were bound "by black South Africa's veto power over what he does".

Addressing members of the Texas Christian University and of the Fort Worth City Council, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha could not establish "a neo-apartheid society" because black South Africa "will just not co-operate in the matter — and he cannot do so without black concurrence".

This was not an argument to support the fact that Mr Botha could not move and could only continue to employ violence, he said.

It was simply a statement that black non-violent democratic opposition to apartheid was powerful enough to limit the options of "the strongest man in Africa".

White society was making increasing demands for reform.

Chief Buthelezi charged that US firms were withdrawing from SA for purely economic reasons and "clothing their actions with political morality".

White society was making increasingly urgent demands on Mr Botha to get on with reform and they fully perceived that it was vulnerable because of whites' total economic dependence on blacks.

Was it just coincidental that, for instance, General Motors had closed down plants in the United States at the same time as withdrawing from his country?

He urged a re-examination of the nature of South Africa's conflict to decide if the analysis which led to sanctions stood close scrutiny.

Chief Buthelezi said the point had to be taken that it was those who most vehemently called for bloodshed who called the loudest for sanctions.

He said it might be an impertinent question from a foreign visitor, he said, but he would nevertheless like to know what contribution protectionist thinking had made to the decision by the United States to apply sanctions.

"How many senators and congressmen proclaimed the morality of sanctions against South Africa because they had been got at by protectionist lobbies?" he asked. — Sapa

Curry gleans East for ideas

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

MR DAVID Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, has returned from a 18-day visit to the Far East with a wealth of ideas which he believes can be applied to improve life in South Africa.

He said in an interview he intended to make specific proposals to the Government and Parliament based on some of his findings.

His proposals would include:

- that new methods be considered for using land more productively;
- that more attention be given to environmental planning in South Africa's townships; and
- that new attitudes be developed towards small business enterprises.

Small businessmen

Mr Curry's tour included visits to Taipei, Hong Kong, Singapore and Bangkok. He was accompanied by the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and a Cabinet member, on his visit to the Republic of China (Taiwan).

Their wives travelled with them and they were also accompanied by officials.

They wanted to see how Eastern countries were dealing with urbanisation and environmental planning.

Mr Curry was particularly impressed by methods of accommodating small businesses in residential areas. Shopping centres, including various types of shops and restaurants, were built into blocks of flats.

Homes on top

In Singapore he saw flat structures where even playing fields and areas for community work were built in at ground level, and in Taipei there was a crèche built into the lower level of a residential block.

Another building in a residential area of Singapore included an industrial centre for small businesses, including garages, panel-beaters' shops and other light industries.

Small businessmen often had their homes on top of their businesses.

Hong Kong — where squatter conditions were disappearing — was a prime example of a city which was "creating wealth through planning".

"Stop hounding people"

Mr Curry said that, from what he had seen in the East, there was scope in South Africa for "rethinking our attitude to the small businessman".

"We must stop hounding people such as hawkers, for example. Such



WHIRLWIND TOUR: Mr David Curry, who picked up many new ideas on his Far Eastern tour.

people, especially hawkers of fresh produce, are self-employed and should be given suitable areas and opportunities to conduct their trade.

"We are over-burdened with regulations and should rather allow free trade wherever possible."

Home industries, such as those in Crossroads, should be given a free hand to enable them to survive economically.

New crops

Mr Curry said South Africa could also learn much from Far Eastern countries about making optimum use of land for agricultural production.

In this respect Taiwan was particularly innovative.

When the Taiwanese had an over-production of rice, many new crops were introduced.

Alternative crops such as citrus, grapes and melons were introduced.

"I even came across a yellow melon which tasted just like our red watermelons," Mr Curry said.

"Computer farming"

He was also impressed by Taiwan's "computer farming" and water schemes, canal systems, huge water storage dams, and fish farms where fish were bred for additional food.

Farmers were trained by the Government to get the maximum production out of their land and experts were sent overseas to study agricultural methods in other countries.

South Africa could reconsider some of its farming methods. Many farmers could be taught, for example, to introduce new lines of farming which would provide them with more cash income from month to month.

In many farming areas more productive use could be made of land.

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UDF XMAS CAMPAIGN

THE United Democratic Front yesterday released more details of its 10-day "Christmas Against Emergency" campaign.

The organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe said special appeals have been sent to churches, and sporting and other groups that have to play a role in the campaign.

Mr Morobe said his organisation has appealed for unified action from the community such as was displayed around June 16 and May 1.

The main thrust of the campaign is to get the black community to rededicate itself to the struggle for democracy, he said.

Explaining the various aspects and activities during the campaign, Mr Morobe said on December 16 the campaign would be ushered by the ringing of church bells at 6am. It will also end in the same way on December 26.

He said: "We are asking for 10 days to remember our heroes past and present. As December 16 is Day of the Vow for the Afrikaners, it is within our rights to pay homage to our heroes.

"We are asking these 10 days to remember those in jail and in exile and of course all those fallen on this great road to freedom and peace.

"Most importantly we must think about the hundreds of children who are doomed to the possibility of a Christmas behind bars. How can a nation celebrate the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ when our children are incarcerated."

He appealed for shebeens to close early on these 10 days.

He said weddings and other family functions could go on and appealed to other people not to interfere in such functions.

Candles

Mr Morobe said the community should use candles on two days, December 16 and December 24, and for only two hours between 7pm and 9pm. During this period, he said, the Unity Pledge which would be widely distributed would be read.

Visits to families of detainees and political exiles should be made during the 10 days so as

He said sporting bodies and music fraternities have agreed to suspend activities during the 10 days.

11A

STOP THE KILLINGS

Plea from jailed Mothopeng

THE jailed president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Mothopeng (73), yesterday appealed to blacks to stop fighting each other.

The PAC leader made this plea through his wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng, when she visited him at the Johannesburg Prison where he is serv-

ing part of his two 15-year prison sentence.

Mrs Mothopeng said her husband has expressed concern at the in-fighting between black organisations.

"My husband pleads with the organisations to stop fighting each other because the fighting will only serve our oppressors.

"Blacks should fight against the apartheid system. Fighting will not help us achieve our liberation," Mrs Mothopeng said.

"Zeph is eager to fight for the liberation of blacks and wants the Government to abolish the adhorrent system of apartheid," she said.

Her husband was disturbed about the closure of some schools in the country because "this will only serve to retard the progress of black

education."

"He wants the government to introduce a uniform system of education for all race groups."

She said her husband's health had improved tremendously after his operation earlier in the year.

Nicopane Makobane reports that meanwhile the external way of the PAC added its voice to that of movements which have condemned the political in-fighting among black organisations.

In a statement re-

leased from Dar-es-Salaam, the organisation said it vehemently condemns and abhors the spate of violence in the townships.

"The PAC therefore calls on all organisations who have a contradiction with the white minority regime not to direct their energies at those of the patriotic force they might be differing with ideologically or with details.

"PAC reiterates its long-standing commitment to non-collaboration as spelled out in the '1949 Programme of Action'."



Mrs URBANIA Mothopeng . . . visited husband in jail.

176 2AR XV

Black PM ^{Cape Times 29/11/86} in new Natal ^(11/11) plan ^(11/11)

DURBAN. — Moderate black and white organizations forming the KwaNatal Indaba yesterday unveiled an unprecedented proposal after eight months of talks for Natal to be governed by a multiracial legislature and probably by a black prime minister.

The Indaba decided by 24 votes out of 35 yesterday to opt for a new system of provincial government which would treat the region as a political unit with universal adult suffrage and the constitutional protection of minority rights.

At a historic press conference, Professor Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, said only two organizations had indicated they would not be able to sign the final draft.

Sponsoring bodies

These were the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

He said three other bodies had asked for time to consult their constituents.

The chairman was flanked during the press conference by the representatives of the two sponsoring bodies of the

To Page 2

Police given ^{Cape Times 29/11/86} ^{note}

From Page 1

Indaba envisages ^{Cape Times 29/11/86} mixed-race system ^(11/11)

Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the KwaZulu Minister of Education, and Mr Frank Martin, former senior Natal Provincial MEC.

Prof Clarence said not all the parties who might eventually become signatories had put their names to the agreement.

"People are very excited that they have managed to reach an agreement," said Mr Peter Mansfield, who served on the constitutional committee formed during the talks.

"They don't know what the government's reaction will be, but there is a sense of history in the making in that this could be the start of major constitutional changes in South Africa."

The proposal by the Indaba calls for Natal/KwaZulu to be governed by a two-chamber legislature, the first chamber consisting of 100 members elected through a proportional representation system and the second a 50-member chamber comprising 10 representatives each from Natal's black, Asian, Afrikaans- and English-speaking communities and 10 at-large members, a South African group representing voters who prefer not to vote according to "background".

The percentage vote captured by any group would be directly reflected in membership of the chamber, according to the Indaba press release.

It also allows for a Prime Minister responsible to the first chamber and a cabinet of 10.

The agreement further makes provision for a Governor, appointed by the State President on the advice of the provincial legislature.

The prime minister would be elected by the upper chamber, making it likely he or she would be a black since blacks comprise almost 80 percent of Natal-KwaZulu's population.

But any legislation would require approval by both chambers, and minority parties would be allowed to choose half of the 10 provincial cabinet ministers.

It incorporates a Bill of Rights, already published by the Indaba, constitutionally entrenched and enforceable against the Governor and all organs of government at provincial level in Natal.

The proposal also calls for an independent judiciary. Own Correspondent and Sapa-AP

ANC ^{29/11/86}
call for ¹¹¹
offensive

From JOHN
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The African National Congress (ANC) has called for the biggest-ever offensive against apartheid next year — its 75th anniversary.

The January 8 anniversary will be marked by "commemorative events in South Africa and throughout the world". The programme will culminate with mass rallies on December 16 next year.

The planned ANC activities include:

- Organization of demonstrations focusing on sanctions, consumer boycotts and the withdrawal of security forces from schools and townships.

- Intensification of the campaign for Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

- Observing "national days" on January 8, March 5 and 21, May 1, June 16 and 26, August 9, October 11 and December 16.

Escom warn

Cape Times 29/1/86
**Interdict for
Azapo man**

JOHANNESBURG. —
The secretary of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), Mr George Wauchope, was granted an interim order in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday restraining four Soweto Students' Council members from assaulting him and damaging his property.

Mr Kenneth Fihla, Mr Paulus Madonsela, Mr Maphutane Mngsina and Mr Themba Gqibela allegedly kidnapped Mr Wauchope's two nephews, Sana Mlondo, 15, and Kenneth Dhlamini, 13, and petrol-bombed Mr Wauchope's house in Soweto. Sana was allegedly murdered this week, Mr Wauchope's lawyer said.

The four men must show cause by February 3, 1987 why the order should not be made permanent. — Sapa

FREEL 3 acquitted in Delmas

CITY PRESS
11A
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5/11/88

By
**MONO BADELA and
MARTIN NTSOELNGOE**

THREE OF the 22 men who were charged with high treason in the Delmas Circuit Court have been acquitted by Judge van Dijkhorst yesterday.

In his 100-minute long judgement, Van Dijkhorst found Vaal Civic Association members Lazarus More, Simon Vilakazi and Mkhambi Amos not guilty of the crime as there was no evidence and no case against them.

Immediately after their acquittal, the three men were mobbed by a crowd outside the court.
"We are relieved but not happy. The fight is still going on for the acquittal of the other 19. One of them said Van Dijkhorst said that More had merely introduced speakers at a meeting and therefore it could not be said that he was part of the leadership."
The judge said Malindi only participated by singing freedom songs and there is no evidence that he was part of the leadership or the management.
In the case of Vilakazi, the only evidence against him is said that he merely listened to Radio Freedom, Van Dijkhorst said.

The case against the 19 others, who include top UDF leaders like Patrick Terror, Lekota, Popo Molefe, Moss Chikane and Tom Mankhata, will conclude on January 21.

Van Dijkhorst said the 19 will have to come back to prove their innocence. However, there are indications that bail applications for the 19 would be made on Tuesday.

Before the trial commenced, several people, including representatives from countries like Australia, France, Canada and Sweden, were turned away.

Also turned away were several journalists, the wives of the accused and representatives from organisations like the Release Mandela Campaign, United Democratic Front, Black Sash, Transvaal Indian Congress, SA Council of Churches, Soweto Youth Congress, Azaso and the Anti-President's Council Committee.

Leading personalities who could not find room in the crowded courtroom were Ussut Cachalia, Helen Joseph, Cassim Saloojee and Aubrey Mokoena.

A group of women wearing their Roman Catholic church uniforms, who arrived early yesterday morning, were also turned away.

It was also a disappointing day for the family members and relatives of the accused who arrived at the Delmas court in cars and buses hoping to return home with some of their husbands and sons.

Martha Chikane of Mamelodi whose husband, Moss, is one of the 19 accused said it would be a disappointing day for her children who were waiting at home to welcome their father.

The 19 accused are also facing alternative charges of incitement to murder, subversion and terrorism.

ANC member conscious

THE African National Congress member, who was critically injured in a car accident near Manzini in Swaziland three weeks ago, has regained consciousness in the Raleigh Fitkin Memorial Hospital in Manzini this week.

The man - identified by police as Nsizwa Khumalo - has been under heavy police guard at the hospital since the car in which he and two other men were traveling, overturned in the early hours of the morning.

Manzini police driving to the scene of the accident later intercepted another car

at the scene. The two occupants of that car, also believed to be members of the ANC, ran away.

During a search of the crashed car, police discovered several limpet mines, an anti-personnel mine, a large number of AK47 rifle magazines, and hundreds of rounds of AK47 ammunition.

They also took possession of other explosive equipment and a spade.

A reliable source at the hospital said an anonymous telephone caller, who claimed to be a member of the ANC, had warned that the local members of the organisation intended to "rescue" Khumalo. - Sapa.

CITY PRESS (188)
SA visit
30/11/80 (114)
'useless'

BOTSWANA has turned down an invitation from South Africa for Botswana representatives to travel to SA to interview an alleged African National Congress captive who had been operating in Botswana.

In an interview with the Botswana Press Agency, External Affairs Minister Gaositwe Chiepe denied Press reports that Botswana had failed to respond to the SA invitation.

Dr Chiepe said such a visit would not serve any purpose.

STATE HAS EARS IN UDF — ROSS

CP Correspondent

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party politician Neil Ross this week claimed that the Cape Town Joint Management Centre - created by the State Security Council - had infiltrated the United Democratic Front in Cape Town.

The JMCs, part of a security network spanning the country, report directly to the SSC - dominated by National Party politicians.

Ross told the Cape Divisional Council that if the UDF held a private meeting in the Peninsula, the JMC would know about it. They would know who spoke at the meeting and what was said.

The Cape Town JMC, headed by Western Cape divisional police commissioner Brigadier CA Swart, took counter-measures against "political" funerals and was involved in a disinformation campaign to alienate communities from alternative community structures such as civic associations, Ross claimed.

The JMCs were formed seven years ago. Divisional Council officials served on the JMC and its subsidiaries - without the sanctioning of the council, Ross said.

Ross said members of the SSC included President PW Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and National Intelligence Service head Neil Barnard.

"The JMC is a highly political body. Its function is to defuse the country-wide revolutionary climate," Ross said.

He said the local JMC had three sub-divisions, the Joint Intelligence Committee the Constitutional, Economic and Social Committee, and a communications unit.

Let no blood be shed, says Tutu

CP Correspondent

as "very special persons".

THE head of the Anglican Church of SA, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, pleaded for a bloodless revolution in SA and called on all people to treat one another

Tutu was delivering a sermon at the annual combined Eucharist of Archdeacons of the Border and Ciskei held at the Orient Theatre in East London on Wednesday night.

He made a strong plea for reconciliation and acceptance of one another.

"We can only be free together, we can only be human together and we can only survive together," he said.

Police car kills toddler

By MONO BADELA

A FOUR-year-old girl was killed and five others seriously injured when a Katlehong municipal police vehicle plunged into a crowd of wedding guests.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the weekend incident and said police were investigating.

A distraught Masilo Masasanya told a Press conference this week that her only child - four-year-old Masitshaba - was

part of a crowd of kids watching Girl Guides entertain guests at the wedding.

Masasanya said the local authority policeman first drove past at high speed and stopped at the nearby office of the local authority. Minutes later he got into his vehicle and drove towards the crowd. The car plunged into the crowd.

The injured are: Lilian, 13, and Sello Morupa, 3, Puleng Makhanya, 8, Rayisibe Khumalo, 4, and Victor Molapo, 35.

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30/11/86 ZIF PRESS

Nine in dock for funeral flags

NINE Oudtshoorn residents appeared in the George regional court this week on charges of furthering the aims of the African National Congress and/or the South African Communist Party.

Defence counsel E Mohammed said it was the first time that such charges had arisen out of a funeral where the colours of the ANC were displayed.

The charges follow the April funeral of schoolboy Nkosinathi Hlazo, who was shot on his way to school in Bongoletu township during the unrest.

The State alleges that eight of the nine accused were funeral marshals.

The marshals allegedly

wore khaki uniforms and the colours of the ANC on their lapels, while some of them allegedly furthered the aims of the ANC and/or the SACP by allegedly displaying the flags of the banned organisations. A large part of the proceedings was filmed by the police. The video showed a red flag with a hammer and sickle and an alleged ANC flag.

Five of the accused, Zolile Mgolozi, Kenneth Grootboom, April Mpondo and two youths are out on R800 bail.

Zola Matikiti was refused bail and Zolile Jingqi, Moses Dikgacwi and Nombulelo Grootboom are being held under emergency regulations. - Sapa.

'Two made ANC flags'

30/1/86

CITY PRESS

11A

CP Correspondent

TWO Cape Town people, including a prominent trade unionist, have appeared in the Wynberg Regional Court this week charged with furthering the aims of the ANC by allegedly manufacturing black, green, and gold ANC flags.

Clothing Workers' Union official Elizabeth Erasmus, 26, and Fuad Carlie, 45, were arrested at a clothing factory in Simons Road, Athlone Industria on the night of December 9 last year.

Police evidence was that pieces of black, green and yellow cloth were being

sewn together by four women, allegedly to make ANC flags.

Carlie told a policeman that the flags were for a sports club, the court heard.

Giving evidence for the State, Warrant Officer Sanetta Hester Meyer, a librarian at the Pretoria headquarters of the security branch, said the ANC aimed to overthrow the South African government by violent means.

She read extracts from various issues of *Sechaba*, the ANC's glossy monthly publication.

Because of her job, she said, she had access to banned documents and publications confiscated by the police.

She said the flags of the ANC and Inkatha consisted of the same colours - black, green and yellow.

"In the ANC flag the black is at the top, green in the middle and yellow at the bottom, but the Inkatha flag has yellow at the top, black in the middle and green at the bottom.

"The black section on the ANC flag represents *The Man*, the green *The rolling fields* and the yellow *The gleaming wealth of the country*.

Magistrate M Marais was on the bench.

Black

No appeal for Sparg

By ANN PALMER

CONVICTED terrorist Marion Sparg was refused permission to appeal against an effective 25-year prison sentence this week.

Mr Justice P J van der Walt said it was regrettable but he hoped that this would be the first and last time that a case of this nature appeared before the courts.

The decision has a special irony for the former journalist-turned-ANC terrorist.

As a 16-year-old East London high school pupil, she once wrote in a poem

No don't deprive me of clouds and storms and sunsets and seas.

for deprive me of these, and you deprive me of life

Exceptional

In court this week the judge said Sparg's case could not be regarded as anything other than exceptional.

The defence claimed, in lodging an application for leave to appeal, that imposing a 20-year sentence was "disturbingly inappropriate and induced a sense of shock" because it meant that Sparg would serve an effective 25 years appropriate only in "very exceptional circumstances".

Earlier this month 28

against jail term



Marion Sparg (arrowed) at school in East London

year-old Sparg was sentenced to 20 years' jail for treason and a further five years for arson.

The defence also claimed that the judge had misdirected himself, because he regarded Sparg's race as an aggravating factor.

In judgment, he said he would have understood, if not

condoned, her actions if she had been a black person.

Appearing for the State, Mr A G Berry said it was an Sparg's insistence, against the advice of friends, that she joined the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "unlike a black person from the townships who could claim that he was duped by promises of education which be of great advantage to this type of person".

The only other course now available to Sparg is to petition the Chief Justice.

Blow to Indaba; Natal Nats say no

CALL TONK
1/12/86

11A ~~388A~~

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE historic KwaNatal agreement was dealt a crushing blow last night when the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, dismissed the initiative as a recipe for domination of whites by blacks.

Mr Botha's categoric rejection of the plan effectively kills the eight-month-old Indaba, which only 48 hours earlier reached a historic agreement whereby Natal would be governed by a multi-racial legislature — and probably by a black prime minister.

On Friday moderate black and white organizations comprising the Indaba agreed to a new system of provincial government which would treat the region as a political unit with universal adult suffrage and the constitutional protection of minority rights.

However, Mr Botha — who enjoyed observer status at the Indaba — last night said that although the plan "attempted to accommodate so-called minority rights, the result clearly amounts to a one-man one-vote system".

The Indaba's constitutional



Mr Stoffel Botha

blueprint, he claimed, gave "no indication" of effective and equal power-sharing. "Indeed, it is clear that the implementation of this model would lead to domination."

Explaining why the NP in Natal "cannot identify with this model", Mr Botha said that in terms of the plan it was "inevitable" that the legislative and executive authorities of the majority party "will effectively exercise all power".

"Such a party will not necessarily be representative of all groups. This fact has unacceptable implications in the light of the composition of the population in the region," he said.

Mr Botha emphasized that he was speaking in his capacity as NP leader of Natal and not as

official government spokesman on the matter.

However, political observers agreed that it was highly unlikely that the government could adopt a favourable or objective stance towards the Natal plan after its unambiguous rejection by a provincial leader.

Earlier yesterday, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, adopted an extremely guarded posture towards the KwaNatal agreement.

He claimed he had not seen the agreement — indeed, that he had "no information" on it.

Asked if he would respond if details of the plan were spelt out to him on the phone, Mr Heunis said that as the responsible minister he could not say anything until he had been formally notified of the agreement.

The Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said that if Mr Botha's views coincided with those of the government "it can only mean they have a death-wish for South Africa".

"It is unbelievable that a minister, albeit a junior one, can respond in so peremptory and destructive a manner to proposals which are the result of eight months of hard deliberation, negotiation and compromise on the part of groups representing a

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P.T.O

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broad cross-section of
the public in Natal.

"How dare Stoffel Botha as a member of a government which has failed so abysmally even to get the semblance of negotiation going in South Africa do this.

"I believe that the public of Natal will be aghast at this clumsy, premature and ignorant rejection of the product of the Indaba process in the crisis situation that South Africa is in."

Earlier, before news of Mr Botha's rejection of the plan, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said of the KwaNatal agreement: "Basically this is one of the more encouraging exercises in South Africa in recent years. Although the product is nobody's first choice, it represents a sensible consensus.

"What is important is that this shows that if you can get people to the negotiating table, a chemistry develops which breaks down barriers and compromise becomes possible."

Mr Eglin said that in the absence of a workable government alternative, the Indaba blueprint might develop a groundswell of support that would be difficult for the government to ignore.

The Indaba proposal could also serve as forerunner for other regional experiments.

"If Natal — which represents a racial microcosm of South Africa — can reach this degree of agreement, then provided there is proper negotiation an agreement on a macro scale might also be possible," he said.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, described the plan as "workable, satisfactory and well thought out".

"It has gone as well as it can. Everybody made concessions. This is a step towards a solution — KwaNatal is now emerging as a unit in a future federation."

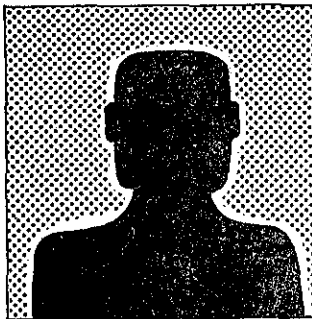
Mr Sutton said a referendum should now be held among Afrikaners to clarify whether they wanted to be part of a future multi-racial government.

Surprise find about Mandela leadership

Nearly one in three urban blacks would volunteer immediate acceptance of Nelson Mandela as their new leader if he were freed from prison — but even bigger numbers of them would want

him to prove his leadership qualities first.

The survey puts automatic acceptance of Mandela in the role of black leader at an average 32 percent — with wide divisions between the sexes about the degree of their enthusiasm.



In short, while 39 percent of black males would give Mandela their immediate vote, only 26 percent of black women would do so.

Black women in turn out-numbered their menfolk — 35 to 33 percent — in preferring to wait and see how he shaped up as a leader.

The younger generation, aged between 18 and 24, were most willing to back Mandela at once: 42 percent of the males and 25 percent of the females.

In all, while 32 percent would give instant support to Mandela, a slightly higher 34 percent take a wait-and-see attitude about his talents. Only 5 percent said they would not support him because they "already had a black leader".

The pollsters found that Mandela appeared to have least support inside the Zulu population — 33 percent of males and 23 percent of the females.

They were also informed in the survey that the vast majority of urban blacks — as many as 74 percent — would prefer a multi-racial rather than an all-black form of government. Moreover, 75 percent gave an overwhelming preference to the achievement of black political freedom by negotiation.

SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE

Only 13 percent supported violence, with the remainder rejecting both options (3 percent) or else gave a "don't know" reply (9 percent).

Greatest support for violence was shown in a 17 percent vote from the 18-24 age group, while as many as 86 percent of the older generation favoured negotiation.

But perceptions of when blacks would win a significant political voice were pessimistic.

One in four said they "didn't know". Almost as many, 24 percent, said "not for a long time", 13 percent forecast a voice within the next 10 years, 18 percent said within the next five years, and only 10 percent reckoned it would come inside the next 12 months.

In turn, 36 percent of all respondents said they would be happy to support any blacks willing to work with the State President on a National Council.

About 16 percent said they would regard black participation in the council as "sell-outs" and 9 percent would prefer black leaders not in detention to boycott the National Council.

Blacks 'want peaceful change'

11A

STAR 1/12/86

By Michael Chester

An overwhelming majority — 74 percent — of urban blacks prefer to seek an end to apartheid by negotiation rather than violence, according to the results of a nationwide poll released today.

Moreover, three in every four of them prefer the ultimate aim of a multiracial form of government rather than an all-black government.

Mr Henry Barenblatt, joint managing director of Research Surveys, which conducted the Omnichek poll among age groups from 18-year-old teenagers to the over-50s generation, said the findings exploded a number of myths about black attitudes on key political issues.

The researchers travelled from the Cape to Pretoria to assess black thinking on current affairs — from school boycotts and work stayaways to progress in reform and black/white relations.

Only 13 percent advocated violence as the solution to the impasse on the total elimination of apartheid, with votes concentrated mainly in the 18-24 age bracket and even there accounting for only 17 percent of the total.

As many as 86 percent of the older generation favoured negotiation.

But the pollsters found widespread pessimism about the speed of progress towards winning a significant black voice in the political establishment.

Only one in every 10 forecast achievement of the goal inside the next 12 months. About 18 percent predicted it would only be within the next five years.

Asked whether they would automatically accept Nelson Mandela as their leader if he were freed from prison, 32 percent said they would support him without hesitation — but 34 percent said they would wait until he had first shown proof of leadership qualities.

Vociferous

The younger generation, aged between 18 and 24, were most vociferous about their automatic support for Mr Mandela as black leader — 42 percent of the males and 25 percent of the females.

In contrast, immediate support fell to 28 percent among black urbanites aged 50 or over.

A mere handful, 5 percent of all urban blacks, said they would not back Mandela because "they already had a black leader".

The poll found four out of every 10 agreed with the African National Congress, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Alan Boesak in calling for sanctions in trying to force an end to apartheid.

And 43 percent said they were willing to pay the sacrifice of their jobs "as the price of the cause against apartheid" if sanctions created unemployment.

On race relations, 32 percent felt black/white relations had improved in the past 12 months but 27 percent felt they had deteriorated.

● See Page 8.

11A

Grandma killed after home is bombed

A 56-YEAR-OLD grandmother of two Azanian Student Movement members was shot and killed in Soweto on Thursday morning after her attackers had earlier petrol-bombed her home.

According to Mr Nkosi Molala, acting president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the

same attackers also raided the home of Ms Lala Mpondzo, former secretary of the Ibhongo High School branch of Azasm, on Thursday morning.

Petrol-bombs were also used in the attack and shots fired. The two incidents took

place in Dlamini 2.

The dead woman was Mrs Altha Ndebele, grandmother of Nkosinathi and Lindani Ndebele, who are both members of the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo). The attack at their home took place at about

6.30am.

Mr Molala said Mrs Ndebele met her death when she came out of her home which was being attacked by a group of between 40 and 50 people. Three shots were fired and she was hit in the stom-

ach, neck and head.

Other Ndebele family members who were shot and injured in the incident, are Pretty (18), sister of the two brothers, and an uncle only identified as Vusi (27). Pretty was shot in the chin and Vusi in the leg.

"Our information is that Mrs Ndebele was summoned to a street committee meeting on Sunday and told to produce her two grandsons. On Wednesday, she was again summoned to a street committee meeting and given an ulti-

matum to produce the two, or else her home would be burned the following morning," he said.

Mr Molala, added that recently Lindani Ndebele was abducted with Mr Simon Mkhwanazi, father of Mda Mkhwanazi, an Azapo member. He later managed to escape after being tortured.

Tambo's 'official' Aussie visit

By Marshall Wilson

MELBOURNE—The president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, is to visit Australia as an official guest of the Government.

Fresh from a visit to the Soviet Union, where he asked for increased arms aid in a meeting with Russian counterpart Mikhail Gorbachev, Mr Tambo has accepted an invitation under Canberra's special Overseas Visitors Fund.

Since 1983 the scheme has allowed several prominent opponents of apartheid to come to Australia.

In announcing the visit Foreign Minister Bill Hayden urged parliamentarians to speak to Mr Tambo 'to get a more balanced appreciation of the absolute wickedness of apartheid'.

Mr Hayden said he would recommend especially that members of the opposition make themselves known to Mr Tambo as well as to the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, who will make a private trip to Australia early in the new year.

In a separate development, the Australian Government has announced it will investigate the arrest of a prominent critic of apartheid, Lutheran dean Simon Farisani.

Mr Hayden told Parliament the dean had previously been arrested in an African homeland, Venda.

Most urban blacks 'prefer negotiation'

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A large majority of 74 percent of urban blacks prefer to seek an end to apartheid by negotiation rather than violence, according to a nationwide poll released today.

And three out of every four prefer the ultimate aim of a multiracial form of government rather than an all-black government.

Mr Henry Barenblatt, joint managing director of Research Surveys, which conducted the Omnichek poll among age groups from 18 to the over-50s, said the findings exploded a number of myths about black attitudes on key political issues.

Violence

The researchers travelled from the Cape to Pretoria to assess black thinking on current affairs — from school boycotts and work stayaways to progress in reform and black/white relations.

Only 13 percent advocated violence as the solution to the impasse on the total elimination of apartheid, with votes concentrated mainly in the 18-24 age bracket and even there accounting for only 17 percent of the total.

As many as 86 percent of the older generation favoured negotiation.

But the pollsters found widespread pessimism about the speed of progress towards winning a significant black voice in the political establishment.

Only one in every 10 forecast achievement of the goal inside the next 12 months. About 18 percent predicted it would only be within the next five years and 13 percent talked about inside the next 10 years. Nearly one in four despaired: "Not for a long time."

The poll also found that four out of every 10 agreed with the African National Congress, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak in calling for sanctions in trying to force an end to apartheid.

And 43 percent said they were willing to pay the sacrifice of their jobs "as the price

of the cause against apartheid" if sanctions created unemployment.

Answering questions on racial relations, 32 percent felt black/white relations had improved over the past 12 months but 27 percent felt they had deteriorated.

More than one in every four had run into problems or unpleasantness when they had used so-called non-racial recre-

ational facilities such as cinemas, restaurants, hotels and beaches.

● Thirty-one percent of urban black males polled in the survey claimed they ignored work stayaway calls.

An equal proportion of them said they "often" heeded the stayaways and 17 percent said they "sometimes" did so. More than one in five chose not to comment.

The black view — what the poll tells

THE main findings of the Omnichek poll are:

● Freedom of speech inside black communities has been a tragic casualty of the sociopolitical turmoils. More than half of those approached were unwilling to answer questions on political affairs.

● More than four in every 10 black adults aware of international sanctions are willing to pay the sacrifice of losing their jobs as the price of the cause against apartheid. Awareness of the possibility of job losses as a result of sanctions was above 80 percent in all categories.

Forty-three percent said they were ready to carry the sacrifice, 21 percent said they would do so with reluctance and 14 percent said they would be resentful. The remainder said they were not involved in the option or else "didn't know" their reaction to the possibility.

● Nearly one in three urban blacks would volunteer immediate acceptance of Nelson Mandela as their new leader if he were freed from prison, but even bigger numbers would want him to prove his leadership qualities first. While 39 percent of black men would give him their immediate vote, only 26 percent of black women would do so.

Black women in turn outnumbered men by 35 to 33 percent in preferring to wait

and see how he shaped up as a leader. Those aged between 18 and 24 were most willing to back Mr Mandela at once: 42 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women.

Mr Mandela had least support among Zulus — 33 percent of men and 23 percent of the women.

● A 74 percent majority of urban blacks would prefer a multi-racial rather than an all-black form of government; 36 percent would be happy to support any blacks willing to work with President P W Botha on a national council; about 16 percent said they would regard black participants in the council as "sell-outs", and nine percent would prefer black leaders not in detention to boycott the National Council.

● Nearly three in every 10 urban blacks have had problems when they have made use of so-called non-racial recreational facilities such as cinemas, restaurants, hotels and multi-racial beaches.

● One in every two urban blacks agrees with the proposition that in spite of apartheid there is much goodwill by blacks towards whites. About one in four disagrees while others are ambivalent or "don't know".

● Given total freedom of choice and with an absence of any intimidation, 93 percent of parents would vote for their children to be in school.

'BLACKS WANT TO TALK — NOT FIGHT'

THE "overwhelming" preference of urban blacks is for a negotiated — not a violent — end to apartheid, according to a nationwide poll.

And nearly three-quarters opt for a multi-racial rather than a black government.

In the Research Surveys Omnichick Poll, respondents were asked: "If you had a free choice, would you prefer black political freedom to be gained by violence or negotiation?"

In all categories, the overwhelming preference was for negotiation, with 75 percent supporting this option compared with 13 percent supporting violence and the remainder rejecting both options (three percent) or giving a "don't know" answer.

Greatest support for violence came from the 18-24 age group (17 percent) while respondents aged 50 or older most favoured negotiation (86 percent).

But perceptions of when blacks would win a significant political voice

Sapa

were pessimistic.

One in four men and women said they did not know when blacks would win a political voice — a similar percentage said "not for a long time," 13 percent forecast a voice within the next 10 years, 18 percent said "within the next five years," and 10 percent gave a one-year forecast.

Following these responses both men and women were then asked to select options in answer to this statement: "Mr P W Botha is asking black leaders to sit with him on a national council to seek political solutions for all races."

Thirty-six percent of all respondents said they would be happy to support any blacks willing to work with Mr Botha.

Nine percent said they would regard those participating in the council as sell-outs, while 16 percent could not accept any of these questions and 22 percent said "they didn't know."

Voice

In response to options, 74 percent of the men and women said they would prefer a multi-racial form of government in which whites, Indians, coloureds, and blacks "had a voice", compared with 14 percent opting for an all-black government based on one man one vote. Four percent said neither option met their views and eight percent opted for a "don't know".

Petrol bombings: ^{11A} 3 children burned ^{3/2/86}

DURBAN. — Three children suffered serious burns when three houses — including that of the KwaZulu Chief Minister's praise-singer, Mr Ephraim Buthelezi — were petrol-bombed and stoned in KwaMakhutha township near Amanzimtoti at the weekend and early yesterday.

All three homes belonged to local Inkatha members.

The home of Mr E Ngema, where the three children were burned, was extensively damaged.

Miss Dudu Mbatha, who was present at the time of the attack, said she saw the house explode into flames in the early hours of yesterday morning.

"When we tried to move out of the house we found that two doors, the back and front, were wired-shut. My brother had to jump through the window to open the doors," Miss Dudu said.

She said the three children had been trapped by the fire while trying to escape.

The attackers also poured petrol over the refuse bin, placed it against the door and set it alight, she said.

Police said two petrol bombs were thrown into the house, causing damage estimated at R2 000.

The injured children were aged 14, 11 and five years.

□ The attack on the home of Mr Ephraim Buthelezi, who is a praise-singer of the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was the second this year, a relative of Mr Buthelezi said. The bomb did not ignite.

□ The home of Mr Johannes Mahaye of 1249 Kwa Makhutha was attacked with eight petrol bombs but little damage was caused.

2/12/88

Azapo officials acquitted of arson

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The Regional Court here yesterday acquitted a former Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) leader, the Reverend Mzwandile Ebenezer Maqina, and two Azapo officials on a charge of arson.

Mr Maqina, 49, the founder-director of the Port Elizabeth Black Crisis Centre, Mr Elwin Themba Solwandle, 38, and Mr Tololo Isaac Klaas, 30, had been charged with setting fire to the New Brighton home of a shebeen owner, Mr Edward Pemba, on May 25 last year.

They pleaded not guilty and denied any knowledge of or involvement in the incident.

A fourth accused, Mr Nwabile Gramton Ndzaze, 23, was acquitted earlier in the trial.

Passing judgment, the magistrate, Mr P. Campbell, said criticism could be levelled at the contradictory evidence given by the three state witnesses, Mr Pemba, his wife and daughter.

The witnesses knew the accused at the time of the incident and the attack had taken place in a well-lit area seven metres from where the family were hiding after fleeing from their home.

Problems of identification, however, arose from what was said amongst the family during the attack.

On the other hand, no criticism could be levelled at the defence's evidence which was free of contradictions and improbabilities.

Sparg lawyers to appeal

LAWYERS for Marion Sparg, the African National Congress cadre sentenced to 25 years imprisonment two weeks ago, claim the presiding judge "misdirected himself" in regarding her race as an aggravating factor when passing sentence.

This was stated in papers filed before the Rand Supreme Court this week applying for leave to appeal against her jail term.

Her attorney, Norman Manoim, said the appeal was requested on the

114 By JO-ANN BEKKER
grounds that Judge PJ van der Walt had misdirected himself or erred in law in regarding the fact that Sparg was white as an aggravating factor in determining a proper sentence.

He had also erred, Manoim said, in directing that the sentences of 20 years for treason and five years for arson should not run concurrently.

According to the application papers, the sentence was "disturbingly inappropriate and induces a sense of shock". Sparg's effective imprisonment term of 25 years would be appropriate only in very exceptional circumstances.

The sentence overemphasised questions of retribution and deterrence and failed to take sufficient note of Sparg's personal circumstances, "including her degree of moral blameworthiness", the papers stated.

"The sentence appears to overlook completely the element of mercy, which is, in itself, an element of justice, and to have had as its object the breaking of the applicant's (Sparg's) spirit."

The court has still to determine a date for the hearing of the application.

2/12/88 *Secret*

Service for unionists

IT is too late to offer workers in South Africa half-a-loaf, or a whole loaf — they want the bakery that bakes the bread, the publicity secretary of the national Union of Mineworkers, Mr Marcel Golding, said at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was speaking at a service for trade unionists who died during the year and to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mr Golding told the crowd of about 400, many of whom were seconded from a Commer-

cial Catering and Allied Workers Union meeting held in an adjacent hall, that the Government was trying to sow confusion and disunity among the workers.

"As long as there is disunity there can be no forward movement towards peace and prosperity for all," he said.

The truth was so precious it was often protected by a "bodyguard of lies and illusion".

It was the ruling class that was trying to disinform the people and lie about what is happening in South Africa.

By declaring the state of emergency the Government was trying to "crush democratic organisations and regulate information going to the outside world".

He added that by practising "self-censorship", newspapers were adding to this.

Mr Golding said the blood of those who had

died in the workplace or as a result of violence aimed against unionists would nourish those struggling for their freedom.

"The 13 miners killed in a clash at Vaal Reefs (gold mine) demonstrates the brutality of the times in which we live," he said.

(11A) (S)

The 'dead-end' Nats

by HUGH ROBERTON, Staff writer

THE National Party has reached a dead-end in its search for workable political solutions and has decided to retreat into its laager and cling to power with increasing repression and harassment of its opponents.

This is the assessment of Mr Murphy Morobe, acting Publicity Secretary of the UDF, who is visiting the Western Cape for meetings with UDF affiliates. He gave the UDF's views on a wide range of current issues in an interview yesterday.

"The NP retreat into the laager is exactly what we expected. As the struggle intensifies and the legitimacy of the Government becomes more eroded in the eyes of the majority, it will behave like regimes in South America — and even in Africa — when they were faced by the same sort of crisis. They will become more and more desperate and will resort to greater repression and force. Their main concern will be to perpetuate their power."

"Reform" and "repression" in South Africa had become "two sides of the same coin". The Joint Management Centres, which Mr Morobe said were linked to the security apparatus and to "disinformation" strategies, were part of the pattern of repression and of the NP's attempts to perpetuate its power.

"The JMCs are tackling the wrong end of the problem."

They are trying to win favour with the people by improving local conditions, repairing roads, and improving services when, in fact, the peoples' feelings have gone way beyond potholes and street lights. The main objective of the black community is to exercise political power," Mr Morobe said.

"The Government's new national economic strategy, which aims to divert funds from infrastructure development to social services, is part of the same pattern. Even the new elite black suburbs and the fenced off townships have not been beyond the reach of the UDF because the main objective of blacks is for political power and any 'improvements' in their living standards are quite rightly interpreted as being the results of their own efforts, as victories after a long struggle."

THESE are extracts of what Mr Morobe had to say on other current issues:

□ On the detention of UDF leaders, the banning of UDF meetings and the declaring of the UDF as an "affected organisation":

"All this harassment and repression has meant that we have had to devote a lot of our energy and time to developing new methods of operation. We are confident they are working, that effective

contact is being made among the people and that we are getting our message out. I think, also, that as the Government tries to stifle us, so it becomes more isolated internally and internationally. We expect things to get worse as the Government becomes more desperate and we are preparing for a long siege. We do not rule out the possibility of the UDF being banned altogether."

□ On the Natal-Kwazulu indaba: "Insofar as the indaba proposals have been rejected by the NP in Natal, I believe this has vindicated our position — which we warned of when the indaba began — that there is no way negotiations can succeed in existing circumstances.

"It is not as if the indaba produced any really radical changes. In fact the proposals show a willingness to accommodate separate racial structures. Yet even this has been rejected by the NP. I think all the indications from the indaba are that negotiations with the Government should not be foremost on the UDF's agenda. Rather, our purpose is to develop organisations at the mass level and concentrate on building up the resolve of the community to continue the struggle."

□ On negotiations: "We have set various well-known preconditions — unbanning

the ANC and other political movements, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act — in short, the creation of conditions of free speech, free association, of normal political activity.

"We are not too keen on talking about the distribution of political power; we would talk about the transfer of political power from a minority to the majority. That is what it is all about."

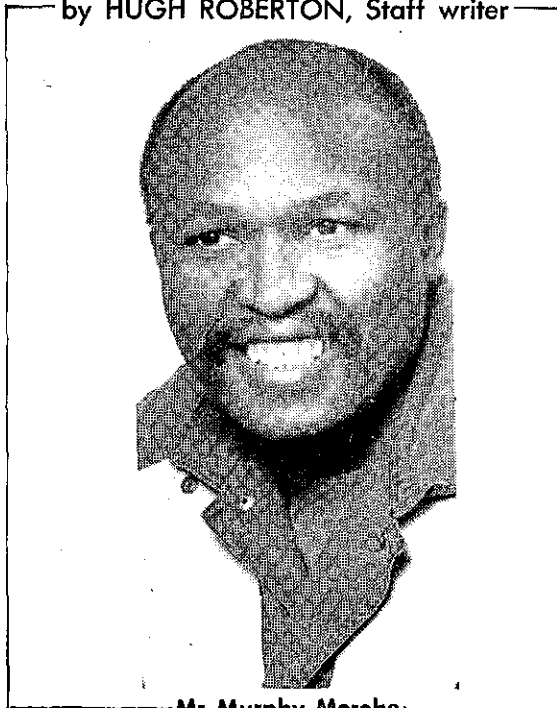
□ On detention without trial: "The numbers of our leaders being detained are increasing and there appears to be a concerted effort to do this, which is a phenomenon we fully expected and which has been seen in many other countries, including Zimbabwe when it was still Rhodesia, where people like Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo were removed from the scene for years at a stretch."

□ On education: "We have become extremely concerned by the intransigence of the Department of Education and Training in their treatment of the National Education Crisis Committee, which is one of the very few channels of communication which the DET has with the black community."

"With the other organisations involved, we stand by our commitment to have all students at school when the new academic year starts in black schools on January 10. What happens after that will depend upon the DET and the Government."

□ On the role of whites: "We are committed to genuine non-racialism. To us this is not just a dream about the future, but something we put into practice even under the present state of apartheid. It is important for whites to know that the future envisaged for South Africa by the UDF has got nothing to do with driving whites into the sea."

"White South Africans are just as much in need of liberation as are blacks. They need to realise that they should free themselves of many years of SABC propaganda and white sectarian education, which have been largely instrumental in the proliferation of the white supremacist ideology."



Mr Murphy Morobe

ARBUS 2/12/80 (11A)

Blacks want all-race govt

2/12/86
2/14
11A

And they brought on the clowns



JOHANNESBURG—Most urban blacks would not automatically accept Nelson Mandela as their leader if he were released from prison tomorrow, an Omnicheck poll has revealed.

And the vast majority opt for a non-racial government in preference to a one-man-one-vote, all-black government.

Of black men and women willing to answer political questions 'as if there were no intimidation from any quarter', 32% said they would accept Mandela as their leader if he were a free man tomorrow.

However, 34% said they would wait for him to prove his leadership qualities.

Only 5% said they would not support him because they already had a black leader and 18% said they 'didn't know'.

Younger people — 36% in the 18-24 age group — were more prepared to accept Mandela's leadership at once, while 39% in the 25-34 age group would do so.

In contrast, 28% of those aged 50 or more would accept his leadership. Most of this group said they already had a leader.

Among men respondents, 39% would accept Mandela's leadership immediately while 33% would 'wait and see'.

Among the women the responses were 26% and 35% respectively.

Overall, the women appeared less ready to accept Mandela.

When it came to the type of government sought by the black community, the vast majority opted for a non-racial government in preference to a one-man-one-vote, all-black government.

In response to options, 74% of the men and women said they would prefer a non-racial form of government in which whites, Indians, coloureds and blacks 'had a voice', compared with 14% opting for an all-black government based on

one man, one vote.

Four percent said neither option met their views and 8% opted for a 'don't know'.

Three out of four respondents of all age, income and language groups said they favoured a non-racial form of government.

The 'overwhelming' preference of urban blacks is for a negotiated, not a violent, end to apartheid, according to the poll.

Respondents were asked: 'If you had a free choice, would you prefer black political freedom to be gained by violence or negotiation?'

Negotiation

In all categories, the overwhelming preference was for negotiation, with 75% supporting that option compared with 13% supporting violence and the remainder rejecting both options (3%) or giving a 'don't know' answer.

Greatest support for violence came from the 18-24 age group (17%) while respondents aged 50 or older most favoured negotiation (86%).

But perceptions of when

blacks would win a significant political voice were pessimistic.

One in four men and women said they did not know when blacks would win a political voice. A similar percentage said 'not for a long time', 13%

forecast a voice within the next 10 years, 18% said 'within the next five years', and 10% gave a one-year forecast.

After those responses, men and women were asked to select options in answer to this statement: 'Mr P W Botha is asking black leaders to sit with him on a National Council to seek political solutions for all races.'

Thirty-six percent of all respondents said they would be happy to support any blacks willing to work with Mr Botha.

Nine percent would prefer black leaders not in detention to boycott the national council.

Sixteen percent said they would regard those participating in the council as sell-outs, while 16% could not accept any of those options and 22% said they 'didn't know'. — (Sapa)

183 drivers of 'heavies'

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

NEARLY 200 truck drivers were charged for vehicle overloading during a two-week pre-Christmas clampdown by Provincial traffic police on the N3 here, according to figures released by the NPA yesterday.

But in spite of the numer-

ous exercises conducted by the NPA traffic inspectors, an average one-third of the 'heavies' plying between the Reef and Durban are overloaded.

The latest blitz, which ended on Sunday, resulted in 183 drivers being charged for overloading. Altogether 64 trucks were



Township doctor and wife die in 'Lebanon' slaying

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Relatives, neighbours and friends are shocked by the murder of Dr Fabian Defu Ribeiro, a prominent Mamelodi doctor and his wife Barbara.

Dr Ribeiro was apparently killed instantly late yesterday and Mrs Ribeiro was certified dead on arrival at hospital. The couple were in their fifties.

Their eldest son, Chris, who ran to the scene to investigate, narrowly missed death.

Shocked and still overcome by grief today, Mr Ribeiro said he was at a neighbour's house at about 6.30pm when he heard gunfire.

RAN FOR COVER

"I ran out to investigate and saw two men running out of my parents' home. They shot at me and I had to run for cover," he said. The men jumped into a red car and drove off at high speed.

Mr Ribeiro found his mother and father lying in a pool of blood in the courtyard of their home.

Dr Nico Smith, chairman of the Pretoria Council of Churches, who lives two houses away from Dr Ribeiro's home, said he also heard gunshots and later saw a red car driving fast past his house.

Some neighbours believe the killings may be politically motivated.

Dr Smith said he was shocked by the murders: "Our country is fast becoming a Lebanon."

An attempt was made on the life of Dr Ribeiro and his wife in March when two petrol bombs were hurled at their double-storey house late at night. The couple escaped uninjured but their house was badly damaged.

TREATED RESIDENTS

Dr Ribeiro was not affiliated to any political organisation, although he sympathised with some. He treated many township residents during unrest.

He was detained in 1979 and later charged with recruiting youths for the African National Congress and aiding them to leave the country. He was acquitted.

Mrs Ribeiro is the sister-in-law of Mr Robert Sobukwe, the late Pan-Africanist Congress leader.

● A spokesman for the Bureau for Information today confirmed the death of the couple. He said investigations had shown that their assailants were black men. No arrests have been made.

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Heunis is Indaba's 'only hope'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The KwaNatal Indaba, whose proposals for a multi-racial government for Natal have been dismissed by Mr Stoffel Botha, is now pinning its hopes on Mr Chris Heunis to rescue its blueprint.

Speaking here yesterday at a news conference at which the plan was officially released, Indaba spokesmen said they hoped Mr Botha, the Natal NP leader and Minister of Home Affairs, was not expressing the government view.

Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence said: "Our only hope now is that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis, will receive our representations and that he will stand by his remarks made at the recent NP's federal congress in Durban that the government will put the Indaba's proposals to the people of Natal before giving its response.

"The Indaba has been a unique gathering of South Africans. This is the first time in our history that such a gathering sat for eight months to prepare a constitutional blueprint.

"I find it hard to be sure that Mr Botha had the time to study the proposals," Prof Clarence added.

KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture and co-convenor of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said this was probably South Africa's last chance for peaceful negotiations.

He said the NP's initial rejection of the proposals was "ill-advised and inappropriate".

2/12/86 ~~EUROPEAN~~ ~~DAY~~
Nuclear spy released from jail

SA'S first nuclear spy, Dr Renfrew Christie, 36 — jailed for an effective 10 years in 1980 for handing over nuclear plans to the ANC — was released from prison at the weekend.

Christie said last night he felt "very happy" about his release, but: "Those I

~~left behind in prison must be thought of."~~
And he warned that unless Nelson Mandela was released "the last chance

● To Page 2 →

2/12/86 ~~EUROPEAN~~ ~~DAY~~
Nuclear spy out of jail

of peace for SA will disappear".

Christie recently filed a Supreme Court application for his release from Pretoria's Central Prison on grounds that the offer by President P W Botha to free Mandela, if he renounced violence, also applied to him.

He said he was undecided whether to live in Johannesburg or Cape Town. He said: "I've also been offered a post by Oxford University as an energy researcher in Europe. But I have not decided whether to accept."

Asked if he had become more radical in his political views, Christie replied: "You don't spend two years under the gallows and not experience anger at the wasting of lives that is going on now."

"One's political views mature over seven years, but my basic conviction that there must be democracy in SA remains unchanged.

"The democratic ideals of the ANC are part of the solution to SA's problems and I'd like to see the ANC legalised. I do think Botha is wrong when he says the ANC lacks majority support. But that

cannot be tested while it is underground."

Christie successfully completed a Bachelor of Commerce and an Honours degree in Economics while in prison.

He was a researcher at Cape Town University's SA Labour and Development Research Unit at the time of his detention in 1979.

Christie pleaded not guilty to seven charges of illegally obtaining information on energy and coal mines in SA and passing it to London-based members of the ANC and the International University Exchange Fund.

He was convicted of five counts under the Terrorism Act and sentenced in all to 30 years' imprisonment.

At his trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court, Christie would not give evidence after the State closed its case. But two statements given to Security Police while in detention formed the basis of the case against him.

Christie claimed unsuccessfully those statements were made under duress.

← ● From Page 1

'People's Doctor' and wife are slain

JOHANNESBURG—Dr Fabian Ribiero, a black anti-apartheid activist known to thousands of impoverished South Africans as 'The People's Doctor', and his wife Barbara have been shot dead.

The couple, a previous target of political violence, were gunned down on Monday night outside their home in Pretoria's black township of Mamelodi.

The Government's Bureau for Information said they were killed by two unknown blacks, who fired about seven shots. They died on the way to hospital.

Dr Ribiero had a small surgery at his home and treated many victims of the political violence which has claimed more than 2 200 lives in black townships during the past two-and-a-half years.

His wife Barbara was the sister of black nationalist Robert Sobukwe, who led the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress until his death in 1978.

A friend of the Ribiero's said the couple, who were in their 50s, lived in fear of

an attack. Their house had been petrol-bombed twice and was virtually burned to the ground in an attack last March.

Dr Ribiero had prepared an emergency exit in case of further attacks. At his surgery, he treated Mamelodi residents who sometimes chose not to go to State hospitals to avoid being questioned by police, the friend said.

Heard shots

Dr Nico Smith, a white clergyman who lives two houses away, said he was leaving to attend a dinner party when he heard shots outside Dr Ribiero's home.

He told reporters he then saw a red car with a black driver and other occupants with hats covering their faces speed away.

Mr Smith recently received special permission from the authorities to move into the blacks-only township to be close to his church followers.

He said Mamelodi was stunned by the death of Dr Ribiero, whose family originally came from Mozam-

bique. Weeping mourners clustered outside the house yesterday.

'Its getting like Lebanon with open shootings on the streets which are blamed on black-on-black violence... white people don't understand its the unjust system, they don't know what's going on in the townships,' Mr Smith added.

The Bureau for Information reported a spate of killings and petrol bomb attacks in black townships.

In Soweto about 200 black youths attacked a private home with stones, abducted a man and burned him alive.

The burned body of another victim was found near Uitenhage and petrol bomb attacks on buses and homes caused serious damage in six other townships.

In Port Elizabeth, bus services into black townships halted after crowds petrol-bombed three buses.

'Before services resume, the public will have to indicate they are prepared to support the service without burning buses,' said Carl Coetzer, of Port Elizabeth Tramways. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Rightwingers are attacking us, says Azapo president

By Michael Tissong

Members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were under attack by "Rightwingers" who were against the growing influence of socialism in the townships, Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala said in an interview yesterday.

He said about 30 Azapo members have been killed, more than 100 injured, and 30 houses burnt out. About 60 houses had been attacked and damaged since January last year.

In Soweto last week a 14-year-old boy and a 64-year-old grandmother were killed by people searching for Azapo members.

He added that the anti-socialist trend came out into the open for the first time when Azapo members staged "anti-imperialist and pro-socialist" demonstrations against United States Senator Edward Kennedy in January 1985.

SEVEN YEARS ON ROBBERN ISLAND

"When some of our members were attacked in the months after the Kennedy visit, the attackers made it plain in their posters and slogans, which were published in newspapers at the time, that it was because we stopped Kennedy from speaking in Soweto. There have been many more attacks since then, and it has become a disturbing trend.

"Azapo is the only organisation which has put socialism on the agenda in the political struggle of this country, and some of our members and their families have paid with their lives for it. In this light, we see the attacks on Azapo members as essentially an attack on socialism."

Mr Molala, who served seven years in Robben Island prison for sabotage before being elected to the Azapo executive last year, said the attacks came from people belonging to organisations which were ideologically to the right of Azapo.

'ATTEMPTS TO HALT SOCIALISM'

"Their view of a future society does not accommodate the principles of socialism. It therefore does not address the fundamental contradictions capitalism has created in this country.

"The attacks are even more disturbing when one considers that socialism has been accepted and implemented by our neighbouring countries. People in these countries are up to this day defending their gains against reactionaries.

"Wherever an effort has been made to establish socialism, there has always emerged a tendency geared towards making the smooth development of socialism impossible.

"This is why there is Renamo in Mozambique, Unita in Angola and the Contras in Nicaragua. There is a deliberate effort by imperialist forces to halt the growth of socialism with violence. Kennedy and his allies in South Africa are making sure that Azapo finds it difficult to survive."

Couple made to face wall before being shot

Ribeiros — the last moments

By MONK NKOMO

POPULAR Mamelodi medico Dr Fabian Ribeiro (50), and his wife, Florence (50), who were both gunned to death on Monday night at their home, were apparently made to face the wall before being shot.

This conclusion has been drawn from the positions in which the two were found after their attackers had fled — narrowly missing Ribeiro's son Chris when they fired at him as they fled.

The popular doctor, known as "the people's doctor" in Mamelodi, was a brother-in-law of the late Robert Sobukwe, founder president of the now

banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Florence, Ribeiro's wife, is the youngest sister of Veronica, Sobukwe's wife.

Dr Ribeiro was popular for not charging victims of police actions who came to his surgery. His stand against apartheid was also uncompromising.

Dr Ribeiro and his wife, Florence, had just arrived home when they were ambushed near the kitchen door at about 7pm. The couple died in a hail of bullets fired from a .45 calibre pistol, according to the Bureau for Information in Pretoria.

Both were found lying in a pool of blood by their eldest son, Chris.

A number of people yesterday said the two killers, identified as whites, wore black clothing and balaclavas over their heads. Some witnesses said they gave chase after the murderers jumped into a getaway car after the incident.

The assassins then exchanged cars at the local Denneboom station and drove off. The same car was later seen near the dead couple's residence, it was claimed.

The spokesman for the Bureau for Information denied reports that the killers were whites.

"Two unknown men fired seven shots at Dr Ribeiro and his wife. They were both fatally wounded," he said.

The spokesman could not comment on the getaway cars. He added that no arrests have been made and investigations were continuing.

A staunch opponent of apartheid, Dr Ribeiro was loved by many in and outside the township for his unselfish contribution to the public especially during the riots when he treated the wounded free of charge.

He also featured in the banned film *A Witness To Apartheid* revealing incidents that occurred during unrest. Dr Ribeiro was also detained and later acquitted on charges of terrorism in 1977.

The couple's luxury double storey house was extensively damaged after being petrol-bombed early this year.

Dr Nico Smith, chairman of the Pretoria Council of Churches, said: "There is a low intensity civil war in the country."

Riddle of white car seen at scene of killings

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least one of the killers who gunned down prominent Mamelodi doctor Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence, spoke Afrikaans, witnesses say.

The killers may have been black but they later joined two armed whites, the witnesses said.

And there is a mystery over the presence in the area of a white vehicle.

At least three witnesses said they saw the white car outside the Ribeiro home before and after the murders.

A car with the number of the mystery car is registered in the name of a Pretoria security police officer.

The vehicle is listed as a Ford Cortina. Witnesses who took down the number of the car outside the Ribeiro home said it was a white Nissan.

The Bureau for Information says a police vehicle with the number seen by witnesses was near Dr Ribeiro's home after the shootings when it was used by an investigating officer. A spokesman said police declined to disclose the make or colour of the car.

Witnesses said the Nissan had cruised slowly past the Ribeiro home just before the killings and returned minutes after the murders.

PARTY

The killers of the popular community leader and his wife, both 53, were seen by a number of people.

One witness, Mr X, who refused to give his name, said he and about 50 other people were at a party opposite Dr Ribeiro's home about 6:50pm on Monday.

They saw the white Nissan with two whites in it drive slowly past Dr Ribeiro's home. It made a U-turn in the street and disappeared.

A short while later a maroon car pulled up outside the doctor's house and two men got out.

Mr X said one of the men was black but he was unsure about the other. They went into Dr Ribeiro's house.

He said: "I heard a sharp sound and we all looked at Dr Ribeiro's house."

He said he saw two men with guns run out of the house to the maroon car.

HAIL OF STONES

A Ribeiro family member in the street ran towards the men and tried to pull the driver out of the car.

The man in the passenger seat got out, shouted "Ag nee, wag" and allegedly fired two shots at the family member but missed. The two men drove off under a hail of stones from people in the street.

Mr X believes the car windows were reinforced because they did not break when bricks hit them. He said he jumped into a car with six others and gave chase.

Mr X said: "I saw the occupants (of the maroon car join) two white men in a four-wheel drive car. All four were armed. The two cars sped off towards Pretoria."

He said he and his friends returned minutes after the shooting and saw the white Nissan come to Dr Ribeiro's house and stop outside.

Two white men went into the house but came out a few minutes later.

Four other witnesses, who refused to give their names, confirmed the sequence of events.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information said initial investigations had shown the killers were black. The bureau said a 45-calibre firearm was used.

UDF's national treasurer 'restricted'

A restriction order was yesterday served on Mr Azhar Cachalia, the national treasurer of the United Democratic Front.

The order restricts Mr Cachalia from taking part in the following UDF campaigns and organisations: Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee; National Education Union of South Africa; Federation of Transvaal Women; End Conscription Campaign; Detainees Support Committee; Detainees Parents Support Committee and Black Sash.

Mr Cachalia is restricted from taking part in the following campaigns: the release of political prisoners or detainees; an end to the state of emergency; unbanning of the ANC; withdrawal of the SADF from the townships; resignation of members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates; compulsory military service; the Yellow Ribbon campaign and the Campaign for National United Action which the UDF has undertaken in collaboration with the SACC and Cosatu.

Mr Cachalia was banned for five years in 1981 in terms of the Internal Security Act.

He said this order came at a time when the UDF had just announced its major Christmas Against the Emergency campaign. — Sapa.

ANC accused
refused bail

A Johannesburg magistrate yesterday refused Rocklyn Mark Williams bail pending an appeal against a six-year jail sentence.

Williams (27), of Braamfontein, Johannesburg, was sentenced last week by Mr C C Butler to six years' imprisonment for furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Bureaucracy slows amnesty offer

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

The case of Dr Renfrew Christie — who was finally released this week after accepting the State President's offer of freedom in return for an unconditional renunciation of violence — has raised some problems which may apply to jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The offer, which was made by President Botha in Parliament last year, was specifically aimed at Mandela, but other political prisoners found they were also eligible.

Dr Christie expected to be released soon after he had accepted the amnesty offer. However, his release papers were not forthcoming and several subsequent Review Board hearings did not lead to his release.

Dr Christie took the matter to the Pretoria Supreme Court. The basis of his case was that he had accepted what was effectively a straight offer.

In papers before the court, he said that when he found out he was eligible to take up the President's offer, he wrote to Mr Botha "and unconditionally undertook that I would not make myself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furthering of political objectives".

Dr Christie said he subsequently signed a further document accepting the offer. This document contained a proviso that forswearing violence did not entitle him to immediate release but that this would nevertheless be taken into account by the Review Board.

On inquiring about this document, he was told that this was the only way that the authorities would handle the matter. However, Dr Christie said the State President had not mentioned the Review Board in Parliament.

Dr Christie said he believed that decisions of the prison authorities and inter-departmental committees had no bearing on the legal rights which were his as a result of his agreement with the State President.

In the end, the court did not rule on who was right in the matter, saying that Dr Christie's Review Board hearing had been brought forward and a decision by the board could make a court hearing "academic".

As it turned out, the board decided to release Dr Christie.

However, it has been pointed out by legal practitioners that in spite of his renunciation of violence, he still had to go through the usual channels — and it ultimately took more than 18 months and several Review Board hearings before he was set free.

Lawyers questioned whether the same constraints would apply should Mr Mandela ever decide to take up the President's offer.

Position has worsened in six years, says freed economist

Pretoria Bureau

The willingness of the authorities to make real moves towards solving South Africa's problems appears to have diminished over the past six years, according to economist Dr Renfrew Christie, who has just been released from jail.

He warned that, unless jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was released early and without conditions, "there is not the slightest hope of avoiding an enormous war in South Africa".

Dr Christie served six years of an effective ten-year sentence. He was jailed on June 6 1980 after being convicted on five counts under the Terrorism Act — reduced to four counts on appeal.

The court found that he had attempted to pass on nuclear secrets to the African National Congress.

This week, Dr Christie said what had struck him most on his release was "the degree of upheaval in the lives of ordinary people — their lives are much worse now than they were when I was arrested".

"The country's problems have reached a much higher pitch."

Dr Christie said he had not made up his mind what to do with his future.

"I have been offered a very tempting post studying energy under Professor Michael Kaser at Oxford University.

"But I haven't made up my mind whether to stay in South Africa or go abroad, or whether to remain in the academic world or do something more practical."

ANC member tells of training in Durban

MARTIZBURG — A member of the African National Congress, who trained in Mozambique, Angola and East Germany, allegedly gave two treason accused lessons in the use of military weapons, the Supreme Court in Maritzburg heard yesterday.

The ANC member, who gave evidence in camera and may not be identified, implicated five of the 12 accused in ANC activities.

The witness allegedly met Mr Sibusiso Ndlanzi in Angola and Mozambique before crossing the border into South Africa with him in 1985 on an ANC mission and then gave Mr Ordway Msomi and Mr Vusumuzi Mahlobo military training near Durban.

The witness said the ANC party that entered South Africa was transported from the Swaziland border to Durban by Mr Sibongiseni Dhlomo and someone that resembled Dr Vejaynand Ramlakan.

In Durban the witness set up a training area and Mr Msomi and Mr Mahlobo were allegedly taught how to aim rifles and dismantle and assemble them and how to set time bombs. — Sapa.

Mandela pelted by angry crowd

Own Correspondent

WINNIE MANDELA was attacked outside the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday afternoon.

A crowd, infuriated by her apparent support for Guguletu socialite Lindi Mangaliso, convicted of murdering her husband Victor, cornered her near the back entrance of the court.

Mandela was pelted with cans, litter and sand.

At first she stood her ground in proud silence, arms folded, as members of the crowd harangued her for attending the trial of her friend.

Mandela remained impassive as the occasional well-aimed missile struck her on the face and chest.

Then she walked slowly up the street with the crowd behind, jostling her and throwing handfuls of sand at her.

Mandela left in a white sedan which drew up as she reached the street corner.

Mob pelts Mrs Mandela



Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

Sand is flung at Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. She was about to leave the concourse at Huguenot Chambers, in Queen Victoria Street in the city, after attending the Mangaliso trial.

Staff Reporter

A CROWD shouted abuse and hurled softdrink cans, orange peels and sand at Mrs Winnie Mandela when she left the Supreme Court after attending the trial of her friend Lindi Mangaliso.

Mrs Mandela had left the court building through the Queen Victoria Street entrance and was waiting with two women in the Huguenot Chambers arcade for her car. About 200 people, who had been outside the court in Keerom Street, surged towards her.

According to a witness, Mrs Mandela remained composed as she heard insults from the crowd, made up mainly of women.

She stood her ground as litter struck her on the face and body.

"Tried to strike her"

Then she began walking along Queen Victoria Street with the crowd following. They picked up handfuls of builder's sand and hurled it at her.

The witness said a large white car pulled up as she reached the Green Street corner.

"The door was opened and as she got in, still very composed, a woman rushed up and tried to strike her. People pushed against the vehicle as it drove off."

Mrs Mandela declined to comment on the incident last night except to say she was all right and had not been hurt.



Sand is thrown at Mrs Mandela's head as she walks up the street.



A woman tries to punch Mrs Mandela.



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A woman shouts at Mrs Mandela who is inside the car. The car then sped off.

Mangaliso trial told of fleeing girlfriend

Staff Reporter

A GIRLFRIEND of murdered Guguletu businessman Mr Victor Mangaliso fled through the rear exit of his Guguletu home when his wife discovered she was there, a De Doorns teacher told the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

Mr Mangaliso's wife, Lindi Mangaliso, and hired killers Sipho Peter and Solomon Mbuzeli Sheleni, have been convicted of murdering Mr Mangaliso.

Giving evidence for extenuation yesterday, Mrs Nombeko Ngambu, a friend of Mangaliso since their school days, said she often spent weekends with the Mangaliso family.

In November 1984 she was on her way to her mother's home when she noticed Mr Victor Mangaliso, naked above the waist, and his wife outside their home in Malunga Park.

"Lindi told me Victor had a girl in

the house, I asked him if this was true. He said nothing."

While talking to the couple, she saw somebody running out of the house.

"Lindi said 'there is she'. I also saw her.

"I tried to talk to Victor. He tried to deny it. I told him I had seen the girl. He said he was sorry."

She said Mr Mangaliso had called his wife a bitch in her presence in 1980.

Mrs Christine Dwabu, also a teacher, who often looked after Mangaliso's children when she and her husband went out, told the court Mangaliso had knocked on her door late one night either in 1978 or 1979.

"She said Victor had beaten her. She was very distraught. She told me she feared to go back home and slept at my place."

The following day, she accompanied Mangaliso to her home. She told Mr Mangaliso that his wife was afraid of him.

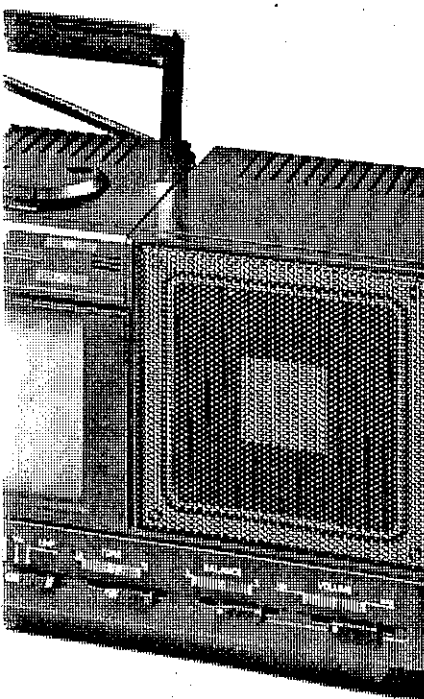
"He poo-pooed that and said 'why should she fear me'."

Mrs Lorna Bowens, a business partner of Mangaliso, told the court that Mangaliso missed a seminar in March 1983.

"I learnt later that she had been hospitalised. I saw her afterwards. She was wearing spectacles. She said she had had an argument with Victor and that he had assaulted her. Her eye was damaged."

(Proceeding)

Dr W E Cooper, SC, and Mr A H Veldhuizen, instructed by Blutzner and Associates, appeared for Mangaliso. Mr D Kavalskey appeared pro Deo for Sheleni and Mr R W Tainton, instructed by Keith Hamblin and Associates, appeared for Peter. Mr A de Vries appeared for the State.



SO WHAT'S THE BUZZ ON THE BEACH FRONT?

milly's
CAROUSEL

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UDF'S MURPHY MOROBE SPEAKS OUT

'Nats have reached a dead end'

THE National Party has reached a dead end in its search for workable political solutions and has decided to retreat into its laager and cling to power with increasing repression and harassment of its opponents.

This is the assessment of Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic

Front, who is visiting the Western Cape for meetings with UDF affiliates. He gave the UDF's views on a wide range of current issues in an interview yesterday.

"The NP retreat into the laager is exactly what we expected. As the struggle intensifies and the legitimacy of the government becomes more eroded in the eyes of the majority, it will behave like regimes in South America — and even in Africa — when they were faced by the same sort of crisis.

"They will become more and more desperate and will resort to greater repression and force. Their main concern will be to perpetuate their power."

"Reform" and "repression" in South Africa had become "two sides of the same coin". The Joint Management Centres, which Mr Morobe said were linked to the security apparatus and to "disinformation" strategies, were part of the pattern of repression and of the NP's attempts to perpetuate its power.

"The JMCs are tackling the wrong end of the problem. They are trying to win favour with the people by improving local conditions, repairing roads, and improving services when, in fact, the people's feelings have gone way beyond potholes and street lights. The main objective of the black community is to exercise political power," Mr Morobe said.

"The Government's new national economic strategy, which aims to divert funds from infrastructure development to social services, is part of the same pattern. Even the new elite black

On UDF differences with the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo): "We believe this should not happen and we have made strides in trying to resolve the problem. There are elements in some organisations that have laid themselves open to abuse. But I think the problem is far less serious than it has been made out to be and, of course, the Government and its agents seek to derail our organisations by accentuating internal contradictions and putting out disinformation."

suburbs and the fenced off townships have not been beyond the reach of the UDF because the main objective of blacks is for political power and any "improvements" in their living standards are quite rightly interpreted as being the results of their own efforts, as victories after a long struggle.

Mr Morobe had this to say on other current issues:

On the detention of

ON VIOLENCE: "We still consider our historical role as one of fighting non-violently and also legally. As long as we are able to pursue this course, we shall do so. But for how long the UDF can remain a non-violent organisation depends upon the Government. We cannot guarantee to be a peaceful organisation forever and unconditionally — it would depend on conditions, on the dictates of circumstances."

UDF leaders, the banning of UDF meetings and the declaring of the UDF as an "affected organisation": "All this harassment and repression has meant that we have had to devote a lot of our energy and time to developing new methods of operation. We are confident they are working, that effective contact is being made among the people and that we are getting our message out. I think, also, that as the Government tries to stifle us, so it becomes more isolated internally and internationally.

Worse

"We expect things to get worse as the Government becomes more desperate and we are preparing for a long siege. We do not rule out the possibility of the UDF being banned altogether."

On the Natal-Kwa-Zulu indaba: "Insofar as the indaba proposals have been rejected by the NP in Natal, I believe this has vindicated our position — which we warned of when the indaba began — that there is no way negotiations can succeed in existing circumstances.

"It is not as if the indaba produced any really radical changes. In fact the proposals show a willingness to accommodate separate ra-

cial structures. Yet even this has been rejected by the NP. I think all the indications from the indaba are that negotiations with the Government should not be foremost on the UDF's agenda. Rather, one purpose is to develop organisations at the mass level.

"We are aware that even the African National Congress is under pressure from imperialist countries to talk to

the NP. But to do so they would need a mandate from the people. Like them, we are bound in this regard."

On negotiations: "We have set various well-known preconditions — unbanning the ANC and other political movements; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act — in short, the creation of conditions of free speech, free association, of normal political activity. We would talk about the transfer of political power from a minority to the majority. That is what it is all about."

Violence

On violence: "We still consider our historical role as one of fighting non-violently and also legally. As long as we are able to pursue this course, we shall do so. But for how long the UDF can remain a non-violent organisation depends upon the Government. We cannot guarantee to be a peaceful organisation forever and unconditionally — it would depend on conditions, on the dictates of circumstances."

On detention without trial: "The numbers of our leaders being detained is increasing and there appears to be a concerted effort to do this, which is a phenomenon we fully expected and which has been seen in many other countries, including Zimbabwe when it was still Rhodesia.

"The same sort of thing is being done in Namibia, with the detention camps there, and this and the fencing in of townships is all part of the desperate siege mentality we are witnessing."

On the UDF differences with the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo): "We believe this should not happen and we have made strides in trying to resolve the problem. There are elements in some organisations that have laid themselves open to abuse.

But I think the prob-

lem is far less serious than it has been made out to be and, of course, the Government and its agents seek to derail our organisations by accentuating internal contradictions and putting out disinformation.

"Disinformation is part and parcel of the strategy of any regime under siege. The challenge to us is to come up with effective counter-strategies. Fortunately, we do not depend on pamphlets and posters to communicate with our people. We do so at the street committee level, person-to-person, which makes this disin-

formation strategy a huge waste of taxpayers' money."

On Education: "We have become extremely concerned by the intransigence of the Department of Education and Training in their treatment of the National Education Crisis Committee, which is one of the very few channels of communication which the DET has with the black community.

"With the other organisations involved, we stand by our commitment to have all students at school when the new academic year starts in black schools on

January 10. What happens after that will depend upon the DET and the Government."

On the role of whites: "We are committed to genuine non-racialism. To us this is not just a dream about the future, but something we put into practice even under the present state of apartheid. It is important for whites to know that the future envisaged for South Africa by the UDF has got nothing to do with driving whites into the sea.

"White South Africans seem to be transfixed by fear, but this is more imaginary than



real. Our acceptance of the role of whites in a democratic South Africa is not a ruse. Our own present experience with Jodac in Johannesburg, and area committees of the UDF in Claremont and Observatory demonstrate this.

"White South Africans are just as much in need of liberation as are blacks. They need to realise that they should free themselves of many years of SABC propaganda and white sectarian education, which have been largely instrumental in the proliferation of the white supremacist ideology."



BEAUTIES ... these are some of the lovelies who will be taking part in the World of Curles 1986 Miss Black South Africa at the Thunderdome Theatre in Johannesburg on Friday evening. They are (from left), Irene Motefe, Lettie Tsotetsi, Ponto Mmetseng, Phumzile Dlamini, Nomaxabiso Mazana, Lindi Jantjies, Bibiana Madala, Lindwe Mathonsi, Mahadi Mokoena and Brunnehlida Zinde.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

'Wipe-out' call is condemned

By Michael Tlssong

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) have condemned a pamphlet distributed in Soweto yesterday calling for Azapo to be "wiped out" on December 16.

Several copies of the pamphlet, produced with a UDF letterhead, were also dropped at homes of prominent Azapo members early this morning.

UDF says:

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said: "The pamphlet was not produced by the UDF. It is the work of agents of apartheid because it is in their interests to promote violence in the townships.

"The UDF has a different ideological outlook to Azapo but we do not consider Azapo the enemy.

"The UDF appeals to its activists and affiliates to be careful of agents provocateurs sowing discord in our communities. The UDF is to meet affiliates to defuse the conflict. We would have no problems in joining any anti-apartheid organisation, including Azapo, in condemning this pamphlet."

Azapo says

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said: "We would like to believe the UDF is not responsible for this pamphlet. But we cannot dismiss it as being the work of 'agents of the system' as in the past.

"We base this on the fact that Azapo members have been kidnapped and killed by UDF members.

"The UDF has ample evidence that its affiliate members were responsible for acts of violence against Azapo.

"Organisations inside and outside the country have condemned township violence, but the UDF has kept a deafening silence on the matter."

The Pamphlet:

The pamphlet, which was headed "Mayihlome" ("A Call to War"), said: "We are calling all units of our front to war. We have tolerated Azapo for too long. They want to upstage our popularity in the community.

"They are condemning the necklace when our people have no weapons to fight with. Forward with the necklace and our matches. They also reject the Freedom Charter. They promote socialism.

"We command all our fighting units and young lions to mark the 25th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe by destroying this reactionary third force.

"We must not rest until we have hunted down each and every member of Azapo from Sekhukhuneland through Port Elizabeth to Langa."

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American officials in touch with both PAC and ANC, says Shultz

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — American officials are in contact with the Pan Africanist Congress as well as with the African National Congress.
This was disclosed for the first time by Mr George Shultz, US Secretary of State, in a major policy speech on Southern Africa.

"We recognise no single group as the primary vehicle for black aspirations," Mr Shultz said.
"We make no secret of our concern about the ANC's commonist connections and links to Moscow — and both organisations' advocacy of violence."
The Secretary of State said existence of the contacts did

not signal American "approbation" of the ANC or the PAC. It signalled that communications channels were open.
"We are using them to advance the cause of equal rights, democracy and constitutional government in South Africa."
"We must stimulate the members of these movements to think seriously about what

they must do to produce a system of government acceptable to all South Africans."
He said it was equally important to assure South Africa's whites of their security as individuals and as a community. He agreed with the Vice President of Botswana, Mr Peter Mmusi, who had said Afrikaners had an important

role to play in the future of the entire region.
"Americans can agree with those words," he said. "We share with white South Africans a heritage of resistance to colonialism, a frontier tradition and an appreciation of entrepreneurial enterprise in an expanding modern economy."
"Americans admire the economic

accomplishments of white South Africans and their commitment to Western political traditions."
He concluded: "Our objective is to encourage the extension of full benefits of citizenship — which white South Africans so rightly cherish — to all their countrymen."

US support promised to whites in search for dialogue

Shultz calls for universal franchise in SA

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz has called for universal franchise in South Africa.
In his first detailed attempt to define what should replace apartheid, Mr Shultz promised firm American support for South Africa's whites if they started a dialogue with other groups to find a system that would include constitutionally guaranteed rights for all.
Making his first major policy statement on South Africa since Congress imposed economic sanctions, he said Americans could not offer detailed blueprints for South Africa's future.

Democratic elections

"But we can and should state with precision what we are for as well as what we are against," he said.

"We are for a South Africa whose people enjoy political, economic and social rights. We are for a South Africa whose leaders are chosen in democratic elections with multi-party participation and universal franchise."

Asked what he had meant by "universal franchise", one of Mr Shultz's top assistants said it meant that in a constituency there was one man, one vote.

"I would take issue with the implication that the Westminster model is the only model of democracy," the official added.

He noted that the formula for a universal franchise was consistent with proportional representation, and pointed to the US Senate and the Swiss cantons as examples.

Mr Shultz's speech is seen here as an attempt to answer calls by South African leaders, including Leader of the Opposi-



Mr George Shultz ... "Southern Africa has the potential for a hopeful future."

tion Mr Colin Eglin, who was recently in Washington, that the US spell out what it was for as well as against in South Africa.

Taking as his theme "Southern Africa: American Hopes For The Future", Mr Shultz said the region had potential for a hopeful future.

But if it slid into conflict ... "all the peoples of this vast region, some 150 million, will see their hopes for a better future destroyed. And major US inter-

ests, political, economic and strategic, will be jeopardised".

Mr Shultz said the US would never support the replacement of apartheid by repression in some other form. The future had to include reliable guarantees for the rights of majorities, minorities and individuals.

"If whites begin a meaningful dialogue on this basis with all their fellow South Africans, they will have firm — I repeat firm — American support," he said.

Free economy

The US supported opening the free, market-oriented South African economy to all so that black South Africans could rapidly redress past economic injustice by raising their own living standards while contributing to the prosperity of all.

Mr Shultz warned that the cycle of repression and resistance in South Africa would resolve nothing. The state of

Speech contains nothing new — Pik

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and his government would soon have to decide where they stood in their struggle against communism and terrorism, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said this morning.

Mr Botha was reacting to a speech made by Mr Shultz yesterday in Washington where it was urged that South Africans begin talks on a "multi-racial democracy", and where he warned that time was running out for peaceful change.

Mr Shultz made a major policy speech to members of an educational institute at the State Department, and said the US still stood for a one-man-one-vote system in South Africa.

He said the "cycle of repression and resistance had to be broken", warning of catastrophe if this were not done.

Mr Botha said Mr Shultz's speech "actually contains nothing new."

"He dishes out blows to the South African Government but ... does not do this in an impartial

way. He is quick and categorical in his denunciation of the South African Government, but quite apologetic in his denunciation of the PAC and ANC," said Mr Botha.

Mr Botha said Mr Shultz was "upset" by what he saw as South Africa's threat against Botswana, "but does not mention the fact that Botswana allows its territory to be used to plan and carry out acts of terrorism against South Africa."

"Concerning the political and social and economic conditions of the rest of Southern Africa he has nothing to say."

"Apparently the United States Government has given up hope as far as the rest of Africa is concerned."

"Mr Shultz tries to sit on all the chairs of Southern Africa simultaneously. This is simply not possible. He and his US Government will sooner or later have to decide exactly where they stand in their struggle against communism and terrorism," Mr Botha said. — Sapa.

emergency could not address the root causes of unrest, and only undermined the prospects of non-violent change.

"Violence only stiffens white resistance and undermines those advocating peaceful reform and negotiation," he said.

Mr Shultz warned that South African unemployment was growing, many of the country's most talented people were leaving, and a siege economy was emerging.

"These developments are eroding the basis for future South African governments — no matter how constituted — to meet the country's pressing social and economic needs," he said.

The decision by many American and other foreign firms to leave would only compound the potential for tragedy, he added. The Reagan Administration was strongly convinced that US business and investment could play a constructive role in South Africa and the region.

New wave of detentions as Vlok takes over

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE United Democratic Front is expecting a renewed crackdown on radical opposition in preparation for a white general election early next year, following the detention and restriction of scores of activists this week.

The latest swoop — directed also at the UDF's national campaign for a "Christmas Against the Emergency" which has been endorsed by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Council of Churches — marked the first week in office of new Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok.

And, as the Emergency passed its half-yearly mark, at least one person who was released after being detained in the first months of the decree has been re-detained.

"Information reaching the UDF indicates that within the next week or so the country will, despite the existing State of Emergency, be in the throes of a major concerted clamp on

● To PAGE 2

all extra-parliamentary opposition forces in the country," the Front's acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said.

The organisation most severely hit by this week's clampdown was the End Conscription Campaign (ECC). In simultaneous swoops in Johannesburg and Cape Town, 13 prominent members were detained. A further 12 were issued with orders prohibiting them from calling for an end to conscription, the release of detainees, or for the withdrawal of troops from the townships. They are also prohibited from participating in the UDF's campaigns for National United Action and a "Christmas against the Emergency".

Police also reportedly tried unsuccessfully to find three women who hold prominent positions in the Black Sash and Detainees Parents Support Committee in order to serve restrictions on them.

Already an estimated 24 000 people have been detained since the Emergency was imposed in June.

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said he believed hundreds of activists had been served with "gagging" orders, many after their release from detention, in an "attempt by the state to broaden the criminalising of virtually all anti-apartheid activities".

Among those detained this week was Mike Evans, a former ECC chairperson, who was imprisoned for the first six weeks of the Emergency.

He was among nine campaign members who were arrested at their Cape Town homes on the eve of the ECC's "War Is No Solution" campaign. The others were Paula Hathorn, ECC's Cape Town chairperson, Alistair Teeling-Smith, Andrew Orpen, Chippy Oliver, Josie Grindrod, Mathew Blatchford, Felicity Wood and Michael Rautenbach.

Those detained in Johannesburg this week were Clare Verbeek, ECC's Johannesburg chairperson; Steven Lowry, national treasurer; Annetta Rademeyer; and Sue Jobson.

ECC national secretary David Shandler said more than 60 members

New wave of detentions as Vlok moves in

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of the campaign had been detained since the Emergency began but none had been charged with any offence. "The state action against our members seriously violates the positive role they are playing in lawfully trying to end the conflict in South Africa and work for solutions," he commented.

Morobe said: "The government must be warned again that such actions as it has already taken and is still contemplating will only serve to harden attitudes even further.

"If even such peaceful campaigns for National United Action and the Christmas against the Emergency are to be criminalised and individuals barred from taking part, then we have on our hands a sure recipe for increased violence. They (the government) cannot then find fault with our people for concluding that to talk of peaceful change is a waste of time."

Others restricted this week were: Azar Cachalia, UDF national treasurer; Dawn Ingle of the Black Sash; Etheen Lowry, ECC; Jill Pointer, Detainees Support Committee; Ashwin Shah, Transvaal Indian Congress; Jessica Sherman, National Education Union of South Africa, and Vesta Smith, who works at the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg.

Three members of the Anti-President's Council Committee — Professor Ismail Mahomed, Venita Meyer and Bill Jardine — were served with restriction orders barring them from participating in the committee or the UDF. A committee



Adriaan Vlok

representative said the orders were aimed at preventing opposition to the forthcoming by-election in the Johannesburg coloured suburb, Bosmont.

● MOIRA LEVY reports that an ECC rally held at the Cape Town City Hall on Wednesday night, less than 24 hours after a security swoop had netted nine key members, drew a crowd of over 1 000 people.

The rally went ahead as planned after frantic last-minute efforts to find speakers to replace those who had been detained in the raid shortly after dawn that morning. The regional deputy chairman of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Sir Richard Luyt, and the president of the Black Sash, Mary Burton, joined the platform at the last minute.

Marshals frisked every person who entered the hall and handbags were searched.

A handful of police kept watch on

the building from the adjacent Grand Parade parking lot.

Ebrahim Rasool, United Democratic Front secretary, paid tribute to the ECC for demonstrating that "not all whites are blinded by racism and power". He said by organising whites, the ECC had shown "the struggle is not one between black and white, but a struggle for justice and peace".

He warned that although the UDF was committed to peaceful protest, "the space for legal, nonviolent work is constantly being narrowed.

"Among the youth in the townships you can see the faces of young Mandelas, young Sisulus, young Tambos. Our people are getting tired and impatient with legal extra-parliamentary politics."

Rasool called for the unbanning of all organisations, including the ANC, and the release of Nelson Mandela.

His call was echoed by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who said the government had moved from apartheid domination to co-optive domination. He warned that the National Security Management System was part of a total strategy planned "meticulously" since 1977.

Luyt, who chaired the meeting, called on all present to back the ECC's "War Is No Solution" campaign, and to participate in the "peace walk" from Rondebosch to Guguletu this weekend "to link our communities". The campaign culminates in an interdenominational candle lighting ceremony this week.

Buses hired to take township residents home after the meeting pulled up close to the entrance and there were no incidents as the crowd, some chanting and singing, left the hall.

Fake posters, almost identical to those produced by the ECC, but without the council's stamp and with sticky-backs, which are against council regulations, were found near the hall. The ECC had been warned future permission to put up posters could be refused if regulations were not strictly adhered to, an ECC member told Weekly Mail.

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DELMAS TREASON TRIAL

Case to answer

Most of the accused in SA's mammoth treason trial in the tranquil farming town of Delmas still have a case to answer on charges of treason and murder. That was the central finding by Mr Justice Klem van Dijkhorst in the last trial hearing before the Christmas recess late last week.

Judge Van Dijkhorst had earlier listened to argument for and against the withdrawal of charges against the 22 trialists. Counsel for the defence argued that the State had

failed to prove that the United Democratic Front (UDF) had been involved in a conspiracy with the banned African National Congress and SA Communist Party aimed at initiating a violent revolution.

Scores of people — family and friends of the accused, diplomats and journalists — converged on the court building. Many found their way blocked by riot police who cordoned off access to the courtroom once they judged that it was filled to capacity.

Judge Van Dijkhorst acquitted three of the 22 accused. However, he ruled that a reasonable man would support the view that the remaining 19 might have been involved in a conspiracy, and that they had a case to answer on charges of high treason.

On the murder charge (arising from the killing in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 of four town councillors and one of their assistants) he found that anyone who propagated violence, or who did nothing to

oppose it, similarly had a case to answer. The 22 were not charged with killing the councillors, but the judge found that the accused must have known, or should have known, that threats against the councillors could have incited the mob to attack them.

The judge had earlier found that the State had failed to sustain its charge that the UDF had incited or tried to incite "the masses" in eight of 31 districts. Conversely, of course, defence counsel would have to reply to charges relating to violence in 23 districts.

The acquittal of three accused — Lazarus More (26) a literacy worker; Amos Amalindi (21) a time-keeper at a power-station; and Simon Vilikazi (25) a dispatch clerk — was greeted with cries of joy from well-wishers.

There was more joy later when bail was granted to six of the accused. It was the fourth bid in nearly 18 months by defence counsel to persuade the courts to grant bail.

Bail conditions included payment of R15 000 each, a prohibition on entering any of the five Vaal Triangle townships, and a commitment to report twice daily to the police.

Before returning to their homes, the trio of acquitted men released a statement expressing concern over the 19 still on trial.

A feature of the Delmas trial, the second largest treason trial in South African legal history, has been the relaxed atmosphere in the court room once the judge leaves for his chambers. Instead of being led away immediately to the cells for the long wait until late January when the trial resumes, the 13 (who were neither acquitted nor granted bail) were, as usual, given an opportunity to talk to well-wishers. "Please enjoy your Christmas," one of the 13, UDF national publicity secretary "Terror" Lekota, said. It will be his second Christmas as an awaiting-trial prisoner in the Delmas trial.

Mandela blames 'the system' and reporters

WINNIE MANDELA has blamed "the system" for orchestrating and stage-managing an attack on her by a mob outside the Cape Town Supreme Court on Wednesday.



● MANDELA

Mandela said this at a Press conference held at her Orlando West, Soweto, home yesterday.

"The attack was the work of "the system", aimed at discrediting our leadership and to give an impression to the country and the world of how divided and unorganised we are."

Mandela also blamed two journalists — one an "Indian photographer" who she said worked for the *Cape Times* and the other a magazine journalist — for inciting the crowd.

She slated the SABC for exaggerating the incident.

The attack by a crowd who pelted her with soft-drink cans, litter and sand took place when she was leaving the court after attending the hearing for Guguletu socialite Lindi Mangaliso, convicted of murdering her husband Victor.

At first, Mandela stood her ground in silence as the crowd harangued her for being in court. She remained impassive and objects were thrown at her. She walked away slowly and escaped in a car which drew up.

Release Mandela Campaign chairman Aubrey Mokoena said activists were outraged by the attack.

□ Attempts by the *Cape Times* to contact Mandela for clarification of her remarks failed yesterday.

Editor Tony Heard said last night: "Mrs Mandela must have her newspapers mixed up — the *Cape Times* did not have a photographer present at the incident."

UDF denies blame for Azapo threats

JOHANNESBURG —The United Democratic Front yesterday denied authorship of a pamphlet, allegedly on a UDF letterhead, calling on UDF supporters to hunt down Azapo members.

The Azanian People's Organisation challenged the United Democratic Front to deny it issued the pamphlet.

The national treasurer of the UDF, Mr Ahzar Cachalia, said Azapo had made it quite clear that it denied responsibility for the pamphlets.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, criticised the "omission of the UDF to state categorically that this is not their work and to also come out explicitly and condemn the prevailing inter-racial political violence."

The UDF repeatedly made statements condemning violence, Mr Cachalia countered.

"It does the organisations and the liberation struggle no good and it is not the policy of the UDF to get involved in public slanging matches with Azapo and we are certainly not going to answer the allegations in the pamphlet."

Mr Cachalia said: "We have no doubt that this is the work of agents of apartheid and it is not coincidental that it has come at a time when there is a move against the UDF executive." —Sapa

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Azapo-UDF strife flares over 'dirty tricks' pamphlet

By SEFAKO NYAKA

TENSION between rival black political organisations has been heightened by a disputed pamphlet distributed yesterday calling on the United Democratic Front's (UDF) "fighting units and young Lions" to eliminate members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The pamphlet, on a UDF letterhead, says the destruction of "this reactionary Third Force" should mark the 25th anniversary of Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the banned African National Congress, on December 16. This day also marks the beginning of the UDF's "Christmas against the Emergency" campaign.

Azapo yesterday called a press conference to say they could not simply blame "the system" for these pamphlets as they had done in the past.

A UDF representative then condemned the pamphlets as false, blaming "the state's dirty tricks disinformation bureau".

And the African National Congress issued a statement in Lusaka distancing themselves from leaflets and graffiti purporting to come from them also calling for attacks on Azapo members.

The leaflet was dropped in the yards of all leading Azapo members, according to Muntu Myeza, the Azapo publicity secretary.

It accused Azapo of wanting "to upstage our popularity in the community and oppose all our campaigns."

"They insist we must consult with the community when they know it is not always possible," it said. The pamphlet also accused Azapo of being against the Freedom Charter and the National Education Crisis Committee.

At a press conference at Azapo's head offices in Johannesburg yesterday, Myeza said although Azapo would have been inclined to think that the pamphlet is the work of "agents of the system", the UDF's "deafening silence" on the acts of aggression against Azapo members made it difficult to reach such a conclusion.

"There was a time in the past when pamphlets of this nature were distributed ... purporting to be from either of the organisations and each speaking ill of the other.

"At this present time we find that we cannot — because we are placed in a difficult position — dismiss this pamphlet as the work of the agents of the system as we would in the past," Myeza said.

He said Azapo based its conclusions on the fact that about 30 Azapo members have been killed, more than 100 injured, and 30 houses burnt out.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, yesterday "unequivocally condemned those responsible for the distribution of false leaflets".

He said the pamphlets were a transparent attempt "by the state's dirty tricks disinformation bureau to create confusion around our Christmas Against the Emergency campaign".

He said UDF activists were aware that the leaflets were a wicked attempt to set them up and called on people to ignore the leaflets. "We know who our enemy is. Certainly fighting Azapo can never bring us anywhere nearer freedom than we are now," Morobe said.

Myeza said although the NECC is sectional by nature and that it is true that children of some NECC committee members are at white schools or overseas, that was no reason for Azapo to reject them.

The ANC statements said that during Tuesday and Wednesday nights, "leaflets and political graffiti, purporting to be the work of the national liberation movement, have appeared in the townships and on the walls of our cities."

"The central message in all these is that the ANC is calling upon its militants and supporters to launch physical attacks and armed assaults on members of Azapo in order to 'destroy this reactionary third force'."

"The ANC states categorically that we have never issued such instructions and condemns these criminal provocations perpetrated by the racist secret services."

"The object of this campaign of dirty tricks is all too obvious. The enemy seeks to incite armed physical confrontations among the regime's opponents as a means of creating a convenient cover for the murderous activities of its own hirelings."

Asked to comment on the matter at a press conference yesterday, Winnie Mandela said: "I doubt very much the UDF would have published this (pamphlet). Even the very heading "Mayihlome, Mayihlome, Mayihlome", is the language of the military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

"This isn't the language of the United Democratic Front whatsoever. I haven't read the contents. This is obviously from Pretoria. This is not a new tactic. I have myself had the experience of finding stacks and stacks of these mischievous documents," she said.

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Churches and sports bodies join UDF call

By SEFAKO NYAKA

A CROSS-SECTION of churches, sports organisations and over 20 organisations in the white community have responded positively to the call for a 10-day Christmas Against the Emergency campaign, according to Murphy Morobe, the United Democratic Front's acting publicity secretary.

The National Soccer League (NSL) and the SA Council on Sport (Sacos) have endorsed the call.

The NSL's PRO, Abdul Bhamjee, said his organisation has sent letters to clubs asking them not to engage in friendly games over this period. The NSL will wind up its fixtures next Sunday and most of its teams then engage in off-season friendlies.

The National Taverners' Association has requested shebeens to close at 8pm during the 10-day period, beginning on December 16.

Morobe said the campaign has also been endorsed by the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the newly-formed South African Musicians' Alliance.

"The three weeks since the announcement of the Christmas campaign have been spent making sure that people are informed as to exactly what the campaign entails," Morobe said.

"In addition to approaching other organisations, and discussing the campaign in the organs of mass democracy in the townships, we have produced an extensive range of media."

He said this was to make sure that whatever "state disinformation is spread — and experience tells us to expect this — the people will be prepared and equipped with an understanding of the campaign."

He said the campaign is being widely discussed in communities, by street committees and by some of the UDF's affiliates.

Pelted Winnie blames 'system'

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WINNIE MANDELA yesterday vehemently denounced Wednesday's "ignominious" attack on her outside the Cape Town Supreme Court as the work of "hooligan elements obviously orchestrated by the system".

Mandela says the incident was part of the state's propaganda campaign against the "authentic leaders" of South Africa's majority.

She accuses the SABC of wildly exaggerating the number of people involved in the attack. "I heard them say there was a mob of about 500. There were no more than 30," she said at a press conference at her Soweto home yesterday.

"The people who participated in that incident were the same hooligan element we find among our own communities here, the people who are vigilantes, who take advantage of democratic, peaceful demonstrations and make it appear we have black-on-black violence. That is the element used by the state.

"I feel I want to explain that to the country," she said. "These are the

government's usual measures — we are not surprised."

Mandela said her attendance at the trial of Lindi Mangaliso of Guguletu, recently convicted of the murder of her husband Victor, should not be seen as unusual. "The accused is the daughter of Mr Qunta, who is a veteran of the African National Congress in the Cape," she said. "Her mother is still an activist. We do not disown our family."

Newspaper reports suggested that the crowd was angry that a political figure like Mandela was supporting a woman accused of murdering her husband. "You are a public figure and now you associate with a murderess," bystanders allegedly shouted.

As she left court with members of Mangaliso's family, Mandela was pelted with eggs, sand, and coldrink cans.

Mandela alleges that as a result of the attack, several witnesses who were to have appeared in mitigation of the

accused have withdrawn, fearing similar treatment.

"This was perhaps the reason for the state deciding to orchestrate the whole thing," she said.

She alleged that she saw two journalists "with her own eyes" directing crowds and "actually positioning them in such a way that they could take photographs of the incident".

The head of the Release Mandela Committee, Aubrey Mokoena, said "the attack is obviously highly outrageous. We have had telephone calls from activists in Cape Town saying this can only be the system; people who are so outraged that they are on the point of getting into buses and rushing to Cape Town and going for these miserable creatures who engineered this scandalous attack on the Mother of the Nation."

The state had failed with propaganda attempts like the "Bureau song", according to Mokoena, and was trying to present the world with a picture of South African blacks "at each other's throats".

REPORTS IN THIS EDITION HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

THE AFRICANIST LEGACY

AFRICANISM — the political tradition represented by Anton Lembede, first president of the ANC Youth Congress; Robert Sobukwe, first president of the Pan Africanist Congress; and Zephania Mothopeng, current PAC president — has reformed a bridgehead for itself in the political life of South Africa.

The South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union recently adopted Africanism as a "guiding factor" in its quest for a "liberated" South Africa. Espousal of Africanism by Sabmawu may mark the start of the resurgence of Africanism as a major force.

Africanism is already the credo of a political movement, the Azanian National Youth Unity, or Azanyu. It now has a foothold in the labour camp as well. Whether these developments are the first pebbles in the landslide to come is as yet uncertain. But of their potential importance there can be little doubt.

Africanism fought for dominance in the African National Congress against the "multi-racialism" which led to the formation of the Congress Alliance and the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955. When the Africanists failed to capture the ANC, they broke away under Sobukwe to form the PAC in 1959.

The PAC was the driving force behind the anti-pass campaign of 1960, which culminated in the Sharpeville shootings of March

21 that year. Most PAC leaders were either jailed or fled into exile. Unlike the ANC, the PAC was split by repeated internal quarrels in exile. It seemed to be a spent force.

But now there are signs of a revival, not of the PAC *per se*, but of the underlying tradition of Africanism.

The motor force of Africanism is African nationalism. It sees "the struggle" as primarily one for re-possession of land by the indigenous people. It asserts that the interests of the original dispossessed African people are primary.

Its aim is not the protection of racial minorities — whether white, Indian or "coloured" — but their assimilation into the emerging African nation.

Sobukwe, the founding president of the PAC and eloquent articulator of the Africanist tradition, said of the importance of African nationalism: "Africans are the only people who, because of their material position can be interested in the complete overhaul of the present structure of society."

Of minority rights, he said: "Everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority (is) regarded as an African. We guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals, not groups."

Attack was stage-managed

— Winnie

Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, yesterday said an attack on her in Cape Town this week was orchestrated by "the system".

Mrs. Mandela called a Press conference at her Soweto home to explain an incident outside the Cape Town Supreme Court on Wednesday when a crowd shouted abuse and hurled rubbish at her after she had attended the trial of a family friend, Lindi Mangaliso.

Mrs. Mandela said the incident had been stage-managed by "the system" as part of a campaign to discredit black leaders.

Mrs. Mandela said Mangaliso was the daughter of the late Mr Vincent Qunta, an ANC veteran. "Our going to be with her and pledging solidarity at a very difficult time of her life was nothing strange. We have a duty not to neglect members of the family when they are charged with capital crimes," said Mrs. Mandela.

"Those who attacked us were the same hooligan element we find here — those who make it appear as if we have black-on-black violence."

She had heard that Mangaliso's defence had told the court that witnesses who were to testify in mitigation for Mangaliso had decided not to appear because they feared they too would be attacked.

● See Page 6.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

DID you know that Heroes' Day — March 21 — marks the Sharpeville shootings of 1960 and the day when 19 people were shot dead by police in Uitenhage, 1985?

This historic coincidence and other major events in South Africa since 1919 are recorded in *The Diary of Liberation 1987*, published by Skotaville Publishers.

The diary, launched yesterday (Thursday) in Johannesburg, chronicles the long "struggle for liberation" in South Africa and reflects on a country plagued by ideological differences and racial division.

EXPLOITED

In its foreword the publishers write: "This is the first attempt to record in diary form a calendar of the historic events of the oppressed and exploited majority in the struggle for liberation.

"This a first step, but the road to liberation started many years ago."

In the diary are quotations by political leaders — past and present — beyond the ideological barrier.

African National Congress were banned in March 8, 1960.

Did you also know that the first state of emergency was declared

on March 30, 1960, when 2 000 people were detained in one swoop?

One of the most reflective quotations in the diary is of noted writer,

the late Mveli Dan Skota (after whom Skotaville Publishers was named);

"The position in which the black man

finds himself in his own country today from Cape to Cairo makes it imperative for him to take immediate action if he is to avoid perpetual

slavery of the very worse type."

• Another book, *Hammering Swords into Ploughshares — Essays In Honour of Archbi-*

shop Mpilo Desmond Tutu — edited By Buti Tlhagale and Itumeleng Mosala, was launched by Skotaville Publishers yesterday.

Names such as Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, Dr A B Xuma, Nelson Mandela, Onkgopotse Abram Tiro, Andries Raditsela, Walter Sisulu and many others feature in the diary.

ELECTION

The day when the National Party came into power by winning the general election of the white population — Tuesday May 26, 1948 is recorded and so is the day when the Pan African Congress and the

PAMPHLETS purportedly printed and disseminated by the United Democratic Front against the Azanian People's Organisation were distributed in Soweto yesterday.

This caused widespread anger in the ranks of the two organisations and in the black community.

The pamphlet, which bears the UDF logo, calls all UDF units to "war" against Azapo to mark December 16 which is the 25th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

The pamphlet said in part: "We must not rest until we have hunted

Anger over fake pamphlets

By NAT DISEKO
and JOSHUA RABOROKO

down each and every member of Azapo from Sekhukhune land through Port Elizabeth to Langa."

The pamphlet also endorses the "necklace" method of killing.

Yesterday, Mr Murphy Morobe who is responsible for media and publicity, said the pamphlet was an obvious fabrication.

"In the first place, we never distribute pamphlets on a UDF letter-

head. Secondly, we have never used the Transvaal Regional office letterheads since the state of emergency was declared."

Mr Morobe said the UDF knew who its enemy was.

"Certainly, fighting Azapo can never bring us anywhere nearer freedom than where we are now. We call on our people to ignore these leaflets," he said.

Yesterday, Azapo called a Press conference where its publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, condemned the pamphlet and said it was obvious that it was the work of people who were trying to sow the seeds of violence.

He said Azapo did not believe that the UDF had printed the pamphlet. He said it would be in the interests of the liberation struggle

if the UDF and Azapo met to discuss the violence that has taken place in the past.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the UDF, said the pamphlet had not been printed by her organisation.

She said: "Firstly, the language employed in

the pamphlet is just not that of the UDF.

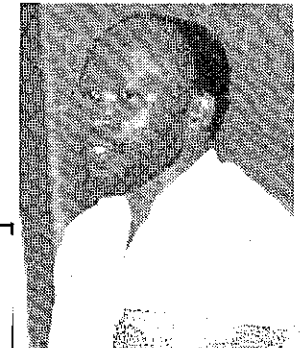
"This is just a dirty trick to put people at loggerheads. No sensible person could have written such a pamphlet. We have been fighting to quell the violence in the townships because we want unity. I con-

demn this pamphlet," Mrs Sisulu said.

A spokesperson for the office of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the pamphlet was aimed at causing division between the UDF and Azapo and would lead to one side fighting the other.



Mr MUNTU Myeza . . .
Azapo.



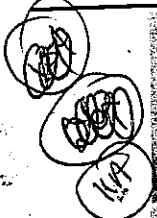
Mr MURPHY Morobe . . .
UDF.

The union that goes it alone

WEEKLY MAIL 5-11/2/86

A MAVERICK UNION ORGANISES TOWNSHIP POLICE ...

... AND ADVOCATES AFRICANISM, NOT NON-RACISM



Dlamini among his members: 'The police are rural people. They are told the township people are thugs. They come with fear ...'

Picture: SANTU MOFOKENG, Afrapix



"A TRADE union cannot operate strongly without an ideology," remarked Philip Dlamini, general secretary of the SA Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union (Sabmawu).

His own union — which has been in the forefront of the struggle to unionise the controversial black council police — recently became the first major South African union to adopt Africanism as its guiding ideology.

Speaking slowly, the bearded Dlamini explained the events leading to Sabmawu's decision to pin the Africanist flag to its masthead at its annual congress.

"We appointed a commission to look at multi-racialism, non-racialism, black consciousness and Africanism," Dlamini said.

"We do not accept multi-racialism because that is racialism multiplied."

"When it comes to non-racialism, the union agrees with it. But it is difficult to practice non-racialism in an abnormal society."

"Black consciousness had its role to conscientise the people. It cannot spill over the borders of South Africa. Its time is up."

"After liberation black consciousness will fizzle out. If you practice black consciousness in a liberated society, it will be apartheid in reverse."

Tuning to Africanism, the political creed adopted by Sabmawu through a process of elimination, Dlamini said: "Africanism demands loyalty to the African continent as a whole. Our struggle is continental. I wish to go further: it is universal."

Sabmawu's identification with Africanism inevitably raises the question of its relationship with Azanian National Youth Unity or Azanyu, and the Pan-Africanist Congress or PAC.

Azanyu defines itself as Africanist. The outlawed PAC is the most important Africanist movement. The PAC is one of two organisations recognised by the Organisation for

Former bus driver Philip Dlamini heads a union which recruits members among the council police, considered 'collaborators' by other unionists. And Dlamini's union advocates Africanism rather than the more orthodox non-racism or black consciousness.

Interview by PATRICK LAURENCE

African Unity as a South African "liberation movement". The second, of course, is the ANC.

"We respect Azanyu but we are not part of it," Dlamini said.

Of the PAC, he said: "I don't know their entire philosophy, as it is not exposed in our country." He conceded, however: "There may be some individuals in the union who have those sympathies."

Dlamini, a largely self-educated man who left school in Soweto after completing standard seven to join the Johannesburg City Council, added: "We adopted Africanism as a guiding factor to unite us, to help us identify the enemy correctly."

The union has not taken a position on capitalism versus socialism, he said, adding: "But if I were asked, I would say capitalism is evil. From childhood, I linked apartheid with capitalism. It has been brutal to me. That filters through my thinking."

With, according to Dlamini, a membership of 35 000 and growing at a rate of 1 000 new members a

week, Sabmawu has in recent weeks spearheaded a drive to unionise the newly-established black council police and to champion their cause.

There have been strikes by council police in Soweto, Tembisa, Katlehong and Kagiso, with Sabmawu fighting for a better deal in all cases.

Dlamini admitted frankly that the strike by Soweto Council police in May was not a success for his union. The problem in Soweto is that there are three competing unions — Sabmawu and rival unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Council of Unions of South Africa, Dlamini said.

"Our best struggle was in Tembisa. We created a situation there where the Tembisa Town Council ended up defunct. Lucas Matiba, the mayor, had to resign."

Dlamini did not spell it out. But the black town councils are technically the employers of the council police. Strikes are thus a threat to their authority.

Unlike some black radicals, Dlamini and his Sabmawu lieutenants do not consider council policemen as "collaborators" with whom no dealings must be conducted.

"Some political organisations have not done their homework correctly," Dlamini said.

"It is important to identify correctly who the enemy is, to be able to see the method used by the enemy."

Referring to a reported statement by outgoing Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange that police and soldiers in the black townships need to be augmented by council police, Dlamini said: "The aim is to channel

blame away from the SAP and the SADF and to place it on the black authorities."

The purpose is to "increase black on black violence" by turning the wrath of the people onto the black local authorities and the "blackjacks", Dlamini continued.

"Our aim is to try to unionise these men (council police) as they are recruited from the homelands and taught to shoot."

"It is very difficult to organise in the municipalities without unionising the police. They control access to the compounds. Unionise them and you get access to compounds."

"But we are also trying to educate them, to help them when they defy certain instructions (to evict rent defaulters) and win them back to the community. In Tembisa they told the administrator they would not evict anyone."

"But they are rural people. You have to understand them. They are told people in the townships are thugs. They come with fear. They take jobs as council police because of starvation. When they come to town, they trust no one until someone wins their confidence."

Sabmawu has briefed an advocate to apply to the Supreme Court for the release of 115 Katlehong council police detained for alleged violent behaviour. It has further won an interim order enabling Kagiso police to return to the quarters from which they were evicted.

Success in these two cases will clearly bolster its hopes of winning the trust of the suspicious and alienated council police.

Lesotho has 'bowed to pressure'

LUSAKA — It is obvious that the Lesotho military government has bowed to pressure from Pretoria on the issue of the African National Congress

This is the view of the ANC following a decision by the Lesotho Government this week that December 9 would not be a public holiday anymore in commemoration of 42 people who died in a South African raid on Maseru in 1982.

Thirty of the people killed during the raid were members of the exiled ANC.

According to Mr Tom Sebina, spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, the abolishing of December 9 as a holiday "clearly" demonstrates the collusion between the Lekhanya junta and the Botha Government."

The Lesotho Military Council on Wednesday announced that instead January 28 would be observed as a public holiday in commemoration of the military take over in which the government of Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan was toppled this year. — African News Organisation.

Youths flee to towns as rural 'war' flares

YOUTH from Mpolweni are streaming into Pietermaritzburg to escape vigilante attacks that have left one person dead.

Sources at the Mpolweni mission claim that a group of people living with the local chief, J Mngadi, have continued attacking residents after a clash two weeks ago in which Nthando Hadebe of the United Democratic Front-linked Mpolweni Youth Organisation was killed. They say the vigilantes are from Hammarsdale and came to Mpolweni in October.

Mission manager, Drummond McKenzie, denied any further attacks but said he "knew of some children who had left the mission a while back because of intimidation". McKenzie confirmed that the people who had stayed with Mngadi were not Mpolweni residents. "They are a couple of chaps who came to promote the Inkatha youth organisation," he said.

Two new attacks were reported this week. In one, a 17-year-old Pietermaritzburg student, Thembi Chonco, was allegedly kidnapped and then beaten at the chief's house. In another, the home of Thuthuka Mkize was attacked. Both Chonco and Mkize are now hiding in Pietermaritzburg.

Hadebe's funeral on the weekend was severely restricted by the new Hanover magistrate, Arnold Freese.

Local university students who attended the funeral were body searched before being allowed to enter the cemetery. They had to

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER
Pietermaritzburg

remove the National Union of SA (Nusas) T-shirts they were wearing and leave them with the police until they left. They said police asked them to leave after an hour, as they were to "take action" against the 100-odd mourners who were breaking the magistrate's orders by singing.

Allegations that police then acted against the mourners and in the process desecrated Hadebe's grave were denied by the police.

Hadebe was killed and two other people critically injured in battles between pro-UDF and pro-Inkatha youth groups two weeks ago.

The confrontation followed a year of tension at the 3 000-strong mission farm, according to McKenzie. Sources at Mpolweni say the flare-up occurred after a group of eight armed men insisted on "guarding" a student while he wrote an exam on Friday.

After the headmaster of Mpolweni High forced them to leave, they torched the house of a prominent UDF and Mpolweni Youth Congress member.

Youth congress members then rounded up students at the high school and confronted the vigilantes, members of the community report. A fierce battle followed, in which Hadebe was killed and two others seriously injured.

One of these was Bhukumuzi Ngobo, who is in a serious condition

in a Greytown hospital, according to police. A youth congress member has been admitted to a Durban hospital to have two bullets removed from his body.

A reliable Mpolweni source said the tension started when Mngadi recruited a group of vigilantes from a nearby township (Hammersdale) to "restore order" in the area. The chief claimed African National Congress and UDF elements were intimidating people at the mission and undermining his

authority.

Youth, church and women's groups say Mngadi is the problem. They accuse him of embezzling funds and of continually denying the community any say in the running of their affairs. A teacher at Mpolweni claims the vigilantes were recruited while most of the UDF leaders in the area were detained. He said that as soon as they were released the group started harassing any person who opposed the chief.

SUN TIMES 7/12/88

Necklace threat to black author

11/17

By CAS St LEGER

A BLACK spiritual leader and author has received a necklace threat after publishing an appeal to his fellow-countrymen of all races to cease violence and put South Africa first.

Mr Credo Vusamazula Mutwa, 65, who claims to be the great grandson of the high witchdoctor to the Zulu King Dingane and to be leader of South Africa's thousands of black healers and diviners, has broken 20 years of silence with the publication this week of "Let Not My Country Die".

His Soweto home was razed to the ground after the publication of "Indaba My Children" and "Africa is My Witness" in the early '60s, and in 1976 he was forced to leave Soweto, and now lives in Mafikeng, BophuthaTswana.

A day after the book was released an anonymous telephone caller asked him what make of car tyre he preferred.

Message

"At first I thought it was a joke because the caller was so polite," a frightened Mr Mutwa said.

"I said I didn't have a car — and then it sank in that the man was threatening me with a necklace."

The message of his new book is that a racial war could result in the country's demise and that both blacks and whites must mend their ways.

"I beg of you to join hands with others of your nation who are working for peace and reconciliation in South Africa.

"I call upon all politicians and leaders in my country to put South Africa first and their ambitions second.

He said that, while "negotiating with genuine leaders" such as Nelson Mandela would not bring an end to violence, Mandela should be released unconditionally, if only as an act of compassion.

By remaining in prison, Mandela posed "the greatest single threat to the peace and security of South Africa".

Homes petrolbombed

A PETROLBOMB was thrown at the home of Kwama-tuta mayor Edward Mbata late on Tuesday - the third attack on the homes of Inkatha members in two days.

No one was injured. The house, which is near Amazimtoti, was extensively damaged by fire.

Three children were seriously burnt earlier when two petrolbombs were thrown at the home of E Ngema.

Ngema's children, Goodman, 14, Gladys, 13, and Nombuso, 4, sustained serious burns to their bodies.

In the third attack, the home of KwaZulu's Chief Minister's praise-singer, Ephraim Buthelezi, was also petrolbombed and stoned.

Damage was slight and no one was injured. - Sapa.

'Don't be misled'

CP Correspondent

11/4
CITY PRESS
7/12/86
tude was softening.

WIDESPREAD speculation in Port Elizabeth's townships that key United Democratic Front officials are soon to be released from detention has brought an appeal from the PE Consumer Boycott Committee for residents not to over-react to rumours.

Acting spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee Mzimasi Mangcotywa said there had been "strong talk" among residents that PE Youth Congress president and former CBC spokesman Mkuseli Jack and UDF Eastern Cape vice-president Henry Fazzie, were soon to be released.

Nothing had happened to give that impression, the statement said, although the unconditional release of Dominique Souchon last week had boosted hopes that the authorities' atti-

Souchon, 27, a Mauritian passport holder and End Conscription Campaign member, was held for five and a half months while the authorities tried unsuccessfully to deport him to Mauritius.

The CBC said it hoped Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok would tackle the issue of emergency detentions boldly.

The statement called on the authorities to release detained community leaders so that order and normality could be returned to PE's townships.

And Carl Coetzer, president of the PE Chamber of Commerce and Managing Director of PE Tramways, has requested a meeting with "anyone, at any time, anywhere" to discuss the issue of recent attacks on PE Tramways buses.

He had made contact with the PE Black Civic Organisation and Peyco, but no date had been set for a meeting.

● The CBC announced that a 5% discount had been arranged for pensioners who buy from township stores.

Leaflets urge blacks: Mourn Xmas

By SAMKELO KUMALO

THOUSANDS of leaflets were distributed in Soweto and other areas on the Reef this week urging residents to observe the festive season as a "mourning period".

11/17

The pamphlets, attributed to the United Democratic Front (UDF), Cosatu, SACC and NECC, call on the people to observe the 10-day period from December 16 to the 26 as days on which the usual festive activities must be avoided.

Suspensions

The pamphlet urges she-beeners to close much earlier than usual. It says sports fixtures and music festivals within the period should also be suspended.

7/12/86 Sun 7/12/86

Young militants are asked in the pamphlet to exercise "maximum political discipline" to ensure that the campaign is explained to the people well before December 16.

The call follows last week's appeal by the Soweto Consumer Committee for a consumer protest action to last the whole of December.

UDF rejects Natal Indaba

By SOL MORATHI

THE United Democratic Front says it completely rejects the KwaNatal Indaba proposals.

The UDF says the proposals are nothing but "a negation of broad principles" on which the UDF is based in this country - non-racialism, democracy and a united South Africa.

"The pursuit of local/regional options for a second-tier government as proposed by the Indaba is directly in line with the AWB's demand for a 'Boerestaat,'" the statement reads.

The KwaNatal Indaba, the UDF says, essentially refuses to accept the principle of majority rule where no preference or special treatment is given to any particular race group.

The UDF says Stoffel Botha's rejection of "even proposals" that do not threaten white rule in any way, is "merely symptomatic of the acute lack of vision of the Afrikaners."

The minimum demands which Dur-

the statement.

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UDF says

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CITY PRESS

7/12/86

'Activists excluded in DET's campaign'

By MONO BADELA

THE Education and Training Department is now involved in registering students for enrolment in schools for next year - and student activists have been excluded, according to a statement issued by the Transvaal Students' Congress.

According to Trasco, those who have been given the application forms have had to sign an undertaking that they will obey school regulations. If they would not be bound in any class boycott, that

they would be prepared to accept corporal punishment.

The application forms dispatched to parents carries a declaration by the applicant: "I hereby undertake - should this application be successful - to abide by all the rules and regulations of the school and to subject myself willingly to any disciplinary measures applied as a result of my conduct."

Parents also have to undertake to accept full responsibility for their children's behaviour and that

they would empower the principal or whomsoever is authorised to act on their children's behalf. The application form also demands school fees of up to R20.

Trasco said it also views this decision by DET to pick and choose whom it wants in the classroom as another move to undermine the students' democratic representatives like SRC's.

In its statement, Trasco also called for the release of all detained schoolchildren, the re-opening of

schools, the unbanning of SRC meetings and lifting the state of emergency.

And, in another development, leading churchmen countrywide have called on pupils and students to return to school next year.

A statement issued by Bishop Duncan Buchanan of the Church of the Province of SA, Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, Rev JS Ngobe of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Rev Peter Storey, former Methodist Church of Southern Africa president, Bishop Reginald Ormond of the Catholic diocese of Johannesburg, Rev J Wing of the United Congregational Church, Rev Paul Makhubu of the Council of African Independent Churches, Dr Wolfram Kistner of the SA Council of Churches and Rev Chris Aitken of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, said the church had a prophetic and pastoral responsibility to the whole society.

The statement urged students to return to their classes next year, that the government take all administrative measures to facilitate the re-opening of schools currently closed and urged DET to withdraw the security forces from the schools.

Crackdown on activists

By MONO BADELA

A NUMBER of well-known activists have been detained in a pre-Xmas swoop which started this week with the detentions and restriction of 37 people.

First indications came on Tuesday night when police cracked down on End Conscription Campaign members and other anti-apartheid organisations in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Thirteen ECC members were detained and restriction orders were served on at least 24 activists.

Lulu Johnson, last president of the now outlawed

Congress of South African Students (Cosas), and Mandla Dlamini, of the Johannesburg UDF's head office, have been in detention since last week.

Nine of the 13 ECC members detained on Tuesday night are from Cape Town. They are: Paula Hathorn, general secretary, Alistair Telling-Smith, Andrew Orpen, Felicity Wood, Crispin Oliver, Mathew Blatchford, Michael Rautenbach, Josie Grindrod and Mike Evans. The other four were detained in Johannesburg. They are: Annemarie Rademeyer, Clare Verbeek, Stephen Lowry and Sue

Jobson. In terms of the restriction orders served on the 24 Johannesburg people, they are barred from calling for an end to conscription and the removal of troops from the townships, as well as calling for the release of detainees and for a united national action.

This week restriction orders have also been served on the United Democratic Front national treasurer, Azhar Cachalia, and UDF and Transvaal Indian Congress leader Ashwin Shah.

Since the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12 about 60 ECC members have been detained.

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CITY PRESS

Xmas Against Emergency campaign gets wide support

By SOL MORATHI

THE Christmas Against the Emergency campaign, running between December 16-26, is receiving support, according to the United Democratic Front.

The UDF says the campaign, "for 10 days of unity," has been warmly re-

ceived by a number of organisations and the private sector.

This includes a cross-section of churches, sports organisations such as the NSL and Sacos, the National Taverners Association, traders and over 20 organisations in the white

community.

The campaign has been formally endorsed by Cosatu and the SA Musicians' Alliance, and the UDF is optimistic a number of other organisations will follow.

The focus on the plight of detained children re-

main one of the central thrusts of the Christmas campaign.

In a statement released this week, the UDF says the campaign will open with the ringing of church bells throughout the country at 6am on December

16. And candles will be lit and families will read pledges for national unity between 7 and 9am on the same day.

At 6am on December 26, church bells will ring to signal the end of the campaign.

WINNIE Mandela was attacked outside the Cape Town Supreme Court on Wednesday by a crowd infuriated by her apparent support for Guguletu socialite Lindi Mangaliso, convicted on November 24 of murdering her husband, Victor.

The mob cornered Mandela some distance from the court and pelted her with cooldrink cans, litter and handfuls of sand.

At a Press conference yesterday Mandela said: "What happened in Cape Town was some kind of dirty work orchestrated by the system."

Most of the people who attacked her party are "believed in Cape Town to be members of a vigilante

It's 'system', says Winnie

group - people who are responsible for perpetrating crimes and violence against those opposed to apartheid".

She said she attended the funeral because Lindi Mangaliso's father, Vincent, was a veteran ANC member.

And Lindi's mother is an active member of women's organisations in Cape Town.

She added she didn't be-

lieve in discarding family members, particularly when they faced capital criminal charges.

Mandela claimed that two journalists were responsible for arranging the attack on her.

She has also stated that she didn't believe that the UDF was responsible for anti-Azapo pamphlets distributed earlier this morning.

See Page 3

Not our pamphlets, UDF

By SANDILE MEMELA

HUNDREDS of pamphlets, bearing the UDF logo and calling on the UDF, its affiliates and "all our fighting units and young lions to mark the 25th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe by destroying the reactionary third force", were dropped

at the offices of City Press and in the city this week.

The pamphlets were left with a City Press night watchman by two unidentified men.

A UDF spokesperson condemned the action and dismissed the pamphlets as the work of the agents of apartheid.

"We condemn those who resort to surreptitious and illegal methods.

"This is obviously the doing of agents of apartheid who are bent on causing division and confusion in the community," he said.

Meanwhile, the general secretary of Azapo, Muntu Myeza, told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that his organisation would like to believe that the UDF is not responsible for the distribution of the pamphlets.

"The onus rests on the UDF to prove that the pamphlets are not their work," said Myeza.

He called on the UDF to condemn the violence between rival political organisations in the townships and challenge the UDF to meet Azapo to discuss the inter-cine strife between the organisations.

One Uys too many

THE JUDGE President of the Cape, Justice George Munnik, walked out of a society lunch in Cape Town in protest at an "Elize Botha" joke by satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys.

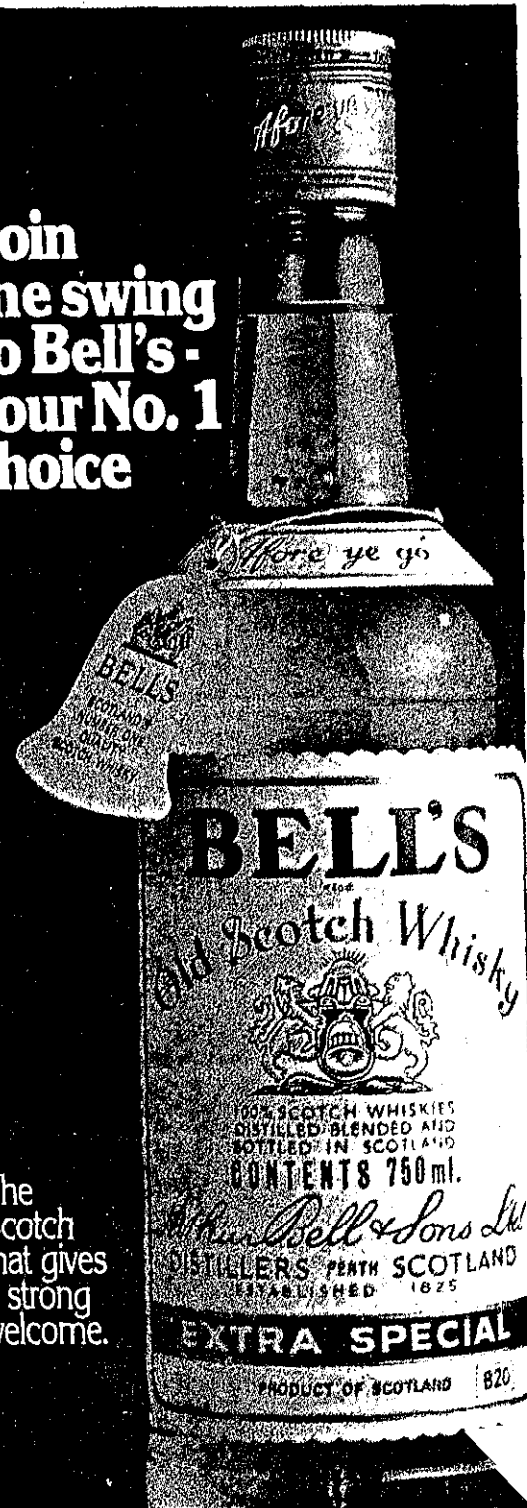
After the incident at the President 100 Club Christmas lunch, the judge said he had found the joke "disgusting and in very poor taste".

According to one of those present, the joke had the wife of the State President, Mrs Elize Botha, eating jelly babies and biting off the heads of the black ones.

Munnik said: "He can make as many jokes as he likes about the State President - but to make references to a woman the way he did is not acceptable."

Told of the complaints and the walkout, Pieter-Dirk Uys said: "Good. Let white South Africa taste some of the poor taste of what they have done to South Africa."

Join the swing to Bell's - your No. 1 choice



The Scotch that gives a strong welcome.

ARGUS 8/2/86 (23) 114

Cape teachers clash with Labour Party

By GAYE DAVIS, Education Reporter

THE Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) is prepared to go to the Supreme Court to try to end alleged Labour Party interference in education, described as an abuse of power to win legitimacy.

Delegates at a representative council meeting of the CTPA mandated the executive to investigate legal action to compel the Labour Party-controlled Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives to respect the integrity and rights of the organised teaching profession.

Such action should be taken even if it meant a Supreme Court action, a unanimous resolution said.

CTPA president, Mr Franklin Sonn, said it was "completely unacceptable" for party politicians to "buy support" through manipulating promotion posts and making appointments on grounds of political affiliation.

Warning that the CTPA would "fight to the death" to preserve the integrity of the teaching profession, he challenged the Government to "stop talking with two tongues".

"The Government must tell us whether it respects the integrity of employee organisations, their right to organise independently and conduct their own affairs or whether it requires them to be merely functionaries."

The Labour Party was abusing its power to win legitimacy, he said.

About 200 delegates, representing 92 branches throughout the Cape, attended the meeting and unanimously adopted resolutions which:

- Condemned party political interference as degrading the profession;

- Described such interference as "provocative" and fuelling "high-running tension between the party political authorities and the profession";

- Claimed the Labour Party was trying to make teachers political functionaries through "power abuse and patronage", committing the CTPA to fight this "at all cost".

Examples of alleged interference included:

- A Boland teacher appointed to one school ended up teaching at another after alleged Labour Party intervention. But department records did not reflect his transfer, it was claimed.

- A teacher was appointed to a Uitenhage school over the head of the school committee, the body responsible for initial selection.

- An Oudtshoorn delegate claimed the Labour Party-controlled coloured management committee of Bridgeton was refusing to grant land for a day-centre for handicapped children until its name — Kairos, meaning "opportunity" — was changed.

The centre shares its name with the Kairos document, drawn up by theologians and which challenges the churches' response to the South African crisis.

Deputy president Mr Randall van den Heever said a lengthy memorandum on the subject to the Department of Education and Culture was dismissed in a three-line response denying knowledge of the allegations.

Palestinian unrest

JERUSALEM. — Palestinian unrest spread through the occupied West Bank and Jerusalem's Arab sector today as protesters hurled stones at Israeli cars and set tyres on fire in the fifth day of violence.

The violence has claimed three Palestinian lives

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SOWETAN

SEP 9, 1986 *GOVT* 27c + 3c GST (PWV) Prices elsewhere on back page

**Now a
memorial
service
for the
Ribeiros**



Dr FABIAN Ribeiro who is to be cremated tomorrow.

GOVT LIFTS CURBS

Scrapped 9/12/86 11A

Idozers shacks



SOWETO council police yesterday demolished several shacks in heavy rain, leaving scores of families stranded like these two women sheltering under an umbrella perched on top of poles.

MOST of the restrictions imposed last week on the funeral of Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence, have been lifted.

At the same time the United Democratic Front (UDF) warned yesterday that it had information that death squads similar to the one responsible for the death of Dr Ribeiro would attack activists from this week.

In a new turn on the Ribeiro death Mrs Bernadette Mosala, a spokesperson for the bereaved family, announced yesterday that several restrictions including that of not delivering political speeches at the funeral were removed following a meeting of their lawyers and Northern Transvaal police chief, Brigadier Jacob Stemmet.

She added that a memorial service and a requiem mass will be held today at the St Raphael's Roman Catholic Church starting 1.30pm. A night vigil was also arranged for last night.

Condition

"The only condition which the police would not back down on was that of the display or distribution of flags, banners, placards, pamphlets or posters. The meeting also agreed that police should stay away from funeral proceedings," said Mrs Mosala.

Dr Ribeiro, popularly known as the "people's doctor" in Mamelodi,

To Page 4

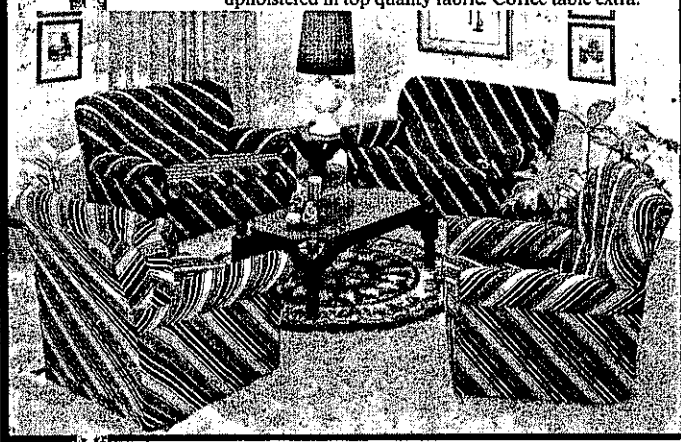
By ALINAH DUBE and NKOPANE MAKOBANE

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P.T.O.

Ribeiro funeral

→ From Page 1

was gunned down with his wife in the courtyard of their Mamelodi West home a week ago. The two will be cremated tomorrow.

The UDF appealed to all people to be vigilant and watch out for

"apartheid agents attempting to commit murderous deeds" in the names of various organisations.

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF's acting publicity secretary, said a systematic disinformation campaign is being waged to imply that Dr Fabian Ribeiro's death is in some way connected to the "so-called conflict" between the UDF and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

A number of articles have incorrectly suggested that Dr Ribeiro was a member of Azapo and therefore by implication was in conflict with the UDF. In fact he was a member of the Mamelodi Civic Association, a highly popular affiliate of the UDF in the Pretoria area.

"To suggest that he, a UDF supporter, was attacked by UDF activists, is totally ludicrous and a transparent attempt to shift responsibility from the shoulders of the guilty parties," he said.

"We have received information that attacks of this nature are planned in various parts of the country this week," he added.

11A Save the

9/12/86

9/12/86

STAT

11A

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Dr Sibongiseni Maxwell Dhlomo, an accused in the terrorism trial here, trained a fellow-accused and a witness who cannot be identified in the use of bombs, detonators and grenades, Mr Justice Thirion was told in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

The witness, the third secret witness to give evidence, was testifying at the start of the fifth week of the trial.

The witness told of being trained in the use

Dlomo gave arms training, says witness

of a handgun by Dr Dhlomo.

The witness had been recruited to join the ANC and had been given an AK name of Kéhla.

AK names were used when ANC members made contact with other members.

Mr Justice Thirion is hearing the case and a Deputy Attorney-General, Mr Bennie Schonfeldt,

and Mr Christo van Schalkwyk are prosecuting. Defence counsel are Mr Alan Magid, SC, and Mr Pius Langa.

The accused are: Mrs Duduzile Charity Baby Buthelezi (32) of Umlazi; Dr Sibongiseni Maxwell Dhlomo (26) of Doctors' Residence, Impala House, Umbilo; Dr Vejaynand Indurjith Raf of 2 Nardaba Road, Merebank; Mr

Sibusiso Robert Ndlanzi (29) of kwaMashu; Mr Jude Francis (21) of Shallcross; Mr Ordway Qonda Msomi (20) of Lamontville; Mr Sipho Stanley Bhila (31) of Lamontville; Mr Phumezo George James Nxweni (20) of Alan Taylor Residence, Lamontville; Mr Mapiki Aaron Dlomo (32) of Lamontville; Mr Bafu Bawana Nguqu (30) of Lamontville; Mr Malusi Israel Majola (20) of Chesterville; and Mr Vusumuzi Wesley Mahlobo (27) of kwaMashu.

The hearing continues.

Leaflets a dirty trick — ANC

1/12/86 Sowetan
11A

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

ORGANISATIONS and members of the community were at the weekend still angry over pamphlets printed on United Democratic Front letterheads and distributed in townships last week.

'Enemy seeks to incite rivals'

In a strong statement the African National Congress said it was obvious who was responsible for the pamphlets that called for the killing of all members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

Crude

The ANC said the pamphlets were "crude and brazen frame-ups" that will create an opportunity for ascribing these deaths to political rivalry between the opponents of apartheid.

The pamphlets, widely distributed in weto, called in all units of the mark the 25th anniversary of Um Sizwe (the of the ANC ing all destruction demned the

including "necklacing" them.

"We must not rest until we have hunted down each and every member of Azapo from Sekhukhuleni through Port Elizabeth to Langa," the pamphlet said.

In a statement to the Sowetan the ANC denied that it issued such internal provocations.

It said: "The object of this campaign of dirty

tricks is all too obvious. The enemy seeks to incite armed physical confrontations amongst the regime's opponents.

• Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, has also condemned the pamphlet.

UDF treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia has condemned the pamphlets as fake and urged their members to ignore it.

... last week.

Mr. C. King 9/12/86

VANCOUVER. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that the West had the choice of either helping a new South Africa take its place in the democratic world or placing it on the road to chaos and devastation.

He appealed to Canada to help bring peace in his country by promoting reconciliation and not severing ties with it.

"Reject us now and watch, if you will, the devastation which black scorched-earth policy confronting white scorched-earth policy will produce," Chief Buthelezi told a meeting of Vancouver's Fraser Institute.

By cutting itself off from South Africa, Canada and the

Reject SA and watch devastation — Buthelezi

112

rest of the West would see mass starvation of people in South Africa turn a one-party state into a one-party tyranny, he said.

They would watch a South African revolt which would be just the first of a series of revolutions and counter-revolutions for generations to come, he said. — Sapa-Reuter

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Violence blamed on Inkatha enemies

10/12/86
117
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PSJSDM
ALAN FINE

INKATHA secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo yesterday blamed the violence in the Mphophomeni township last Friday night and Saturday morning on plans by anti-Inkatha elements to disrupt a rally scheduled for Sunday.

And the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) alleges scores of its members have been injured in a wave of vigilante attacks at Empangeni, northern Natal, since Friday.

Three of the dead at Mphophomeni were members of the Metal & Allied Workers' Union (Mawu). The fourth was a daughter of another Mawu member.

Dhlomo said Mawu "began to mobilise themselves with the aim of disrupting" the Inkatha rally.

He said he had a letter signed by the Mphophomeni Youth Organisation saying it was preparing an attack.

Dhlomo said: "When Inkatha Youth learned of these plans on Friday evening, December 5, they decided to send an advance party to the hall where the meeting was to be held."

Clashes between the two factions then began and about eight people were killed.

Dhlomo said: "This was violence between two warring factions and not a one-sided Inkatha attack, as is now alleged by Mawu and the Press."

He condemned "the irresponsible attitude of the Bureau for Information" for the way it had reported the violence. Some sections of the Press came in for similar condemnation.

Cosatu said yesterday vigilantes in the Mandini township, near Empangeni, had been heard to chant: "Cosatu must shut up, Uwusa must speak." Uwusa, the United Workers' Union of SA, was launched earlier this year by KwaZulu government and Inkatha officials.

Tribute to slain couple

From Page 1

Dominee Nico Smith, parish priest of the NGK in Mamelodi, said: "We pray that righteousness should come to South Africa". He said Dr Ribeiro's death was not in vain as the people would take strength from it and go forward

with their struggle. Dr Hamilton Sebotsane, speaking on behalf of Dr Ribeiro's colleagues, said the dead man was a tremendous leader and a wise and righteous man, who earned the respect of many of his colleagues.

When Dr Ribeiro's casket was moved from

the church to a mortuary where it was to be kept until today's cremation, a group of youths ran alongside the moving hearse for about a kilometre, singing and chanting slogans.

There was a visible police presence during the ceremony and roadblocks were manned at entrances into the township. Some police vehicles were parked near the church throughout the service.



THE caskets of Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence lying in St. Raphael's Catholic Church in Mamelodi during a memorial service yesterday. The couple is to be cremated today.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

NATIONS MOURN

Sowetan
11A
10/12/88

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE and ALINAH DUBE

A MEMORIAL service in honour of the slain Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence was disrupted when a section of the crowd shouted down Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, who was a speaker at the ceremony.

One of Dr Ribeiro's sons, Mr Joseph Ribeiro, appealed to the mourners to conduct themselves in a dignified manner because "we would like to bury our parents in peace."

The service, which was held at St Raphael's Roman Catholic

Helen Suzman heckled

Church in Mamelodi township was attended by a huge crowd and representatives of the Spanish, Dutch, Australian, French, Swedish, British, Canadian and the United States embassies.

When Mrs Suzman took the stage a group of youths shouted her down saying "Down with the PFP" and she was not allowed to finish her speech.

Appeal

Other groups shouted: "Down with Azapo" but were called to order by Mr Leonard Mosala, the master of ceremonies, who appealed to the crowd to allow every speaker who has

been invited to deliver their speeches.

During the emotion-charged and moving ceremony, Mrs Bernadette Mošula, reading an obituary, said Dr Ribeiro did not belong to any political grouping.

A spokesman for one of Pretoria's black political groups said the reason why Mrs Helen Suzman was shouted down was that her party was seen as part of the Government.

He said if the PFP wanted to play any meaningful role in South Africa it had to stop operating from within the system and join progressive organisations.

In an interview after the service Mrs Suzman said she was accustomed to being shouted down and fully understood the people's emotions and feelings. She said her opponents usually used those tactics.

To Page 2



ANC accuses Lesotho Govt of 'collusion'

SP The Star's Africa
10/11/83 News Service *(11A)*

LUSAKA - The African National Congress (ANC) has accused the Lesotho Military Government of "collusion" with the SA Government.

A spokesman was reacting to reports that the Lesotho Government has decided to abolish December 9 as a public holiday in commemoration of 42 people killed during a SADF raid on the Lesotho capital.

The spokesman said it was obvious that the Lesotho Government had bowed to pressure from Pretoria. The decision to abolish December 9 as a public holiday "clearly demonstrates the collusion between the Lekhanya junta and the Botha government", the spokesman added.

Thatcher has not closed door on ANC

London Bureau

THE British Government has not closed the door on further ministerial meetings with the African National Congress (ANC) it emerged yesterday.

This was confirmed by both Foreign Office and Downing Street officials following confusion over a statement by the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, at a Press conference at the weekend.

Foreign Office officials had contested Mrs Thatcher's statement that no British Cabinet Minister had met the ANC in their 'capacity as a Cabinet Minister of the Government of the United Kingdom.'

Closing the EEC summit on Saturday, Mrs Thatcher appeared to hint that she did not approve of ministerial contacts with the ANC outside the context of the EEC Presidency.

She said that any ministers who had met the ANC had done so in their capacity as representatives of the EEC Presidency and not as Cabinet ministers of the British Government.

But a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday that when Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe had met ANC President Oliver Tambo in September he had done so both in his capacity as EEC President and as a Cabinet minister of the British Government.

Meeting

At the meeting Sir Geoffrey had put both the European Community view and that of the British Government.

A Downing Street spokesman said yesterday that Mrs Thatcher's reply had come 'in the heat of questioning' and that she had not intended to convey a change in policy.

After Sir Geoffrey met Mr Tambo in September he said that contacts would continue, if necessary.

Mrs Thatcher said at the Press conference that her Government's contact with the ANC did not indicate any change in policy on terrorism — raising speculation that she might be trying to discourage further high-level contact with the ANC.

UDF call for unity against apartheid

11/2/80
11A

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Border branch of the United Democratic Front has pledged its full support for a national united action campaign launched in conjunction with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

A statement from the president of the Border branch, Mr T. Charlemagne, called on all "freedom-loving people" to unite against apartheid.

The statement accused the government of wrecking the country's economy, causing massive unemployment and hardships, detaining thousands of people and uprooting millions of South Africans through forced removals.

People were urged, especially from December 16 to 26, to attend prayer vigils and church services.

"During this time we call on our people to re-

member those who are in jails. We must remember the many hardships we have suffered and we must remember our fallen heroes, both past and present. We must, however, not only remember, but move forward in unity and with courage and resolution."

The aim was a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The statement claimed there were only two sides in South Africa — those for democracy and those for apartheid.

"It is absolutely crucial that all sections of our society opposed to apartheid and exploitation take a definite stand.

"Throughout the campaign we should demand: an end to the state of emergency, the release of all detainees, the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, an end to removals and rent eviction and a living wage for all workers."

LOOK

Demolitions probed

Cape Times 10/12/86 (11A) 2/3
Staff Reporter

CHARGES of malicious damage to property and theft are being investigated following the demolition of six shacks in Khayelitsha last week, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Further charges of arson are being investigated following the partial destruction of one of the shacks in an incident last month.

The leader of the Lingelethu Committee, Mr M Hoza, this week admitted destroying shacks and a community centre in retaliation for the destruction of houses by the rival committee of Mr Isaac Gwiziza.

The spokesman for the Site C and Site B Action Committee, Mr Thomas Ngwane, laid a complaint after his shack was partly burnt last month. He laid another complaint after his home was demolished last week.

Suzman shouted down at funeral

Capo Times 10/12/86 (11A) (2/8) (3/8)

PRETORIA. — Mrs Helen Suzman was shouted down yesterday while addressing the memorial service for Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Barbara in Mamelodi.

About 200 youths burst into St Raphael's Roman Catholic Church while the service, attended by about 1 000 people, was in progress.

Sources said it appeared the youths were from the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo).

The youths demanded — and were granted — time to address the service.

Afterwards, the service continued under the leadership of Dr Nico Smith of the Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika.



The Rev Nico Smith leads the procession at the funeral of Dr Fabian Ribeiro and Mrs Ribeiro. The funeral was held in Mamelodi yesterday. The Ribeiros were murdered by unidentified gunmen last week. Picture: JUDA NGWENYA of REUTERS

Dr Smith said afterwards that the service started at 2.15pm. However, Dr Ribeiro's family had asked that a requi-

em mass be held and, as this required some time, a number of organizations, including Azapo and the UDF, could not

be fitted into the programme.

The faction that dis-

To Page 2

Continued from Page 1
 rupted the proceedings that "white" organizations like the PFP were able to address the service and "black" ones not. They said that Dr Ribeiro was a Pan Africanist Congress supporter. Sources said there was "such a commotion" that they could not make out what was being shouted.

10/12/86
 but apparently said "Away with the PFP." Asked about the disruption, a senior Azapo official in Johannesburg said: "It is not possible. We have a well-disciplined membership." About 1 000 blacks and a few dozen whites packed the church for the service. Eyewit-

nesses said there was clearly tension between rival black political factions. Dr Ribeiro was shot dead with his wife Barbara outside their Mamelodi home. She was the sister of the late black nationalist leader Mr Robert Sobukwe.

Security forces mounted a major operation for today's memorial service. Details cannot be reported under South Africa's state of emergency.

The SADF, acting on police orders, barred the press from entering Mamelodi.

After the service, Mrs Suzman told reporters she was used to be shouted down in Parliament.

A statement issued by the PFP said: "Members of the Ribeiro family specifically requested that Mrs Suzman attend this service. When Mrs Suzman arrived at the church she discovered that the family had scheduled her to speak."

UDF worried by army presence

STARR Political Reporter

11/2/88
The United Democratic Front says it is concerned about the growing numbers of soldiers in Soweto.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information said the bureau "does not comment on the deployment of security forces".

A statement issued by the UDF said: "The soldiers of apartheid are now patrolling the streets of Soweto on foot. In the past two weeks we have been receiving a constant flow of reports about incidents in which troops have asked children in the streets the whereabouts of the houses of activists.

"Particular attention is being paid to members of the Soweto Youth Congress and the Soweto Students Organisation."

THE Pan Africanist Congress has joined other liberation movements in condemning pamphlets disseminated in black townships calling for the killing of all members of the Azanain People's Organisation.

The PAC said it was gravely concerned over the distribution of the pamphlets and reiterated

PAC condemns pamphlets

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

that it could only be seen to be the work of those who wanted to fuel conflict among the groups that have different ideological trends.

The pamphlets called for the killing of Azapo

members to mark the 25th anniversary of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the

African National Congress (ANC).

Major liberation movements, including

the ANC, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azapo, have condemned the pamph-

lets and asked people to ignore them because they only served to sow the seeds of hatred.

11A

Massive youth group to come out of shadows

TOWNSHIP "comrades" are coming out of the shadows.

After months of behind-the-scenes negotiations between local youth groups, four regional youth congresses — in the eastern Cape, western Cape, northern Transvaal and southern Transvaal — have been formed in rapid succession and, with similar regional structures planned for Natal, the northern Cape and the Free State, a national South African Youth Congress (Sayco) is due to be launched early in 1987.

Launched in secret to avoid police harassment, the four regional congresses claim a combined strength, says Southern Transvaal Youth Congress (Styco) treasurer Ignatius Jacobs, of several hundred thousand members.

When Sayco is launched next year, he says, it will represent more than 500 000 township youths.

Emphasising their belief that the congresses are "legal organisations, operating legally", Styco education officer Ephraim Nkwe says the secrecy shrouding the organisations, and the delay in announcing the regional formations (the two Transvaal regions were launched 12 days ago), "has been forced on us by the state."

"Before the first State of Emergency, we were organising publically, through rallies and open meetings. With the crackdown, many of us were detained and killed. We learned the lessons of that Emergency and have adopted a new, semi-clandestine way ever since.

"As a result, the second Emergency did not affect our organisations badly, and we have been able, under Emergency conditions, to build the foundations of a national structure."

It is, say Nkwe and Jacobs, this "new style" which has enabled the "comrades" to change their relationships with the communities in which they operate, and end their reputation, "fostered by the press", as often-brutal enforcers of boycotts and other anti-government campaigns.

"With the first Emergency," says Nkwe, "many of our leading members were detained, and local groups had to keep working, often in isolation. In some, a trend developed in which they identified themselves, the youth, as leaders of the struggle."

So, while the 1985 national Christmas consumer boycott was marked by attacks on township residents who had ignored calls to boycott white shops (Nkwe is highly critical of the media for "exaggerating the frequency" of these attacks), there have been reports this year of "comrades" guarding commuters coming into the townships with shopping from city centres.

"The new style of organising," says Nkwe, "has also been made possible by the growth of organs of people's power — street committees and block committees, etc. We are now working more closely with our parents and our brothers and sisters."

Asked about future Sayco policy, he says: "Sayco will have a federal structure, co-ordinating rather than leading the youth. Most of the local congresses have already adopted the Freedom Charter as their guiding document.

"We will press for the unbanning of the ANC, for the release of our leaders, for the withdrawal of troops from the townships, and for an end to the harassment of exiles." — Agenda Press Service

Union officials threatened

12/12/85
wccw/mc
11A
11A
By SEFAKO NYAKA

SEVERAL top officials of Cosatu-affiliated unions have received personal letters threatening them with physical violence unless they stop "confusing the workers".

The letters, signed RPC — believed to stand for Revolutionary People's Command — also warns against the "workerists" attempting to take control of Cosatu.

It warns against preventing Cosatu from affiliating to the "national liberation movement", obstructing calls for disinvestment, stayaways and boycotts.

"Despite several serious warnings to some of your reformist and Trotskyite collaborators, you still persist in spreading reactionary, syndicalist, workerist ideologies to confuse and divert the spontaneous mass worker resistance into accepting fraudulent 'reforms' instead of a revolutionary transformation of South Africa," the letter states.

The letters, posted from Durban, were sent to some officials of the National Union of Mineworkers, Metal and Allied Workers Union and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union.

The officials refused to be identified for fear that a "fringe from the right might take advantage of the situation".

"I want to believe this is the work of the system desperately trying to divide the progressive worker movement," one of the officials said.

A senior official in the Witwatersrand region of Cosatu said he was visited by balaclava-clad men who warned him "to be very careful".

11/12/80

Man shot by intruder at Ribeiro home

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A witness to the slaying of Mamelodi doctor Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence, was shot and wounded in the yard of the Ribeiro home, residents said.

Mr Jacob Mampuru was shot about 10.45 last night. Police could not confirm the shooting.

It is not known how serious his injuries are.

Mr Mampuru, a friend of Dr Ribeiro's son, Chris, went to investigate a report that someone had jumped over the garden wall of the Ribeiro home, neighbours said.

He was shot with a 0.45 calibre firearm as he tried to grab the intruder, they said.

Neighbours chased the intruder who escaped.

Witnesses said the man was wearing brown army-style trousers and a teargas mask.

W. Mail 12/12/86

Why are activists murdering activists?

11A



Fana Mhlongo's mother with picture ... neighbours saw killers Picture: VIVIENNE WALT

DEATHS resulting from politics in South Africa are old news. What was new in 1986 was a specific form of death: the "necklace".

"The horror of this invention of the South African struggle holds within its fiery grip another astounding dimension. Many of the charred corpses, petrol-bomb victims and abducted people were committed anti-apartheid activists.

And they were killed by other committed anti-apartheid activists.

The recent "war" between the Soweto Students Congress and the Azanian Students Movement is but one grim testimony to this fact.

Activists who have served jail sentences for resistance activity, who have consistently been harassed by the state, have been judged by fellow activists to be ideological enemies so implacable as to warrant their murder.

The escalation of violent intra-resistance conflict has become so marked of late that both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have made impassioned appeals to internal organisations to eschew violence and sort out their differences through discussions.

According to Dr Tom Lodge, author of *Black Politics in South Africa*, the current levels of internecine conflict are unprecedented in the entire history of South African black politics.

"Ideological tensions are nothing new," he says, "but it is completely new for this conflict to be manifested in killing and bloodshed."

The Weekly Mail approached the organisations most affected by the violence for their perceptions of its genesis and future direction. At the level of leadership, all are clearly deeply worried, and all are desperate to halt the exponential growth of the violence-curve.

Predictably, rival organisations cite different reasons for the violence, and apportion blame away from themselves and often towards the easiest of targets: the state. But their shared concern is such that they propose common solutions: essentially consultations to put a stop to clashes and a refocusing of attention on the state.

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC, in a strongly-worded statement this week, said "in no uncertain terms" that the organisation had never had "any interest in waging hostilities against other opponents of the apartheid regime. To enhance the striking capacity of the liberation forces we have sought and shall continue to seek the maximum unity of all anti-apartheid forces."

The ANC warned internal activists that the state, "by instigating physical confrontation among its opponents, hopes to construct a convenient cover for its agents, whose crimes can then be ascribed to political rivalries among anti-apartheid forces". The ANC alleged that the murder last week of the well-known Pretoria political figure Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife was part of this process.

The ANC lays all the blame for the bloodshed on state "manipulation and provocation" and has called on "all

Fierce disagreement between rival black political groups is nothing new. What is new, frightening and fast spiralling out of control, is for this antagonism to turn to bloody warfare

By SHAUN JOHNSON AND SEFAKO NYAKA

those who are truly committed to the liberation of our people to direct their justified anger against the Pretoria regime and its oppressive institutions."

It has called on all activists to "close ranks under the leadership of the ANC and the broad democratic movement, and to heed the watchwords vigilance and unity".

The Dar-es-Salaam-based chairman of the PAC, Johnson Mlambo, says the internal violence is "more than regrettable. It is misguided and we strongly condemn it — it benefits the oppressive regime in occupied Azania." He points to the "historical basis of a society established by violence and daily maintained by violence. This environment of violence has tainted some opponents of the system, who use the same means against the oppressed, not the oppressor."

There is also a complex psychological phenomenon of self-hatred amongst some black activists, he suggests. "They fear the all-powerful SADF and SAP so much that they believe that sooner rather than later the regime will engage in genuine dialogue resulting in liberation. Meanwhile, they hate those among the oppressed who differ with them."

These people are misguided but potential allies of the liberation movement, and "their elimination will not advance the struggle", Mlambo said.

"In short, some people don't know who their real enemy is, and abuse our noble principle of non-collaboration as a means of silencing other tendencies in order to quickly gain political hegemony within the

oppressed community."

Mlambo alleges that 75 percent of all deaths can be attributed to the state. "Indirectly, the racists fan and play up inter-organisational rivalries — an example was the exposure last year of one Meshack Mabogoane, with his hit list of both Azapo and UDF activists. Even Bishop Tutu was included."

The PAC accepts that the Africanist/Charterist divisions which emerged within resistance in the 1950s continues to play an important

It is unlikely these people are able to give a coherent interpretation of the rival organisation's philosophy

role in current politics. But Mlambo insists that the PAC view is that "a political organisation persuades, it does not press-gang people to follow it. In the language of the PAC, 'vanquish your opponent with facts, and not with the knuckle-duster'."

The PAC chairman cites a statement made by his jailed president, Zeph Mothopeng, to a variety of leaders on Robben Island in 1980: "He told them that PAC and ANC, each fighting by itself, could eventually defeat the racist forces. But if their forces were

united, victory would come much sooner."

He says the PAC continues to endorse the concept of unity between the "external missions of the liberation movement, which is indivisible and inseparable from internal resistance unity".

He makes an urgent call to Azapo and the UDF to put an end to violent clashes between their supporters.

Azapo's national publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza, views the conflict between rival youth groups as an "unfortunate recurrence of incidents which can be avoided by resolute and determined efforts of the leadership".

In his view the historical basis for the conflict lies in "the struggle for political hegemony by persons who have a short-sighted view of the development of society. Every society needs the existence of a conflict of ideas for the development of that society."

"We have always maintained that within the oppressed there are two levels: the first is the battle between the oppressor and oppressed, and the second is the differences between groups in the same oppressed class — very well-defined groupings like Azapo, the UDF, Inkatha. In this

particular level, the conflict does not have to be antagonistic as with the first level."

He says Azapo believes that because of the control it exercises over the "unhappy society" in South Africa, responsibility for internecine violence can ultimately "be laid on the doorstep of the ruling class".

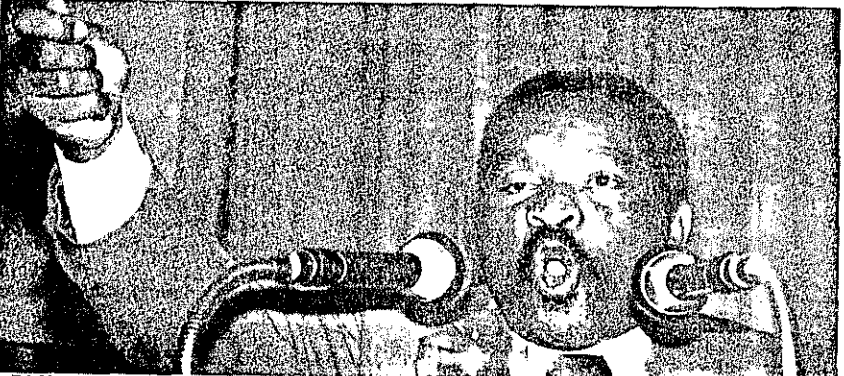
Myeza argues that "it would be a stupid oppressive system which would not take advantage of the existing disharmony and use it towards its own perpetuation. It would be a waste of time to try to count the number of instances where the system has been directly involved."

Myeza says Azapo calls on internal leadership to apply "political moral pressure on all parties involved for the cessation of hostilities. To achieve this we need to have clear, unambiguous statements — particularly from the UDF, which has been silent hitherto. They must disown and condemn this violence."

"We do not need individual statements from persons with an association with the UDF. We need a statement from the UDF as an organisation. We have always been waiting and wanting to have meaningful discussions with the UDF, bearing in mind that we view this conflict in its national perspective, and not in the parochial sense that it is restricted to one or two areas."

Myeza says Azapo has its own code of conduct, "which all our members subscribe to — and deviations are viewed in a serious light. However, where and when the need arises for our members to defend themselves, their family and property, they should do so with means commensurate with the danger they apprehend."

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, agrees that the state has taken advantage of differences between organisations, citing the example of strife in Mbekweni, near Paarl. "The recent revelations on the Joint Management Committees suggest quite clearly that this has been on the agenda of the regime. What we must ensure is that the conditions do not exist for them."



PAC's Johnson Mlambo ... a society established by violence and daily maintained by it Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Atrapix

DECEMBER 16, 1986 will be the 25th anniversary of the ANC's armed struggle. What has Umkhonto we Sizwe (popularly known as MK) got to show for it?

Many observers of the South African revolutionary effort, especially those representatives of Western media and intelligence, tend to write off MK and the ANC as "the world's least successful terrorist organisation". These critics of MK tactics point to many weaknesses in MK and the ANC, which they take as insurmountable.

They state that South Africa's terrain is not conducive to guerrilla warfare and ask: where are the rice paddies, the uninhabited bush and the impenetrable mountain jungles?

They ask how inexperienced and lightly armed cadres can take on the might of South Africa's security forces.

They point to the IRA's record of urban

There's more to Umkhonto ta

guerrilla warfare, supported by a sophisticated political organisation, and fail to see evidence of MK doing the same.

They point to SA police successes against MK and other ANC clandestine activity inside South Africa — from the exposure of MK's headquarters in Rivonia in 1963 to the virtual weekly discoveries of arms caches, arrests, shoot-outs and trials in the mid-Eighties.

They point to South Africa's successful diplomatic/economic and military discouragement of neighbouring states' support for the ANC.

They ask how MK can hope to operate successfully inside the country when faced with

the implacable hostility of black political movements such as Inkatha and Azapo.

On the other hand, observers more sympathetic to MK see much to their credit.

Representatives of the ANC and the SA Communist Party decided to form MK in June 1961; by December 16, 1961, attacks, based on a handful of cadres, rudimentary WWII vintage training and homemade explosives were carried out in a co-ordinated country-wide manner.

After the set-backs of the Rivonia and other raids and subsequent life imprisonment of most of the MK High Command, including Nelson

Former police major Craig Williams expert on the ANC and SACP, on several political trials. His assessment is a useful pointer to how the establishment view the

By CRAIG WI

Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Etc, MK activities, while low-key compared to 1961-63, continued.

More importantly, however, the MK structures, especially in various African and socialist states, th

In the week of the 25th anniversary of the launch of the armed struggle in South Africa ...

WEIGHING UP THE ANC

FOR the first time in its 75 years, the African National Congress believes it can seriously hold out the prospect of a revolutionary seizure of state power in South Africa.

Twenty-five years after the ANC embarked upon armed struggle, its spokesmen and tacticians concede that the point at which insurrection may be possible is still some years of hardship away. But this goal informs most areas of the ANC's current activity.

Observers in the Frontline states, including former members of non-South African liberation movements in the region, consider the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), has, for the first time, the manpower potential to mount a sustained insurrectionary guerrilla war inside the country. Its total of formally trained combatants is now around 10 000, according to reliable and well-placed sources.

Some of these ANC combatants will never see action as guerrillas inside South Africa. They are receiving conventional military training towards the formation of the nucleus of an officer corps in a post-apartheid army.

But it is believed that the vast majority of Umkhonto combatants are earmarked for guerrilla roles inside the country. At present there are some 500 Umkhonto guerrillas operating inside South Africa, mainly in training roles, according to the same sources. This number, who are "trained to train", are under instructions to "reproduce themselves many times over" in the favourable conditions which have developed for the ANC since early 1984.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, sources believe, could now infiltrate several thousand more guerrillas without over-committing itself or diluting its capacity for training outside the country. By comparison, the military potential of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is negligible. Its Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) has a total of about 400 guerrillas, according to PAC and other regional sources.

But whether the ANC can in fact mount a sustained insurrectionary guerrilla war depends on its ability to overcome several key problems, these observers believe.

Included among these key factors are the ANC's ability — or lack thereof — to shorten long lines of communication, infiltration and weapons supply, and the possibility of its making a reality of its declared intention to develop much more self-reliance among its political-military machinery inside the country.

The ANC and its support base inside the country also clearly have to move beyond merely "making the country ungovernable" from the state's point of view. The challenge is to have arrived at the

The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was born 25 years ago this week in a rash of pamphlets and bomb attacks on state targets. Two and a half decades long and bitter later, the apartheid state still stands. How then, does one assess the ANC's success — or failure?

By HOWARD BARRELL

stage where building "pockets of people's power" is not merely a rhetorical flourish but a reality.

These are occurring as major challenges before the ANC can indicate substantial progress in its terms since December 16, 1961 when, 20 months after the ANC's banning, a few score ANC and Communist Party militants started a campaign of sabotage, carefully controlled to avoid loss of life and, if possible, to convince whites that fundamental political change was necessary.

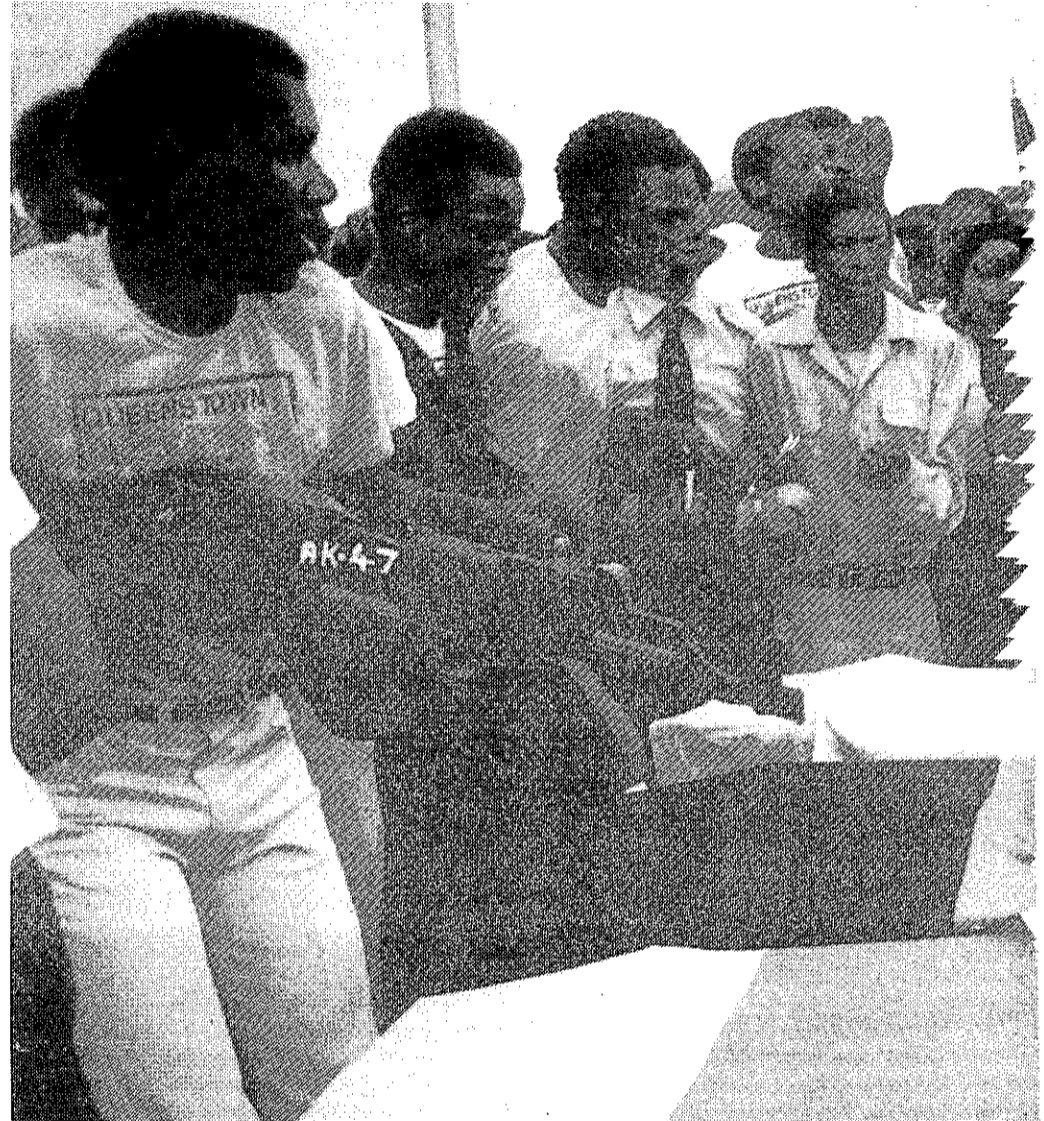
The mood then among the surviving ANC underground was to exhaust the sabotage option before proceeding to anything more ambitious. But within three years their underground, both political and military, had been smashed, hundreds had fled into exile, and a painfully slow process of rebuilding was started.

Those few hundred who left the country for long, lonely and isolated years in camps in Tanzania and elsewhere rebuilt the skeleton of Umkhonto we Sizwe. They provided its first officer corps and its present leadership under commander Joe Modise, deputy commander and political commissar Chris Hani, and chief of staff Joe Slovo.

But circumstances at that time ruled out any meaningful infiltration back into South Africa. And the ANC's only significant military activity was the joint ANC-Zapu "Wankie campaign" of 1967 in then-Rhodesia — an experience at least as instructive for its political errors as for its military achievements.

Conditions began to change in the early 1970s. The victory of Frelimo in Mozambique and the MPLA in Angola meant the ANC's external mission could move its perspective and some of its operations southwards. Inside the country, black workers, university students and then scholars moved into open revolt against the apartheid economy and polity, with the ANC's internal underground involved in differing degrees.

Between 1974 and 1977, some 4 000 young militants flooded into the ANC and, particularly,



Political symbolism: A Queenstown funeral with coffins draped in ANC colours.

Actually, the big bad bear's

FACED with African realities, the Soviet Union is allowing African socialism to push dreams of pure Marxism into the distant future.

And at this point, its design for South Africa is surprisingly modest, according to Dr Winrich Kuhne, one of Europe's foremost experts on Soviet Africa policy.

Kuhne, a conservative, long shared a Western belief that South Africa must be the great Soviet hope in Africa because of its degree of industrialisation.

But now he is convinced that the USSR has no clear policy to turn South Africa into a satellite. He finds agreement among Russian foreign policy officials that after the fall of apartheid, South Africa will stay economically linked to the West. He adds: "What they are hoping for is some sort of socialist orientation with a mixed economy. They accept that the markets are in the West, and that ideology cannot change the economic factors."

"This view exists, not just among academics but in the international department of the Central Committee and other decision-making bodies. One sees that since 1981 they have actually given rather limited support to the African National Congress."

Apart from economic factors, the Soviets are

Conservative German academic Dr Winrich Kuhne, a specialist in Soviet foreign policy, believes that if Moscow ever had a 'grand strategy' for South Africa, it dropped it years ago. GILL DWYER reports

wary of pinning their hopes on South African socialism because they feel the black opposition is too spontaneous and unorganised. Kuhne says: "They are suspicious of the young 'comrades' in the townships. They do not believe that the young 'comrades' understand socialism."

Moreover, "the Soviets misunderstand black consciousness and they are afraid it is racialism."

"Of course, in the propaganda everything to do with the whites is bad. But the Soviets are whites, and on the emotional level the blacks may be more of a problem to them."

"One does not know which of these views will surface in official policy. But I was surprised to find how much understanding they had for white minority rights."

The new pragmatism does not extend only to whites. Says Kuhne: "If the West starts an initiative to bring black and white to the

into the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Umkhonto could flesh out its structure and develop a younger officer corps.

This enabled the launch of a seven-year (1977-83) "armed propaganda" phase. Above all, it was intended to show the ANC's vast potential support base inside the country that armed struggle was, as one ANC tactician explains it, "feasible" under South African conditions — despite the fact that the ANC was unlikely to be able to set up reliable forward bases in neighbouring countries.

The result was military strikes at, among others, police stations, Sasol and the Koeberg nuclear power station.

By late 1983, it became apparent that the ANC had decided that a qualitatively different approach to armed struggle was necessary. At the same

time, observers thought they noticed that a long debate within the ANC was being resolved.

The conclusion appears to have been that South African conditions did not lend themselves to classical African guerrilla warfare and infiltration, except in very limited areas of the country.

Rather, what was required was, primarily, the "development of insurrectionary forces and tactics", as it is phrased.

The ANC has not yet spelt out in public in great detail exactly what it means by this approach, though several characteristics are clear.

At a moment of serious crisis for the apartheid state, it appears the ANC envisages that the highly co-ordinated and well-timed combination of military actions by Umkhonto we Sizwe, other armed actions by large "mass combat units"

11A

tactics than bombs and rifles

was for many years the state's whose activities he testified at of the ANC, produced below, South African Intelligence r greatest enemy.

LIAMSON

re developed to accommodate, train and arm ge numbers of cadres. Reliable figures indicate at more than 10 000 trainees have passed ough these facilities.

By 1977, thanks largely to a manpower influx brought about by the 1976 refugees, MK began seriously escalating its armed attacks to the levels of today. Those best remembered include Sasol, Koeb'rg, Voortrekkerhoogte and the SAAF car-bomb.

In 1985/86, for the first time since the abortive 1967/68 ANC/Zapu joint "Wankie campaign", MK showed evidence of deploying rural guerrilla warfare units.

Nevertheless, the correct way to judge MK and its success or failure over the past 25 years has nothing to do with the number of cadres trained, armed, captured or killed, or the number of arms

caches established or discovered, or with the number of bombs exploded or deaths and injuries caused. MK and the ANC as a whole have to be judged according to their stated strategy and tactics.

The dynamics of the South African situation are such that MK's role cannot be seen merely or only in terms of its military technique and organisation. MK and the ANC follow the guerrilla warfare dictates of strategists such as William Pomeroy. MK sees their cadre as a "political partisan" whose weapons are not only the AK47, the RPG-7 rocket or the limpet mine. The MK cadre's main weapon is in fact that he is seen to actively represent an

organisation which holds out the hope of social and political change to people who seek it.

MK must therefore be judged by the effect that they have had on South Africa as political fighters who use armed struggle as an instrument to mobilise support for the aims and objectives of the ANC. If one believes that the role of MK was to have acted as a catalyst which should, as part of a classical-type revolutionary situation, have already brought about a revolutionary insurrection and an armed seizure of state power then, 25 years later, they have not yet succeeded.

But, if one defines MK as an organisation of "political fighters" which aims to increase the degree of popular participation in the "struggle" to the level at which ANC revolutionary aims become general aims, then MK has not yet failed. The next 10 years will tell.



... and a youth totting a wooden replica of an ANC-style AK-47 rifle

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

plain bored

negotiating table, the Soviets will insist that the ANC is given an important role. But the people I spoke to (in the Soviet Union) concede that Inkatha could be included too.

"Ethiopia, Angola and other countries have made them afraid of ethnic problems and they feel that national conciliation is important from the beginning."

Soviet behaviour in the Seventies suggested the Soviets saw benefits in trouble in southern Africa, says. But now they do not want the situation to get too much out of control.

From a strategic point of view, it is important to the USSR that a black South Africa remain non-aligned. Particularly for civil cargo traffic to the east (more than 50 percent of which goes past the Cape), they want to keep the Cape route open.

But Kuhne does not foresee the Soviets trying to get a military foothold in South Africa, nor for that matter denying the West use of South African minerals produced as well by the Soviet Union. He adds: "The Soviets do not have the currency to stockpile these minerals. In fact, to finance development, a black government would probably increase production for the Western market. In Angola, for example, all the oil goes to the West." - Gemini News



President Oliver Tambo ... the next 10 years will tell

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

comprising ordinary people, labour mass actions, and other militant campaigns by students, women and youth could, at some point in the future, be able to contend for state power.

In terms of this perspective, "people's war" appears to be the protracted "gathering of forces" for such a national insurrection. It is the process in which all ANC supporters, together with other militants, develop their own military capacity as well as competence in the "politics of conspiracy" which characterise any underground movement.

This outlook is potentially capable of taking the struggle inside South Africa beyond merely a military equation, in which the South African Defence Force could field 450 000 troops at full strength. Millions more people could potentially become

involved on the ANC's side in this insurrectionary approach than would otherwise fight in a classical guerrilla war. The evidence of the past three years is that many thousands already have.

A senior Umkhonto we Sizwe commander recently disclosed that many people who had previously been prepared to do only political underground work with the ANC were now demanding weapons training and arms. He explained this as a response to Security Force activity in the townships. A significant number of people, who had not previously done so, were now concluding that armed struggle was "necessary", he maintained.

But the key element for the ANC to be able to succeed in this tactical push must logically be the strength of its political-military underground

machinery inside the country, and the ability of that underground to arm a wide spread of forces organisationally and militarily, as well as to co-ordinate their activities.

The ANC quite clearly has a great deal of work to do in this area. Among others, the ANC has not yet proven capable of dealing effectively with a number of mainly young *agens provocateurs* who have emerged in, or been penetrated by security agencies into, township organisations over the past year. Their behaviour, according to ANC sources, is usually characterised by a rejection of discipline on the grounds that it is anti-revolutionary.

Outside the country, the ANC seems better able to cope with state security penetration. One senior ANC official remarked recently his organisation was becoming "slightly bored" with the regularity

ONE reason for the difficulty in assessing communist influence in African National Congress decision-making is the absence of significant differences in policy or strategy.

Another reason is the nature of influence that arises from personal friendship and shared experience. Influence, furthermore, is a two-way street — although anti-communists often assume that only communists can exert it effectively.

Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC, who is now in prison for life, would say to friends about critics who assumed that the communists would dominate any collaboration: cannot these people see that we might be using the communists?

Another ANC spokesman has pointed out that "at the peak of the civil rights struggle in the United States (Martin Luther) King was called a communist". The occasion for his remark was a meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, on August 23, 1986, between a delegation of the Reverend Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, which was visiting the Frontline states, and a delegation of 17 ANC leaders. In a spirit of solidarity rather than scepticism, a Jackson delegate and former activist in the civil rights movement asked the first question: how should he deal with the communist issue when he returned home?

Pallo Jordan, a member of the NEC who is not considered a communist, gave a spirited reply.

It was "absurd", he said, to assume that communists are "smarter and cleverer than anybody else". To assume that ANC members who were not communists can be dominated now or in the future was "an insult".

Africans who were Marxist-Leninists were not exempt from apartheid and had been welcomed as members of the ANC since the 1920s, along with everyone else opposed to racism. "If this makes people in Washington uncomfortable, too bad."

Unlike speculation about influence, inquiry into the number of communists on the NEC has the appeal of statistical objectivity, the assumption being that if the committee were dominated numerically by communists, the question of influence and manipulation would become irrelevant.

A further reason for interest in the composition of the committee is the presence of whites and Indians. One suspects that this interest may resemble a habitual racist assumption of white South Africans: that when Africans engage in complex activity, whites or Indians must be manipulating them behind the scenes.

The London *Economist* of July 26, 1986 declared that the ANC's 30-member National Executive Committee contained at least 10 "members" of the SA Communist Party "and perhaps as many as 14 or 15". That such a judgement has become commonplace illustrates how an assertion can take on authenticity through repetition, even if based only on flimsy evidence.

The US Senate subcommittee on security and terrorism began the process in 1982 with assertions and information that were provided by South African intelligence and contained major inaccuracies.

In June 1986 the South African government distributed a booklet listing 23 members of the

of the patterns of infiltration, particularly into Umkhonto we Sizwe, employed by state agencies.

South African security agencies' attempts to organise mutinies in Umkhonto we Sizwe camps in recent years have not had the intended effect, say observers. But this has not prevented these agencies on one or two occasions confusing their wish with the reality and predicting, erroneously, that Umkhonto was collapsing — while the evidence of the past three years points to the contrary.

And now, as what the ANC termed "the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe" draws to a close, guerrilla attack statistics and statements by government spokesmen testify to the fact that the ANC has improved its capacity for armed struggle considerably over this 12-month period.

Communists, yes, but do they run the show?

Thomas Karis, the leading American expert on South African politics, believes claims that the ANC is dominated by communists are based on flimsy evidence. This is a brief extract from a major article in the *Journal Foreign Affairs*

By THOMAS KARIS

ANC as "members and/or active supporters of the SACP". Two months later, Senator Jesse Helms announced that William Casey, director of the CIA, had declassified at his request "the half biographies of the Communist members of the Executive Committee".

In my view, the CIA biographies do not substantiate the conclusion that all or even more than three of the 18 men profiled are "communists".

More important are the attitudes of current key ANC leaders towards the Communist Party, its thinking and its aims.

Oliver Tambo, 68, the president, has been in the ANC forefront for some 40 years. He is a lawyer, an African nationalist, a practising Christian, and a man of widely respected integrity, who is committed to Western forms of political democracy. It is difficult to think of any major African leader less interested than Tambo in personal power.

Another top ANC leader is Thomas Nkobi, an African nationalist who has not been prominent as a political spokesman. Perhaps because he succeeded Moses Kotane, a communist, as treasurer general, there has been speculation about his possible relationship to the Communist Party, but his biography was not among those submitted by the CIA to Senator Helms.

The third top ANC official is the secretary-general, Alfred Nzo. The CIA describes him as "a self-avowed communist" although he has never made such an avowal.

In conversation with me on June 27, 1986, he emphatically denied being a member, saying he was an African nationalist. This characterisation is consistent with his public record and reputation.

Another major ANC leader, although not among the top three, is Joe Modise, who is in his early fifties. He is commander of the military wing and has a reputation as a man of action who talks little of politics. His biography is among the CIA 18, but it is devoid of any facts that would justify a supposition about orientation towards the Communist Party.

Communist Party membership is kept strictly secret, except for the chairman and general secretary and a few well-known members. Determining who is a member is complicated by the fact that some members of the pre-1950 legal party did not join the post-1953 clandestine party, and others have since dropped out.

● Professor Thomas G Karis is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the City College of the City University of New York and co-author of *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa 1882-1964*. This article is an extract from *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1986.

LETTERS FROM A REGENT STREET RADICAL



Vrot Squat
London

Dear Dad

I HAVE had to break my vow of silence. The eagle has landed. My one-person campaign against Barclays has paid off. This will teach them to steal my money — professing exchange rates that would make even Enoch Powell ashamed. Since my single-handed academic, cultural and economic boycott was first launched, anarchy, havoc and destruction has been unleashed on your regime. It is a tribute to my commitment that such far-reaching consequences have ensued. I am now very tired and will be going with Leslie, who is only a friend, for a well-earned rest in the Alps.

I am not sure whether the Café Cachalia (next to South Africa House) will manage to stay in business during my absence. The Cappuccino Café Cachalia has been a great support to me during my tireless efforts against oppression. Those banners are so heavy, and so uncomfortable to lean against. The uniformed thugs who work for MI5 have been very rude to me lately, probably because they know that I know.

I've been meaning to tell you for some time that my commitment to the academic boycott has necessitated great compromises on my part in relation to my studies and I will have to suffer the consequences of my dedication to the struggle. This will mean a further year at that rigid bastion of British Imperialism, the LSE, a most uncomprehending institution. However, I am glad to tell you that I am lucky enough to have been offered a room in Leslie's Knightsbridge penthouse, and so will yet again be entirely self-reliant. It will be hard, but I have learnt to suffer adversity cheerfully.

The container with the BMW, the deepfreeze, the lounge suite from David Hicks, the David Hockneys (there were four, weren't they? You can't trust these customs bureaucrats, they're always trying to feather their own nests), the Iranian carpets, and a few Kalashnikovs, arrived safely at Southampton. I had to go down there by cab to avoid being recognised by Party people, and it was a source of great tribulation to me. I would like you to know that it is not easy for me to be associated with your bourgeois aspirations, and anyway, Leslie thinks your taste is execrable. It has been necessary to liquidate some of the more offensive items — I'm sure you'll understand. The Kalashnikovs (thank you Uncle Barney) have found their way to Nicaragua, and the insurance paid out on the car, although paltry, has, I assure you, gone to service a good cause.

Incidentally, dad, your bank account number has mysteriously gone astray. It's probably because of your association with the regime. Not to worry, though, I have everything under control.

By the way, I have asked you before, and I will ask you again, do not put pressure on me and my friends to buy Outspan oranges. I know it affects the rate at which you can squeeze money out of the country (how sordid) but I have my principles. And don't forget the biltong, it's the only protein I can afford.

The regime here, with their Baragwanath-style National Health, are putting out scare propaganda about AIDS. It's directed at activists, and is quite typical of Thatcherite scare-tactics. MI5 is also involved, one way or another.

Please tell Gloria that I will not be blackmailed into sending her coke or any other of her self-indulgent pretensions. Goodness knows, it's hard enough to keep oneself going here, let alone worrying about those of you who are about to reap the whirlwind.

Nigel, who is just a friend, has asked me to mention to you, dad, that despite your exploitation of your alienated workers, he would be prepared to take only one, the purple curlicued throne with the cherubs (on the front of the catalogue) as a pre-revolutionary memento. Can you do a Marilyn Monroe insert?

May all your exchanges be friendly.
Your loving son,

Reggie

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OTHER PEOPLE

At dawn, among the lettuce leaves, the singing counsel

ONE of the country's best-known political advocates rises at dawn to tend his lettuces, brings home-grown salads to court for his colleagues and sings Greek folk songs to his clients.

But this generous side to George Bizos is unknown to hundreds of state witnesses who have been subjected to his rigorous cross-examination during the 30 years he has fought political cases.

To chart the career of the 58-year-old lawyer is to track some of the major events in South Africa's recent history.

He represented Sophiatown priest Trevor Huddleston in the Fifties, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in the Sixties, and now is senior counsel in the ongoing Delmas treason trial.

Bizos once again came into the public eye this week, with the publication of the findings of an independent commission, which he headed, into unrest at the University of the Witwatersrand. Less widely reported was his appointment to the Botswana judiciary.

And although he turned down Weekly Mail's request for an interview, citing the South African Bar Council's prohibition on lawyers publicising themselves or their colleagues, fellow lawyers were willing to speak at length about the man who arrived in Johannesburg at the age of 13, unable to speak a word of English:

Bizos — the eldest in a family of three sons and a daughter — grew up in Koroni, a village in south-west Greece where his farmer-father was mayor. His childhood on the Greek islands was cut short when World War Two broke out and he and his father left their Nazi-occupied homeland in a small boat.

Bizos's colleagues said his eventful sea journey included being picked up by Lord Louis Mountbatten's flotilla and travelling to Egypt. In August 1941 he and his father sailed into Durban on board the Ile de France troop ship.

After the war Bizos and his father were joined by the rest of the family in Johannesburg, where they ran a small corner café.

A Johannesburg attorney said Bizos might have remained a shopkeeper had a Jewish teacher not spotted the alert boy and induced his father to send him to school. She also gave him extra lessons, helping him with his studies in a language he could barely speak.

While many of Bizos's future legal colleagues were attending private schools, he matriculated from the lower-middle class Athlone Boys' School. After school he enrolled at Wits where he did a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Law degree.

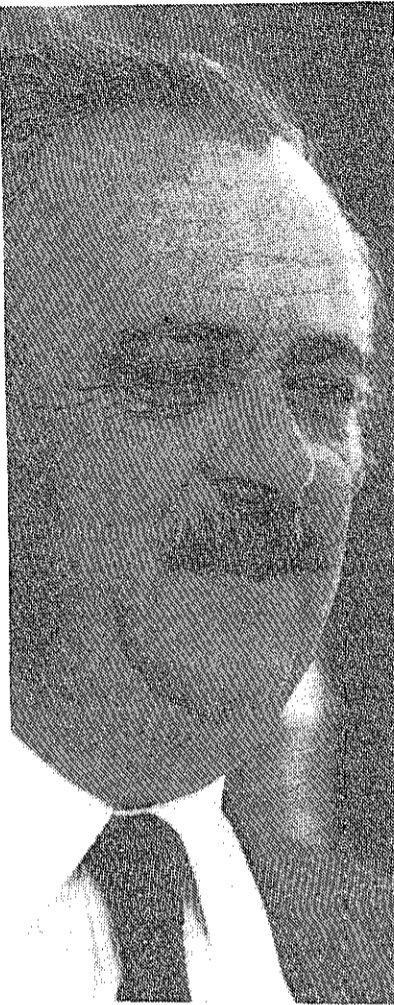
A senior advocate who attended Wits at the same time said Bizos was prominent in student affairs and the National Union of South African Students and was a member of the Wits Students Representative Council.

"He always held his views very strongly and fiercely — almost passionately," the advocate said.

Bizos's work as a political lawyer began almost immediately he was admitted to the Johannesburg Bar in 1954.

One of his first cases involved

For a change this week, advocate George Bizos was doing the judging, not the cross-examining when he presented a strongly-worded report on the causes of campus violence. JO-ANN BEKKER profiles one of the Bar's most colourful figures



George Bizos ... astonishing courtroom stamina

defending the women of Zeerust, who were protesting the extension of the pass laws to women. He acted for teachers who opposed the introduction of Bantu Education and for Sophiatown priest Trevor Huddleston, who set up independent schools in opposition to the government's new scheme.

Bizos also defended the Sekhukuniland (now Lebowa) tribal authorities who were deposed after they rebelled against the new Bantu Authorities.

One of the landmarks in his career was his role as junior counsel in the Rivonia treason trial of Nelson Mandela and other top African National Congress leaders. Since then, lawyers said, Bizos had been Mandela's chief legal confidant and has acted for Winnie Mandela on many occasions.

Other prominent political figures whom Bizos has represented either as senior or junior counsel include the families of Steve Biko and Neil Aggett, who died in detention; South West African People's Organisation leader Hermann Toivo ja Toivo, and white treason trialists Barbara Hogan and Rob Adam.

He is presently a senior counsel in the treason trial arising out of the 1984 Vaal uprising Delmas treason trial and has been travelling the 70 km between Johannesburg and the East

Rand town of Delmas for the entire year.

"George has been in court virtually every day throughout the trial," a Johannesburg advocate said. "To find senior counsel prepared to devote that amount of time and energy is rare."

"His stamina is renowned," another colleague remarked. "He just gets stronger as the court battle goes on."

Bizos is also noted for his skill as a cross-examiner, facilitated by what is described as his "remarkable memory". He often questions policemen in Afrikaans, which he speaks with a heavy Greek accent.

"He uses a standard technique in cross-examination — he leads witnesses down the garden path — he just does it better than anyone else," an attorney explained.

"George has a feeling for which questions to ask; he just seems to understand how people work," a senior advocate added.

Bizos's colleagues point out that besides his high-profile cases, he has represented hundreds of ordinary black people in remote areas.

"George practises law like he lives his life, very passionately," a senior counsel who has known him for 30 years said. "He gives of himself completely, he is totally committed to his work. He is very painstaking; he is so thorough, he's actually tedious."

Silver-haired and portly, Bizos is described by friends as compassionate, engaging and a wonderful story teller, his stories emphasised by his expressive face and mannerisms. He once broke a cufflink when he brought his fist down on the table to emphasise a point during a dinner party.

Another anecdote told about Bizos is of the time he was rocking back on his chair, in his usual habit, when the chair legs broke. He landed on the floor without spilling a drop from his wine glass.

Bizos, according to friends, is also a devoted family man. He married Arathe Daflos in the same year he was called to the Bar. They have three sons; two are qualified doctors and one an industrial engineer.

Much of his energy is also devoted to the Greek community. He was one of the initiators of the non-racial Greek Saheti School in Johannesburg and is chairman of the school board.

Bizos — an ardent student of Greek language, literature and politics — still has close ties with Greece, where his mother lives. For many years he was prevented from visiting his homeland because the government refused him a passport.

George Bizos's personal politics are most vocally expressed in his human rights work. He is a member of the board of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University and on the national council of Lawyers for Human Rights.

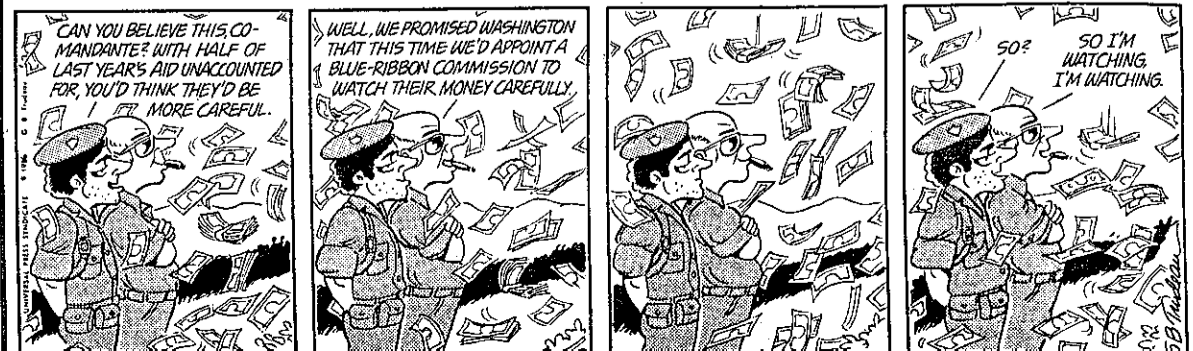
On ethical points he is fond of quoting Greek philosophers. An essay by him published in a Johannesburg newspaper a year ago is as apt today.

"Others say that there are forces wanting to make the country ungovernable and the (Emergency) measures are therefore necessary," he wrote.

"To them Aristotle has given the answer: 'Inequality in goods and honours leads to seditions'."

Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU



THE

An eager

AS sanctions mount, overseas producers are queuing eagerly to step into markets once dominated by South Africa.

According to Pretoria's Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, the country holds 47 percent of world vanadium reserves. In 1983, exports represented 59 percent of the world total, according to the same source. It is used principally as a steel hardener.

But there is spare production capacity worldwide, and China, the second-largest producer, could take over any shortfall. The *Financial Times* of London writes that Chinese sales would almost certainly resume in response to higher Western demand.

Large stockpiles of vanadium also exist, and US reserves are estimated at about one-eighth of the world total.

According to EEC experts, Europe could cope with a shortage because the metal can easily be substituted with molybdenum, columbium, titanium and tungsten.

If world prices were to rocket, the Finnish company Rautaruuki says its Mustavaara mine, closed since 1985, could resume activity again overnight. It was shut because of excessive production costs, but better prices would increase profitability, and the mine could offer a yearly production of 5 000 tonnes. This is one-third of South Africa's announced 1983 exports.

South Africa's reserves of chrome ore account for 84 percent of

Countries reliant on South African minerals are already looking for other suppliers to keep their steel and auto industries going in the event of metal sanctions. RACHEL SMITH reports.

worldwide stores, according to the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

But even so, chrome is counted as another mineral in which South African domination is largely determined by price and choice of steel-making, according to economics writer Richard Moorsom. Minor changes in process may be required, but adequate higher-grade chrome is available from other parts of the world — especially Zimbabwe.

Plenty of spare capacity could come on stream again if the South African competition were eliminated. The EEC has already urged member-states to look for alternative sources of supply in countries such as Turkey, the Philippines, Brazil and Iran.

Manganese is another mineral integral to steel-making, but again there is ample world capacity and reserves, especially because of current low world prices.

Some steel-makers insist they need the particular qualities of South African manganese. Even so, Moorsom contends that it can be substituted for by technological changes in the production processes.



Sanctions ... trapping exports in a corner

Platinum is generally taken to be the least substitutable of major strategic minerals, and South Africa produces over 80 percent of the world's exports. It is used in certain industrial processes, like catalytic converters, which reduce the pollution from car exhausts, and is not easily replaced by other platinum-group metals like palladium. A cut-off of South African supplies, then, is bound to lead to a rocketing of prices.

But this in turn would encourage recovery of waste platinum and the

search for new alternatives, Moorsom points out.

The stimulation of scrap recovery, combined with the release of stockpiled material, would ensure that countries outside South Africa would survive, maintains international metals dealer and consultant Peter Robbins, but only if sanctions were to last less than a year. However, this period could be greatly extended if the West were prepared to rely on the USSR, the second-largest supplier.

Used in South Africa and

Namibia (50 percent from each country) accounts for 25 percent of production in the Western world. Stocks are high, particularly in the US, and countries like Canada and Niger could increase output, given new incentive.

The impact of effective gold sanctions would be devastating for South Africa, adds Robbins. Gold accounts for 50 percent of South Africa's foreign sales, contributes 11 percent of its GNP, employs six percent of the population and thus represents the potential Achilles heel of the economy. About 48 percent of the world's gold production comes from South Africa. But only five percent is used industrially, and stocks are available to cover industrial and medical activities should a ban be imposed.

Certainly, short-term logistical problems would plague some specialised industrial processes in the absence of South Africa's strategic minerals, and would cause the odd problem in car-making and steel-manufacturing, concedes Moorsom. But he maintains that they could be offset by government action to protect supplies, prevent speculation and prioritise uses of the minerals.

Both Moorsom and Robbins agree that the idea that industry outside South Africa would grind to a halt without South African "strategic" minerals is a myth. — African Business

BUSINESS IN PROFILE

"HELLO, my name is CLIVE. I'm here to help," reads the button on his shirt. It says a lot about the management style of Clive Weil, MD of Checkers SA, the substantial businessman with the substantial television presence.

If you've never seen his ads, you've never watched television. And if you don't have an image of him as the rolypoly-jolly-chap-who's-keeping-the-prices-down-for-YOU, you must have been asleep. As a result of the advertising campaign, he's probably one of the best-known faces in the land.

Educated at Selbourne and Queens colleges and Natal University, Weil took over at Checkers last year. At 39, he now controls South Africa's largest supermarket chain (with an annual turnover of around R2-billion) and believes that relationships between staff members can contribute to the process of change in the country. "We've got to become a lot more informal in the way we interact as Checkers people," he says.

He believes white South Africans are going to have to make "a lot of compromises" in order for an equitable system to emerge out of apartheid, and this informs his views on unions, politics and the future. He spoke this week to SHAUN JOHNSON.

What role do you see for Checkers in the process of change?

It's difficult not to sound paternalistic, but I really believe there's a lot we can do by setting an example, by trying to improve the lot of our employees. These are people we reach directly — we've got some 17 000 people working for Checkers.

Having said that, I am very aware of our record at Checkers as an employer, and it hasn't been a particularly great one. It has, in many ways, been predicated by the lack of

financial success of the company. But I have been on record talking to my staff telling them that they will benefit when the company is in a position to improve the situation.

I'm personally committed to trying to set a few examples within the company. In my mind there isn't a distinction between black and white — we have Checkers people.

I'm also well aware that our relationships with the unions are not always of the best, and I personally work very hard on trying to turn the other cheek, not over-reacting to some of the actions of politically aware trade unionists, et cetera. I believe we've got to stay cool and we've got to keep talking.

If there's anything that I believe can help the situation in South Africa, we've got to keep talking, and talking to everybody, whether it's the lunatic left or the lunatic right.

What is your attitude to the growth of the union movement?

To me it's a very sad indictment of management in South Africa that since the advent of the unions, communication between employer and employee seems to have improved dramatically. And there's no question that the union movement has been a powerful force for change and generally positive.

The union movement in South Africa has been highly politicised and is fighting a political struggle, as well as a struggle for their workers in improving the content of their jobs and conditions.

I am perfectly happy with the way things have gone in improving basic conditions. I do think, however, that it has tended to be a little bit over-politicised. I think that perhaps some of the very overtly political demands that have been made have, in fact, caused some employers to back off a little bit.

I don't mean that in a hypercritical way — it's just an impression. But the attitude of the unions is quite understandable from my point of view.

Do you have a formalised affirmative action programme?

No, but I think when you look at the levels of achievement by many non-whites, you will find we have many, many non-white store managers for example and many in senior positions.

This also applies to females. We're talking about the need for non-



My name is Clive Weil

should be particularly publicised. If one looks at the psyche of the governing party and the cabinet, these are not people that are particularly mindful of that kind of public criticism or comment. It can be counter-productive. We should be talking openly in closed forums.

If Gavin Relly wishes to have another discussion with the ANC, I think he should go ahead. Perhaps he should avoid the kind of publicity he had the first time.

How do you view the sanctions movement?

My personal view is that sanctions are counter-productive. I am horrified by many of the remarks which are made to me by customers, suppliers, people we interact with. I'm concerned we're colour-blind.

Recently there has been a furious debate over the extent to which business should get overtly involved in politics. What's your feeling?

I'm not an overtly political animal. I do believe I have a right to speak my mind, but I don't always believe that using the media as a platform to address the government is going to achieve the right results.

If people believe they need to talk to the ANC to get a perspective, they have a right to do that. In the same way, they have a right to talk to the AWP.

I don't believe the discussions which seem to be more comfortable

creation. Is Checkers affected by sanctions?

Not particularly, because we don't have a heavy exposure to imported material. But I have to tell you there's already a body of opinion amongst consumers which is looking to boycott products of countries which have overtly supported sanctions — products of Scandinavia, Australia and New Zealand for example.

Do you see Checkers playing a part in transition in this country, and are you optimistic about the future?

We are certainly a major part of a community wherever we have a store. We're close to the community because we do business with millions of South Africans.

I think we have our ears to the ground and we're very close to the action. What continues to amaze me is that there is still such a relatively good vibe amongst the races. Taking everything into account, I think historians 50 or 60 years down the line are going to marvel at the relative lack of violence and overt frustration at this particular point in time.

But we've got to really start moving, making the right noises, speaking to the right people. And the people who are going to have to make the concessions are obviously the whites.

We're going to have to make concessions in just about every way we know — standards of education, standards of living, how we conduct ourselves publicly and privately. Just how quickly these concessions are going to be demanded of us is dependent on our ability to talk.

What is your attitude to the State of Emergency in that light?

I think it's very dangerous if we allow the State of Emergency to become a permanent part of life in South Africa. That gives people the impression that we no longer need to talk, that things are under control, when they're not.

The solution ultimately lies in concessions coming from the white side. If I were to negotiate, I would negotiate on the basis that I would be forced to give up something.

I believe whites are entitled to a place in the sun. We are white Africans — I was born in this country — but perhaps my place in the sun 25 years from now might not be as

Opec talks up the oil prices

By PETER MILLERSHIP, Geneva

OPEC ministers began talks in Geneva yesterday on ways of boosting world oil prices, with one proposal that the cartel should take the difficult step of cutting production.

The proposal was made on Wednesday night by a six-state market monitoring committee, but many major producers which appear to be the target — Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Indonesia and Venezuela — are not members of the panel.

The 13-member states of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries all want to drive prices to an Opec target of 18 dollars a barrel from 14-15 dollars now, but are deeply divided on how to go about it.

A price collapse which started a year ago when prices were 30 dollars a barrel, was halted last August when the group agreed on emergency interim production cuts. Prices shot up from below nine dollars to their present levels.

But the curbs, which slashed production from a high of more than 20-million barrels a day to nearly 17-million, expire at the end of the year and the meeting must decide on what strategy to adopt next.

Analysts said further production cuts would help boost prices but the crunch issue is which states will make the output sacrifices.

Saudi Arabia says it has sacrificed enough. Venezuela is heavily in debt, as is Nigeria. Indonesia has severe economic problems of its own.

The focus at the full conference will be on Saudi Arabia's new oil minister Hisham Nazer, replacement for veteran Opec negotiator Ahmed Zaki Yamani who was fired in October.

Delegates believe that what Nazer says will hold the key to Opec's future strategy. — Sapa

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Fears, but NPU stands firm with the rest

By PATRICK LAURENCE
THE debate within the press about how best to counter government moves to impose new controls on dwindling press freedom raged with renewed intensity this week.

But fears that the established press — large-circulation newspapers represented by the Newspaper Press Union — would sacrifice the alternative press to save themselves from new government controls were allayed, temporarily at least.

After a special meeting at which the latest government move was discussed, the NPU said: "The meeting accepted that the steps which may be taken to handle the State of Emergency will apply to all the media."

The latest round of speculation about the future of the beleaguered press was triggered by a statement released by President PW Botha last Friday after discussions on the security situation with the NPU chairman and executive officials of the four main newspaper companies, Nasionale Pers, Perskor, Argus and Saa. The statement contained the NPU's verbatim response to Botha. "The Press Union fully realises that South Africa is being subjected to a many-pronged but well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught," the NPU said.

"We accept the need to do everything in our power to avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by

Massive blow to the ECC

YESTERDAY'S clampdown deals a serious blow to the End Censorship Campaign (ECC).

The new ban on statements that discredit or undermine the system of compulsory military service hits at the heart of the campaign.

The ECC, a broad front of organisations from the PFP Youth to religious organisations to the Black Sash, has since 1983 led a highly successful single-issue campaign for the abolition of compulsory military con-

scription.

It has walked a tightrope along the legal margin of two acts: the Defence Act and the Public Safety Act.

Previous Emergency regulations banned statements which were likely to incite a rejection of compulsory military service. This gave the ECC a lawful margin in which to work, because the state would have had to show that their activities were

objectively likely to incite opposition to conscription.

The new test is far more restrictive, ruling out any statement that discredits compulsory military service.

Yesterday, the ECC issued a lengthy statement calling for a day of prayer and fasting on December 14 "as part of our call for the release of our detained leaders".

Sixteen ECC members are currently in Emergency detention.

over as well as covert means."

The NPU went on to stress the importance to the press of fulfilling its function of objective and fair reporting, and of guarding its credibility against all threats, even those from its own ranks.

But if that part of the statement allayed the anxieties aroused by the first part, the concluding sentences rekindled them.

"The Media Council was not created by the Press Union to deal with conditions such as have been brought by the intensification of the revolutionary onslaught and the resultant State of Emergency," the NPU said.

"We believe that the mechanism of

the Media Council may need reviewing to take into account the State of Emergency, the revolutionary onslaught and the concern you (Botha) expressed on November 28..."

The NPU then proposed a meeting between itself, the chairman of the Media Council and a special cabinet committee, triggering speculation that, having recognised the inadequacy of the Media Council to regulate reporting of a "revolutionary situation", it planned to discuss revision of the council's code of conduct with the government.

Only the established press is subject to the Media Council's jurisdiction. Thus fears were generated that a deal was pending in which the established

press would gain immunity from new government controls by agreement to submit to a revised Media Council code of conduct — and that the alternative press would be left to face government censorship.

The NPU agreed, however, both at its in-house meeting on Monday and at its Tuesday meeting with a special cabinet committee that the sweeping new controls should apply to all newspapers.

But, judging from a statement by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha after the NPU-cabinet committee meeting, the prospect of revision of the Media Council code of conduct to buy a decree of immunity for the NPU newspapers has not been removed

A second meeting between the NPU and the cabinet committee has been scheduled for February 13, at which the NPU and the Media Council are expected to make suggestions for the revision of the council's rules of procedure and code of conduct, Botha said.

At next year's meeting, Botha added, "the application of steps which may be taken with regard to members of the NPU, or publications under the authority of the code of conduct and the Media Council, will be considered, in order to handle the Emergency."

One thread in recent South African press history consists of recurring attempts by the newspaper industry to forestall direct government controls by imposing its own professional controls.

First there was the establishment of the Press Council to avoid falling under the Publications Act. Then, during the premiership of Vorster, there was the granting of powers to the council to fine erring newspapers. Finally, after the Steyn Commission and its proposal to establish a register of journalists, there was the establishment of the more widely-based Media Council.

But these moves, at best, delayed government demands for more and more control.

The latest government measures raise the question of how much time is left to play for and how much freedom remains to be salvaged, if any at all.

Media council chief warns of 'fatal sense of complacency'

A WIDE range of individuals and organisations have reacted with outrage to the government's latest inroads into the remnants of press freedom in South Africa.

Even though yesterday's government gazette did not fulfill the direst predictions — extending to the expected closure of some newspapers — the regulations are seen as the most serious threat yet to the supply of information.

The chairman of the South African Media Council, ex-Appellate Division Judge L de V van Winsen, said "the omission of certain news and views will lull the public into a false and potentially fatal sense of complacency".

The restrictions constitute "the most far-reaching constraints yet placed upon the free flow of news during the present crisis", he said.

He appealed for a "reconsideration" of the regulations, saying "failure to draw attention to the risk they entailed would be a dereliction of the public responsibility delegated by the Media Council's Charter".

Church groups, political organisations, professional associations, trade unions and even a foreign government have come out in swift and strong condemnation of government clamp.

●The Anglican Church's liaison officer, Bishop John Carter, said "only authoritarian regimes of the worst kind, that are afraid to let people know what is happening,



Left, the front page of the regulations. Right, the back page

UDF challenge in courts

or to seize single editions.

However, the regulations follow the decision of the courts in that this power can only be exercised if there is a clear breach of certain regulations. The previous, impeached power was dependent on the mere opinion of the authorities.

In some minor respects, the regulations have been tightened up and are now more precise. They also would resort to such measures".

●The president of the Methodist Conference, the Rev Jack Schultz, said "the government is moving a step closer to totalitarianism".

●The acting president of the

happening in their own country will not stop what is happening now".

●Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Jaap Marais, said "the government is demonstrating that it has allowed the unrest to develop to such an extent that it now has to take extreme measures such as these to regain control".

●The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosothu Buthelezi, said "the restrictions will exacerbate our problem, and will only help those clamouring for sanctions".

●Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, David Dalling, said "the press is entering a new dark era", and he called on the government to "seriously reconsider the regulations".

●Lawyers For Human Rights vice-chairman Barry Jammy said the regulations would mean that South Africa "has effectively become a police state and freedom of speech and the press has effectively been destroyed".

●The Congress of South African Trade Unions said it was "clear the Emergency has failed to produce the desired results, and it is time for all South Africans who want no truck with apartheid and repression to unite to stop the government before it does irreparable damage to the country".

●A spokesman for the British Foreign Office "deplored the restrictions", claiming "they are entirely contrary to the Western values that the South African government claims to espouse".

●From Page 1

fall short of some of the more drastic predictions in the press during the last week.

But generally, in the words of a press lawyer, the gains which were made by the press in the Natal Supreme Court have been "swept away" and "ominous" new prohibitions have been imposed.

Azanian Peoples Organisation, Nkosi Mofala, said "the restrictions are reminiscent of the steps adopted by Adolf Hitler and Mussolini and their totalitarian henchmen. Denying people knowledge of what is

So, if you want to talk about these things, we suggest you phone one of the numbers given on our front page and ask for permission.

Since all those people listed are public servants, whose salaries are paid by the taxpayer, we are certain they will assist with any reasonable request from citizens not wishing to break the law.

Biggest arts festival ever banned

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

THE largest cultural festival in the country has been banned in terms of the newly-amended Emergency regulations.

The National Conference of the End Censorship Campaign was banned at the same time and in terms of the same regulation.

Notice of the blanket ban on the Arts Festival '86 — Towards a People's Culture was served late yesterday afternoon. It came in the wake of the detention last week of three festival committee executive members, Chippy Oliver, Alistair Teeling-Smith and Mike Rautenbach, also End Censorship Campaign members.

The prohibition order, signed by the divisional commissioner of police for the western Cape, Maj-Gen Christoffel Swart, affects more than 600 artists, musicians, actors, dancers and organisers, some of whom had already travelled from Johannesburg and were in last-minute rehearsal.

Some of the organisers — particularly those with ECC affiliations — went immediately into hiding.

Festival committee representative, Steve Gordon, said people were "outraged" by the ban, citing it as an example of how the state used the Emergency regulations to "stifle non-racial cultural activity".

"It's remarkable that this is done in the name of 'public safety'," Gordon said, adding that "it is clear now that the state is in such a precarious position that it feels threatened by the music, art, drama and literature of our people."

The festival organisers have taken legal advice, but at present it seems highly unlikely that the 12-day event will materialise.

Events on the programme included a wide range of symposia, more than 20 live concerts, numerous plays and four major art exhibitions which were to have gone on tour.

Several trade unions, political organisations and artistic institutions were to have taken part — from Gardens to Guguletu — in the people's festival. Bands participating included Malombo, The Sharptown Swingsters and Winston's Jive Mix-Up.

Ministers can give permission

IF you want to discuss anything that falls within the Emergency regulations, you had better phone the authorities for permission.

The Emergency regulations now hold up the threat of 10 years imprisonment, with or without the option of a R20 000 fine, for anyone who "whether orally or in writing, makes any subversive statements or causes such a statement to be made".

This means you could be in trouble if you make such a statement at the dinner table, in casual conversation or even in private notebooks.

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

And you will have to be careful. Illegal statements now include:

- The fact that a detainee has been released or even the circumstances of his or her detention;
- The effect of a consumer boycott on business performance;
- Date, time, place and purpose of a gathering that has been restricted;
- Certain words of any of the scores of people served with Emergency restrictions.

The only way you can talk about

such issues is if you get permission from a cabinet minister, deputy-cabinet minister, the Bureau for Information or a government spokesman.

So, if you want to talk about these things, we suggest you phone one of the numbers given on our front page and ask for permission.

Since all those people listed are public servants, whose salaries are paid by the taxpayer, we are certain they will assist with any reasonable request from citizens not wishing to break the law.

AN electricity box stands in the middle of a field in Dlamini 1, staking out the territory like a hoisted flag. "One Azania One Nation" has been spraypainted in red across its surface, declaring to the world that this is Azapo country.

But there is pathos in the bold statement. Azapo (Azanian People's Organisation) and Azasm (Azanian Students' Movement), which command some not inconsiderable respect in this neighbourhood, are running scared in their own playground, after weeks of bloodletting against their members. Their activists have fled from their homes, fearing the petrol bombs, pangas and guns that have been aimed at their colleagues.

While Sosco (Soweto Students' Congress) "comrades" are making themselves scarce in Dlamini 1, Dlamini 2, across the street, has become virtually off-limits to Azasm during the past month, and Ibhongo High School, across the field, has been cleared of more than 20 Azasm students since June.

"Sosco has told us 'if we see you in school, you had better tell us what size tyre you wear'," says Brister Kalaote, 19, Azasm's national administrative secretary. Kalaote took the necklace threat seriously and abandoned his studies at Ibhongo six months ago.

At least four people have been killed during the past few weeks, in the murderous tit-for-tat war between Azasm and the United Democratic Front-affiliated Sosco and Soyco (Soweto Youth Congress).

And as such conflicts would have it, each side insists that its people are the persecuted.

"Street committee members are being killed by Azapo," says Soyco president Rapu Molekane.

Molekane says Azapo and Azasm attacks on the UDF affiliates have the tacit approval of the police. "Azapo people have been using police guns," suggesting a close relationship between the two parties. "In most of the cases when they attack us, the police come at the same time.

"When this whole thing started, people thought it was just a conflict

'If we see you in school, tell us what size tyre you wear'

W. Mail 12/12/86 (11A)

Dlamini 1, in Soweto, is an Azapo stronghold, or it was until the neighbourhood war began. VIVIENNE WALT provides a case study of a grassroots conflict. In other areas, there are similar battles ... but the roles are reversed.



Tragedy cuts both ways ... Soyco supporters at a friend's funeral
Picture: Afrapix

between individuals. Now we know we need to defend ourselves against Azapo. They are on a campaign to isolate us, and their only hope is that this conflict will continue, so that we do not spend our energies targeting the police."

Not so, says Kalaote. He is furious about what he calls the indifference of the UDF youth affiliates to the killings.

"Sosco is carrying out the work of the system," he says, pounding his fist on his knee. "The only people I expect

to come attack me in my house is the system." Even if some of the killings were the work of government *agents provocateurs*, says Kalaote, "prominent members of an organisation like Sosco have been seen carrying out such acts of violence. It looks like an organisational thing to me."

Kalaote's claims are based on the kidnapping on November 13 of 14-year-old Fana Mhlongo, at the home of George Wauchope, Azapo executive member, in Ngqase street,

Dlamini 1. Neighbors say they saw Fana dragged away by known Sosco activists.

In fact, Fana had gone to Wauchope's house with the Azapo official's nephew, Vuyisele, to clear some of the rubble left behind in a petrol bomb attack on the house two nights previously. "They surrounded George's home and opened fire," said one witness. "Vuyisele got away, but Fana was taken."

Three days later, his grandmother went discreetly looking for him in a house in Dlamini 2. "A girl outside the house told me he was there, but I was too frightened to go inside. I thought I might be killed," said Leah Mhlongo. Four days later, after a week's search of mortuaries and hospitals, Fana's badly burned body was found by cleaners at a golf course near Pimville, with a gaping bullet hole on his temple.

Within two weeks, Mduduze Dlamini, a Sosco "comrade" from Dlamini 2, was found dead, having been shot in the head, forehead and stomach.

And on November 27, Lala Mpondzo, the grandmother of two Azayo (Azanian Youth Organization) activists, Nkosinathi and Lindani Ndebele, was shot and killed after about 50 people surrounded her house and attacked it.

Azapo's acting president, Nkosi Molala, told the Sowetan after her death he believed that the old woman "was summoned to a street committee meeting on Sunday and told to produce her two grandsons. On Wednesday she was again summoned to a street committee meeting and given an ultimatum to produce the two, or else her home would be burned the following morning."

After the past month's events, reconciliation will require concerted encouragement from both the UDF and Azapo. At least on ground level, distrust and vengeance have taken hold.

"We cannot talk peace with Azapo now," says Molekane. "It is like talking peace with Botha."

and Dar-es-Salaam were entirely sincere. "The ANC made a conciliatory move to the PAC at their Kabwe conference, and as far as the PAC is concerned I think they are also sincere — particularly as inasmuch as they have a shadow in the country, it is provided to an extent by the black consciousness groupings. And they seem to be on the losing end in the violence. So for both tactical and moral reasons I think they are sincere."

He makes the same judgement of calls for peace by internal leaders. "I think what has happened really is that organisations have a violent constituency which is sometimes beyond the control of organised leadership. This is of course exacerbated by the State of Emergency, and leads one to speculate about the motives of the government."

Lodge argues that as serious as the internecine strife is, it should not be overestimated. "Given the number of deaths as a result of this conflict compared to the hundreds and thousands who have died over the last 10 years, it must be seen as a problem, but not as yet the major problem."

He thinks it likely that concerted, conciliatory moves will take place next year — "but they depend on the extent to which organisations are still able to function in a disciplined way, over their affiliates and constituencies given the State of Emergency".

The peace calls from the major protagonists in the conflict are not in themselves new; they have been a recurrent refrain over the violent year now drawing to a close. It remains to be seen whether in 1987 one or other group will make the leap of faith required to test opponents' *bona fides*, and actually convene a preliminary meeting.

In many ways, the resolution or continuation of the current Soweto conflict will serve as a litmus test for the future of coexistence between rival resistance tendencies. It will also show the ability of leaders to deal with a problem which, although not of their making, demands their whole-hearted intervention.



Azapo's Myeza ... code of conduct

Morobe says the UDF does not want to fight members of Azapo, or supporters of black consciousness (BC), as most people in the "progressive movement" experienced their political development in the era of BC — the 1970s. "We appreciate the value this has had for our development," he says.

He sees the current conflict as debilitating in the short-term, but even more ominous from a long view — as "a fertile ground for counter-revolution.

"The sooner this is brought under control, the better. The challenge is for those in leadership to exercise vision, commitment and resoluteness to attend to the issue," he argues.

Morobe has specific ideas about how this should be done. It cannot be on a personal and crude level, he says, and it is not enough for "merely the leaders of organisations to interact".

He believes that young activists of both tendencies can learn a lot from their experiences in prison. "In prison it is essential to compromise. Accommodation is possible — to place the enemy at a disadvantage and prevent it from dividing prisoners. This can be done without one losing one's identity."

The UDF has demonstrated its willingness to defuse the internecine



UDF's Morobe ... teaching compromise
Pics: Afrapix

violence, according to Morobe, and has written to Azapo on many occasions.

"We have been accused of making very few public statements on the situation," he says, "but this is because we did not want to be drawn into an ideological battle with Azapo through the media."

Morobe expressed deep concern about the conflict, and called on all activists affiliated to the UDF to

Rival organisations cite different reasons for the violence, and blame the easiest target: the state

exercise restraint and to work out ways and means of relating to other activists on a day-to-day level.

Lodge, one of South Africa's most respected academic observers of resistance politics, agrees that today's conflict reflects similar tensions and issues to those of the 1950s. He points to "different perceptions of leadership" between the UDF and Azapo, and suggests that "what has really happened is that rivalry between the two organisations has been seized upon by rank and file supporters.

"It then becomes a case of those who are not for us are against us — in terms of treachery, patriotism —

'them and us'. I would be surprised if these rank and file members were able to give a coherent interpretation of the other organisation's philosophy.

"I find it hard to believe that at the gut level of the townships non-racialism versus anti-racism has much significance. After all, within the context of township culture both the UDF and Azapo are as black as each other. It is more the case that in the last three years people have increasingly expressed political affiliations in a violent idiom. And the environment they operate in is violent through no choice of the UDF or Azapo."

He believes that the organisational leadership bears some responsibility for the violence, but not directly. "I think it would be quite wrong to link these attacks to any conscious design of the leaders of the UDF or Azapo," he says, "and one only has to look at the appearance of mischievous pamphlets sowing discord to know that there is a third force at work.

"Nevertheless, over the past years some political leaders have chosen to define a particular set of positions as synonymous with liberation, and those who attack them as traitors." Some form of responsibility resides in this style of politics, he suggests.

Lodge believes the recent "peace" calls from the exile capitals of Lusaka

Feuding councils group set to split down middle

THE trouble-torn Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) is expected to split down the middle on February 1 next year.

On this date, councillors are expected to pass a vote of no confidence in the present Ucasa executive committee.

At a meeting held in Daveyton, Benoni, over the weekend, more than 40 delegates from the Transvaal, eastern Cape and the Orange Free State demanded the resignation of Ucasa president Steve Kgame and the reinstatement of expelled vice president, Tom Boya.

Boya and Solly Rammala, acting director of Ucasa, were expelled at a Ucasa meeting held in East London on November 30. Their expulsion is seen as the culmination of a seven-month long feud between the organisation's old guard, represented by Kgame, and its new guard, led by Boya.

The feud centres around the question of negotiations with the government and allegations of corruption among councillors, especially amongst the old guard.

Several councillors, including Kgame, are presently facing charges of accepting bribes from home-seekers. The young guard has repeatedly called for the suspension of such members.

The young guard believes the Ucasa executive has been soft in negotiations on matters such as participation in the "controversial National Council, abolition of the Group Areas Act and all other forms of racial discrimination", according to Boya.

He said there was also a difference of opinion on the allocation of more land for the expansion of black residential areas and the upgrading of the areas of Black Local Authorities and housing.

According to Boya, who is also the chairman of the East Rand Urban Councils Association, (Eruca) the expulsion was prompted by the old guard's desire to participate in the proposed National Council, which he and other members of the young guard have been resisting.

The conference that expelled Boya and Rammala also dissolved the Ucasa Advice Committee — "a body of about

By SEFAKO NYAKA

30 progressive councillors representative of the four provinces of the Republic whose main task has been to advise Ucasa on important policy matters and to undertake special projects for the organisation", according to Boya.

The weekend meeting also dismissed the dissolution of the "Think Tank".

Soon after being expelled, Boya warned that action could lead to a split in the organisation and was indicative of the fact that the committee had lost touch with its members and was acting in conflict with the organisation's constitution.

"Mr Rammala and myself did our utmost to avoid such a split. However, because of the weak leadership and lack of direction on the part of the national executive committee, the time may have arrived for local authorities to decide on a truly progressive representative organ, because serious relevant issues affecting Black Local Authorities need urgent attention," Boya said.

Cracks in Ucasa began to show in April this year at a conference in Bloemfontein when the old guard urged participation in the National Council without the government meeting the preconditions set by the organisation.

The young guard had called for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners before they would

serve on the council.

They also called for the abolition of statutory discrimination, the creation of non-racial Local Authorities and an end to forced removals.

After the Bloemfontein conference, the young guard lobbied in a bid to oust the old guard and stall the National Council participation.

In October, the Transvaal branch of Ucasa was split on the issue of elections.

The old guard wanted all councillors present to participate in the election of a new committee — a departure from the constitution, which stipulated that only two delegates each from the seven regions should have voting powers.

Sensing defeat, the old guard stayed away from a meeting held in the Vaal on October 19, where a new executive was elected.

Kgame, who leads the old guard, called a meeting at Mhluzi Hall in Middelburg, Transvaal, but the meeting ended in a deadlock when the old guard again insisted on a departure from the constitution on the question of elections. The old guard then called the East London meeting but didn't invite Boya.

The new guard, under the leadership of Boya, who is a former Black People's Convention member, will hold a meeting this Sunday. A split is imminent.

Indications are that after February 1, if not earlier, Kgame and his old guard will be left out in the cold.

UDF plans court challenge to new regulations

11A
WEEKLY MAIL
12/12/86

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

AS draconian new curbs on information came into force yesterday, the United Democratic Front announced it will launch an urgent Supreme Court challenge to the new regulations.

Despite the fact that the new legislation is more tightly drafted than regulations imposed earlier this year — several of which were knocked down in court — UDF lawyers are confident the curbs are still vulnerable to legal attack.

"It is clear that the Nationalist government has not only lost control, but has gone completely mad," the UDF said in a statement yesterday afternoon, only hours after the publication of the Government Gazette.

"The UDF is not prepared to allow our country to be plunged into total darkness by the regime. After carefully considering the new regulations with our lawyers, we have decided to challenge them in the Supreme Court," he said.

The latest government clampdown blacks out information on all the issues that have caused most controversy during the six-month-old Emergency — such as the treatment of detainees, the behaviour of municipal police, ongoing court applications, and the End Conscription Campaign.

The regulations prohibit:

- Information on what is happening to Emergency detainees — at a time when there have been many allegations of maltreatment.

- Reports on the activities of the municipal police at the frontline of township strife. Allegations of their abuses are rife.

- Statements discrediting or undermining compulsory military service. This restriction means the effective banning of the End Conscription Campaign.

- The publication of court testimony relating to Emergency detainees, unrest and Security Force action until the court has made a finding. This is a major inroad into access to information. Evidence in

A lethal blow for the End Conscription Campaign

PAGE 3

court cases constituted one of the few major sources of information available to the public during the Emergency.

- The use of blank spaces, deletions or obliterations in newspapers. Until now, newspapers have at least been able to inform the public when stories have been censored.

The restrictions are also aimed at cutting off public knowledge of street committees and "people's courts". It is now illegal to give certain details of unlawful structures purporting to be local governments or to punish people.

It is also illegal to give certain details of restricted gatherings, boycotts or the statements of people restricted under the Emergency.

The government has also reimposed some of the powers that were taken away by the Natal Supreme Court in the Saan/Argus case in September 1986.

The Minister of Law and Order or the Commissioner of Police now has the power to suspend any publication

● To PAGE 3

UDF challenge in courts

or to seize single editions.

However, the regulations follow the decision of the courts in that this power can only be exercised if there is a clear breach of certain regulations. The previous, impeached power was dependent on the mere opinion of the authorities.

In some minor respects, the regulations have been tightened up and are now more precise. They also

● From Page 1

fall short of some of the more drastic predictions in the press during the last week.

But generally, in the words of a press lawyer, the gains which were made by the press in the Natal Supreme Court have been "swept away" and "ominous" new prohibitions have been imposed.

Reporter denies SAP claims

WEEKLY MAIL
12/11/76
WA

A JOURNALIST, who is contesting restrictions imposed on him in terms of the Emergency regulations yesterday filed an affidavit with the Grahamstown Supreme Court denying police claims that he "abused his privileges as a reporter by furthering the aims of the United Democratic Front".

Mike Loewe, 27, was restricted from publishing or disseminating any information on his release from nearly three months detention on September 5.

In a replying affidavit, Loewe denied he had been forced to resign

from the Post for submitting reports biased in favour of these organisations.

He said he had "always followed the ethics of journalism" and had never actively promoted the UDF. Loewe denied he had been a member of GCD and said his involvement with the ECC had been "minor".

Loewe also denied Beeton's claims that his Vukani news agency had been used to distribute pamphlets aimed at propagating "radical organisations" or that Loewe had employed "radical members of Peyco" as trainee-journalists.

What's in an acronym? A final break

OBSERVERS of the inordinately complex world of youth politics in South Africa will have to update their list of organisational acronyms.

For the Azanian Students Organisation, one of the most prominent and active groups over the past few years, is no more.

Azaso has changed its name to Sansco — the South African National Students Congress. The decision marks a final symbolic break with the black consciousness tradition which first gave birth to the student structure in the late 1970s.

Azaso's continued use of the name "Azania" has been anachronistic since the organisation effectively ditched its black consciousness heritage at a congress in Wilgespruit in 1981.

There a charterist majority roundly defeated the incumbent BC leadership — the latter going on to form the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm), which today remains the youth wing of Azapo, the custodians of black consciousness.

The significance of the decision to change Azaso's name does not lie in any alteration of the organisation's ideology, structure, approach — or, indeed, prominent personnel. The content of the organisation will not change at all.

Rather the change reflects a high level of organisational confidence — somewhat surprisingly, given the harshness of the State of Emergency.

For Azaso to risk losing the media and membership notoriety of a well-marketed trademark in favour of ideological consistency is, among other things, an indication that the organisation believes that it has so far outstripped its rivals (like Azasm) that it need not be concerned about their exploiting this period of change and necessary uncertainty amongst rank-and-file supporters.

The new name was unanimously endorsed at Azaso's sixth and final congress, held "somewhere in Natal".

An aggressive set of measures

By SHAUN JOHNSON

AZASO went out with a bang — and left its offspring, Sansco, with an aggressive set of resolutions to implement.

The sixth and final congress of Azaso charged Sansco with the task of persuading its members to campaign in favour of a total academic boycott of South Africa and to boycott university graduation ceremonies.

Both resolutions carried. Delegates agreed to campaign against the ceremonies, which "were a means of trying to glorify universities and administrations. This will be a punitive measure against them."

And although the organisation emphasised the need for debate and consultation with other organisations over the academic boycott, it committed itself to the extreme form of "no exceptions", or "total boycott."

Other resolutions applying to education included support for the National Education Crisis Committee's strategy of consultation with local communities regarding the school boycotts; an endorsement of the campaigns for "people's education" and an education charter; support for Medunsa's exclusion of white students; and identification with the United Democratic Front campaign for national united action.

The congress also condemned the KwaNatal Indaba, calling on "all freedom-loving people to unite and crush the Indaba", and praised the students and youth of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia for "their struggle against destabilisation by South Africa."

Lesotho, Swaziland, and Malawi were condemned for "their hostility towards our people who are forced to flee the country".

last week. Some 190 delegates, representing 60 branches nationwide, heard the argument that the original retention of the name had been a tactical decision.

According to Sansco's first president, Billy Ramokgopa — a medical student at the University of Natal — "when Azaso became a progressive organisation in 1981, there was dissatisfaction with the name Azania. But for Azaso to be strong, it had first to consolidate its theoretical position as derived from the Freedom Charter and the Congress tradition.

"Had we changed the name then, it would have divided the black student

A major youth group has changed its name — and therein lies the tale of a break with the past.

SHAUN JOHNSON reports

body. At that time the concept of nonracialism and democratic struggle was new to most of the new breed of students on the campuses."

Thus the organisation concentrated on building membership, with great success, and shelved the problem of nomenclature. When it became clear recently that Azaso was sufficiently entrenched, says Ramokgopa, the issue of the name was put back on its public political agenda.

An official statement issued after the congress lists primary reasons for the rejection of the old title. Each is indicative of the depth of division which still exists between UDF- and National Forum-aligned youth groups.

The congress agreed that "We are South African, not Azanian students"; the name Azania "has strong attachments to the black consciousness organisations which still refuse to place themselves under the discipline of the popular progressive movement"; and "the question of the name of our country shall be decided upon by the people and not by a few easily excitable and well-read

intellectuals.
"As long as this important and democratic decision is not seen through, the name of this country shall continue to have a geographical connotation in relation to the rest of the continent of Africa, thus South Africa."

Sansco is sure to become a well-known name in South African resistance politics. It continues the tradition of Cosas and Azaso. From the point of view of political analysts, the new name removes a confusing element of apparent but not real Charterist/BC "crossover", and clearly (and correctly) demarcates the organisation as mainstream UDF.

PW blames ANC

Minister to give Bonner a hearing

By Sue Leeman and Mike Siluma

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha is to grant Professor Phillip Bonner an audience at which the academic may put his case against deportation.

The Minister said he is "still considering the desirability of having Professor Bonner deported in terms of Section 45 of Act 59 of 1972 in the public interest" but will not move until Professor Bonner has a chance to put his case.

Earlier this week the Government announced it intended deporting Professor Bonner, an associate professor of history at Wits and an authority on South African trade unions.

After representations from the Bonners' counsel, the Government did an about-face and said the deportation was off. Professor Bonner was released from custody yesterday, say his lawyers.

Mr Botha said he had made the decision "on humanitarian considerations and on the basis of the aforementioned representations and without admitting that my decision to deport Professor Bonner was in any way unjustified".

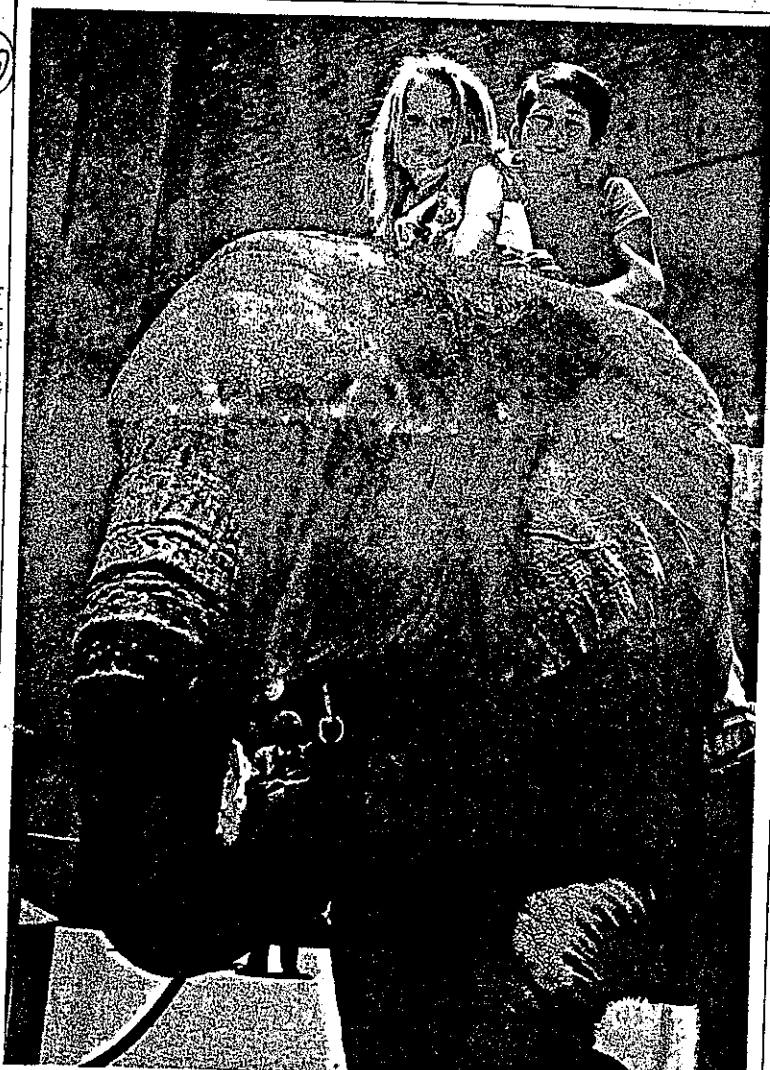
Mr Botha said he planned to meet Professor Bonner on January 13 at his Cape Town offices.

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of Dr Bonner's wife, Mrs Chris Bonner, remain unknown. It is believed a deportation order has also been issued for her. She is a branch secretary of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU).

The Bonners have lived in South Africa since 1971.

Los Angeles Times correspondent Michael Parks can stay in South Africa until the end of January, the Minister said last night.

In a statement to Sapa, Mr Botha said Mr Parks, refused a renewal of his work permit, would be allowed to continue his residence in South Africa until



It was love all around at Sandton City, when Zulu the baby elephant from Boswell Wilkie Circus visited the shopping complex yesterday. Gina Peck (3), from Morningside, and Gregory Homer (10) from Hurlingham, were two of the many children who contributed to the Sandton SPCA when they bought apples to feed

Police arrest soldier

A South African soldier has been arrested on alleged subversive activity, the acting chief of the Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, said in Pretoria last night.

He said that through the efficiency of the SADF's security measures, the soldier was rapidly traced.

He said the investigation is continuing and no details will be released.

"It's in police hands now," he said. The SABC quoted him as saying that since the latest case of...

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

President P W Botha last night blamed a planned revolution at Christmas by the African National Congress for this week's media curbs and other recent security actions.

He was immediately slammed by the parliamentary opposition to the Left and Right for giving reasons that were "unconvincing", "dramatised" and "a red herring".

House of Assembly opposition parties reacted swiftly. Major parties of the other two Houses could not be reached for comment.

In his address to the nation, Mr Botha said that from key ANC documents and information received from agents, ANC deserters and captured terrorists, it was clear that the ANC was now striving to divide South Africa's black communities; to incite them against the whites, and to encourage the committing of acts of violence against whites — even if these was to include large-scale bloodshed.

He said that according to the information, December 16 was considered to be the appropriate occasion to step up murder and terror. It was clear from irrefutable intelligence that units of murderers inside the country were controlled by structures in neighbouring states.

"Our security forces have over the past 24 hours been compelled to conduct certain preventative security measures.

"These security measures were aimed at the SA Communist Party/ANC structures that are involved in the planning, co-ordination and execution of revolutionary violence."

Severe setbacks

Mr Botha gave no details of what security measures were taken.

He said the ANC itself acknowledged that it had during the past two years suffered severe setbacks in Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana.

"The ANC thus admits that it is operating from our neighbouring states, and is misusing the territories of those states for the perpetration of violence in the RSA," said Mr Botha.

At the outset of his speech he said recent regulations restricting the release of certain security-related information by the media had been in order not to promote the objectives of certain elements inside and outside the country which were threatening to disturb the peace associated with Christmas.

"The Government suggested that the members of the Newspaper Press Union be exempted from the regulations in question on the basis of self-restraint.

"This proposal was rejected, and the regulations in question had to be applied to all media."

Reacting, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said: "One must, of course, take seriously the allegations of plans for violence and terror."

"But on the basis of what Mr Botha said, there did not appear to be anything new, and many of the documents flashed on the television screen were dated June 1985.

"However, the attempt to use this as justification for the clampdown on the Press is one of the most unconvincing red herrings I've heard from a political leader in many years.

"Whatever one half of the speech was...



President Botha ... linked Press curbs to allegations of African National Congress plans.

New Nation editor held

The editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been detained in terms of the emergency regulations, according to family and lawyers.

Lawyers confirmed yesterday that his mother, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, had had police notification of the detention.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, whose church appointed Mr Sisulu to run the Catholic publication, said yesterday: "We are very concerned that no trace can be found of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu at home or at work. We are investigating."

The weekly, a publication of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, is seen as part of the "alternative Press" referred to by Government spokesmen. It published its last edition for 1986 yesterday, hours before curbs were promulgated in an extraordinary Government Gazette, and will not publish again until January 8.

"I can never remember what items a bridegroom should pay for at his wedding. * But I do know what cigarettes to offer him to calm his nerves before the ceremony."



30

13/12/85
3247

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

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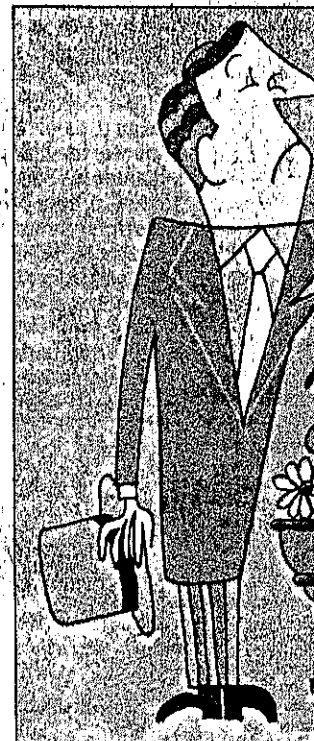
"However, the attempt to use this as justification for the clampdown on the Press is one of the most unconvincing red herrings I've heard from a political leader in many years.

"Whatever one half of the speech was saying about the seriousness of the threats of violence, it did not justify the massive clampdown on the Press of South Africa.



President Botha ... linked Press curbs to allegations of African National Congress plans.

"I can never remember who pay for at his wedding. * to offer him to calm his ne



* Since the bridegroom will pay his life, etiquette rules that his confined to items such as bouquets for the bridesmaids. If the bride take the form of Mills Special C contain only the finest and mo

PW blames ANC threat

● From Page 1

"What was still missing was any convincing statement that he or his Government had any meaningful plan to bring about a political solution to the problems of this country."

The PFP spokesman on Information, Mr Peter Soal, queried whether the quotes by Mr Botha from ANC documents were balanced, or whether they had been carefully selected.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said: "What Mr Botha said about the ANC and the Communist Party is very old news, greatly over-dramatised."

"My impression is that this is 1977 all over again, when the Government called a snap election and, on nomination day, picked up Beyers Naude, Percy Qobozo and others and closed down *The World* (newspaper) and the Christian Institute."

"I don't want to give the impression that I am underestimating the seriousness of the security situation, but this Government is trying to use that situation to create the impression that it can be trusted with South Africa's security."

"I suspect Mr Botha's speech was more to do with boosting the Government's image in advance of an election rather than the security situation."

Conservative Party spokesman on Information, Mr Tom Langley, said: "The CP has always supported all actions of the security forces against subversive elements and has been urging the Government for more than two years to take effective action."

"The vague listing of the Communist Party/ANC schemes by Mr Botha was not impressive and very little was disclosed."

"It looked to me like a prelude to some Nationalist political manoeuvre, such as by-elections or a general election."

"Significant in the State President's effort was the exclusion of the CP's mouthpiece from the invitation to newspaper groups for exemptions from the regulations in exchange for restraint."

The Government yesterday produced what it said was documentary evidence of the commitment of the African National Congress (ANC) to violent struggle — and, at the same time, reserved the right to ban the publishing of any non-official reply to its allegations.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, also declined to answer for the record any questions from the Press.

Dr van der Merwe said South Africans had to take his word that a variety of documents presented to the media were extracts from authentic ANC publications.

The original documents, he said, could not be produced for fear of compromising sources.

Documents handed out at the start of the proceedings included one entitled "ANC Planning, 1987" which contained the Government's selective compilation of ANC statements.

Two documents detailing the resolutions and recommendations of the ANC's Second National Consultative Conference — which sources said were genuine — were declared unsuitable for publication.

OFF-THE-RECORD QUESTIONS ONLY

These ground rules were spelled out clearly from the start by chairman Mr Dave Steward, of the Bureau for Information, who also warned the Press that they would be able to question Ministers only off-the-record on the subject of the ANC as presented by the Government.

Dr van der Merwe then took the Press through the "ANC Planning" booklet, pointing out what were considered to be salient points in proving that the ANC was bent on violent struggle and the violent overthrow of the Government.

All attempts to get on-the-record replies on the ANC and the Government's current stance on the UDF failed. Even one "no comment" has to remain unreported.

According to the foreword to the ANC Planning booklet, "the attached documents originated from a recent combined National Executive Committee (NEC) and Politico-Military Council (PMC) meeting of the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, and were distributed to various regional ANC command centres during October 1986.

"The documents consist of opening statements by Oliver Tambo (ANC president) and decisions taken in regard to proposed ANC activities for 1987 when the ANC will commemorate its 75th anniversary."

'VIOLENT REVOLUTION PLANNED'

Dr van der Merwe said the ANC planned violent revolution. He quoted Mr Tambo as saying: "Our people have, in many parts of the country, responded very well to our calls to make the country ungovernable and to create organs of people's power."

"In this regard, we would strive further to reinforce the confidence of our people in the ability to emerge victorious as well as to organise for a co-ordinated all-round offensive on all fronts."

Dr van der Merwe said the South African economy was a priority target. This was evident from another quote in which Mr Tambo said (in reference to the sanctions issue): "This situation demands that we should carry out a sustained and effective sabotage campaign against the South African economy.

The ANC, Dr van der Merwe said, also intended to use "alternative structures" such as street committees to make the country ungovernable.

Dr van der Merwe said it was also clear from ANC statements that divisions within the UDF were posing problems for the creation of its revolutionary bases.

Pretoria Bureau

11M
SML 3/2/86

Muzzled media told of ANC

Plans

Ribeiro

witness

shot

13/12/86

PRETORIA. — A witness to the killing of Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence, was shot in the yard of the Ribeiro home in Mamelodi on Thursday night.

It is understood Mr Jacob Mampuru was admitted to Kalafong Hospital. The extent of his injuries is not known.

A Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika minister, Dr Nico Smith, who lives near the Ribeiro home, yesterday confirmed the shooting.

The Bureau for Information reported yesterday two security force members at the Ribeiro home "were attacked on Thursday by black persons throwing bottles. The members fired in self-defence and two men were wounded".

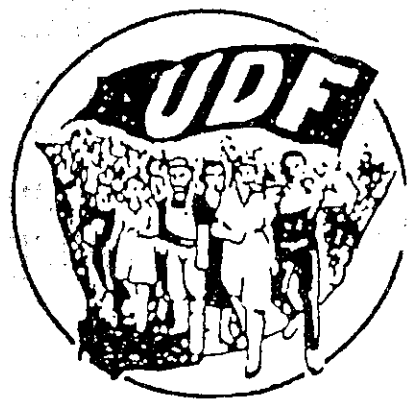
□ The Bureau also reported a man was shot and killed during a stoning incident in Duncan Village yesterday.

□ The Bureau added two people attacked in Chesterville on December 9 were UDF and not Mawu members: "An autopsy revealed that Felix Hadebe died of schrapnel wounds ... the other person died of panga wounds." — Sapa



Campaign for National Unity

Supported by the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions, South African Council of Churches and National Education Crisis Committee



Christmas Against the Emergency December 16 to 26

This Christmas we, the freedom loving people of South Africa, pledge ourselves to 10 days of unity in protest against apartheid and the state of emergency.

We do this at a time when thousands of South Africans have been detained since January, and hundreds have died, and children are in detention. All around us schools are being closed down. There are over six million workers without jobs. Countless people will be without food and shelter.

There are only two sides to take in South Africa: The side of those fighting for democracy, non-racialism and peace or the side supporting apartheid destruction. It is crucial that all sections of our society take a definite stand to end minority domination in our country.

During the 10 days between 16 and 26 December we remember those in prison and in exile. Those who have died and those who fight on. We do not forget friends and relatives in apartheid's prisons, particularly the hundreds of young people and children.

In the spirit of the Campaign for National Unity we call on our people to observe this Christmas Against the Emergency

LET EVERY COMMUNITY OBSERVE CHRISTMAS AGAINST THE EMERGENCY

- We must observe this 10-day period with dignity
- On December 16, and on December 24 between 7pm and 9pm all (electric) lights should be put out and candles lit
- The National Anthem should be sung, a pledge for unity read out and a minute's silence observed at church services
- We must support the families of those in detention, on trial and in exile
- Let us conduct weddings and other family functions in the spirit of a Christmas Against the Emergency.

The UDF is making an appeal for sports fixtures and music festivals falling within this period to be suspended.

Shebeens have been requested to close at 8pm from December 16 to December 26.

And church bells will ring at 6am on December 16 to usher in the 10 days, and again at 6am on December 26 to announce the end of the campaign.

The above requests are guidelines for all parts of South Africa, with variations according to local conditions.

TEN DAYS OF UNITY AGAINST APARTHEID!

UNITY PLEDGE

(To be read in all church services, ceremonies and in our homes)

CAMPAIGN FOR NATIONAL UNITY

Christmas Against the Emergency

This Christmas we, the freedom loving people of South Africa, pledge ourselves to unite against apartheid and the Emergency.

We remember those at home and those away this Christmas. We will not forget our friends and relatives in jail, our fighting heroes and our martyrs. Let us go forward in unity, and with courage and resolution.

We further recognise that there are only two sides in South Africa — those fighting for democracy and those supporting apartheid. It is absolutely crucial that all sections of our society opposed to apartheid take a definite stand to bring an end to minority domination in our country. This includes parents, the youth, workers, professionals, the unemployed, traders and sportspeople. All the oppressed people and white democrats demand the right to participate directly in the shaping of our own future.

WE FURTHER DECLARE OUR REFUSAL TO TOLERATE A GOVERNMENT WHICH WHILE CLINGING TO POWER HAS:

- ★ Wrecked the country's economy and caused massive unemployment and increased the hardship all round;
- ★ Completely disrupted and destroyed the future of thousands of young South Africans through their pursuit of Verwoerdian education policies;
- ★ Detained thousands of South Africans from all walks of life;
- ★ Behind the cover of "law and order" brutalised our people;
- ★ Uprooted millions of South Africans through forced removals.

And because we are South Africans committed to a free, non-racial, democratic and peaceful South Africa, we wish to contribute towards this future by publicly declaring our support for the Campaign for National Unity.

AND PLEDGE OURSELVES TO ACHIEVE:

- 1) An end to the State of Emergency;
- 2) The release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners;
- 3) The unbanning of the ANC and all other banned organisations;
- 4) The re-opening of schools, the repeal of the draconian controls imposed on students and the establishment of peoples education;
- 5) An end to rent evictions;
- 6) Freedom of expression and association;
- 7) A living wage for workers, and an end to retrenchments, jobs for all, adequate social security and the right to strike.

NA ~~SADF~~ ~~CSA~~

SADF — and farmers — are on the alert

MESSINA — The Defence Force says it is ready to ward off an intensified African National Congress (ANC) assault from Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique across the northern border.

Military correspondents who visited the area at the weekend learnt that the SADF had organised farmers north of the Soutpansberg into a taut network of militarily-prepared commando members.

Farmers' wives have been issued with 9 mm sub-machine guns, while the Officer Commanding the Soutpansberg Military Area, Colonel Swannie Swanepoel, can reach 300 farmers by radio from his operations room.

In a recent landmine inci-

dent involving Pontdrif farmer Mr Dries van der Westhuizen, the farmers swung into action themselves, transporting the injured to hospital and keeping Soutpansberg Command informed of events by radio.

But the drought and depopulation of farms presented infiltration dangers, Colonel Swanepoel said, necessitating military patrols in the sparsely populated inland regions.

About half the farms — covering 15 000 sq km — are uninhabited.

"We accept there is an underground infrastructure based

in Messina which helps to infiltrate terrorists deeper into South Africa," Colonel Swanepoel said.

A complex beacon system, using secret marks on baobab trees to guide infiltrators into the country, had been uncovered.

But the far Northern Transvaal had not yet been troubled by unrest.

"The assault is mainly carried out in a cowardly fashion by the laying of landmines," Colonel Swanepoel said.

"The ANC strategy is to plunge the region into chaos so

that, when the farmers leave the area, it can be turned into another military front."

Colonel Swanepoel said he had no doubt there would be another border assault. He also revealed that ANC insurgents liked to enter South Africa close to the Zimbabwe/Mozambique and Zimbabwe/Botswana borders because this made it difficult to establish from which country they had come.

Several terrorists have been shot dead in the past few years and 15 landmines have been planted in the area — of these, nine were detonated.

The most serious single landmine assault occurred on November 26, when 12 mines were planted in the Weipe district, west of Beit Bridge. Eight were detonated, resulting in seven deaths.

Most casualties involve black people and this is why farm labourers want to be included in the commando training projects and be issued with arms, as some have been.

As an aid to combating infiltration, a 2 800-volt fence has been erected along a section of the 350 km border which Sout-

pansberg Command patrols.

But the fence is not foolproof and seven successful crossings have been made during the past six months. Between seven and 15 attempts are made each month.

Two people were electrocuted last year and one this year.

The fence, running about 250 km south along the Limpopo, cost R130 000 a kilometre.

One of the border farmers who does not mind living behind security fencing is Mr Willie Esterhuize, who farms about 45 minutes bumpy ride in

a Buffel armoured vehicle west of Beit Bridge. Last year a tractor driver was killed near Mr Esterhuize's farm when he detonated a mine.

"At first we were nervous but we have become accustomed to this life.

"It is still inconvenient not to be able to drive around as you please," he said, entertaining the correspondents on his lawn close to the Limpopo.

Mr Esterhuize pumps 900 000 litres of water an hour from the Limpopo to irrigate his sprawling cotton fields and make a comfortable living for

him, his wife, Elene, and their three children.

"We enjoy staying here. We won't leave — no way."

Colonel Swanepoel said the 10 trains and 50 trucks which crossed Beit Bridge daily posed another security problem as it was impossible to make thorough searches of all cargo.

About 150 illegal entrants, driven by poverty and hunger, were arrested along the border every month.

They were tried and sentenced near Messina, jailed for three months at Louis Tri-chardt and then taken to Johannesburg and Nelspruit to be documented before being deported, the colonel said.

"Two months later they are back again." — Sapa.

Mr Holmes described the



Adams 15/12/86 111

ANC suspect shot dead at roadblock

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A suspected member of the banned African National Congress was killed in a Northern Cape shoot-out and two policemen were seriously injured in an Eastern Transvaal landmine blast at the weekend, police reported.

Police said the alleged ANC insurgent was shot by police at a roadblock on the Jan Kempdorp road near Warrenton when he fired at them from a car.

Four more suspected ANC insurgents were arrested after the shooting, he said.

No policemen were injured. Russian weapons, including handgrenades and rifles, were seized.

Early yesterday, Sergeant A Rossouw, 28, and Constable L Mavudla, 23, were seriously injured when their patrol van detonated a mine at Josefsdal, near Barberton.

The policemen received leg and facial injuries.

Rajbansi says TIC walk-out was 'silly game'

Mercury Reporter

THE walk-out by youths from a meeting addressed by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, in Lenasia at the weekend was an orchestrated move by the Transvaal Indian Congress to embarrass him, Mr Rajbansi said yesterday.

Responding to the walk-out from a meeting of the National People's Party, Mr Rajbansi said the planned protest action by TIC supporters failed miserably.

'The 100-odd youths thought that they would have constituted the majority and by walking out they would have effectively closed down the meeting,' he said.

The walk-out began when Mr Rajbansi was about to begin his address, reports our Johannesburg correspondent.

A spokesman for the TIC, Lenasia's largest political organisation, which is affiliated to the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, said the poor attendance at the NPP confirmed yet again the Indian community's rejection of the tricameral Parliament and those who chose to participate in it.

Mr Rajbansi said: 'How could they say that they walked out because of my presence when they knew

in advance that I was the guest speaker?

'I think that the TIC has been a bad loser in this silly game. I indicated that we are not there to fight the TIC which still prefers to keep its outdated apartheid name. I asked them to be honest and not adopt double standards.'

'When it comes to politics only they appear to be adopting high philosophies. When it comes to economic advantages where the blacks are left out they are prepared to grab, not caring for those who are left out.'

'I cited as an example that in central Johannesburg blacks were not allowed to open doctors' surgeries. We have never heard the Jasats or the Salojees refusing to occupy their surgeries because blacks are kept out.'

'We have never heard demands from the TIC for Eldorado Park, Soweto and Lenasia to be one local authority.'

'We have never heard a demand from the TIC to open the schools in Lenasia for the children of Soweto.'

'I pointed out that everyone reserves the right to adopt their approaches and our different approaches must complement each others efforts.'

'The success of the NPP's meeting in Lenasia appears to be a blow for the TIC.'

Cape Times 16/12/86

Mandela and minister hold talks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has publicly confirmed that he has held "confidential" discussions with the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela.

He also said Mr Mandela was carrying the burden of being kept in prison "in an admirable manner" because his own people did not want to give up violence.

Mr Coetsee confirmed that he had met Mr Mandela in an interview published in the latest issue of Leadership magazine.

'Circumstances'

Asked if he had met the jailed ANC leader and what the purpose of their meeting was, Mr Coetsee replied: "Yes, I have met him, but the nature of our meeting is confidential."

Asked why he had met him, Mr Coetsee replied: "I have a function as the minister responsible for prisons to relate to any prisoner in cases where circumstances dictate such contact."

"But I must emphasize that the nature of such contact is confidential."

He said the State President was on record as saying that Mr Mandela could secure his release by publicly abandoning violence as a means to bring about change and he was prepared to talk to the ANC if it forswore violence.

"I cannot comment on Mr Mandela's response to the State President's statement."

"All I say is that my impression of Mr Mandela is that it is most unfair to

him that he remains incarcerated by his own people through their pursuit of violence and that they expect him to remain in prison because they do not wish to give up violence themselves.

"He is carrying this burden in an admirable manner."

Asked if he was implying that Mr Mandela had made an undertaking which satisfies the conditions for his release, but that he remained in jail because the ANC continued with its programme of violence, Mr Coetsee replied: "No, I am not implying anything."

"As a matter of face it is well known that Mr Mandela himself has not as yet met the State President's conditions of release, but it is equally well known that the ANC has purported to reply on Mr Mandela's behalf negatively, well in advance of his own decision."

'Planning takeover'

Mr Coetsee said the ANC had originated as a movement strongly motivated by nationalism, "but I think it is now experiencing a crisis of identity."

"I think that the ANC's communist wing under Joe Slovo is planning a takeover at the right moment, using the ANC as a front because of its appeal as a nationalist movement."

"They are using nationalism because it has a strong appeal and I don't think the ANC realizes what is happening."

"As far as the government is concerned, the State President has indicated that if the ANC renounces violence and commits itself to participating peacefully in the internal political process, then, of course, the world is wide open again," Mr Coetsee said.

Coetsee has talks with Mandela

16/12/86 (11A) N/M

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has publicly confirmed that he has held 'confidential' discussions with the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, Nelson Mandela.

He said Mandela was carrying the burden of being kept in prison 'in an admirable manner' because his

own people did not want to give up violence.

Mr Coetsee confirmed in an interview published in the latest issue of Leadership magazine that he had met Mandela.

Asked if he had met the jailed ANC leader and what the purpose of their meeting was, Mr Coetsee replied: 'Yes, I have met him, but the nature of our meeting is confidential.'

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'I cannot comment on Mandela's response to the State President's statement.

'All I say is that my impression of Mandela is that it is most unfair to him that he remains incarcerated by his own people through their pursuit of violence and that they expect him to remain in prison because they do not wish to give up violence themselves.

'He is carrying this burden in an admirable manner.'

Conditions

Asked if he was implying that Mandela had made an undertaking which satisfied the conditions for his release, but that he remained in jail because the ANC continued with its programme of violence, Mr Coetsee replied: 'No, I am not implying anything.

'As a matter of fact, it is well known that Mandela himself has not as yet met the State President's conditions of release, but it is equally well known that the ANC has purported to reply on Mandela's behalf negatively, well in advance of his own decision.'

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17/12/86 BUS DAY

Coetsee, Mandela talk

Own Correspondent

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetsee has held "confidential" talks with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Coetsee confirmed the meeting in an interview published in the latest issue of *Leadership* magazine.

Asked why he had met Mandela, Coetsee replied: "I have a function, as Minister responsible for prisons, to relate to any prisoner in cases where circumstances dictate such contact."

He said: "My impression of Mr Mandela is that it is most unfair to him that he remains incarcerated by his own people through their pursuit of violence, and that they expect him to remain in prison because they do not wish to give up violence themselves."

"He is carrying this burben in an admirable manner."

Asked if he was implying Mandela had made an undertaking which satisfied the conditions for his release, but that he remained in jail because the ANC continued with its programme of violence, Coetsee replied: "No, I

am not implying anything."

He added: "I think the ANC's communist wing under Joe Slovo is planning a take-over at the right moment, using the ANC as a front because of its appeal as a nationalist movement."

□ In the same interview, Coetsee said the number of emergency detainees varied from 6 000-7 000 and more.

"In many cases, detention is in the nature of preventive detention" and no charges would be put to detainees unless it was proved, after investigation, they had committed an offence.

"If they are detained in terms of security legislation, or under the state of emergency, there are certain prohibitions. I concede that immediately but, as a general rule, people have access to our courts," he said.

Even those affected by the security laws were entitled to be dealt with according to certain rules of common justice or natural justice.



TG/RH 60

**PLEASE CONTACT
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(011) 710-2296**

POLICE PUT CLAMP

Sowetan
17/12/81

11A

Ban on statements by UDF and other bodies

THE Government has barred the *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* from publishing any statement issued by the United Democratic Front and 12 other organisations promoting four major campaigns organised by the UDF or its affiliates.

Reasons have not been given but it is believed the action against the *Sowetan* was taken after its Monday edition carried a full page advertisement by the UDF in support of its Christmas Against the Emergency Campaign.

The four campaigns are: The campaign for National United Action; Campaign for National Unity; Christmas Against the Emergency

SOWETAN REPORTER

and Christmas Concern. The other 12 organisations are: Black Sash, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC), Detainees Support Committee, End Conscription Campaign (ECC), Federation of Transvaal Women (Fed-traw), Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), National Education Union



PRESIDENT Botha... declared state of emergency.

of South Africa (Neusa), Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The order barring the newspapers from publishing anything that supports the campaigns

by the listed organisations was issued by Major General Mulder van Eyk, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Witwatersrand.

It was delivered at the offices of the *Sowetan* shortly before 6pm.

The order was issued in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953 with reference to the emergency regulations promulgated on June 12 by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The Black Sash has condemned the restriction orders on the *Weekly Mail* and *Sowetan* prohibiting them from publishing statements which "advocate" or "support" the Christmas Against the Emergency Campaign.

CME 17/2/86 (11A)
Times

Gunmen kidnap

activist

MBABANE. — Gunmen abducted an alleged South African political activist in Swaziland on Monday night in the second raid on this tiny kingdom in five days, police sources said yesterday.

They said the man, of Asian origin, was believed to be a member of the United Democratic Front. They did not name the man.

He was abducted either on Monday night or early yesterday morning from a camping site in the scenic Umbuluzi Valley where he is believed to have written pamphlets for the UDF, the sources added.

On Friday, five people were kidnapped and two others killed in homes in Mbabane and the main industrial town of Manzini.

Three of those held, Swiss citizens Mr Daniel Schneider and his fiancée Ms Corinne Bischof, and Mr Danger Nyoni, were freed at the weekend. There has been no news of the other two people who were kidnapped.

Since June, there have been at least five raids into Swaziland during which three African National Congress members were shot dead. — Sapa-Reuter



Mr KOBUS Coetsee.

MANDELA'S BURDEN

By Justice Minister Kobus Coetsee

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has publicly confirmed that he held "confidential" discussions with the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, Nelson Mandela.

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ing the burden of being kept in prison "in an admirable manner" because his own people did not want to give up violence.

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SAPA

dential."

He said the State President was on record as saying that Mr Mandela could secure his release by publicly abandoning violence as a means to bring about change, and he was prepared to talk to the ANC if it foreswore violence.

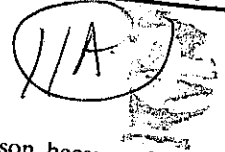
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"All I can say is that my impression of Mr Mandela is that it is most unfair to him that he remains incarcerated by his own people through their pursuit of violence and that they expect him to remain in

prison because they do not wish to give up violence themselves.

Asked if he was implying that Mr Mandela had made an undertaking which satisfies the conditions for his release, but that he remained in jail because the ANC continued with its programme of violence, Mr Coetsee replied: "No, I am not implying anything.

"As a matter of fact it is well known that Mr Mandela himself has not as yet met the State President's conditions of release, but it is equally well known that the ANC has purported to reply on Mr Mandela's behalf negatively, well in advance of his own decision."



Umkhonto may now be able to muster 10 000 fighters

The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — The African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), has the manpower potential necessary to mount a sustained campaign inside South Africa, according to former fighters in other non-South African black nationalist movements in the region.

The London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies reported recently that Umkhonto we Sizwe now had "perhaps" 10 000 fighters.

This is confirmed unofficially by well-placed sources in the Frontline states.

The sources indicate that about 500 fully trained ANC men are now operational inside South Africa, mainly in training roles — under instructions to provide skills and guidance to young black militants.

This figure for the number infiltrated is wholly inadequate in terms of the ANC's military objectives — and ANC sources concede the point. Although they hint at a substantial increase in levels of infiltration, they refuse to provide a figure.

STAR
17/12/88
11A

Training new recruits

But former fighters from non-South African black nationalist organisations in the region argue that Umkhonto we Sizwe has now, for the first time in its 25 years, reached the position where it could infiltrate several thousand guerillas into South Africa in training and combat roles without damaging its ability outside the country to train up new recruits.

They say this potential for "renewability" is a critical stage to have reached.

It has developed only in the past three years, they add — a period during which, according to ANC sources, more young recruits have flowed into Umkhonto we Sizwe than did immediately after the unrest of 1976 in Soweto and elsewhere.

But in order to be able to convert this potential for mass infiltration into reality and to mount a sustained guerilla campaign, the ANC's military wing has to overcome several serious difficulties.

These include long lines of communication, infiltration, and weapons supply between men inside the country and those command structures which are still based outside. These problems stem largely from a lack, hitherto, of reliable rear bases in neighbouring countries.

The Umkhonto we Sizwe command — under commander Joe Modise, political commissar Chris Hani and chief of staff Joe Slovo — therefore have to display a high level of innovation.

Broad spread of forces

The ANC pins its optimism on the new "insurrectionary" perspective it has been putting across since late 1983.

This involves a rejection, in all but a few areas of the country, of the use of the classical African guerilla warfare model, such as that used in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Instead, the ANC is seeking to involve the broadest possible spread of forces — from black workers to students, youth and women — in both political and military activity alongside its fighters.

The ANC believes its military wing has made substantial, though painfully slow progress, since its beginnings on December 16 1961 when a few score ANC militants under Nelson Mandela's command embarked on a campaign of sabotage after the ANC's banning.

That limited option has now been discarded for something much more ambitious.

WIM 1712-186
Swaziland police say
UDF man was abducted

MBABANE—Gunmen abducted a South African political activist in Swaziland on Monday night in the second raid on this tiny kingdom in five days, Swazi police sources said yesterday.

They said the man, of Asian origin, was believed to be a member of the United Democratic Front.

The man, who has not been named, was abducted from a camping site in the scenic Umbuluzi Valley, north of the capital Mbabane, the sources said.

On Friday, five people were abducted and two were killed in homes in

Mbabane and the main industrial town of Manzini.

Three of those held, Swiss citizens Daniel Schneider and his fiancée, Corinne Bischof, and a Swazi national, Danger Nyoni, were freed at the weekend after being held in South Africa.

There has been no news about the two others — Grace Cele, a Swazi national who worked for a Canadian agency giving scholarships to South African black refugees, and Mathews Maphumulo, a member of the African National Congress. — (Sapa-Reuter)

PAC slams curbs

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has slated the latest restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government.

A spokesman for the organisation said the extension of the Press censorship is yet another act of desperation by a beleaguered minority in the face of escalating resistance by the people of the country.

"This latest act has not come as a surprise. The voice of the majority had long been muzzled through the banning of PAC and other national liberation movements and their publications in 1960. During the 1960s and 70s black journalists, newspapers and the Union of Black Journalists were proscribed.

"While clamping

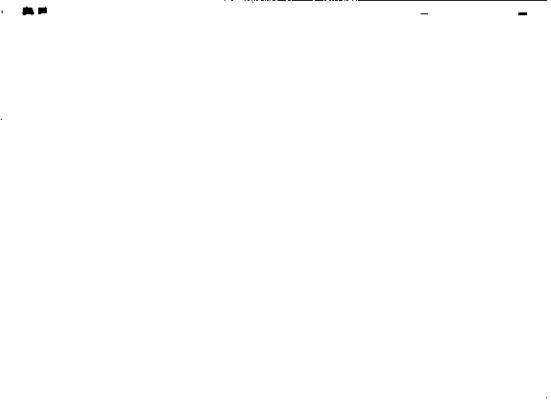
down on the voice of the oppressed, the Government did allow some liberal papers to reflect 'opposition' provided that they did not challenge the status-quo.

"Consequently such 'opposition' merely confined itself to aspects of violation of human rights. Moreover, the liberal 'opposition' and the Government had

agreed to 'self-censorship'".

"The PAC strongly condemns the extension of the Press censorship." The organisation said that journalists in South Africa should not become outlets of 'official' versions of events inside the country. But should seek to uphold their principles of journalistic morality and objectivity.

Soweto
1/12/68
1/14



Trio held on spying charges in Zambia

HAMISH MCINDOE and Sapa-AP

18/12/86

LUSAKA police are holding three people on charges that they are SA agents and responsible for bombings during last week's food riots in northern Zambia.

Announcing the arrests of a Briton, a New Zealander and an Australian, Zambian police spokesman Lawrence Munalisa said: "They confessed to having been recruited by the SA government."

The men were arrested on Saturday and their identities have not been revealed.

There have been no reports of bombings in the Copperbelt during the riots.

The three were said to be involved in two bomb attacks on railway and electricity installations in Livingstone during the riots.

The Department of Foreign Affairs did not comment yesterday.

Shots shatter a silent night

SOPHIE TEMA

SPORADIC shooting broke the silence that fell over most of Soweto on Tuesday night to mark the UDF's Christmas Against the Emergency call.

Shots were heard in various parts of the townships until very late at night. By 8pm most streets were deserted.

Electric lights were switched off at 7pm and candles were lit.

In Chiawelo, groups of youths marched from Mapetla and moved from one street to another screaming at residents to switch off all lights.

The silence that prevailed in Orlando East was broken by gunshots after midnight. Shots were also heard in several parts of Diepkloof.

The call was for darkness and silence until 9pm, but many residents were too scared to switch lights on again after 9.

The Christmas Against the Emergency campaign ends on December 26.



Lighting candles at a service in a Johannesburg church on Tuesday

Fortune finds a woe-struck couple

LADY LUCK and St Nicholas joined

with him opened the

Everything is not OK

ALAN FINE

GIANT retailing chain OK Bazaars could be hit by strikes at its outlets countrywide in the last few shopping days before Christmas.

This follows a breakdown in wage talks with the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa).

Ccawusa began holding strike ballots among its more than 7 000 members yesterday and plans to complete the process today. The company is facilitating the holding of ballots.

A union spokesman said more than 90% of members in Durban stores have voted for strike action.

Conciliation board talks deadlocked last week with the OK saying it was unable to review wage increases granted for 1986. The 1986 agreement included a clause saying it would be reviewed if profits turned out to be more favourable than expected.

The company made an offer of R85 across-the-board increases for 1987. However, the union refused to accept the absence of an improvement to the 1986 agreement.

Business Day Reporter
and Sapa

SWAZI officials were tight-lipped yesterday on the growing abduction controversy between SA and Swaziland.

Tension was fuelled by this week's questioning of SA's trade and consular representative in Swaziland by Swazi officials.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman in Swaziland said possible submission of the case to the World Court was something which would have to be decided in higher government circles. He could not preempt any decisions it would make.

In a further development, thousands of rounds of Soviet-made ammunition were confiscated on Monday when two men were arrested by SA police on the Swazi border at the Bordergate border post. A third was arrested after further investigations.

The Swazi Department of Foreign Affairs could make no comment yesterday as it had no knowledge of the arrests.

Investigations indicated the ammunition was brought from Mozambique via Swaziland. Police are still investigating.

Swaziland is to comment later this week about action it is to take against SA in the light of the abductions, a spokesman for Swaziland's Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday.

SA's trade representative in Mbabane, Sam Sterban, was summoned to the Cabinet office and to the Ministry of

Mbabane mum on nabbings

Foreign Affairs this week for discussions on last week's raids into Swaziland.

Informed sources said Sterban was asked to find out the reasons for the raids and the whereabouts of the missing victims, Grace Cele and Matthews Maphumulo. The latter is believed to have died from a gunshot wound received during his abduction on Friday.

The Swazi government has demanded the immediate, safe return of Cele and the return of Maphumulo's body.

It is understood Sterban told the Swazis he had no knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the raids or the missing victims.

□ Central Mbabane residents were awoken by a loud explosion on Tuesday night. So far, there has been no explanation of the blast. The town is tense after Friday's series of raids and abductions.

Christmas campaign blasts off, says UDF

By PATRICK LAURENCE

No-one asked workers — union

THE "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign has captured the public's imagination and is the "talk of the townships", according to United Democratic Front publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe.

The 10-day campaign for an end to the Emergency has won support from a wide spectrum of people in the townships, ranging from clergymen through taxi owners to sportsmen, Morobe said.

The campaign aims to draw people into dignified, non-violent action for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of political prisoners and detainees, particularly children, and the unbanning of the African National Congress.

The UDF has offered "guidelines" as to how opposition to the Emergency should be symbolised

THE UDF's call for a "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign is "highly irregular and undemocratic", according to the Cosatu-affiliated Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union.

"Ccawusa in principle supports action against the Emergency but feels that the type of action and alliances must first be discussed democratically

by workers instead of being imposed from above," the union said in a statement.

Cosatu's logo on the UDF pamphlets is highly irregular, as Cosatu neither agreed to nor discussed a call for a 10-day campaign.

"The pamphlet in question was seen to be distributed by a Cosatu official. This grossly violates the mandate

Cosatu officials were given."

Ccawusa says the proposal on the UDF's campaign, and alliances, were to be discussed on the factory floor and at locals, and with all progressive organisations, not only those mentioned on the pamphlet.

"Workers were not consulted about the action, it was imposed without discussion."

over the Christmas season, starting on December 16 and ending on December 26. But, Morobe stressed, communities could adjust their protest according to local needs.

The guidelines include the lighting of candles every night between 7 and 9pm, the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, the recital of a special unity

pledge and the observation of silence for a minute.

People are urged to visit the families of detainees in a spirit of solidarity and support and to commemorate Christmas in a sober, solemn manner. As the UDF put it: "The time is one for moderation, not excess."

The campaign will open with the

ringing of church bells at 6am on December 16 and close with the tolling of church bells again at 6pm on December 26.

Morobe said: "The response has been positive. Shebeens have agreed to close at 8pm over the 10-day period and to display the unity pledge prominently."

In those townships without electricity, the candle-lighting at sunset will not have special symbolic significance. But the support can still be manifest by the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and the recital of pledges of unity, and by any local initiatives launched within the broad guideline of dignified opposition.

The UDF hopes that the "Christmas Against the Emergency" will be a period of conscientisation — a time when more and more people will be drawn into the protest — and that it will link up to, and provide for impetus for, the on-going Campaign for National United Action.

A key aim of the Campaign for National United Action is to "broaden the basis for resistance" by persuading all people affected adversely by the Emergency to make a "definite stand against apartheid".

MORE than 100 relatives of detainees are expected to gather this Sunday for a tea party at Bishops Court, the official residence of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, as the Western Cape UDF backs the "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign by calling for the release of detainees and highlighting the plight of their families and dependants.

Throughout the region, neighbourhood UDF branches are preparing Christmas hampers for detainees and their families. A giant Christmas cake made up of several tiers baked by different sections of the community will be included in the fare.

During the week leading up to Christmas, a daily vigil will be held in the crypt of St George's Cathedral, where members of the public will be invited to sign massive Christmas cards for the detainees. In a pamphlet produced to back its "release all detainees" call, the UDF claims that in the past two years there has been a staggering increase in the number of detentions and deaths in detention.

In approximately two years, according to the UDF, more than 43 000 people have been detained, compared to a total of 2 638 detainees held in the previous four years. And of at least 82 people who have died in detention since 1963, more than 23 have died since the beginning of last year.

"We call on our people to think of the suffering of the detainees, and also of the many unemployed and hungry," said UDF regional vice-president Christmas Tinto.

"This Christmas we cannot be joyful when so many people have been removed from their families, friends and communities.

"It is our duty to show that the detainees are not 'agitators', but represent the same high ideals of freedom and justice in which we believe."

Churches join call

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER,
Durban

IN what appears to be strong support for the "Christmas against the Emergency" campaign called by the UDF and Cosatu, seven Durban church leaders have taken the unusual step of issuing a joint Christmas message.

The seven — including Natal's Anglican, Catholic and Lutheran bishops — say that while the message of Christmas is one of peace, "the Emergency, mass detentions, torture, the widespread use of troops in the townships, the closing of schools" would not bring a genuine and lasting peace. "These are more likely to increase the conflict in our society."

They list "first steps" towards peace. The steps have frequently been called for by the churches in the past, but are restated in this Christmas message "because the situation is so grave".

They are: the lifting of the Emergency; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees; the unbanning of organisations so that negotiation about the future can begin; the reopening of black schools with the introduction of a relevant form of education.

'Abduction' is bid to crush us, says UDF

The apparent abduction of a United Democratic Front activist from Swaziland is the latest in a series of desperate actions to crush the UDF, says a statement issued by the organisation last night.

The statement says it is not known how many UDF activists have been detained since a number of leading people went missing last Thursday night after raids on their homes in South Africa.

Although it has been reported that a number of people are being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, the police have not released informa-

Govt is 'in state of panic'

The clampdown on some newspapers, preventing them from carrying statements supporting the Campaign for National United Action and the Christmas Against the Emergency, indicated the Government was in a state of panic, Mr Murphy Morobe of the United Democratic Front (UDF) said last night.

"If peaceful campaigns such as these threaten the mighty apartheid machine, then this government is indeed on its last legs," he said.

"The forces of darkness unleashed by this government last week were unable to extinguish the candle flames of freedom lit in homes countrywide on December 16. Let this be a beacon to all those South Africans refusing to be plunged into the abyss of ignorance and despair," says the statement.

tion to the media, says the statement signed by acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe.

According to the UDF a number of top-level leaders have been targeted in the last week and those raided belong to the regional executive of the UDF in the Transvaal, Natal and Western Cape.

"The entire leadership is now either in detention or operating from hiding," says the statement.

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Shots shatter a silent night

SOPHIE TEMA

SPORADIC shooting broke the silence that fell over most of Soweto on Tuesday night to mark the UDF's Christmas Against the Emergency call.

Shots were heard in various parts of the townships until very late at night. By 8pm most streets were deserted.

Electric lights were switched off at 7pm and candles were lit.

In Chiawelo, groups of youths marched from Mapetla and moved from one street to another screaming at residents to switch off all lights.

The silence that prevailed in Orlando East was broken by gunshots after midnight. Shots were also heard in several parts of Diepkloof.

The call was for darkness and silence until 9pm, but many residents were too scared to switch lights on again after 9.

The Christmas Against the Emergency campaign ends on December 26.



Lighting candles at a service in a Johannesburg church on Tuesday



11A

Two cases open the state witness debate

Weekly Mail 19/12/86

Two prominent UDF leaders broke the activist 'taboo' against state evidence, renewing the debate over the value of blanket non-collaborationist policies. JO-ANN BEKKER reports

A SURPRISING development in political trials heard this year was the decision by two prominent United Democratic Front activists to give evidence as state witnesses.

For years it has been unspoken policy in extra-parliamentary organisations that testifying for the state is taboo — a stance in keeping with activists' "anti-collaborationist" stand, which effectively outlaws participation in government structures.

The two high-ranking officials, the UDF's eastern Cape vice-president Henry Fazzie and the founding chairperson of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association (VCA), the Reverend Lord Righteous McCamel, are not the first activists to have given evidence for the prosecution. Nor can their example be taken as an indication that the unspoken policy has altered.

But their actions have opened, once again, the debate about giving state testimony.

Often the basic question of whether evidence will favour or count against the accused is clouded by the black population's perception of the judicial system as being weighted in favour of the government.

It is further muddled by legislation which forces people to testify. Hundreds of witnesses — ranging from priests to mothers of the accused — have been jailed over the years for refusing to give evidence. The maximum sentence for the offence has been increased steadily and today stands at five years.

The Internal Security Act makes special provision for the detention of potential state witnesses. The attorney general can order their imprisonment until court proceedings end or for six months, if the trial has not begun.

McCamel was detained for more than a year before he was called in February to give state evidence in the Delmas treason trial. Fazzie was subpoenaed in September, while he was held in terms of the Emergency regulations, to testify in the murder trial of the UDF's eastern Cape president Edgar Ngoyi.

The trials are still in progress, and while speculation on the effect of the men's evidence would be premature, the significance of their testimony is self-evident.

McCamel was listed as one of the 800 co-conspirators in the marathon Delmas hearing, in which the state claims the UDF, conspiring with the African National Congress, engineered the unrest which began in the Vaal Triangle in 1984 and spread throughout the country. The UDF's plan, it is alleged, was to overthrow the government by revolution.

But McCamel told the court the UDF and VCA had never discussed violence. Neither had residents been stirred up to commit violence at the meetings. The VCA's aims, the founding chairman said, were to tackle residents' problems of high rents, corrupt councillors and to oppose the government's new constitution, which excluded blacks.

Fazzie told the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court he went to fetch Edgar Ngoyi on the morning after the "necklace" murder with which Ngoyi and eight others are charged. The state's case is that Ngoyi presided at a "people's court" in which the death sentence was passed on the victim.

Fazzie, who agreed to give evidence only after he was allowed to consult with his lawyer, said he had come across a body lying near a burning heap on his way to fetch Ngoyi. The UDF president had asked him how "these bad things could be stopped". He seemed to have no knowledge of the murder and, Fazzie said, had



Rev. McCamel ... no ostracism

appeared shocked to hear of what had happened.

Fazzie said, like the UDF, Ngoyi had always condemned violence against any person and had expressed a desire for methods which would end violence.

A number of human rights lawyers have welcomed McCamel and Fazzie's decision.

"From a lawyers' point of view, this blanket attitude that you never give evidence is dangerous," a senior advocate noted. "Often you get the situation where evidence could be used to the advantage of the accused."

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, said the Front had no fixed policy on giving state evidence.

But Morobe himself was sent to jail for six months in 1977 for refusing to testify against 12 people charged with furthering the aims of the ANC.

On his release he was charged with sedition, in one of many cases arising from the 1976 youth uprising. One of his closest student friends gave evidence against him.

"It is terrible when the one who's been with you through thick and thin is suddenly in the witness box."

Activists say McCamel has been reintegrated into the Vaal community. He has suffered none of the ostracism or threats of violence state witnesses cite when requesting to give evidence *in camera*.

When three of the original 22 Delmas trialists were released last month, he was among the first in line to give congratulatory hugs.

Fazzie is still in Emergency detention, but activists say it is unlikely his testimony will affect his political leadership.



IN 1986 the state finally accomplished something it had struggled for almost 10 years to achieve: Crossroads squatter camp, an international symbol of the resistance of ordinary men and women to state control over their lives, was virtually wiped out.

Between 60 000 and 70 000 people were left homeless and their entire settlements razed in two days, as bands of armed vigilantes, allegedly with the aid of South African Defence Force troops and police, carried out what was described at the time as "the fastest and cheapest forced removal we have ever seen".

This year saw the introduction of an ominous new factor in forced removals: vigilante forces, like the one at Crossroads and the nearby KTC camp, took up where the old bulldozer tactics left off.

Countless affidavits by squatters, doctors, priests and journalists describe vigilantes attacking residents and torching their homes and allege widescale official collusion in the destruction of Crossroads and KTC.

Today Crossroads is being rebuilt exactly according to the state plans so long resisted by the residents. The population has been cut to a tenth of what it used to be, and approximately 25 000 "original settlers" permitted to stay will be accommodated on serviced plots with high mast lighting and streets that are wide enough for a Casspir to patrol.

The rest have been given no choice but to set up home in the resettlement township of Khayelitsha 30km out of town, a move they have resisted for years, even spurning an earlier government offer of 18-month permits to live in the urban area and a stay on all evictions of illegal migrants on condition they agree to the move.

The authorities have been adamant; with barbed wire they sealed off the land where the squatters used to live.

Shacks hastily re-erected elsewhere in the bush were pulled down by the authorities, and squatters who sought refuge in churches, school halls or other refugee centres were hounded and harassed intermittently during much of the second half of 1986.

A number of religious leaders were charged under the Urban Areas Act for sheltering black squatters in a "white" area.

Officials from the Department of Community Services went on record as saying that no relief would be provided for the homeless squatters because there were "ample facilities" at Khayelitsha.

The intention was quite clear. "It is part of a master plan to flush the people out from wherever they are and force them to move to Khayelitsha," the National Committee Against Removals (NCAR) said at the time.

For the most part it has succeeded. But by the end of the year newly established shack settlements had sprung up in the dense bush alongside

In 2 days flat: The fastest, cheapest, bloodiest 'forced removal' ever

Armed vigilantes achieved in two days what the state failed to do in ten years: raze the Cape squatter camp of Crossroads. MOIRA LEVY reports

the national road and on vacant ground in the townships, including "Oscar Mpetha Square", a small plot opposite the home of the jailed trade unionist and community leader.

Harassment continues apace. Some of the squatters have been arrested and charged with trespassing, and they claim police have threatened to set the "wildoekie" vigilantes onto them.

The destruction of Crossroads and the KTC squatter camp demonstrates clearly how the authorities have adapted to the government's February 1985 announcement that forced removals are to end.

This year the authorities have virtually perfected post-1985 forced removals, using a combination of trespass and anti-squatting legislation, land privatisation and homeland consolidation.

The language of forced removals has been replaced with talk of "orderly urbanisation", "slum clearance", "rural development" and "clearing of health and fire hazards".

And the NCAR has pointed to the use this year of security legislation and State of Emergency regulations to undermine the communities' resistance to threatened removals.

Since the State of Emergency was declared, "the timetable for threatened removals has been speeded up", the NCAR concludes in its latest newsletter.

During the past six months a wave of removals has threatened thousands country-wide:

● 4 000 residents of Langa and Despatch, near Uitenhage, have been moved to a tent town in KwaNobuhle, about 15km away.

Authorities claim the people moved voluntarily, but monitoring groups

allege that authorities took advantage of the fact that the communities were in disarray following the detention of their leaders.

The people of Kabah, in Langa, were moved, while still awaiting an urgent Supreme Court application contesting removal, after the residents of the adjacent white suburb of Levysdale petitioned the Minister of Law and Order fearing a backlash after police shot dead 20 at a funeral last year.

By the end of the year, virtually the whole of Langa will have been cleared.

● Despite a reprieve for all but the "illegal" squatters living in the East London township of Duncan Village, 3 000 families were recently told they would have to move, probably to Mdantsane in the Ciskei, to make way for upgrading.

● As a result of the government's policy of economic privatisation, an estimated 4 000 peasants in the Leliefontein Reserve in Namaqualand stand to be forced off the land they have for centuries used for grazing and cultivation.

● The community of Lawaaikamp

A week before the second State of Emergency, KTC squatters (foreground) prepare to defend their homes against advancing 'wildoekie' Picture: Afrapix

outside George recently won a reprieve on a December 31 deadline for removal, but this came only after more than 1 000 residents had already moved to the site and service scheme at Sandkraal, 5km outside town.

● The people of the township of Oukasie near Brits posed a problem for the authorities. Their settlement was only 3km away from Elandsrand, a National Party seat under hard challenge from the Conservative Party.

In October, the state came out with a unique solution. With the stroke of a pen, the 55-year-old Oukasie was disestablished.

The residents are now technically breaking both the Squatters Act and the Group Areas Act.

● In a similarly deft action, the state moved the communities of Machakaneng, Braklaagte and Bloedfontein without any signs of forced removal. The borders were redrawn and they were made a part of Bophuthatswana by legislative incorporation into the homeland.

● The people of Rala, near East London, who were dumped at the roadside by the Ciskeian authorities in September, have been accommodated by the nearby Kwelera community back in South Africa.

But they may well soon find themselves back in the Ciskei: Kwelera is a "black spot" scheduled for removal as part of homeland consolidation.

● Port Elizabeth's Red Location is the latest community caught in the wave of removals. Its 2 500 residents have been told to move to Motherwell.

VACANCY

DOCTOR

Bellville Residents

Association needs a part-time doctor

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THE WEEKLY MAIL SUBSCRIPTIONS DEPARTMENT

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SAP reveal bombs find as Swazi case brews

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

WITH the South African government still facing severe criticism for its raid on Swaziland last week, the SA Police announced last night that two land mines had been defused near the Swaziland border and a soldier had been seriously injured by an anti-personnel mine near Komatipoort.

The SAP said it had defused the landmines 800m from the Swaziland border yesterday after a member of the public had spotted them.

It was also announced that a 20-year-old national serviceman was in a serious condition after he stepped on an anti-personnel mine near Komatipoort, close to the Mozambican border.

And, in a lengthy statement yesterday, General Johan Coetzee, the commissioner of the SAP, released a list of 28 names of ANC "dissidents" he claims were executed or killed by the organisation for "subversion".

He suggested they were ANC members who had expressed discontent with conditions in ANC camps or questioned the ANC's "real aims".

●See PAGE 3

US out to court ANC

1911/2/186
322 11A P. 2/247
MAPUTO — US Under-Secretary of State Michael Armacost said yesterday Washington planned to broaden contacts with Mozambique's government, the African National Congress (ANC) and the black states bordering SA.

Armacost, at a news conference before flying to Malawi from Harare, said SA's "adverse reaction" to US economic sanctions had prompted US officials to adjust their policy in the region.

More attention was being given to expanding relations with the Front-line states — thereby helping them lessen their economic dependence on SA — and to broadening contact with the ANC.

After visiting Malawi, Armacost — who met Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano yesterday — plans to

meet ANC officials in Zambia in what would be the highest-level US talks yet with SA's main guerrilla group.

He said the US government had been impressed "with the speed and efficiency" of the transition of power in Mozambique after President Samora Machel's death in a plane crash on October 19.

The US official reiterated that Washington gave no support to the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels who had been fighting the government since 1977.

Asked why the US supported anti-Marxist rebels in Angola but not in Mozambique, Armacost said Washington considered the Unita rebels of Dr Jonas Savimbi to be an "authentic voice that needs to be taken into account in the process of national reconciliation in Angola." — Sapa-AP.

THE Azanian People's Organisation ended its seventh annual congress in Port Elizabeth at the weekend having brought the Black Consciousness movement closer to the general thrust of rival organisations.

This was without conceding any of Azapo's principles as set out in their constitution.

The movement agreed to hold peace talks with the United Democratic Front on the political violence that has beset the two groups. But it asserted it would not hesitate to criticise its allies where it felt it necessary to do so.

This was amply shown in harsh criticisms levelled at the UDF, its campaigns and affiliates.

The congress was held significantly in Port Elizabeth where BC founder, Steve Biko was tortured prior to his death in detention in 1977.

PE was also chosen because the political violence between the two groups reached its zenith in the city last year. Controversial Azapo supporter, Rev Ebenezer Magina, who was at the centre of the feud did not appear at the congress — but about 400 Azapo delegates and supporters from around the country did.

The Moslem Movement Hall in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth rang with their songs and slogans praising Biko and proclaiming their desire for a socialist Azania.

The main banner contained Azapo's theme for 1987 — "black solidarity for a socialist Azania." It was painted in red, black and yellow.

In an opening speech Azapo publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza delivered a scathing attack on the UDF. He said the Front's campaigns had failed and now the UDF was turning on Azapo where threatened Azapo members would retaliate, he said.

"If our homes are attacked and our lives are threatened, we will defend ourselves with whatever means are commensurate with the attack," he said.

"Some organisations say they have four million members, some say they have six million Zulus. If you take those four million and the six million and put them together, what remains is Azapo."

Conflict

In concluding, he said that the conflict between organisations of the oppressed did not need to be antagonistic. Azapo knew its strength and the UDF's weaknesses so well that it was able to make a "benevolent suggestion... we can be magnanimous, and have an open door policy."

"We are prepared to speak to the UDF and their half-penny affiliates but they must have a mandate from within a federated body."

The president of the

Azapo agrees on peace talks at congress

Council of Unions of SA, and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, James Mndaweni, called for the BC movement to join in principled, united action with the UDF and Cosatu.

Mndaweni described the formation of both unions' federations as a "gain" for the anti-apartheid movement.

In criticising internal political feuding be-

tween the UDF and Azapo he noted that workers had been able to "move forward collectively."

Unity in the liberation movement would have to be based on a common programme of action to unite peasants, workers and students, he said.

Mndaweni slammed the clergy, the "people's organisation" and liberal bodies for failing to speak out against the black political violence.

"And a few lone voices speak out. They are silenced quickly, with a necklache," he said.

He also condemned the Press clamps as a denial of Press freedom.

In a six-page "state of the nation" address the then acting president of Azapo, Nkosi Molala, presented an overview of the struggle for global socialism against international imperialism.

He said South Africa was a regional imperial power in the process of destabilising its neighbours and was attempting to overthrow popular, revolutionary gov-



OPENING speech... Azapo Press secretary Muntu Myeza.

FOCUS

ernments by direct intervention.

SA was seen as being "under pressure from international sanctions, resistance from internal extra-parliamentary and anti-apartheid forces, assailed by the anti-bantu education campaign, cajoled by a wide spectrum of white liberals to reform apartheid, strongly warned by an admixture of white rightwingers not to reform and confronted by a deliberately low pitched armed offensive."

Faced with these pressures South Africa had chosen "the only path totalitarian regimes know and understand — brutal and overt aggression and repression."

He attacked the Press restrictions as a "plot calculated not only to make people sleep through the revolution, but also to be able to abduct political opponents without anybody raising a whimper."

A message of greeting and support from Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu was met with a shout of "go away" from one observer.

In his closing address, the incoming president, Nkosi Molala offered to talk with the UDF, even though a previous offer had been met with "cynicism".

"We feel that the interminable political violence that is going on in

this country will in the end not serve the interests of our struggle.

"In the end it will not serve the interests of our struggle, in the end it will not push the liberation of our people forward. It will only serve the interests of those who want to perpetuate our position of slavery and servitude," he said.

In a wide-ranging attack on Azapo's detractors, Molala blamed the black-on-black violence on Anti-Socialist forces.

He singled out the UDF for "accommodating within its confines people who have a pure capitalist position," and contended that these people were beginning to "take over" the Front's socialist groupings and hence "overwhelm" the UDF.

Other detractors included anti-socialist liberals in the anti-apartheid movement and "elements" inside and out the country who represented "Western imperial forces".

He said that Western imperialists, whom he did not identify, had commented Azapo's overseas funding and now threatened to subvert the organisation. With the ultimate aim of destroying it.

The "Botha/Malajunta" had borne down on Azapo, creating "very serious problems for the movement. The answer lay in engaging the system "at the same level that it engages us," he said.

The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching newspaper or other media directly. Complaints must relate published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar SA Media Council, P.O. Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 46-7317. Inquiries are welcomed.



Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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ANC Times 19/2/86

ANC men 'executed'

11A

By BARRY STREEK

THE South African police yesterday named 28 members of the banned African National Congress who it claimed had been executed or killed by the ANC for "subversion".

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said in a statement the 28 people and other young South Africans had been misled by the ANC with "false promises" and had had

Town who was reported to have been shot during a mutiny at the ANC's Pango camp and buried in Luanda.

The statement said it was not known how Mr Nkondo died but his death had been announced by Mr Pitiso Mzwayi in June 1985.

The ANC headquarters in Lusaka immediately dismissed the police claims.

Gen Coetzee said the

'Govt blunder over ANC propaganda'



Mr Harry Schwarz

Political Staff

THE Government was making a major blunder in its latest television propaganda onslaught on the African National Congress, the Progressive Federal Party said today.

Mr Harry Schwarz, the party's spokesman on finance, said people were having the day-lights scared out of them and that this was not the correct thing to do if the Government was trying to restore business confidence.

"I am getting comments from a number of businessmen who say they are making a completely different assessment of the South African economy on the basis of the seriousness of the ANC's effect," he said.

Mr Schwarz was reacting to what appears to be a concerted propaganda campaign against the ANC launched by President P W Botha on television last Friday night.

The latest element of this campaign was featured on television news last night in a detailed programme claiming

EMERGENCY UPDATE

that the ANC's training camps were appalling centres where innocent South Africans were detained, maltreated and even murdered.

Mr Schwarz said he could only think that the Government was trying to paint the ANC in a certain way because it was preparing for a general election.

However, he warned that the Government was making a major blunder because in the process it was building the ANC as the only alternative to the Government.

"This is counter-productive because the propaganda campaign is ignoring the fact that there are other black groups in South Africa and that the other black public opinion is not falling into the ANC trap."

"The Government is, in fact, making the ANC the major factor in the perception of the people," he said.

Government sources are not confirming today whether instalments in the propaganda campaign against the ANC.

EMERGENCY UPDATE

Mr Peter Soal, PFP spokesman on information, said it was clear that after last night's programme that the Government had decided to embark on a well thought-out relentless campaign against the ANC.

"I wonder what they hope to achieve, because they are not going to make the ANC go away or diminish the ANC's resolve to bring about change in South Africa by smearing the organisation."

Mr Soal slammed the SABC for giving the security forces limitless access to television while, for example, an important meeting of the PFP's federal executive yesterday was ignored by the TV news.

Police say ANC killed 28 of its own

2/12/85
DIA

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The South African Police yesterday named 28 members of the banned African National Congress who had been executed or killed by the ANC for 'subversion'.

The Commissioner of Police, Gen Johan Coetzee, said the information had been gained from the Security Branch in co-operation with ex-terrorist members of the ANC.

Last night a number of ex-terrorists, wearing masks, appeared on SABC-TV, but the Press was not invited to interview them.

An SATV spokesman said the interviews were part of

a documentary produced by an independent video company.

In his statement, Gen Coetzee said the 28 people and other young South Africans had been misled by the ANC with 'false promises' and had had to pay for that mistake 'with their lives'.

Among those named as having been killed by the ANC were Mervyn Ephraim Nkondo, 48, also known as Boetie, who was a member of the Committee of Ten in Soweto, and Xola Ernest Magqwashe, 29, of Cape Town, who was reported to have been shot during a mutiny at the ANC's Pango camp and buried in Luanda.

Gen Coetzee said the police had released the names — only a few of which were available and known with certainty — in the hope that other young South Africans 'who are about to be misled will see the real picture, will denounce the ANC and pick a peaceful road in South Africa'.

He said: 'Information, gained by the Security

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

28 'killed by ANC'

◆ FROM PAGE 1

Branch, in co-operation with ex-terrorist members of the ANC, shows there are training and detention camps (of the ANC) in neighbouring states where conditions and living standards are appalling.'

Young South Africans were lured, under false pretences of a better education and even university studies, to leave the country, he said.

'But as soon as they leave the country and arrive in the ANC's training camps, they are rudely awakened to the real facts.'

The general said housing, food, medicine and other factors, as well as the attitude of Russian and Cuban instructors, 'leaves much to the imagination'.

'Malaria, food poisoning and venereal disease is a common sight in these camps.

'Any complaints by these young misled "freedom-fighters" are seen as a motion of discontent in the ANC itself, and the fate of those people questioning the ANC's real aims is predictable.

'These so-called dissidents are executed by the ANC or placed in their detention camps — one of the most well known of which is Camp Quatro — and only a few ever see the outside world again.'

Gen Coetzee said there were still parents who believed their children who had joined the ANC were living happily outside South Africa under the organisation's wing.

'But many of these children are missing, and most of them have, because of the appalling conditions in these camps, died there.'

ANC executed many — SAP

PRETORIA — A list of 28 names of South African blacks the police say were "misled" into joining the banned African National Congress and were "executed" or died at the hands of the organisation for "subversion" was released in Pretoria yesterday by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee.

The list includes the following names.

"Du Laza, Makanana, alias Amos (Xhosa). He was born in 1949 at Collesburg, ID No 4455048. Amos was accused of being a spy, and was later killed by the ANC.

"Mlotshawa, Bakhele, alias Freddy. ID No 6439095. He was murdered by the ANC in Swaziland.

"Mabukane, Ntobeko, alias Lindiwe (Xhosa). He was born in 1950 near Hankey. ID No 4834001. Ntobeko arrived at a camp, named Benguela, under the influence of alcohol. He was then murdered by a group under the leadership of one Mompoti, because of the appointment he got in the ANC.

"Daka, Walther, alias Vkululeko (Xhosa). He was born on March 10, 1953, in Durban.

Walther, at one stage, refused to undergo revision of training in ANC camps. He was later murdered by the ANC.

"Sipunzi, Solomon, alias Vuyisile, alias Maseko, alias Xolile. Born December 16, 1954 near Willowvale in Transkei. He was shot at the Viana camp, during the mutiny, by one M. J. Tshali.

"Tonisi, Maxwell Masibullele. He was born in Duncan Village on May 10, 1961. Maxwell Tonisi was shot by a firing squad in 1984, for his share in the mutiny in the Pango camp.

"Jonas, alias Jonga. He was born during 1948 and his ID No was 4427401. His last known address was KwaZakele. Jonas was executed during March 1984 by the ANC.

"Zinzile (Xhosa). He was born during 1951. During the mutiny in the Pango camp, he sustained injuries. He fled, but was captured the next day and shot.

"James (Xhosa). He was born in 1960. He was a mutineer and died in front of a firing squad.

— Sapa

See report P17

Townships tense

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

SOWETO'S Phiri and Mapetla townships — the scene of violent clashes between Basotho tribesmen (Russians) and "Comrades" last week — were yesterday tense following reports that two more people were killed at the weekend.

The latest killings reportedly occurred when blanketed "Russians" attacked the Kwenaita-family of Phiri. Mr Andries Kwenaita (46), a family member was shot and wounded in the incident but is recovering at Baragwanath Hospital.

However, Fiki, a Kwenaita family member, told the *Sowetan* yesterday that he could not confirm that two people had been shot dead following the two-hour shootout at his home on Saturday at 1am.

"No corpses were found near our home. If there were any fatalities, they must have occurred elsewhere," he said.

According to him, trouble at his home



Mr SABATA Letuka (68) . . . died during clashes.

started after they heard dogs barking. His uncle, Andries, went out to investigate, and found a large number of Russians. They exchanged words and Andries was hit with a bottle.

"He (Andries) retreated to the house and at that point gunshots were fired at the house and windows broken.

The roof of the house was also torn off by other Russians who tried to gain entry," he said.

So far the police have confirmed and said they are investigating the brutal killing of five people — two each in Phiri and Mapetla and the fifth in Tshiawelo last week.

Brigadier J J Beeslaar, the Divisional Criminal Investigation Officer for Soweto, said the bodies of men aged between 35 and 60 were discovered between 2am on Tuesday and 10am on Thursday at different times and places.

All had sustained multiple wounds, apparently inflicted with blunt instruments which could have been knobkerries.

Motives

The motives for the killings, were unknown at this stage and no arrests have been made, the brigadier said.

The *Sowetan* has established the names of three of the deceased. They were Mr Sabata Letuka (68) of 784 A Phiri, who was a member of the street committee, Mr Abesinia Mohapi (50) of 1553 Mapetla and Mr Siphon Mamabolo (address unknown). Mr Mohapi will be buried on Saturday (December 27) and the cortege will leave from his home.

11/6/85 19/1/2/86 (11/11)

Alleged ANC men: Police name 28 dead

PRETORIA. — A list of 28 names of South Africans the police say were "misled" into joining the banned African National Congress and were executed or died at the hands of the organisation for "subversion" after their "eyes had opened" has been released by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee.

General Coetzee said there were still parents who believed their children who had joined the ANC were living happily under the organisation's wing.

Referring to the list of names, he said the police were releasing them "with sympathy".

Details of the people named, and the date, place and manner in which they died are in many cases unclear or sketchy.

The police directorate of public relations in Pretoria has been asked to provide more details and information, as well as the locations of ANC camps mentioned.

Names and details listed:

1. Dulaza, Makanana, alias Amos (Xhosa), born Colesberg 1949, ID No. 4455048. Accused of spying and killed.
2. Mlotshawa, Bakhele, alias Freddy. ID No. 6439095, murdered in Swaziland.
3. Mabukane, Ntobeko, alias Lindiwe (Xhosa). Born 1950 near Hankey. ID No. 4834001. Murdered at Benguela camp.
4. Daka, Walther, alias Nkululeko (Xhosa). Born March 10 1953, in Durban. Murdered by the ANC.
5. Gqoba, Vusumzi, alias Precious alias Victor. Born near Krugersdorp, April 2 1956. Murdered in Maputo.
6. Nkosinathi, Ngubo, alias Dihiza. ID no. 6522707. Shot in Pango camp.
7. Twala, Rodney, alias Mwezi. Born December 9 1945, Evaton. Address: 75/8 Small Farms, Evaton. Mother: Lizzy Twala. Sister Irene Twala. Brother Winston Twala. Shot 1984 as a mutineer by one Itumeleno.
8. Sipunzi, Solomon, alias Vuyisile, alias Maseko, alias Xolile. Born December 16 1954, Willowdale, Transkei. Address later Stand 79686D, Port Elizabeth. Father: Augustine Sipunzi, Krugersdorp. Mother: Noyamile Sipunzi, Willowdale. Shot at Viana camp, January 1984 by one M J Tshali.
9. Mahero (Zulu or Xhosa). Born 1956, Soweto. Shot as a mutineer by ANC firing squad.
10. Kopele, Hendrik Douglas. Born May 21 1957, Soweto. Died in handgrenade explosion at Pango camp, May 1986.
11. Letuku, Nathaniel, alias Godfrey, alias Walker, alias Motsamai. Born Soweto June 7 1949. ID No. 148153453. Died June 26 1985 in motor accident.
12. Sibanyoni, Bennet Mkhwanazi. ID No. 6516852. Died in a vehicle accident in Lusaka.
13. Shabalala, Mrini Oscar. ID No. 4268849. Committed suicide 1984.
14. Tonisi, Maxwell Masibullele. Born Duncan Village, Ciskei, May 10 1961. ID No. 165382016. Address: NU2 4369 Mdantsane, Ciskei. Mother: Sophia Linda Tonisi. Brother: Lungile Tonisi. Shot 1984 at Pango.
15. Siphon, Peter Zondo. ID No. 5992647. Committed suicide June 1985.
16. Nkondo, Mervyn Ephraim, alias Boetie. Born 1938. ID No. 1163865. Last-known addresses: 30th Avenue, Alex, Johannesburg and Box 78, Giyani. His father's telephone number is Nuamak-gale 3030. Particulars of his death not known.
17. Motsoasele, Isaac, alias Radebe, alias Sakkie, alias Jakkie. Born Johannesburg, August 8 1955. ID No. 1811754. His last known addresses were 2021 Rockville, Soweto and Sekano Ntoane Hight School 907, Area 1, Moroka. His father is Paulus Moloi. Died April 1984.
18. Napisa, Jonas, alias Masongana, alias Peter, alias Oupa (Southern Sotho). Born Hennenman March 13 1960. Address: Zone 1556, Soweto. Driver of a motor vehicle involved in an accident which caused the death of Dr Nomava. Taken to ANC Camp Quatro and murdered.
19. Mlangeni, Johannes Bhuza, alias Rhiza, alias Zivanemdi (Swazi). Born Bethal October 6 1954. Address Box 61, Kromkran. Shot Pango camp 1984.
20. Jonas, Eastern alias Jonga. Born 1948. ID No. was 4427401. Address KwaZakele 2969, Port Elizabeth. Executed March 1984.
21. Magqwashe, Xola Ernest. Born Cape Town July 1957. ID No. 5486570. Shot at Pango camp, buried in Luanda.
22. Gumede, Siphon Phillip, alias Miro (Zulu). Born 1949. ID No. 4420049. Address: 8491A, Area 6, Diepkloof. Wife: Rose Elizabeth Gumedi. Shot at Pango camp and buried there.
23. Ndlovu, Trusty Eulogius, alias Mtinkulu, alias George, alias Vakani, alias Matlala (Zulu). Born Nalwedwe, Maritzburg 1954. Address: H24, Dr Vilakazi Road, Ashdown, Maritzburg. Father, mother and brother: Nicholas, Linah and Goba. Died at Siteki, Swaziland, May 1984.
24. Maphumulu, Clement. Born Johannesburg March 13 1963. Executed by the ANC.
25. Zinzile (Xhosa). Born 1951. Shot at Pango camp.
26. Duke (Zulu or Sotho). Born 1953, Transvaal. Killed at Pango camp.
27. James (Xhosa). Born 1960. Died by firing squad.
28. Fuba, Di (Xhosa). Born 1961. Shot. — Sapa.

Rajbansi's statement rejected by TIC

Political Reporter

The Transvaal Indian Congress has rejected a claim made by the leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, that the TIC or United Democratic Front had approached him for help.

The TIC was replying to a statement made by Mr Rajbansi at a meeting in Lenasia last weekend that TIC members had asked for his assistance.

Mr Rajbansi, who is chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, made the claim after a large number of TIC supporters walked out of the meeting. Mr Rajbansi threatened to name the people who had approached him if the TIC denied this was so.

The TIC said in a statement it was "fully aware of the false claims made by Mr Rajbansi that he has helped to secure the release of a number of TIC members who were detained under the present state of emergency".

"We claim emphatically that no TIC and UDF members have approached Mr Rajbansi or the House of Delegates for any assistance whatsoever."

W/L ARGUS 20/12/86

Frustrated Maties on 'contact tour' seek peaceful future

'Leaders have no vision'

DALE LAUTENBACH, Weekend Argus Reporter

"OUR frustration is that we are young people without a vision ... our supposed leaders have left us visionless ..."

Which is why Stellenbosch student Hennie Bester took the initiative in organising a contact tour.

He and fellow students travelled the country meeting members of different communities, different organisations; people from walks of life little known to the average Matie.

People who want to build

"Our frustration ..." says Hennie, a Student's Representative Council member and chairman of Spog (Stellenbosch se Politieke Ondersoek en Gesprek), "Our irritation ... is that we met people on this tour who want to build, who want to make a future together. And our supposed leaders give us no sense of a direction towards that future."

Spog is the informal political arm of the Stellenbosch SRC. It defines its task as informing student leaders and keeping them in touch with a broad spectrum of political activity. The organisation is "liberal" in campus terms; "moderate" by general political standards.

Chairman Hennie is well-known on campus as a serious young man. He is a serious Christian and serious about his vision of a peaceful path into what lies ahead.

He seems significantly more open than his average Stellenbosch colleague to the different concerns of people he encounters along that path, though he could not be called "radical", even by Matie standards.

Gesprek is the clearest signpost he has spotted yet on his path and he is following it eagerly. Last year he was one of the group of Maties who had their passports withdrawn after announcing their



Mr Qoboza



Dr Motlana



Rev Buti



Mrs Duncan



Matie Hennie Bester — frustrated.

plan to visit the African National Congress in Lusaka.

And now he has guided Spog — "an organisation willing to talk and listen to anyone ... no strings attached", says Hennie — on its first national talking trip.

The "swartkontaktoer", as it was billed in the Afrikaans Press, took 10 students selected by Spog as having influence on the campus, on a whirlwind week of exposure to some things some of them certainly had not even thought about before.

The delegation included the five SRC executive members: Chris Jacobs, president, Frans Volschenk, Hein Brand, Nicki Smit and Robert Knobel; the editor of the student newspaper Die Matie, Stephan Malherbe; two SRC members Hennie Bester and Zenda Barnard, and two young Spog members Julius Oosthuizen and Jacques du Plessis.

"You couldn't say it was nice," says Hennie. "It was no pleasant trip. But it was necessary, informative, disturbing and, of course, very frustrating."

The delegation was met in Durban by members of the United Democratic Front-affiliated Azanian Student's Organisation.

The day's exposure included talks with the UDF executive in Natal, a meeting with senior church people including the Rev Sam Khumalo and dinner with the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Day two took in Indaba secretary Professor David van Wyk, more Inkatha Youth and a flight to Johannesburg.

"There we met Mr Percy Qoboza of City Press," says Hennie. "And we had lunch at a community centre in Soweto with young pupils, most of whom had been trying to write their matric exams for a while."

Astonishing goodwill

"It turned into a very festive occasion and represented what we found, on the one hand, so astonishing: the tremendous goodwill of the people. Those young students came along in good faith, they wanted to make contact, to build with us."

On the other hand though, says Hennie, was the inescapable fact that the black community has become "monolithic" ... "consolidated by tremendous frustration and sometimes hatred".

"From black people who've reached top positions to young kids at school, no one is spared the loss of human dignity. They tell you there's a monster being born and that people won't be kept down for much longer."

"It was frightening to hear so many of them refer to the Government as the 'enemy'. The Rev Sam Buti said: 'Don't call me moderate, that's an insult. There are no moderate blacks anymore.' That shook us."

The whistlestop sped on for the young Maties: the National Union of Mineworkers; Dr Nthatho Motlana; the South African Council of Churches at Khotso House; Sheena Duncan of Black Sash; Fort Hare students; Soweto headmasters; journalist Harald Pakendorf for dinner and Ds Willie Cilliers for tea.

"We had lunch with Gary May, public affairs manager of SA Breweries, and that was fascinating," says Hennie. "SAB must be one of the most progressive-thinking establishment groupings in the country ... quietly forging ahead."

Then it was Sunday morning, the seventh day, and a church service conducted by the Rev Sam Buti at his church in Alexandra.

This marked the end of the official tour ... but, says Hennie, hopefully the start too of some different perspectives on the Matie campus.

"I can't predict how our meetings will affect the political thinking of student leadership next year but I can say we were all affected by the tour in one way or another. Our group was divided on many issues and there was much disagreement."

"Some of them had just not experienced this kind of contact before and some resisted it strongly. Many came along with entrenched preconceptions that have been instilled over many years ... like the idea that certain people are communists and that's that."

"But we heard things that could just not go ignored and I think even those with the most hard-line preconceptions were affected. There was a general feeling among the rightwing members of the group that they couldn't wait to get back to their Government contacts and 'ask some questions'."

Some eyes were opened more than others though.

"Yes," says Hennie, and again that word "frustration" comes into conversation. "For some the tour just served to confirm prejudices and they withdrew even further into the laager."

"Towards the end there was a tremendous sense of frustration and irritation and some people started talking about their long summer holidays to be spent on the beach ... which in turn was irritating having just met all those others who don't have long beach holidays ahead."

The ANC — as seen by SATV and others

Carl Tomis
20/12/86

114

IT is now obvious what the government intends in the propaganda war it has launched in an atmosphere of censorship and repression.

It is out to smash the African National Congress physically, by any means. For this, the ANC must be portrayed as an irrevocably communist, terrorist organization.

The government's problem is that it tends to protest overmuch. Overkill can be counter-productive, particularly among alienated blacks who automatically think and act in opposite ways to the government and the SABC.

Any thoughtful person who saw the grim parade of security chiefs and alleged ex-terrorists on Network on Thursday night, telling a gory tale of ANC terror, hunger, executions, communism, sex abuse, etc, would spot what is afoot. Coupled with President Botha's declaration of war on the organization a week before, it is clear that it is open season on the ANC.

The media are censored, a general election is looming, the Western world is hostile, sanctions and disinvestment are the order of the day. The stage is set for a modern Blood River, not against Zulus but against the ANC — whether or not the ANC actually is communist or aims at hard or soft targets. The important thing is to have an enemy, and the ANC is custom-built for the government's current mood.

Gone are the days when ministers would distinguish between communists and nationalists in the ANC, and when people close to the government were seen visiting the ANC in Lusaka or elsewhere. When the military destroyed the Eminent Persons Group's initiative in May with raids on three Commonwealth countries before breakfast, the die was cast. Now the propaganda campaign has a momentum of its own, and the government's lap dog, the SABC, is eagerly earning patriotic epaulettes.

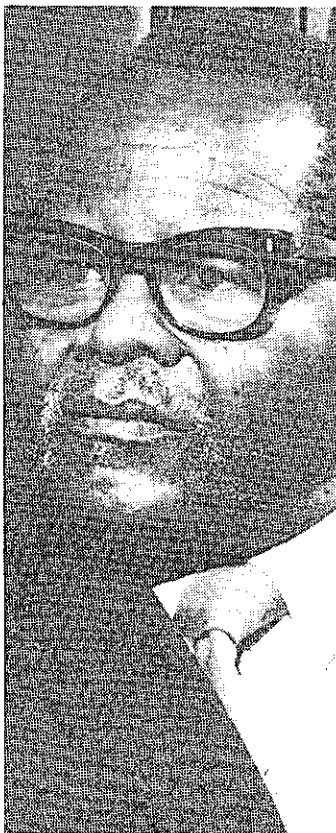
The picture presented on Network was of an ANC which summarily executes dissenters, sexually abuses women members, recklessly concentrates on soft targets and is dominated by the Communist Party. When security chiefs, with more confidence than articulateness, and hooded alleged ex-terrorists use prime TV time to make assertions like this, it can look pretty powerful.

AND when people who cannot reply, like banned ANC leader Oliver Tambo, are quoted selectively (and illegally?) by alleged ex-terrorists in balaclavas, as happened on Thursday, reason goes out the window. But reason and propaganda never did go together.

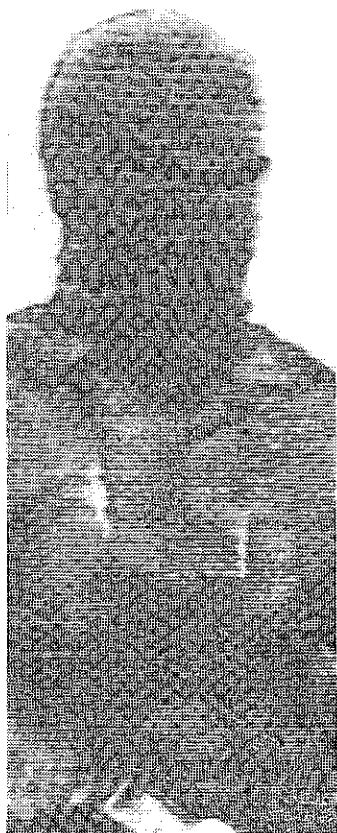
Even superficial analysis shows that the charges are unsubstantiated, generalized, unproven assertions — the sort of propaganda that Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesia relied on, to the cost of whites who ended up with no idea of what was really happening. Is there any way, for instance, of knowing whether the hooded ex-terrorists are real? Some sounded not unlike radio announcers to me. Maybe, as vaunted new members of the "black middle



By A H HEARD



Oliver Tambo, quoted but cannot reply.



A hooded alleged ex-terrorist, as seen on SATV.

class", they will soon be radio announcers.

A curious aspect is that the names of "executed" ANC members appear to have been held back from families in favour of propaganda use — hence the shocked remark by the Guguletu sister of one of the dead that the police had not informed her of her brother's death. Presumably death is a selectively reportable event.

If what was shown was anything approaching reality, it can be concluded that the ANC do not see themselves as fellow South Africans who look to a non-racial future and regretfully fight what they see as an inevitable civil war, but demons intent on mindless destruction of the very fabric of society.

I am not suggesting that there was no truth in the parade of propaganda. But it is the assumption that everything asserted, however generalized, is accurate and proven, despite the exclusion of the other side of the story, which strikes one.

Recently, Thames Television in Britain put on "The Story of the ANC", by David Tereshchuk, giving a totally different picture and which, if the SABC has any pretensions to independence, should be screened in South Africa.

The Thames film portrays the ANC as moderate-led, one of the oldest black political or-

ganizations in Africa, nationalist in make-up though at times working with communists and relying for arms on the Soviets — but now forging good contact with the West. It is seen as having had a leadership down the years, with one or two exceptions, which was notably anti- or non-Marxist — a movement which scrupulously used peaceful means before being forced underground; and even then avoiding soft or civilian targets, though reluctantly accepting that civilians can be hurt in the increasing cross-fire.

PUBLIC Enemy Number One Joe Slovo looked rather like an elderly uncle in the British film, with no blood dripping from his mouth, though clearly a convinced Marxist. In South Africa he is an ogre. It always strikes me how paranoiac our government is about communism, an ideology whose time has come and gone and which has been unable to compete with the West. If Slovo did not exist, he would have to be invented.

Another picture of the ANC, a well-argued, convincing case, complete with detailed footnotes and written in the rigorous academic tradition, appears in the latest issue of the prestigious US publication Foreign Affairs. It is written by Prof Thomas G Karis, professor emeritus of political science at the City University of

New York, an expert on our vexed politics.

Karis says that in a free election the ANC could possibly win three-fourths of the black vote as well as some white votes, and observes that "most students of South African black politics do not believe that the ANC is dominated or controlled by the South African Communist Party. Their key premise, grounded in South African history, is that non-communist African leaders work with communists for their common end of opposing white domination".

He traces the relationship between the veteran ANC (founded 1912) and the vintage SACP (1921), and points out that when the Communist Party was banned in 1950 it had only about 2 000 dues-paying members. Some ogre. It might be argued that by driving it underground the government made the SACP.

Karis points out that the ANC has had different relationships with the communists: Early on it kept its distance from them, then there was joint action, but now increasing reliance on above-ground groups within South Africa (which are by definition hardly Marxist).

IT is instructive to note that Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, as Youth League leaders in the late '40s proposed the expulsion of communists from the ANC, though their relations with communists became more pragmatic later. The Freedom Charter, Karis avers, is not socialist or Marxist, nor anti-capitalist — it envisages a democratic welfare state and a mixed economy.

Thursday's sombre TV drum-roll of communists dominating the national executive of the ANC requires checking against Karis. Some of those dogmatically labelled communist by the TV film, eg Pallo Jordan and Thabo Mbeki, are not considered communists, according to Karis.

Karis explains how raw, untreated assumption and intelligence have passed for fact on ANC-communist links, and tells how a document, "How to be a Good Communist", introduced at Nelson Mandela's trial, was, in fact, a case of his copying material while studying. He quoted a Chinese communist leader: "We communist party members". Without any explanation, this is now quoted widely as if they were Mandela's own words. He cannot reply. He is jailed.

Significantly, the ANC claims that more than half of its total aid comes from Western and third world governments and private donors, and therefore not communist sources. Karis writes: "Despite much of its rhetoric, the ANC, historically, politically and culturally, is more attuned to the United States and the West than it is to the Soviet bloc." (More news for SATV viewers.)

Karis says that in the current phase of repression the police and military "have shown that they intend to eliminate the ANC physically".

● Considering the way the government is going about it, the ANC might just thank them.

AZAPPO'S LINK-UP

CP+1 PRESS 2/12/86 (11A)

In a wide ranging attack on Azapo's detractors, Molala blamed the black-on-black violence on anti-socialist forces.

He singled out the UDF for "accommodating within its confines people who have a pure capitalist position," and contended that these people were beginning to "take over."

The 1987 Azapo Central Committee is: National president Nkosi Molala, vice-president Lybon Mabasa, vice-president (Education) Mandla Nkosi, vice-president (Finance) Haroon Patel, secretary-general George Wauchope, publicity secretary Muntu Myeza, national organiser Phambile Ntoko, project co-ordinator Moloantya Mavi, Cape vice-president Fundile Mafongosi, Transvaal vice-president Mawashweni. The 1987 Azasim president is Monde Niwasa.

11A

CP Correspondent

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation ended its seventh annual congress in the Moses Mabhida Hall in Port Elizabeth at the weekend having brought the Black Consciousness Movement closer to the general thrust of rival organisations.

This was without conceding any of Azapo's principles as set out in the organisation's constitution.

Azapo sticks to its own cause

CP Correspondent

THE Azanian People's Organisation ended its seventh annual congress in Port Elizabeth by passing a motion reaffirming the black consciousness movement's commitment to unsectarianism and to Azapo's code of conduct enshrined in its constitution.

Following the election of the 1987 central committee, in-coming publicity secretary Muntu Myeza read the motion - the only formal motion

The movement agreed to link up with a range of campaigns and activities

waged by their leading opposition in black opposition politics, the UDF/Cosatu/NECC alliance.

Azapo resolved to among other things link up with the "People's Education" campaign, help to resolve the crisis in black education and hold peace talks with the UDF on the political violence which has be-

set the two groups.

At every point, Azapo asserted that in joining in, it would not hesitate to criticise its allies where it felt it necessary to do so. This was amply shown in the harsh criticisms levelled at the UDF, its campaigns and affiliates.

In an opening speech, Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza delivered a scathing attack on the UDF. He said the front taken by the congress.

The motion noted the "ever increasing conditions of political quiet in our country".

The motion also noted that "our people and their organisations are facing trying times".

It noted that it had become "necessary to defend and to protect the overt nature and position of the organisation against attacks aimed at destroying it and casting ill-fame

campaign had failed and the UDF was turning on Azapo. Where threatened, Azapo members would retaliate, he said.

"If our homes are attacked and our lives are threatened, we will defend ourselves with whatever means is commensurate with the attack," he said.

Azanian Congress of Trade Unions president James Mdaweni called for

on the organisation."

Congress resolved to "proclaim and declare unequivocally that Azapo is an independent organisation with its own policy, principles, aims and objectives and enshrined in the constitution, resolutions and policy documents adopted at various congresses of Azapo".

It also resolved to "reaffirm our commitment to our adopted code of conduct and position of openness."

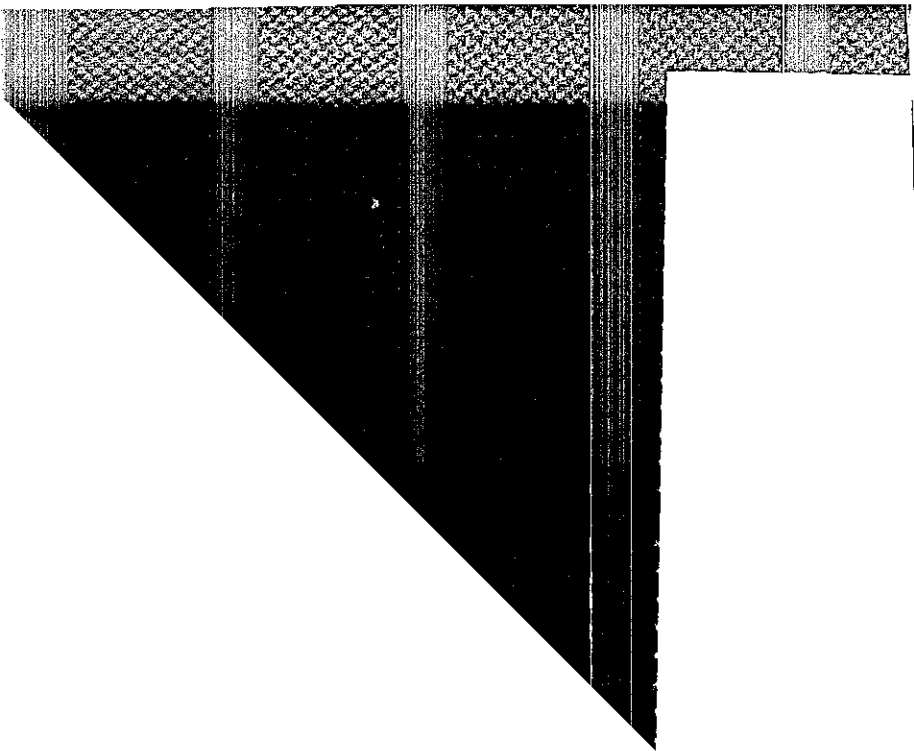
the BC movement to join in principle, united action with the UDF and Cosatu. Mdaweni described the formation of both union federations as a "gain" for the anti-apartheid movement.

In criticising internal political feuding between the UDF and Azapo, he noted that workers had been able to go "forward collectively".

In his closing address, the incoming president, Nkosi Molala, offered to talk to the UDF, even though a previous offer had been met with "cynicism".

"We feel that the intricate political violence which is going on in this country will in the end not serve the interest of our struggle. It will only serve the interest of those who want to perpetuate our position of slavery and servitude," he said.

Lybon Mabasa who was elected vice-president of Azapo.



NO JOJO

city R cases
9/12/12

By SANDILE MEMELA
MERRYMAKING during the Christmas season has become a thing of the past for most township residents - the traditional festive season has taken on a black mood.

Since unrest broke out in the Vaal Triangle three years ago, the United Democratic Front and other organisations have called on the community to avoid all unnecessary spending on luxuries and surplus goods during the festive season.

Thousands of township residents have observed the request to avoid arranging or taking part in functions normally associated with this period. But many are disgruntled with the new black mood of the festive season and contend that "life must go on".

Changing church bells broke the silence in Soweto last Tuesday to announce the beginning of the 10-day campaign against the emergency. And as early as 8pm, shebeen patrons frantically picked up their jackets and went home.

Hundreds of taxi commuters were stranded in the early evening when the taxi service stopped operations in most parts of Soweto in response to the call.

The past few weeks have seen the UDF launch a publicity campaign to remind people what guidelines to follow in observing the Christmas Against the Emergency Campaign - and the clamping of bans this week on *City Press*, the *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* to prevent them publishing UDF statements or Press releases supporting the campaign.

Cynics said the campaign would not achieve its aims and people should not wallow in self-pity but continue with life as it was.

Despite the call, hundreds of shoppers this week continued with a last-minute Christmas buying spree. Pavements bustled with movement as shoppers jostled with each other as they continued on their shopping rounds.

From noon, one can see hundreds of shoppers resting and relaxing on park benches and lawns in the city centre after doing their shopping. Scores can be seen joining long queues for taxis with arms full of parcels.

Family candle vigil busted

A NUMBER of Imbali and Sobantu families who observed a call on Tuesday night to hold a "Christmas Against the Emergency" candle vigil, had windows in their houses broken when stones were thrown at them.

A resident in the area, who requested not to be named for fear of reprisals, said a group of people walked along the streets in the townships and shouted at people to put out candles and to turn on their electric lights.

The resident said a number of families suffered damage to property when stones were thrown at their houses.

"We had a prayer meeting earlier that night and we had hoped that things might return to normal, but others obviously did not respect our sentiments and started throwing stones at those of us observing the vigil," said the resident.



A single barbed wire strand gives a deeper meaning to this candle lit at the interfaith service to remember the detainees who will spend Christmas in jail.

CONT.. →



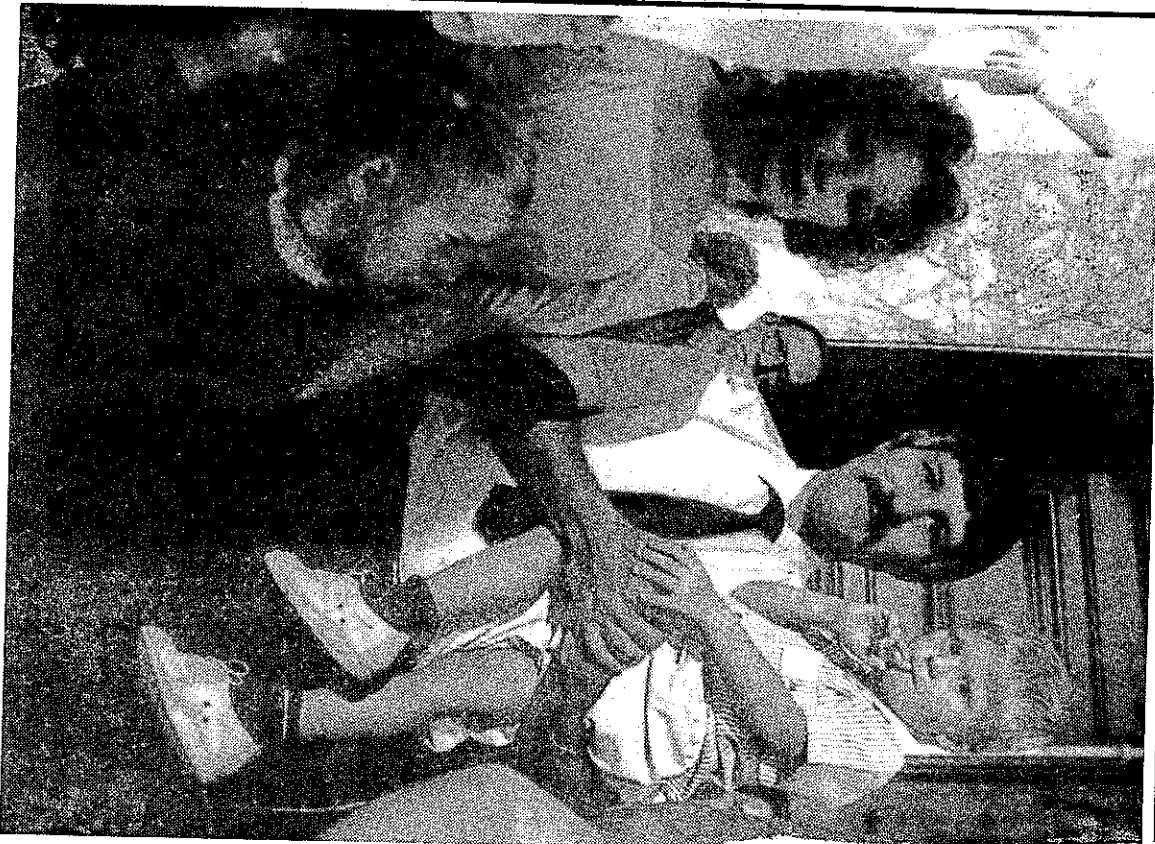
Lighting a candle for South Africa's detainees. This young boy was one of the many people who prayed for their family and friends who would not spend Christmas with them.

A DAY TO REMEMBER ...

WHILE some South Africans observed December 16 with services at the Voortrekker Monument, others gathered at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg to pray for people who would not be with them this Christmas.

The congregation was urged to light a candle every night until December 26 to remember "those who are suffering".

(118)



A family who observed the Day of the Vow service at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria this week.



Sympathisers this week lit candles for South Africa's detainees at an interfaith service in St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg.

IT WAS the stuff of which nightmares are made . . . explosions in the night . . . masked raiders dragging victims away in their underclothes and even naked . . . blindfolding and binding them . . . and driving them to an unknown destination.

"I thought they were going to shoot us," Miss Corrine Bischoff, one of the Swiss nationals abducted from her Swaziland home last weekend, told the world on international television this week.

Swaziland is still reeling under the shock of the raids it regards as brutal, bungled and amateurish and which left a man and a child dead and two people still missing.

Above all, the people of the tiny kingdom are frightened. Any South African, they fear, may be a spy or an informer.

Early on Friday morning last week, Miss Bischoff, 25, assistant manager of an Mbabane hotel, her Swiss fiancé, Mr Daniel Schneider, 28, a graphic artist, chef and restaurant manager Mr Danger Nyoni, and Mrs Grace Cele, a secretary with the Unitarian Services Commission of Canada (USCC) and mother of four, were snatched by armed raiders. Swaziland claims to be South African soldiers.

Miss Bischoff was wearing a brief pair of knickers and a T-shirt when abducted, Mr Schneider his underpants. Mrs Cele a nightdress and Mr Nyoni was naked. The Swiss couple and Mr Nyoni were not given clothing by their captors until shortly before they were released.

Confirmed

South African involvement in the raids was confirmed when the Department of Foreign Affairs said it would return the Swiss couple.

Mr Nyoni was released on the Friday evening; the Swiss nationals on Sunday. ANC refugee Mr Mathews Maphumulo was shot in the stomach and died during the raid. His body has not yet been returned to Swaziland.

Mr Nyoni's 15-year-old son, Dumisani, who that week proudly told his father he had come second in his class at school, was shot and killed after the abduction.

On Monday night, the raiders struck again, snatching an Indian, Mr Roynie Zaheer, from the Umgugu Rest Camp, Mbabane, and driving away in his car.

A report of United Democratic Front activities in 1985 was found at his house and the Swazi Commissioner of Police, Mr Sandile Mdziniso, has confirmed that Mr Zaheer appeared to have been in Swaziland illegally.

Unregistered

He was not registered with the UN High Commission for Refugees in Mbabane and the only record Swaziland has of him is his car registration book.

Unlike the previous raids which left four homes badly damaged by blasts as raiders blew in doors to gain entry, Mr Zaheer's house was not hit — this time, the abductors knocked.

"We would have opened the door if they had knocked," Mr Schneider said. "Our only message to South Africa is that we are not criminals, we have done nothing wrong."

The fragile, dark-haired, fair-skinned couple, so alike they appear as brother and sister, were this week picking up pieces of broken glass and debris at their home on the edge of an Mbabane golf course in the company of a grim-faced Swiss ambassador, Mr Jean Oliver Quinche.

The Swazi Department of Works is fixing the windows; the psychological damage will take longer to repair. Corinne is clearly still terrified.

Much of their story was



Corrine Bischoff and Daniel Schneider

By CAS St LÉGER

told to us by friends who were afraid to be identified.

Corinne and Daniel had returned at 4.30pm on the Thursday from a shopping trip in Johannesburg, where they had bought wedding

rings for their marriage in January.

Hours later they were woken by an explosion. Three men, masked with balaclavas and bearing machine-guns, burst in through the broken glass of the French door and dragged the couple to a car.

Corinne's face was cut on the glass as she was pushed through the door.

They were handcuffed and blindfolded and driven to the Oshoek border post. There they were transferred to another car and their ankles chained.

Two of their captors spoke Afrikaans, two Portuguese, and the fifth was a black. They were heard to say, in Afrikaans: "Watch out for the white people."

Photographs

During the six-hour drive to Middelburg police station, Corinne was asked to identify some photographs and claimed she was offered money to become an informer. When she refused, she was allegedly told people would be contacting her in Swaziland and she would not know who.

"It was obvious the SA Police did not know what to do with me," she said in a Swazi TV interview.

Daniel was taken to Pretoria where his blindfold was removed and he was questioned by men he described as intelligence officers. "I was told: 'Ja, we believe your story,'" he said in an interview.

Couple's armed raid nightmare

AIN
SUNTIME
8/11/85

US does not want to jeopardise ties with SA

Shultz to urge ANC to forgo violence

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

Washington

United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz will urge the African National Congress to forgo violence when he has talks in Washington next month with the organisation's leader, Mr Oliver Tambo.

While the meeting, announced at the weekend, will be a boost for the international image of the outlawed ANC, the Americans emphasise that they do not want to expand their contacts with it at the expense of diplomatic ties with South Africa.

Mr Shultz is expected to press on the ANC the need to help create conditions under which the South African Government would find negotiations for a new constitution a more acceptable course than it does now.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker said at a meeting with foreign correspondents that he agreed with a reporter's view that it would not help America to gain influence with the ANC if it lost influence with the South African Government.

"Obviously, if there is to be any early movement towards a better future in South Africa, it is going to have to include decisions by the South African Government," he said. "They are the sovereign, legitimate government of that country, recognised internationally."

Physical power

"They have overwhelming physical power. I think it is recognised — if not always by Western observers, certainly by the black majority in South Africa — that (the whites) are going to be there for a while.

"The thing to do is to find out ways to get a compromise, to get some genuine accommodation of interest."

Dr Crocker said that American dialogue was not only with the ANC, but with all parties across the South African political spectrum.

"If the ANC is serious and wants negotiations, and wants them now, it is going to have to face the issue of what choices, what compromises it is prepared to make — just like the South African Government."

Dr Crocker said the US was trying to send a signal to the South African Government and people that it was prepared to play a positive role and do constructive things for the future of the country.

"We can't do these things in a vacuum. So we are urging the parties, including the South African Government, to get sober and get serious. Until that time, it is going to be difficult to advance our goals."

He said there was a chill and some friction between the US and the South African Governments ... "and perhaps even some profound misunderstandings that need to be cleared up".



Part of the congregation of 400 people in St George's Cathedral yesterday at a service held to express solidarity with detainees

Pictures: GLENN SHERRATT

Cape Times 22/12/86

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Tutu lists basics 'essential for peace'

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu listed certain "absolutely minimum prerequisites" for peace in South Africa yesterday at a service in St George's Cathedral attended by about 400 people.

They included the release of detainees, particularly children, and government negotiation with leaders and representatives from all sections of the community.

"I make these demands on religious grounds, not because of my politics. I have said nothing that is not said more bluntly in the Scriptures," the Archbishop said.

The demand that rulers be just, care for the poor and oppose oppression was the standard set for government by religion, not by politics or ideology.

Prosperity, stability and peace depended on this, in South Africa no less than anywhere else, he said.

The demands he listed were "absolutely essential" and called for "by those who have the welfare of the country and all inhabitants at heart".

"For surely we want negotiation, surely we want true reconciliation in this land? And we know they don't come from the barrel of a gun."



Archbishop Desmond Tutu in St George's Cathedral yesterday afternoon.

'Forsake violence,' Shultz to urge in Tambo talks

From NEIL LURSEN,
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Mr George Shultz is to urge the African National Congress to forsake violence when he holds talks here next month with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

While the meeting will clearly be a boost for the international image of the outlawed organisation, the Americans emphasise that they do not want to expand their contacts with the ANC at the expense of diplomatic ties with South Africa.

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Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, agreed with a reporter's view at a meeting here with foreign correspondents that it would not help the US to gain influence with the ANC if it lost influence with the SA Government.

"Obviously, if there is to be any early movement towards a better future in South Africa it is going to have to include decisions taken by the SA Government," Dr Crocker said.

Legitimate

"They are the sovereign, legitimate government of that country, recognised internationally.

"They have overwhelming physical power. I think it is recognised, if not always by Western observers, certainly by the black majority in South Africa, that they (the whites) are going to be there for a while.

"The thing to do is to find out ways to get a compromise, to get some genuine accommodation of interest."

Dr Crocker said that US dialogue was not only with the ANC but with all parties across the SA political spectrum.

"If the ANC is serious and wants negotiations and wants them now, it is going to have to face the issue of what choices, what compromises, it is prepared to make — just like the SA Government."

Not in vacuum

Dr Crocker said that the timing was not right for the US Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, Mr Michael Armacost, or Mr Shultz to visit South Africa now, but that the US was trying to send a signal to the SA Government and people that it was prepared to play a positive role and do constructive things for the future of the country.

"We can't do these things in a vacuum," he said.

"So we are urging the parties, and that includes the SA Government, to get sober and get serious. Until such time as those things happen it is going to be difficult to advance our goals."

Dr Crocker said there was a chill and some friction between the US and SA Governments . . . "and perhaps even some profound misunderstandings that need to be cleared up".

STREET committees, which had flourished in Soweto and other townships in recent months, had proved partially successful in controlling endemic political violence and crime, Azapo's president said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Nkosi Molala said the committees had kept down the number of murders, rapes and robberies and were also effective in curtailing political violence.

It was necessary, however, not to over-emphasise the ability of the street committees at this stage to perform these functions.

Molala said: "The State has decided to isolate street committee members and this pressure has been disruptive."

Street committees help to cut back on crime

23/12/86

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One incident the committees were not able to prevent, was the death of at least five people in Phiri, Soweto, during last week's clash between Sotho migrants and young "Comrades".

However, Molala said the committees, elected by residents to a hierarchy of posts at street, block and area levels, had been able to contain previous attacks by vigilantes on political activists as well

as "necklace" executions by warring anti-apartheid factions.

He said: "Our organisation has a code of conduct for street committee members which puts forward methods that make sure people see the light of day concerning necklacing and other misdemeanours."

Police investigate as 'lights-off' killings in Soweto mount

POLICE are investigating the "lights off" campaign in townships following deadly clashes during blackouts in the Phiri-Mapetla area of Soweto.

Reports said five people were killed in Soweto last week as knobkierie-wielding, blanket-clad men known as "The Russians" hunted down youths who had organised the switch-off.

Brig J J Beeslaar confirmed that three people died in Mapetla, one in Chiawelo and another in Phiri.

All had multiple wounds, apparently inflicted with blunt instruments which could have been knobkieries.

Unconfirmed reports claim that two more people were killed in the two areas at the weekend, bringing the number of dead to seven.

Beeslaar said the bodies of the five men — aged between 35 and 60 — were found between Tuesday and Thursday morning last week.

The motive for the murders was not

SOPHIE TEMA

clear and it had not yet been established whether the deaths were linked, he said.

One man died at the Baragwanath hospital from his injuries. Andries Kwenaitse, 46, was admitted to the Baragwanath Hospital on Saturday morning after being shot and wounded when his home was attacked by what are believed to be "Russians."

The Kwenaitse family could not con-

firm the deaths of two other people claimed to have been killed at their home.

Residents in Tembisa yesterday claimed groups of youths raided several homes at the weekend and forced residents to switch off their lights.

Some residents said they pointed out to the youths that the call for the switch-off was for December 16 and December 24 between 7pm and 9pm only.

The youths argued that there were people who had called for a 10-day

mourning period and that residents should observe total darkness.

A police spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said it appeared that a "criminal element" was exploiting the blackouts.

He said it would be premature to suggest that the next blackout on December 24 would be prohibited in terms of the State of Emergency.

The action to switch off lights between 7pm and 9pm stems from the UDF's "Christmas against the Emergency" campaign.

Mapetla residents decide

LIGHTS WON'T BE PUT OUT

RESIDENTS of the trouble-torn townships of Phiri and Mapetla in Soweto decided at an urgent meeting at the weekend not to switch off their lights on Christmas Eve to avoid the recurrence of violence which plagued the two areas during the past week.

A spokesman for the residents in Mapetla told the *Sowetan* yesterday that people were forced by circumstances not to respond to the call to switch off the lights between 7pm and 9pm tomorrow.

He said it was resolved at the meeting on Sunday that residents must leave their lights on because they could

SOWETAN Reporter

be vulnerable to further attacks in the dark.

Killed

Meanwhile, a man was killed and another seriously injured in two separate incidents believed to be connected with violent clashes between the "comrades" and the blanket-clad Basotho tribesmen known in the townships as the "Russians".

Police have also given two more names of people who were killed after being assaulted with knob-kerries. The police have, however, not yet linked the killing of Mr William Dlamini (63) of Phiri and Mr Daniel Ramatlotlo (39) of Mapetla with the confrontation between the "comrades" and the "Russians".

Sources told the *Sowetan* that an unknown man, believed to be a Basotho tribesman, was stoned and stabbed to death by a group of

youths near Mapetla hostel at about 8.30pm on Sunday.

Brigadier James Beeslaar, head of the Soweto Criminal Investigation Department, told a news conference yesterday that a 46-year-old man was shot in the stomach when his home was attacked by 20 youths on Saturday night.

Arrested

He said all 20 youths had been arrested and were expected to appear in court this week. Brig Beeslaar could, however, not link the attack with the clashes between the two warring factions at this stage.

Residents are busy trying to piece together all facts and information regarding the clashes in an attempt to find out how many people died.

Reports put the death toll at eight, but residents say it could be higher as many people are still missing.

11A

Sansco is for a new education

THE new president of the South African National Students' Congress, Mr Billy Ramokgopa, is fully committed to a non-racial, community-based system of education in South Africa.

Sansco, formerly known as the black consciousness-orientated Azanian Students Organisation, believes that all students are South African and not Azanian students as seen by the BC groups.

Mr Ramokgopa says they have joined the United Democratic Front (UDF) which shares a different political ideology to the BC groupings' belief of anti-racism and black leadership before liberation.

He added that for a long time there has been a lot of dissatisfaction among their members concerning the name Azania, but the most important thing then was seen to be the content of the organisation instead of the name.

Mr Ramokgopa, a fifth-year medical stu-

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

dent at the University of Natal (Wentworth), says he joined the students' movement after experiencing various problems in the education and political and social spectrum in the country.

Born in the northern Transvaal region of Soekmeaar, the 25-year-old Mr Ramokgopa says he was basically concerned about problems affecting black students in different campuses.

Exploitation

"I come from an area where I experienced forced removals of black people, exploitation and oppression. These problems have inspired me to participate in the struggle", he said.

As a student Mr Ramokgopa is particularly concerned about the fact that most black students do not have structures such as Student Representative Councils through which they can voice their grievances to the school authorities.

"These structures are often denied to them by

authorities who regard students demands as political issues and not educational matters. But one often wonders how they arrive at this conclusion because our education is determined by politicians".

Various student problems in the country led to the formation of the Azanian Students Organisation in 1979 while he was a student.

Their aim was to bring all students together and their struggles against oppression; to face challenges in education; to mobilise students at other universities.

"We also pledged ourselves to take the Freedom Charter to all institutions of learning where we will hold discussions with colleagues on the education crisis and the education charter," he says.

For years now, he adds, there have been calls from without our organisation and from some of our allies that we should get rid of the name Azania. The reasons are:

- The name Azania has strong attachments to the BC organisations which still strongly refuse to place themselves under the discipline of the popular progressive movement and its tested and tried leadership in this country;

- On various occasions BC organisations have tried to use this name Azania to confuse the masses of our country and to engage us in unnecessary debates and fruitless discussions;

- The question of the name of our country shall be decided upon by the people of this country and not a few excitable and well-read intellectuals. As long as this important and democratic decision is not seen through, the name of this country shall continue to have a geographical connotation in relation to the rest of the continent.

Mr Ramokgopa says they have spread their influence to the so-called homelands where the students are also victims of apartheid education.

"The education crisis has been sweeping

throughout the country for the past three years — scores of schools have been closed and thousands of schoolchildren are out of school.

"From early next year Sansco is going to embark on an intensive campaign to consolidate our branches and to form strong parents' committees which will deal specifically with the crisis at local level.

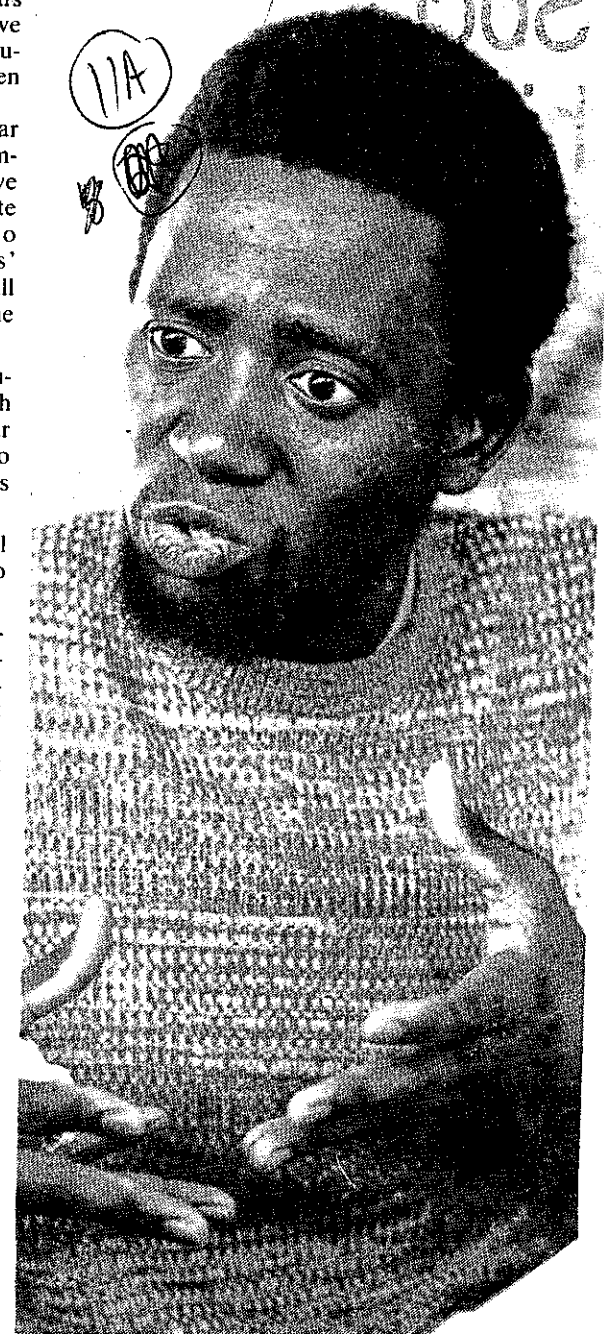
"We are going to generate a lot of strength that will arise out of our struggle experience, to be able to deal with this crisis.

"If need be, we will call pupils to return to school," he asserted.

Sansco will collaborate with other progressive students' organisations in their fight against apartheid education. But, he explains that they will not deal with the Azanian Students' Movement because its membership is almost minimal in most institutions.

"Our members should prepare themselves for the great task awaiting us all to make the people's education a reality. At the same time the strengthening of the structures to engage the oppositions at all fronts should be a priority.

They also commend the people of neighbouring states, especially students and youths in solidarity work against apartheid.



Mr BILLY Ramokgopa: President of Sansco.

Disputes dealt with 'politically'

ANC refuses to comment on deaths claim

ANY disputes and disagreements within the ANC were settled "politically" — and by expulsion in "intractable" cases, the ANC said yesterday.



● COETZEE

In response to a question to confirm or deny the claim, the ANC said it would not discuss the identity of its cadre.

It said cases of SA agents were dealt with on "merit". Action taken by the ANC ranged from pardon and rehabilitation to "detention to await properly constituted revolutionary tribunals".

Last week Coetzee gave the names of the people in the hope that other young South Africans "who are about to be misled will see the real picture, will denounce the ANC and pick a peaceful road in SA".

Hidden agenda

Coetzee said information gleaned showed conditions in training and detention camps in neighbouring states were "appalling".

Earlier this week, the ANC said SA agents had infiltrated the ANC in an attempt to destroy property and, in certain instances, to assassinate leading members.

It said Coetzee's allegations were part of a "hidden agenda" to "establish the fate of his agents, who, as is known, he has been sending into the

But it would not directly confirm or deny claims made by Police Commissioner Johan Coetzee last week that 28 people who were "misled" into joining the ANC were killed after their "eyes had been opened".

Business Day Reporters

ANC with a mission to create the conditions he falsely accuses the ANC of having established".

Whenever a "cadre dies, from whatever causes, at whatever venue, the next of kin are informed and, where feasible, enabled to attend the funeral".

Let alone

The ANC "has never and does not intend to" discuss the identities of cadre, let alone to provide those facts to the SA security forces.

The ANC said it was also part of Coetzee's "hidden agenda with these so-called revelations" to pit the SA community, especially parents, the youth and the church, against the ANC and the "peoples' army".

But IAN HOBBS reports members of the original Soweto Students' Representative Council, who fled SA after the 1976 uprising, have confirmed that for a number of years they sought to stay independent of the ANC — and paid a heavy price for it.

It has been claimed the ANC fell out of favour with the Nigerian government in the late '70s and early '80s because several such Soweto students were tortured and killed.

It was also claimed that young black exiles who refused to accept the authority of the ANC also suffered badly in Botswana refugee camps.

Even ANC members expressed serious concern in late 1985 when reliable reports emerged from Angola that more than 20 young exiled blacks had been killed by ANC hard-line communists in at least two serious incidents which alarmed the Luanda government.

Scenes of clashes between 'Comrades' and 'Russians'

MAPETLA, PHIRI TOLL IS NOW 10

11A

SOWETAN REPORTER

THE death toll at the strife-torn townships of Phiri and Mapetla — scenes of fierce clashes between the "comrades" and knobkerrie-wielding Basotho tribesmen — rose to 10 after two more people died at Bargwanath Hospital at the weekend.

The Soweto Police have not yet linked the killing of Mr Veli Nhlapo and Mr Aroné Radebe with the confrontation between the "comrades" and the "Russians", but residents say the nature of the murders were positively as a result of the clashes.

Mr Nhlapo, whose age is not yet known, died after he was assaulted in Phiri last Thursday. Mr Radebe, also of Phiri, died at the hospital of mul-

tipple stab wounds on Monday.

Other people who were killed in the trouble-torn townships are Mr Daniel Ramatlotlo (39), Mr William Dlamini (63), Mr Sabata Letuka (68), Mr Abenisia Mohapi and Mr Siphon Mamba-bolo.

As a result of these killings, residents in these two townships have decided not to respond to a call to switch off their lights between 7pm and 9pm tonight.

They said they could be vulnerable to further attacks when the electric lights were not switched on.

The situation in Phiri and Mapetla was still filled with tension this week.

Funeral arrangements have not yet been finalised.

PAC official nearly blown up

DAR ES SALAAM — A senior Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) official was nearly blown up by a parcel bomb mailed to him in Tanzania, PAC sources said yesterday.

PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwanazi went to the main post office in Dar es Salaam to collect the package last Friday, but became suspicious and refused to open it for a routine customs check.

Police were called to examine the parcel and later confirmed Mkwanazi's suspicions that it was a bomb. Mkwanazi, who works at Dar es

Salaam PAC headquarters, would neither confirm or deny the incident.

He said: "We are guests of the government and they are the ones who are in charge of our security. Go and find out from them."

PAC sources said the parcel bomb was sent from Swaziland, purportedly from A S Simelane, a Swazi businessman and long-time friend of Mkwanazi.

The two men had served prison sentences together in SA in the 1950's and 60's. — Sapa Reuter.

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24/12/80

PAC parcel bomb bid

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Planning for 1987

11A
FIN MAIL
26/12/86

The release of a number of African National Congress (ANC) documents by State President P W Botha offers South Africans a rare glimpse into the workings of the banned organisation.

The documents were distributed to the press recently to back up government's claims of a new, ANC-led "revolutionary onslaught" against the country. They were, of course, presented as justification for effectively muzzling media reportage of political unrest (see page 21). The documents included two from the June 1985 Kabwe conference and another, "ANC Planning 1987", which government says was distributed from Lusaka in October, following a joint meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee and the Politico-Military Council.

Significantly, the propaganda drive against the ANC was intensified with some eccentric moves last Thursday. Police Commissioner General Johann Coetzee released a list of 28 blacks who were "misled" into joining the ANC, and who were later executed for "subversion." Police hoped the information would make other South Africans "choose a peaceful road" instead.

The document released by Botha was reprinted by government and appears to have been edited. Deputy Minister for Information Stoffel van der Merwe said the press would have to accept government's word on its authenticity. "These are true extracts," he said. As a proscribed organisation, of course, the ANC may not normally be quoted.

According to the document, a task of the October meeting was to establish objectives for observing the ANC's 75th anniversary in 1987. It was formed on January 8 1912. Its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, celebrated its 25th anniversary on December 16 — the day, significantly, government said the revolutionary onslaught was to be launched. Whether, and in what forms, this actually manifested itself here, the press may now not say.

Yet what is contained in the document is pretty standard guerrilla tactician's stuff, for the most part already known. For example, the organisation says it plans to continue working on many fronts both inside and outside the country. It reiterated its call to intensify the armed struggle, as well as the need to build a mass political movement inside the country.

The success in isolating SA, coupled with growing international recognition for the movement, is obviously seen as one of the ANC's major victories. "Many countries and governments trust our movement virtually as a government in waiting," it claims.

The ANC hopes to consolidate this "achievement," and its international campaign for further sanctions remains important. The intention is to "mobilise the international trade union movement to impose sanctions, encourage the anti-apartheid movement to put the issue of a consumer boycott to the fore, and campaign for the smaller countries in western Europe, as well as the countries of Latin America, to take

further steps to isolate apartheid SA."

The document says the ANC declaration of 1985 as the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe was less successful. ANC underground structures inside the country are still too weak; and it encountered growing problems in operating from neighbouring territories.

In Botha's address to the nation, he said this latter point was acknowledgement by the ANC that it was operating from these countries. In the words of the document, however: "In the last two and a half years, we have suffered serious reverses in Mozambique, then in Swaziland and recently in Lesotho, as well as Botswana. We have been forced to withdraw many people, dismantle machineries and rethink our plans and programmes." This would indicate that the neighbouring states have in fact fallen into line with South African demands by acting against the ANC.

Necklacing

On the question of violence, the ANC has been clearly rattled by adverse reaction to the use by township comrades of the barbarous "necklace" execution method. The document speaks of the need for "the masses of our people to get clear and unequivocal guidelines from the movement on the use of the necklace." The official position of the ANC is not stated and could be interpreted in a number of ways. Botha read the statement as one of support for the necklace.

The document spells out the need for the question of violence to be discussed again so that any "intensification of the armed struggle does not impose setbacks on the movement." This could affect the kinds of (soft) targets the ANC would regard as legitimate, and would be decided against the background of aiming to consolidate ANC diplomatic achievements and create a mass movement within the country. This, the ANC hopes, will also involve whites, and increased activity in rural areas.

The internal movements it sees as vehicles for creating this mass base include the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), and the churches.

There is no indication of any kind of official link between these organisations and individuals and the ANC. One problem mentioned is "the sporadic nature of contact between ourselves and the leadership of the broad democratic movement."

Among the problems it finds in trying to form a mass movement are:

- Sharp divisions and conflict within the leadership of the UDF;
- Contradictions between the national lead-

MINE BALLOT BLOCK

Plans by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to stage strike ballots on seven Gold Fields of SA (GfSA) gold mines were thwarted for a second time last week when the Supreme Court rejected an urgent application by four workers from Kloof gold mine.

The application, heard last Thursday, was part of NUM's strategy to bring to a head two wage disputes it has with GfSA. One is over the annual Chamber of Mines wage negotiations, and the other GfSA's unilateral implementation of general wage increases in August. NUM's plans have been frustrated, at least temporarily, as a result of GfSA's appeal against an Industrial Court ruling, which granted the union the right to hold ballots. The lodging of the appeal has effectively suspended the Industrial

Court's order.

The four NUM members went to the Supreme Court to seek an assurance from Kloof management that plans to hold ballots at mine hostels would not be interfered with. They brought the application, which is a test case, after GfSA had rejected approaches from NUM regarding ballots.

Argument led on their behalf was that NUM had won the right to hold ballots and that management's refusal to grant the assurance was an infringement of their right to pursue their dispute.

The court, however, upheld the view of counsel for Kloof, whose main argument was that the matter should not be regarded as urgent as the issues in dispute were the subject of an appeal which the Appellate Division would settle.

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P.T.O.

ership of the UDF on the one hand, and regional and local collectives on the other; and

□ Divisions within Cosatu and the failure of the genuinely progressive element within it to do its work properly.

According to the document, township activists are targeted for identification and formal recruitment to the ANC. "There are literally thousands of comrades inside the country who see themselves as members of the ANC. Many of these are important national and regional leaders of the mass democratic movement and are in dynamic contact with the people and the situation."

On the activities of the township radicals, it says the call to make the country "ungovernable" has been responded to and been successful in a number of areas. A major question raised by the document, but not answered, is what should happen next in these areas?

On the question of negotiation, the ANC wants to ensure that it is in a position of strength. To this end, mention is made of a summit meeting of democratic leaders to attempt to consolidate these forces around the ANC.

X ■

SADF kills 3 'ANC' men in Transvaal

CPT TMAH 27/12/86
114

PRETORIA. — Defence headquarters here announced that the security forces killed three alleged ANC guerillas in the Weipe area of the Northern Transvaal yesterday afternoon.

The group crossed the Limpopo River between South Africa and Zimbabwe on Wednesday, December 24, according to a Defence headquarters spokesman, Sapa reports.

Early yesterday morning a farmer and one of his employees, who were out hunting, discovered the group sleeping under a tree.

"The farmer identified them as terrorists and fired a number of rounds. The terrorists fled. As part of the area protection system, the farmer contacted the security forces and a follow-up operation was immediately launched," the spokesman said.

"This afternoon, the security forces made contact with the group, killing three of them. A quantity of mines, anti-personnel mines, and plastic explosive of Eastern Bloc origin, was captured.

"It is obvious that this group intended to lay mines in the area as was the case last year. Follow-up operations are continuing," the spokesman said.

□ Our Defence Correspondent reports that a military spokesman last night declined to give additional details of the incident.

However, the very manner in which the insurgents were spotted — by a farmer who was connected with the local area force — provides the reason why so many mine attacks have been aimed at Northern Transvaal farmer in the past few months.

Only by demoralizing the farmers into leaving the area will the insurgents be able to operate openly and move the insurgency out of the activation and intimidation phase.

Events in the next few days or weeks will tell whether the ANC has made good on its threat to intensify its pressure against the government and what it regards as government supporters, civilian as well as military.

Union rivalry may turn ugly as outside interests take sides in tussle

27/11/80 STATE

11A
11B

Tension is running high between the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) and other rival unions where competition for membership is threatening to turn ugly, say reports from the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu).

And there are clear indications that the competition now involves non-trade union figures, such as local community councillors and mayors, who may be taking sides in the struggle.

While the latest incident in the battle for membership took place in northern Natal, there are other examples of tension in the Transvaal.

Five Uwusa men were suspended on full pay earlier this year by Jabula Foods at Springs on the East Rand after the alleged killing of a Food and Allied Workers' Union official, who was shot dead on his way to work in June.

Investigations are continuing and an arbitration hearing is scheduled to take place before the end of the year.

The competition between South African unions for membership has heated up. SHERYL RAINE looks at the situation.

In a statement released this week by Mawu's northern Natal branch, the union alleged that its members at Multitube Systems in Isithebe were being intimidated by men claiming to be members of the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa).

Uwusa was formed with the financial help of Inkatha in May this year and is organising in various industries. It is pro-capitalism and anti-sanctions.

Mawu is affiliated to the Congress of SA Trade Unions, established last year on December 1, and whose motto is, "one industry, one union".

Cosatu is in favour of all forms of pressure on South Africa to dismantle apartheid. It has socialist leanings.

Mawu said people had arrived at the Multitube factory in seven vehicles last Thursday

at about 2 pm.

"They purported to be Uwusa representatives. They threatened to get their union into the company by force and said they would act against anyone who tried to stop them with their guns which they claimed were in their cars," said Mawu.

"Mawu regards such action as a deliberate attempt by those who are enemies of democracy and peace and who are also agents of division, to intimidate Mawu members in the Isithebe area."

Mawu condemned the presence of the mayor of Sundumbili (a local township in the area) and his deputy who accompanied the alleged intimidators.

Mawu urged councillors in the area and elsewhere to "leave labour issues to trade unionists, in the interest of peace both at the workplace and communities where workers stay".

"Mawu will not fold its arms and let such a situation con-

tinue," warned the union.

A spokesman for Multitube in Durban confirmed that a meeting had taken place between Mawu and the company to discuss intimidation.

The company said it had no proof that the incident described had taken place at its Isithebe plant but would condemn any form of intimidation of that nature.

Mr Simon Conco, Uwusa's secretary-general, said: "We deny categorically that we intimidated anyone. We are aware of a disturbance at the factory.

"The mayor of Sundumbili said people were denigrating Zulu leaders and that he himself had been denigrated."

He said there had been several recent instances where Uwusa members were being intimidated by other unions.

He added that at Zincor, workers had been threatened with necklaces if they joined Uwusa and on one Randfontein mine on the West Rand, Uwusa men had been forced out of the mine compound.

3 'ANC
27/12/86 (11A) SIA

men killed

Security forces killed three "ANC terrorists" in the Weipe area of the Northern Transvaal yesterday afternoon, Defence Headquarters announced in Pretoria.

"A group of terrorists crossed the Limpopo River between South Africa and Zimbabwe on Wednesday," a spokesman said.

They were spotted sleeping under a tree by a local farmer who was out hunting and who alerted security forces.

"The security forces made contact with the group, killing three. A quantity of (weapons) of Eastern bloc origin, was captured. It is obvious this group intended to lay mines in the area as was the case last year." — Sapa

Ruling on treason trial likely today

Judgment is expected today on an application for the discharge of the 22 Delmas treason trialists.

The trial of the 22 men, including three prominent United Democratic Front leaders, an Anglican priest and a South African Council of Churches worker, has lasted for over a year.

The UDF men on trial are general secretary Mr Popo Molefe (34), publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (38) and Transvaal secretary Mr Moss Chikane.

They have pleaded not guilty to charges of conspiring to make the townships ungovernable and to overthrow the Government through violence.

When the State closed its case in October, the defence applied for the discharge of the accused.

I stay until Government collapses, vows De Jonge

Dutch fugitive Mr Klaas de Jonge vowed yesterday that he would stay in the Dutch Embassy offices in Pretoria "until the collapse of the South African Government".

Mr de Jonge, clean-shaven and healthy-looking, told Sapa in an exclusive interview that he was confident he would not have to wait much longer.

He has been in the embassy's old offices on the second floor of the Nedbank Building in Church Street since he evaded police and dashed for diplomatic sanctuary on July 19 last year.

Looking relaxed and wearing casual clothes, the anthropologist was surveying the last-minute Christmas shopping rush in Church Street from a window ledge when Sapa's correspondent arrived.

The only people who seemed to notice the bespectacled man in the window were the policemen who keep a 24-hour watch on him from a street bench.

As a diversion from his writing and television-watching, Mr de Jonge has an aquarium in the offices filled with tropical fish. He



Mr Klaas de Jonge in the old Dutch Embassy in Pretoria.

has not yet received the kitten which Dutch jurist Mr Willem van Manen suggested he be given for company.

Mr de Jonge gratefully accepted a six-pack of Dutch ale before the interview — while policemen inside the building radioed news of the reporter's arrival to the police outside.

Mr de Jonge follows South Afri-

can politics closely.

"I will switch off the lights here tonight in support of the 'Christmas Against The Emergency' campaign," he said.

He added that he would remain in the offices "until the collapse of the South African Government".

Asked if he would be prepared to wait 10 or 15 years, he said: "I don't think it will be that long."

Mr de Jonge is, predictably, extremely critical of the Nationalist Government. "President Botha will go down in history as the world's greatest and most tragic fool."

He said he had no regrets over his activities in South Africa. "I just don't know if I would do it again."

His former wife, Helene Pastoors, is serving a 10-year sentence for treason in Pretoria Prison, only 2 km away.

Mr de Jonge said that, barring his predicament, he was well. He spent Christmas, and will spend New Year, with a member of the Dutch military police who guard him inside the offices around the clock.

27/12/86

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118 128 203

Street committees may have stemmed violence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds of street committees have been formed in Soweto in recent months amidst claims they are responsible for the dramatic decline in unrest deaths.

The street committees comprise six or more members elected by residents. They report to block committees, which in turn report to area committees.

The committees were formed in some areas of Soweto in April, and since then have spread quickly to other areas.

Members of the committees include activists who claim to be non-sectarian, and both the UDF and Azapo have members on committees.

Committee members say their aim is

to bring about peace and unity in Soweto, and to protect residents' interests against "dangerous strangers". In some cases they also take on crime-prevention duties.

"In our area, killings were such that we were sure of finding at least three bodies every weekend. But this is no longer the case since the street committees were formed," said one member of a Soweto street committee.

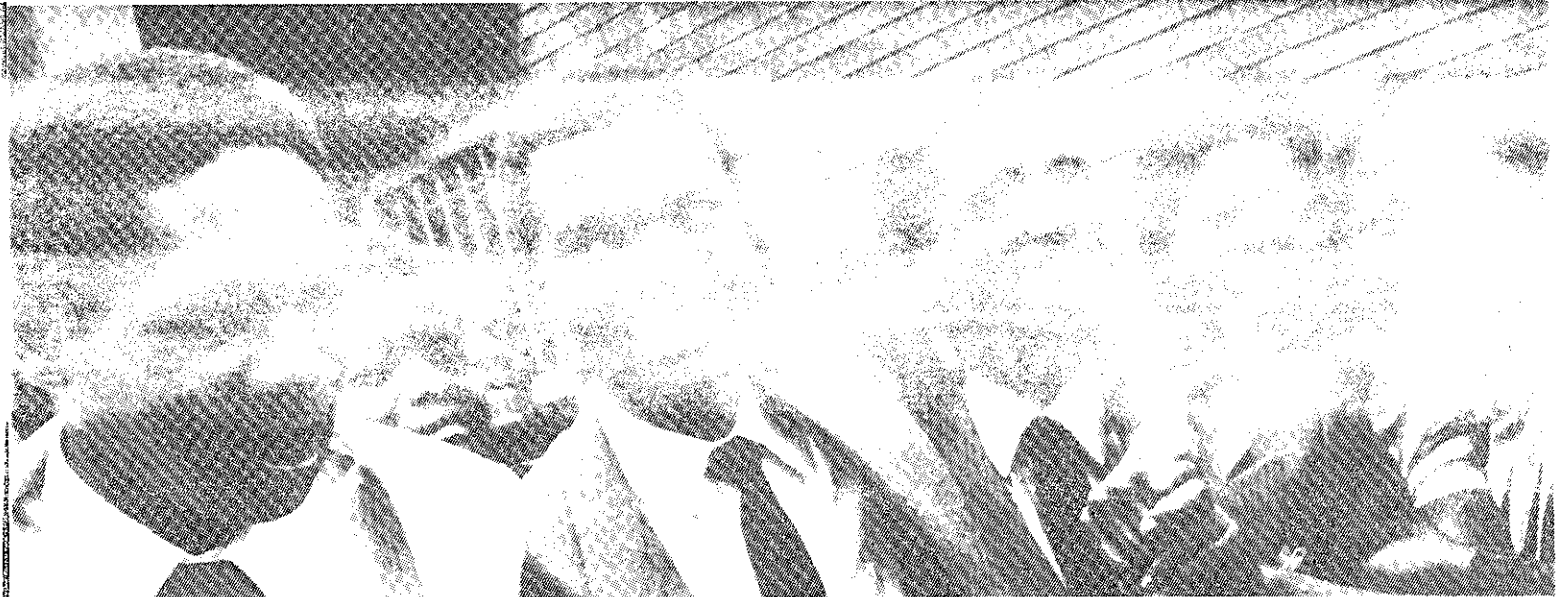
They also claim some success in easing inter-tribal tensions.

While the street committee system has similarities to the M-Plan devised by Mr Nelson Mandela 33 years ago, and some residents call the system by this name, street committee members interviewed deny they have links with the ANC.

Treason accused go free

After 10 months in court,
3 Delmas men released

11/A



Enjoying their first moments of freedom, from left, Lazarus More, Maxala

Six more out on bail... but 13 still in cells

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THREE of the 22 Delmas treason trialists were yesterday released when the judge found the state had not presented a case against them — after almost a year of court hearings and up to two years in custody.

Their release, and the granting of bail of R15 000 each to another six accused, was greeted by a large crowd of relatives and spectators at the East Rand court with a mixture of relief and disappointment.

The discharge came after three previous unsuccessful bail applications by the accused, whose charges arise from the Vaal uprising in September 1984. The other 13 trialists were again refused bail yesterday.

The freed men were congratulated by their co-accused, hugged tearfully by their families and mobbed by supporters outside the building.

The well-wishers included the Reverend Lord Righteous McCamel, a prominent Vaal civic leader who was called as a state witness after more than a year in detention. He testified that the United Democratic Front was a legal, non-violent organisation. Unlike many state witnesses, McCamel was not ostracised by township residents.

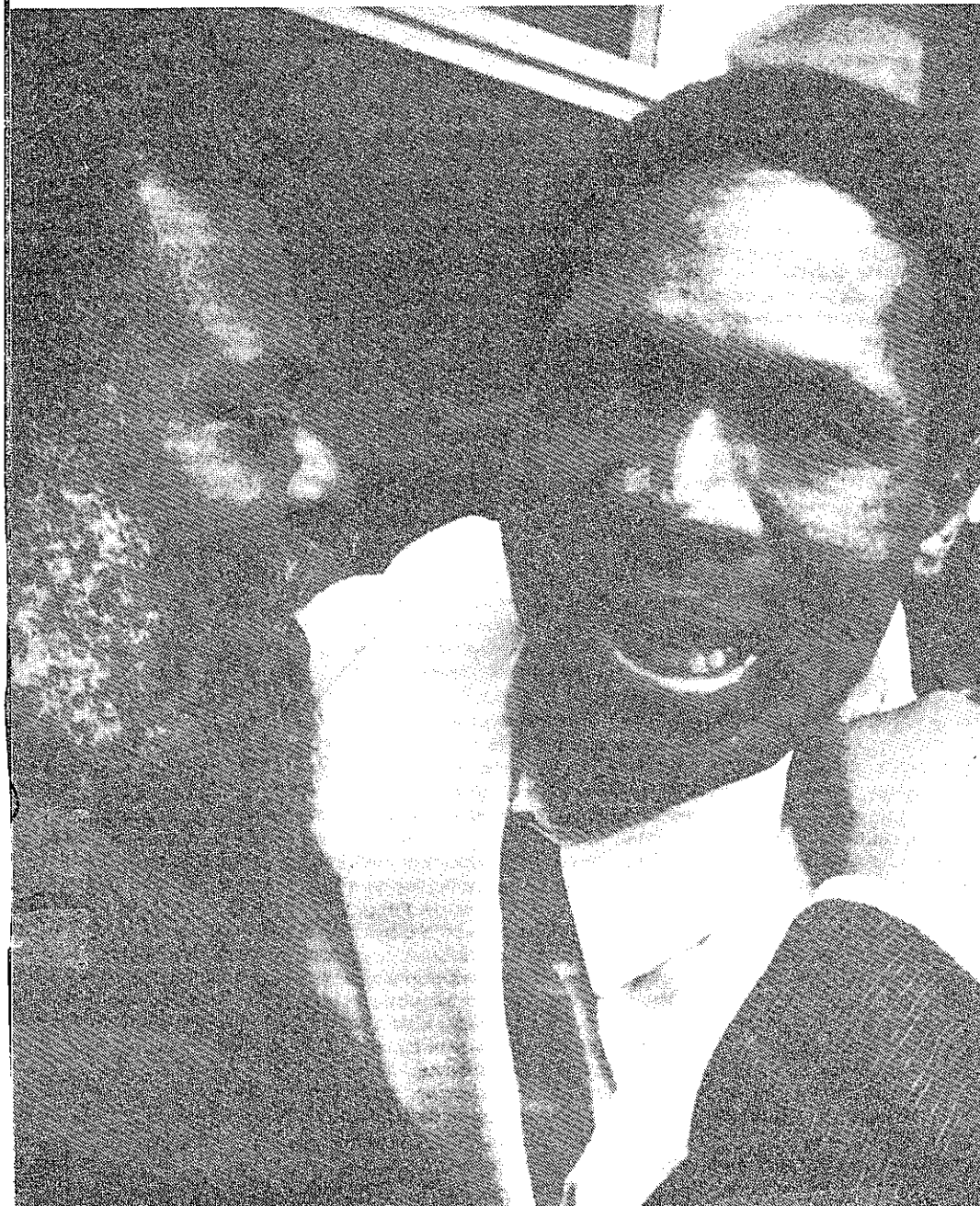
While the trialists who were refused bail and their families tried to show a brave face, the mood inside the courtroom was depressed.

For the first time throughout the year-long hearing, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was sung, slowly and solemnly, by the accused and supporters in the gallery. It became something of a hymn of re-dedication and renewal for the 13 people who will remain in Modderbee Prison until the defence begins its case on January 21 — a case likely to last many more months.

At the end of the hymn one of the accused, the Reverend Geoffrey Moselane, pronounced the benediction. A voice from the gallery called: "Let justice be done."

Lazarus More, 26, a literacy teacher, Mkhambi Malindi, 21, who worked as a time-keeper at a power station and Maxala Vilakazi, 25, a clerk at the SA Committee for Higher Education (Sached), were discharged after Justice K van Dijkhorst delivered judgement in a defence application for the release of all the accused.

Van Dijkhorst said while there was not sufficient evidence against the three to justify



An accused and a state witness: Reverend Lord McCamel, left, who was forced to give evidence in the Delmas trial, welcomes one of the accused, Lazarus More, acquitted yesterday.

Pictures: SANDY SMIT, Afrapix

P.T.O. To PAGE 2

No coercion over Christmas, says UDF

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE United Democratic Front will not tolerate any coercion in its "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, said yesterday.

"We must make this a real community affair. Observance of this 10-day period must of necessity be a conscious act on the part of the people," he said.

Special appeals have been sent to church, community, sporting and other groups, but the actual implementation of the call would depend largely on regional responses.

Morobe said where street committees exist, they must take full

responsibility at the local level to make the call a reality.

"The obvious emphasis here is united action, or unity in action. Our experience of street committees recently and of the UDF generally has clearly shown that we cannot achieve anything unless we act in unity."

The Christmas drive is an essential building block in the "Campaign for National United Action", launched two months ago by the UDF, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the National Education Crisis Committee, with the SA Council of Churches offering its support.

There has been confusion on whether the UDF's "Christmas Against the Emergency", to begin on December 16, had banned all forms of merrymaking during the holiday period.

"Without saying that no drinking of liquor should take place, we appeal for moderation," Morobe said. "Drunkenness in the streets must be avoided."

Morobe said sports and entertainment bodies have indicated their support for the campaign; there will be no sports fixtures or music festivals during the 10-day period.

But events like weddings and other

customary functions planned months in advance must be accommodated in the campaign, he said. "We thus do not expect any self-appointed campaign monitors to interfere at these occasions."

"The street committees are in operation and they shall be the only arbiters."

Morobe said during the 10-day campaign people should think about the more than 5 000 children who are doomed to the possibility of a Christmas behind bars.

"How can a nation celebrate the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ when our children are incarcerated?"

Leave

"He called my husband and children from the water and told them we must leave."

But their embarrassment did not go unnoticed by other sympathetic bathers on the beach.

"Some whites came up to us and apologised. One woman was crying and some left when we did," said Mrs Mashele, a Pretoria cookware representative (her husband owns two taxis).

And the happy family had been misled by television! We saw on TV that beaches were open to everyone. We didn't know they weren't in Port Elizabeth or we wouldn't have come.

"We have paid a lot of money to bring the children and show them the sea but this action spoils our holiday."

Mr Duncan said.

injured.

a bus in the city.

Natal beaches still tense

By DENYSE ARMOUR and GEORGE MAHABEE

NATAL beaches were peaceful but tense yesterday after racial violence erupted at two premier holiday resorts this week.

At Amanzimtoti, Riot Squad police patrolled the beaches to prevent a recurrence of Friday's clashes between African and white bathers.

And Durban beaches were crowded but quiet after Friday's incident when a gang of about 200 African youths attacked and robbed Indian holidaymakers at the city's Country Club beach.

Amanzimtoti Town Clerk Dave Ongley said trouble started on Christmas Day when an argument started between white and African

bathers in the packed Inyoni Rocks swimming pool.

A fight broke out but was quelled by police. However, on Friday, when a similar situation developed, it resulted in a number of injuries before being brought under control.

At least four whites were stabbed in the fight involving rocks, knives, broken bottles, sticks and fists. One black man broke his leg in the melee and another was stabbed.

The violence spread into the town where the crowd smashed shop windows and damaged cars.

Charges of assault and malicious damage to property

have been laid by 10 people, eight white and two black, and one black man was arrested, police said yesterday.

Beach authorities drained the tidal pool in an attempt to defuse the situation. It might be refilled if the beaches remain calm, Mr Ongley said.

He said it had been alleged that the fight had been started by white bathers.

In the clashes at Durban's Country Club beach on Friday afternoon, a gang of African youths attacked twice — forcing thousands to flee.

A lifeguard said similar incidents happened in December last year when a group of Africans attacked Indians at the same beach.

Tambo to speak his mind to Shultz

THE exiled leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, is likely to speak his mind frankly when he meets the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, in Washington next month.

He is expected to ask Washington to increase diplomatic and economic pressure on South Africa.

The Shultz-Tambo meeting will be watched with interest by the British Government.

While the past few months have seen Foreign Office meetings with Mr Tambo at ministerial level, there have been indications from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that these may be limited once Britain relinquishes its

Sunday Times Foreign Desk

EEC presidency at the end of this month.

Speaking at a Press conference two weeks ago, following the two-day European summit, Mrs Thatcher stressed that recent meetings between British Ministers and the ANC did not mean that Britain's position on terrorism had changed.

She stressed then that the meeting in September between British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and Oli-

ver Tambo had taken place in Sir Geoffrey's capacity as "president of the European Community and not in his capacity as a Minister of the Government of the United Kingdom."

Whitehall circles, discussing the coming meeting between Mr Shultz and Mr Tambo, point out that one difference could be America's support, recently voiced, for the Natal Indaba. Oliver Tambo is certain to condemn this, they predict.

They judge that US policy towards South Africa, at the same time, is being re-evaluated to take account of the growing domestic sentiment for a tougher anti-apartheid approach.

28/12/85

Terrorist kills 2 policemen

SUNDAY
TWO policemen were shot dead on Friday by a terrorist in his desperate bid for freedom.

The terrorist was the sole survivor of a five-member squad discovered and put to flight by a Transvaal hunter

By NEIL HOOPER

on Friday.

By late yesterday, security forces were still scouring the bushveld around Weipe, in the North-Eastern Trans-

vaal, for the man who escaped while being transported to Messina.

Killed in the escape were 44-year-old Warrant Officer T J Gerber and 43-year-old Sergeant J M Nel, both of Beit Bridge, each of whom leaves a wife and three children.

The terrorist was one of a gang believed to have crossed into South Africa from Zimbabwe. They were spotted by Mr Rudolf Schubert on his farm Dunsappie.

Security force follow-ups resulted in the killing of four members of the gang, but the fifth managed to seize a weapon and killed his captors.

Two police die after prisoner gets out of handcuffs

11A STAR 29/12/86

Hunt for 'ANC' killer

Crime Reporter

An extensive manhunt is under way in the Northern Transvaal for the suspected ANC insurgent who killed two security policemen on Friday.

A spokesman at police headquarters in Pretoria said today that vehicle and foot patrols were scouring the bushveld for any signs of the suspected insurgent — who is thought to have entered the country from Zimbabwe.

Warrant-Officer Theuns Gerber (44) and Sergeant Joggie Nel (43) died after the handcuffed man apparently freed himself in the back of a bakkie and grabbed the rifle he had been made to sit on.

Farmer Mr Rudolf Schubert found five armed men on his farm Dunsappie on Christmas Eve and took part in the subsequent pursuit which resulted in four of them being shot dead. He described the fugitive as "extremely professional ... with a lot of nerve".

Few tracks

"The policemen loaded the handcuffed man on to the back of the bakkie and made him sit on his own weapon," said Mr Schubert. "He had a lot of nerve to kill the policemen and then escape in only his underpants."

"He is extremely professional, because when he runs he leaves hardly any tracks at all."

Mr Schubert said he was hunting impala when he came across five armed men in blue overalls on his farm.

"I ran towards them with my old 1940 rifle and shouted at them to stand still. They must have panicked because they started running. I ran after them, firing from the hip."

"They disappeared over the fence and I went back to where I had found them," he said.

He found two rucksacks containing hand grenades, landmines, ammunition, food and communist literature. He contacted the SADF and a manhunt was launched.

Later he returned to the spot and found another sack with limpet mines and ammunition.

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Massive hunt for killer

A MANHUNT near the Zimbabwean border entered its second day yesterday as the defence force and police combed the area for the insurgent who killed two policemen on Friday night.

The man, one of five who allegedly infiltrated SA from Zimbabwe — they are believed to be African National Congress members — wrested a weapon from his captors while being transported from the Weipe district of Northern Transvaal to Messina.

He then shot dead Warrant-Officer T J Gerber, 44, and Sergeant J M Nel, 43, both of Beit Bridge. Both men were married with three children.

The hunted man is the only one of the five, who were all carrying AK-47 rifles, who is still alive. The other four were killed in follow-up operations by the defence force and police.

Yesterday, there was a strong defence force presence on the border.

The SADF said the gang, discovered by a farmer who was hunting, had been responsible for mine-laying in the Messina area.

Alleged ANC man to face trial

An alleged African National Congress member, Mr Vijaydave Naran Patel (41), will stand trial in the Johannesburg Regional Court on February 18 on five charges under the Internal Security Act and the Terrorism Act.

Mr Patel, whose address was given as Orient House, Becker Street, Ferreirastown, has not pleaded to the charges. He is in custody.

The State has alleged Mr Patel became a member of the ANC between 1968 and 1972.

Between 1974 and 1977, he allegedly

underwent training in Angola and East Germany "that could be of use to any person intending to endanger the maintenance of law and order".

On May 16 this year, he was allegedly found in possession of an ANC publication "No to Conscription into the SA Death Force! Yes to the People's Army — MK!".

Between February and December last year he took part in ANC activities and tried to recruit people to the organisation, according to the charge sheet.

Labour Party urges Botha to 'move faster to real reform'

STPAC

Political Staff

30/12/86

111A

CAPE TOWN — A motion calling on President Botha to speed up "drastically" his reform programme will be considered by the Labour Party's annual conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

The proposal, from the party's Natal region, also urges President Botha not to hold on to "modified apartheid".

A similar motion from the party's Transvaal region urges the Government "to move much faster towards real reform so that the cause of dissatisfaction can be eradicated".

The conference, to take place from January 2 to 4, will be opened officially on Friday night by the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and a member of President Botha's Cabinet. The theme of the conference will be "Now is the time".

A motion from the Reiger Park constituency in the Transvaal says the present tricameral Parliament can "never" meet the aspirations of the Labour Party and of the rest of South Africa.

The only logical alternative, according to the motion, is a non-racial geographic federation which the Government is urged to intro-

duce "at the earliest opportunity".

The Transvaal motion rejects black legislative structures as announced by Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Transvaal leader of the National Party.

It urges the Labour Party to embark on "real political negotiation" inside and outside South Africa in a bid to seek peaceful solutions to the country's problems.

On the issue of the group areas, the conference will be asked by the Cape Peninsula region to reaffirm the party's stand that the Group Areas Act and related laws such as the Population Registration Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act be scrapped "unconditionally and immediately".

GROUP AREAS A SOURCE OF FRUSTRATION

A motion says these laws are "the prime sources of inter-group conflict and frustration".

The Cape Peninsula region will also ask the conference to call for an investigation into the powers and activities of the Commission for Administration with a view to seeking more job and pro-

motion opportunities for people of all races in the civil service.

Another motion calls on the Government to remove all legal impediments which bar free access to the market place. Established businesses and chambers of commerce are urged to assist in "opening the market place to all".

On the issue of sanctions, several motions condemning economic sanctions and disinvestment will be proposed.

A motion from the Transvaal region, for example, says economic sanctions will lead to poverty and hardships in Southern Africa — "with disastrous consequences in destabilising the entire region".

Other motions on the agenda include requests for relieving the housing shortage and rents crisis in many townships and requests for further unemployment relief measures.

A series of motions on education issues have been put forward by various regions of the party. These include requests for better use of teacher-training facilities in South Africa, improvements in teachers' conditions of service, and a better deal for coloured children in the allocation of money for education.

Search for (114)
'ANC' killer
10281 20.12.86
continues S.M.K.

Pretoria Bureau

The search for the alleged ANC insurgent who gunned down two security policemen in the Northern Transvaal continues today.

A dragnet of vehicle and foot patrols has been thrown across the Weipe area where four of the hunted man's companions were killed in a battle with police on the Day of Goodwill.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said today the hunt would continue.

Reports that the insurgent may have escaped across the border to Zimbabwe were speculation at this stage, he added.

Warrant Officer Theuns Gerber (44) and Sergeant Joggie Nel (43) died when the man apparently wriggled free of handcuffs in the back of a bakkie, grabbed the rifle he had been made to sit on and opened fire.

The killings took place about 10 km from the Limpopo River border with Zimbabwe.

Warrant Officer Gerber will be buried with full military honours in Zeerust tomorrow at 2 pm and Sergeant Nel will be buried at Marble Hall on Friday at 11 am, also with full military honours.

APR Times
31/12/86
11P

Police name detained officer

Staff Reporter

A DEFENCE Force officer arrested two weeks ago on charges of espionage was yesterday identified as Major Andre Pienaar by the police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria.

The directorate also confirmed that Major Pienaar is being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Earlier this month the acting army chief, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, said a senior military officer based at the Voortrekkerhoogte army headquarters in Pretoria had been arrested.

Yesterday the directorate refused to confirm reports that two more people had been detained during investigations after Major Pienaar's arrest.

While the SADF and police have remained tight-lipped over the affair, it is understood that Major Pienaar will face espionage charges for activities linked to the outlawed ANC.

As an army officer, he is also almost certain to face treason charges, for which the death sentence can be imposed.

It is not known when the three will come to trial.

UDF pledges to intensify its 'non-violent struggle'

M. G. M. 2/12/80
JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front has resolved to intensify its "non-violent struggle against apartheid and exploitation" in 1987, the organisation said in a New Year message today.

The acting-publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a statement: "In 1987 we expect to see the state trying to stop the UDF through detentions, restrictions and wholesale harassment.

He said the New Year would bring an even greater urgency for deeper unity for all peace-loving and democratic South Africans.

Mr Morobe said the UDF supported the call to pupils to return to classes in the New Year and he urged whites to abandon apartheid and join "the advancing forces of peace and progress".

He said: "Without their support apartheid cannot continue."

Those sections of the church

which were "apologists for racism" were urged to resolve to make 1987 a year in which they were true to the teachings of their faith.

The UDF described the imposition of curbs on the media as a desperate act.

The UDF expected in 1987 "even greater collaboration" between President P W Botha and the military.

If 1986 was anything to go by, the UDF expected greater efforts against itself and all "progressive organisations" in 1987. — Sapa.

NEW AZASM No. 2 CALLS FOR RETURN TO SCHOOL

MR THAMI Victor Hlekiso, a 20-year-old law student at the University of Natal, is the new vice-president of the black consciousness-orientated 'Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm).

He was elected vice-president during the third national congress of Azasm held in Port Elizabeth recently. He is from Soweto.

Others who were elected office bearers at the congress are: Mr Monde Ntwasa (president) from Cape Town; Mr Raschin Naidoo (Publicity secretary) from Pretoria; Mr Thamaga Jackson (treasurer) from northern Transvaal; Ms Thenjiwe Leewu (minutes secretary) from Soweto, Mr Stanley Sigotyana (national organiser) from Soweto; Mr Mzimkulu Ngubeni (national ad-



Mr THAMI Hlekiso;

SOWETAN Reporter

ministration secretary) from KwaThema and Ms Nontsikilelo Baarman (project director) from Western Cape; Mr Brister Kalaote (second vice president).

Mr Hlekiso, who is the eldest child in a family of four, has pledged himself to fight for the liberation of students and the community from apartheid structures.

Problems

He said he joined Azasm because it is the only body which can create a forum for students to articulate and to express their aspirations as part of the black nation.

The movement encourage the involvement of students in problems facing them as well as those that are facing the

black community in general.

"I believe that Azasm will take into account the historical and national peculiarities of the oppressed and exploited black people of Azania. I therefore subscribe to the ideology of black consciousness as a living reality among the majority of our people," he said.

Mr Hlekiso says he believes black students should be mobilised and united around the liberatory philosophy of black consciousness.

"The ideals of the now banned South African Students Organisation (Saso), the late Steve Bantu Biko, the Black People's Convention and other students movements, have con-

vinced me that it is only when blacks rely on their own resources they will get their liberation."

Mr Hlekiso believes that education should be geared towards total liberation and pledged to strive towards this end, because education and liberation go hand in hand.

"This," he contends, "is mainly because we in Azasm cannot have an education that responds creatively to the needs and aspirations of the Azanian people while the real problem is transformation of the existing social order."

Mr Hlekiso conceded that there are problems in black education because many schools have been closed by the Department of Education due to non-attendance or boycotts.

"We are also aware

that many pupils/students have not been able to write their end of the year examinations — these problems have contributed towards 1986 being a non-academic year.

Reason

"It is for this reason that we have called on organisations of the oppressed and exploited community to ensure that all black students unconditionally return to class for the 1986 academic year," he says.

He continued: "We want the organisations and in particular parents, pupils and teachers to be informed that 1987 is an academic year."

In the same vein Azasm would like to see the in-fighting between students halted "because it only serves to divide and destroy the black liberation movement."

Most of Azasm's members have become victims of attacks, but this would not stop the movement seeking unity around the philosophy of the BC, said Mr Hlekiso.

"We will continue to work towards an educational system which will instill a sense of creativity, identity and self-reliance among the students of Azania," he said.

At its recent third national congress Azasm resolved to strongly condemn all sectarian methods in resolving the impasse in black education after it noted the worsening of so-called "black on black violence" in townships, he says.

"We resolved to call on all groups which made it a method of struggle to kill and maim those who disagree with their political methods, strategies and ideology, to desist from these actions.

"We have also called on the clergy to be seen to be actively involved in the resolution of the current wave of violence within the black community," said Mr Hlekiso.

STAR

Rajbansi (11A) denies flop of Lenasia meeting

Political Reporter

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) says about 200 of its supporters walked out of a meeting held by the leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, in Lenasia yesterday.

A statement today by the TIC, a United Democratic Front affiliate, said Mr Rajbansi was left with only 38 people in the audience.

Mr Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates, disputed these claims today. He said about 100 TIC members left the Lenasia Civic Centre, but 400 of his supporters remained.

The TIC said there was "a dismal turnout" at the meeting and this was "a massive defeat for Rajbansi and the NPP".

"Despite the Government's recent clampdown, which prevented the TIC from actively campaigning against the meeting, it still proved to be a total failure.

"The NPP's poor showing proves yet again the community's rejection of the tricameral system and those who choose to participate in it."

'REPRESSIVE CLIMATE'

The TIC said it staged the walkout as Mr Rajbansi was about to speak — to register its rejection of him and the tricameral system and "to protest against his support for the state of emergency and his opportunistic use of the present repressive climate to hold his meetings, and to protest against the restrictions placed on TIC leaders such as Dr Ram Saloojee and Ashwin Shah".

Mr Rajbansi told The Star that the TIC action was "an orchestrated, premeditated attempt to embarrass us, but it failed".

In his speech, Mr Rajbansi accused the TIC of practising apartheid by still representing only Indians.

He said the NPP was not interested in fighting the TIC — the two organisations were fighting for similar goals on different paths.

He also threatened to name members of the TIC who had approached the House of Delegates for assistance. He would name them only if the TIC denied that some members had asked for help.