

BLACK POLITICS

1987

September — OCTOBER

Mandela 'refused to be part of exchange'

PARIS — Nelson Mandela refused to be included in the prisoner exchange on Monday, a French newspaper said yesterday.

The left-wing daily *Liberation*, without identifying its sources, said South Africa had proposed to Angola that Mandela be a part of the exchange.

Mandela personally refused the offer and the African National Congress also rejected it.

Luanda, according to the paper, considered the suggestion "indecent" because it would have swapped the black leader for Major Wynand du Toit.

It said some participants found the "clamour of success" in Paris "a little indecent ... particularly the homage paid by Pretoria to the personal role of (Prime Minister) Jacques Chirac". — Sapa-Reuters.

'NO KNOWLEDGE'

Details of *Liberation's* report were put to the office of the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night. A spokesman said, after consulting Mr Botha: "The Minister bears no knowledge of this matter."

not made available to Mr Wheeler beforehand.

- (d) Mr T F Wheeler during lunch.
(2) (a) and (b) As it later appeared Mr Thabo Mbeki was present at the lunch.

- (3) Mr Wheeler attended the lunch as guest of honour of the US Council on International Business where he addressed the Council's "Fifth Annual Congress on South Africa" on new developments in the RSA as only speaker. He left immediately after his address. Mr Wheeler acted in the best interests of the country by stating our case on an important occasion.

†Dr J J VILONEL: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, I want to ask him whether he is of the opinion that this type of question in the South African Parliament, and also the spirit resulting from it, firstly, promotes South Africa's case abroad and, secondly, whether it assists South Africa's representatives abroad to carry out their task. [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I think this is a rhetorical question. The reply is obvious. [Interjections.]

†Mr F J LE ROUX: It is a stupid question! [Interjections.]

†Dr J J VILONEL: You are undermining our case.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Is it in order for an hon member to say that we are undermining their case? [Interjections.]

†The SPEAKER: Order! I shall decide on this matter. What did the hon member for Langlaagte say?

†Dr J J VILONEL: Mr Speaker, I said "you are undermining our case".

†The SPEAKER: Order! I think the hon member should rather withdraw that. I do not think it is parliamentary.

†Dr J J VILONEL: With great respect, Mr Speaker, I want to say I am sure of my point when I make it.

†The SPEAKER: Order! I request the hon member to withdraw it.

†Dr J M VILONEL: I withdraw it, Mr Speaker.

Rent and services project

*8. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

- (1) (a) What is the purpose of the rent and services project referred to in his reply to Question No 3 on 18 August 1987, (b) when (i) was it implemented and (ii) is it expected to be concluded, (c) what specified items are included in the amount of R4 345 145 spent on this project and (d) at what group or community was this project directed;

- (2) whether the effectiveness of this project has been evaluated; if so, (a) by whom, (b) what procedure was followed and (c) what were the findings?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

- (a) The project was an educational campaign to create a better understanding within the target market concerning the supply of electricity, transport, housing and water with a view to promoting payment of rent and services.

- (b) (i) November 1986.

- (ii) Most elements of the campaign were completed by 31 March 1987. According to current plans all elements will be completed by March 1988 although this decision could be affected by circumstances at that time.

- (c) Production and media costs. (TV, radio, press, posters and outdoor advertising.)

- (d) Black community.

- (2) Yes.

- (a) Bureau for Information and market research organisations.

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- (b) The analysis of patterns of payment of rent and services, market research, standard procedures and the comparison of market research results.

- (c) At the height of the campaign a noticeable improvement could be discerned in the pattern of payment of rent and service charges, compared to the normal cyclical patterns.

Research into the effectiveness of the campaign showed that the campaign had reached a majority of Black people and a majority of this group indicated that they reacted positively to the message of the campaign.

Wider market research has shown that attitudes in the Black community towards the payment of rent changed from being preponderantly negative to being preponderantly positive in the period September 1986 to May 1987.

Times Media: agreement

*9. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 11 on 18 August 1987, the South African Airways has entered or intends entering into an agreement with Times Media similar to the one entered into with Perskor (Pty) Ltd of South Africa; if so, (a) with effect from what date and (b) what are the terms of the agreement with Times Media; if not, (i) why not and (ii) when was the decision taken in this regard?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

No.

- (a) and (b) Fall away.

- (i) The decision not to enter into an agreement was taken by Times Media.

- (ii) Unknown.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him whether the terms offered for this contract to Times Media were the same as the terms offered to Perskor?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I cannot tell the hon member whether the details are exactly the same, but I think the hon member will be reminded of the replies given to him previously, viz that as long as it is to the commercial advantage of SAA, it is prepared to enter into agreements with any other publishing company.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising further out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him then why the SAA continues with the contract with Perskor when that contract for the airways is running at a loss?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member may put that question on the Question Paper. [Interjections.]

Booklet, "Face to Face with the ANC"

*10. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police have carried out an investigation to ascertain who (a) published and (b) printed a certain booklet, the title of which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply and which was produced in Cape Town in or about September 1986; if not, why not; if so, what is the title of this booklet:

- (2) whether this investigation has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed; if so, when was it completed:

- (3) whether the Police have ascertained who was responsible for (a) writing, (b) publishing and (c) printing the booklet; if so, who in each case:

- (4) whether any charges have been investigated against any persons in connection with this booklet; if not, why not; if so, (a) what charges and (b) with what result:

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- (5) whether the Police took any action in respect of the copies of this booklet; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) where are these booklets at present?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) and (b) Yes. *Face to Face with the ANC*.
- (2) No. (a) and (b) The investigation is continuing and it is difficult to determine when it will be completed.
- (3) and (4) As is the case with numerous other publications which deal with the ANC and which mostly do not indicate the origin or the name of the publisher, the Security Branch also investigated this publication.

It appears that the contents of the publication do not constitute a contravention of the Internal Safety Act, 1982.

Although the absence of the names of the publisher and printer may constitute a contravention of section 18 of the Publications Act, 1974, the printer and publisher could thus far not be traced so that formal charges can be instituted against them.

- (5) Yes.
- (a) and (b) The Security Branch of the South African Police confiscated only a number of copies for the purpose of the investigation, in accordance with the dictum of Judge Didcott in the *State versus Ndabeni*, as reported in *South African Law Reports* 1984 (3) pages 503 and 504.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, if I am able to provide him with the name of the publisher, would that help him with his investigations in this matter?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I think it is the duty of any South African, especially an hon member of this House, to supply us with any information in this regard so that we can investigate the matter. We shall indeed do so.

HoA

Trespass

*11. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Justice:

How many Black persons were charged in courts in the Western Cape with trespass in (a) 1984 and (b) the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The information is not readily available in the Department.

The hon member is however referred to my reply to written question No 244 of February 1987 (Hansard, column 328).

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him first of all, when he expects such information to become available, and secondly, whether his department does not keep statistics of people charged with various offences?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, we do not maintain detailed statistics in respect of each and every charge. The bureau does, however, obtain information from time to time from various departments, and as the hon member will glean from his perusal of the Hansard to which I have referred him, we do have statistics available in respect of certain urban areas. Perhaps these will indicate a tendency.

Group Areas Act

*12. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 22 on 25 February 1986 and certain particulars which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, a decision has as yet been reached on the application by the University of Cape Town for an exemption from the application of the Group Areas Act in respect of university residences: if not, (a) why not, (b) what matters remain to be settled before a decision can be made and (c)

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when is it anticipated that a decision will be made; if so, (i) when was a decision reached, (ii) what was the decision and (iii) what matters were taken into consideration in reaching the decision;

- (2) on what date was the original application from the University of Cape Town in this regard received by his Department?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

- (1) No.
- (a) The application from the University of Cape Town is not being dealt with in isolation but in relation to similar possible requirements at other universities, colleges and technikons.
- (b) Investigations relating to the determination of need have not yet been finalised.
- (c) No date can be given. (i) and (ii) Fall away.
- (2) 31 January 1985.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy-Minister, since the application from the University of Cape Town was received over two years ago, does he not believe that a rapid assessment or finalisation of the situation should be reached in the interests of the students concerned?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, our policy is that there should be no mixed hostels on university campuses. If a university admits students of colour it must also provide accommodation for them. I said in my reply that we are no longer only concerned with the University of Cape Town but there are also other universities, colleges and technikons involved. We are busy investigating this matter and will reach finality on it.

Detainees

*13. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

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With reference to his reply to Question No 236 on 27 July 1987, (a) (i) when and (ii) by whom are detainees informed that the services of a panel of private doctors are available to them, (b) (i) how many detainees or parents have requested that they be provided with the names of the doctors on this panel and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished and (c) who determines the cost of consulting a doctor on this panel?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (a) (i) When detainees request a second opinion.
- (ii) The district surgeon.
- (b) (i) Unknown.
- (ii) Falls away.
- (c) The cost is determined by the panel doctor rendering the service.

Classrooms

*14. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

- (1) (a) How many (i) additional classrooms at existing schools, and (ii) classrooms at new schools, administered by his Department were built in 1986 and (b) how many classrooms in each of these categories were built for (i) pre-primary, (ii) primary and (iii) secondary pupils;
- (2) whether there is a shortage of classrooms for Black pupils at present; if so, (a) what was the shortage in respect of classrooms for (i) pre-primary, (ii) primary and (iii) secondary pupils as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) what is the estimated cost of providing these classrooms?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- (1) (a) (i) 435.
- (ii) 1 361.

- (b) (i) None. (In cases where the bridging period has been instituted, primary classrooms

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Shock for family

RELATIVES of slain Pan Africanist Congress guerrilla from Gugulethu discovered on the morning of his funeral at the weekend that the body in the coffin was that of an elderly stranger.

A weeping Mrs Eliza-

beth Khoza said she still did not understand how the mix-up occurred — but she assumed her son's body was still in the Johannesburg mortuary.

Mr Neo Sarel Khoza (23), was due to be buried on Saturday morning but

the funeral was called off after relatives viewing the body found an old man in the coffin.

Mr khoza was shot dead by police in a car chase in Johannesburg on August 4.

The PAC subsequently confirmed from Dar es Salaam that Mr Khoza and Mrs Tshupo Lilele of Welkom were guerillas of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

A third man also died in the shooting. Police said the three were armed with Scorpion machine pistols. — Sapa.

'UDF NOT A WING OF ANC'

(11A)

By MONK NKOMO

THE United Democratic Front is an internal wing of the banned African National Congress, the prosecutor, Mr P B Jacobs, SC, alleged in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Popo Simon Molefe, general secretary of the UDF, rejected the allegation and told the court that "this is an untruthful statement".

Mr Molefe also denied that the UDF was carrying out the aims of the ANC to activate the masses against the Government.

Mr Molefe and 18 others who include senior officials of the UDF and Azapo have pleaded

not guilty to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

Mr Jacobs yesterday put it to Mr Molefe that the violence that erupted in about 22 black townships, including the Vaal Triangle in 1984, was as a result of meetings or campaigns organised by the UDF and its affiliates in their quest to achieve "the people's power".

Mr Molefe, who has been in the witness box now for 21 days, rejected the suggestion and stressed that the UDF was a non-violent organisation.

Mr Jacobs also put it to the

witness that the UDF through its alleged publication *Update* of 1986 had listed, as its achievements, the following:

- Uprisings in the Vaal;
- The growing militancy of the masses;
- The resignation of "apartheid functionaries" who included bantustan chiefs and councillors;
- The weakening unity of apartheid forces; and
- The move from "ungovernability to people's power".

Mr Molefe rejected the allegations and told the court that he did not know the document because it was published while he was in detention.

competition and a Sabta beauty contest.

Press curbs: UDF reacts

JOHANNESBURG —

The media should not be lulled into thinking that the latest press restrictions announced last week are "just an attack on the small alternative press," the United Democratic Front said in a statement yesterday.

"Today it is the alternative press tomorrow the commercial press. The line that the government expects newspapers to toe will be drawn shorter and shorter... we will be saddled with government censors in every newsroom censoring the news as it comes out," the statement said.

The UDF called on the commercial press, television and radio to come to the defence of the alternative media and the organisation also asked the international community to bring pressure on the government to "abandon its disastrous course".

The UDF accused the government of having a "total disregard for freedom of the press, speech and association."

The claims by the Minister of Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha, that some publications showed "complete contempt for the hallowed press values established over centuries" must stick in the throats of those journalists who had struggled over the years against National Party censorship, the statement said.

It added that it was "the progressive forces" that the newly introduced regulations were trying to crush. The refusal of sections of the media to apply self-censorship meant "the velvet glove is being totally stripped from the iron fist". — Sapa

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'More whites feel apartheid should end'

Pretoria Correspondent

An increasing number of white people had realised apartheid would have to end, the general-secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Popo Molefe, told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Molefe (35) is standing trial with 18 other high-ranking members of the UDF, Azapo and local civic organisations.

The men have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and alternative charges ranging from terrorism and subversion, to murder.

The State is attempting to prove the UDF conspired with the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party to overthrow the Government.

Mr Molefe was replying to a question by the State prosecutor, Mr P B Jacobs (SC), who said the UDF had sown doubts in the minds of the white people in this country as to whether the Government could cope with the problems facing the country.

He said it was not the UDF's policy to make the country un-governable nor had it adopted a policy of violence. The UDF had always opposed apartheid.

(Proceeding)

Warning on new curbs

2/9/87
Structure

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Violence after necklace hangings

11A
Cape Times
2/9/87



PUDDING FEVER Mrs Vicki Kempthorne

Own Correspondent

VIOLENCE flared in Johannesburg and the Western Cape yesterday during demonstrations over the hanging of two activists in Pretoria earlier in the day.

Moses Mnyanda Janjies and Mlamli Wellington Mielies were hanged for necklacing Uitenhage councillor Mr Ben Kinikini and killing five other members of his family in 1985.

The two were the first to be executed of 33 people who are on death row for crimes committed during the 1985 unrest.

In Johannesburg, streets were cordoned off around Khotso House, where a memorial meeting was being held. There was violence after people left the meeting, and at least 10 people were treated for injuries at the Hillbrow Hospital. Most of the injuries were caused by broken glass, according to a hospital source.

And in the Western Cape, incidents occurred at the University of the Western Cape and at the nearby Modderdam Senior Secondary School at Bonteheuwel.

Thousands of people from around Cape Flats at once streamed to the UWC campus for a mass indoor memorial rally and scores of youths later staged a placard march around the campuses of UWC and the adjoining Peninsula Technikon, according to students.

Violence followed, according to eyewitnesses. Details of the day's events cannot be published in terms of the emergency regulations.

Journalists held

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria declined to comment, saying unrest incidents would be detailed in today's official unrest report.

Most of those treated in Johannesburg were members of the Post and Telecommunication Workers Association who attended a lunchtime meeting to protest against the executions. The meeting was organized by the South African Youth Congress.

Mrs Winnie Mandela spoke at the meeting.

In Pretoria police said two journalists were held briefly for questioning following the meeting at Khotso House. A police spokesman said police action was conducted in terms of Section 51 of the emergency regulations — allowing police to enter premises without a warrant.

The journalists were "taken in for questioning their films confiscated and they were allowed to go", the police spokesman said.

He said there were no other arrests.

Earlier, police said they were taking "proactive" steps at Khotso House in connection with a meeting involving "various organizations" in the building.

Reporters were told to stay out of the area in terms of the emergency regulations.

It was learnt yesterday that a last-ditch attempt was made by the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, for clemency on behalf of the families of Janjies and Mielies.

Archbishop Tutu told President P W Botha about midday on Monday that "an act of clemency on your part will defuse a very volatile situation in the community".

Parliament

'One law for right, another for left'

Source of anti-ANC book not yet found — Vlok

Cape Times 2/9/87 (11A)

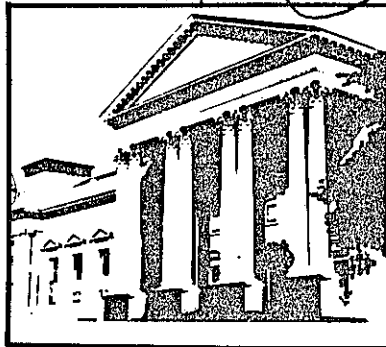
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE police had been unable to trace the printer and publisher of an anti-ANC booklet which may have contravened the Publications Act, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

It was reported last year that the expensively-produced publication, Face to Face with the African National Congress, was funded by a government agency and printed by a Cape Town printing firm, Derek Butcher and Co, but this was not confirmed.

The names of the printer, publisher and author of the booklet did not appear anywhere in the publication.

Mr Vlok told Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North) that although the absence of the names of the publisher and printer "may constitute" a contravention of Section 18 of the Publications Act "the printer and



publisher could thus far not be traced so that formal charges can be instituted against them".

Mr Soal said afterwards: "I am taken aback that the police are apparently unable to solve blatant transgressions of the law perpetrated by the right. This includes the dropping of anonymous pamphlets from 'unknown' helicopters.

"Yet, when it comes to anti-apartheid organizations they manage to solve these problems within days and have no hesitation in detaining people and restricting individuals, or clamping down on the press.

"It seems clear there is one law for right-wing and pro-government organizations, and another for anti-apartheid organizations," Mr Soal said.

In his reply, Mr Vlok said the police investigation into the booklet was continuing and "it is very difficult to determine when it will be completed".

It appeared that the contents of the publication did not constitute a contravention of the Internal Security Act.

Asked what action the police took in respect of the copies of the booklet, Mr Vlok replied that the security branch "confiscated only a number of copies for the purpose of the investigation".

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11A
Cape Times
2/19/87

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Church must be 'ready for new SA'

Staff Reporter

THE Moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, Dr Allan Boesak, says a vital question for the church in a future South Africa is how it can retain its critical role.

"It is a daunting question which I cannot begin to answer (tonight)," he said at a meeting of the Mowbray Inter-race Contact Group in Athlone last night.

Dr Boesak is the honorary president of Mirge.

He said: "We live in a capitalist society. One of these days ... we are going to have some kind of socialist structure and how is the church in this country going to face up to that major change?"



Dr Allan Boesak

"I don't know whether anybody in the church has thought how they are going to make this readjustment and how we are going to change what we have built so that we can be a church that can live and witness in a society other than a capitalist one.

"That will be a challenge for the church to realise and change in such a way that we are able to witness in such a society."

He said he hoped that "those of us who are critical of this Government, because we believe it is our duty as the Christian church, because we believe it is the call of the Gospel and the demand of the Gospel to judge and prophesy and show where things go wrong", would be as critical of a government which came later.

"That is one of the grave dangers facing any church in any new situation, especially if we are serious about changing our society and serious about our criticism of the Government now.

"It would be so unjust, so wrong, a disaster, for a new country if all of a sudden the church lost its ability to be critical ...

"We must think about this now so that we can be quite honest ... so that, brother and sister, when you are in government and you do something wrong we will be as honest with you as we are with the people in Parliament now.

"If we lose that we will be as irrelevant as the white Dutch Reformed Church is now, maybe even more so."

Mbeki, the man

GOVAN ARCHIBALD MVUNYELINA MBEKI, aged 77, journalist, teacher, activist and former national chairperson of the ANC, has been imprisoned on Robben Island for 23 years.

His eyesight is failing and he is believed to have recently had an operation to remove a cataract from his eye. Although he is well and relatively healthy for a man of his age, fellow prisoners believe he should have been released years ago.

'Zizi'

According to Patrick Mathanjana, who spent 17 years on Robben Island, Mbeki, known by his clan name of "Zizi", has the respect of prisoners and warders. Whenever inmates see the tall, well-built, white haired man they hug him as though he were a new prisoner.

The health of the softly-spoken man, who "is always trying to solve problems" has been deteriorating since the late 1970s.

Born in 1910 in the Nqamakwe district of the Transkei, the son of a Christian chief and prosperous cattle owner, Mbeki attended mission schools.

Mbeki whose son,

Last week the State President, PW Botha, announced in parliament that the Government was considering releasing certain political prisoners. He mentioned Govan Mbeki among others. Mbeki has been on Robben Island for 23 years

Thabo, has risen to the rank of ANC secretary for presidential affairs and director of information, joined the ANC in the mid-1930s. He also worked underground for the South African Communist Party in the 1950s and 1960s.

His political involvement sometimes interfered with his job as a teacher. After being dismissed from his first teaching job, he opened a co-operative store in Idutywa. But its destruction by a tornado in the 1950s led him to teach again. He was again dismissed for political reasons. This time he tried to organise coal workers in Ladysmith, Natal.

Mbeki will often be seen walking slowly in his section on the Island, or sitting outside, but always talking to someone.

A lover of music, he plays classical guitar. "But the youth prefer jazz, so he often sits in his cell playing softly," Mthanjana said.

Mbeki's talent extends to journalism.

From 1938-1944 he edited Territorial Magazine. He worked as an editor of the New Age, the unofficial mouthpiece of the Congress Movement.

He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1955 from where he covered Eastern Cape events, notably the Pondoland uprising against the Bantu Authorities system.

He was detained for five months in South Africa's first State of Emergency in 1960. After his release, Mbeki reported on the State of Emergency imposed in 26 magisterial districts in the Transkei, three months after the first one had been lifted.

Mbeki was also elected to various positions in organisations. In 1941 he was the secretary of the Transkei Voters' Association. In 1944 he was elected to a four-year term in the Transkei

Bunga, to represent Idutywa.

Two years later he was elected as secretary of the Transkei Organised Bodies, a federation of interest groups and associations. In 1946 he published "Lets Do it Together", a booklet to promote the organisation of co-operative societies.

In 1962 Mbeki was charged under the Explosives Act. After his acquittal later that year, he was placed under house arrest. But he went underground and only emerged when he was arrested in the July 1963 Rivonia raid.

Going home

While Mbeki would tell other prisoners of his earlier days, he rarely spoke about going home, according to Mathanjana.

When Mandela, Kathrada, Sisulu and Mahlaba were transferred in the early 1980s, Mbeki was asked what he would do if he released. "All he said was that he would not play a neutral role," Mathanjana said.

"He has analysed Botha's speeches over the years, as well as his own position. But I don't think that he will agree to be released alone," Mathanjana said.

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'No solution without ANC'

NO solution can be found to the country's problems without the inclusion of the ANC, according to Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Interviewed at his offices in Rondebosch, Slabbert said he recognised that there were other organisations in the political debate but the Government would not find a workable solution by excluding the ANC.

Composed and confident in spite of threats against his life by the "lunatic fringe" of white politics, the Idasa leader said the ANC was one of the main participants in the struggle for political rights. They could not be wished away or dismissed as a "foreign-based terrorist organisation".

"It is wrong to compare the ANC to organisations like the Bader Meinhoff and the Red Brigade. The facts are against that.

"The ANC has a diplomatic offensive in 33 capitals of the world. They have linked-up with labour, education, religious and other organisations inside the country. They are deep into civic structures. They use strikes, boycotts, persuasions and the armed struggle - and elements of the armed struggle sometimes spill over into the use of arbitrary violence.

"This is used by the Government to claim that the main thrust of the ANC initiative revolves on the use of arbitrary violence. That, as far as I am concerned, is simply a distortion. As much as I disagree with violence, and particularly indiscriminate violence, I think one still has to keep a sense of balance about what is going on."

Slabbert said he had found the ANC officials to be seasoned diplomats. They were the kind of people the Government should be negotiating with to bring about a solution to the our political problems.

The Government, he said, had a choice - to negotiate with ANC people with their experience and background or to be confronted by young people who had been through States of Emergency and who were "obviously going to be less diplomatic and less experienced".

It appeared that the Government regarded negotiation as talking to people who agreed with them, rather than striking a compromise with people who disagreed with them fundamentally.

"The Government's negotiation politics did not have a snowball's chance of working because it was going for the co-optive alternative.

"This option is, of course, a contradiction of the concept of negotiation politics. The fundamental difference between Pretoria and the majority is the concept of compulsory group membership where you can only participate in constitutional politics as a member of a racial group.

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, believes no solution can be found to the country's political problems without the African National Congress (ANC).

Dr Slabbert, who last month led a group of South Africans to meet an ANC delegation in Dakar, Senegal, spoke to SOUTH correspondent MARIMUTHU SUBRAMONEY about the "Dakar Trek"; his views on the current stalemate in the country; and the role of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).



Van Zyl Slabbert

"Now as long as the government tries to reach a solution on that basis, no negotiation of any consequence is going to take place."

Slabbert, a "nigger" in the Afrikaner woodpile, said South Africans were trapped in a violent situation and it was up to the Government to create the climate for genuine negotiation.

"All that we can try to work for is a decrease in the level of violence by getting to the negotiating table as soon as possible. However, this cannot happen if the Government depends on coercion, a prolonged State of Emergency and other forms of repression where it detains the very people it should be negotiating with.

"Under these conditions the stability you have is very precarious. One can never be sure that the kind of compromise you are going to strike with any community leader has any durability."

The present stalemate would continue as long as the Government continued

on its present course of a prolonged Emergency and other measures that curtailed basic freedom and free political activity.

Slabbert said there was a lot of common ground between the ANC and those who reject apartheid.

"We may belong to different movements and organisations, but we found we could agree on the kind of South Africa we would like to see.

"Members of the ANC delegation were also very clear about there being a way out of the circle of violence."

"The ANC delegation called for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, a commitment to the disbanding of all forms of apartheid, particularly the Population Registration Act. "Once this is done the ANC made it very clear that they are prepared to re-negotiate the armed struggle and to look at alternatives.

"Those at Dakar showed that there is a

great deal of flexibility and compromise on matters where there may be differences. For example, they are prepared to look at the interpretation of sections of the Freedom Charter."

On a solution to the country's problems, he said: "I want to say that I cannot see any other solution to our problems, but a political solution. It has to be a negotiated solution between those who control power at the moment, and those who want power and to participate in the exercise of power.

"And again, what is to be negotiated is the transfer of power to a democratic alternative, to a constitution which makes provision for all South Africans - irrespective of race, ethnicity, sex, creed or religion or whatever - to participate formally on an equal basis in a political system which means a system of universal franchise in one government and in one country.

"Then what can be negotiated is a

whole range of issues - whether you have a parliamentary system or a presidential system; whether you have a separation of powers between the government and the executive, administrative and judicial or whether you have a concentration of power; whether you have an independent judiciary, Bill of Rights that can be tested by the courts or whether you don't have a Bill of Rights.

"I would prefer a multi-party democracy with the conventional protections for the individual against the State. I would like to see an economic system which I would call social democratic in that the State would prevent any form of massive concentration of capital in monopolies, but will allow at the same time a great deal of freedom for the individual to pursue his or her economic interest. I would also like to see human rights protected."

On the demand of Eugene Terre'blanche, the leader of the extreme right-wing organisation, for a separate Afrikaner homeland, Slabbert said they were being unrealistic.

"The problem with Terre'blanche is that he does not want a separate ethnic homeland. He wants the whole of the Transvaal, the old Boer Republics and Northern Natal for the Afrikaners. If you go back to historical land claims, then you are going to have a terrible mess.

"If you look at the land claims of the Zulus or the Xhosas or the Tswanas there is simply not enough land to justify the kind of separateness that each of them would want.

"So I would have no objection to Terre'blanche and his supporters having their own independent area, but they certainly can't take the gold mines of the Free State, Transvaal and Northern Natal.

"That sort of situation will not bring about a solution to our problems."

He said he did not see a new constitution making provision for racial or ethnic privileges of any kind and the present so-called independent and non-independent bantustans would eventually have to become part of a greater South Africa through a process of transition.

On the role he was going to play in the unfolding political situation, Slabbert said he would continue to address private civic meetings, but would not address large public gatherings where only the converted would attend.

He was also taking very seriously the threats that had been made against him by the lunatic right, but he had no intention of going into hiding.

"I have not taken these threats lightly, but at the same time I am not going to let them determine the way in which I am going to work and live. But I'll try not to go shopping in Pietersburg."

I'll refuse cabinet post Curry

APR 6 7 11 15 2/1987
H.A.

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Minister of Local Government in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, emphasized again last night that he had no intention of accepting a cabinet post if he was offered one.

Mr Curry's denial — the second he has made — follows the resignation of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse from the cabinet.

While there is disagreement on the interpretation of the constitution, a body of opinion believes it is mandatory for the State President to appoint a member of the Ministers' Council to the cabinet.

Last night Mr Curry told a packed Gelvendale Community Centre that he would be "mad in the head" to consider such an offer.

Mr Hendrickse said the president could not change the constitution without the support of the Labour Party.

Soweto 8/9/87

Registers

Mr Manthata and 18 others including high ranking officials of the UDF and Azapo have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and an assessor to charges of treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

Cross examined by Mr W Hanekom, for the State, Mr Manthata denied that the SCA had sent a number of delegates who included Mr Amos Masondo to several UDF meetings during 1983 and 1984.

The entries on the alleged registers of SCA members who attended the meetings and presented in court were "mistakes," said Mr Manthata.

Mr Hanekom put it to Mr Manthata that the SCA took part in some of the campaigns launched by the UDF in Soweto and that they were part of the UDF before it was nationally launched and that they took part in the UDF plans and strategies against the Government. The witness denied the allegations.

Mr Hanekom then put it to Mr Manthata: "You are not honest with this court." The accused rejected the suggestion. He also denied that the SCA was involved in the campaign to counter the Government's "propaganda onslaughts."

The 19 accused are represented by Mr George Bizos SC and Mr Karel Tip.

(Proceeding)

CIVIC BODY NOT A UDF

By MONK NKOMO

THE general secretary of the Soweto Civic Association, Mr Thomas Manthata, yesterday rejected allegations by the State that his organisation was involved in several campaigns and co-ordinated strategies of the United Democratic Front against the Government.

Mr Manthata also denied that the SCA was part and parcel of the UDF even before it was nationally launched in August 1983. He told the court that the SCA only affiliated to the UDF in October 1984.

He agreed that the SCA was against the introduction of Black Local Authorities and the tricameral system but stressed that they had acted independently.

"We never campaigned for the total destruction of black local authorities," said Mr Manthata.

The local authorities were seen as "a burden" by black people because they did not address the problems affecting residents. Mr Manthata said the SCA also criticised Mr Amichand Rajbansi and the Rev Allan Hendrickse for participating in the tricameral parliament "to represent blacks who had not given them a mandate to do so."

WING

Tom Manthata tells court

Horror stories of rape, murder and abduction

Political battlefield

DURBAN. - The Natal township of Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale, about 50 km west from here, has turned into a battlefield for political supremacy with a spate of murders, rapes and abductions.

Thirteen people have been killed, scores injured and more than 15 homes burnt in clashes between vigilantes backed by Inkatha and supporters of the UDF-affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress (Hayco).

Last week, vigilantes disguised as policemen - two of them with firearms - raided a home in a section of Mpumalanga. They were looking for the eldest son of the household, a member of Hayco.

They held his mother at gunpoint before gang-raping her and her three teenage daughters.

The gang then set fire to the room in which a 102-year-old woman was sleeping. The family watched in horror as flames engulfed the room. They heard the old woman screaming as she burnt to death.

Revived

Trouble in Mpumalanga began in 1975, the same year Inkatha was revived, with the launch of the Mpumalanga Residents' Association (MPURA).

The association was formed by businessmen and now mayor Rodger Sishi after his expulsion as general manager of the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL).

At about the same time the area was thrown into a confrontation with Inkatha following the launch of Inala Party by Chief Mahlabezima Maphumulo to oppose

Inkatha and Chief M G Buthelezi in the homeland elections.

After a meeting to launch street and area committees on February 15 this year, Hayco executive member S'thembiso Mngadi was shot dead by three men whom Maduna identified as supporters of a local political organisation.

In an affidavit Maduna said a yellow Cortina with five occupants went past them. A minute later it came back, but with only two of the original occupants.

Brown hat

Maduna said three men came from their right flank and joined the group saying they were looking for a man in a brown hat. Mngadi was wearing Maduna's brown hat at the time. One of the men opened fire and hit S'thembiso above the eye.

After Mngadi's death Hayco received a mysterious unsigned note saying that more Hayco members would meet the same fate.

Maduna said in March this year two members of Inkatha were attacked and stabbed after a church service in Clermont near Pinetown.

Dumisani Hlengwa and Albert Mashinini were both accused of having a hand "in attacks against Hayco activities". Sishi, as mayor, tried to arrange peace talks between Inkatha and Hayco.

Maduna took part in the first meeting with Inkatha. But events in the township took a dramatic turn on March 14 when Maduna

was confronted by a group of about 40 in his Clermont hideout. He was stabbed, doused with petrol and set alight.

After Maduna's death, relative calm returned to the township although reports of sporadic attacks continued.

When schools re-opened in July, Hayco activists who had left during the violence streamed back. And the anti-Hayco drive also resumed in full. At least four Hayco activists were killed during the first three weeks of July.

A 10-year-old boy was abducted by a group of armed men who came to his home looking for his brother. The boy escaped.

- Concorde

We are not a violent group says the UDF

11A
Kobaneke
19/9/87

THE United Democratic Front has on many occasions publicly rejected accusations, even from the State President, Mr P W Botha, that they were a violent organisation linked with the outlawed African National Congress, the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

By MONK NKOMO

Mr George Bizos SC, for the defence, presented a Press cutting to the court in which Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF reiterated that "it is a lie that the UDF is intent on precipitating revolution."

Re-examined by Mr Bizos, the UDF's general secretary, Mr Simon "Popo" Molefe, was also shown a 1982 Press statement in which Inkatha's leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi launched an attack on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le

Grange, repeating his warning that the Government's constitutional plan was "a recipe for violence". Similar predictions were made by the UDF, said Mr Molefe.

Exhibits

Mr Bizos also handed in as exhibits Press statements made by Mr Lekota on behalf of the UDF. Responding to the violence that erupted in Tumahole, Parys, on July 1984, Mr Lekota had stated: "We will not burn councillors' houses and we will not burn their cars. We will boycott their businesses". He also added that the violence had flared as a result of the introduction of the Black Local Authorities Act.

Mr Lekota also called for the immediate resignation of councillors and said only the

unconditional dismantling of apartheid will bring about peace in South Africa.

He added: "In the past the UDF had stated that it had no formal or informal links with the ANC other than the historical fact that those organisations were of South African origin and were opposed to apartheid. We reiterate this.

"We are determined to see real change rather than such massacres as at Uitenhage."

Both Mr Molefe and Mr Lekota and 17 others including senior officials of the UDF and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo), have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

(Proceeding)

BLA's 'powerless'

2/19/87
By MONK
NKOMO

THE United Democratic Front could have used the Black Local Authorities as a platform to negotiate with the Government, the prosecutor, Mr P Fick, said in the Pretoria Supreme Court, on Friday.

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF, rejected the suggestion and told the court that only supporters of the Government's policies were elected to the BLA "whose powers were defined and restricted to certain limits by the Government".

The BLA, Mr Lekota said, "failed our people" by not addressing themselves to their problems and they were powerless to do so.

He denied suggestions

by Mr Fick that the UDF rejected the BLA and called for a National Convention because it wanted the handing over of power.

Platform

Mr Fick also put it to Mr Lekota that the UDF could have used the BLA as a platform to air their views to the Government. The State President, Mr P W Botha, had also called for discussions with black leaders in a "Black Forum" in 1985 — which was a step in the right direction, the prosecutor said.

Mr Lekota rejected the suggestions and said the State President had failed

to respond to a letter written to him by the UDF who sought discussions with him.

He said black leaders, including KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and organisations such as Nafcoc rejected the call for talks with Mr Botha because the Government had failed to address the issue of the future of this country with acceptable and genuine black leaders who included Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, who is mayor of Daveyton had said publicly that his organisation would only take part in negotiations with the Government on certain conditions that included the releasing of political prisoners.

He and 18 others who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst who is sitting with an assessor, to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

The case continues today.

500 protest at secret installation of 'mayor'



Some Khayemandi residents after their protest march - and, in the foreground, filth strewn across an untarred street, one of the many grievances about conditions in the township.

By CHRIS GUTUZA

THE "SECRET" inauguration of Khayemandi's unwanted mayor, Mr Victor Mayatasa, sparked off a protest in which more than twenty people in a crowd of more than 500 were arrested at the weekend.

Police confirmed that 12 men and 10 women were arrested at an illegal gathering.

They appeared in the Stellenbosch Magistrates Court earlier this week, and the case was postponed to September 24.

Two of the accused were released on bail of R100, three youths were released into their mothers' custody and the others were released on warning.

Khayemandi, situated about three kilometres outside Stellenbosch, housing more than 6 000 residents, has been in turmoil since

the Government's decision to extend the mayor's term. His term was to have ended in September last year, according to community leader Mrs Pauline Naku.

She added that Mayatasa would not have been re-elected for office if elections were to be held.

On Saturday morning Mayatasa was escorted by police to a local town hall for the ceremony. But hundreds of residents did not attend because "we were not supposed to know about it".

Residents said they heard about the ceremony a few days before it was to take place. They added that they heard from the police where the ceremony was going to be held when they applied for a permit to hold a peaceful protest. The permit was refused.

According to residents, Mayatasa's councillors and

their families were his only local supporters. Visitors from areas including Ashton and Robertson also attended the meeting.

However, the children of some councillors sided with the protesters and did not go to the ceremony.

The grandson of a councillor member, Mr Serame Mokoena, said although he lived with his grandmother, she had not told him about the ceremony because he

opposed the town council. More than 500 people recently signed a petition calling for the resignation of Mayatasa and his deputy Mr Mondo Mayekiso because they felt the town council did not have the interest of the people at heart.

They felt the mayor and his council should go because they were not mandated by the people.

Reasons for the demands

to have the town council removed included:

- The misuse of funds by the members of the town council;
- The illegal and unfair evictions of people in the community;
- The refusal of the town council to allow people to hold public meetings;
- The failure of the town council to grant land to the library committee for the building of a library;

• The autocratic manner in which the town council operated and that it does not see itself as being accountable to the people.

Representatives of the community claimed they had delivered two copies of the petition to the offices of the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) Community Services in Goodwood on two occasions.

But a spokesperson for the CPA, Mr Sampie

Steenkamp, said he had no knowledge of any petitions handed in by residents, but that he would investigate the matter. He referred SOUTH to Mayatasa for comment about the weekend's incidents.

Several attempts to reach the mayor for comment were unsuccessful.

Certain events at Khayemandi on Saturday cannot be reported because of the emergency regulations.

STUDENT ADMISSIONS, 1988

Applications are invited for undergraduate and post-graduate studies for the 1988 academic year.

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- General undergraduate degrees and post-graduate qualifications in the Arts
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Closing Dates for Applications

- B.Ch. DII (Dentistry) 15 September, 1987
- Undergraduate Studies 31 October, 1987
- Post-graduate Studies (Hons., Higher Dip.) 13 January, 1988
- Master's & Doctorate Studies 29 February, 1988

All completed application forms must be accompanied by an Application Fee of R10.00. Late applications for Undergraduate Studies will be considered until 30 November, 1987 at the very latest and subject to a penalty payment of R25.00. No late applications will be considered in respect of Dentistry and Nursing.

Note: Acceptance as a student does not include acceptance for hostel accommodation. See below.

Accommodation

Hostel accommodation is limited and will be available to about 1 700 students in 1988. Limited private accommodation is also available and a list of private individuals offering boarding is obtainable from the University on request.

Applications for hostel accommodation must be made on the same form as the application for admission as a student and close, strictly, on 31 October, 1987. Late applications cannot be accepted.

Financial Assistance

Owing to limited University funds being available for Bursaries, applicants who are unable to meet the full costs of studying at the UWC are advised to apply for financial assistance from as many sources as possible before entering the University. State Bursaries/Loans are available for teacher training and a limited number of other fields.

For further information on financial assistance, students are encouraged to contact the Assistant Registrar (Student Affairs) at the address below.

Application forms and further information are obtainable from the Assistant Registrar (Student Affairs), University



of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Bellville, 7530. Telephone: (021) 959-2115 and 959-2537.

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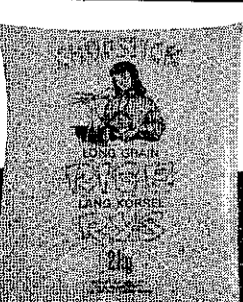
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27/8 - 2/9/87

Vigilantes abduct, assault four women

South

1/1A

PORT ELIZABETH.- Four Uitenhage women were severely assaulted by a group of men believed to be members of a right-wing vigilante group here.

Two 15-year-old girls, Sindiswa Moyeni and Nomhle Mthana, and Thozama Maki, 18, and Nontutuzelo Mjikwa, 23, were abducted by 15 men and taken to a house allegedly used as headquarters by the Ama-Afrika group.

Three of the women, all members of the UDF-affiliated Uitenhage Youth Congress (UYCO), said they were abducted by men travelling in a gold and white van and were interrogated for six hours.

They said they were questioned about the whereabouts of the "comrades" by men armed with pickaxe handles, knives and guns.

In statements submitted to Mr Rory Riordan of Operation Real South Africa, the women identified most of their assailants by name and said they could identify them to the police.

They said they were on their way home to Kwanobuhle when the men followed them in a van.

Confronted

They were later confronted by the men and told to get into the van. They were taken to the house where they were allegedly assaulted.

"We were interrogated and assaulted from 1pm to 7pm. One of the men cut a gash in Sindiswa's thigh and put salt in the wound.

"We were then taken to a tap and the men washed the wounds on our heads," Maki said.

The SAP liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Peet Grobler, said he had no knowledge of the incident.

He said the women had not reported "anything to the police".

Joseph Maliwa, a spokesperson for Ama-Afrika, said he had been out of town and had no knowledge of the attack. - ECNA



THOZAMA MAKI shows where she was stabbed with a knife by Uitenhage vigilantes

Mbeki moved, release 'imminent'

By SAHM VENTER

GOVAN MBEKI, the Umkhonto we Sizwe high commander serving a life sentence on Robben Island, has been informed by prison authorities that his release is under consideration, according to his legal representatives.

The possibility of his release was raised by State President P W Botha in Parliament last week.

The release of the 77-year-old former ANC national chairperson has now been further fuelled by information that his belongings were packed up earlier this week. In addition, he has apparently been moved from the section where he had spent most of his incarceration to another section.

His family, both in South Africa and abroad, have

already been visited by legal advisers to discuss the release.

According to well-placed sources, his release is "imminent". Unlike rumours last year of the release of Nelson Mandela, speculation is that this time it's for real.

Reporters camped outside Pollsmoor Prison for two weeks in anticipation of Mandela's release.

But this time the Government has admitted that the "administrative machinery has been set in motion" for the release of Mbeki.

Scanned 27/8-2/9/87

Turn to page 2

Also see pages 2, 14 and 16

ECARD WITH TIPS

Mbeki release

From page 1

Mbeki has been informed that his release is being considered and he has been questioned on it, according to his legal adviser.

A spokesperson for the ANC in Lusaka could not comment on the rumours until the organisation had received an update from lawyers. Mbeki's son, Thabo, was not available for comment. Thabo, the ANC's secretary for presidential affairs and director of information has not seen his father for at least 24 years.

Rumours of Mbeki's release have been circulating locally and internationally since Botha announced in Parliament recently that political prisoners would no longer be expected to renounce violence as a condition of release.

The issue has been widely discussed and debated and it is believed that Mbeki, the oldest of the Rivonia Trialists, is being used as a "test case" for the release of Mandela and the others.

The SA Prisons Service said it had nothing further to add to the State President's announcement.

*11A
27/8-2/9/87*

SAHM

Scanned

Lost body found in mortuary

Staff Reporter

THE body of slain Guguletu Pan Africanist Congress guerilla Mr Neo Sarel Khoza was found at the Johannesburg mortuary yesterday after being "missing" for four days.

The whereabouts of the body has been unknown since family members discovered the wrong body was sent to the funeral, which was due to have been held on Saturday.

The funeral of the 23-year-old Mr Khoza was called off.

An attorney for Mrs Elizabeth Khoza said it was not known how the mix-up occurred or where the blame lay.

A brother and a cousin of the dead man positively identified Mr Khoza's body yesterday morning, and proper funeral arrangements will now be made.

The Johannesburg mortuary told the Cape Times earlier this week that they had sent Mr Khoza's body to local undertakers. However, the body of an older man was incorrectly sent.

(11) (11) SMC 3/9/87

Nactu in talks with PAC men

A five-man delegation from the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) held "intense but cordial dialogue over issues of common concern" with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) during a three-day visit to the Tanzanian capital, Dar es Salaam last week.

The delegation, in Tanzania at the invitation of the local trade union movement, Juwata, also briefed other concerned individuals and organisations on developments within South Africa.

Nactu is the second-biggest union federation in the country after Cosatu.

At a press conference in Johannesburg last night, Nactu president Mr James Mndaweni told reporters they had briefed the PAC delegation, including its president Mr J Mlambo, "on the intensification of the total resistance against the apartheid regime, especially in the townships and the rural areas."

"The implication of the state of emergency now in its second year was thoroughly examined. Concern was raised over the continued detention of children by the minority regime.

"The meeting also noted with grave concern the continued detention of many trade union leaders and activists within Nactu and other trade unions."

Mr Mndaweni said the meeting was in line with Nactu's objective taken at its inaugural conference last October to "pursue dialogue with all liberatory organisations consistent with Nactu's principle of non-affiliation to political organisations".

The ANC had not responded to a request for a meeting.

... that not turning sapa.

OFS varsity gets new boss

(11) SMC 3/9/87

The director-general of the Department of Health and Population Development, Dr Franscois Pieter Retief, has been appointed vice-chancellor of the University of the Orange Free State from January 1 1989.

Dr Retief will succeed Professor Wynand Mouton who retires at the end of 1988. The university council made special provision that Dr Retief may serve as vice-chancellor elect in 1988.

Dr Retief completed his medical studies at the University of Cape Town and holds a D Phil from the University of Oxford and a MD from the University of Stellenbosch.

He was vice-chancellor of the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) before he became director-general. He is married and has three sons.

New date for banquet

The Millionex Gala Banquet and Draw will be held at the ultra-modern Alberton Civic Centre on Monday, September 21.

The date and place of the ball, at which some 90 winners will be drawn, had to be changed following the huge response to the Millionex mock share issue, a fundraising venture dreamed up by businessmen Messrs Solly and Abe Krok to benefit more than five charities, including The Star's Operation Snowball.

Some 2 500 Millionex shareholders and other guests are



expected to attend the function where they will witness the draw for R500 000 worth of prizes, including a R200 000 first prize.

Charities which will benefit from Millionex include Teach, the United Communal Fund, the Witwatersrand Mental Health Society and the Drug Trust Foundation.

White mine union chooses new head

Mr Peet Ungerer has been appointed general secretary of the white Mine Workers' Union.

He succeeds Conservative Party MP, Mr Arrie Paulus, who also stepped down as chairman of the Council of Mine Unions (CMU) after being elected to parliament.

A new chairman for the CMU has not yet been appointed.

Welfare meeting

A workshop on the privatisation of welfare services and its implications will be held at the University of the Witwatersrand on Wednesday September 9.

The workshop is organised by a co-ordinating committee representing various societies for social workers.

It begins in Oppenheimer Life Sciences building at 2 pm. Contact Sabera Bobat at (011) 852-6016, Alan Jackson at 833-2057.

CNE Times 3/7/87 (11A)

Azapo to demand share in Biko movie

JOHANNESBURG — The Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) is to demand part of the profits from Sir Richard Attenborough's new film, which portrays the life of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

Speaking at a press conference to announce a R68 000 programme to commemorate the death of Biko in detention 10 years ago, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said a senior official would meet Sir Richard in London next week.

"He (Attenborough) must make a contribution to the movement and to black people."

Azapo officials are also demanding a preview of the film and threaten to stop worldwide screening if they disapprove of it.

He said nobody should make a film on Biko without Azapo's blessing and challenged Sir Richard to name the Biko associates with whom he said he had dealings.

Mr Myeza also criticized "faceless exiles and misinformed anti-apartheid groups in the UK" for planning Biko commemorative rallies "with no reference to the organization and ideology Biko belonged to".

The main overseas Azapo-supported commemorations would be held in the United States, Canada and France.

Sir Richard's unreleased film, shot largely on location in Harare, is based on a book by Donald Woods, former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch who fled the country after being placed under house arrest following Biko's death in 1977.

"This film gains credibility and fame because Woods... found himself basking in the light of Steve Biko," Mr Myeza told reporters. — Own Correspondent and UPI



67 FIGHTING YEARS... Mama Dorothy Zihlangu addressing the rally of the Federation of South African Women in Claremont on Sunday.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

cap Times 3/9/87
11A

Fedsaw revived: Mama in again after 27 years

By ANDREW DONALDSON

A VETERAN of black South African politics, 67-year-old "Mama" Dorothy Zihlangu is a bridge that spans more than 27 years between the dormant and the recently revived Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw).

Fedsaw president Mama Zihlangu was among the executive members of the organization who were introduced at a press conference this week. Fedsaw was relaunched at a rally last weekend.

Others introduced were general secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus and vice-president Ms Nellie Jibiliza.

The identity of other executive members was not disclosed "for security reasons" and other portfolios have not been filled, pending "imminent affiliation with women's movements" in other organizations, including the Cape Youth Congress and the South African National Students' Congress.

As president, Mama Zihlangu represents a bridge that spans more than 27 years between the "two" Fedsaws.

When Fedsaw was first launched on April 17, 1954, she was an African National Congress Women's League activist for two years.

Recalling those years, she said that although Fedsaw was not banned in the 1960s along with the ANC in the first state of emergency, it had become defunct because its leadership and many of its high-profile members were banned or exiled.

"For a long time, there was no organization among us... Not till 1976, when we could hear the children coming to our help," she said, speaking of the Soweto riots.

"We realized we must now reorganize another women's organization. In 1979, we launched the United Women's Organization."

In 1986, UWO was relaunched as the United Women's Congress and is now part of Fedsaw.

Detained in both the 1960 and the 1985 emergencies, Mama Zihlangu said she had been on the run since June 11 last year and that "since then, I have not returned to my home in Guguletu".

Among Fedsaw's coming programmes of action is a "Defend Our Children" campaign, which would see them linking to the campaign for the pardoning of the Death Row "political" prisoners, and alignment with the Congress of South African Trade Union's Living Wage Campaign.

● The Western Cape launch of Fedsaw was the fourth regional launch; other regions have already been established in Transvaal, Natal and Border.

Among the organizations included in the Western Cape federation are Rape Crisis, UWCO, Women's Movement for Peace and — in its Western and Southern Cape regions — women's organizations at Elandsbaai, Vredenburg, Saldanha, Atlantis, George and Bongoletu, near Oudtshoorn.

Police alert for car after grenade attack

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Police throughout the Reef are searching for a car and its three occupants after a suspected ANC member was shot dead yesterday during a hand grenade attack at a police roadblock in Buccleuch, Sandton.

Security police apparently have all the car's details and have alerted police stations on the Witwatersrand.

The dead man, who was in his 30s, has not yet been identified, a Pretoria police spokesman said this morning.

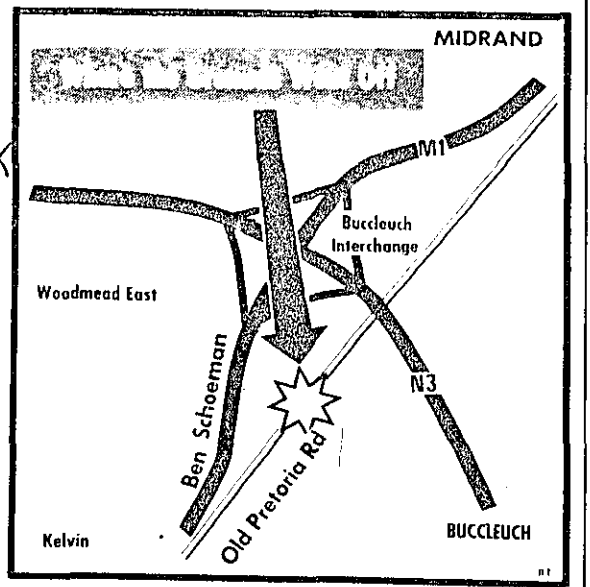
The drama began shortly after 5 pm when police manning the roadblock, set up on the old Pretoria Road near the Buccleuch turnoff as part of on-going police operations, saw a car approaching from Johannesburg.

When the occupants' car noticed the roadblock, one of them got out and the vehicle drove on.

The police commander, Lieutenant G Chapman, became suspicious. He and Constable F Mellet moved towards the car. As they approached, the vehicle drove off towards the roadblock.

They approached the man and tried to search him. He became aggressive and fought with them. The man backed off, and threw a grenade at Constable Mellet, who dived to the ground, said a police spokesman.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe said the vehicle was stopped and searched but allowed to drive through.



THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation yesterday announced services to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Steve Biko's death in detention. Services start on Saturday and end on September 13.

Biko, former president of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), died on September 12, 1977.

Azapo's publicity

Azapo remembers Biko

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said at a Press conference in Johannesburg that rallies, seminars and cultural activities would be held throughout the country.

Mr Myeza also announced the organisation had spent a total of R68 000 on the Biko anniversary week.

The following rallies will be held next Saturday: Ginsberg, King William's Town; Nonswakazi Methodist, Gugulethu; Sisonke

Community Hall, Port Elizabeth; YMCA, Durban; Regina Mundi, Soweto; Galeshewe Social Centre, Kimberley; and Laudium Hotel, Pretoria.

Other rallies planned for next Sunday are at Pondile Hall, Dennilton and Phodisa Ditshaba,

Seshego. In Cape Town, a rally will be held at the Macassar Civic Centre next Thursday.

Seminars

Seminars will be held at the following venues: Mbekweni Hall in Paarl on Saturday; Inchanga in Durban on Saturday;

Alabama Hotel in Port Elizabeth on Monday; Galeshewe Arena in Kimberley on Tuesday; Jubilee Hall in Port Elizabeth on Wednesday; Korsten in Port Elizabeth next Friday; and Alco Hall in Alco, Northern Cape next Friday.

Cultural activities venues are as follows: Alco Hall in Alco on Saturday; Methodist Church in Gugulethu on Sunday; Laudium Hotel in Pretoria on Sunday; University of QwaQwa on Sunday; Matroosfontein in Cape Town on Wednesday; Denz, Southern Transvaal next Friday; and DOCC Hall, Orlando East, Soweto next Sunday.

Ma Sisulu's sentence is set aside

By SOL MORATHI

THE conviction and sentence of United Democratic Front president Albertina Sisulu was this week set aside in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Sisulu, also president of the Federation of Transvaal Women, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment - two of which were suspended - by Magistrate TJ le Grange in Krugersdorp in February for furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Sisulu's defence counsel, George Bizos SC, told the court that Le Grange's findings in convicting Sisulu were unwarranted, unpermissible and unsupportable.

He added that the sentence was unduly severe and disturbingly inappropriate.

He then asked the court to overlook the magistrate's findings, saying that he had over-emphasised the effect of Sisulu's acts and under-emphasised her personal circumstances.

Judge Eloff and Deputy Judge President of the Transvaal Schabbert found that the speech Sisulu had delivered at the



Albertina Sisulu

funeral of former ANC member Rose Mbele on January 16, 1982, did not support or praise the outlawed ANC.

And, furthermore, acts of conspiracy Sisulu had allegedly shown were also not proved.

Sisulu and her co-accused, Thami Mali, were sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Both of them were released on R3 000 bail pending the outcome of their appeal.

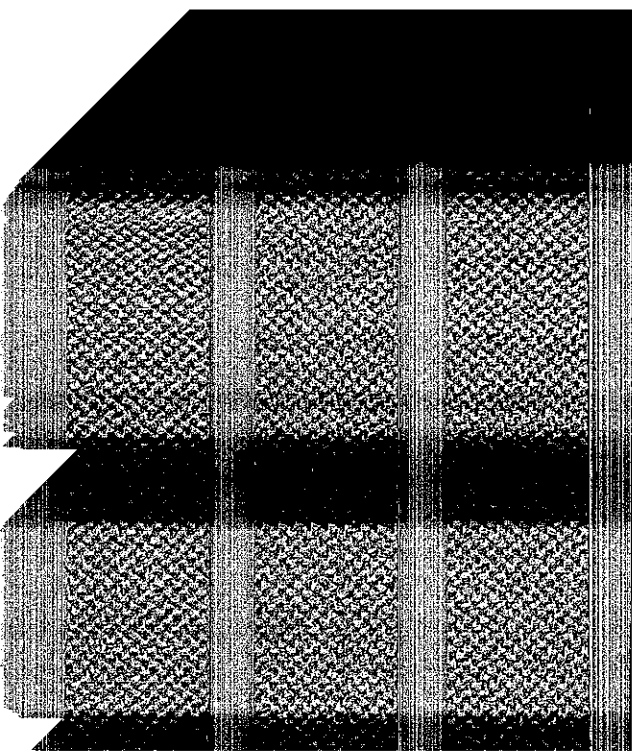
Mali since left the country and the court ruled that he must be regarded as a fugitive from justice whose appeal could not be considered.



Tribute to SRC member

Classmates of Langa High School pupil and SRC member Kenneth Mfeketo – killed in a road accident two weeks ago – were among some 5 000 mourners to pay tribute to the student leader in Cape Town at the weekend.

His mother, Nomalndia Mfeketo (below centre) was released from detention two days after his death. Nomalndia, an executive member of the Federation of SA Women, had spent eight months in prison as an emergency detainee.

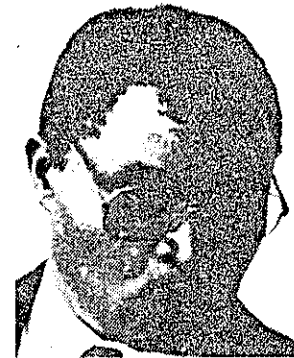


NACTU TALKS WITH PAC

Delegation back from Tanzania

By THEMBA MOLEFE

A FIVE-man delegation of the National Council of Trade Unions led by its president, Mr James Mndaweni, has returned from a three-day visit to Tanzania where discussions were held with the country's worker organisation, Juwata and the exiled Pan Africanist Congress.



MR JOHNSON Mlambo of the PAC.

In a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday, Nactu said the delegation briefed Juwata on the current situation in South Africa, the role of the federation and the importance of the workers' struggle.

The statement released by Nactu's general secretary, Mr Piroshaw Camay, who was in the delegation, said the group held formal discussions with senior officials of the PAC who were led by chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo.

The meeting also noted with concern the continued detention of many trade union leaders and activists within Nactu and other trade union groups, said Mr Camay.

Mr Camay said the Nactu delegation explained its policies which were adopted at its inaugural conference on October 4 and 5 last year.

Mr Camay said the Nactu delegation confirmed its objective of pursuing dialogue with all liberation organisations consistent with its principle of non-affiliation to political organisations.

This was accepted by the PAC which also encouraged dialogue "aimed at uniting all Azanian workers", Mr Camay said.

CAW's Times 5/9/87

Bonteheuwel 'radicals' blasted

By BARRY STRECK
Political Staff

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — A Labour Party MP, Mr Patrick McKenzie, said the ANC was trying to make Bonteheuwel ungovernable, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said radicals were trying to make the area unmanageable.

Mr McKenzie, the MP for Bonteheuwel, said it was "a known fact that the ANC is trying to make Bonteheuwel highly politicized".

Speaking during the law and order vote in the House, Mr McKenzie said the words used by Mrs Winnie Mandela when she urged the use of the necklace as a weapon in the struggle would never be forgotten.

Young people in our townships are being told that formal teaching should be frozen.

"Young people are being politically fired up."

Some pupils in Bonteheuwel were being used for the express purpose of confronting the police.

Mr McKenzie said he had the highest regard for the police, who had to maintain order in these circumstances.

Their homes had been burnt and marriages had been broken but they had been loyal to their job.

"Policemen have become targets to further alienate them from their community.

"The silent majority cannot bear it any longer.

"Young people have been smuggled into neighbouring states for military training."

It was not good to see a community such as Bonteheuwel being dragged down because of a minority of young people, Mr McKenzie said.

Replying to him, Mr Vlok said: "Bonteheuwel is an area which the radicals aim to make unmanageable."

He praised Mr McKenzie as one of the MPs who was "working hard for his constituents" and said he would visit Bonteheuwel to see what could be done.

The police were working in very difficult circumstances, "but we do not use people's courts or bush courts. We work within the system and we will continue to do so", Mr Vlok said.

Madams urged: Talk to your servant

By SYBRAND MOSTERT

HOUSEWIVES have been asked to grill their domestic servants on their attitude towards the African National Congress in a pamphlet sent to homes throughout South Africa this week.

"You, as a passive madam, could unwittingly be a fellow-traveller of the communists/Marxists/radicals," the pamphlet warns housewives who employ a maid.

The 12-page booklet — which says the ANC, the UDF and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) wish to overthrow South Africa "and make it part of the communist world" — is being distributed among business-woman and thousands of housewives.

Its aim is apparently to be used as a guide to "informing" domestic servants of the country's "situation".

Tyranny

The booklet is titled: A woman-to-woman discussion on the situation in OUR COUNTRY. It is being distributed by the Women for South Africa organisation based in Rustenburg.

It was compiled by Gabrielle Malan.

Urging woman to wake up and act immediately, it sets out how the "Madam/Miss" can make her maid understand the situation in two easy sessions by going through the question-and-answer programme provided.

The answers seek to show that the communists, the ANC "and as their fellow-travellers and assistants, the UDF and the SACC", want to turn black children against their parents and impose a Marxist tyranny in an impoverished South Africa where Christians will be executed.

In the introduction to Discussion 1, madams are urged to question their maids on conditions in the townships.

Dishonest

"Her replies will enable you to pinpoint matters on which she may be uninformed," it states ironically.

Together with short explanatory notes on the roles of the police and army in society, it then gives information on the "communists".

They are described as "dishonest white people who live across the sea" who have "decided to grab the entire world for themselves".

"This is the reason why we cannot allow the ANC to rule the country.

"Under a communist government the black people will be mere slaves without any possessions."

It concludes that black parents must act against the youthful "comrades," and "ensure that their children once again become well behaved, disciplined and obedient — otherwise they are transgressing God's Ten Commandments".

It also advocates support for township vigilante groups.

Azapo threatens 'Biko' blackout

By SIMPIWE NCWANA

AN as yet unnamed executive member of the Azapo is to meet the director of the controversial Biko film, Sir Richard Attenborough, next week in London to discuss the film and to find out as to whether it is a true reflection of the late black consciousness leader's life.

Azapo publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza said: "We would like to see if the film is about Biko because we believe the content of the film must express Biko's experiences and what he fought for.

"Attenborough claims to have discussed the film with people who were close associates of Biko, and yet none of Biko's associates has ever had discussions with him."

"Some anti-apartheid



Steve Biko

movements have made Biko a charismatic leader, separate from the black consciousness ideology, and yet Biko cannot be divorced from black consciousness.

"If the film becomes a

success, obviously it will make a lot of money and contributions should be made to Azapo. These are some of the issues that the meeting must look at," he said.

He added that Azapo was hoping that some concessions and agreements would be reached, and if not, would take further action.

When asked what further action Azapo would take Myeza said the extreme action would be to "move the film out of the screens internationally".

The film, *Biko*, is based on the book, *Cry Freedom*, whose author is Donald Woods, and who, according to Myeza, "happened to be in King William's Town when Steve Biko was confined there".

On November 26 the film will have its world premier in London.

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Three held after Biko grave visit

Staff Reporter

THREE members of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), including the national organizer, Mr Stanley Sigotyana, were questioned by police in King William's Town last week after visiting the grave of Steve Biko.

The police confirmed that "Mr Sigotyana and two other men" were held and questioned.

Top figures to attend funeral for 'MaGretta'

By SELLO SERIPE

SCORES of mourners, including leading political figures, are expected at the funeral of former ANC member, Gretta Ncaphayi, in Soweto on Sunday.

The 75 year old mother, "MaGretta" Ncaphayi, probably one of South Africa's oldest political activists, died last week at the Baragwanath Hospital after a long illness.

She had been suffering from hypertension and diabetes, and had been in a coma at the hospital for more than two weeks.

Well-known in township political circles as "Comrade MaGretta", Ncaphayi was a leading member of the Release Mandela Campaign, and a member of the Federation of Transvaal Women.

Nonceba Manana, a relative, said her aunt had collapsed in her bedroom after breakfast and was taken to hospital.



Gretta Ncaphayi

MaGretta was one of the 20 000 women who took part in the big anti-pass march to the Union Buildings in 1957.

Among those who marched with her were Helen Joseph and the late Lilian Ngoyi.

Between 1950 and 1960 she was restricted by the government, and could not take part in politics.

This was after she was arrested for taking part in the ANC Defiance Campaign.

In 1985 she and other Fedtraw members successfully sued the then Minister of Justice, Louis le Grange, for wrongful arrest.

A service will be held at the Memorial Chapel in Dube, near Maponya's Supermarket from 9am.

The cortage to the Avalon cemetery will leave at noon.

She is survived by her three grown daughters, Mercy, Mandisa and Zanela.

C. Press



Members of the national Azapo committee signal their agreement on the arrangements for the national Biko anniversary rallies.

(11A) 4/10/87 6/9/87

By SIMPIWE NCWANA

THE Azanian People's Organisation will be holding rallies and seminars nationally and overseas to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Steve Biko's death as from tomorrow.

The commemorations are usually held nationally every year and this year, to

Biko anniversary rallies organised

mark the 10th anniversary, they will also be held overseas from September 5 to 13.

Rallies will be held in all the major centres in South Africa during this period, and include Regina Mundi in Soweto, University of Qwa-Qwa, Laudium Hotel in Pretoria and Galeshewe Arena in Kimberly.

A major rally will be held in Soweto, where the Steve Biko Foundation will be officially launched in the presence of Steve Biko's wife, Ntsiki Biko, on September 13 at the DOCC Hall.

Commemorations overseas will be held in New York, Washington DC, Toronto, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and Paris.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza said:

"The commemorations overseas are organised by people who went into exile from this country.

"There will be speakers from Azapo at all these commemorations.

"They have been organised mostly in the Western countries, where they have distorted information about Steve Biko and the

black consciousness ideology.

"Some faceless people overseas have accused Steve Biko of being a CIA agent and others have claimed that Biko belonged to some faceless organisations, and yet one cannot speak of Steve Biko without speaking of black consciousness and vice versa."

"The black consciousness ideology and Steve Biko are the two lions nurtured by black experience," said Myeza.

Four guilty of killing man

By DAN DHLAMINI

FOUR Carletonville youths who stoned police vehicles, hit a policeman on the head with a huge stone and tried to necklace him, were this week found guilty of murder with extenuating circumstances

and public violence.

However Judge W Hartzenberg said in the Potchefstroom Circuit Court that there were extenuating circumstances when Bernard Mono 24, Jacob Maotoana, 24, Andrew Tselapedi, 25, and John Phage, 20, all of Carletonville's Khutsong township, murdered Constable ZB

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(11A)

Residents meet police

CP Correspondent

A DELEGATION of six people - appointed by over 1 500 residents of the faction-torn Uitenhage townships - met high ranking police representatives and Kwanobuhle Town Council officials this week in a bid to curb the on-going violence in the townships.

The delegation was led by UDF-affiliated Uitenhage Residents' Civic Organisation executive member, Sam Haas.

Haas said the discussion at last week's meeting was on "hooliganism".

He said the delegation spoke about balaclava clad gangsters who attacked township residents and destroyed property.

The community felt they had the right to defend themselves against criminal elements and wanted to form defence units in the townships.

Haas said in the past the residents had organised themselves into defence units, but the police would often take action against the residents when they were defending themselves.

"So we wanted to inform the council and the police that the community wanted to form defence units," said Haas.

He said the response was not favourable when the words "street and area defence units," were mentioned.

"When you mention street and area committees they see red and think it's the M-plan. We'll give the defence units a different name but we'll use the same tactics as in the past," he said.

Kwanobuhle Town Clerk Eddie Coetzee confirmed that the meeting had taken place. He said he had warned the delegation that the community should "not take the law into their own hands".

Haas said it would be put to the community at a meeting at the end of the week that a responsible figure should be elected in each area.

Haas emphasised that the delegation was against street patrols as they were dangerous and "often caused trouble". - ECNA

Vigilante terror spree forces families to flee

6/9/87 c/11/87
AN AVERAGE of 10 families a day are fleeing from Kwandebele to the nearby Middelburg township of Mhluzi in fear of the pro-independence vigilante group - Mbokotho.

This is according to an investigation conducted by a delegation from the Pretoria Council of Churches.

So far about 500 squatters have been accommodated on a temporary site in the township east of Middelburg.

The number of those fleeing squatting illegally is still unknown.

According to Mhluzi town councillor, Matthews Mahlangu, the people are streaming into the area daily, and the council has tried its level best to accommodate them despite a lack of space in the township.

The churches delegation, led by Pieter Van Niekerk, also discovered that a crisis was looming as no sanitation or water facilities were available for legal squatters.

The legal squatters pay R4 monthly for a permit to stay at the camp called Crossroads.

The illegal squatters, as those who have not reported their presence at the local council are called,

stay in private yards of Mhluzi residents and pay R30 a month.

In some instances, they ended up paying more because they used their landlords' water.

Mahlangu and Van Niekerk have confirmed that Mhluzi has a housing problem as it is.

"There are not even enough houses for the local residents and we fear what will happen as soon as more families discover that there is a refugee camp here," said Van Niekerk.

Lawyers working in the area told *City Press* of the harrowing experiences faced by people who were opposed to the Mbokotho's presence and the proposed Kwandebele independence.

They say former members of the Mbokotho gang have joined the Kwandebele police force to allegedly seek revenge and help eradicate all the opponents of the homeland's proposed independence.

The group, allegedly headed by a certain Mbizwana Samson Mthimunye, begun its terror campaign about a month ago and is operating with impunity.

In recent weeks, the lawyers say, innocent people have been detained, tor-

tered, harassed and victimised by the vigilantes turned security officers, whose injustices are often perpetrated against school children.

According to the lawyers, a minimum of 10 cases are reported every day concerning malpractices by the police.

Five out of every 10 people claim to have been assaulted, harassed and urged to join the Mbokotho or the police force to help eradicate the radicals opposed to independence.

The malpractices of the Kwandebele police also came under focus last week when the Pretoria Supreme Court ordered the local police to release five people from detention.

The court found that their arrest was unlawful and without any justifiable cause.

The five people were arrested at the shop of a local businessman and former Chief Magistrate who has gone into hiding because he was threatened with death if he did not join Mbokotho.



People injured after meeting

By SELLO SERIFE

AT least 10 people were this week injured by broken window glasses during a stampede that ensued when police dispersed crowds that had attended a prayer meeting to protest the hanging of Moses Mnyanda Jantjies and Wellington Meillies at Lekton House in Johannesburg.

The two men were sen-

tenced to death in November 1986 by a Port Elizabeth Supreme Court judge for their role in the murder of KwaNobuhle councillor Tamsanqa Kinikini and five of his family members.

Among the injured were Obed Tsele, 32, John Baloysi, 62, Parament Tohlano, 61, Emmanuel Radebe, 24, Daniel Maswanogoe, 45, and Dennis Melane.

The five sustained injuries ranging from sprained

wrists, lacerations to injuries on their heads.

The other meeting, which had ended earlier, was at Khotso House.

According to a source at the Hillbrow Hospital 10 people received treatment.

Most of the injured were members of the Post and Telegraphic Workers' Association who had attended the lunchtime prayer meetings.

Trouble started when people started moving from

Khotso House after the prayer meeting, forcing crowds which had gathered at streets corners to disperse.

Most of the people who had come to attend the prayer meetings could not gain access to Lekton House because police with dogs had cordoned off De Villiers and Plein Streets, which led to the building.

Referring to the incidents, the police unrest report said a crowd of blacks swarmed

into the street after leaving a meeting and, soon afterwards, a policeman who felt threatened, sprayed teargas from an aerosol-type canister to disperse them.

"At Park Station, a large group of blacks threw stones at the police and two policemen were slightly injured.

"Police used a limited amount of tearsmoke to disperse them and arrested a black man," said the police report.

CARL TUNIS 7/9/87

Parliament stay-away could suit P W Botha

Political Staff

THE House of Delegates is planning to throw its weight behind Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse in a bid to bring an end to the Group Areas Act.

Mr Hendrickse, who resigned from the cabinet two weeks ago, has stated that the Labour Party will not support a move by State President Mr P W Botha to postpone the white election from 1989 to 1992 unless he gets a commitment that the Group Areas Act will be scrapped.

And, he told an audience in

Port Elizabeth last week, that is "the bottom line".

The tactic being suggested by Mr Ishmail Omar, chairman of the opposition Solidarity Party, and supported by the chairman of the ruling National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, could however play right into Mr Botha's hands.

Mr Omar, a member of the President's Council, has proposed that MPs in both the houses of Representatives and Delegates withdraw from Parliament during February next year.

This would prove disruptive as the Part Appropriation (mini budget) is usually pre-

sented, debated and passed at this point in the session, thus giving the government the finance it requires to tide it over till the main budget is finally passed towards the end of June.

The constitution, however, provides a very easy solution for Mr Botha if he is faced with such a tactic.

Section 37 (2) provides that if all the members of one or more houses take such action the State President can by a proclamation in the Government Gazette call on the members of a house to be present in the chamber to perform their functions on any given day.

Should they fail to do this,

Parliament will thereafter consist of only that house or those houses which are functioning.

If only the House of Assembly was in session therefore, legislation and the mini budget could be passed and would have the force of law even if the credibility of the tricameral Parliament was badly damaged.

More important, Mr Botha would be able to pass the amendment to the constitution needed to postpone the white election to 1992 and at the same time, in terms of Section 39 (3), to dissolve the other houses and send them to the polls.

AZAYO 8 DETAINED

(12/87)
(11A)

Sowetan

7/9/87

(S2)
(S1)

New workers to stay on in wake of postal strike

By SOWETAN REPORTER

IN last Friday's *Sowetan* we reported that the Department of Posts and Telecommunications had given in to a demand by the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa) that scab labour should be dismissed.

A spokesman for the Post Office has pointed out this report was incorrect. The agreement between both parties, according to a telex received from the Post Office is that "the department does not

intend dismissing new workers employed as a result of the work stoppage".

This means that all people employed after the postal workers were dismissed during the strike will retain their jobs and the dismissed workers will have to reapply for their posts.

We regret the inconvenience caused by our error.

Meanwhile, writes Mathata Tsedu, a

moment of silence for the late black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, was observed at a rally of the Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association at Seshego, near Pietersburg yesterday.

Ccawusa

The observance, by about 200 workers attending a report back meeting on the recently ended nationwide strike by Post Office workers, came at the

start of the BC Week announced by the Azanian People's Organisation earlier last week.

Less than 700 metres away a national consultative conference of Ellerines workers who are members of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa), resoundly rejected the recent controversial merger between the union and two other Cosatu affiliates.

The more than 1000 delegates from the Northern Transvaal, Eastern Cape, Johannesburg and Pretoria regions resolved that the merger, which has been accepted by Cosatu, was undemocratic.

EIGHT members of the Azanian Youth Organisation were detained by police on Thursday. 7/9/87.

And on Friday national executive members of Azapo, Nkosi Molala (president) and George Wauchope (general secretary) were detained and later released. According to Mr Molala he was questioned on the Biko week that starts today.

Five of the Azayo members are from Mamelodi in Pretoria, while the remaining three are from Orlando West, Soweto.

Escalated

Police said the eight are not held under security legislation.

The five from Mamelodi are Mr Eric Sibiyi, Mr Rocky Sibanyoni, Mr Joseph Phatswane, Mr Mandla Magudulela and Mr Mandla Lekalakala. The rest are Mr Veli Moses Lale (21), Mr Sipiwe Khuno and Mr Abednigo Radebe.

A statement from Azayo said the detention

SOWETAN Reporter

of its members since its launching has escalated.

"This is aimed at destroying the organisation for it is the only relevant youth organisation that situates black youth in a proper perspective," the statement read.

"It is also aimed at destabilising our preparations to observe the 10th anniversary of the death of our gallant comrade Steve Biko, who was killed while he was in detention in 1977."

Standing enhanced

THE leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, and the French prime minister, Mr Jaques Chirac, have emerged as the two men whose international statures have gained most

PRACTICAL COURSES IN

- PREPARATION FOR TRADE TEST Welding • Bricklaying
- Carpentry • Plumbing • Electrician • Motor Mechanic • Auto Electrician
- DRIVING LICENCE BRICKLAYING PERMING
- MOTOR MECHANIC PLASTERING BRAIDING
- PANELBEATING CARPENTRY TYPING

HISTORIC MASS SWOP OF PRISONERS

HOPE FOR MANDATELA

1/11/87
6/8/87
S. M. M.

THE return to freedom today, of South Africa's recce commando Major Wynand du Toit could have long-term implications for the release of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

President Botha last year said if Russian dissidents Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Scharansky and Major du Toit could be released on humanitarian grounds, he would be prepared to consider the release of Mr Mandela on similar grounds.

The Russians have since been released and Major du Toit goes free today.

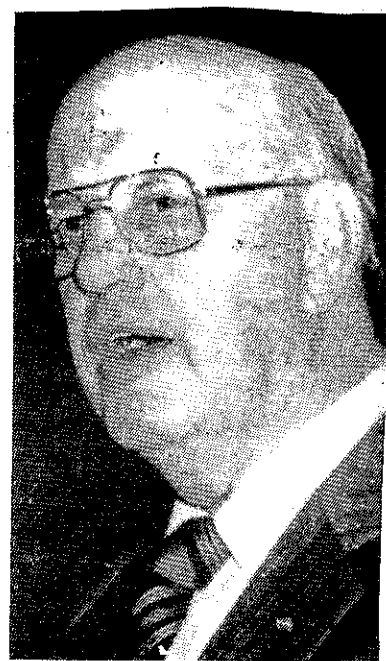
Agreement

South African sources pointed out last night that Major du Toit had now been released in terms of another agreement which did not involve the Mandela case.

However, the very fact that Major du Toit was now no longer sitting in an Angolan jail removed another hurdle in the way of releasing Mr Mandela.

Mr Botha, having linked the cases, would have found it difficult to sell Mr Mandela's release to the white electorate while Major du Toit was in jail.

Mr Mandela's eventual release now depends entirely on the new



PRESIDENT Botha ... "negotiation".

guidelines stipulated by Mr Botha in Parliament a few months ago.

These include that such a release is deemed to be in the national interest and that it follows the normal statutory process based on criteria applicable to all prisoners who have served lengthy terms.

Southern Africa's historic mass swop of prisoners takes place at Maputo Airport today, setting free 136 people and resolving a number

of diplomatic impasses.

The exchange of prisoners this afternoon involves six governments, the International Red Cross and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita resistance movement.

South Africa gets from Angola Major Wynand du Toit and the remains of at least two other SA Defence Force troops.


Recognition

Angola gets from Unita 133 Angolan citizens captured by the rebel movement, the remains of one Angolan citizen, plus the promise of the return of another seven prisoners within 10 days. Unita will also supply information on the whereabouts of a number of Cubans and Angolans believed to have been captured.

France gets from Ciskei Mr Pierre Andre Albertini, jailed for four years after reneging on a deal to turn State witness in a local treason trial.

South Africa gets from France the official recognition of its new ambassador to Paris, Mr Hennie Geldenhuis, whose credentials President Francois Mitterrand has refused to accept while Mr Albertini is in jail.

The Netherlands gets from South Africa the release of Mr Klaas de Jonge, who has been holed up in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria for two years, seeking refuge from the SA police who want him on treason charges.

11A  2/9/87 8/day

AN APOCRYPHAL story doing the rounds in Johannesburg quotes Communist Party leader Joe Slovo as saying the revolution will come in five years, but adding ruefully: "That's what I said in 1948."

The story neatly makes the paradoxical point that Marxist analysis of the South African situation, used to sustain a prediction of revolution, has dominated political thinking for half a century despite being spectacularly wrong. The danger is not revolution, but counter-revolution.

The National Party's abandonment of law has under President Botha turned into a rout. It began when John Vorster, former member of the fascist OB, insisted that his police could meet the threat of revolution (then confidently predicted by the left for 1964, and by me-too liberals like Colin Legum for 1966) only if they could imprison people without trial.

His 90-day detention turned into 180-day detention, and eventually into indefinite detention which has now displaced Chevrolet, if not sunny skies, as a feature of the South African way of life. Internationally, we now compare with pre-revolutionary France and post-revolutionary Russia, and the thinking of Eastern Europe — Czarist and Leninist — is displacing Mill and Jefferson from our politics.

So far, the Czar is winning hands down. Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha has created a directorate of thought control, more elegant than the robust censorship of unpopular speakers which is practiced on the campuses, but also more threatening.

Hannah Arendt, the most profound student of totalitarian behaviour, has observed that the momentum of totalitarianism carries

Waiting for the revolution that never turns up

KEN OWEN

along with it only the hot-blooded mob and the elite; to carry the bourgeoisie requires propaganda. That is why both totalitarian schools insist so vehemently on correct speech, not free speech.

So long as the issue is one of brute force, of course, it is the National Party that holds all the cards. Indeed, a better analogy than Eastern Europe might be Franco's Spain, where revolution simply invoked counter-revolution and where liberation by the gentler methods of reform had to wait another four decades.

In South Africa, the left, unable to do the National Party much damage (except by driving its members into the Conservative Party, which hardly improves the situation) has concentrated its main fire on the liberal alternative. Its first enemy is not apartheid — though that is the pretext — but free enterprise capitalism, including the liberal-spirited corporations and what it calls the "commercial" Press.

The conflict is not new. It dates

back, to my personal knowledge, to the disputes between liberals and Marxists in the Fifties and Sixties, though it has seldom been brought into the open for fear of dividing the opposition to apartheid.

Something of the atmosphere of those early days was captured in an article by Colin Lang, a former Liberal Party candidate, which was published in this space last week. Lang, one of the people swept into jail in the wave of post-Sharpeville arrests, discovered during his detention that the Congress movement had been hijacked by what he calls a "violent junta under Marxist inspiration". That junta is still in command.

In the early Seventies Marxist began to emerge from the shadows — just about the time, ironically, when the rapid economic development sparked by the Second World War was generating the great social changes that were to destroy the Verwoerdian theory of apart-

heid, even in the minds of Verwoerd's followers. The more capitalist growth succeeded in generating liberating changes, the more fiercely it was attacked from the left. The changes wrought by capitalism were "proven" by an outpouring of Marxist theory to be impossible.

It is a great irony, one deserving of a Ph.D. for any enterprising liberal student who can thread his way past the faculty, that the Seventies brought about simultaneously a quantum jump in the fortunes of black people, a breathtaking advance in reformist thinking within the Broederbond and the National Party and the virtual elimination from English intellectual life of liberal thinking — to the extent that an American observer, Craig Charney, could write last year that liberalism on the campuses was "as dead as a dodo".

The Seventies and early Eighties brought ample evidence to support the thesis of Michael O'Dowd, an executive of Anglo American, that economic growth was the best en-

gine of progressive change; but those decades also produced a systematic theoretical attack on O'Dowd's thesis from the left.

The results are well known. Incremental change has been discredited, partial gains are mocked, liberal values are brushed aside by students who say "We don't care about principles or fair play, we want freedom".

Opposition to apartheid has concentrated increasingly on eliminating the middle ground, on anathematising dissidents as "collaborators" and on confrontational tactics: political and economic boycotts, the campaign to make the country "ungovernable," the glamourisation of the ANC's violent leadership and of "the comrades," rationalisation of necklacing and such random brutality as making aged shoppers drink detergent.

We are now infinitely worse off. The methods of the left have crippled business confidence, spurred disinvestment and the flight of capital and broken the capitalist engine of change. Not only has political advance been halted, pending the revolution that never comes, but violent opposition has evoked more violent counter-revolutionary response.

The cause of liberation has been set back by a generation. The Marxist theoreticians are taking cover (it's becoming hard to find a Leninist who will admit to being a Marxist), and soon it will be left to the liberals to begin, once again, the wearisome and painstaking business of widening, bit by bit, the area of liberty in which democratic opposition to totalitarianism may operate.

We shall be lucky if we achieve democracy faster than Spain.

noon only at 208-2122

~~CHE-15~~ 8/9/87

Esau to ask to attend funeral

Staff Reporter **11A**

ATTORNEYS for convicted ANC terrorism trialist Cecil Esau are to seek permission for him to attend his father's funeral on Sunday.

Mr Jacob Johannes Esau, 68, died at his Worcester home last weekend after a long illness.

His funeral will take place in Worcester. The cortege will leave the family house for the Methodist Church at 1.30pm and then go to the Methodist cemetery.

Esau, 34, a law student at UWC, was sentenced in the Supreme Court on August 12 this year to 12 years.

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Man is held after burial

A LEADING member of the Release Mandela Committee was arrested at Avalon Cemetery yesterday during the heavily restricted funeral of Mrs Greta Ncapayi (75), former member of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), who died at her home last week.

Mr Seth Mazibuko was taken away after the completion of graveside rituals.

Mr Mazibuko is believed to have been detained under emergency regulations. The Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria had not yet responded to a telex message inquiring about Mr Mazibuko's arrest at the time of going to press.

Service

A strong contingent of security forces, including members of the South African Defence Force and kitskonstables, was in evidence throughout the funeral service.

It was a quiet and peaceful funeral.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front (UDF), led pall bearers at the funeral which was attended mostly by members of the Federation of Transvaal Women, of which she is president.

Messages of condolence were read from the ANC leadership.

March

Mrs Ncapayi was one of the people who led a march of women to Pretoria in protest against the pass laws in 1956. She also witnessed the birth of the Release Mandela Committee a few years ago. The RMC was founded at her Dube house.



MRS ALBERTINA Sisulu (right) was among the pall bearers at the funeral of Mrs Greta Ncapayi yesterday.

Azanyu elects office

11A
8/9/87
Soweto

THE Azanian National Youth Unity elected new office bearers for its Soweto branch on Saturday.

All Soweto units of the organisation were represented at a meeting held at St Matthews Presbyterian Church in Dobsonville.

Executive

Those elected into office are: Mr Mayoyo Molifi (chairman), vice-chairman Mr Philemon Mathebula, secretary Mr Ben Singitwa, treasurer Mr Lawrence Nqandela and organiser is Mr Dan Masilo.

Two additional executive members are Mr Lekgotla Kenya and Mr Siphon Ngcobo.

11A



De Jonge admits arms smuggling

AMSTERDAM — Dutch anthropologist Klaas de Jonge, who was released from South Africa in the Maputo prisoner swap, admitted yesterday that he had smuggled weapons and explosives into South Africa.

Speaking at an improvised news conference immediately after his arrival at Schiphol Airport, De Jonge said: "Yes, I have smuggled weapons and explosives — but how and what is a story I will tell later."

De Jonge, looking happy and

relaxed as he entered the packed airport terminal, said his sympathies for the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) had grown during his two-year forced stay in a Dutch Embassy office in Pretoria.

He dismissed the possibility that he may be liable for prosecution under Dutch law for offences he might have committed in South Africa.

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek told parliament earlier yesterday that the Nether-

lands would investigate such a possibility.

"Rubbish. Would they really imprison me here when they failed to get me in South Africa?" De Jonge said.

He added that he was grateful to the Dutch government for securing his freedom.

"I have often accused Van den Broek of lying, that no negotiations were going on," he said. "But here I am. I was wrong." — Sapa-Reuter.



Klaas de Jonge talks to the press in Amsterdam yesterday.

'Angola ploy for release of Mandela'

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Angola held back the bodies of three South African soldiers during the Maputo prisoner swap "to keep the pressure on President Botha to release Nelson Mandela", Portuguese television said last night.

The report by the State television service said the Angolan news agency, Angop, had intimated that the bodies would be handed back to the South African authorities "in due course".

There has been speculation that the two-hour delay in effecting the exchange had been caused by South African anger at the failure to release the bodies.

The Portuguese television report said President Botha had promised earlier this year to release Mandela if Major du Toit was sent home and Soviet dissidents Anatoly Scharansky and Andrei Sakharov were freed.

All these conditions had been fulfilled.

Prisoner swop thaws SA's relations with neighbours

By Gerald L'Ange Editor of The Star's Africa News Service

The prisoner exchange at Maputo airport on Monday was considered by expert observers to have done much to defrost the icy relations between South Africa and other southern African countries.

Not only has it improved the political climate in the region but is believed to have opened new inter-government relationships and to have created a communications structure that could be used for further negotiations or discussions.

The exchange is seen to have restored some respectability to the tattered Nkomati accord. It has removed one of the obstacles to the resumption of negotiations on Namibian independence and the related issue of the removal of Cuban troops from Angola — and possibly also the question of negotiations between the MPLA government in Luanda and Unita rebels.

Some analysts believe the exercise could lead to new South African initiatives in the region on a bilateral basis and exclude the Western powers who have involved themselves in recent years to try and resolve regional political problems.

It is recognised, however, that the prisoner exchange has no direct bearing on the two main issues bedevilling relations between South Africa and its neighbours — continued African National Congress insurgency from bordering and nearby countries and alleged South African destabilisation of these countries.

It appears, at present, to be a hope more than a possibility that the Maputo exchange could lead to new regional initiatives to resolve these problems but at least that possibility is now stronger than it was before.

The choice of Maputo as a venue for the exchange follows recent South African efforts to improve relations with Mozambique and get the Nkomati accord back on track. The Frelimo government's agreement to host the exchange suggests a positive response to these efforts.

Major du Toit has, for the Angolans, served as living evidence of their claims of South African destabilisation going beyond anti-Swapo operations. Angola's decision to release him indicates a desire on its part to direct relations with South Africa into more constructive channels.

Their acceptance in exchange of Angolan prisoners held by Unita does not necessarily change their official dismissal of the movement as a bandit group but it could bring the two sides closer to negotiation should Luanda so desire.

Major du Toit's release took place against a background of international efforts to resume the stalled negotiations on a Cuban troop withdrawal and on independence for Namibia. The negotiations had been broken off when the South African soldier was captured in Cabinda, Angola's northern-most point.

At that time the South African troops had been withdrawn from Angola in terms of the Lusaka agreement of 1984 and the reciprocal withdrawal of the Cuban troops was being negotiated.

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Crossroads residents tell of attacks

Supreme Court Reporter

RESIDENTS of the Nontsumpa Bush area of Crossroads say they live in fear of their homes being burnt down by a group of men, including the mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Nxobongwana.

This was evidence in affidavits before the Supreme Court yesterday when three members of the Nontsumpa Bush community were granted interim relief from further attacks on them or their houses.

Mr Nxobongwana, Mr Eric Ndzunga, Mr Willie Soga and Mr Alfred Gele have until September 30 to show why the order restraining them from assaulting, attempting to assault or intimidating Nontsumpa Bush residents and from destroying or damaging their houses should not be made final.

TEMPORARY ORDER

The temporary order was granted by agreement.

Mr Amos Funani, a barman at a Woodstock hotel, said in an affidavit that he was on a 14-member Crossroads town committee elected in April.

"Mr Nxobongwana was elected chairman and Mr Ndzunga, Mr Soga, Mr Gele and Mr Charles Lele and I were all on the committee."

Mr Funani said that on June 24 several shacks belonging to members of the Nontsumpa Bush community were burnt down and that an attempt by Mr Ndzunga, Mr Soga and Mr Gele to damage others was thwarted by policemen.

POLICE INTERVENTION

"On July 11 a further attempt was made to burn our homes and was again prevented by the intervention of the police," he said.

Mr Funani said that he and Mr Lele were ordered out of a meeting of the town committee on July 9.

"Mr Ndzunga and Mr Gele moved that we should be ejected because we had obstructed the committee's work by calling the police when they had wanted to demolish the shacks on June 24," Mr Funani said.

He said he had tried several times to set up a meeting with Mr Nxobongwana, but had been unsuccessful.

"My family and I live in great fear because I have heard from large numbers of people that it appears that the respondents have decided that the whole of Nontsumpa Bush should be cleared of shacks."

Azapo chief in court

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation general secretary, Mr George Wauchope, has appeared in the Soweto Magistrate's Court on a charge of culpable homicide.

He was in court on Monday and had his case postponed to Friday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. He is in custody.

Mr Wauchope was arrested last Friday, together with Azapo president, Mr Nkosi Molala, during a raid at Azapo offices in Johannesburg. Mr Molala was later released after he was questioned on the current Biko anniversary week.

Detained

Meanwhile, two officials of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) were detained by members of the security police in Ginsberg, near King William's Town, last Thursday and later released.

They are Mr Stanley Sigotyana, national organiser and Mr Xolisile Mnyaka, former vice-president.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria, yesterday confirmed that the two were questioned by the police on September 3 and released.

Attack

According to Mr Raschin Naidoo, Azasm publicity secretary, Mr Sigotyana and Mr Mnyaka were held for about eight hours. During that time, they were questioned about activities pertaining to the Black Consciousness week.

He said before the two were escorted out of Ginsberg, they were warned about planned service on Saturday and the visit to Steve Biko's grave.



MOLALA . . . detained, then released.

"Azasm views the latest attack on the movement with contempt. We wish to state in no uncertain terms that the State machinery will not succeed to blot out the name of Steve Biko and the living ideology of Black Consciousness from the minds of the oppressed people of Azania," he said.

Mystery of man in blue

A MYSTERY white man in a blue suit went into Community House, Salt River on Friday night, a few hours before it was bombed.

It is not known what the man went to do there or when he left, according to Tom Moses, the caretaker.

Moses said in a statement to his lawyer: "At about 6 pm, the security guard on duty handed me the keys to the front gate.

Nothing amiss

"All the occupants of the centre had left other than persons from Cosatu and the Woodstock Advice Office.

"At about 6.15 pm the replacement guard arrived and I handed him the keys. At the same time a worker from SARHWU left with his car.

"At about 6.30 pm I saw Mrs Florence de Villiers arrive and I escorted her

to her office. Immediately on my return I noticed a well built white man in a blue suit arrive. I got the impression that he came to the Cosatu meeting.

"At about 7.30 pm and 9 pm I made my rounds. Nothing was amiss.

"At about 10 pm, I saw the people who were at the Cosatu meeting leave. I did not, however, see the white man in the blue suit leave although at the time this did not strike me.

"Immediately hereafter, I made another round, locked the back gates, and checked the Cosatu quarters.

"At about 2.30 am I heard a motor vehicle backfire and this woke me. I then decided to make a final round. On my return to the quarters I saw two vehicles move towards the top main

road. One of the vehicles was parked in the road in front of my quarters and the other about 30 to 40 metres behind.

"I noticed that the vehicle at the back drove with its lights off. I then switched off my lights and was about to get into bed when I heard a loud bang. I heard the sound of breaking glass and the alarms went on.

Metro Unit

"Realising that something had happened, the security guard was at my door and we were about to investigate when we saw the Metro Ambulance Unit arrive. I asked the security guard if he had telephoned the ambulance and he said no.

"One of the persons from the Metro van asked if this was Community House and if this was the place where the bomb exploded.

"I informed him that I was not sure but that I was about to investigate. He then told me that I must not go near the building and the security guard and I must get out.

"I told him I was the caretaker but he did not listen and told me in very strong language to leave. He practically escorted the security guard and me out of the yard and onto the pavement.

"While I was standing at the pavement I noticed a number of police vans arriving. A few minutes later I was called to the phone at the cafe. As I was walking across the road I saw a stoutish white person in plain clothes crossing the road towards Community House. He was coming from the direction of the post office and I noticed a bluish car parked in that direction.

Sniffer dogs

"After I returned from the telephone call I noticed the last mentioned person standing at the gate. I approached him and informed him that I required to get some warm clothing. He told me that if I wanted to 'chance it' I could go. I went to my room, got a warm top and returned to the pavement.

"I was later asked by the same person who stood at the gate for a copy of the plans to the building as they wanted to switch off the water. I went back to my room and fetched the plans which I handed to the police.

"I was later joined by Father Pierre van Heerden and Gordon Young who is director of Community House. We were then allowed to go into the building as far as the hall to see the damage and then asked to leave again.

"I later discovered on escorting one Captain Oosthuizen around the building that security wires at the back of the building had been cut."



Inspecting the damage at the UDF office

Arsonists hit UDF offices

ARSONISTS have struck at the East London offices of both the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU).

The fire at the SAAWU office occurred at about 1 am on Monday.

According to the owner of the building, Mr John Solomon, a burglar alarm company called him at 1 am to tell him about the fire.

Police and the fire brigade were present when he arrived at the fire.

"It took more than an hour to extinguish the blaze," he said, adding that his clothes shop was damaged by

water from the hoses.

SAAWU'S branch treasurer Sebenzile Mdyogolo said they discovered the damage at 8 am on Monday. The fire destroyed the ceiling, four chairs, posters on the wall and burnt a hole in the floor.

The damage is estimated at more than R1 000.

The union did not plan to report the incident to the police.

There have been repeated incidents of arson at trade union offices and community organisation offices in East London. The last was before the May 6 election. - Elnews

11A

Biko - ghost they ca

ACCOUNTANT Peter Jones was the last man to see Steve Biko alive. This is his account of the fateful period after his arrest with Biko at a roadblock near Grahamstown on August 18 1977. Jones, presently head of the sports division of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), was held for 533 days, then banned for five years on his release.

25 fateful days

I HEARD of his death 24 days later.

I was kept at Algoa Park police station while Biko was transferred to Walmer. On Wednesday, October 3 about 400 people were brought in after demonstrations in Port Elizabeth's townships.

One of the detainees asked me whether I knew about a "funeral attended by thousands of people". He also talked about international outcry over the incident.

I was puzzled. But I soon realised the truth after we had exchanged some words. I was shattered. I could not believe this had happened to Steve.

I first met Biko at a

conference of the South African Students Organisation (Saso) in Durban in 1968. I was struck by Biko's humility. Biko insisted on being regarded as an ordinary person.

He was a tireless activist who was always concerned about the well-being of others.

Steve never took a decision on his own. He believed in collective leadership.

To understand his life you need to understand the socio-political environment in which he grew up.

I worked with him closely after I moved to his home town in King William's Town in 1971. I

became active at the Zanempilo Trust health community project.

At that stage many activists of the Black Community Programme and the Black People's Convention were banned. I then became a chief administrator and a national consultant of the black consciousness movement projects.

In October 1976 Biko was detained for 101 days and I was held for 22 weeks. We were released without being charged.

On August 18 1977 we were arrested at a roadblock near Grahamstown.

Roadblock

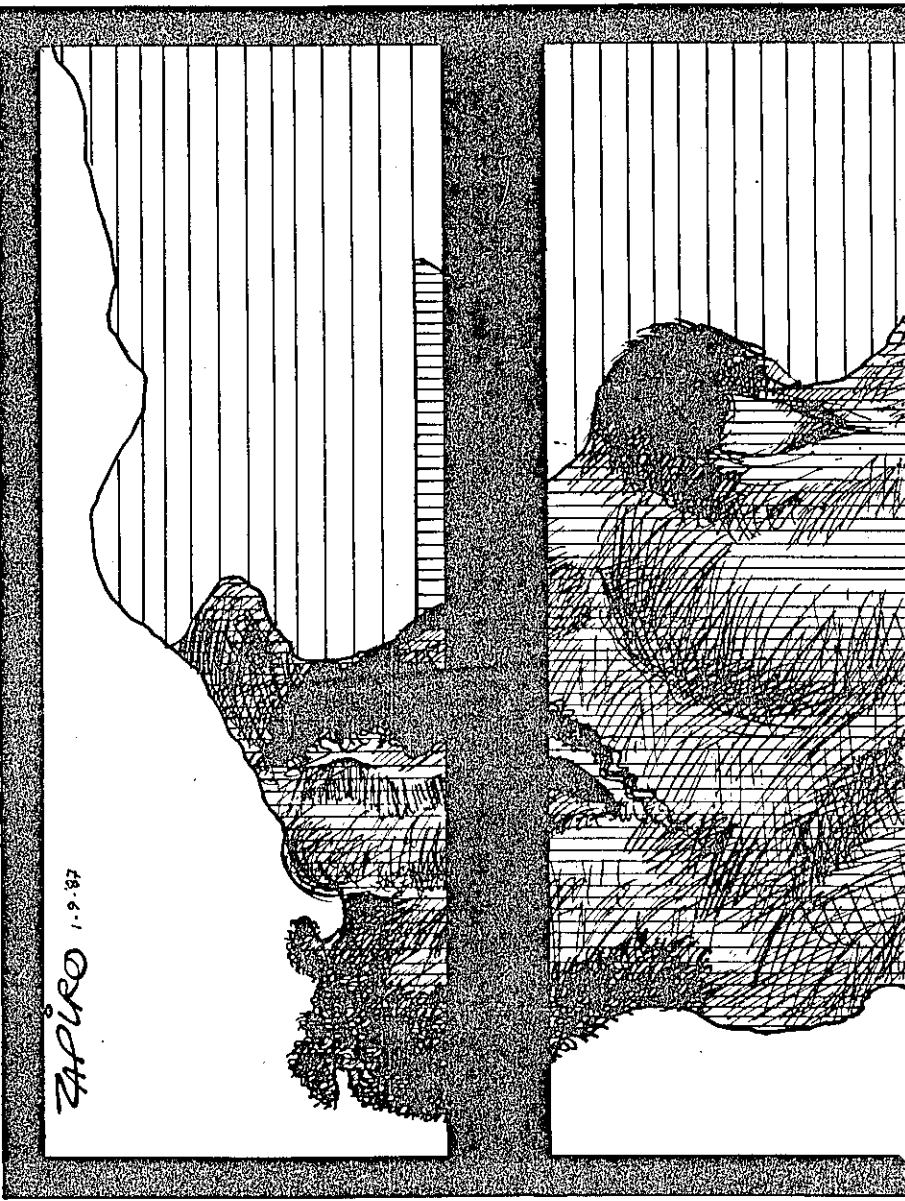
It was on a Thursday at 10.30pm when we stopped at the roadblock, after returning from a meeting in Cape Town.

They asked me to open the boot. I did not know which key to use as the car did not belong to me. Immediately they told me to drive to the police station. They dismantled the roadblock afterwards.

We spent the night at Grahamstown police station before being transferred to security headquarters in Port Elizabeth.

I last saw Biko on the morning of August 19, before I was transferred to Algoa Park police station.

I was released on February 13 1979 after 533 days in detention.



Peter Jones

Father of black consciousness

By VUYO BAVUMA

STEVE BIKO, father of black consciousness, died 10 years ago this year.

His death — the 46th in detention — stunned the world, except perhaps those whose insensitivity blinded them to its significance.

For it united opposition to the Nationalist regime at new levels of hostility and outrage.

Biko died in Pretoria Prison Hospital on September 12 1977 — 25 days after his arrest at a police roadblock outside Grahamstown.

His treatment in detention, his death and the circumstances surrounding it drew widespread condemnation.

Transported naked

He died after being transported naked from Port Elizabeth in a police Land Rover. He was kept naked to reduce the chances of his attempting to escape.

When Biko arrived at Pretoria after a 700km journey, a Sergeant Pretorius, a medical orderly at the prison hospital, said Biko looked seriously ill and he feared for his life.

He said the security police told him that Biko studied medicine for four years, that he practised yoga and that he could dupe people about his condition.

According to Lieutenant Winston Wilken, one of Biko's interrogators who accompanied him on the journey, Biko was normal on arrival at Pretoria. Biko refused food and water and did not relieve himself during the entire 14-hour journey.

On September 13, the Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, announced that Biko had refused his meals since September 5 and "threatened to go on a hunger strike".

On September 14 Kruger told a Nationalist Party congress: "I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. It (his death) leaves me cold."

Little did Kruger realise the universal horror that would greet his callous remark. To this day the Nationalist regime is paying for the shame of Biko's death and for Kruger's equally shameful remark.

An inquest found he had extensive brain damage, which led to renal failure, but that no one could be held responsible for his death.

Biko, a father of two boys, was born in King William's Town on December 18 1946. He was one of five children of a poor family. His father died when Biko was four.

Biko started school at Brownlee Lower Primary, followed by Forbes Grant High in Ginsberg.

Later Biko enrolled at Lovedale Institute in Alice, but was expelled after it was closed down because of student protest actions.

Biko went to study at St Francis Roman Catholic College, Mariannhill, in Natal, where he matriculated in 1965.

In 1966 he registered with the University of Natal (black section) for a medical degree. He became active in the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

Expelled

In 1968 Biko led a breakaway from Nusas because it could not meet the "aspirations of its black members". In 1969 he and several student leaders formed the now-banned South Africa Students Organisation (Saso) at the University of the North near Pietersburg.

Biko was elected Saso's first president. In 1970 Biko married Nontsikelelo Mashalaba from Umtata.

Two years later he was expelled from university because of his political activities. He next set up the

Black Community Programme, a project involving self-reliance in the community.

At that time he also helped form the Black Convention (BPC), an umbrella body of consciousness movement.

In March 1973 he was banned and restricted to King William's Town home.

Despite the restrictions he founded the East branch of BPC. But towards the end of 1976 involvement in the BPC was curtailed when the order was amended.

In the same year Biko formed Zimele Trust, a welfare organisation which helped families of prisoners.

Biko's first brush with detention without trial was in August 1976 when he was held under the Terrorism Act for 101 days.

In January 1977 he was appointed honorary member of BPC.

On August 18 Biko and his colleague, Peiso, were detained at a roadblock near Grahamstown. He was held under Section 6 of Terrorism Act.

On September 12 1977 Biko became the 47th to die in detention.

can't bury

'Don't distort the legacy'

By SAHM VENTER

STEVE Biko left behind an inexhaustible legacy for all South Africans but one should beware of distorting it. This was said by Reverend Mazwi Tisani, of St John's Anglican Church in Athlone, who grew up with Biko. He warned that to view BC as a political party or an ideology would lead to separatism.

"It is a doctrinal statement on what it is to be human. By taking pride in being black is not saying that blackness is virtue and whiteness is a vice."

Tisani and Biko grew up in the Eastern Cape, were of the same generation, moved in the same circles, worshipped in the same church and went to the same schools.

After matric they parted. Biko went to Natal to study medicine and Tisani went to the ecumenical Federal Theological Seminary at Alice.

It was in those years that Tisani became friends with Biko through his close friend, Barney Pityana.

"Steve was not a racist. His friends, both black and white, still remember him as a person who loved a great deal. He loved his country," Tisani said.

BC is a philosophical and a "deeply religious" approach to life, "a renewal movement."

Biko's view that race and class were not mutually exclusive but complementary had a "very firm biblical base", Tisani said.

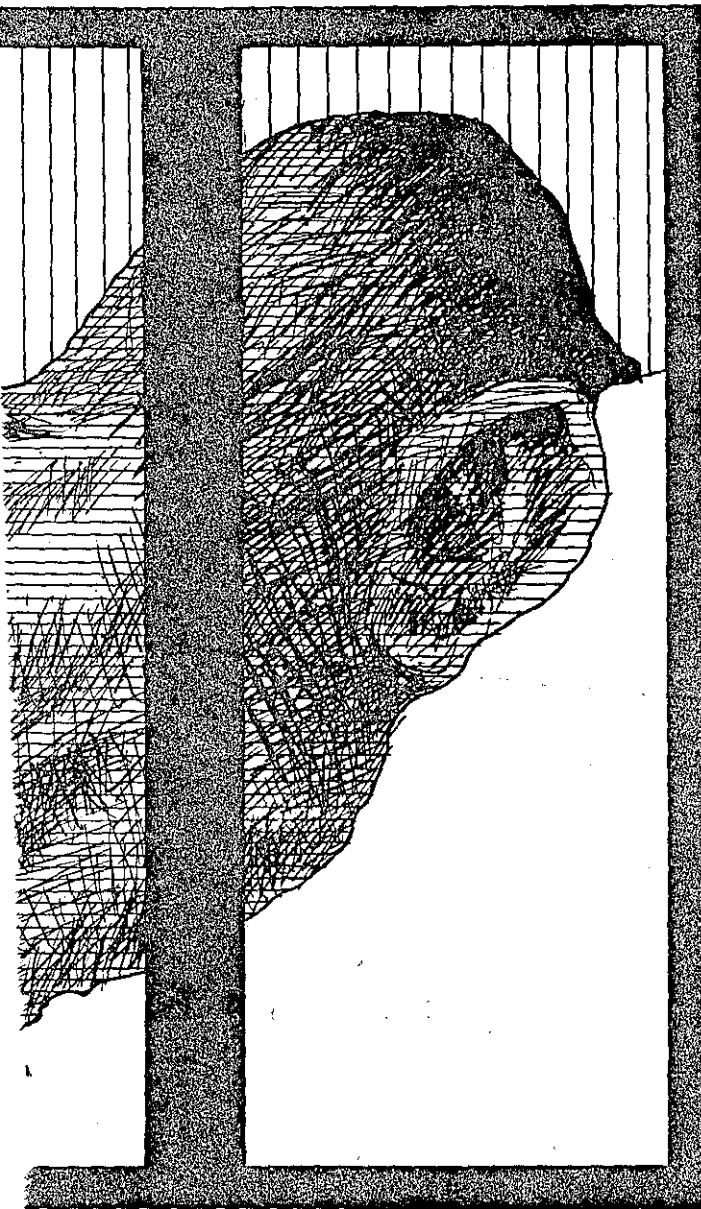
Both Biko and Pityana were initially critical of the role of the church. "But the church needed to hear that kind of criticism and out of BC, black theology was born. It still has a great deal to teach us about our role in nonracial churches."

Priest Barney Pityana

Pityana is now an ordained Anglican priest in England. "BC made me aware of the fact that I have lived my life in a country obsessed with race. If we are going to handle apartheid we have to understand both the victim and the victimised."

"Race is a serious problem in this country and we have got to come to terms with the evil of racism. BC successfully pointed it out. We can't simply wish it away."

"When we remember Steve it is not because we want to recall the horrendous circumstances surrounding his death. It is because he loved life, he loved people and he was fun, and he spent himself fully, selflessly. He is one of this country's finest sons," Tisani said.



Lang now chief district surgeon

A KEY figure and witness at the inquest into Biko's death, Dr Ivor Lang, is now chief district surgeon in Port Elizabeth.

He succeeded Dr Benjamin Tucker, another key figure who was found guilty by the South African Medical and Dental Council of disgraceful conduct in the treatment of Biko.

Lang was found guilty of improper conduct under eight subordinate charges by the council in July 1985. The charges related to the treatment given to Biko five days before he died. The council found that Lang had issued an incorrect certificate and a misleading bedletter on Biko's condition.

He was also found guilty of improper conduct in that he had failed to conduct a proper examination, failed to enquire and ascertain the possibilities of a head injury and failed to take a proper medical history of the patient. He also failed to keep proper notes. He was reprimanded and cautioned.

The council recommend-

ed that Tucker be suspended for three months, but that the implementation of the penalty be suspended for two years on condition that he was not found guilty by the council of any contravention during the period. It was pointed out by Louis Harm, counsel for both doctors, that Tucker was due to retire.

By EDYTH BULBRING

MAJOR HAROLD SNYMAN, the man who led Biko's interrogation team, now sells life insurance for a living.

In a telephone interview, Snyman said he retired from the police force "so many years ago that I can't say when it was".

He said he did not want to talk about events that had happened during his time with the security police.

"I'm not interested in newspapers and the Biko story", he said.

Interrogated

He was reluctant to talk about himself and his colleagues who formed part of the five-man team which interrogated Biko in Room 619 of the Sanlam Building in Port Elizabeth.

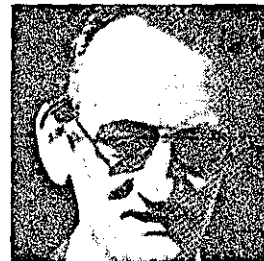
He said he did not know what had happened to his colleagues. He had never stayed in contact with them and they had not been his personal friends.

The Linton Grange branch of Sanlam Life Assurance confirmed that Snyman worked as a life insurance representative for the company.

Cross-examination

Under cross-examination during the inquest, Snyman said Biko had not been assaulted during his interrogation which started on September 6, 1977.

Biko had attacked members of the



Harold Snyman

interrogation team on the second day. A scuffle had broken out and Biko had to be restrained.

Biko had sustained a cut on the lip. He had not seen any marks on Biko's head.

The next day Biko had been incoherent and unable to answer any questions, he said.

Police

Another key figure in the Biko incident was Colonel Pieter Goosen, then head of the security police in Port Elizabeth.

He was transferred to "another area" on the instruction of the then Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, in September 1978.

This followed the death of a detainee, Lungile Tabalaza, 20, who jumped from the fifth floor of the Sanlam Building on July 10, 1978.

Interrogator sells insurance

during interrogation by a member of the anti-riot unit.

Goosen was also head of the security police during the death of George Botha, 30, a school teacher who allegedly jumped down the stairwell from the sixth floor of the Sanlam Building on December 15, 1976.

Some time after that he was promoted to brigadier and is believed to have retired in the Transvaal.

During the inquest into Biko's death Goosen claimed Biko had attempted to commit suicide in two ways — he was found sitting in a bath of water the day after his interrogation and he had taken to "breathing unnaturally". He said Biko's hyper-ventilation showed that he had been "bent on self-destruction".

Not aware

He said Biko might have received the head wound in the bath.

Biko was kept in leg-irons and handcuffs during the nights of his interrogation to "prevent suicide".

Captain DP Siebert was one of the interrogators who accompanied Biko to Pretoria.

According to Colonel S J Gilbert, head of the security police in Port Elizabeth, Siebert is no longer working in the town. He said he might have retired or been transferred to another area.

Gilbert was also not aware of the whereabouts of Lieutenant Winston Eric Wilken who was in charge of the police team that guarded Biko at night.

Wilken was the only person who told the court he had seen a mark on Biko's forehead before the alleged scuffle took place.

Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, who died recently, shot into world headlines with his remark to the Transvaal National Party congress: "I'm not glad and I'm not sorry about Mr Biko. It leaves me cold".

Hunger Strike

Kruger's initial statements on Biko's death claimed he had died of a hunger strike. His later statements said he had died of kidney failure.

When the autopsy report showed that Biko had died of brain damage, Kruger said: "A man can damage his brain in many ways".

He told foreign correspondents: "I don't know if they were self-inflicted, but I often think of banging my head against a wall".

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Flashback - Mrs Nontsikelelo Biko and her two children, Samora and Nkosinathi, after hearing of the tragic death

Still searching for the truth — widow

By LOUISE FLANAGAN

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.— Ten years after his death, Steve Biko's widow is still dissatisfied with the outcome of the inquest and subsequent investigations.

Nontsikelelo Biko moved here after her husband's death in September 1977. Now she works as a nursing sister in the Grey Hospital day clinic.

"I'm just hoping that one day the truth — the real truth — will come out. But the dissatisfaction is still there," she said.

During the years immediately after Biko's death, Nontsikelelo did not work.

Inquest

"Those were the years of the inquest," she said. Although she was previously

employed at St Matthew's mission hospital in Keiskammahock, followed by a brief spell in Transkei before her husband's death, she has now returned to King William's Town to be near the Biko family.

Her two sons, Nkosinathi, 16 and Samora, 12, are attending school in Transkei. Nontsikelelo said her sons still remembered their father and his death. "They are feeling bad about it, especially the older one," she said.

She has not remarried. "I wouldn't like them (the children) to lose their identity," she said.

"When you've got to play the part of the father it's difficult, but fortunately they still listen to me."

And her future plans? "Well, I'm still working," she said with a smile, looking around at the dozens of patients waiting for attention. Elnews

Worrall meets ANC

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Independent politician Dr Denis Worrall has led a group of prominent South Africans on a flying visit to Zimbabwe, during which they had talks with Cabinet Ministers and ANC officials in Harare.

In the party were former Springbok rugby player Mr Tommy Bedford, Mr Pat Goss, editor of *The Natal Witness*, Mr Richard Steyn, Mr Peter Clark and Mr Tony Ardington.

Sources said they met Finance Minister Dr Bernard Chidzero, Education Minister Dr Dzingai Mutumbuka, Home Affairs Minister Mr Enos Nkala, and Minister in Charge of Security Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa.

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'MOTLANA CALLED

By MONK NKOMO

WELL-KNOWN Soweto medical practitioner, Dr Nthato Motlana, urged youths to align themselves with the banned African National Congress in a violent liberation struggle against the Government, the State alleged in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Referring to a speech allegedly made by Dr Motlana, who was chairman of the Soweto Civic Association at the inauguration ceremony of the Soweto Youth Congress on July 31, 1983, Mr Hanekom, the prosecutor, submitted that the SCA was involved in a violent struggle to take over power from the South African Government.

Mr Hanekom also submitted that Dr Motlana, whose association was later affiliated to the UDF, had urged the youth, including members of Cosas and Azaso, to associate themselves with the UDF, the SCA and the Anti-Community Council Committee.

According to the speech, Dr Motlana also warned that "nothing will restore peace" unless a one man. one vote

Alleged speech read in court

system was introduced in the country.

Mr Thomas Manthata, secretary of the SCA who, together with 18 others, are facing charges that include treason, yesterday rejected the suggestion by Mr Hanekom that the ultimate aim of the SCA was to take over power from the Government.

Mr Manthata said there would be no peace where people were deprived of a decent life.

Mr Manthata also denied allegations that the SCA had incited

FOR VIOLENT ACTION'

people not to pay increased rent in Soweto and that they in fact had taken the matter to court in an effort to resolve the issue.

Mr Hanekom put it to Mr Manthata that their action related to civil disobedience.

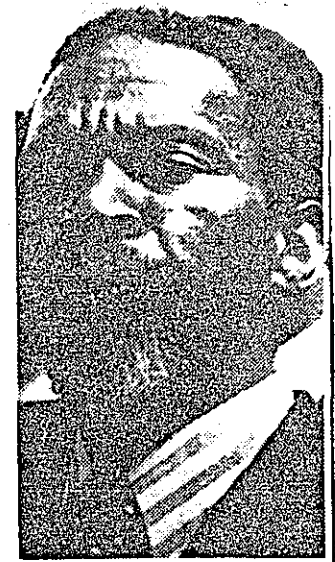
"I don't think that a person who disobeys can go to court," replied Mr Manthata.

Treason hearing

The witness also criticised black local authorities which, he said, impoverished people by increasing rents because they had limited means of generating funds to run the townships.

The 19 accused who include high ranking officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

(Proceeding)



DR Motlana.

.....

Inkatha, (14)

UDF talk to end violence

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha and the United Democratic Front held talks to bring about an end to the violence which had occurred between the two groupings, Inkatha's general-secretary, Dr Oscar Dlomo, said last night.

Addressing a press briefing in Cape Town he said Inkatha had held talks with the president of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede and meetings between youth leaders of both organisations had been arranged.

One such meeting had been arranged in the township of Phumulanga where violence between the groups had been prevalent. However the meeting had failed because only two very young UDF people had been sent.

Dr Dlomo said he was convinced that if the African National Congress were unbanned it would join the Inkatha movement. Sapa

Mandela to be released soon predicts Roth

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela will be released "by Christmas-time or no later than Easter", a senior republican member of the house foreign affairs committee predicted yesterday.

The congressman, Mr Toby Roth, speaking to reporters in his Wisconsin district, said his optimism was based on a conversation with the State President, Mr P. W. Botha last Tuesday.

"It is my opinion from talking to Mr Botha and others that Mandela is going to be released ... but not before October 1 when President Reagan will be reporting to congress on the sanctions issue.

"If they release Mandela before the sanctions report, it may look like they're knuckling to pressure from the US."

Mr Roth said he raised Mandela's release with the State President against the advice of the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Thomas Meiring, who said the subject was "taboo".

Mr Botha did not answer immediately.

"He gave me a long look. Then he

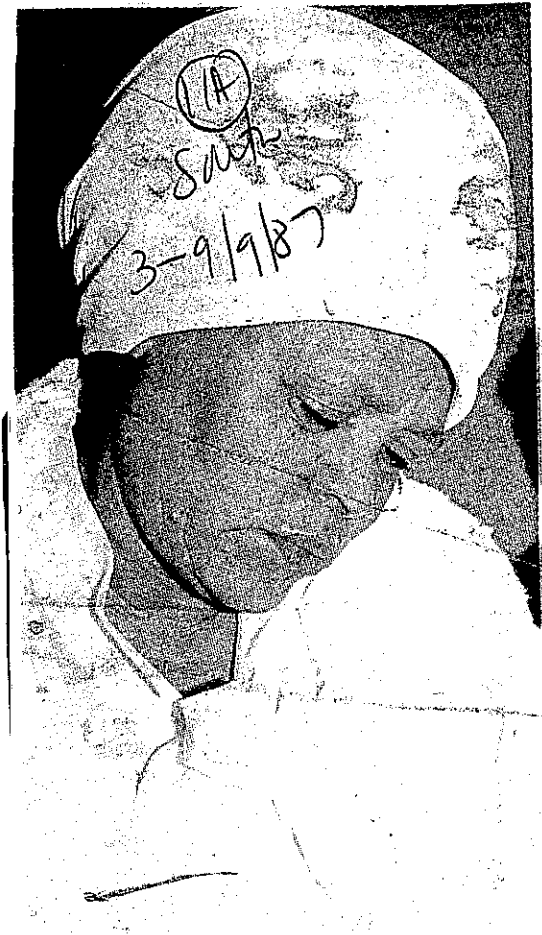
explained what happened in 1961, '62, '63, the terrorism and killing that took place, and said that through due process and a proper trial (Mandela) was given a life sentence."

However the State President went on to say that he had "sympathy for an old man in prison" and would seek his release if he renounced the use of violence.

Mr Roth conceded that on the surface this did not represent a change in Mr Botha's position, but said he believed Mandela would make statements the South African Government would read as sufficiently conciliatory to permit his release.

South Africa's ambassador, Mr Piet Koornhof, issued a press release highlighting Mr Botha's August 13 statement that renunciation of violence may not be "decisive in its own right" in freeing political prisoners including Mandela and Govan Mbeki.

"Thus, Mr Mandela's unwillingness to date to make such a renunciation no longer need be the sole stumbling block when the other factors in the release procedures are taken into account."



Mrs Elizabeth Mahlangu

Bizarre turn in mystery of missing body

By SIPHO VANGA

THE funeral of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) guerilla Neo Koza took another bizarre turn this week when his brother had to search for his body at several mortuaries in Johannesburg.

Relatives and friends attending the funeral at the family home in Guguletu at the weekend were shocked to discover the wrong body.

Koza, of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), was shot by police in Johannesburg during a car chase.

A family member found that the wrong body was delivered by the undertaker.

Two members of the family then searched a local mortuary. They found the wrong body had been delivered from Johannesburg. The funeral was cancelled.

Koza's brother, Kenneth, continued the search in Johannesburg on Wednesday and finally traced the body to a state mortuary in Jeppe.

Mrs Elizabeth Mahlangu said her son's death and the incident surrounding the funeral was a "painful experience".

"I cried uncontrollably. I had expected some relief after Saturday. I had to see a doctor twice. It will take time to overcome the whole thing."

She said officials at the mortuary were reluctant to hand over the body when she went to identify it in Johannesburg after the shooting.

The family made arrangements with an undertaker in Johannesburg to bring the body to Cape Town.

Koza's funeral will now be held on Saturday.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES — South Africans should come to understand what the term "people's democracy" meant, the Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

Malan warns on ANC aim

Speaking in the debate on the Defence vote, he said it was important to study the most fundamental indicators of the ANC perception of a future SA.

"The outstanding conclusion is that the revolution in SA is a continuing process which consists of two distinct phases, namely a national democratic revolution which must lead to a socialist revolution, and a people's democracy which must pave the way for a dictatorship of the proletariat."

Malan said he wished to place on record that the SADF would not hesitate to act against the ANC in whatever form was necessary as long as the organisation offered violence as a means to achieve its objectives.

Both a "people's democracy" and a "dictatorship of the proletariat" implied a one-party state, he said.

A "people's democracy" did not

imply more democracy, but less. The word "people" implied those who belonged to the party elite, those who were so-called progressive with a socialist orientation, meaning countries moving to the political ideological direction of the Soviet Union.

Earlier, he said the objective of those who conducted campaigns against SA by force or propaganda sought the overthrow of the present order. "Power is the name of the game. Power is at stake — namely the seizure of power and not the sharing of power."

A climate was being created in SA that the ANC was "the next government in waiting".

"South Africans are being fed a steady dose of defeatism and appeasement and are being made to feel hated, unloved and isolated."

However, the world had underestimated the toughness of South Africans. — Sapa.

'ANC has no clear-cut economic alternatives'

10/9/87

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By Sven Lünsche

The African National Congress (ANC) has no clear-cut economic alternatives for a post-apartheid South Africa, says Leon Louw, director of the Free Market Foundation and member of the recent Dakar delegation.

At a joint meeting of the Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and the Foundation yesterday, Mr Louw indicated that at no time during the recent meeting in the Senegalese capital did ANC delegates put forward any specific political or

economic alternatives.

According to Mr Louw, the ANC relied largely on proposals in the Freedom Charter and Pallo Jordan — a senior ANC executive — added frequently that "the people will decide" on future policy, economic and political.

"On certain questions of economic policy, such as the method and timing of nationalisation of South Africa's mining and banking sector, as prescribed by the Freedom Charter, the ANC delegates said they are not

themselves experts on the South African economy and would proceed only in consultation with experts and business leaders."

One senior ANC delegate was adamant that the organisation would not expropriate or nationalise anything without compensation, since that would drive out not only much needed white expertise, but existing and potential foreign investors as well, Mr Louw said.

He added that there were also significant differences in how

ANC members viewed the redistribution of the land, another declaration of the Freedom Charter.

"One delegate understood the provision calling for a redistribution of land 'to those who work it' to mean that existing white farms would be sub-divided and distributed, without compensation, while another understood it to mean that white farmers would be free to keep their farms provided they 'work the land' — only unused land would be redistributed."

Concluded Mr Louw: "Thus, while they are adamant about nationalisation and land redistribution, because they are specified in the Freedom Charter, they did not specify how, when or why these would occur."

...y, he said. ...doing so

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Bigger role call to Malan

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, should now assist in the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

In the committee stage debate on the defence budget vote, he said the Defence Force and the Minister should play a more important role in creating the climate for peaceful co-existence.

The Defence Force was in a position to exert that pressure as was General Malan by his presence on the Security Council.

— Sapa.

ANC 'had no part in swop'

PARLIAMENT — The ANC and the South African Communist Party played no part whatsoever in the exchange of prisoners involving Major Wynand du Toit, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan said yesterday.

He said relations between South Africa and the "Moscow/ANC/SACP alliance" were not affected by the exchange.

He said the ANC was not a partner to negotiations in the southern African region. It was an instrument of the Soviet Union which used it to further its own interests and was planning to take over power in South Africa by a violent coup. —

Sapa.

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Vlok's arithmetic of 'terror'

MOST of the 508 members of the ANC and PAC whom Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said this week had been "eliminated" between July 1985 and June 1986 were, in fact, arrested.

Vlok said 47 "terrorists" were shot dead and six other ANC members, "collaborators", had died in cross-fire, together with trained terrorists.

He also said 172 trained terrorists had been arrested; 22 of them had

been trained in neighbouring states, 53 abroad and 97 locally.

A further 264 other ANC members were arrested, he said, including 80 "trainee terrorists", eight recruiters, 18 couriers and 158 "collaborators".

A total of 509 people had fled the country; 347 of these had joined the ANC and 30 the PAC and other organisations. It was unknown what the organisational connections of the other 112 people were, Vlok said.

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UDF 'not linked with ANC or communism'

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MR

Pretoria Correspondent

10/9/87

The Government's talk of reform in 1983 was an invitation to those involved in, among other organisations, the UDF to give their views on how they saw the future of South Africa, said Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Lekota (39), a key witness in the trial in which 19 high-ranking members of the UDF, Azapo and local civic organisations have pleaded not guilty to high treason, alternatively to charges ranging from terrorism and subversion to murder.

His testimony was marked by jokes between himself and Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and his assessor.

Mr Lekota, UDF national publicity secretary, said he had been convicted in terms of the 1967 Terrorism Act, although he had not committed any acts of violence. On Robben Island he met Nelson Mandela.

After his release he heard about attempts to form a united front. He attended its launch in 1983.

He denied the UDF had been formed on behalf of the ANC or the South African Communist Party, or in a secretive, conspiratorial way.

"The Government was talking about change, people had been unbanned. It was a relaxed atmosphere, one that invited free thought and free action to be taken."

"As I understood it we were being invited to say how we saw the peaceful future of our country."

(Proceeding)

Prosecution not valid claims ANC trialist

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19/4/87

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Daily Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The trial of a New Crossroads man alleged to be a highly trained member of the ANC's military wing took a dramatic turn yesterday when he refused to plead and claimed the protection of the Geneva Protocol of 1977.

Mr Mxolisi Edward Petane, 26, of New Crossroads, bespectacled and neatly dressed in a jacket and tie, told the judge and assessors: "With reverence and respect for you as office-bearers of this court, I refuse to be party to these proceedings. I therefore refuse to plead."

A plea of not guilty was entered.

This was not the first departure from the usual turn of events. The Bench has taken to entering court before the prisoner — an apparent consequence of Mr Petane's militance in the dock — which he enters shouting slogans like "Viva Mandela!"

Yesterday he told the public gallery that he brought "revolutionary greetings from Comrade

Slovo and Comrade Tambo" before he was hustled downstairs to the cells to re-emerge quietly after Mr Justice J. H. Conradie had taken his place on the Bench.

Mr Petane is charged with three charges of terrorism and alternative charges of attempted murder, being a member of the ANC and furthering the aims of the ANC.

Mr Petane is alleged to have joined the ANC in 1976, subsequently receiving military training in Angola and Russia.

He is also alleged to have parked a stolen car containing two gas cylinders and a bomb — which was detonated but did not explode — outside the entrance of a shopping centre here in July last year.

Further allegations

are that he wounded a police constable trying to search his shack in June last year, and four months later wounded four other policemen in KTC by throwing a grenade at them before he was arrested.

After the plea procedure and a short adjournment, Mr Petane's counsel, Mr Mike Donen, said Mr Petane wished "to claim protection in terms of the Geneva Protocol of 1977 signed by the president of the organisation he is alleged

to be part of, Mr Oliver Tambo".

Mr Donen said that in order to prove that the South African Government was bound by the protocol although it had not signed it, he would have to lead expert evidence and needed time.

"I do appreciate it will take some time to assemble your forces for this argument," Mr Justice Conradie said.

The trial resumes on Tuesday.

BC: Quest for a true humanity

It is perhaps fitting to start by examining why it is necessary for us to think collectively about a problem we never created. In doing so, I do not wish to concern myself unnecessarily with the white people of South Africa, but to get to the right answers, we must ask the right questions; we have to find out what went wrong — where and when; and we have to find out whether our position is a deliberate creation of God or an artificial fabrication of the truth by power-hungry people whose motive is authority, security, wealth and comfort.

In other words, the "Black Consciousness" approach would be irrelevant in a colourless and non-exploitative egalitarian society. It is relevant here because we believe that an anomalous situation is a deliberate creation of man.

There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons. The leaders of the white community had to create some kind of barrier between blacks and whites so that the whites could enjoy privileges at the expense of blacks and still feel free to give moral justification for the obvious exploitation that pricked even the hardest of white consciences.

Wealth

However, tradition has it that whenever a group of people has tasted the lovely fruits of wealth, security and prestige it begins to find it more comfortable to believe in the obvious lie and to accept it as normal that it alone is entitled to privilege.

In order to believe this seriously, it needs to convince itself of all the arguments that support the lie. It is not surprising, therefore, that in South Africa, after generations of exploitation, white

FOCUS

It is exactly 10 years since the death of Steve Bantu Biko in police detention. To mark the occasion the *Sowetan* publishes in three parts an essay he wrote on Black Consciousness and the quest for a true humanity.

people on the whole have come to believe in the inferiority of the black man, so much so that while the race problem started as an offshoot of the economic greed exhibited by white people, it has now become a serious problem on its own.

White people now despise black people, not because they need to reinforce their attitude and so justify their position of privilege but simply because they actually believe that black is inferior and bad.

This is the basis upon which whites are working in South Africa, and it is what makes South African society racist.

The racism we meet does not only exist on an individual basis; it is also institutionalised to make

it look like the South African way of life. Although of late there has been a feeble attempt to gloss over the overt racist elements in the system, it is still true that the system derives its nourishment from the existence of anti-black attitudes in society.

To make the lie live even longer, blacks have to be denied any chance of accidentally proving their equality with white men. For this reason there is job reservation, lack of training in skilled work, and a tight orbit around professional possibilities for blacks.

Skills

Stupidly enough, the system turns back to say that blacks are inferior because they have no economists, no engineers, etc., although it is made impossible for blacks to acquire these skills.

To give authenticity to their lie and to show the righteousness of their claim, whites have further worked out detailed schemes to "solve" the racial situation in this country. Thus, a pseudo-parliament has been created for "coloureds", and several "Bantu states" are in the process of being set up.

So independent and fortunate are they that they do not have to spend a cent on their defence because they have nothing to fear from white South Africa which will always come to their assistance in times of



STEVE BIKO . . . died in detention.

need. One does not, of course, fail to see the arrogance of whites and their contempt for blacks, even in their well-considered modern schemes for subjugation.

The overall success of the white power structure has been in managing to bind the whites together in defence of the *status quo*. By skillfully playing on that imaginary *bogy-swarti gevaar* — they have managed to convince even diehard liberals that there is something to fear in the idea of the black man assuming his rightful place at the helm of the South African ship.

Thus after years of silence we are able to hear the familiar voice of Alan Paton saying, as far away as London: "Perhaps apartheid is worth a try."

"At whose expense, Dr Paton?", asks an intelligent black journalist.

Hence whites in general reinforce each other even though they allow some moderate disagreements on the details of subjugation schemes. There is no doubt that they do not

question the validity of white values.

They see nothing anomalous in the fact that they alone are arguing about the future of 17 million blacks — in a land which is the natural backyard of the black people. Any proposals for change emanating from the black world are viewed with great indignation.

Even the so-called Opposition, the United Party, has the nerve to tell the coloured people that they are asking for too much. A journalist from a liberal newspaper like *The Sunday Times* of Johannesburg describes a black student — who is only telling the truth — as a militant, impatient young man.

They're guilty of atrocities says John Gogotya

UDF AND AZAPO ACCUSED

Mr JOHN Gogotya, president of the Federation for an Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), yesterday accused the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation of being guilty of "atrocities" in the black townships.

He was speaking at the launch of an anti-sanctions campaign by the Jesus Christ for Peace in Southern Africa organisation at a Pretoria hotel yesterday. The launch was attended by church representatives and business people.

Mr Gogotya said both the UDF and Azapo fanned unrest with the help of the media.

Some of the wrongs the two organisations were involved in were not

By ALINAH
DUBE

reported because journalists were being intimidated and that they also collaborated with black political organisations.

Mr Gogotya also lashed at Dr Nthato Motlana's Soweto Committee of Ten for allegedly not having been elected by Soweto residents.

"It is interesting to note today that the very Press which discriminated against moderate

leaders like myself is presently complaining about the Government's curbs. It is high time Christian organisations trained their own journalists who will not refer to leaders as vigilantes, collaborators, sell-outs and puppets."

"The black leaders I am referring to are not vigilantes but people who are tired of being "necklaced", their property looted and their cars burnt. There has been too much bloodshed in the country and we are tired as a result."

Urgent plea to court

10/9/87

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10/9/87

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

THE Azanian People's Organisation is to bring an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court to restrain the security police from harassing, interfering with or stopping the Steve Biko commemoration services planned for this weekend throughout the country.

At the same time, Azapo is to seek another urgent application in the King William's Town Supreme Court restraining the security police from interfering with or stopping the unveiling of an additional plaque on Steve Biko's tombstone in

Ginsberg on Saturday.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary, told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the applications will be heard in court either today or tomorrow.

Mr Myeza told the conference that about 20 of the organisation's members in various parts of Soweto were detained on Tuesday and a number of pamphlets, stickers and placards confiscated.

"There is a clear intent by these people to stop the commemoration. Furthermore, there have been attempts to link Azapo with some external organisations," he said.

Mr Myeza said Azapo was an independent organisation with its own constitution, policy and *modus operandi*.

Struggle

"Azapo held no brief for the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, although they shared a 'common lineage'.

The BCMA had opted for an armed struggle while Azapo remains an overt organisation and therefore has to operate within the legal bounds — which it does, Mr Myeza said.

He also denied any

links with the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. "The ANC has adopted a hostile attitude to us in both deed and word. The PAC has consistently attempted to claim a relationship with Azapo. We mock this claim," he said.

By late yesterday we had not received a reply to a telex asking the police to comment on Azapo's allegations.

11A DD 10/9/87.

Azapo claims harassment

JOHANNESBURG — Members of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) have claimed they are being harassed by the authorities who want to stop memorial services and the unveiling of a tombstone on the 10th anniversary of the death of the black consciousness leader, Steve Biko.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, told a press conference here yesterday that about 20 of the organisation's members in various parts of Soweto were detained this week and that a number of pamphlets, stickers and placards were confiscated.

He added that Azapo's chief administrative officer, Mr George Wauchope, who was "taken away" last Friday, was still in detention, and was being held "in connection with a charge of culpable homicide".

Police in Pretoria, East London and Soweto have been approached about this and other allegations — but no immediate comment was made.

Mr Myeza also said that three Azapo members, who were sent to Steve Biko's home at Ginsberg, near King William's Town, to make arrangements for a memorial service and the unveiling of a tombstone, were detained, questioned, and told to leave the area.

He said the three men were told that Mr Myeza and another Azapo office bearer, Mr L. Mabasa, would not be al-

lowed to attend the unveiling of Biko's tombstone in Ginsberg on Saturday.

The police public relations directorate in Pretoria yesterday confirmed that "Mr Stanley Sitotyana and two others were interrogated" by police in King William's Town and then released, but all other allegations were denied.

Azapo said it had instructed its attorneys to bring a Supreme Court application restraining the security police from harassing, interfering and/or stopping the commemoration of Steve Biko's death and the unveiling of his tombstone in Ginsberg.

Mr Myeza said that at least nine services commemorating the death of Biko, who died while in detention on September 12, 1977, would be held in South Africa on Saturday and Sunday.

A police liaison officer for the Border, Ma-

yor Trevor Hayes, said yesterday no restrictions had been placed on the memorial service or the unveiling in Ginsberg.

Mr Myeza added that an Azapo executive in Britain, Mr Peter Jones, who was one of the last people to see Biko alive, had recently discussed changes to the film Biko with its director, Sir Richard Attenborough.

Azapo had earlier objected to a number of aspects of the film and it is believed some of changes were made to accommodate Azapo.

Mr Myeza said the film gave the African National Congress a far bigger role than it had in South Africa as the organisation was "very much underground".

He added that the film attributed some principles to Biko which he could never have had at the time.

Mr Myeza said the government intended to link Azapo with certain external organisations. He denied this, saying: "Azapo is an independent organisation with its own constitution, policy and modus operandi."

The weeks of rage that led to that first, necklace death

The men hanged this week were the country's first convicted 'necklace' killers. MONO BADELA recalls the spiral of violence which finally exploded into the gruesome death of town councillor Ben Kinikini in March 1985, before the first State of Emergency

THE death of KwaNobuhle town councillor Benjamin Tamsanqa Kinikini was a sight I will never forget. It was not easy to witness.

I went to KwaNobuhle on Saturday morning, March 23 — two days after the Langa "massacre" — after receiving a phone call from one of the young "comrades". I was told only that "things are bad— come quickly".

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The crowd then surged towards Kinikini's funeral parlour a block away, where Kinikini and his two sons were hiding.

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Kinikini's problems with the community of Uitenhage began more than seven months before his death.

On August 9, 1984, he was among a group of town councillors who called an evening meeting in KwaNobuhle hall to announce they were going to increase rentals



LEFT: Benjamin Kinikini in his damaged home after a petrol bomb attack
RIGHT: Aftermath ... Kinikini's son's mutilated body hangs from a rafter

Pictures: Courtesy City Press

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The councillors were shouted down by a large crowd and chased out of the hall. They ran to the council chambers, protected by municipal police.

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At the next council meeting, Kinikini is alleged to have proposed that all councillors be provided with guns in order to protect themselves. His motion was adopted. By mid-September, councillors were armed. Some of them moved out of the township to avoid the "amabutho", or "young lions".

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Community leader Fikile Kobese, a national organiser for the Motor Assembly Components Workers Association of South Africa, accused Kinikini of leading vigilantes in a series of attacks on his home. On December 3, his mother's home was rocked by a highly sophisticated bomb that killed his younger brother, Leslie Kobese.

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A macabre process

The executioners executed. The necklace, followed by the gallows. 'Street justice' against state justice. Another two men were hanged this week for a political killing. Their deaths in turn sparked more violence. By PATRICK LAURENCE



Bearer of the bad tidings: A prisons official informs family members that their sons have just been hanged

The places occupied in death row by Moses Jantjies and Wellington Mielies were filled before their lives ended on the gallows.

Only hours before Jantjies, 23, and Mielies, 26, were hanged on Tuesday for their role in the "necklace" murder of KwaNobuhle town councillor Thamsanqa Kinikini, two more men were sentenced to death for another "necklace" killing.

Oupa Mbonane, 21, and Sibusiso Masuku, 22, were convicted for stoning a policeman in So-shanguve in February 1986 and then placing a tyre around his neck and setting it alight.

Thus, in a macabre procession of the damned, as people go to the gallows in South Africa, so their places in death row are filled by new candidates for the hangman's noose.

So far this year, 104 people have been hanged. All were men: 64 were black, 34 coloured and six white.

Executions in South Africa are never totally divorced from political issues. The overwhelming proportion of victims are working class blacks, tried and sentenced by courts staffed predominantly by whites.

But the steady pre-dawn march of people down the corridors of Pretoria Central Prison to the scaffold has been given an unmistakably political dimension by the "Save the 32" campaign.

The original 32 — 31 men and one woman — have been labelled "activists" and "political prisoners" by the South African Youth Congress. Supported by its allies in the United Democratic Front, Sayco is calling for "an end to the hanging of political prisoners and activists".

The 32 include an African National Congress bomber, Colin McBride, the "Sharpeville Six," the "Queenstown Six" and three members of the 200 000-strong National Union of Mine-workers.

Most of their victims were men deemed to be collaborators: township councillors, policeman, informers and team leaders or, in old-fashioned language, "boss boys".

Where the state sees the 32 as common criminals convicted of murder, Sayco refers to them as "patriots" and refuses to acknowledge that their victims were murdered.

Sayco posters distributed at a memorial service at Khotso House in Johannesburg for Jantjies and Mielies declared that the 32 "patriots" had, for the most part, "eliminated" their victims.

Where the victims were not "eliminated," they were "killed". The Sayco posters used the word "killed" between inverted commas, inferring a reluctance to accept that the 32 were guilty of murder in the ordinary sense of the word.

Ironically, at about the same time the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, was telling parliament that 489 ANC and 19 PAC guerrillas had been "eliminated (uitgeskakel)".

Whether the 32 were activists motivated by political considerations is a matter of debate. The answer may well vary from one case — and perhaps even from one individual — to another.

But, judging from notes taken by their lawyers to substantiate an appeal for clemency, neither Jantjies nor Mielies were political activists in an orthodox sense.

Neither proclaimed their loyalty to any political organisation. Neither could be described as politically sophisticated or even knowledgeable.

Jantjies, an epileptic, was illiterate, having left school in grade two.

He was a casual labourer before joining the swelling ranks of unemployed blacks in KwaNobuhle. Even before he was convicted of murder he had — perhaps under the exigencies of township life — become a petty criminal, having been jailed for housebreaking and theft.

His political knowledge was scanty. He did not



know when the UDF was formed. His understanding of its policy was very general. He had not heard of Steve Biko until he arrived at Pretoria Central Prison. He had never heard of Robert Sobukwe.

Mielies was relatively well educated. He passed Std 8. He did not drift into an existence of petty crime, working instead for companies manufacturing motor car parts. He was the only breadwinner in an extended family consisting of his young son, his mother, his aunt and uncle and their children.

He was never a member of any political organisation and his political knowledge was rudimentary. He did not know why the UDF was formed or when the ANC was banned. Of Steve Biko, he said: "I heard that he died. I do not know his role or significance."

Both men, however, knew poverty and hardship.

Jantjies's father deserted his mother when he was four months old. He lived with his aunt, not seeing his mother until he was 15 years old. His aunt beat him with a stick, sometimes on the head. He fathered a child while he was still a teenager. The child died at the age of 18 months.

Mielies fared better. But he did not lead an easy life. "We always had food before we went to bed but the food was not elaborate," he told his lawyers. "It was usually bread and porridge. There was not enough clothing."

While they may not have been anti-apartheid activists, Jantjies and Mielies could well have been victims of apartheid.

It is easy to imagine them being swept up in the wave of anger and hatred which erupted in KwaNobuhle after 20 black people marching to a

funeral were shot dead by police at the neighbouring township of Langa on March 21 1985.

As resentment surged, Kinikini, the last reigning councillor in KwaNobuhle, refused to heed calls to resign. On March 23, three days after the Langa shooting he and five members of his family were murdered by a frenzied mob.

With the 32 in death row are five white men. Three of the men, Johan Wessels, Schalk Burger and George Scheepers, were sentenced to death for raping and murdering black women.

Wessels hit his young victim over the head with a bottle and stabbed her with a fishing knife. He did not want her to recognise him as one of the men who had raped her.

Later, while he was in death row, he was convicted of a second murder. His victim, an unidentified black man, was found in a shallow grave not far from where he had raped and killed Elizabeth Mokoena.

Burger and Scheepers, acting in concert, raped and murdered Ginny Goitseone. After gratifying themselves sexually, they forced her into the boot of a car and set the car alight.

The two remaining white men are Anton Stoop and Henry Burt. Stoop murdered a black man, David Mthutang, assaulting him, throwing him out of a car and then setting him on fire. Burt beat a policeman, Johannes Ndumande, unconscious before placing a petrol-soaked tyre around his neck and setting it alight in an attempt to make it seem that Ndumande had been murdered by radicals.

If the fate of the 32 has become a political issue, so, too, has that of the five white men. It will serve as a test in the townships with which to measure the quality of South African justice.



villains in the eyes of the law; martyrs to other memorial service to the hanged men. RIGHT: General secretary Frank Chikane warns that the first apartheid should be abolished.

Endless cycle: That fed upon the

BARELY six hours after Wellington Mielies and Moses Jantjies were hanged in Pretoria, a confrontation on the streets of central Johannesburg left up to 20 people injured after a midday commemoration service for the two.

Three people, including two journalists, were briefly detained.

A police spokesman said police also fired tear-gas in an attempt to disperse a stone-throwing mob at the corner of Hoek and De Villiers streets near the main Johannesburg railway station.

Police said they were taking "pro-active" steps at Khotso House, where the memorial service was planned by the SA Youth Congress and cordoned off the area.

Meanwhile people attending a meeting nearby of the Posts and Telecommunications Workers Association poured into the street. Among the injured were Potwa members who apparently ran into a shop window in an attempt to avoid tear-gas.

Mielies and Jantjies were hanged despite international pressure and pleas.

In his last-minute plea to the state president, the archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, said

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Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix



law; martyrs to others. Faces in the crowd at a vigil warn that the hangings 'will not end violence: The violence upon the violence'

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

ycle: The violence upon the violence

By MONO BADELA

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people convicted of politically-inspired crimes should be spared the death penalty.

A similar message was delivered by the newly-elected South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane at a prayer meeting for the two men on the eve of their execution. Chikane said the two had been forced into a position where it was necessary to make a choice.

They chose violence — and "the institutionalised violence of the apartheid regime" was the cause of it.

At dawn on Tuesday Winnie Mandela led a small group of activists including Pauline Maloise, mother of Benjamin Moloi, who was hanged in 1985, to keep watch outside the Pretoria prison around the scheduled time of execution.

Mandela told a packed service that "you have to come to terms with the truth that the enemy has declared war with the oppressed masses of South Africa. There is nothing that is going to free us from the yoke of oppression but our blood."

THE ROUTE FROM LANGA TO THE PRETORIA GALLOWS

The weeks of rage that led to that first necklace death

The men hanged this week were the country's first convicted 'necklace' killers. MONO BADELA recalls the spiral of violence which finally exploded into the gruesome death of town councillor Ben Kinikini in March 1985, before the first State of Emergency

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LEFT: Benjamin Kinikini in his damaged home after a petrol bomb attack



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Pictures: Courtesy City Press

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Brigadier's evidence at treason trial:

Freedom Charter for SA 'is goal of ANC'

By Lesley Cowling

The implementation of the Freedom Charter in South Africa was the goal of the African National Congress, a high-ranking security policeman told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The ANC felt this could only be achieved by revolution, Brigadier Her-
manus Daniel Stadler said.

He was giving expert evidence on

the ANC in the treason trial of seven Alexandra men and a youth, who allegedly took part in "people's courts" in the township last year.

Mr Ashwell Zwane (20), Mr Vusi Ngwenya (20), Mr Andrew Mafutha (22), Mr David Mafutha (19), Mr Arthur Vilakazi (24), Mr Albert Sebola (21), Mr Piet Mogano (28) and a 17-year-old youth have pleaded not guilty to treason, sedition and subversion.

Brigadier Stadler said yesterday the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People at Klip-
town, Johannesburg. The ANC later re-
vised its constitution to include the
Freedom Charter.

Its implementation was still the aim
of the ANC, he said.

Brigadier Stadler told the court an
ANC delegation, including ANC presi-
dent Mr Oliver Tambo, went to Viet-
nam in 1978 to research the methods
used by the Vietcong in the struggle
against the French in South Vietnam.

"The conclusion was drawn that the
armed struggle must be combined with
political actions — of which mobilisa-
tion and organisation were important
components — to weaken South Africa
militarily, economically and socially,"
he said.

He said the executive committee of
the ANC had decided on a three-year
plan of action in which the masses
would be politicised and mobilised by
underground structures and "political
cadres".

To stimulate a people's war in South
Africa, the ANC had, in 1984, called for
the destruction of State structures to
make the townships ungovernable.

ANC and Swapo may be restricted

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11/9/87

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Officials of the African National Congress and Swapo may soon find their movements severely restricted in the United States.

In terms of legislation already approved by the US House of Representatives, officials of the two movements will be confined to the limits of the cities where they operate, effectively restricting them to small zones of the greater Washington and New York areas.

At present, they are free to travel where they wish in the US, and often do so to lecture on university campuses.

Portrayed as violence-prone

The move to crack down on the ANC and Swapo comes at a time when American conservatives are taking every opportunity to portray them as violence-prone, communist-influenced movements.

Analysts here believe that, apart from sympathy for them among black groups, neither the ANC nor Swapo has had much success in winning American public support — especially Swapo which one informed analyst described as a “basket case when it comes to PR”.

The House vote — which received hardly any media attention here — has dismayed American

anti-apartheid activists who see it as yet another setback for their cause in the Congress this year.

Transafrica, the Washington-based lobby that sparked off the SA sanctions campaign in 1984, is now pressing US senators to kill the measure when it comes before them soon.

But supporters of the restrictions are confident they will have sufficient support in the Senate for the measure to become law.

The measure was one of a series of amendments attached to a State Department authorisation bill by Republican Congressman Patrick Swindall of Georgia.

The amendments would also restrict the movements of representatives of Soviet bloc countries, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and Iran.

Mr Swindall argued that the Federal Bureau of Investigation needed to keep an eye on all of these groups and that it would be easier if they were restricted to the immediate areas of their offices.

His amendments were approved by the House in a voice vote.

Asking its supporters to lobby the Senate to throw out the amendments, Transafrica said they would end the American public's access to authentic representatives of the South African and Namibian people.

“Given the SA Government's ban on press coverage of events within South Africa and Namibia, restrictions on access would considerably limit the exchange of information between our two peoples.”

Transafrica warned its supporters that the Swindall measure was just one of several setbacks suffered by the American Anti-Apartheid Movement this year — another being passage of an amendment to stop US funding of United Nations committees that aid the ANC and Swapo.

“Through conservative US organisations and South African-financed lobbyists, forces opposed to a genuine liberation process in Southern Africa have begun to win a number of legislative victories,” the Transafrica movement said.

Police tell of kidnap plot

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Alleged plans to smuggle top ANC figures out of Britain by boat from the Thames in an elaborate kidnap plot have emerged here.

Police yesterday told the Lambeth Magistrate's Court that Anti-Terrorist Squad detectives found details of the river escape plan in the minutes of meetings the alleged kidnapers held at the Aldershot home of two of the accused, Frank Larsen (53) and John Larsen (27).

They found piles of documents allegedly setting out a carefully planned scheme to kidnap ANC figures in London. One of the “targets” named is the ANC's chief rep-

resentative in London, Mr Solly Smith.

According to the minutes, ANC figures on the kidnapers' hit-list were to be abducted, probably at gunpoint, and smuggled out of the country by boat from the Thames.

One of the four accused, Welshman Mr Evan Evans (49) of Mallreath, Anglesey, was yesterday released on conditional bail.

Mr Evans, who served in the South African armed forces but returned to Britain in 1985, was released on condition he provides sureties of about R100 000, surrenders his passport and does not contact his three co-accused — the Larsons and Mr Jonathan Wheatley (28) of Guildford.

Niemoller

Cape Trip
11/9/87

'planned'

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2224

ANC kidnap

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Wealthy Cape businessman Mr Johan Niemoller was behind an alleged plot to kidnap ANC leaders here and smuggle them from Britain on a boat moored in the River Thames, Lambeth high-security court was told yesterday.

There was a "well thought-out scheme" to capture the ANC leaders in December last year using firearms owned by Evan Dennis Evans, 49, a former officer in the Rhodesian and South African armies, claimed Mr Michael Bibby, prosecuting.

Mr Bibby said that for "some reason" which he could not explain the alleged conspiracy was not put into operation and he believed Mr Niemoller, of Upington, was back in South Africa.

Mr Bibby said minutes of meetings detailing the alleged plot, including the weapons and vehicles to be used, had been seized by the Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) when Evans and three other men were separately arrested in mid-July this year.

The others are Mr Frank Lyng Larssen, 53, who describes himself as a doctor of psychology; his computer-operator son John 28, both of Aldershot but believed to be of Zimbabwean origin, and Briton John Wheatley, 28, a computer expert.

They are jointly accused with Evans of conspiring with others to kidnap ANC leaders including the president Mr Oliver Tambo, military chief Mr Joe Slovo and London head of mission Mr Solly Smith.

The three co-accused were not in court yesterday and have not applied for bail prior to committal (pre-trial) proceedings to start on November 30.

Mr Bibby was disclosing prosecution evidence to reinforce police objections to an application for bail by Mr Evans after two months in custody.

Mr Bibby said the ATS, in charge of the case, felt Mr Evans, who settled in his native Anglesey, Wales in October 1985, after 15 years in Southern Africa, would abscond if given bail.

Mr Bibby claimed Mr Niemoller met Evans in London late last year and "put up a proposal" that the ANC in London should be "taken out" with explosives.

Mr Evans, who also hosted Mr Niemoller in Wales, had admitted in interviews that he had agreed to put Mr Niemoller in touch with the other accused and to carry out "low-level surveillance" on the ANC and to send out a list of ANC "targets".

Mr Evans had also admitted attending two meetings with the Larsens and Mr Wheatley and had written a letter to Mr Frank Larsen saying they should "offer any assistance to Niemoller he may require — he will be of future benefit to us".

But after interventions by Mr Peter Hughman, counsel for Mr Evans, Mr Bibby accepted that the Welsman had denied being willing to join in any actual kidnap but still alleged he was part of a conspiracy.

Mr Bibby accepted that there was no evidence in seized documents that Mr Evans had joined meetings together with Mr Niemoller and the other accused when, it was alleged, details including using a boat moored in the Thames to smuggle ANC men away, were discussed.

Conflict

Mr Hughman said the guns the prosecution suggested would be used to kidnap ANC men were antiques — including a Mauser machine-pistol, Luger automatic pistol and double-barrelled shotgun.

Mr Hughman said there was now "substantial conflict" between Mr Evans, a one-time Royal Air Force officer and qualified solicitor, and the three other accused.

Stockily built Mr Evans, whose wife Judith is running his sub-post office business in Anglesey but suffers from cancer, sat nervously knitting his fingers.

He flung his head back in relief when the stipendiary magistrate overruled the police objections and granted bail totalling R124 000.



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

ABANDONED: Sunday, or Unknown No 1, was left at a bus stop in Sea Point at the weekend. Miss Jean Johnson, a pupil nurse at Somerset Hospital, gives her a cuddle.

'Happy Sunday' abandoned at a bus stop

Medical Reporter

Argus 11/9/87

OFFICIALLY she's known as "Unknown No 1" but unofficially she's Sunday to the nursing staff at Somerset Hospital nursery.

Sunday was abandoned in Main Road, Sea Point, on Sunday by a woman who left her at a bus stop with a bottle of milk and then boarded a bus.

A Somerset Hospital social worker, Miss Ilse Bam, said Sunday had obviously been well looked after and was a happy child.

"Unless she is claimed, Sunday will have to go to a place of safety which is already overcrowded."

Abandoned children were an increasing problem, she said. With families under economic strain it was a symptom of the times.

Abandoned children taken to hospitals were not ill and could not be accommodated for any length of time, she said.

Squatter bid to oust mayor is 'test case'

Supreme Court Reporter

THE attempt in the Supreme Court to oust Mr Johnson Nxobongwana as Mayor of Crossroads is an important test case for local government in black townships, according to counsel.

Mr R G Comrie SC, for the Administrator of the Cape, told the court yesterday that similar problems were faced in other areas and Mr Justice Conradie's ruling would therefore be "much welcomed".

Squatter leaders Mr Alfred Siphika of the Nyanga Extension group, Mr Christopher Toise of the Portland Cement group, Mr Simon Mgedle and Mr Shadrack Ludidi have asked the court to declare invalid the Administrator's appointment of Mr Nxobongwana as mayor and of six other people as his councillors.

Mr Comrie admitted in argument that the designation of Mr Nxobongwana as mayor had been beyond the Administrator's powers, but that he had since been elected mayor by the town committee.

First meeting

In an affidavit, Mr Paul Ulrich Schelhase, employed as an assistant director by the Administrator and acting secretary of the Crossroads Town Committee, said Mr Nxobongwana was elected unopposed as mayor at the first general meeting of the committee on April 30.

According to an annexure to his affidavit, the six councillors — Mr Alfred Pupu, Mr Alfred Gele, Mr Eric Nozungu, Mrs Princess Mbiza, Mrs Elizabeth Bhatyi and Mrs Alexandra Luke — and nine representatives of the Cape Provincial Administration were present.

Mr Gele was elected deputy mayor unopposed.

Mr L Dison SC, for the applicants, submitted that the members of the committee could not elect a mayor until they had been elected themselves.

The allocation of housing in Crossroads, which had been largely cleared after fighting in the area last year, formed an important part of the application.

Mr Mgedle had said in his affidavit after his house was destroyed he had been driven off his premises near the Nyanga administration offices by followers of Mr Nxobongwana.

Mr Dison said: "We have here people who claim to have been living there for years before being ejected violently. Now they want to return.

"They say the body (the town committee) they have to apply to (for sites) was wrongly elected and they are disturbed."

(Proceeding)



HOOFING IT: Taking to the road in preparation for the Baxter Fun Run at 12.30pm tomorrow are the cast of *The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe*. The first 200 entrants will be given 1 badges and more than R2 000 in spot prizes can be won. For further information contact Lance Williams at 689-8918.

Workers strike over dismissal

Labour Reporter

ABOUT 50 employees of Inmont Inks at Epping are on strike after claiming that one of their colleagues was unfairly dismissed.

A spokeswoman for the South African Chemical Workers' Union (Sacwu) said the dismissal had been conducted in accordance with procedures laid down in the agreement with the company.

But workers had not been satisfied that the dismissal was fairly conducted and had gone on strike on Monday.

Sash remembers Biko

Staff Reporter

THE Black Sash demonstrated with placards throughout the Peninsula today to commemorate the death of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

Tomorrow is the 10th anniversary of his death.

Two tied up, robbed Hout Bay woman

Court Reporter

TWO men who tied up and robbed a Bay woman in her home last month convicted of housebreaking and robbed the Wynberg Regional Court.

Xohile Songatshu, 38, of T 567, and T bile Manty, 19, of T 477 in Khayeli pleaded guilty yesterday but after queing by the magistrate, Mr A P Kotze, plea was changed to not guilty.

The court heard that early on August men knocked on the front door of Co Place in Bethal Road, Hout Bay.

Mrs Jennifer Downard, 36, who was at home, opened the door. The men asked her to see her gardener.

Songatshu then shouldered the door and Mrs Downard fell to the floor.

The men dragged her to the bedroom put her on the bed, where one man held her hand over her mouth and told her to quiet.

They bound her hands and feet, stole her husband's suits, an alarm clock and a wrist watch with a total value of R1 300.

Before leaving the house the men pulled the telephone plug from the wall and told Mrs Downard in the bedroom.

She freed herself and called for help. Sentence will be passed on October 10.

11A

Mrs NTSIKI Biko, wife to the former Black Consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, is to attend the launching of the Biko Foundation at the DOCC in Orlando East, Soweto, on Sunday.

Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, said Mrs Biko would come to Johannesburg after the unveiling of an additional plaque on her husband's tombstone at Ginsberg, near King William's Town tomorrow.

According to Mr Myeza, the launching of the foundation would be one of the highlights to end the "Black Consciousness Week." It started last Friday to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Steve Biko's death in detention.

The following are rallies, seminars and cultural events which have been planned by Azapo this weekend. Today

Launch of the Biko Foundation

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

— there will be a cultural event in Lenasia on Black Culture to be addressed by Haroon Patel, Azapo's vice-president — finance.

Also today, there will be seminars in Korsten, Port Elizabeth, and Alco Hall in Alco, Northern Cape. They will be addressed by Fundile Mafongosi, Azapo Cape vice-president, and Pambili Ntloko, Azapo national organiser.

Regional rallies for tomorrow are as follows, with speakers in brackets: Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, (Nkosi Molala, president); Ginsberg, King William's Town (Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary); Laudium Hotel, Pretoria (Mandla Mtsweni, Transvaal vice-president); Catholic Church in Phuthaditjhaba, QwaQwa (Pambili Ntloko, national organiser).

Sisonke Community Hall in Port Elizabeth (Mandla Nkosi, political education vice-president); YMCA in Durban (Ishmael Mkhabela); Methodist Church in Gugulethu

(Molwantwa Mavi, project's co-ordinator) and Galeshewe Social Centre in Kimberley (Pandelani Nefholovhodwe, political education commissioner).

Residents of Onverwacht in the Free State have also organised a service for Biko tomorrow at Lefika Lutheran Church, E Section, Botshabelo. It will start at 2pm.

• Meanwhile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, has issued a statement in tribute to Steve Biko. Part of it reads:

"Biko died 10-years ago — but he still lives. Steve's fate shows clearly that you can silence a person with a banning order, harass him, torture him, transport his battered body hundreds of kilometres in the back of a van, yes, you can kill him — but will never destroy his ideas."

11A Soweto 11/9/87



ANC learnt Viet Cong tactics for struggle in SA, court told

Daily Dispatch Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — A security police brigadier told the Rand Supreme Court here yesterday an African National Congress delegation had gone to Vietnam in 1978 to see how Viet Cong methods in their struggle against the French could be used in South Africa.

Brigadier Hermanus Daniel Stadler was giving evidence at the trial of seven Alexandra men and a 17-year-old charged with treason.

It is alleged Ashwell Zwane, 20, Vusi Ngwenya, 20, Andrew Mafutha, 22, David Mafutha, 19, Arthur Vila-kazi, 24, Albert Sebola, 21, Piet Moganano, 28, and the youth took part in the holding of people's courts in 1986.

They have pleaded not guilty to treason, sedition and subversion.

The brigadier said the ANC concluded that the armed struggle had to be combined with political actions to weaken South Africa militarily, socially and economically.

He said the national executive committee of the ANC then decided on a plan of action by which the masses would be mobilised and politicised for a people's war.

He said after an analysis of the situation during 1983, the ANC concluded the masses had introduced a new dimension to the struggle.

Peaceful demonstrations were followed by semi-armed actions, he said.

He said it was on these grounds that a document — Planning for a People's War — was drawn up by the ANC's political and military wings.

He said to implement this the ANC called for the destruction of institutions of authority to make black residential areas ungovernable.

He said the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) wanted "no-go areas" where institutions of "people's power" would act as alternatives to the authorities.

Alternative structures in the form of "people's committees" would be used to organise people in black residential areas at the grassroots level and give the ANC the opportunity to wage a people's war, he said.

He read from documents in which the organising of the masses and the creation of revolutionary zones and no-go areas were set out.

The trial continues today.

11/9/87

(11A)

TIR

Daily Dispatch Bureau

LONDON — A wealthy Cape businessman, Mr Johan Niemoller, was behind an alleged plot to kidnap ANC leaders here and smuggle them from Britain on a boat moored in the River Thames, the Lambeth high security court was told yesterday.

There was a "well thought out scheme" to capture the ANC leaders in December last year using firearms owned by a former officer in the Rhodesian and South African armies, Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 49, claimed Mr Michael Bibby, prosecuting.

Mr Bibby said that for "some reason" which he could not explain the alleged conspiracy was not put into operation and he believed Mr Niemoller, from Upington, was now in South Africa.

Mr Bibby said minutes of meetings detailing the alleged plot including the weapons and vehicles to be used, had been seized by the Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) when Mr Evans and three others were separately arrested in mid-July this year.

The others are Mr Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, who describes himself as a doctor of psychology, his computer operator son John 28, both of Aldershot but believed to be of Zimbabwean origin, and a Briton, Mr John Wheatley, 28, a computer specialist.

They are accused with Mr Evans of conspiring to kidnap ANC leaders including the president Mr Oliver Tambo, the military chief, Joe Slovo, and the head of the London mission, Mr Solly Smith.

The three co-accused were not in court yesterday. They have not applied for bail prior to committal (pre-trial) proceedings to start on November 30.

Mr Bibby was reveal-

ing prosecution evidence to re-inforce police objections to an application for bail by Mr Evans after two months in custody.

Mr Bibby said the ATS, in charge of the case, felt Mr Evans, who settled in Wales in October 1985 would abscond if given bail.

Mr Bibby claimed Mr Niemoller met Mr Evans in London last year and "put up a proposal" that the ANC in London should be "taken out" with explosives.

Mr Evans, who also hosted Mr Niemoller in Wales, had admitted that he had agreed to put Mr Niemoller in touch with the other accused and to carry out "low-level surveillance" on the ANC and to send out a list of ANC "targets".

He also admitted attending meetings with the Larsens and Mr Wheatley.

He admitted writing a letter to Mr Frank Larsen saying they should "offer any assistance to Niemoller he may need — he will be of future benefit to us."

But after interventions by the counsel for Mr Evans, Mr Peter Hughman, Mr Bibby accepted that the Welsman had denied being will-

Court told boat ready to smuggle ANC chiefs

ing to join in any kidnap attempt.

But, he still alleged Mr Evans was part of a conspiracy.

Mr Bibby said there was no evidence in seized documents that Mr Evans had joined meetings with Mr Niemoller and the other accused when, it was alleged, details including using a boat to smuggle ANC men away, were discussed.

Mr Hughman argued his client was a noted collector of military items including his guns, which were all old or antiques.

Mr Hughman said the guns the prosecution suggested would be used to kidnap ANC men were antiques — including a Mauser machine-pistol and a Luger.

He said there was "substantial conflict" between Mr Evans and the three other accused.

Mr Evans' wife, Judith, who is running his sub-post office business in Anglesey and suffers from cancer, sat in court nervously knitting her fingers.

Mr Evans flung his head back in relief when the stipendary magistrate over-ruled the police objections and granted bail totaling £37 000.

Mr Evans, who was later smuggled out of court, accepted bail on some of the most stringent conditions ever enforced.

Ten conditions he accepted included the continued surrender of his passport, he should not leave the territory bound by England and Wales, and should report to police in Anglesey three times a week.

Also he should make no direct or indirect contact with the other three accused, and should not come within 150 km of Piccadilly circus in London unless with prior magisterial approval to attend court or see his lawyers.

Mr Bibby told the court a "parallel" matter involving the Seychelles was being investigated, but there was no evidence at this stage of criminal offences.

At an earlier hearing the Larsens and Mr Wheatley denied involvement in a conspiracy but said they were known for their involvement with Seychelles exiles.

They claimed they could produce documentary evidence of British Government involvement in the ANC case.

11R *Sowetan*

It is not enough for whites to be on the offensive. So immersed are they in prejudice that they do not believe that blacks can formulate their thoughts without white guidance and trusteeship. Thus, even those whites who see much wrong with the system make it their business to control the response of the blacks to the provocation.

No-one is suggesting that it is not the business of liberal whites to oppose what is wrong. However, it appears to us as too much of a coincidence that liberals — few as they are — should not only be determining the *modus operandi* of those blacks who oppose the system, but also leading it, in spite of their involvement in the system.

To us it seems that their role spells out the totality of the white power structure — the fact that though whites are our problem, it is still other whites who want to tell us how to deal with that problem, it is still other whites who want to tell us how to deal with that problem.

Class struggle

They do so by dragging all sorts of red herrings across our paths. They tell us that the situation is a class struggle rather than a racial one. Let them go to Van Tonder in the Free State and tell him this. We believe we know what the problem is, and we will stick by our findings.

I want to go a little deeper in this discussion because it is time we killed this false political coalition between blacks and whites as long as it is set up on a wrong

Stumbling blocks to our unity

FOCUS

IT IS exactly 10 years since the death of Steve Bantu Biko in police detention. Today the *Sowetan* publishes the second part of an essay he wrote on Black Consciousness and the quest for a true humanity. The final part will appear in Monday's *Sowetan*.

analysis of our situation.

I want to kill it for another reason — namely that it forms at present the greatest stumbling block to our unity. It dangles before freedom-hungry blacks, promises of a great future for which no-one in these groups seems to be working particularly hard.

The basic problem in South Africa has been analysed by liberal whites as being apartheid. They argue that in order to oppose it we have to form non-racial groups. Between these two extremes, they claim, lies the land of milk and honey for which we are working.

The *thesis*, the *anti-thesis* and the *synthesis* have been mentioned by some great philosophers as the cardinal points around which any social revolution revolves.

For the *liberals*, the *thesis* is apartheid, the *anti-thesis* is non-

racialism, but the *synthesis* is very feebly defined. They want to tell the blacks that they see integration as the ideal solution.

Black Consciousness defines the situation differently. The *thesis* is in fact a strong white racism and therefore, the *antithesis* to this must, *ipso facto*, be a strong solidarity among the blacks on whom this white racism seeks to prey.

Out of these two situations we can therefore hope to reach some kind of balance — a true humanity where power politics will have no place. This analysis spells out the difference between the old and new approaches.

Liberals

The failure of the liberals is in the fact that their *antithesis* is already a watered-down version of the truth whose close proximity to the *thesis* will nullify the purported balance. This accounts for the failure of the Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society commissions to make any real headway, for they are already looking for an "alternative" acceptable to the white man.

Everybody in the commissions knows what is right but all are looking for the most seemly way of dodging the responsibility of saying what is right.

It is much more important for blacks to see this difference than it is for whites. We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a



STEVE Biko . . . BC leader.

plate. We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system. We must realise that our situation is not a mistake on the part of whites but a deliberate act, and that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the white man to "correct" the situation.

System

The system concedes nothing without demand, for it formulates its very method of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and therefore demands will begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands and choose to come to a round table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you. This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters. This is where the South African Students' Organisation message and cry "*Black man, you are on your own!*" becomes relevant.

The concept of integration, whose virtues are often extolled in white liberal circles, is full of unquestioned assumptions that embrace white values. It is a concept long defined by whites and never examined by blacks.

It is based on the assumption that all is well with the system apart from some degree of mismanagement by irrational conservatives at the top. Even the people who argue for integration often forget to veil it in its supposedly beautiful covering.

They tell each other that, were it not for job reservation, there would be a beautiful market to exploit. They forget they

are talking about people. They see blacks as additional levers to some complicated industrial machines.

This is white man's integration — an integration based on exploitative values. It is an integration in which black will compete with black, using each other as rungs up a step ladder leading them to white values.

It is an integration in which the black man will have to prove himself in terms of these values before meriting acceptance and ultimate assimilation, and in which the poor will grow poorer and the rich richer in a country where the poor have always been black.

We do not want to be reminded that it is we, the indigenous people, who are poor and exploited in the land of our birth.

These are concepts which the Black Consciousness approach wishes to eradicate from the black man's mind before our society is driven to chaos by irresponsible people from Coca Cola and hamburger cultural backgrounds.

Attitude

Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression — the blackness of their skin — and to operate as a group to rid themselves

• From Page 8

of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.

It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black.

The philosophy of Black Consciousness therefore expresses group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self.

Freedom is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one's relationship to God and to natural surroundings.

On his own, therefore, the black man wishes to make his freedom real by whatever means he deems fit.

Battered

At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. If one is free at heart, no man-made chains can bind one to servitude, but if one's mind is so manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the white man, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do to scare his powerful masters.

Hence thinking along lines of Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being complete in himself. It makes him less dependent and more free to express his manhood. At the end of it all he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood.

In order that Black Consciousness can be used to advantage as a philosophy to apply to people in a position like ours, a number of points have to be observed. As people existing in a continuous struggle for truth, we have to examine and question old concepts, values and systems.

Having found the right answers we shall then work for consciousness among all people to make it possible for us to

proceed towards putting these answers into effect. In this process, we have to evolve our own schemes, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values.

In all aspects of the black-white relationship, now and in the past, we see a constant tendency by whites to depict blacks as of an inferior status.

Our culture, our history and indeed all aspects of the black man's life have been battered nearly out of shape in the great collision between the indigenous values and the Anglo-Boer culture.

The first people to come and relate to blacks in a human way in South Africa were the missionaries. They were in the vanguard of the colonisation movement to "civilise and educate" the savages and introduce the Christian message to them.

The religion they brought was quite foreign to the black indigenous people. African religion in its essence was not radically different from Christianity. We also believed in one God, we had our own community of saints through whom we related to our God, and we did not find it compatible with our way of life to worship God in an isolation from the various aspects of our lives.

Hence worship was not a specialised function that found expression once a week in a secluded building, but rather it featured in our wars, our beer-drinking, our dances and our customs in general.

Whenever Africans drank they would first relate to God by giving a portion of their beer away as a token of thanks. When anything went wrong at home they would offer sacrifice to God to appease him and atone for their sins.

There was no hell in our religion. We believed in the inherent goodness of man — hence we took it for granted that all people at death joined the community of saints and therefore merited our respect.

It was the missionaries

who confused the people with their new religion. They scared our people with stories of hell. They painted their God as a demanding God who wanted worship "or else".

People had to discard

their clothes and their customs in order to be accepted in this new religion. Knowing how religious the African people were, the missionaries stepped up their terror campaign on the emotions of the people

with their detailed accounts of eternal burning, tearing of hair and gnashing of teeth.

By some strange and twisted logic, they argued that theirs was a scientific religion and ours a superstition — all this in

spite of the biological discrepancy which is at the base of their religion.

This cold and cruel religion was strange to the indigenous people and caused frequent strife between the converted and the

"pagans", for the former, having imbibed the false values from white society, were taught to ridicule and despise those who defended the truth of their indigenous religion.

• Continues on Monday.

Would Biko have joined the non-racial movement today?



STEVE BIKO: His ultimate objective was a racially open society. He would have been concerned by the divisions today.

Ten years ago today, Steve Biko, the dynamic young black leader who played a major role revivifying black morale after the Sharpeville shootings of 1960, "died a miserable and lonely death on a mat on a stone floor in a prison cell".

The words are those of Sydney Kentridge, SC, who represented the Biko family at the inquest into his death and whose eloquence and sharp questioning of Biko's security police interrogators helped to elevate him to the status of a world renowned figure.

Before his death in detention, Stephen Bantu Biko, who was stripped naked and manacled like a slave by his interrogators, pioneered the philosophy of black consciousness (BC).

Born on December 18 1946, Biko was the dominant force behind the two premier organisations which propagated BC — the SA Students' Organisation (Saso) and the Black People's Convention (BPC).

The founding president of Saso, Biko was honorary president of BPC at the time of his death — honorary because a restriction order barred him from holding formal office in political organisations.

Today BC, a philosophy espous-

ing black self-esteem and self-sufficiency, has been largely marginalised in South Africa by the re-emergence and growth of movements dedicated to non-racialism, notably the United Democratic Front (UDF), the South African Congress of Trade Unions and, of course, the outlawed African National Congress.

The 10th anniversary of Biko's death poses an intriguing question: If he had lived, would he have modified his views and joined the dominant tradition of non-racial resistance or would he have remained a black consciousness man? There can, of course, be no definitive answers.

But it is interesting to note that many of his lieutenants and even disciples have thrown in their lot with the non-racial tradition which, in one way or another, is tied to the Freedom Charter of 1955.

The names that come to mind are Barney Pityana, a founding member with Biko of Saso, Thenjwe Mtintso, dubbed the "Black Odette" because of her bravery in detention, Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Charles Nkaku, an Eastern Cape journal-

Personality

STEVE BIKO

Written by:
PATRICK LAURENCE

ist, and "Terror" Lekota, treason trialist and publicity secretary of the UDF.

Against that, however, many of the original stalwarts that remained faithful to the BC cause include Nkosi Molala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Saths Cooper, immediate past president of Azapo, Muntu Myeza and Aubrey Mokoape, who served prison sentences on Robben Island after being convicted in the "BC trial" of 1975-76, and Pendelani Nefolovhodwe, of the National Council of Trade Unions.

Biko, the third child of poor parents, matriculated at Mariannhill, Natal, and studied medicine at the University of Natal for four years. He quit to devote his life to politics.

During his lifetime he was opposed to acceptance of whites in "liberation movements", seeing

them as people who sought ultimately to control — and mute — the black quest for freedom.

To him most white liberals and leftists were phonies who purported to have "black soul wrapped up in white skins". For him, in the end, most whites, whatever their professed sympathy for blacks, were "part of the problem rather than part of the solution".

He was sceptical of the Charter, ideological linchpin of the non-racial resistance movement, seeing it as evidence of the ease with which the African National Congress "Old Guard" accepted "coalitions with organisations other than those run by blacks".

Biko implicitly praised the Africanists who challenged the Charter, describing them as men who were "beginning to realise the need go it alone and to evolve a philosophy based on, and directed by, blacks".

It is perhaps significant to recall that his elder brother, Kaya, was charged with, and convicted of, being a member of Poqo, the underground wing of the racially exclusivist Pan-Africanist Congress.

Poqo means "pure" or "alone". Its "purist" approach was reflected in a 1961 pamphlet: "We are starting again Africans ... Africa shall

be free. The black man shall rule".

In contrast to the Charter declaration that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white", Saso proclaimed: "This country belongs to black people and to them alone."

As the Saso manifesto which Biko helped draft declared: "Before black people join the open society, they should first close their ranks to form themselves into a solid group ... and bargain from a position of strength. Saso believes that a truly open society can only be achieved by blacks."

But while Biko championed the idea of exclusively black movements as the most effective organisational vehicles to "liberation", his ultimate objective was a racially open society, not an exclusively black polity. Black withdrawal and exclusivism were a means to an end, not an end in itself.

No one can be dogmatic about where Biko would have stood today had he lived. But he would undoubtedly have lamented the present divisions in black ranks.

When he was arrested for the final time he was en route back from Cape Town, where he had been engaged in talks to form a united front of black organisations.

Worrall met the ANC by accident

Just weeks after President Botha warned that he would no longer tolerate meetings between white South Africans and the African National Congress, former ambassador and independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall did just that — by accident.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said this week that the meeting between the organisation and Dr Worrall was not planned nor requested by either party, but happened by chance when the former ambassador to Britain and the ANC's Harare representatives were invited to the same function.

"The discussions were therefore a conversation rather than a meeting and

GARY VAN STADEN

were casual and co-idental," the spokesman added.

In any event, President Botha's threats would not prevent the ANC from continuing its policy of meeting with democratic South Africans, according to the spokesman.

"Botha's threats to stop contact are in line with his consistent actions to erode and destroy all democratic rights. We consider such contact useful as it contributes to reducing the fear of democratic alternatives which still prevails among considerable sections of our white compatriots," the ANC spokesman added.

Quo vadis, the ANC?



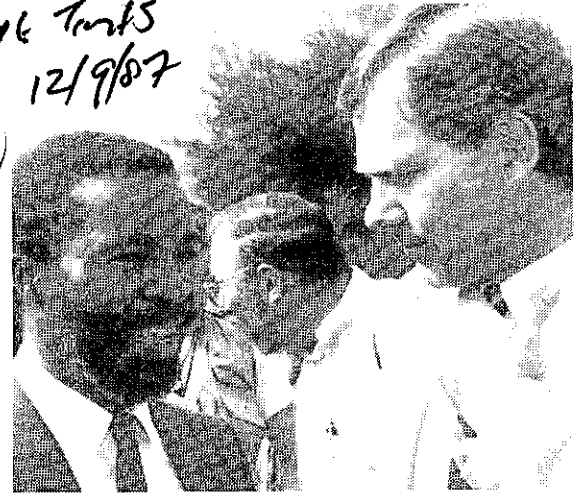
Pattern of
Politics

By HERMANN
GILIOME

Armed struggle may negate political aims

CAK 12/9/87

11A



Thabo Mbeki and Frederick van Zyl Slabbert meet in Dakar... "ANC delegates... would hardly consider the Freedom Charter as a practical policy guideline".

What kind of organization is the ANC? How genuine is its commitment to non-racialism and multi-party democracy? Or is it seeking power for itself alone? This study by a leading South African analyst considers these key questions.

THE South African government likes to portray the ANC as an organization in which African nationalists are manipulated by a small elite of hard-eyed communists.

It is alleged that 23 of the 30 members of the ANC executive committee are or were active members or supporters of the Communist Party, and that this elite is intent on revolutionary warfare with the establishment of a communist dictatorship as its ultimate objective.

This view seems simplistic. The ANC is much too amorphous an organization to be manipulated by a small elite. Behind the appearance of unity there are some major, potentially disastrous, cleavages.

There is a generational cleavage between the young, embittered new recruits who demand instant action and the older generation of exiles who insist on strategic thinking. There is also a generational cleavage between, on the one hand, people like Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan, who are in their 40s, and who emphasize an inclusive non-racialism and, on the other hand, the generation of the leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, who speaks the language of assertive nationalism.

There is tension between fervent socialists or communists and someone like Mbeki for whom the ANC is not, never was and is not trying to become a socialist party. The ANC's Freedom Charter with its demand for the nationalization of the mining houses and banks clearly serves as ideological cement. No deviation can be allowed because this will inexorably lead to major splits.

From the impression the ANC delegates gave in public or in private at Dakar, they would hardly consider the charter as a practical policy guideline if they did succeed in taking power.

It is the amorphous and ideologically diffuse nature of the ANC which is the source of its strength and also its weakness. To convince itself that victory is certain it has to maintain a forward momentum on all fronts.

Instead of choosing one strategy — say, one of a non-violent mobilization of broad sections of the

population — it wants to escalate the struggle on every front.

It insists on conducting a political struggle which seeks to establish alliances with internal groups, such as businessmen, churches, academics and students — an armed one which tries to put more bombs and arms inside the country, a diplomatic one which attempts to isolate the country, and an economic one which wants to strangle the economy.

SADLY, the ANC is pursuing this multi-pronged strategy without wanting to acknowledge, or — so it appears — admit to itself that an armed struggle may negate its political strategy.

Here, then, is the reason why the organization refuses to meet P W Botha's condition that the ANC renounces violence before he would enter into negotiations with it.

Firstly the ANC feels that with Botha as its head, the government has no interest in genuine negotiations. But secondly, and more importantly, the ANC is haunted by the fear that even a suspension of violence may rip the organization apart or allow a racial opposition movement to outflank it, thus nullifying all the decades of struggle.

Hence, the organizational imperative demands an escalation of all forms of struggle. Suspending violence could break up the organization; getting locked into futile negotiations would do the same.

The problem with organizations like the ANC or PLO is not their strength but their insecurity. They are too insecure to take chances. Abandoning the armed struggle may turn into a fatal error, wrecking not only a sacred cause but endangering jobs, offices, careers and financial support from the outside — all the things which concern not only a liberation organization but also a political party such as the NP when it is confronted with the demand to reverse its political strategy abruptly.

Several of the internal South Africans at Dakar suggested that the ANC use the available political structures in South Africa, and particularly that it participate in regional initiatives such as the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba or other interim agreements which genuinely signal a break with apartheid.

IT was during this discussion that Pallo Jordan told a revealing joke. A baboon, heeding the anguished cries of a python which lay pinned down, lifted the rock to set the reptile free. Immediately the python started to strangle the baboon. As they struggled a fox came by and persuaded the two to accept his mediation. "The only way to solve the conflict," the fox said, "is for the python to assume his original position to see how it all started." The python obliged and the rock was replaced. "What do we do now?" the baboon asked. "Let him be, you damn fool," the fox responded. "You know that he will swallow you."

Not only in this joke but in private conversations, the ANC revealed how deeply suspicious it was of being swallowed by interim arrangements in which it was not assured of control. Its bitter experience with Chief Buthelezi has obviously had a searing impact. According to several ANC delegates, the organization in the early 1970s decided to send Buthelezi to take over the KwaZulu government and establish an internal ANC political base.

Buthelezi played along, they claimed, until he was strong enough to establish his own rivalling base. Since 1979 Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement have been the ANC's most formidable black adversary in the country. Similarly, the ANC's promising relationship with the coloured leadership in the Labour Party in the late 1970s turned sour, with the Labour Party promptly accepting representation in the Tricameral Parliament the ANC hates so much.

Accordingly, the ANC's immediate instinct is to reject all interim arrangements and to insist on a position of authority over all the movements which fundamentally oppose apartheid. But the demand that internal organizations and institutions such as universities submit to the "progressive forces" and sacrifice their principles threatened to destroy the middle ground. As one social scientist warned, it

threatens to drive liberals on English campuses into the government trench.

Yet there is a much more flexible interpretation in some ANC leadership circles. In this flexible view the ANC accepts that there are organizations which acknowledge the political leadership of the ANC, but that there are others which want to retain their independence. The big challenge, they feel, is to achieve co-ordination among organizations about how the struggle for a non-racial democracy could be advanced.

MOST of the South Africans found the principle of a multi-party non-racial democracy one which they would like to support. But the crucial question was whether it could be applied in such a way that the majority of whites did not see such a system as an immediate threat. Most whites are strongly conscious of being members of the Afrikaner or larger white group. Growing numbers of whites are prepared to divest themselves of racial privileges, but they insist on retaining some control over the destiny of the group, and therefore want to elect their own group representatives.

But it was exactly this demand for white group representation which the ANC saw as apartheid in new, more sophisticated guise. An ANC delegate remarked that the organization was prepared to promote a multi-party state but it would practise a "liberatory intolerance" towards those who propagate racism and even those who stand for ethnic representation. It is in this area that the possibility of a compromise stands or falls, but this has not been explored. The ANC is not so naive as to believe that it can take on the military might of the South African state. Its strategy is more subtle. Continued pressure, also through violence, will, it believes, make white South Africa crack wide open.

Put succinctly: the ANC pins its hopes on the white right wing as a "growing ulcer" in white society. Steadily increasing ANC violence will make the right wing surge ahead until it paralyzes the government electorally and splits the as yet unified police and military command in two. The ANC believes that in such a situation upper-class whites will turn to the ANC as the only basis for stable government.

The strategy should not be dismissed summarily. The Conservative Party can no longer be considered a right-wing fringe party. Some serious analysts now believe it has the potential of paralyzing the state if the NP government in years to come turns into a nervous and fractious band.

However, there is also the chance of increasing ANC pressure and bringing into power a regime of right-wing politicians and generals who will shirk at nothing in asserting their authority. If that happens the blacks who one day will inherit South Africa may well become fascist generals and colonels rather than the ANC, which has at least a history stretched back to 1912 of clamouring for democratic rights.

(Professor Giliomee teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UCT. This is an abridged version of a study which appears in the September issue of the journal *Die Suid-Afrikaan* which will be available for sale from Monday.)

12/9/87.

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Cape Times, Saturday, Sept

Azapo man fails to meet Sir Richard

LONDON. — Mr Peter Jones of the Azanian Peoples' Organization arrived here recently to ask Sir Richard Attenborough to change some aspects of his film "Cry Freedom", based on the life and death of Steve Biko.

But when Mr Jones tried to contact Sir Richard this week it was to learn that he was out of the country.

In addition, it appears that it is too late now to alter the film, as it is almost completed and is due for release in November.

Sir Richard would like the film to be seen, uncut, in South Africa.

It is based on two books by former Daily Dispatch editor Mr Donald Woods.

Azapo says it will "drive the film off the screens" unless it is changed. Criticism is that it exaggerates the significance of Mr Woods's relationship with Mr Biko and distorts Mr Biko's contribution to black politics.

Azapo is also angry that Sir Richard has cast a black American actor, Denzel Washington, as Steve Biko, rather than a South African actor.

A spokesman for Sir Richard said yesterday that Mr Jones had seen snippets of the film early on, when he was approached for his permission to be featured in the film. The spokesman said Mr Jones had raised no objection at the time.

The spokesman said Mr Jones had left the UK for the United States, but that Sir Richard would be very willing to see him on his return.

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ULUNDI — The African National Congress and the National Party were alike in that they both put the interests of the party before that of the state, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a group of visiting Austrian MPs here yesterday.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu said since 1948, the National Party had ruled primarily for the good of the party and the Afrikaner and only secondarily for the good of South Africa.

The ANC was heading, like all revolutionary organisations in exile, for a one-party government in which the good of the party was synonymous with that of the state.

The visiting parliamentarians were Dr Otto Keimel, Dr Gerhart Bruckmann, Dr C. Zernatto, Dr K. Pisek and Dr W. Zoegernitz.

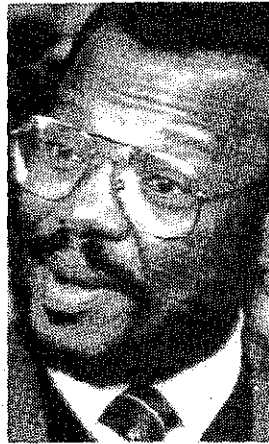
They are all members of the Austrian People's Party.

Dr Buthelezi said it was destructive to argue that democratic opposition to apartheid had failed and that there was now only violence left.

Violent opposition had failed just as much as democratic opposition had.

Violence should be

Buthelezi: NP and ANC put interests before state



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

abandoned after the attempt over more than a quarter of a century to use it to bring about change.

As they travelled around the country the MPs should ask themselves what visible evidence there was that the government was about to be toppled by revolutionary violence.

He gave examples of three circumstances necessary for revolutionary victory.

These were:

● Forces had to have

a "liberated zone" within the country which would act as a springboard for attack against the state — or at least a springboard in an adjacent state from which attacks could be mounted.

● The security forces and the civil service must be divided in their loyalty to the government.

There was no evidence that the South African police, army or civil service harboured revolutionary threats.

● The masses of the country had to support revolutionary activity in sympathetic daily practice.

This was not the case — black South Africans had to be intimidated into violent activity and support for it by "hideous" means.

He said Inkatha's 1.5-million membership was evidence of South African's commitment to negotiation.

He pointed out that the formal membership of any movement was the tip of the iceberg of its total support. — Sapa

Defining 'groups'

POWERFUL lobbies in the National Party and bureaucracy are pushing for a blurring of the rigid statutory definitions of groups in the political process.

The move — as yet tentative and still subject to much debate — is occurring even as the Government moves ahead on its plans to establish a National Council in part comprising elected black leaders.

It is learnt from sources close to the Cabinet and from constitutional planners that some government inner circles are looking for ways of converting the group ideology from compulsory group association by race to a looser definition of "interest groups".

Move to change from 'race' to 'interest'

LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

Such "interest groups" would obviate colour as a statutory determinant and begin to blur racial distinctions.

Details of how this would be done and how it would work in practice have not been fully worked out.

But a hint of the approach was given by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, during his Vote this week when he said:

"We can debate the definition of groups."

It is understood, however, that the Cabinet is not of one mind on the question, and that it is once more dividing into verligte and verkrampte camps on the mooted experiment with freedom of association.

The concept is aimed at overcoming a major anticipated hurdle in the National Council — if it gets under way with a reasonably representative sample of black opinion.

Even moderate black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi believe the Government wants to use the National Council to extract from blacks a validation of its neo-apartheid system of Own Affairs and General Af-

fairs. This system rests on compulsory group association by race, which blacks are not prepared even to negotiate.

Before this point is reached, however, two virtually across-the-board black preconditions will have to be dealt with: the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The National Council Bill, which may become law in the next four weeks, provides for a national election for an estimated 10-million blacks outside the homelands.

Black voters will elect nine representatives, who will join homeland and government delegates on the council, which is intended as a negotiating forum to design a system of black participation in national government.

Announcing the Bill, Mr Heunis said: "The agenda is

open. There is just one point on the agenda, and that is a new constitutional dispensation in which all South Africans are represented and can participate."

Mr Heunis and other government speakers have made it clear, though, that the Government remains committed to a solution that will recognise and protect population groups as a means of upholding individual rights.

Violent

He called the National Council Bill "one of the most fundamental reform steps... in the history of our country".

It is likely to become one of the most hotly contested South African political issues for decades.

The first-ever national election for blacks is expected to unleash the deep and often violent divisions among blacks.

Suspicion of government intentions run so deep that only peripheral black leaders have so far declared their willingness to participate in the National Council.

Service group to honour Biko



BY SAMKELO KUMALO
AND CAS St Leger

A NEW community service organisation to commemorate the death of Black Consciousness leader Steve Bantu Biko will be launched today in Soweto.

11A

Biko, founder member of the Black Consciousness Movement during his years as a medical student in Durban, died exactly 10 years ago in police detention.

SIT

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) vice-president, Lybon Mabasa, said the new organisation would be known as the Biko Foundation.

It will provide various community services as soon as funds are available.

13/9/87

Rallies

It would also attempt to provide bursaries for needy students.

The launching of the Biko Foundation at Orlando East DOCC Hall will be attended by Biko's widow.

Yesterday, 12 regions representing 124 national branches of Azapo, held rallies to commemorate Biko's death in detention.

Other rallies were expected to be held in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, England and West Germany.

● After his death, Biko was honoured by international pop-star Peter Gabriel in a song titled "Biko", which observed the date of Biko's death in detention.



Azanyu members formed a guard of honour for Neo Khoza in Gugulethu last week.

PAC man is buried

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7/A

CP Correspondent
ABOUT 500 people attended the funeral of Neo Sarel Khoza in Gugulethu,

Cape Town, last week. Khoza was a member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army - the mili-

tary wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Hiss body went missing for four days and was final-

ly found in a Johannesburg mortuary.

He left the country in December 1983 for military training and was killed by police after a car chase in Johannesburg on August 5.

Three people were shot dead in this incident and the PAC confirmed that two of them, including Khoza and Tshepo Lilele from Welkom in the OFS, were their members.

The third was reported to be a Johannesburg youth who was assisting the trained PAC guerillas in their operations in the country.

However, police said the three were shot dead after a wild car chase. They said the men were wanted for armed robberies and were all armed with Eastern bloc Scorpion machine pistols.

The PAC denied that the youths were involved in robberies.

Police pourer on Azapo during Biko week

11A

BY DERRICK LUTHAYI
OMORROW is Steve Biko, the father of black consciousness, will be re-membered when his tombstone is unveiled at Ginsberg township, near King

No link with PAC - Azapo

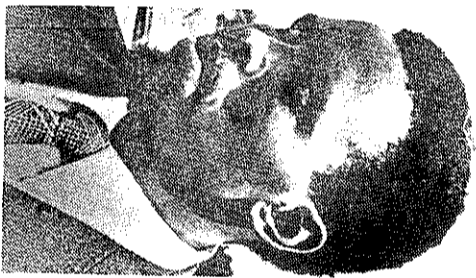
BY DERRICK LUTHAYI
People's Organisation this week reaffirmed its position and made it clear that they have no links whatsoever with political organisations operating outside the borders of South Africa.
Azapo said they felt it necessary to restate that they were an independent organisation with their own constitution, policy and modus operandi.
Publicity secretary Muntu Myeza said they held no brief with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC.

William's Town. Biko, who believed in, and practiced, the concepts of self-reliance, self-sufficiency, independence and initiative by blacks died on September 12, 1977 while in police custody.

And on Sunday a cultural tribute will be paid to the man whose vision still lives on when the Biko Foundation is launched at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre at 2pm.

The launch of the foundation will be graced by Ntsiki Biko, wife of the late founder of the South African Students' Organisation.
The Azanian Peoples' Organisation, the flag-bearers of BC today, besides the tombstone ceremony they have arranged for tomorrow, have ar-

ranged eight other rallies in Pretoria, Regina Mundi (Soweto), Owa Owa, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Pieterburg, Kimberly and Gugulethu to commemorate Biko's death.
Azapo's publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza, this conference that 20 of their members had been detained for an hour by members of the Protea security police, who had also confiscated 137 stickers, posters, and placards.
The public relations division of the SAP in Pretoria confirmed the incident.
Myeza said, in view of this action, they took strong exception to the harassment of Azapo by the



Steve Biko

police with the intention of destabilising and frustrating the commemoration services for Biko.
He added that three of their members sent to Ginsberg as an advance party to assist in the final arrangements for the tombstone unveiling were detained, questioned and told to leave the area.

"STEVE Bantu Biko is our magnifying glass," said Azapo on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the black consciousness leader's death.
Tomorrow will be exactly 10 years since the death in police detention of the father of the BC movement in South Africa.

Azapo, together with its student and youth wings, the Azanian Student's Movement and the Azanian Youth Organisation are this week commemorating Biko's death.
"Through him and his fate the whole spectrum of South African reality is exposed."
"Perhaps it was visible, but now it comes sharply into focus. What was confusing is clarified. What was obscured is revealed. In the fate of Steve Biko is incapsulated the truth about South Africa today," Azapo said earlier at a Press conference.

the result of a scientific analysis of the South African political system and its dynamics.
Biko's emergence in the political stage as a central character began with his breakthrough, together with other black students, from the National Union of South African Students because of the liberal and reformist approach of the latter to the problems facing South Africa.
He became the first national president of the South African Student's Organisation in 1969 - an organisation for black stu-

struggle for change in South Africa.
"Biko did this against very heavy odds. He was accused of propaganda and promoting racism in reverse."
"He consistently stuck to the question of the plight of the black people because he saw the black person as the actual social force for change," explained Molala.
He added: "Biko was able to address an aspect of black life that had not been effectively attended to - psychological oppression and the need for liberation."
According to Molala, this found fruition in the early seventies because a whole movement away from white value systems began to gain momentum.
This, among others, was exemplified by the attitude to accept black names and reject so-called Christian ones, he said.

He was elected publicity secretary and wrote a many articles which set the direction for what he believed to be the black man's struggle.
Some of his writings are contained in a book entitled *Steve Biko: I write what I like* - currently banned in South Africa.

'PW is running out of excuses to delay Mandela's release'

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A STATEMENT by the Release Mandela Campaign said this week "it has become clear that the State President, PW Botha, is running out of excuses for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners."

The statement, released by Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the RMC said: "At first he demanded that Mandela renounce violence - a condition which Mandela rejected."

"Today he links the release of Mandela to that of

Wynand du Toit.

"The Release Mandela Campaign are calling for an unconditional release of all the political prisoners, and not a release based on an exchange."

"Mandela and other prisoners are South Africans and, at no stage, must their release be subject to Pretoria's campaigns against the frontline states."

The RMC statement also said the 133 Fapla soldiers were also not guilty of a crime, according to the internationally recognised Geneva Convention.



PW Botha

"They are entitled to defend the sovereignty of their country against aggression, co-sponsored by Washington and Pretoria."

"The RMC finds the linking of our leaders' release to that of South African soldiers and Unita bandits objectionable."

"There shall be peace and friendship if Mandela is released and the exiles are allowed to return home," concluded the statement.

See pages 10, 11.

Three ANC suspects slain in shootouts

11A
14/9/87
SMA

By Craig Kotze and Mike Cohen

Three suspected members of the banned African National Congress (ANC), who had apparently entered South Africa from Zimbabwe, were shot dead in a running gunbattle with a combined police/SADF force in the far north-western Transvaal at the weekend.

No security force casualties were reported and three AK-47 assault rifles, eight Makarov pistols, hand grenades and other equipment were seized, the Defence Force reported.

The shootouts began on Friday afternoon when the SADF tracked down a group of suspected insurgents on a farm in the Alldays area, killing one in a brief skirmish at about 6 pm.

Follow-up operations continued throughout Friday night and another two suspected insurgents were killed in a clash with police and SADF members on a farm in the Pontdrif area at about 4 pm on Saturday.

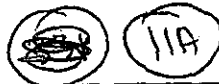
Initial reports reaching The Star late last night indicated that four alleged insurgents were shot and killed but an SADF statement issued today reported only three dead.

A Defence Force spokesman said late last night that the Pontdrif skirmish occurred after a farmer had reported the presence of "suspicious people".

"We confirm that three terrorists who infiltrated from Zimbabwe were killed and a quantity of arms and ammunition was captured late last week," said the SADF statement.

It is believed the clash took place on a farm called Driepan.

Major-General Bert Wandrag, head of the police counter insurgency unit, said the follow-up operation was launched after police discovered the insurgents.



'UDF NEVER CALLED FOR A BLACK RULER'

By **MONK NKOMO**

THE United Democratic Front has never called for a black government but had said that a leader of any race who would accept the humanity of all the people can lead this country, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the organisation, told the Pretoria Supreme Court on Friday.

Referring to a speech which is an exhibit in court — which he made at a UDF rally in Port Elizabeth on August 25, 1984 — Mr Lekota said they were not looking for a black prime minister or a black government. The UDF was calling for a government of all the people who would be represented in Parliament, he said.

"Experience has taught us that among African people as well, there are rascals and scoundrels, bantustan leaders and men who are committed to apartheid," said Mr Lekota.

He added that it would be coincidental should a black, coloured or Indian

person be elected leader in a democracy in South Africa.

Mr Lekota stressed that any person could be elected to lead South Africa irrespective of his colour. "The primary condition for him to lead our country must be that he accept the humanity of the people of our country — all of them," said Mr Lekota.

He told the court that the UDF had persuaded the government to call

for a national convention where all the people of this country would decide and draft a constitution of their own choice which is acceptable to all.

Detained

Cross-examined by Mr George Bizos, Mr Lekota said he and a number of high-ranking officials of the UDF were detained in August 1984. They were released in December without being charged.

ber the same year. The detention of senior officials disrupted the smooth-running of the organisation and "threw the UDF into disarray," Mr Lekota said.

He and 18 others, including senior officials of the UDF, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and the Vaal Civic Association, have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst who is sitting with an assessor, to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

Azapo plea for end to violence

By Maokeng Kgwete

Both the Freedom Charter and the rival Azanian People's Manifesto needed revision, Azapo's president, Mr Nkosi Molala, said at the weekend.

Speaking at a rally to mark the 10th anniversary of the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, Mr Molala said both political programmes needed to be revised in order to meet the aspirations of a broad section of the population.

Mr Molala called for an end to internecine warfare between rival organisations. The rally took place against a background of recent fatal clashes between members of rival groups.

Azapo supports the black consciousness Azanian People's Manifesto, while organisations affiliated mainly to the UDF have adopted the non-racial Freedom Charter drawn up by the ANC and allied organisations in 1955.

Mr Molala condemned violence used by black organisations against their own people and said this benefited the "enemy".

Several other speakers criticised the "barbaric and brutal necklace" method of disposing of political opponents.

Mr Molala responded to speculation about what Mr Biko's political stand would be today if he were still alive.

He said that although Mr Biko foresaw a non-racial South Africa in the future, it was not in terms of trends taking place today.

The meeting took place under close police surveillance.

Biko's spirit 'still growing'

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) says the political tide set in motion by Steve Biko continues to grow despite the setback of his death in detention 10 years ago.

In a statement released in Harare, BCMA leader Mr Mosibudi Mangena paid tribute to Mr Biko as an "illustrious leader".


He, with other young black students, had developed an inspiring world view which had "crushed the intimidated silence" which affected black people after the decimation of black resistance to apartheid in the early 1960s.

A major factor in the survival of the black consciousness movement, despite Biko's death and government repression, had been the adoption of "collective leadership" as a principle of organisation.

Mr Mangena said his organisation would continue its struggle for a "democratic, anti-racist and socialist republic".

The BCMA was formed in the late 1970s by some former black consciousness adherents who did not join either the African National Congress or Pan Africanist Congress.

PAC call for full sanctions

 The Star's Africa News Service

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has called on the international community to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions on South Africa.

The call was made in a statement to mark the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko.

CAT TRIPS 14/9/87

114

Dakar man on ANC attacks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A SENIOR ANC official told the recent Dakar conference that it would be "morally unacceptable" and "strategical nonsense" to launch an uncontrolled attack on civilians, according to one of the participants, Mr Riaan de Villiers.

ANC speakers also said its armed policy was to attack "strategic targets" although it accepted that civilians could be killed or injured in these attacks, he wrote in the latest issue of Die Suid-Afrikaan, which was published at the weekend.

In an editorial, the magazine said the Dakar delegates did not owe an answer for events like the Johannesburg bomb which exploded soon after the conference.

The group went to Dakar "because bombs have exploded in South Africa".

"And in the end this is the most important reason why the Dakar conference took place in this form, because the government it-

self refuses to negotiate with the ANC.

"The group went — in full knowledge of its lack of power — precisely because the government will not do it, and in the faint hope that it could contribute to real negotiations eventually.

"There can hardly be one member of the group who would have stood back with the greatest of pleasure for a government delegation — and with a "proper mandate" — so that it could indeed negotiate a peaceful settlement with the ANC.

"By not doing so, the government is in the first and last instance obliged to give an answer to South Africa for the increasing political violence," Die Suid-Afrikaan said.

In his article, Mr De Villiers said the ANC speakers stressed that the organization had turned to violence after a half-century of peaceful protest had been fruitless and after it had been declared unlawful.

It was emphasized "in contrast to the image of uncontrolled violence which is promoted in South Africa, that the 'armed struggle'

is conducted within a definite policy framework".

For 20 years, the ANC attacked only unmanned government installations on condition there was no loss of life or injury.

"It was first accepted in 1983 that government personnel — for instance, police and defenced force personnel — could die.

"This still remains the basic policy, although it also accepted that citizens could die or be injured in attacks of this kind — for example bomb explosions.

"A senior ANC spokesman declared in an important speech that an uncontrolled attack on civilians would be morally unacceptable and strategically nonsense," Mr De Villiers wrote.

The spokesman said: "We are not waging a war against civilians, but against strategic targets. But it would be dishonest to say that civilians will not get injured ... we cannot give a guarantee that no civilians will die."

ANC speakers also said the ANC's use of violence was very "conservative" compared to the actions taken by other liberation organizations in the world.

Cape Times 24/9/87 11A

Policemen sing, pray at Biko service

JOHANNESBURG. — A Ciskei police contingent prayed and sang hymns at a Biko commemorative church service in Zwelitsha on Saturday.

The unveiling of a plaque at the Biko graveside — to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the black consciousness leader's death in detention — in the tiny township of Ginsberg on the Eastern Cape seaboard, was banned as an illegal gathering under the terms of the 15-month-old state of emergency, according to a black activist spokes-

man.

But, at a later church service in the Ciskei, police joined a commemorative service and took communion with the worshippers, including Biko's widow, Nontsikelelo.

Witnesses said about 30 policemen entered the church, where the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev David Russell, was eulogizing Biko.

He asked the police to disarm. They refused, but made no attempt to halt the service.

About half-way through the service, the Ciskeian police officer, Major Popo Blom, fell to his knees from a seat in the front row and began praying aloud. Other policemen joined in the singing of hymns and three were seen to take communion with the mourners.

● Four top officials of the black consciousness movement are reported to have been arrested on Saturday by the Ciskei security police.

The deputy president of Azapo, Mr L Mabasa, told a gathering at the Orlando

East YMCA in Soweto yesterday that Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary of Azapo, had been arrested, together with three others.

The others arrested were identified as Mr Monde Ntwasa, president of Azasm, Mr B Kalaute, second vice-president of Azasm and Mr Mandla Nkosi, vice-president of Azapo (Eastern Cape).

An SAP spokesman confirmed the arrest of four people by Ciskei police. — Sapa and UPI

Thousands in attendance at nationwide services

BIKO DAY

14/9/87
Sowetan

UNITY



THE late Steve Biko.

THOUSANDS of people throughout the country at the weekend commemorated the tenth anniversary of Steve Biko's death — who died in police custody on September 12, 1977.

Services were held in several centres, including Soweto's Regina Mundi church, which was attended by several hundred people.

Addressing the rally at Regina Mundi, the president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, called on all adherents to the Freedom Charter and the Azanian Manifesto to join forces in opposing apartheid.

Heavily armed police in about 10 vehicles supported by the army in armoured troop carriers, took up positions outside the Donaldson YMCA in Orlando East where hundreds of people were attending a commemoration service.

In a special message from Dar-es-Salaam, the chairman of the Pan

By SOWETAN REPORTERS

Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr Johnson Mlambo, called on workers, the youth and the religious community, to rededicate themselves to unity and to continue with the ideals for which Biko lived and died.

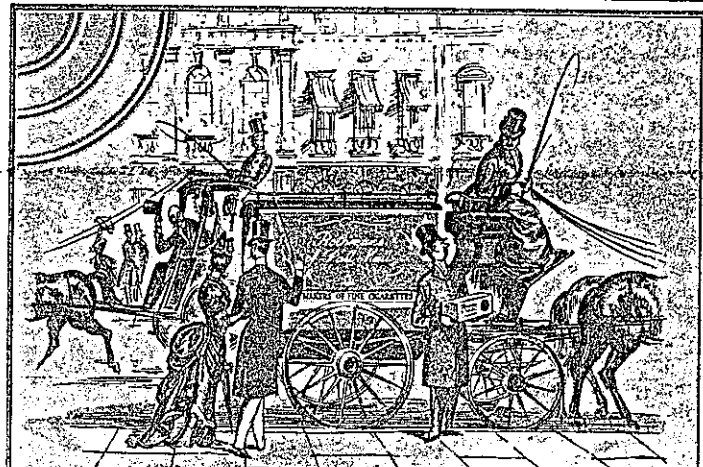
He said: "Under his (Biko's) dynamic and creative leadership, the black working class was awakened and organised; black theology emerged, and the rekindled spirit of self-awareness found expression in the mushrooming of any organisations of the oppressed masses.

Oppressed

"All trends and political tendencies among the oppressed majority were united," he added.

Azanyu executive member, Mr Dirk Masote, said the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko should be regarded as a "symbolic day to honour all Azanians who have died in detention."

To Page 2



Famous for their unwavering quality

Smoking fashions may come and go but Consulate will always give you three things... The finest tobacco.

P.T.O.

'Revolution expert' back to watch media

VETERAN State witness in 20 political trials — Rand Afrikaans University academic Izak de Vries — is back in the limelight after a low-profile two years.

De Vries was last in the headlines when the State used him to try to prove a revolutionary conspiracy involving the United Democratic Front and other political movements in 1985.

Following a prolonged clash with Ismail Mahomed SC, appearing for the accused (who were acquitted), De Vries has not appeared in court again.

The man Mahomed described as "a reader of Sechaba" (an ANC publication) emerged at the weekend as the man government has engaged to peruse publications for traces of their support for revolution.

Mahomed's cross-examination of De Vries makes interesting reading.

At one point De Vries told the court that "If a person X stands up and he says 'Viva the ANC', then I say in terms of my theories that is a revolutionary directed action because the ANC is a revolutionary movement and such a person is now saying well long live it".

At a later stage De Vries was asked whether he agreed that "governments can contribute towards a revolution".

PATRICK BULGER

He replied: "Ja, unconsciously or consciously, yes".

He agreed that while government would be shocked to hear it was ensuring a violent revolution, he concurred its actions "could objectively lead to a revolution".

He told the court: "My primary concern is, of course, always documents dealing with revolution".

Interviewed at the weekend about his new post with the Home Affairs Department's new Directorate of Media Relations, De Vries shied away from talking about "revolution itself".

"I am only here on a consultative basis. I am part of a panel of experts. I am giving my opinion and they are paying me for it."

Asked why he had been selected for the job, De Vries replied: "It must have been because of my activities as a State witness in 20 trials."

He said he had never appeared for the defence because he had never been asked. De Vries said he would remain at RAU as a lecturer.

b/day 147/82
11A

(S) (KA)

STEVE BIKO week which was observed last week sent the memory back to 1977, a year which was in many ways a watershed in the history of South Africa.

While it is painful to remember those chilling words from Minister Jimmy Kruger: "It leaves me cold," when he was referring to Biko's death, it is a good thing for us to refresh our memories about those memorable events.

If you will remember, there were a number of dramatic things that happened in 1977, from the ongoing unrest in our schools to the virtual collapse of the local authority in Soweto.

The schoolchildren having sensed power virtually brought the Urban Bantu Councils down by frog-marching some of its members to the resignation table. A kind of



vacuum was created in local politics in Soweto and some of us thought it would be wise to fill it with leaders with credibility.

Alas, the Government which had been straining at the leash to move from the civilian order to military dictatorship be-

lieved the events were desperate enough to act with their jackboots.

The Committee of Ten formed by a group of moderate leaders in Soweto spent months in jail for daring to raise the possibility of blacks running their own affairs. Ten years later the Black

SA after 10 years

Local Authorities Act took, almost without shame, most of the recommendations made by the members of the Committee of Ten.

If you also care to remember Chief Lucas Mangope was upsetting a whole lot of us by pushing that area into an independence we abhorred.

The newspaper some of us worked for became particularly involved in the dramatic events taking place then. We were involved in the formation of the Committee of Ten.

Our young reporters were pulled into the swirl of political events that were tearing the country apart. Many of them were detained. Some of them were jailed for years.

Then Biko died. He

died in the type of melodramatic manner in which he lived. He died with the echo of that memorable Jimmy Kruger quote ringing in our outraged ears.

It was thus in 1977 that the world actually girded itself to bring South Africa to heel, for the disinvestment debate started then.

Strategy

In a poignantly ironic way the death of Steve Biko also saw the death of Black Consciousness.

From the death throes of that movement sprang an even more aggressive movement, which was called "progressive" by those who espoused it. They believed BC had had its day and that the political analysis had to

move towards a new strategy, not based on race but perhaps more calculated to fight the class war.

It is not for me to criticise these thinkers as some of the best minds in the country swung towards what is now termed the "Charterist" stance.

Unfortunately not everybody was convinced that BC had seen its days. This caused the type of friction among us which caused a lot of pain and must have had people like Steve Biko spinning in their graves.

While 10 years ago the Vorster government acted with aggressive ineptitude, today P W Botha's regime has become more military, more calculated.

The Government has obviously blundered in trying to bring the Press to heel in the past few years. But repetition confirms and strengthens habit.

Today they are engaged in a sophisticated ploy to suppress the Press, something that is almost Orwellian in its import.

Today they will close newspapers if, on the subjective opinion of certain gurus belonging to Big Brother, a newspaper is "revolutionary" and should be silenced.

Here should be a reassessment of strategies among those in the liberation struggle, 10 years after Steve Biko. We need to fight the battle in the same sophisticated way shown by those who rule us.

114 (S) Someton

WITH the ultimate acceptance of the Western religion down went our cultural values! We have the case for Black Theology. While not wishing to discuss Black Theology at length, let it suffice to say that it seeks to relate God and Christ once more to the black man and his daily problems.

It wants to describe Christ as a fighting God, not a passive God who allows a lie to rest unchallenged. It grapples with existential problems and does not claim to be a theology of absolutes. It seeks to bring back God to the black man and to the truth and reality of his situation.

This is an important aspect of Black Consciousness, for quite a large proportion of black people in South Africa are Christians still swimming in a mire of confusion — the aftermath of the missionary approach.

It is the duty therefore of all black priests and ministers of religion to save Christianity by adopting Black Theology's approach and thereby once more uniting the black man with his God.

Being part of an exploitative society in which we are often the direct objects of exploitation, we need to evolve a strategy towards our economic situation. We are aware that the blacks are still colonised even within the borders of South Africa.

Their cheap labour has helped to make South Africa what it is today. Our money from the townships takes a one-way journey to white shops and white banks, and all we do in our lives is pay the white man either with labour or in coin.

Arrogance

Capitalistic exploitative tendencies, coupled with the overt arrogance of white racism, have conspired against us. Thus in South Africa now it is very expensive to be poor.

It is the poor people who stay furthest from town and therefore have to spend more money on transport to come and work for white people; it is the poor people who use uneconomic and inconvenient fuel like paraffin and coal because of the refusal of the white man to install electricity in black areas; it is the poor people who are

Giving SA a more human face

The *Sowetan* today publishes the final part of an edited version of an essay Steve Biko wrote on Black Consciousness and the quest for a true humanity. This is to mark the 10th anniversary of his death in police detention.

governed by many ill-defined restrictive laws and therefore have to spend money on fines for "technical" offences; it is the poor people who have no hospitals and are therefore exposed to exorbitant charges by private doctors; it is the poor people who use untarred roads, have to walk long distances, and therefore experience the greatest wear and tear on

commodities like shoes; it is the poor people who have to pay for their children's books while whites get them free.

It does not need to be said that it is the black people who are poor.

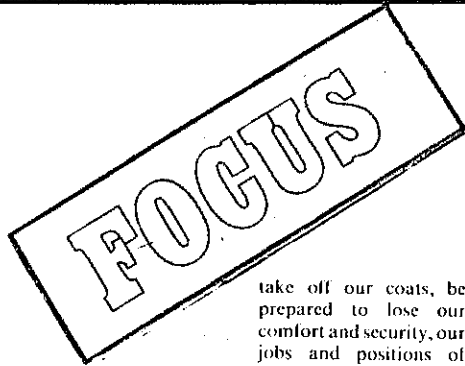
We therefore need to take another look at how best to use our economic power, little as it may seem to be. We must seriously examine the possibilities of establishing business co-operatives whose interests will be ploughed back into community development programmes.

Banks

We should think along such lines as the "buy black" campaign once suggested in Johannesburg and establish our own banks for the benefit of the community.

Organisational development among blacks has only been low because we have allowed it to be. Now that we know we are on our own, it is an absolute duty for us to fulfil these needs.

The last step in Black Consciousness is to broaden the base of our



STEVE Biko . . . BC leader.

take off our coats, be prepared to lose our comfort and security, our jobs and positions of prestige, and our families, for just as it is true that "leadership and security are basically incompatible", a struggle without casualties is no struggle.

We must realise that prophetic cry of black students: "Black man, you are on your own!"

Realistic

Some will charge that we are racist but these people are using exactly the values we reject. We do not have the power to subjugate anyone. We are merely responding to provocation in the most realistic possible way.

Racism does not only imply exclusion of one race by another — it always presupposes that the exclusion is for the purposes of subjugations.

Blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism not to wish to turn the tables. While it may be relevant now to talk about black in relation to white, we must not make this our preoccupation, for it can be a negative exercise.

Goals

As we proceed further towards the achievement of our goals let us talk more about ourselves and our struggle and less about whites.

We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood.

In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible — a more human face.

Unite

We must use that very concept to unite ourselves and to respond as a cohesive group. We must cling to each other with a tenacity that will shock the perpetrators of evil.

Our preparedness to take upon ourselves the cudgels of the struggle will see us through. We must remove from our vocabulary completely the concept of fear.

Truth must ultimately triumph over evil, and the white man has always nourished his greed on this basic fear that shows itself in the black community.

Special Branch agents will not turn the lie into truth, and one must ignore them. In a true bid for change we have to

CAPE TOWN 15/9/87

UDF rejects govt's National Council

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front has rejected the proposed National Council as no different from the Native Representative Council of the 1940s.

Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF, said it expected action against anti-government bodies in the wake of their rejection of the National Council.

The proposed body would enable elected black leaders, and those of other population groups, to draft a new power-sharing constitution.

And at the weekend the CP's Transvaal Council adopted a resolution saying the proposed National Council constituted the beginning of the process of black participation in central government.

United Municipalities of South Africa president Mr Tom Boya reiterated in Johannesburg yesterday that UMSA would not serve on the National Statutory Council till certain conditions were met.

These included the unbanning of all political organizations and scrapping of all discriminatory legislation.

● The nine black leaders who will be elected to the National Council will collectively represent about 8,364-million blacks in nine "development regions".

The government hopes to hold elections next year in October during the nationwide municipal elections. While it will not be possible to draw up a voters' roll by then, Home Affairs officials indicated yesterday that ID documents may be used instead.

The development regions will roughly follow SA's Industrial Development Regions, which are: Western Cape; Western Transvaal, Northern Cape and parts of the OFS; parts of the OFS and QwaQwa; Eastern Cape and parts of the OFS; Natal and KwaZulu; Eastern Transvaal, KaNgwane and parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu; and the PWV area.

Grenade kills

ANC man

SA 15/9/87
An African National Congress "terrorist who received military training in Angola" died while attempting to hurl a grenade at police last Thursday, police announced today.

A police statement said the man was arrested in Chesterville, Durban. He attempted to hurl a grenade but it exploded and he was killed. Weapons of Soviet origin were seized.
— Sapa.

National Council Bill is slammed

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TWO major extra-parliamentary organisations in the country yesterday slammed the Government's National Council Bill and black leaders who have welcomed it.

The United Democratic Front called on the Government to abandon plans for the National Statutory Council, while the Azanian People's Organisation said people should be aware of what it stands for.

Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, yesterday said the Government is making a determined attempt to get the Bill passed this session of Parliament.

The Bill, providing for a forum on which elected black representatives will be included with political leaders of the other

**By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE**

population groups, and of the homelands, to hammer out a new constitution, is to be submitted to the Joint Standing Committee on Constitutional Development on Thursday.

So far two black leaders, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, and Mr Steve Kgame, president of the Urban Council of South Africa, have publicly welcomed the Bill.

Mr Nkosi Molala, Azapo's national president, said they viewed the NSC as a contraption that is intended ultimately to dupe the oppressed masses. He said the Bill is aimed at deflecting the people's focus away from legitimate causes for change in the country.

The UDF national treasurer, Mr Azar Cachalia, said they were not surprised that the Government has embarked on yet another disastrous path.

"We warn the Government that, just as the tricameral parliament gave birth to the UDF and massive opposition to that constitution, we are convinced that the vast majority will be united in their opposition to the NSC.

The United Municipalities of South Africa president, Mr Tom Boya, said yesterday Umsa would not serve on the NSC until certain conditions were met.

Mr Boya added that he would be referring "broadly" to the NSC in a paper to be delivered on Friday at the South African Institute of Race Relations.

APARTHEID CALLED A HERESY

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Smetan
15/9/87

It was in conflict with "the word of God."

The Government was cruel because of its resettlement policy and its operations, including those at Crossroads in the Cape where administration officials razed shacks leaving families out in the cold, Mr Lekota said.

He said that the Government could have been criticised for being selfish. Underprivileged communities were deprived of certain jobs which were reserved for whites.

"Even the appointment of officials in the judiciary — judges, magistrates and prosecutors — are made on the basis of a person's colour because all those appointed are white," Mr Lekota said.

The UDF did not want to see bloodshed or worsening of the conflict. "The continued exclusion of blacks from Parliament has frustrated large sections of the

THE United Democratic Front sought peaceful and non-violent means to persuade the Government to abandon its policy of apartheid which is the basis for the escalation of violent conflict in the country, the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF rejected allegations that his organisation brought the Government into disrepute.

He agreed that the Government could have been labelled as being "undemocratic, cruel, illegitimate, immoral, racist and selfish" by speakers at UDF meetings.

Examined by Mr George Bizos, SC, for the defence, Mr Lekota said the Government was racist because of its persuanee of the policy of apartheid which had been declared a heresy by churches throughout the world.

Treason trial is told

community who resorted to the armed struggle," Mr Lekota said.

The armed conflict was increasing and innocent people were being killed. "When these bombs explode they don't choose if you are white or black. We find ourselves in an unsafe country. We want the Government to abandon the policy of apartheid which is the basis for this conflict," Mr Lekota said.

He rejected allegations by the State that the UDF conspired with the banned ANC to overthrow the Government by violent means. He also denied that he had incited people into acts of violence and that he had promoted a violent revolution in the country.

Mr Lekota and 18 others who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

(Proceedings)

Alleged ANC 3 slain

THREE suspected members of the African National Congress (ANC), were shot dead in a running gun battle with a combined police/SADF force in the far northern Transvaal after they apparently entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

No security force casualties were reported and three AK47 assault rifles, eight Makarov pistols, handgrenades and other equipment were seized, the SADF reported.

Meanwhile the search for the AK47 gunman who shot dead two white policemen near Marble Hall on Friday night

continues, a KwaNdebele police spokesman said from KwaMahlangu yesterday.

Lieutenant Hannes Fourie (42) and Constable Mark Fourie (19), were shot dead from close range with an AK47 rifle.

They had been seated in a police vehicle near the Dennilton-turnoff from the Marble Hall Pretoria road, awaiting a black police colleague investigating a robbery case, when at least 13 shots were fired at them.— Sapa.

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Dawson
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million people.

Azapo official confirms arrests

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — An Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) official, Mr Nkosi Molala, yesterday claimed the four Azapo officials who were arrested last Saturday had been arrested by the Ciskei Police.

Speaking from the organisation's head office, Mr Molala said a convoy of cars had been travelling to a commemoration service in Zwelitsha.

The car in which Mr Muntu Myeza, Mr Mandela Nkosi, Mr Monde Ntwasa and Mr B. Kalaute were travelling had been "picked out" by the Ciskeian police and the occupants were arrested, he said.

The arrests were confirmed by an Azapo member who was in another car in the convoy, Mr Monde Mbekwa.

The Ciskei police liaison officer, Colonel Avery Ngaki, could not be contacted yesterday for comment.

Mr Molala also announced that the Biko Foundation had not been launched as Mrs Ntsikie Biko had not been able to travel to the launch.

This was because Mr Myeza, who was to have transported her, had been arrested.

"The Biko Foundation can't be launched in the absence of Ntsikie. It will be launched at a later date," he said. —
DDR

Three die in battle with SA force, two held

JOHANNESBURG —
Three suspected guerillas have been killed and two arrested in two incidents in the Transvaal.

The SADF said in Pretoria three suspected ANC members had been killed in a gunbattle with a combined police/SADF force in the Northern Transvaal after they apparently entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

No security force casualties were reported.

The shootout began on Friday afternoon when the SADF tracked down a group of alleged insurgents, killing one.

Follow-up operations continued throughout the night and two more suspected insurgents were killed in the Pontdrif area on Saturday.

In a separate statement the SADF said two "terrorists who were trying to infiltrate South Africa from Botswana," were arrested by members of the SADF at a roadblock Western Transvaal last week.

Two white policemen have been shot dead by an AK47 gunman in KwaNdebele.

A KwaNdebele police spokesman said the search for the AK47 gunman who shot dead two white policemen was continuing.

Lieutenant Hannes Fourie, 42, and his son Constable Mark Fourie, 19, were shot.

They had been seated in a police vehicle awaiting a black police colleague investigating a robbery case, when at least 13 shots were fired at them, the spokesman said. — Sapa

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CIR
15/9/87

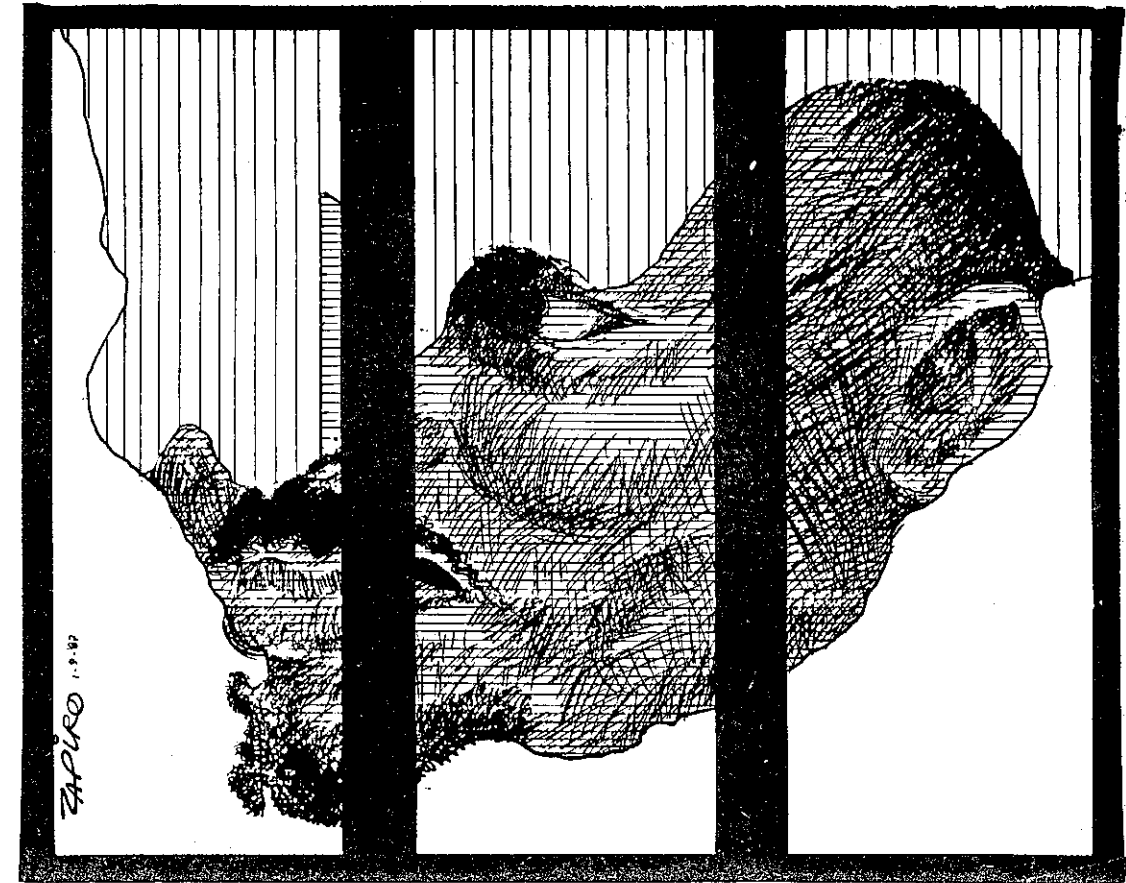
Motives a cause for concern

I WISH to commend SOUTH for showing concern about the tenth anniversary of Steve Biko's death. However, the motive behind the articles in your edition of September 3-9 and the choice of interviews is of grave concern to me and, certainly, to all BC adherents.

It seems to me that the motive was to slander the Black Consciousness Movement and to hide real contributions Steve made to our struggle. Steve made many contributions in the social, political and economic lives of black people in this country. In my view, what is expected of an alternative press is to see Steve's contribution in the context of the present situation rather than reproduce stories that we read about in 1977. This approach only serves your suspected motive; to prove that Steve died with his ideas.

I also suspect you find it difficult to destroy Steve Biko. Many have tried before, but failed. It therefore becomes expedient for you to smother BC organisations since they keep Biko alive.

I would never expect any serious and honest person to request Stalin to praise Lenin unless to fulfil some sinister objective. In South Africa newspapers are infamous for their lack of objectivity, but there is



still scope for improvement.

SOUTH should avoid this state of affairs deteriorating further. With particular reference to the article by a priest no one except his congregation knows, I find it hard to believe that a man of God can make statements that are not only insulting, but definitely causing tension and bitter-

ness among oppressed people.

Most of what he said in your paper is naked, but he also refers to BC as "deeply religious". One characteristic of religious people or bodies is that they adhere to some closed books, like all religious books. It appears to me that the priest mistook us for his congregation or his

current "circles". Those who know better know that he can't be taken seriously. I challenge the priest to come with us to Ginsberg on the September 12, and repeat his words over Steve Biko's grave for the world to hear.

We are aware that newspapers in our country have programmes to promote certain organisations. We

can't prevent them from doing this. However, this has to be done in a way that does not injure our dignity.

We hope that SOUTH will guard against any temptation to be an anti-BC propaganda vehicle. This will ensure mutual respect between SOUTH and Azasm.

**MONDE NTWASA
PRESIDENT, AZASM**

Scuffles at Unity meeting

10-16/9/87

Sayin
11A

By RYLAND FISHER

A PUBLIC meeting of the New Unity Movement ended in chaos last week when scuffles broke out between groups of youths, a car's window was smashed and a bus's tyres deflated.

The action of the youths and the "uncalled-for provocation" by the Unity Movement speakers at the meeting, were condemned by the Call of Islam, whose national organiser, Maulana Faried Esack, attended the meeting.

Esack said about 25 youths entered last Wednesday's meeting at the Athlone Civic Centre when it was about halfway.

"They went to sit at the back and were speaking quite loudly so some Unity Movement bouncers confronted them. I went to intervene and told them the Unity Movement

had a right to be heard.

"Towards the end of the meeting, when the resolutions were being read, the youth went outside and started singing. They started tearing up Unity Movement pamphlets.

"One young member of the Unity Movement wanted to fight with the youth but he was stopped.

"At the same time, scuffles were taking place outside the hall. I was disgusted. It was wrong try to break up the Unity Movement meeting. But the attitude of the Unity Movement people was not very helpful.

"The speakers went on a tangent against the UDF and its allies. Even though they did not use names it was quite clear who they were referring to," Esack said.

One person, who attended the meeting and who is not in the UDF or the Unity Movement, said

there was "high tension" after the meeting.

"Both sides made mistakes. The Unity Movement speakers made really bad remarks about the UDF, while the youths took out their anger on everyone, even people who attended the meeting but don't really support the Unity Movement," he said.

Unity Movement president Mr Richard Dudley said: "All that happened was that at the end of the meeting a group of what appeared to be schoolchildren broke out into singing. They adopted a very belligerent attitude towards members of the audience and interrupted the reading of the resolutions.

'Impolite'

"Their general attitude was very impolite, aggressive and positively rude. Outside the hall they broke a car window and flattened the tyres of a bus which had brought people from the Northern Suburbs to the meeting."

Dudley said the Unity Movement would "make it known to all organisations that this type of conduct, by a small number of people, is not only counter-productive, but can only benefit the ruling class in its endeavours to cause disunity among the ranks of the oppressed".

"We feel people must be prepared to accept full responsibility for what we regard as unacceptable attitudes which had been generated amongst certain sections of the youth.

"Many members of the Unity Movement have observed that these youths have not been taught the basic politics of struggle in this country. This is like breeding hit gangs to create a situation where one tendency can claim to be the dominant one in the South African situation," Dudley said.

50 youth members quit over approach

ABOUT 50 members of the New Unity Movement's Youth Wing have resigned because of dissatisfaction with the organisation's leadership.

The resignations are believed to have affected mainly the Southern Suburbs and Cape Flats branches of the youth wing.

"Our decision to resign is because of the culmination of many things. Our grievances date back to 1985 when the Unity Movement brought out a pamphlet urging pupils to go back to school in spite of strong feelings in the community that class boycotts should continue. Many pupils felt they were reactionary. This made our work in schools more difficult," said one of the members who resigned.

"The Unity Movement is always differing from other organisations in their approach. For us, the final straw was when the Unity Movement issued a pamphlet on May 6 criticising the call by Cosatu and UDF for a stay-away in protest against the white elections.

"The Unity Movement has no programme of action. They only respond to what other organisations are doing. There is no way it will become a mass-based organisation," he said.

Unity Movement president Richard Dudley said "a few people resigned from the two branches concerned".

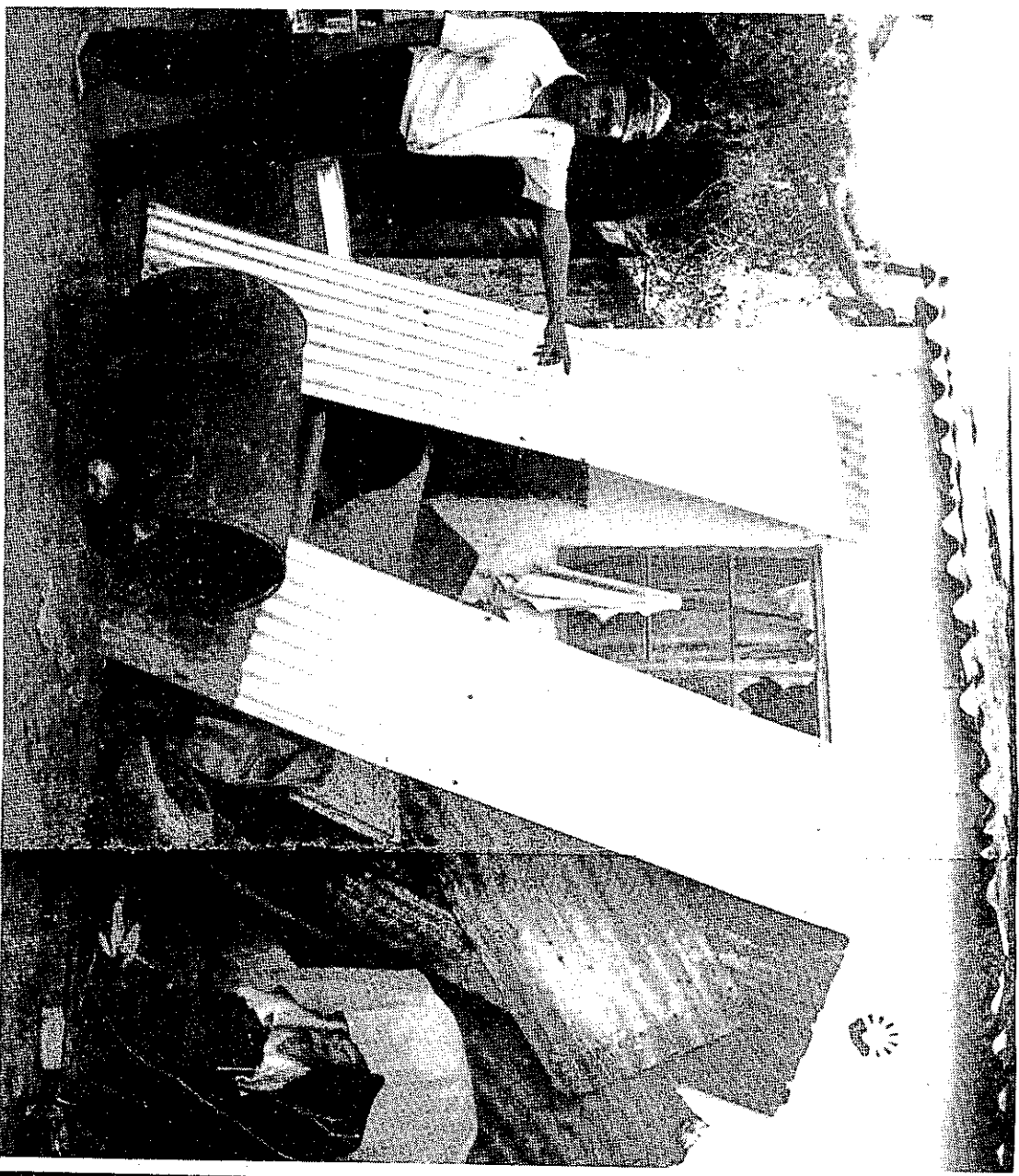
"This happens in every organisation. We were simply informed that the people had resigned but we were not given any reasons yet. We are now simply re-organising our branches."

11A
Wade
Combs

South SCOPE

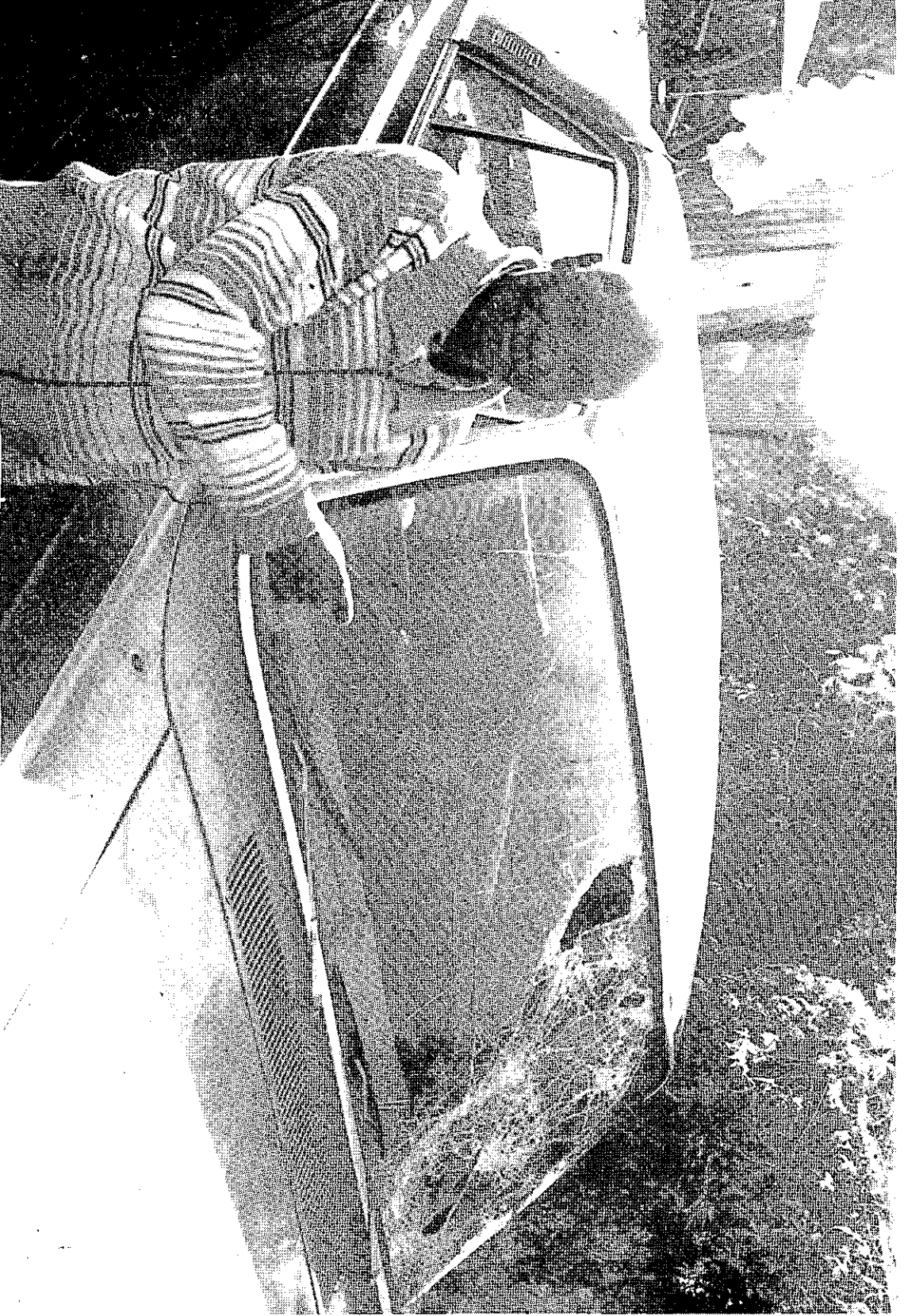
Violence in Worcester getting out of hand

By CHRIS GUTUZA and AYESHA ISMAIL
Pictures: CHRIS GUTUZA



Barricades . . . Mr Cedrick Luwane tries to protect his house from further attacks

SOUTH, SEPTEMBER 10 TO 16 13

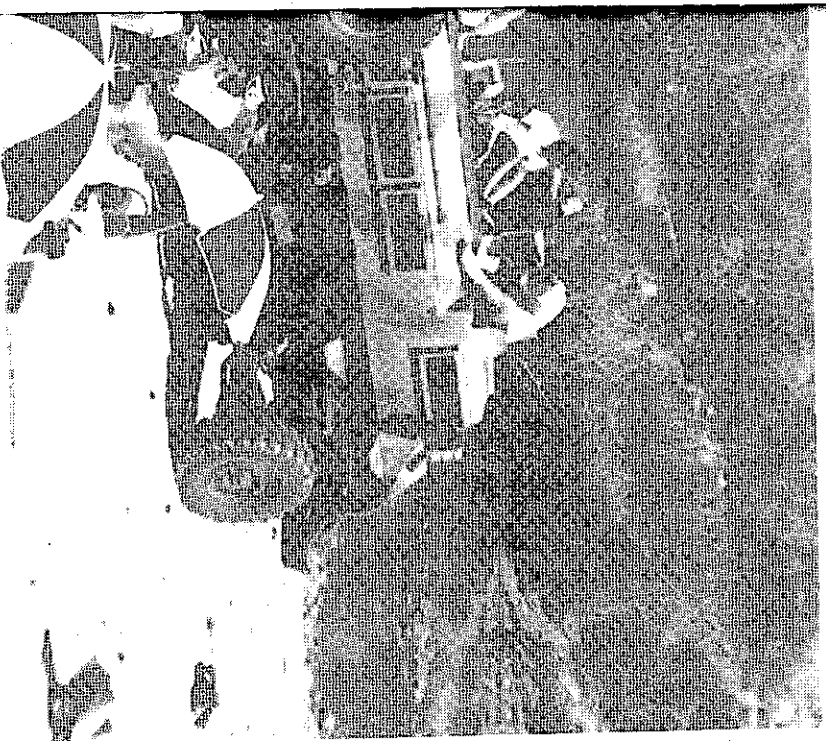


More damage . . . Skafu Street resident Mr Charles Dansiamba at his car after a stone attack

SOUTH, SEPTEMBER 10 TO 16 14

ibia leaves 600 000 with

to ride



of the World to unite

THE South African Chapter of the World Conference on Religion and Peace held its third Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture at the weekend. Dr Beyers Naude delivered the lecture.



YOUTHS and activists have fled a "war zone" in turbulent Zwelethema township, outside Worcester, for fear of being assaulted or detained. And adding to the conflict is confusion over who is responsible for the violence that has stunned the township.

Violence erupted last Sunday, the day the community and organisations were to meet to discuss peace talks after months of conflict between two neighbouring streets.

Witnesses claimed in statements that a large gang of people armed with pangas, axes, knives and knobkerries went from door to door in search of youths who had allegedly stoned houses earlier last weekend.

Retaliated

The youths then gathered and retaliated. "We drove the gang back and they fled into several houses which were stoned," comrades said. "We fled when police arrived."

The gang then continued the door to door search, allegedly under police protection.

It is alleged that several comrades were allowed to be assaulted by the gang before being thrown into police vans. Others had to flee although they had not been involved in the stoning.

"Unless we are able as adherents specific faith to make a decisive contribution to this use, the credibility of our faith will increasingly be questioned and the validity of our justice will increasingly lose its pi of conviction."

"Equally, just as racism, injury and exploitation of the poor by rich has become a worldwide phenomenon, religions of the world have to discover that unless they operate in much closer mutual consultation and concerted action, they will never be able to obtain worthwhile results as long as they remain divided," Naude said.

"God is also reminding those of us who are Christians to solve our professional differences, and those of us belonging to a specific faith to

Divisions

A high school pupil, Ms Nontobeko Matgas, 21, who are Christians to solve our professional differences, and those of us belonging to a specific faith to

Drinking

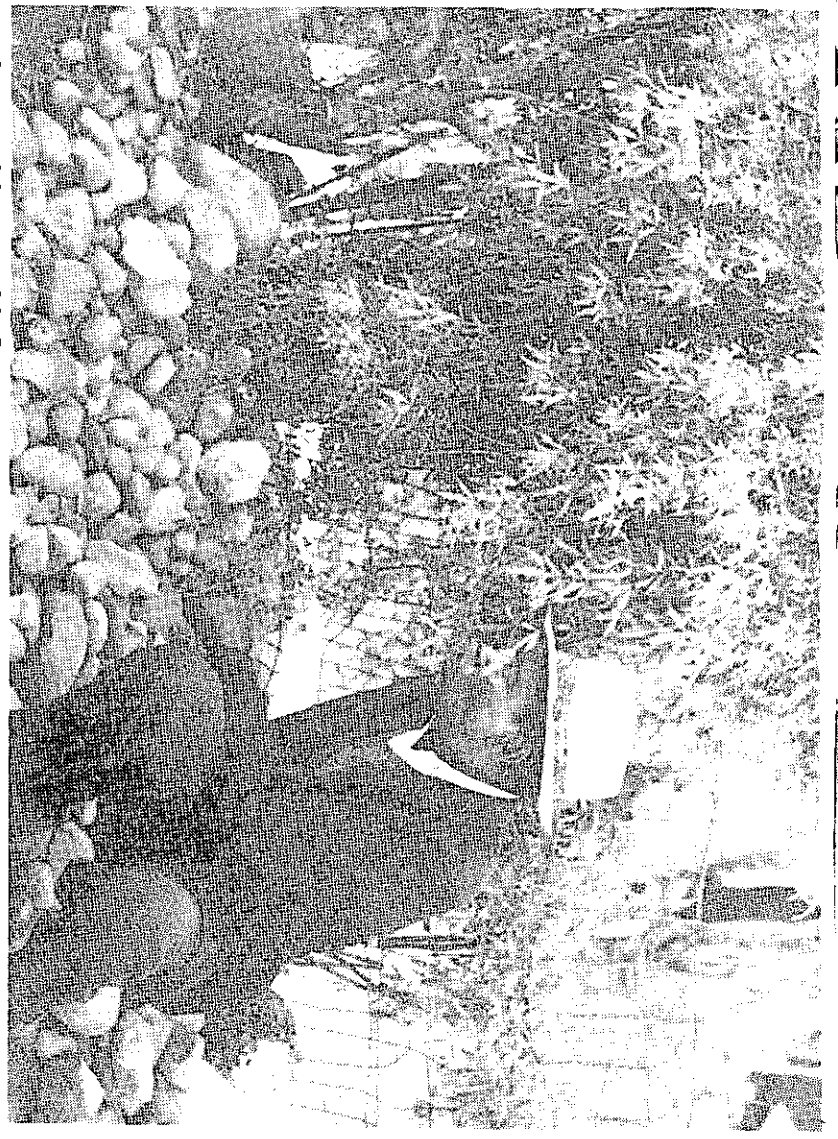
afternoon drinking in a hokkie at my place. "We heard noise in the street and someone saying they were looking for people who had stoned their houses. The comrades fled. "One of the men entered the house, but left when he found nobody. But about 10 minutes later they came back with police and arrested some comrades."

Search party

Ms Elizabeth Bushwana, formerly an advice office worker and United Women's Congress executive member, admitted she was one of the leaders of the search party. She claimed those being hunted were not comrades, but hoodlums. "Hooligans were trying to involve comrades in

the dispute, resulting in some comrades being hunted, but not all of them," she said. She said the whole conflict was not over yet. Comrades in hiding rejected Bushwana's claims and she was seen as a vigilante. Bushwana's brother, Raymond, of the Bolland Council of Churches (BOCC), said he was not in Zwelethema the day the incidents took place. Comrades spoken to disputed this and said he was there.

Several houses in two neighbouring streets were damaged last Friday when stones were thrown at houses in Skaflu Street. Windows were shattered, roofs broken and furniture damaged. Skaflu residents retaliated and damaged



Ammunition . . . Mr Samson Kumalo removed these stones from his house after an attack

House wrecked

Skaflu Street resident, Mr Samson Kumalo, said his house wrecked by stones when he returned home last Friday. He pointed to a pile of stones which he had removed from his house. Youths from both streets said they had decided to bury the hatchet before Sunday's violence and that a third group was responsible for the violence. The youth, activists and community leaders blamed a woman, her family and beerhall employees — which allegedly included people previously regarded as comrades — for the violence.

Residents of both streets met early last Sunday to further peace talks initiated by several activists released from detention earlier this year.

Peace talks

An activist who did not want to be named said: "The community was united when we went into detention. When we came out we were distressed to see the community divided. We initiated several peace talks months ago. "But it was only last week that we were able to get both sides to agree on peace. Despite the violence of last week the two streets which were at loggerheads still respected

Marriages

"The community declared at a public meeting that they rejected having a beerhall in the township," the activist said. "We felt it broke up too many marriages. Many lost their lives in drunken fights near the bar and several people were hurt in car accidents after leaving the bar."

The community felt it should have been consulted by the leaders who bought the hall. Youth called for all employees to resign from the beerhall. One of the youths, also detained last week, was said to be the only worker who resigned.

A Skaflu Street resident, Ms Nomsindisi Ritswana, was employed as a cashier at the beerhall. The comrades asked her to stop working there, but she refused.

She began selling "beerhall" liquor from her house, resulting in her house being petrol-bombed. Later, about 13 youths were arrested and charged with public violence.

The Rev Joe Mpanza from the township's Methodist Church, said: "As a fraternity we have gone into the community to try to call people from both streets to solve the problem."

Only residents from one street came to see the fraternity and the issue could not be resolved. He would propose that another meeting be called as soon as possible because the matter was getting "out of hand".

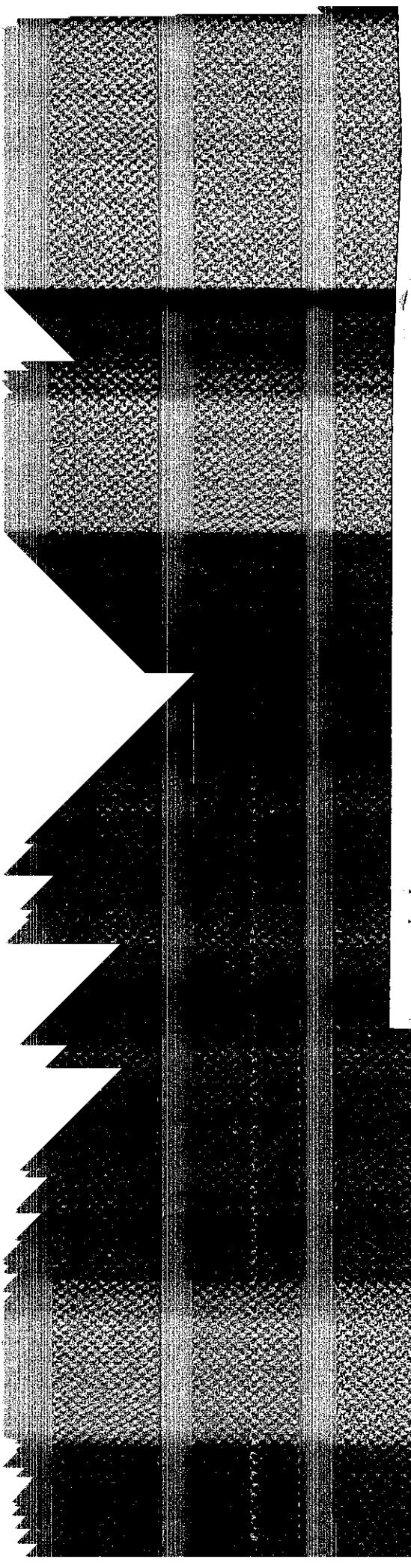
the agreement." According to residents and youths in hiding, conflict started when former employees bought the local beerhall from the administration board. Until that time residents had boycotted the beer hall.



Battle scars . . . Michae
by assailants but bears "r



United . . . Street youths say they have buried the hatchet and want peace



Bo-Kaap CMC man Botha's pal

SOUTH REPORTER

ONE of the main initiators of a Coloured Management Committee for the Bo-Kaap, Mr Ismail Achmat, has written letters to P W Botha since 1978 and once painted a portrait of the State President.

He has been asked to leave public meetings in his area twice this year.

He has also been closely linked to Mrs Sohier Hoosen, the MP for Tafelberg, who polled 113 votes in the 1984 elections for the House of Representatives.

But the 39-year-old spray-painter believes he has the support of the community and is determined to prove it through elections for a management committee.

Achmat is one of five people nominated to serve on a management committee for the Bo-Kaap area. The others are Mr Ismail Hartley, Mrs N Abader, Mrs Amiena Koopman and Mrs Sumaya Salie.

Achmat announced his resignation two days after the names were announced by the Provincial Administrator.

"I am not against the management committee system. I only resigned because I don't want to be nominated. I want to be elected.

"Over the years our area has been controlled by the City Council and various groups have been arguing with them without getting anything right," said Achmat, who is a former secretary of the Schotsche Kloof Civic Association.

Achmat said he did not see himself as a "coloured" and he did not support the system of apartheid.



Mr Ismael Achmat

11A

PAC guerilla finally laid to rest

SOUTH REPORTER

A YOUNG slain guerilla whose body mysteriously disappeared two weeks ago, was finally laid to rest last week.

Neo Koza, 23, of Guguletu, known as "Dutch", was the first known Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) guerilla to be buried in the Western Cape.

APLA is a military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

Koza was killed by police in a recent car chase in Johannesburg.

His funeral was cancelled two weeks ago when his body disappeared before being traced to the Johannesburg state mortuary.

Funeral-goers allege a teargas canister was fired into the funeral procession, but there were no other incidents.

A police Casspir kept watch from a short distance, a witness said.

Koza was a former pupil at Fezeka High School. He left school in 1983 and was briefly employed at Cape Steel. In December 1983 he left the country to join the PAC.

Before he left he was an organiser of the Africanist



Poet Joe Pantshwa (left with glasses) lead the mourners at Neo "Dutch" Koza's funeral at Guguletu last week

Azanian Youth Unity (AZANYU).

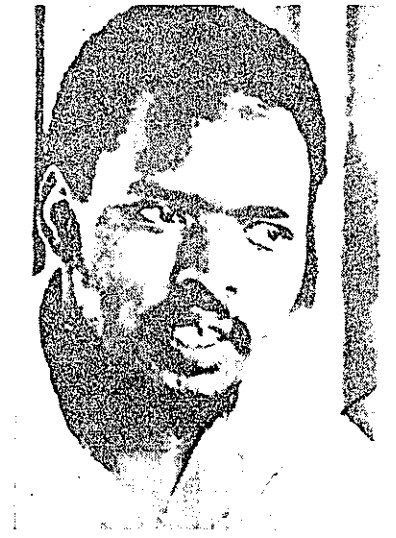
The funeral service started in the morning at Koza's home. In the afternoon it proceeded to the Apostolic Church in NY74, Guguletu.

About 500 people attended the funeral.

AZANYU members formed a guard of honour with open hands, a PAC salute.

Mr Joe Pantshwa, a praise poet and former political prisoner, read his poetry and short speeches were made at the graveyard.

STEVEN BANTU BIKO
WE SALUTE A MARTYR
Long live the Spirit
of Steve Biko



Supt
10/12/9/87
11A

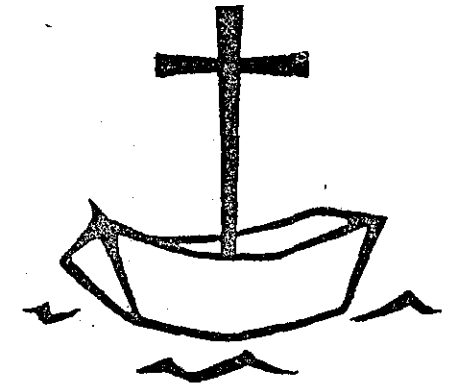
The Western Province Council of Churches will be holding a Eucharistic service on the tenth anniversary of the death in detention of Steve Biko.

PREACHER: REV FRANK CHIKANE
(Gen Sec, SACC)

TIME: 6.00PM

DATE SAT 12/9/87

PLACE: ST GEORGES CHURCH
CALENDULA ROAD
SILVERTOWN



ALL ARE WELCOME

SA forces kill two more ANC suspects DD. 16/9/87 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG — Six suspected insurgents have been killed and two arrested in separate incidents in the country during the past six days.

Defence headquarters in Pretoria announced last night that "two terrorists were shot dead by security forces near Madimbo, north of Venda," in the far Northern Transvaal yesterday afternoon.

"The terrorists, who had

previously infiltrated South Africa and Venda from Zimbabwe, were killed during a follow-up operation.

"The operation was started by Venda forces in that country. When the terrorists crossed into South Africa, the South African security forces took over."

No members of the security forces were injured, the announcement said.

In Pretoria police said an African National Congress "terrorist who received military training in Angola," died while attempting to hurl a hand grenade at police in the Durban area last Thursday (Sept 10).

In a separate incident, three suspected members of the African National Council were shot dead in a running gun-battle with a combined police-

/SADF force in the far Northern Transvaal after they apparently entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

The shootout began when the SADF tracked down a group of insurgents on a farm in the Alldays area on Friday, killing one in a brief skirmish at about 6 pm.

Follow-up operations continued throughout Friday night.— Sapa

Council 'rejected'



17/9/87
Somewhere

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has reiterated its "total and absolute rejection" of the National Council and all Government structures "designed to enforce and prolong white minority domination."

In a statement yesterday the UDF said the National Council faced "massive and widespread rejection."

"We are sure that the voteless people of South Africa will recognise the

National Council for the farce that it is, and return it to the dustheap where all the Government's other toy telephones and other grandiose schemes lie.

Power

"The demands of the South African people are that they shall govern in a democratic and non-racial South Africa. Any lasting solution must involve the transfer of power from the white

minority to the people as a whole, where all people — black and white — share in the decision-making processes in the country.

"The UDF contrasts its demand for one-person, one-vote in a united and unfragmented South Africa and vision of the future to this travesty of democracy that the Government is trying to force down our throats," the statement said.

11A

The UDF: Under cover, but not underground

FOR many organisations the notion of "collective leadership" is at best a slogan. For the United Democratic Front it has become a central ingredient in the stuff of survival.

Six weeks ago key UDF leaders Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli were detained under the Emergency regulations, leaving the Front without a publicity officer or general secretary.

"The detention of two of our leading people has brought the UDF into difficulty but, like all other state repression generally, since the formation of UDF we've been able to overcome those problems in the course of time," said UDF national executive member Billy Nair.

Nair, a former South African Congress of Trade Unions leader who served a 20 year sentence on Robben Island, spent several months in detention of the State of Emergency on June 12 last year, he has made himself "unavailable" for further incarceration. Today, like most others in the UDF's collective leadership, he operates from the "legal underground".

According to Nair more than 30 000 UDF members have been detained over the past two years, and he admits that this has caused difficulties. Finding ways of coping with repression has absorbed much of the Front's energies.

"We wouldn't say we've mastered it altogether but we are fast improving on techniques of organisation," he said.

The UDF has restructured itself at a regional level and has focussed its attention on building, street, zone and area committees as a means of coping with detentions and vigilante attacks.

"It means that while we are not an underground movement — and we insist on maintaining our legality — we do recognise the fact that we cannot operate normally."

The UDF's increasingly close relations with the Congress of South Af-

The UDF is not banned, but its leaders prefer to make themselves 'unavailable' for arrest. GAVIN EVANS talks to Billy Nair, one of the few UDF leaders not in detention or prison, about how the organisation copes with its twilight existence

rican Trade Unions has been a key to the success of this strategy. Most rank-and-file Cosatu members are working in the UDF-linked community structures, Nair says, and the need for forming joint structures at regional and national level is being viewed as a priority by both bodies.

"We have found through joint action the need for more cohesive structures between the two organisations. So you can see that there has been a complete meeting of wills."

On the other side hand, Nair says, the government has failed to make headway in winning significant black support for its reform initiatives.

"Even people like Tom Boya and Chief Buthelezi will have nothing to do with the Regional Service Councils. They have been forced to echo the demands made by the democratic movement and to call for the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the Emergency before they participate in state structures.

"It clearly demonstrates that far from the state winning support, even people operating in state structures find it repugnant to operate in dummy institutions today."

On the controversy around the question of participating in parliament, Nair is clear: "The UDF has not changed its position and is in no way going to participate in institutions that are going to be surrogates of the nationalist government."

He argues that this impasse, caused by the government's unwillingness to compromise, has led to the rapid deterioration in relations between the



New forms of resistance: UDF cultural workers in action

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

Nats and their key Western allies.

"Because of the apartheid system the Nats are failing to protect the imperialist's interests in the region, so quite a number of contradictions have arisen between them and their foreign backers.

"These countries would like to see apartheid go, so there's quite a lot of arm twisting to get the Nats to change course. They are very concerned about the development of the struggle, and it is for fear of losing everything they possess here that they

want a change of direction."

The UDF believes there has been a shift to the right within the National Party, and that the "public relations exercise" of offering certain reforms is being short-changed by the hawks of the security establishment.

Nair says the state is being controlled by the army and police, through the National Security Management System, with parliament and the cabinet acting as a rubber stamp.

"Blacks in South Africa have never known democracy. We know the fascist jackboot, that's all.

"But now the white minority ... is finding its own rights being whittled away. The whites have led themselves into the position where they have allowed the executive to exercise powers on their behalf."

The UDF welcomed the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa initiative as an important breakthrough and said the success of the Dakar trip reflected Afrikaner dissatisfaction with the government.

"There is a need for that initiative to be taken further and we should not be isolationist in our approach. We need to adopt a broad outlook and address the problems of this white group.

"We don't see the democratic struggle as occurring only through the UDF and obviously the methods and issues used to organise the white community will differ from those used to organise the African sector," Nair says.

The UDF says the Nationalists are fighting a war they cannot win and that already they are no longer masters of the situation in South Africa.

"It is this cauldron that is boiling all the time that is ultimately going to explode into a catastrophe and is going to be unstoppable."

Unless both white and black South Africans apply sufficient pressure "to change the course of things in this country very quickly", South Africa is heading for a catastrophe which the Nationalists will be unable and unwilling to stop, he says.

STEVE BIKO died in detention 10 years ago, having refused to "collaborate in his own oppression" by co-operating with his interrogators.

He died, in the words of the inquest magistrate, Marthinus Prins, of a head injury. He was in the custody of the police, but Prins found that no-one was responsible for his death.

Advocate Sydney Kentridge, who represented Biko's wife Ntsiki at the inquest, blamed his interrogators.

Kentridge told the court that Biko died because of a "criminal assault on him" on September 6 or 7 by one or more of the eight security policemen in charge of him. It was then that he sustained the fatal injury which led to his death on September 12.

If the quietly-spoken Biko had been a timid man, he would have submitted and co-operated with his interrogators. There would never have been the "scuffle," as Prins labelled it, or the "assault," as Kentridge contended.

But Biko was a resister to the end, not a supplicant for mercy.

After his first detention for 101 days in 1976, Biko recalled telling his interrogators after an exchange of blows with one of them: "You (will) have to handcuff me and bind my feet together, so that I can't respond. If you allow me to respond, I'm certainly going to respond. And I'm afraid you will have to kill me in the process even if it's not your intention."

Biko's refusal to submit to subjugation was perhaps his primary legacy to his fellow black people. But it was only part of the wider philosophy of black consciousness which he pioneered.

A number of inter-related ideas made up the philosophy which he bequeathed.

Fundamental to it was black pride, the belief that blacks had to shake off the psychological shackles of the "slave mentality" and overcome the sense of inferiority and self-alienation.

Closely related to black pride was black self-sufficiency, the conviction that blacks had to assume leadership roles and control their own destiny.

With that went establishment of blacks-only movements — the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention — and popularisation of the slogan: "Black man, you are on your own."

Associated with that was a deep-rooted suspicion of white liberals and, it should be stressed, leftists.

"The biggest mistake the black world ever made was to assume that whoever opposed apartheid was an ally," Biko said in 1971.

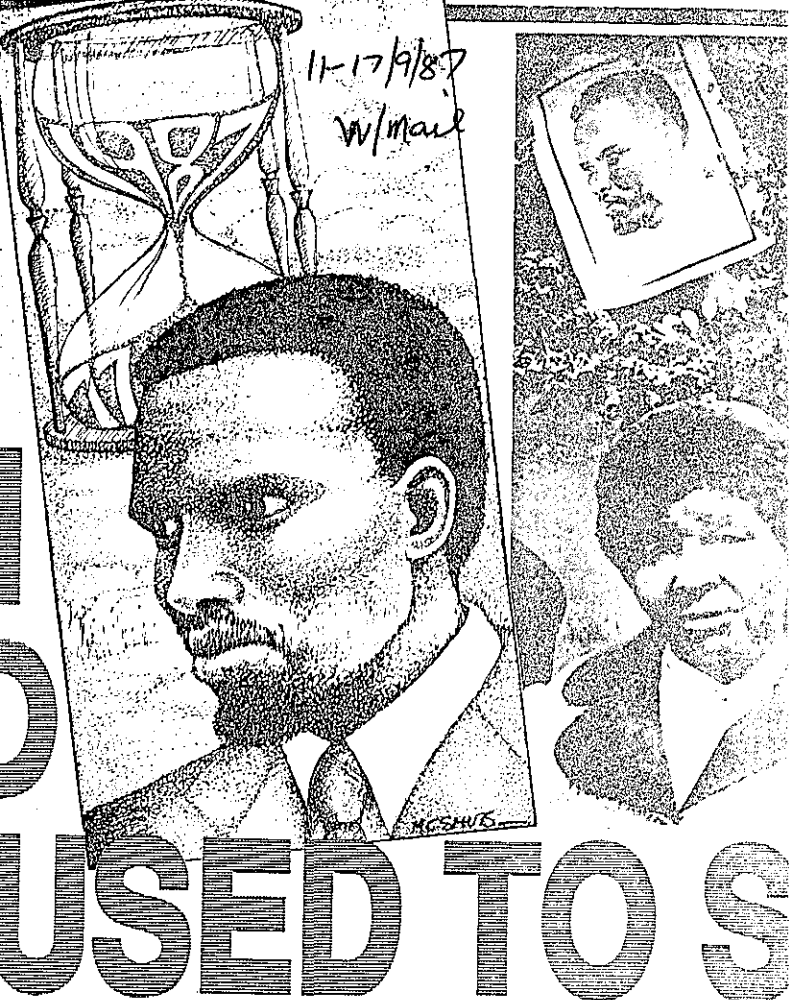
Liberals and leftists were whites who claimed to have "black souls wrapped up in white skins", people who aspired to control — and mute — black liberation movements, people who wanted to tell blacks how they should respond to the collective "kick" administered by the white-controlled society.

Another key concept in Biko's political philosophy was absolute rejection of participation in government-approved political institutions.

"We condemn bantustan leaders, even the best of them like Gatsha Buthelezi," he said.

The principal task of blacks was to destroy

THE MAN WHO REFUSED TO S



Steve Biko's name remains a potent political symbol, ten years after his death. Yet the black consciousness movement he led no longer dominates black politics and many who were his closest colleagues have switched allegiances. On the anniversary of Biko's death, PATRICK LAURENCE assesses the relevance of his ideas

government-created platforms, Biko contended, rejecting the view that they could be used to advance black liberation.

Arguing that the "bantustans" — and, by extension, all political institutions established for blacks — were designed by whites to ensure continued black subordination, he said: "If you want to fight your enemy you do not accept from him the unloaded of his two guns and then challenge him to a duel."

While Biko championed black withdrawal and black solidarity, he saw it as a means to an end, not an end in itself. Ultimately, after blacks had built up their strength and forged themselves into

a powerful force, there could be reconciliation and re-Integration with whites.

But, Biko stressed, it would be a meeting of equals, not an accommodation imposed on, or designed for, blacks.

Positing a Hegelian model, Biko said: "Since the thesis is a white racism, there can only be one valid antithesis: solid black unity to counter-balance the scale."

Out of these opposing forces a synthesis would slowly emerge: "a South Africa where black and white live together in harmony."

As he told Judge Boshoff in the black consciousness trial of 1975-76, in all matters relating

to the struggle "whites must be excluded". But, he added, the struggle was for "an open society, one man, one vote, no reference to colour".

Appraisal of Biko's central ideas 10 years after his death is difficult. All have endured. Some, however, have been marginalised. Others remain central to the quest for equality.

The notion of excluding whites from "the struggle" has been largely pushed aside with the advance of movements supporting the Freedom Charter, notably the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress.

Against that the Azanian People's Organisation

WHY THE BIKO IDEAS CONTINUE TO BE POTENT

THE resolve of Black Consciousness to free black people from psychological self-oppression was captured in Biko's celebrated phrase: "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."

It cannot be denied that BC freed black people from psychological oppression in a way that previous organisations had not managed to — and this is no slur on those organisations.

Today, however, a number of people feel it is retrogressive to speak about the need to liberate people psychologically.

In our view the process of conscientisation will continue until the forces of change triumph over the forces of oppression. Our experience has been that those who think psychological emancipation is a matter belonging to the past are very often themselves in dire need of it.

Some of the events during the railways strike bear out this.

A railways truck, driven by a white worker, was stopped as it drove past Cosatu House. Two black scabs were dragged out and dealt a few blows. One of the workers who were administering the blows is reported to have wondered, on reflection, at the racialism implicit in their activities.

Here was a group of people committed to non-racialism, singing out black workers for assault, as if the white driver was not also a scab. I am not at all suggesting that they should have assaulted the white driver. I don't even think it was correct for them to assault the black people. I am observing merely that their logic was strange, and that it confirms my claim that they stand in need of psychological emancipation.

BC has always been acutely aware of the im-

By **MANDLA SELOANE**
Former Azapo vice-president and executive of Saso

portance of the national question in our struggle. This is borne out by the manner in which the land question was and continues to be emphasised in BC documents.

To some this has been an index of the narrow nationalism BC has been accused of since its inception. Indeed others have characterised BC as a reactionary tendency as a result of our approach to these questions. We are not overly worried since, in our view, our approach seems on historical grounds to be sound.

The clarity of the economic orientation of BC has come a long way.

From its inception, BC declared itself to be committed to a classless society. A classless society by definition is socialist.

When it was suggested to Biko that the problem of South Africa was capitalism and that, therefore, whites had a role in the struggle, he retorted: "Go to the Free State and tell that to Van Tonder."

It has been inferred from this that — at least at that time — BC was not committed to socialism. Then the Black People's Convention (BPC) adopted the Mafikeng Manifesto in 1976. That document committed BC to black communalism.

Now all that is our history and we cannot blot it out. With regard to Biko, however, I would like to say that other statements he made cannot bear an anti-socialist interpretation.

In an article entitled "Our strategy for liberation", for instance, he wrote: "We are by no

means communist ... I think there is no running away from the fact that now in South Africa there is such an ill distribution of wealth that any form of political freedom which does not touch on the proper distribution of wealth will be meaningless ... For meaningful change to appear, there needs to be an attempt at re-organising the whole economic pattern ... within this ... country."

Today, however, BC's commitment to socialism is unmistakable. By adopting the Azanian Manifesto, Azapo placed Black Consciousness squarely in the socialist camp. But that does not mean BC has turned its back on the national question. It means that BC has fused the economic struggle with the national struggle.

In a nutshell, BC recognises the dangers of dividing up the struggle into phases. Too many struggles have gone wrong as a result of the two-phase approach.

On trade unions, from the beginning BC saw the need to organise workers. Thus, for instance, one of SASO's projects was the Black Workers Project (BWP). Later the Black Allied Workers Union (Bawu) was formed by BC adherents. Interesting debates were carried on between BWP and Bawu around the issue of industrial unions and general unions, even during those days.

We believe our message on trade unionism is as valid today as it was in 1967. Then we committed ourselves to organising black workers because history told us that the white working class cannot yet make common cause with the black working class.

How could we try to organise people who had introduced trade unions in South Africa for the very purpose of thwarting the advancement of black workers? How could we make common

cause with people who had used the strike action so many times in order to guarantee that black workers would forever remain underdogs?

Recent events suggest that white workers have not made any marked shift from the positions which informed our original decisions. A cursory look at the recent NUM strike would be instructive.

Before the dispute arose, both NUM and the white Mine Workers Union were threatening a strike. Later the Mine Workers Union declared that its members would accept the offers made by the Chamber of Mines and that, therefore, they would no longer go on strike.

We accept, at face value, that there is nothing wrong with that decision. When the NUM strike started, however, several white mineworkers doubled their efforts in order to ensure that the striking black workers would not be missed.

In our view this has demonstrated — for the umpteenth time — that the interests of the white working class are not genuine working class interests. Therefore we have no historical reason as yet for bringing them within ours.

On alliances, we recognise that the South African problems are so complex that no organisation can be said not to have a place, provided only that it is not collaborationist. In our view, therefore, all progressive organisations have the right to exist. We do not measure the progressiveness of an organisation by the number of white members it can show.

Issuing from the fact that South Africa's problems are complex, we think that no single organisation can presume to address them adequately. Therefore people's organisations should search for a principled basis for working together.

TEN YEARS AFTER: THOSE INQUEST NAMES

Ten years ago Steve Biko died in detention under the care of state doctors and security policemen.

Where are they now?

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE name Steve Biko still rattles the nerves of Port Elizabeth's security branch. Ten years later the mention of his name prompts an intake of breath and questions provoke only stubborn silence.

Eight out of the 10 people involved in the inquest into the death of the black consciousness leader were promoted after his death.

Jimmy Kruger
The only one to receive a smack was the minister of justice, police and prisons, Jimmy Kruger. He was axed from the cabinet when PW Botha was elected prime minister in 1979.

Jimmy "his (Biko's) death leaves me cold" Kruger received a cosmetic promotion in 1979 when he was elected to the Office of the President of the Senate — a prestige post which successfully removed him from any political roll in the newly-formed government.

When the senate was disbanded in 1981, Kruger joined his son's law firm in Pretoria and two years later was admitted as an attorney to the Pretoria Supreme Court. He had withdrawn from politics but remained a member of the head committee of the Transvaal National Party.

After a controversial nine years in parliament as deputy minister of police, health and welfare and then minister of justice from 1974, Kruger died in May this year, a member of the Conservative Party.

Up until the inquest Kruger insisted Biko had died after a hunger strike but later referred to kidney failure.

Colonel Pieter Johannes Goosen

The divisional commander of the security police in the Eastern Province at the time of Biko's death was promoted to brigadier and now lives in Pretoria.

His statement in the inquest court — that the security police "don't work under statutes" — could have landed him with writing traffic tickets for the rest of his career. Instead, he was promoted.

The first detainee to die in Goosen's care was schoolteacher George Botha, 30, who, on December 15, 1976, allegedly jumped down the stairwell on the sixth floor of the Sanlam Building, headquarters of the security police.

During the inquest Goosen said Biko was found in his clothes in a full bath on September 8 and 9 while in the prison hospital. "The deceased was apparently determined on self-destruction, even with his methods of breathing," he said.

Goosen later said Biko could "have hurt his head when he fell out of bed".

Major Harold Snyman

The head of the team of five men who interrogated Biko in Room 619, Sanlam Building, now works at Sanlam — as a life insurance representative.

He was promoted to the head of the security police in the Eastern Cape in January 1984 and retired in June last year after more than 20 years as a security policeman.

Snyman last week said he retired from the police force so many years ago that he could not remember and did not want to talk about events surrounding Biko.

During the inquest Snyman was questioned extensively as to what transpired on September 6 and 7. He said Biko had attacked one of the members of the interrogation team on the morning of September 7. During a scuffle Biko had banged his head against the wall. It had taken five police officers to hold him down so that they could fasten his hands and feet to the grille.

Sidney Kentridge, SC, counsel for the Biko family, questioned the fact that the scuffle ever took place. Snyman later admitted that he did not see Biko hit his head against the wall and "I think he must have sustained the injury after the last time I saw him on September 8".

The cause of Biko's death was diagnosed as a "head injury with associated extensive brain inju-



Sydney Kentridge ... no "scullie" ... followed by centralisation of the blood circulation, disseminated intravascular coagulation, as well as renal failure, with uraemia".

After queries into the whereabouts of the five men who interrogated Biko under Snyman, the Weekly Mail was told by Captain Piet Grobler, press liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, that he had been told by the present head of the security police in Port Elizabeth, Colonel S Gilbert, not to divulge any information about the men.

However, in an earlier conversation Grobler disclosed that the five men had been promoted.

They were Warrant Officer Beneke, Detective Sergeant Nieuwoudt, Warrant Officer Marx, Lieutenant Winston Eric Wilken and Captain Danie Siebert. The latter three gave evidence during the inquest.

Wilken admitted that he had seen a mark on Biko's forehead on September 6, the night before the alleged scuffle took place. He and Siebert had guarded Biko during the 1 200km landrover trip to Pretoria. They testified they thought Biko was shamming because he would breathe unnaturally "especially outside a town — to attract people's attention".

Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker
Eight years after the death of Biko, the two district surgeons who treated him during the five days before he was taken to Pretoria sat before the disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council.

Lang was found guilty of improper conduct under eight subordinate charges relating to his treatment of Biko.

Tucker was found guilty on 10 counts under a main charge that his professional conduct had been disgraceful and three allegations of improper conduct in his treatment of Biko. The council recommended that Tucker be suspended for three months, but that the operation of the penalty be suspended for two years. However, he was due to retire within a year, and did so in 1986.

Lang is now the senior district surgeon for Port Elizabeth and the surrounding areas.

The SAMDC found that Tucker had failed to object to Biko being transported in a landrover to Pretoria, that he failed to ascertain further advice from other doctors on Biko's condition and he did not conduct a proper medical examination.

The council found that Lang had issued an incorrect certificate and a misleading bedletter on Biko's condition. The bedletter had stated that the lumbar puncture conducted on Biko by a neurosurgeon was "normal" when the surgeon's evidence was that blood had been found in the spinal fluid, indicating a brain contusion.

During the inquest, Lang admitted the medical certificate he had written on September 7 was "highly incorrect".

At the time of the examination, Biko had a swollen lip, superficial bruising on the chest, swollen hands, feet and ankles, an ataxic walk and slurred speech. Lang also told the inquest court that at later medical examinations at which other doctors were present, Biko was found to have echolalia (a condition where a patient repeats a word in a sentence again and again) and an extensor plantar reflex of the left foot, in which the toes point upwards instead of down when the sole of the foot is scratched — a sign of possible brain damage and impossible to sham, he said.

Biko spent 25 days in detention. The doctors and security policemen who were with him in the last few days of his life 10 years ago have never been tried or convicted of any criminal action. — Eena



Flashback to Biko's funeral: a national tragedy that echoes as loudly now

SUBMIT

and its ideological allies remain strongly committed to exclusively black — in the sense of African, coloured and Indian — "liberation movements".

All these movements remain as strongly opposed as ever to participation in government-approved institutions from townships councils to the segregated chambers in the tri-racial parliament.

All applaud the concept of black self-esteem, although with varying degrees of intensity.

Many of Biko's lieutenants and disciples abandoned black consciousness after his death, joining the pro-Freedom Charter camp. The names that come to mind are Barney Pitjana, Thenjiwe Mntso, Aubrey Mokoena, Cyril Ramaphosa and Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

But against that, many original black consciousness adherents have steadfastly supported it. The majority of the men indicted and sentenced in the black consciousness trial of 1975-

76 maintained their commitment. To mention a few: Saths Cooper, Muntu Myeza, Aubrey Mokoape and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

So, too, has Terence Jones, the man who was picked up with Biko at a roadblock in Grahamstown on that fateful day in August 1977.

Where would Biko stand if he were alive today?

Would he have judged that the time for the healing synthesis had come? Would he have felt the need to reassess some of his original positions in the light of changing circumstances? Or would events have strengthened his convictions?

No one can be sure. But one assertion can be made. He would have lamented the divisions in black ranks.

He saw the black consciousness movement as a third force, hoping that it would serve as a bridge between the ANC and its pan-Africanist offshoot and not function as a catalyst to further division.

COULD BIKO, TOO, HAVE SWITCHED CAMPS?

IF Steve Biko had lived, he might have been very helpful in resolving ideological differences and divisions within the black community.

That is the assessment of the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches.

Chikane joined the SA Students' Organisation at Turfloop in 1972. "We did not see Saso or black consciousness as anything more than a general mobilising organ of the people internally and never took sides between the liberatory organisations like the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress," he said.

"It was left to individual students or members of Saso who, when they went into exile, made their own choice."

But some of Biko's former colleagues say if he were alive today, he would be espousing progressive views.

Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Campaign, said the man closest to Biko was the Reverend Barney Pitjana — who has moved from the Black Consciousness Movement to the ANC. So have a number of others.

As vice-president of the Students Representative Council at Turfloop in 1970, Mokoena headed the local branch of the South African Students Organisation.

"I worked with Steve Biko from 1970 at personal, political and community levels. Biko had a high regard for Mandela and he worked with many progressive whites including Bishop David Russell, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Donald Woods and many other progressive whites who had a proven track record of dedication to the struggle."

Some ex-colleagues who joined the Freedom Charter camp discuss whether Biko might not have joined them. By MONO BADELA

Mokoena believes that Black Consciousness "was a means to an end and not an end in itself."

"To Biko, black consciousness was not anti-whiteism. Whites would live with us as South Africans and not as a privileged or preferentially-treated people."

Mokoena said black consciousness was not meant to be a third force in the struggle, a rival to both the ANC and PAC. "Neither was it meant to be a revolutionary force."

He said the Black Peoples Convention's viewpoint was that black consciousness should prevail even after liberation. "However SASO's viewpoint was upheld. Saso was the author of black consciousness and had given birth to the BPC, so we had to guard the basic tenets jealously that there should be no departures or deviations from them."

The general secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, Fr Smangalis Mkhathshwa, said Biko's "big heart, broad vision and commitment to justice qualified him for a special place within the progressive democratic movement".

"None of us can be dogmatic about the political ideology which Biko would have followed, were he alive today," he said. "But what we can say with a fair measure of certainty is that Steve was a democrat in the fullest sense of that word; he fought for an undivided, non-racial South Africa. It is tragic indeed that he didn't live long enough to develop some of his political ideas."

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Police burst in on service to hanged Zondo

Weekly Mail Reporter

A MEMORIAL service for African National Congress guerrilla Andrew Zondo, who was executed a year ago, ended with mass arrests at his parents' church this week.

Zondo's mother, Lephina, said that on September 9, the anniversary of her son's hanging, young people from KwaMashu asked whether they could join her and her family for prayers. "There were more than 150 of them so we had to go into the church," she said.

The African Episcopal Church, of which Zondo's father Aiken is a minister, is next to the house.

"My husband was not at home so the deacon who lives next door came to lead prayers. After he had finished, the children began to say prayers, sing, read poems and 'toi toi'."

She left after about 30 minutes to put her three-year-old child to sleep.

"While I was putting him to bed I heard a noise and screaming. I opened the door and saw a lot of police. They were lashing the children and that is why they were screaming. Many were arrested and taken away. Some escaped."

Later she went to inspect the damage in the hall. A table, chairs and some windows were smashed. "Some benches were broken when the children tried to run away. The plates for catering at the church were all broken. The doors are loose and twisted. There was blood on the floor and when my husband came home he began to clean it up."

She said she was anxious about how the damage would be repaired. Her family relied on the weekly collection for their income and it would not cover the repairs.

"But I will have to face whatever happens because Andrew was my son and they were doing this on my behalf. It is a burden to have to report this to the church and say these things have been broken, and why? — because of the service for my son."

Later that evening some of the children who had escaped returned to look for their jerseys and to help clean the church.

"They said they were very sorry and they were not expecting it."

A KwaZulu police official said 171 children were arrested after attending an illegal gathering — 129 boys and 42 girls. "They were found at a gathering in a church."

He said the children were questioned, statements taken and all of them were released the next day without being charged.

● The Weekly Mail's lawyers have advised that indoor services are not illegal.



The old remember the young: one of the many people at yesterday's service for the Sharpeville Six pic ANNA ZIEMINSKI.

Extra time for condemned six

By MONO BADELA

HUNDREDS of Sharpeville residents yesterday attended a special service for the Sharpeville Six, not knowing that the condemned men had been given a brief reprieve.

The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday postponed the hearing of the six's appeal against their death sentence. The counsel for the appellants, JC Unterhalter SC, was seriously ill. The appeals will now be heard in the first week in November, on a date still to be fixed.

The six are Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, 30, Oupa Moses Diniso, 30, Reid Malebo Mokoena, 22, Theresa Ramashamola, 24, Duma Joshua Khumalo, 26, Francis Don Mokhesi, 28.

They were sentenced to death after the killing of a Lekoa town councillor, Kuzwayo Jacob Dlamini, at Sharpeville on September 3 1984. His house and car were set alight and he was disarmed, stoned and burned.

The six were convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances. Two others, Motseki Christian Mokubungu and Motsidi Gideon Mokone, were convicted of public violence and sentenced to five years imprisonment.

The eight were convicted on December 13 1985. The appeal concerns a question of law: whether there was a casual connection between the acts of the accused and the death of Dlamini; and whether the trial judge erred when he disallowed cross-examination of a witness, Manete, in regard to a privileged statement he had made.

The six are among the 32 on death row in the Pretoria Central Prison.

Last week, two Eastern Cape men, Wellington Mielies and Moses Jantjies, were hanged for the murder of a KwaNobuhle councillor, Benjamin Tamsanqa Kinikini. 11-17/9/87

Still debated: The debate over a debate

BY VUSI GUNENE

THE Transvaal Indian Congress has agreed to meet the National People's Party tomorrow to discuss procedural aspects of a proposed public debate between the two parties, following weeks of telexes indicating conditions and counter-conditions.

The TIC said in a statement this week it has only agreed to meet a representative of NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi on the understanding that the debate — on September 20 at Lenasia Stadium — will be open to the public.

The TIC has in the meantime applied for magisterial permission for the open-air debate and expects Rajbansi, as a cabinet minister, to facilitate the process.

"We will ask the NPP to resign from the House of Delegates if they lose the debate," TIC secretary Ismail Momoniat said this week, adding that if the TIC lost, it would acknowledge it did not represent Indians in the Transvaal.

Rajbansi has appointed as his representative Henry Padayachy, Transvaal chairman of the NPP.

The TIC has expressed its disappointment about the the appointment of Padayachy to lead the discussions but will go ahead with talks anyway.

Padayachy yesterday challenged the TIC and lawyer Krish Naidoo to an open debate on "false allegations" they have made against him.

TIC has accused him of assault. He was acquitted on charges of assaulting Momoniat during the 1984 tri-cameral election campaign.



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Face-to-face on violence: Inkatha, UDF

THE president of the United Democratic Front, Archie Gumede, and Inkatha's general secretary, Oscar Dhlomo, have been organising peace talks in the violence-torn township of Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale, Dhlomo disclosed in Cape Town this week.

The issue of talks at a wider level is, however, still being canvassed among affiliates of the Front, according to Gumede.

He said he was recently approached by youth and other residents of the township where 16 people have died since February in fighting between Inkatha supporters and backers of the UDF or its affiliates.

"We must stop the killing," Dhlomo said at a press briefing organised by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

A proposed plan had been submitted to the UDF who would "come back to us".

Asked if he thought the UDF and Inkatha would agree on a plan, Dhlomo replied: "I think we will." However, he also said the UDF was "unwilling to talk".

Gumede said several young people from the township came to see him with claims that there were plans for the systematic burning down of "UDF houses".

He phoned Dhlomo last week about the violence and a meeting had been arranged where he (Dhlomo) thought members of the Hammarsdale Youth Congress would be present, but only two young people, who were not even from Hayco, came to the meeting, according to the Inkatha man.

But Gumede said Dhlomo spoke to the youths while they were still at the Gumede home.

One attempt since then to hold "truce talks" came to nothing as there had not been enough time to organise the discussions, but Gumede is adamant they will go ahead as soon as he has been able to make the necessary arrangements.

The planned talks would only work if Dhlomo came himself "or sent someone senior enough to influence the local Inkatha people".

There has as yet been no comment on Gumede's proposed talks from any UDF affiliate or executive member.

Dhlomo said he had been in touch with the African National Congress, in spite of major differences, about the Indaba constitutional proposals but "we haven't had any positive response".

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Mandela's possible release 'an extremely delicate matter'

Political Staff

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The possible release of Mr Nelson Mandela was a matter of "extreme delicacy" and should be treated with "very great sensitivity", the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

The issue was "so delicate, as has been proved so graphically with events over the last few weeks".

Mr Du Plessis said this in reply to calls yesterday by both Labour Party and Democratic Party MPs for the release of Mr Mandela from jail.

He said the position of someone like Mr Mandela, who had been convicted in a court of law, was "a matter of extreme delicacy", which had to be handled by the head of state.

"I would not like to enter that china shop like a bull," Mr Du Plessis said.

He also said the issue should be treated "with a great deal of patience".

Mr Peter Mopp, the MP for Border, said in the House that the release of Mr Mandela, who was a "modern day Jesus Christ, present at every political meeting", would go a long way to defusing unrest.

'Humanitarian grounds'

Speaking during the third reading debate on the budget in the House of Representatives, Mr Mopp said the State President had suggested that he could release Mandela on "humanitarian grounds" if certain other people were freed.

The other people involved — Major Wynand du Toit, Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov — had now been released, and was it therefore not time that Mr Mandela was freed.

Mr Mopp said that the State President had committed the government to common citizenship for all South Africans, but there was obviously a difference in perception as to what was meant by citizenship.

For the government, he said, groups were the priority, while for the coloured people, the individual was the key.

Mr Mopp said what was needed was a two-point programme to address the questions of:

- discriminatory legislation still on the statute book, and
- how power was going to be shared and exercised in South Africa.

With regard to the National Council, Mr Mopp warned that if this was just another "guise to maintain white superiority and prejudice", it was doomed to failure.

Cape Times
17/9/87 11A

Tutu in Lusaka for talks with ANC leaders

LUSAKA. — The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, flew unannounced to Zambia yesterday for fresh talks with the African National Congress and the Zambian government.

"The political situation in South Africa is explosive and most likely to worsen unless all parties involved agree to a round-table conference," Archbishop Tutu said on arrival.

He refused to answer questions, but promised to brief the press on the outcome of the talks, whose duration he did not disclose.

Immediately afterwards he was whisked away by officials of the ANC.

Zambian officials said the main object of the archbishop's visit was to persuade the ANC that a dialogue with Pretoria would be the best way to solving South Africa's problems.

Diplomatic sources also said Archbishop Tutu hoped to persuade Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to put pressure on the ANC to talk with South Africa.

Mr Kaunda plays a key role in Southern African affairs in his capacity as chairman of the front-line states, bordering South Africa, as well as of the Organization of African Unity.

Until now, the Zambian leader and the ANC have insisted that talks with the South African government could take place only after all South African political prisoners were freed, apartheid dismantled and a 27-year-old ban on the ANC lifted. — Sapa-
Reuter

Tutu tells of ANC humanity, longing'

11/17/87

JOHANNESBURG. — Members of the ANC were not the monsters depicted by the South African media, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said yesterday.

On his return from Lusaka, where he and a South African delegation of the World Conference on Religion and Peace held talks with the ANC executive, Archbishop Tutu said: "Our overwhelming impression was of the incredible humanity of those we met, who have a deep longing to be home."

"When we left there was deep sadness on our part that our fellow South Africans cannot meet to resolve their differences."

Earlier yesterday, in Lusaka, the South African religious leaders called on the world to impose economic sanctions against Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter



Insight into crucial issues

A wide range of opinions on crucial political issues in South Africa today has been assembled in a book just published.

"A Question of Survival",* compiled by Michel Albeldas and Alan Fischer, two young graduates from the University of Cape Town, contains a series of articles giving insight into the South African situation by well-known commentators. In a second section, interviews are conducted with leading figures in public life, with personality profiles added for context and background.

Perhaps the greatest contrast in views is to be seen in the interviews with President Botha and the national vice-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

The following is a summary of some of their most important statements during the interviews:
Mr P W Botha.

On his vision of an ideal government for South Africa: "We believe in a democratic system of government. We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals and groups ... But this can only be possible within a system in which there is not domination of one population group over another."

On black participation to "the highest level of decision-making": "I have in mind the devolution of power to the greatest extent possible ... but you will always have a central body — in one form or another — which will deal with matters which you cannot hand over under the system of devolution, and that is what we are trying now to achieve with our national statutory body."

Reviewing a new book, John Patten summarises the contrasting views of two South African leaders.

Told that Mr Heunis had referred to "the black man will have a say", Mr Botha said: "But it is wrong to say 'the black man'. There again 'the black man' implies that there is only one type of black man in South Africa. So it's *totally* wrong ..."

Asked if blacks' would have an equivalent say in politics to that of coloureds and Indians, he said all minority groups would — relatively speaking — have the same say under a system of devolution of power and under a system of conferring with each other on what was absolutely necessary for the treatment of matters of common concern.



Mr Botha rejected suggestions that the tricameral system be disbanded to build up a new system on the ground that such disbandment would create a vacuum leading to a power takeover by a power clique.

Asked if the new constitutional dispensation could work in the long term without the participation of groups such as the ANC, the UDF and Azapo, he said: "It *will* work without the participation of all those who stand for violence. You just *cannot* accommodate people who stand for violence. That is just impossible."

Asked why the ANC, if it was interested only in violent revolution, had been prepared to speak to any group from South Africa, he said the

ANC was using rapprochement only to promote its own legitimacy in South Africa and abroad. It was not interested in negotiations and a settlement. It regarded itself as the "only alternative government" for South Africa.

Questioned on whether South Africa was faced by a revolutionary or an evolutionary future, Mr Botha said: "Revolution will destroy this country. Evolution, on the other hand, will and can save it." His message to the black community was: "Be calm, co-operate through your elected leaders and turn your back on revolutionaries, because they are not going to succeed."

Mr Curtis Nkondo.

His vision of an ideal government for South Africa: "It is the kind of government that has been brought into being by the people themselves." He was definitely in favour of a socialist system, but it must not be construed to mean a communist system, and it was not necessarily a one-party state.

Asked if there could be reform, he said: "There is no reformation here, because every reform contains an oppression, so we must all undergo a complete transformation — the creation of a new man, the creation of a new society."

The only possibility of reconciliation between UDF views and those of the government would be if the oppressed masses and the organisations were strong enough to be able to take part in negotiations. If they were weaker, it was not advisable for them to take part.

If the black opposition groups such as the UDF were given the chance to become involved in negotiation, they would not do so at the moment "because they do not have the political and economic power".

Mr Nkondo said he could not see the Government accepting power-sharing. Asked if, in that case, the country was not heading towards an irreversible path of destruction, he said: "Yes we are ... unless something turns up, something dramatic happens."

Questioned on safeguards for the white minority, he said all those ideas were irrelevant in a liberated South Africa, because there were no minorities in that system. "The only way I can allay the fears of the whites is to say that they will never be driven into the sea." There was no question of revenge. Revenge was unjust and immoral.

Mr Nkondo said he would like to see "a kind of nationalisation" of industry. There was a need for a large-scale redistribution of wealth.

In South Africa today, the UDF was definitely the largest opposition group. He did not know if the ANC commanded the majority of support among black South Africans, but "the government has made the ANC very popular by constantly referring to it." There was no other leader than Nelson Mandela who could unify black opposition.

His message to white South Africa was that whites must understand that "they just have to change."

*Published by Jonathan Ball, R44,95.



SMC
17/9/87
11A

Tutu and ANC talk on SA's future

LUSAKA — Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other religious leaders from South Africa's Hindu and Moslem communities held talks with the African National Congress (ANC) here on South Africa's future yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu, Miss Yasmine Sooka of the Hindu community and Miss Malanaa Farid Esaak of South Africa's Islamic group, flew into the Zambian capital on Wednesday for the meeting with ANC national executive committee members Miss Ruth Mompoti, Mr Anthony Mongalo, Mr James Stuart and Mr Mack Maharaji.

No details were immediately available on the talks in a Lusaka hotel but the Nobel Prize winning Anglican archbishop said earlier yesterday that the international community should back initiatives to bring about negotiations.

"I am hopeful that the meeting we have come to attend will create room to promote understanding of the existing situation in South Africa," he added without elaboration.

The ANC said only that the aim of the talks was to find a solution to the country's political problems.

This was Archbishop Tutu's second meeting with the ANC. He met with ANC president Oliver Tambo here in March.

The archbishop and his colleagues were also expected to meet the Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, late yesterday. — Sapa-RNS

MANDELA

Now is the hour

11A ~~11A~~ PIM 18/9/87

While President P W Botha appears reluctant to commit himself to a negotiating process that could lead to freedom for ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, a top Matic academic says this is the time to take a "calculated risk to break the political logjam."

"And I think P W Botha will be the first to acknowledge that there is a logjam," says Dr Willie Breytenbach of the University of Stellenbosch's Africa Studies department. "There can hardly be a more appropriate opportunity to release Nelson Mandela."

The *FM* was unable this week to get Botha to say whether he now believes that a basis exists for negotiations on Mandela's release, in terms of conditions he laid down in January last year. A spokesman for Botha, Jack Viviers, says the president's current position on the release of "security prisoners" was stated in parliament last month, and is the "most valid" position.

When asked if Botha believed that the conditions laid down last year for negoti-

ations on Mandela's release had been met, Viviers said the President had no further comment.

Many observers believe Botha's earlier conditions have been met. They were ostensibly that Russian dissidents Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky, and South African soldier Wynand du Toit, should be freed. But Breytenbach, a former chief constitutional planner, says Botha selected his words very carefully. "He did not compromise himself at all. From his speech in parliament, it looks as if Mandela's release might be justified. Logic might say yes, but then politics are never logical.

"One does not know what the security situation is at the moment, but there are times when you have to live with a calculated risk. We have reached a checkmate, and Chris Heunis would need a break like this (Mandela's release) to get his National Council off the ground."

Unbanning the ANC is a different matter,

says Breytenbach. A lot will depend on the evaluation of data presented to Botha by his security management team. "Pik Botha will not have a hand in this as he did with Du Toit, Klaas de Jonge and Pierre Albertini," says Breytenbach. "This is where (Defence Minister) Magnus Malan and (Deputy Minister of Defence and of Law and Order) Adriaan Vlok's voices will be decisive." The "securocrats" (a term coined by Breytenbach) will decide on matters of security.

Breytenbach is supported by Mike Hough of the University of Pretoria's Strategic Studies department, in that a calculated risk should be taken — "though one must remember that the consequences can not be foreseen." Hough agrees that the circumstances for Mandela's release look more promising than ever before.

In spite of Botha's silence, it is understood that senior government officials are working behind the scenes to plan strategies for the release of senior "security prisoners."

One source says it is unlikely that any "security prisoner" will be released before Christmas. The source says that, although former ANC national chairman Govan Mbeki has been named as the most likely candidate among the Rivonia trialists for early release, there is a possibility that one or more of the other top name "security prisoners" may be freed at the same time.

Meanwhile, in parliament this week, the repercussions of Du Toit's release from Angola continued. Malan poured cold water on new optimism — not least in the Department of Foreign Affairs — that the successful prisoner swap signalled a new climate of regional co-operation.

Speaking in the debate on the defence Budget vote, Malan warned against expectations of a new era of negotiation, reasonableness and peace in southern Africa after the swap:

"I want to warn people (to) come back to the reality of Africa," he said. "This is not the first time we have been involved in an exchange with Angola . . . it is the fourth time since 1978. What have we got from the previous three? . . . A handful of feathers. I

am saying do not grab at straws in the search for peace and freedom in southern Africa."

Breytenbach warns, however, against what might happen should Mandela die in prison. "That," he says, "would be too ghastly to contemplate."

One small step for Pretoria

Yes, it's movement. But a sad reflection on government's attempts to draw blacks into its proposed National Council (NC) is that it is tantamount to taking a horse to water and then attempting to make it drink.

One can fulminate all one likes about negativism — as State President P W Botha did in parliament earlier this year — and point out, a little cynically perhaps, that it is as much the lack of good faith as anything else which is preventing government's initiatives from being given a chance.

That might indeed help in understanding why black responses to the NC, floated in draft Bill form in May last year (see *Current Affairs*), have been decidedly cool.

But the truth of the matter is that as long as Pretoria remains committed to ethnic constitutional solutions — and its refusal to move away from the concept of differentiation between groups indicates it is — and

As it stands the proposed National Council is unlikely to draw credible black participation. But if political prisoners are released, and blacks realise how narrow their options have become, it stands a slight chance.

real power at the centre remains non-negotiable, blacks will remain reluctant participants.

That said, the new National Council Bill is an improvement on the original draft. It does after all countenance the prospect of elections to the council of representative black leaders in nine urban regions (outside the homelands) which have yet to be defined. How government will put elections into practice in the current climate of non-co-opera-

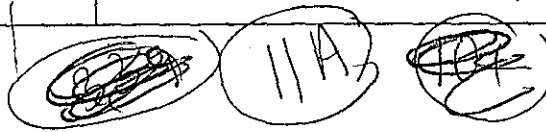
tion in the townships, remains to be seen. It would be sad indeed if they were merely to provide a focus for renewed boycott activity, which in turn could see renewed violence.

Moreover, as long as black national leaders remain incarcerated, the State of Emergency exists, injurious legislation languishes on the statute books and the proposed council's ultimate agenda remains undetermined, blacks probably have a right to be sceptical.

As mayor of Lekoa, Essau Mahlatsi, says: "Blacks resent having the National Council forced down their throats."

Especially, it seems, when what's being offered is patently only another advisory council and the real issue of black representation in parliament remains, as far as they can tell, as elusive as ever.

Not surprisingly, not one credible black leader with a major constituency following



has yet put his name to the council. All, including the one who would be the biggest prize of all, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have hedged on the basis that they cannot afford to have anything to do with the council while blacks are not in the position to freely choose the national leaders whom they want to represent them on the body.

Though government is still insisting that some progress has been made in private behind-the-scenes negotiations, the full-page advertisements in the newspapers calling for credible black leaders to come forward don't appear to have overtly warmed blacks to the concept.

Not even the imposing presence of President Botha himself, who has pledged to become more personally involved, or, for that matter, Stoffel van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, whom he appointed to help Heunis sell the NC, seems to have made any difference.

Sure, there are some who have said they will participate. Steve Kgame of the Urban Councils Association of SA and John Gogotya of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, to name two. But the representative leaders — those whom government and the people look to to give the discussions currency — remain distantly, if tantalisingly, aloof.

The irony in all this is that government's bargaining position has never been stronger. There can be little doubt that black political options in SA are rapidly narrowing. The notional idea that a revolution — if one was ever imminent — could wrest power from white hands, has been undeniably rolled back by government's firm grip on law and order and the reimposition of the State of Emergency.

By rights there should be far more black hands willing to grasp the olive branch PW is proffering than there are.

Few would dispute that government emerged from the May election with an increased mandate from the white electorate to get on with the job of reform.

More to the point, the support it received could be justifiably construed as an endorsement of reform in the classic tradition of Pretoria's vision of the future: that is that group differentiation and ethnic divisions should be the cornerstone of any future constitutional dispensation for SA.

That might come as depressing news to blacks hoping for some sign that government was edging a little closer to something more akin to a true nonracial democracy — not compartmentalised "democracy" or power shared along the lines dictated by Pretoria.

And to that end the election shock of May has had its effect. There are signs in extra-parliamentary circles of a reappraisal of the value of the politics of confrontation. A ques-



Gogotya

tioning whether it actually enhances the cause of the liberation struggle or whether some form of limited co-operation with the authorities in some specific areas might not be more constructive.

Patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the organisation's elder statesman, Archie Gumede, best exemplified this shifting sentiment when he made it known that he had had exploratory talks with members of the President's Council and that possible participation by the UDF in parliament elections at some time in

the future was an option not entirely ruled out. Though he was jumped on smartly by UDF constituents for being out of line, it demonstrated that there was at least some movement on previously inflexible positions.

Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman, is convinced a watershed in black politics could be in the offing.

"The politics of violence and confrontation have failed to shake the Botha establishment. P W Botha is as firmly in control as he ever was. The ANC and opposition groupings seem to have peaked too soon. Unless opposition forces start to re-think their political strategy, there is going to be a fundamental shake-up."

All this, he argues, gives cogency to negotiated solutions such as envisaged by the NC. But he warns that these initiatives will have to offer participants tangible benefits and go far further than being mere talking shops, if they are to succeed in drawing in credible leaders.

Kane-Berman maintains Buthelezi's participation is cardinal. He points out that the chief minister's position on the NC has been ambivalent. He has linked his possible participation to a bottom-line demand that imprisoned political leaders like Nelson Mandela "at least be given the choice of participating" — keeping them on the centre stage of *realpolitik* in SA in the process.

"Buthelezi's presence," speculates Kane-Berman, "wouldn't necessarily guarantee the council's success. But his absence would certainly guarantee its failure."

Offering a black perspective, Musa Myeni, director of the Urban Foundation's Transvaal office, says feelings over the validity of the NC are mixed. But what comes through clearly is that there is a high degree of mistrust over government's intentions.

There are, he says, deep misgivings over the fact that the State President has secured for himself the role of council chairman. The feeling is that he could manipulate proceedings by ruling certain discussions out of order. As a consequence the council would end up as merely another advisory body with no executive muscle to put its proposals into operation.

If the whole tenor of the council is

prescriptive, he says, it is doomed to fail. "It shouldn't just be cooked up in PW's kitchen and dished up at Tuynhuys with the menu having been prepared in advance. Blacks will not be interested if that is the case."

Sam Motsuenyane, president of Nafcoc, agrees. In the present political climate, he doubts whether government's initiative would find ready support among blacks. The release of political prisoners is an important precondition to negotiation which government appears to be ignoring. A revision of policy, he says, would bring the two parties much closer together.

But, "any black leader who ignores these preconditions and participates runs the risk of totally destroying his credibility and putting himself on the opposite side of his community," he warns.

Both he and Myeni could well be right. Certainly there is already substantial evidence to suggest they are.

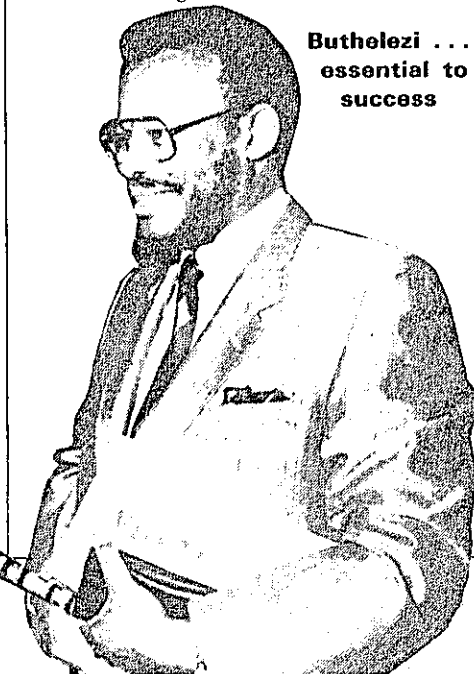
But, as imperfect as it may be, government's National Council does at least offer a start down the road towards some form of meaningful negotiation with blacks. If enough of the goodwill between the communities PW talks of can be mustered, maybe something worthwhile may come of it after all.

Faced by white intractability, black options are clearly narrowing. They may have their reservations, but as there is nothing else on the table right now, they could just be persuaded to participate — especially if there is some concession on political prisoners.

If the Bill does pass through parliament this year — and this is by no means certain — it will probably only be next year or early 1989 before elections for urban black representatives on the council can be held.

In the interim both parties will probably continue to stare each other down. Botha will once again wait for black leaders to respond to the latest overtures, and blacks will once again attempt to wait him out — knowing how desperately whites need a solution.

Finally, and unfortunately, we may be further from dealing with the fundamental issues of real negotiation than we are now. ■



Buthelezi . . . essential to success

Surprise move

Government's long-awaited re-draft of the National Council (NC) Bill (See *Leader*) is surprising in only one aspect — that it was tabled at all this year.

There was a feeling in parliamentary circles this week that Chris Heunis only published the Bill to answer mounting criticism that the Nationalist reform initiative has run aground. It seems unlikely that the Bill will get through the parliamentary Standing Committee on Constitutional Development before parliament adjourns for the year early next month.

But even if it does, elections for nine directly elected representatives on the NC could take months to organise. There seems little chance of the NC meeting before early 1989. In the meantime, government will be able to use its intention to constitute the council as further evidence of its commitment to reform.

Although in theory the NC has wide powers, it seems unlikely to be much more than an advisory body. As the *FM* went to press, support for the NC was trickling in from black leaders, including Gazankulu chief minister Hudson Ntsanwisi and urban councillors' leader Steve Kgame.

Of the non-independent homeland leaders who have been offered places on the NC, at least two — Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu and Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane — are unlikely to serve.

But the remaining seats should be fairly easy to fill. The State President will be chairman. The other seats will go to:

- The six non-independent homeland leaders;
- Nine people elected by blacks outside the homelands;
- The chairmen of the coloured and Indian Minister's Councils;
- The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and any other Cabinet minister the president may designate; and
- Not more than 10 other members appointed by the president.

The NC's prescribed aim will be to:

- Plan and prepare a constitutional system providing for participation in government by all South Africans;
- Give an "interim" say in government to blacks;
- Promote and protect "sound relations among and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of all South African citizens."

The nine elected members — and this is the major change to the Bill originally published for comment last year — will represent voters in regions so far undetermined. But, according to Heunis, they will "more or less" correspond with the existing economic development regions.

The elections themselves may be government's first major hurdle. Although unrest has abated in most black areas, the mood remains ugly. The massive security force

operations likely to be required to ensure "free and fair" elections could spark off new violence. It has been suggested that the elections may coincide with countrywide local government polling in October next year.

Heunis says the safety of those involved in the proposed elections, and the protection of voters and candidates against violence and intimidation, will be priorities. Government will launch an "information campaign" to inform blacks on all aspects of the election.

Although Heunis emphasises that the NC's agenda will be "open," it seems clear that whatever proposals it comes up with will be dependent on government's full approval. Any deviation from the statutory "group" concept is unlikely to be tolerated.

Publication of the Bill last week was regarded as something of a surprise. There is a feeling in some senior Nat circles that low-key, behind-the-scenes negotiations, with black leaders more "radical" than those likely to serve on the NC, are more important at this stage.

It is felt that, rather than finding solutions to SA's problems, the NC may further divide black opinion, in the same way that the tricameral system split coloured and Indian communities and effectively lead to the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1984. ■

Facing the ANC reality

Louwrens du Plessis was part of the group that met the ANC in Dakar. As Professor of Law at Potchefstroom University, the centre of Afrikaner Christian National Education, his views on the encounter — specifically regarding violence, communism, and the need for dialogue with the ANC — take on an added significance. They are also relevant in considering the possible release of Nelson Mandela, which important black leaders have made a precondition for serving on the proposed National Council.

Black Africans do not hate white Africans in SA. This is the overwhelming impression I gained from Dakar — one that is both encouraging and challenging.

Encouraging, because black Africans (including black members of the ANC) maintain that those whites who have made Africa their physical and spiritual home are indeed Africans, and are accepted as such. What white SA is badly in need of, then, is a final liberation from the bondage of internal colonialism, and from the sorry plight of being seen as the oppressor.

This immediately poses a challenge to whites — get rid of the hereditary taint of Western superiority and paternalism, which has produced crude and traditional, as well as refined and modern, versions of apartheid.

Apartheid bases a dispensation of "us" and "them" on considerations of race, justifies it with an appeal to differences in culture and "development," and keeps it going with the help of ingenious discriminatory techniques.

Apartheid is profoundly offensive to black Africans because it is rooted in racial bias. Government "reforms" will therefore continue to fail as long as statutory differentiation based on race is not actively addressed.

And *verligte* Nationalists, especially, should note that black Africa, with the experience of colonial Pharisaism still fresh in its memory, is not easily deceived by political hypocrisy.

Historically and factually, the ANC enjoys extensive legitimacy as a proponent of the liberation ideals of the majority in SA. For me, there is no doubt that racial tension, polarisation and conflict will continue to fester as long as the ANC, instead of being involved in a search for "the solution," remains part of "the problem."

But can (and should) people who advocate a peaceful transition in SA negotiate with the ANC? I think so, in spite of the fact that the ANC has opted for the armed struggle as part of its strategy for liberation.

The use of violence as a means to liberation is, I believe, morally dangerous and politically counter-productive. Violence stirs up counter-violence, to the point where the parties resorting to it are left with no other desire or choice than to destroy each other.

There are those who maintain that there cannot be negotiations with the ANC — which is a perpetrator of violence — if it refuses to renounce violence unconditionally. But they lose sight of several factors:

□ ANC violence is a historical fact, caused by a reality which has changed very little over the years. Part of this reality is that the ANC is not the only perpetrator of violence in SA;

□ Because the ANC is a banned organisation, part of its legitimacy is based on its involvement in the armed struggle;

□ If negotiation with the ANC is ruled out, the only other possibility that remains is to destroy it militarily. In view of the legitimacy it enjoys both at home and abroad, this would be virtually impossible; and

□ The ANC is not committed to violence as its only or even its principal strategy. This is why, in a joint communiqué issued after Da-

kar, the delegates from "inside SA" and the ANC delegation expressed unequivocal preference for a negotiated solution.

From what I have said, it should be clear that our discussions with the ANC did not lend it legitimacy — which it had long before Dakar.

It has also been alleged that our talks with the ANC were a slap in the face for moderate blacks in SA. But, up to now, no moderate black leader who can lay claim to any significant support has reacted negatively to the Dakar initiative.

The Dakar visitors have also been accused of being useful idiots of "the communists." My response is that the ANC accommodates a variety of ideologies, of which Marxist-Leninism is but one. Furthermore, as one who is against communism, I think the time has come to address the reality of communism in Africa, instead of running away from it. At any rate, communism poses a very real threat to those who maintain that the useless and immoral system of apartheid (though in its updated, New Nat disguise) is to any extent conducive to racial harmony and peace.

I am an academic, wary of what politicians do to get or retain power. I do not look upon the ANC as an "innocent" organisation. I cannot and do not condone its strategy of violence. I am also disturbed that some ANC members, after more than two decades in exile, have lost contact with many of the unpleasant realities (for instance, the threat from the far Right) of the country.

However, a neurotic and one-sided demonisation of the ANC makes it unlikely that white South Africans will look political facts in the face. A rude awakening is awaiting them — and it is sad because it is unnecessary.

Those prepared to face realities are well-positioned to help transform potential disillusionment into actual challenges. ■

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DAILY DISPATCH, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER

Court told ANC also nationalists

PORT ELIZABETH — The African National Congress was no different from the Afrikaner nationalists who had resisted the British, a special sitting of the regional court in the remote seaside village of Kenton-on-Sea heard yesterday.

Presenting argument in mitigation of two men who have been convicted of terrorism under the Internal Security Act, Mr I. Moosa said terrorism was regarded as a crime, depending on who the rulers were.

"Today's terrorist are tomorrow's rulers," he said.

This had been borne out by examples in history. The English would say De La Ray was a terrorist but he was regarded

as a "hero" because he had chosen to resist the British by the means that were available to him, Mr Moosa said.

Before Mr C. Fouche were Xolisile Tshikila, 28, and Kwa-nele Joseph Matiwane, 28, who had pleaded guilty to a charge of terrorism in that they contravened section 54 (1) of the Internal Security Act.

The state alleged that between November 1981 and December 1986 they had carried out or furthered the aims of the African National Congress in Port Elizabeth and had planned the destruction of the hydro electric station at De Aar.

In his plea, Tshikila said he did not regard himself as a

"terrorist" but admitted his actions fell squarely within the ambit of the Internal Security Act in that he sought to induce the government to abstain from its apartheid policies and to adopt the democratic policies put forward in the Freedom Charter.

He also admitted to being a member of the ANC.

Mr Moosa said Tshikila regarded himself as a freedom fighter and saw himself as fundamentally oppressed and dehumanised by a "regime he regards as racist in the extreme".

At all times his intention was to establish a free South Africa based on the principles enshrined in the Freedom

Charter. He saw himself as committed to a noble cause in a society that was polarised and at war, he said.

It was clear, however, that he was politically naive and was in every sense a soldier who had obeyed orders.

With regard to Matiwane, Mr Moosa said he had committed no crime but had merely been at the wrong place at the wrong time and was a black person.

Mr H. van der Walt, for the state, said terrorism was a "very serious offence" for which the Supreme Court could impose the death sentence.

Judgment will be given today.

11A

Government 'far from main issue on group areas'

Staff Reporter

THE President's Council report on group areas showed how far removed the Government was from addressing central political issues, said Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers Professional Association.

"If the Government is still resisting the removal of purely discriminatory measures like separate education and separate group areas, it shows how far removed they are from issues which are uppermost in the minds of people in the townships, namely full political rights in a non-racial democracy," he said.

● If the Government wanted to open religious, commercial and other facilities to all races, it had to open schools as well, said Mr Richard Hawkins, president of the South African Teachers Association (Sata).

At recent national congresses, Sata members — mostly white English-speaking teachers — voted overwhelmingly in favour of open schools.

Mr Hawkins said: "We are in favour of open State schools. If they are prepared to allow some open group areas it doesn't make any sense to have closed schools in these areas."

"One welcomes what appears to be the beginning of a realistic approach to the problem. Education must not be used for ideological purposes. It is in our children's best interests to have open schools."

● The proposals showed that the Government was determined to continue its role on the basis of racial discrimination, said Mr Siraj Desai, chairman of the Salt River, Woodstock, Walmer Estate Residents Association.

"In response to the demand of the people that the Group Areas Act and all other racist laws be scrapped in their entirety, the State is seeking to mask its racism with these schemes," he said.

"The simple fact is that in a civilised society there is no place for a Group Areas Act in whatever form."

● Giving local communities the option to declare closed or open areas seemed to be a Government attempt to give credibility to regional services councils, said the District Six branch of the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco).

"Cayco District Six views the latest 'reforms' around the



Mr Franklin Sonn

Group Areas Act in the same light as the many other 'reforms' the Government has attempted to fool the people with," Ms Tasneem Essop said.

"While attempting to provide security for families living in certain areas 'illegally', it retains the racist laws in other areas. We are calling for an end to the Group Areas Act in its entirety and that applies to schools as well."

● The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), while it would have preferred more imaginative proposals aimed at removing discriminatory measures, nevertheless welcomed the "numerous positive elements" of the report.

"Many recommendations are in line with submissions made by Assocom and encouraging aspects include the strong emphasis on decision-making at local levels — the local option — with due cognisance of prevailing circumstances," it said.

Others were the proposed repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and other restrictive measures, control of beaches and sea areas to devolve to local authorities and privatisation of public facilities.

Assocom believed that the concept of open residential areas and the right of occupation and ownership by persons of all race groups, of land, buildings and premises zoned for trading, commercial and professional purposes, will eliminate the time-consuming process involved in the establishment of free trading areas.

● Mr Quentin Pavitt, a Cape Flats-based property agent, said he did not understand why the Government was "dilly-dallying with what must inevitably happen".

"The complete scrapping of the Act would do a lot to improve the economy in this country. They must get on with it," he said.

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LUSAKA — South African religious leaders, including the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the African National Congress, called on the Commonwealth and the world to impose tough economic sanctions against South Africa to force political change.

The clergymen's pledge came in a joint communique issued with the ANC after two days of talks here.

The communique urged comprehensive, mandatory economic sanctions because of South Africa's policy of apartheid.

The Commonwealth already applies a limited sanctions package against South Africa.

Archbishop Tutu, Imam Solomon of the

19/9/87

Tutu and ANC urge tougher SA sanctions

Moslems and the Hindu's Yashmini Sook signed the communique along with a four-member ANC delegation.

"We urge the international community to take prompt and strong measures aimed at isolating the Pretoria regime," the statement said.

On his return, Archbishop Tutu said "the onus lies very much with the international community".

"If they apply ineffective measures then it may very well be for us

that it is the last time for a chance of a peaceful solution."

The religious leaders said the South African Government remained the main obstacle to a negotiated solution to the country's problems.

They praised the ANC for exercising "tremendous restraint in this struggle" and said the black group was "not committed to uncontrolled violence".

Archbishop Tutu defended their meeting with the ANC saying: "We need to give church

ministerism to both sides in the conflict."

"How can you minister to one side? Are you going to persuade people that we need reconciliation if you are not able to meet them?"

The archbishop, however, rejected the use of armed violence to remove apartheid, which he called a crime against humanity.

"Anyone who has seen violence in South Africa cannot say easily, let us unleash a full scale civil war," he said.

He said the overwhelming impression of the ANC was their "incredible humanity".

They had a "deep longing to be back home" and were not the monsters depicted by the media, he added. — Sapa

'ANC asked to meet SA Minister'

ROBIN DREW

HARARE — Approaches have been made to the ANC about a possible meeting with a South African Government Minister, ANC sources said here last night.

Nothing, however, has emerged from this move which was first made in July by a South African intermediary.

There has been widespread speculation about contact between Pretoria and the ANC; but ANC officials firmly deny this.

The president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is in Harare for a conference on the plight of children under apartheid, was closely questioned about the approaches at a press conference last night.

He may not be quoted in South Africa.

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19/9/87

CP Correspondent

THE simmering feud over the Phambili Institution in Durban took a new turn this week when Phambili students were beaten by youths in KwaMashu.

The students were paraded in the school's library by "comrades" and were each given 25 strokes on the buttocks for refusing to return to the township high school in due time.

Students who attended Phambili School were earlier threatened by the "comrades" in the township that they should leave Phambili and return to the township high school.

But their pleas fell on deaf ears because the students were adamant about staying-Phambili at that time.

The stigma attached to Phambili is that the school was established with the help of funds from the US Aid Department of Reagan administration.

The "comrades" labelled it as "Central Intelligence Agency school".

Even a letter from ANC leader Nelson Mandela did not help to combat the fight.

Mandela's letter expressed approval for the Natal Education Organisation project.

Some of the students *City Press* spoke to said they were not aware of how serious the matter was while

Phambili school quarrel takes a new turn

20/9/87

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C/Press



they were still at Phambili.

The students said they had now received their punishment and they did not want to involve themselves with Phambili anymore.

"We have had enough. We don't want our parents homes to be destroyed and many people to suffer over this. We are not going back to Phambili," said one of the students.

After receiving or witnessing the punishment, some of the Phambili colleagues ran back to Phambili to report the incident to the authorities.

The injured were then taken to hospital for examination, and later returned to Phambili.

When approached for comment on the latest incident Professor Fatima Meer, one

of the driving forces behind Phambili, refused to give a statement, saying that *City Press* had earlier published lies about Phambili School.

Meer referred to a report in *City Press* on August 21, 1987.

She angrily denied the facts which were reported in that article about the school.

Among other things, she denied that there had been threats to Phambili students from township youths.

Meer also claimed that the report ran the risk of aggravating the already explosive situation in the townships.

But KwaMashu students were already up in arms at the time, and Meer's denial might have been unwittingly added to the tense atmosphere in the township at that time.

Despite talks, 'killing fields' in Natal go on

By S'BU MNGADI
NATAL Midlands townships are still "the killing fields", despite moves by the United Democratic Front and Inkatha to defuse the strife.

During the past seven days, seven people were brutally killed, including a 60-year-old woman, in the "flash points" of Mpumalanga and Edendale.

Edendale - the latest Maritzburg township to be hit by the violence - has been described by locals as a butchery, because lately hardly a week goes by without politically motivated murders.

Local schools, one of them Amakholwa High School, had been forced to close down following raids by armed men looking for "UDF students".

Teachers also have been caught in the fighting for failing to

take a stand. A local higher primary school teacher, S Madlala, was killed a fortnight ago.

One of those killed during that week was a National Union of Metalworkers of SA member, who was killed three days after his daughter was ambushed on the way from school.

The battle presently raging in the province is based on the determination by the organisations to establish themselves as unchallengeable political powers in the townships.

UDF co-president Archie Gumede and Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo held the first round of high level talks a fortnight ago in an attempt to douse the fires at Mpumalanga, and arranged to hold further meetings soon.

However, according to Gumede, a sen-

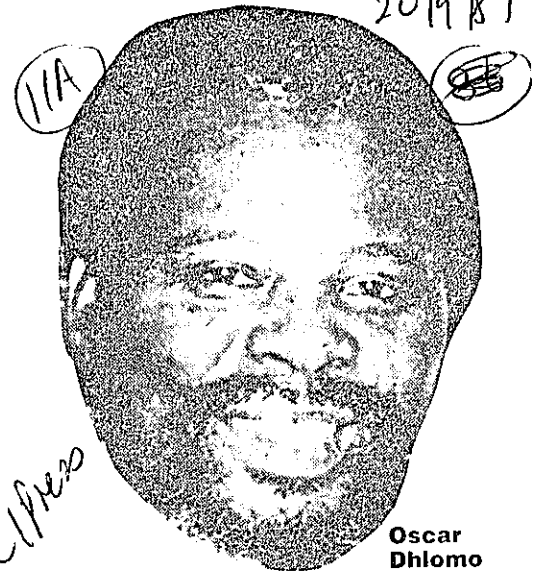
ior Inkatha official openly said in front of Dhlomo that his organisations' intention was to "cleanse" Mpumalanga of the UDF.

Gumede said the man attributed this to the fact that they could not sit and fold their arms while UDF supporters were killing "our brother and sisters" at Kamakhutha, on the South Coast.

A week later, the body of Ronnie Mveli, 30, was found behind a shopping complex in the township, with six bullet wounds in the head.

Police said that there did not appear to be a motive for the killing of Mveli, who resided at Unit D, and no arrests were made.

At the weekend, the body of Mthi Cele was found on a soccer field near Wozanazo IIP School with several stab wounds in the



back and chest. On the same day Beauty Mthetwa, 60, was burnt to death when her house was set alight. Her son Arthur, 34, was admitted to Maritzburg's Edendale hospital with stab wounds after the incident.

Relatives told *City Press* the attackers threw petrol bombs into the house when their knock was unanswered then, as the flames engulfed the house, they waited for whoever tried to escape. Some family members had been associated with the Hammarsdale Youth Congress.

At Edendale, police

said that Jabulani Zondi, 20, and Charlie Maphumulo, 17, were attacked by a group of armed men. Maphumulo was stabbed in the thigh, and a shot was fired at Zondi, hitting him in the chest and killing him.

This week, an unidentified 50-year-old woman and her 18-year-old son were burned to death when their house was set alight in Mpumuza in Edendale.

Their bodies were found in the house, which was badly damaged.

Several other unrest incidents took place in the region.

After the Biko movie,

A LESSER man than Sir Richard Attenborough might have been tempted to abandon the theme of South Africa after his recent unhappy experience in the country.

He got himself into a terrible tangle over the South African release of one of his blockbusters, Gandhi, when a planned promotional tour had to be cancelled at the last moment after he learnt the film's gala premiere was to be held in front of an exclusively white audience.

Worse still, during a fact-finding mission to Mrs Winnie Mandela's home town in 1984, a South African TV reporter put his ear to the

keyhole and reported that Sir Richard was planning to make a strident anti-apartheid film which would enhance the international image of the ANC.

Dickie left the country in a fluster, complaining he was the victim of outrageous intimidation and of a vicious dirty-tricks campaign. But he was not deterred, and the latest Attenborough project, Cry Freedom, is ready for release in November.

The pre-publicity material for the American release pulls no punches. The film is to relate "the true story of the friendship that shook South Africa and awakened the world".

Talented

For the benefit of those of you who overslept, the friendship featured was between two rather different South Africans — Steve Biko, the radical black consciousness leader who was beaten to death in a police cell 10 years ago last week, and Donald Woods, a fifth-generation white South African newspaper editor, who fled the country shortly after his friend's death.

Woods subsequently set up in London as a professional white South African refugee, writing papers and delivering lectures on apartheid.

The true nature of the friendship between the two men has recently become a controversial issue within South Africa, but there are certain points which can be made with confidence.

Biko was an extraordinarily talented and important figure in the history of black

By STEPHEN ROBINSON

opposition to apartheid. He was the founding father of South African black consciousness, a creed which demanded that blacks distance themselves from white liberals, such as Donald Woods.

He popularised the slogan, "Black man, you are on your own", and argued that blacks could only prepare themselves for physical liberation by ridding themselves of the shackles of psychological subservience — black self-esteem had to be engendered as a prerequisite for the revolution.

Meanwhile, Donald Woods, a rising star of liberal South African journalism, was appointed editor of the Daily Dispatch in the Eastern Cape at the age of 31. He met Biko in the 1970s and, by his own account, fell under his spell.

Woods was a typical white English-speaking South African journalist of the 1970s when the opposition Press was justly considered to be among the most fearless in the world.

We know, too, that Woods displayed considerable courage in publishing the circumstances of Biko's final days of incarceration. A few weeks later he was served with a banning order which effectively finished his journalistic career in SA. He fled to England.

Woods went on to write a remarkable biography of his friend — remarkable because it tells us so little about Biko, and so much about Woods.

There are numerous fasci-

nating vignettes detailing the full burden borne by a liberal white man in the African sub-continent. For instance, we learn that Woods's luxury German car greatly irritated his black friends.

At one point he is moved to protest: "It's the smallest, cheapest type of Mercedes there is."

We learn, too, that Woods was an immensely accommodating editor. When one of Biko's associates marched into his office and demanded space for a regular black consciousness column, Woods obliged with a nonchalance which other editors might display when initiating a gardening feature.

Predictable

"I readily agreed to publish such a column, and he did it excellently," Woods records.

The screenplay of Cry Freedom has been adapted from two books by Woods — his biography of Biko and his own autobiography, Asking for Trouble.

From snippets of the film shown on a recent Channel 4 documentary, Cry Freedom would appear to display all the predictable soupiness with which international directors are wont to treat South Africa. But the question remains: was Woods really a friend of Biko, or just a useful fall-guy?

The first point which needs to be made about "the friendship that shook the world" is that it was a remarkably brief affair. Biko died in Sep-

tember 1977. Woods's biography of Biko describes their first encounter in great detail but omits to mention when it took place.

When I telephoned Woods in London to ask him for the date of that meeting he said he could not remember, but guessed it was some time in 1974. Finally, he agreed that actually it was late in 1975, which means that the "friendship that shook South Africa" lasted rather less than two years.

But more important than the duration is the nature of the friendship. Biko was the founding-father of a philosophy based primarily on the principle that well-meaning white sympathisers are more of a hindrance than a help in the liberation struggle.

Biko said in 1971: "The biggest mistake the black world ever made was to assume that whoever opposed apartheid was an ally."

Is it credible that Biko could so have swallowed his principles to establish a genuine and equal friendship with a white liberal?

Biko's former associates say definitely not. Strini Moodley, now a journalist working in Natal, was heavily involved in the establishment of black consciousness organisations through the late 1960s and 70s until he was sent to Robben Island in 1976.

For several years he and Biko lived in each other's pockets. He first met Biko in 1967, eight years before Woods set eyes on him. Moodley believes that Biko exploited Woods because he alone could provide what the movement most needed — a regular black consciousness

voice in the Daily Dispatch, a newspaper read by thousands of blacks in the Eastern Cape.

"None of Steve's associates believes that Woods was a true confidant. Steve had to use him to take over the leader page of the Daily Dispatch. But we are disgusted that Attenborough should use Woods's brief acquaintance with Steve as a basis for a feature film," says Moodley.

His anger is shared by the current leadership of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the linear descendant of Biko's own Black People's Convention. Last week they threatened to "drive the film from the screen" unless Attenborough includes a notice in the credits pointing out that Azapo entirely dissociates itself from the film.

Much of the controversy surrounding the film in South Africa related to the fractured nature of black opposition to apartheid. Azapo is now a relatively small, and in the eyes of many, a discredited political movement.

The UDF, an avowed non-racial organisation aligned to the ANC, has taken over as the largest internal opposition group. Azapo loathes the UDF/ANC axis.

Against this background, it might appear inappropriate for Attenborough to have retained Dali Tambo, son of ANC president Oliver Tambo, as a special adviser to make a film about a black consciousness leader.

Cry Freedom is based on two books which give an exceedingly limited view of Biko and his philosophy. In

If the film does indeed follow the book closely, Azapo is surely justified in fearing the very worst. To view the development of black consciousness and the life of its leader in terms of a sexy theme — such as a friendship across-the-colour-line — will trivialise and distort the subject matter.

Most of all, it will miss one of the central points of Steve Biko's political credo — that fundamental change in South Africa will only be achieved by breaking liberal hearts.

From the London Spectator

Book by Woods 'a romantic ego trip'

By HENRY LUDSKI

THE man arrested with Steve Biko before he died in detention is desperately trying to buttonhole Sir Richard Attenborough to persuade him to alter parts of the controversial film about the black consciousness leader.

Mr Peter Jones, a Cape Town lawyer, and member of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, wants to make sure that the British director has

not distorted the life of his friend.

Mr Jones, who is in America, has so far failed to reach the director.

He now hopes to meet Sir Richard in London.

Mr Jones and Biko — then executive members of the now-banned South African

Students' Organisation — were arrested together at a roadblock near Grahamstown on August 18 1977.

Biko died 25 days later in a Pretoria prison hospital.

Mr Jones wants Attenborough to change aspects of the movie, Cry Freedom, based on two books by ex-Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods.

He fears it might distort the significance of Biko's

black consciousness philosophy.

He slammed the book, Asking for Trouble, by Mr Woods as "more a romantic ego trip than a historically and politically precise work".

Another of Biko's close associates, Mr Strini Moodley, former publicity director of Saso, this week expressed his "outright rejection of the film".

11A
29/8/75

WINNIE FURY

Blacks to get say in top SA forum?

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

A DRAMATIC reshaping of the President's Council so as to include black South Africans is believed imminent.

A proposal now under discussion within the council would see 12 blacks — nine from the homelands and three representing urban blacks — brought into the advisory and deadlock-breaking body.

But opposition representation in the council under the new scheme would be reduced to representatives of the official oppositions in the three chambers of Parliament, meaning that the Progressive Federal Party would not be represented at all.

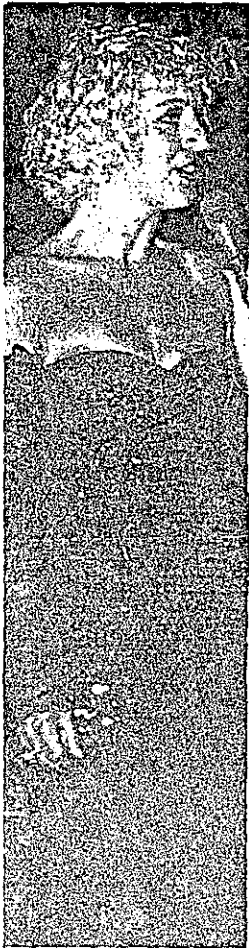
And the present National Party domination of the council would remain unchanged.

Opposition

The proposals are apparently the council's response to a request last year by President Botha to investigate the possibility of bringing blacks into the council.

Fierce opposition can be expected from the smaller opposition parties should the idea be accepted by the council and the Government.

Sources made it clear this week that the proposal is not related to the National Council which operates in a different way and has different functions. It is also not



SUE KELLY CHRISTIE — comic "ruled" out of order

Saucy TV joke puts Sue in a stew

By ANN PALMER

TWO jokes told by local personalities Sue Kelly Christie and Abdul Bhamjee on the controversial television chat show, Late Night Live, proved far too hot for the SABC to handle.

Auckland Park watchdogs brought out a large pair of scissors and snipped the offending pieces from the programme only minutes before it was aired last Saturday.

Miss Christie was uncharacteristically silent this week about the risqué joke she told, before the editing machine cut her off and left the viewers hanging in mid-story.

However, it was reliably learnt that the "hot" joke concerned the wedding night of Prince Charles and Princess Di.

The punchline is said to have involved an expression of disappointment by the princess about the dimensional shortcomings of a ruler.

Bleeped

Public relations officer for the National Soccer League, Abdul Bhamjee, who appeared on the programme complete with soccer boots and shorts, was much more open about the joke the SABC censors bleeped from his mouth.

"SA's State President, P W



By EZRA MANTINI
MRS WINNIE MANDELA has instructed her lawyers to halt the screening on British television of a much-publicised film about her marriage to Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress.

She has accused the producers of exploitation and is angered because they sought neither her permission nor advice.

"To these people we are nothing but a source of dollars," she said yesterday.

The film, Mandela, is scheduled for screening in Britain on Independent Television's Channel Four on Thursday.

According to the producers it will be screened in 30 other countries on the same day.

About the actress who portrays her in the film, Mrs Mandela said: "She hardly even looks like me."

Nazawille, representatives of Azapo, the black-consciousness movement, have been angered by the impending release of another film about a black political leader. It is the blockbuster Richard Attenborough movie about the late Steve Biko (see Page 3).

The Mandela film, made in Zimbabwe last year, is described by its producers as a love story that depicts the astonishing bond between Nelson and Winnie Mandela.

The screenplay is by South African-born Ronald Harwood, who says he undertook months of research into the history of the ANC and talked to many members of the organisation.

Commercial

The story unfolds against the background of the struggle by the ANC against government racism, and there are depictions of shantytowns being razed, of the Sharpeville shooting and the more recent unrest in So-

Stop my TV 'love story' she orders lawyers



Vaal just scrape through to final

By IVOR CREWS

IT'S A Transvaal-Northern Transvaal Currie Cup final at Ellis Park next Saturday — but only just.

Yesterday Transvaal squeaked in by the narrowest of margins against South West Africa to emerge 12-9 victors in a heart-stopping semifinal at the Windhoek Stadium.

The home team kept the visitors out with ferocious tackling in a match played at a furious pace. Both teams suffered casualties after South West led 6-3 at half-time.

Sunk

The tough and determined South-Westerns were sunk by Transvaal fullback Llan Kirkham, who slotted three penalties, and flyhalf Schaik Naude, who put over the match-winning drop.

For the home side flyhalf Sean McNally scored two penalty goals and fullback Andre Stoop landed a drop.

The Greatest Name in Cigarettes

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The story unfolds against the background of the struggle by the ANC against government racism, and there are depictions of shanty-towns being razed, of the Sharpeville shooting and the more recent unrest in Soweto.

In an interview, Mrs Mandela said she was shocked that the producers could make a film about her husband and herself — and even go to the extent of screening it all over the world — without obtaining her permission or inviting her opinion.

"These people should please leave us alone. This film serves no political purpose and was made solely for commercial reasons," she said.

"The producers are just cashing in on the name of the family. I cannot believe this kind of insult.

"Under international copyright law, no one has the right to depict me or my husband without our consent."

She said the family had granted copyright on their story to singer Harry Belafonte and Camelia Cosby, wife of Bill Cosby. Both are working on scripts.

She said Mrs Cosby's film would correctly depict her as playing a supportive role behind her husband.

"The Cosby movie won't clash with the Belafonte pro-

TV 'love story' she orders lawyers



ist the sort to turn out she's no dumb mate the detective's new breed of P.I. fire.- see page 20

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

(11A) ST
20/9/87

Winnie

□ From Page 1

ject, which is about Nelson Mandela and his involvement in the struggle," she said.

"I have been surprised by the many people, particularly Americans, who are either writing books or going on to produce films about the Mandela family without even bothering to consult us."

She was in hospital last week being treated for bronchial pneumonia when she first heard about ITV's film.

"I then instructed my lawyers, here and overseas, to try to stop the screening," she said.

She did not believe the producers had done either proper research or consulted the ANC.

"It is not possible that the ANC could have consented without telling me about it. It is typical of the mentality of some South African whites who do things for us and about us without bothering to consult us," she said.

"To some Americans we are just a newly discovered commercial industry.

"This is outrageous and typical of people with racist mentalities.

"I wish these people would realise that we are ordinary people and, despite the fact that we have lost our rights in our own country, we still have the right to our private lives."

Mrs Mandela also condemned a report in the Washington Times which said her husband was angry because she had built a R500 000 house in Soweto.

"The news about the big house broke at about the same time as the May 6 elections to discredit us. I am not accountable to anyone for building that house," she said.

"The people who built it for me will issue a statement when they are ready. All I can say is that every step towards building that house was taken with my husband's consent."

She said her bond with her husband and her family was as strong as ever.

"I have no intention of going to that house yet. My husband will decide."

Mandela film in view

11A

2/9/87 CIP/Read

A MAJOR two-and-a-half hour British television film about the life of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been sold for screening in about 30 countries.

The film, entitled simply *Mandela*, will be shown on Britain's Channel Four network on September 24.

The screenplay was written by South African-born Ronald Harwood, who undertook months of research into the history of the ANC and talked to many members of the banned organisation.

"There was constant pressure to be accurate and true to the story as news changed every day," he said.

"I've tried to show the balance between Mandela's political life and his personal life - the relationship between the activist and the family man."

The joint executive producer of *Mandela*, Robert Berger, said he hoped the film would be shown in South Africa itself one day.

"I hope that day will be sooner, rather than later," he said.

"For the rest of the world, I think the film will educate the public on life in South Africa. It's an amazing story and, like all controversial stories, there's something in it to displease everyone.

"Some will say: 'How dare you picture all these commies as heroes?' Others will say we haven't gone far enough in portraying Afrikaners as villains," he said.

His film credits include *Places in the Heart*, *Witness*, *The Color Purple* and *Salverdo*.

"Mandela has always been a hero of mine," said Danny Glover who

plays Mandela.

"I read his book, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, when I was 20 and I feel a great sense of responsibility in playing Mandela.

"A man who represents so much hope for so many people demands to be given as much breadth and life as I can give.

"For me, it is the most important role I have ever played," he said.

Glover's stage credits include Athol Fugard's *The Island*.

Black American actress Alfre Woodard, 35, plays Winnie Mandela in the film.

She won an Emmy for her role in *Hill Street Blues* and an Academy award nomination for best supporting actress in *Cross Creek*.

Her other credits include the film *Extremities*.

Mandela was filmed in Zimbabwe late last year. - Sapa

Leading the youth

TWO of the country's top youth leaders, Peter Mokaba and Rapu Molefane, visited Cape Town last week to consult with affiliates.

Mokaba, president of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), and his general secretary, Molefane, also attended the United Democratic Front's fourth birthday rally where Mokaba's fiery speech was the highlight of the afternoon.

RYLAND FISHER spoke to Mokaba and Molefane about themselves and their organisation, the UDF's largest affiliate.



Peter Mokaba (left) and Rapu Molefane

PETER MOKABA has not seen his mother for 15 months. He is unable to go home for fear of detention and vigilante attacks.

Mokaba lives in the small rural village of Mankweng, near Pietersburg, in the Northern Transvaal. He had his first brush with the law in 1976 when he was a student leader at Hwiti High School in Mankweng.

He was charged with public violence and damage to property, but was acquitted.

In 1978 he joined the Writers' Association of South Africa while working as a freelance reporter for a Pietersburg newspaper. He also tried his hand at writing drama.

The next year he went to the University of the North where he became a founder member of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso).

Sentenced

"I was caught in 1982 and sentenced to six years for belonging to the ANC and for bringing arms into the country. I was released on appeal in March 1985.

"While I was still on Robben Island, the Mankweng Youth Congress (Mayco) had been launched and I was made a patron.

"On my release, I was elected education officer of the Northern Transvaal Youth Congress (Notayco) before I was detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

"I was held in solitary confinement in Johannesburg from July 14 1985 to March 21 1986.

"When I came out of detention, several attempts were made to abduct and kidnap me. There was also a petrol-bomb attack on my house. My brother was sleeping at the time and was hurt. The attackers probably mistook him for me.

"I left the house so as not to endanger my parents. I have not seen my mother since June last year because I have not been able to go near my house to avoid vigilante attacks and possible detention.

Sayco's vice-president, Mzimase Mngcotywa, was detained under the emergency regulations in Port Elizabeth last month.

Sayco general secretary Rapu Molefane, 25, said he was "still a youngster at school when Soweto erupted in 1976".

Events of that year "took me completely by surprise".

Molefane became a member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) when it was formed in 1979.

"My first experience of detention came in 1980 when I was held for two months under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act," he said.

"I went to the Soweto College of Education in 1983, where I joined the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso). I was again detained under Section 29 and released after three months."

He joined the Soweto Youth Congress and was elected vice-president in 1984.

During the campaign against the tricameral elections of August 1984, he was again detained under Section 29, then released in February 1985.

After his release he became president of the Soweto Youth Congress, a position he still holds today.

"My next spell in detention was the longest," he said.

"I was arrested when the State of Emergency was declared in July 1985 and only released when it was lifted in March 1986. Again there were no charges."

Launch

Molefane is organising secretary of the South Transvaal Youth Congress which he represented on the national interim committee before the launch of Sayco. He was also secretary of the committee.

Mokaba and Molefane agree that it has been difficult to keep up with Sayco's development since its launch five months ago.

"Sayco has grown rapidly since its launch on March 28 when it brought together 1 200 youth congresses with more than 600 000 members," they said.

"Now, virtually every youth identifies with Sayco. They see themselves as real members. Membership now is more than 700 000.

Molefane said: "We have received letters from people in remote parts of the country who want to join Sayco, places like Qwa Qwa and Beauty in Venda.

Mokaba added: "Recently, youth in nine villages formed a youth congress to affiliate to Sayco.

"At the same time we have had applications for membership from church and cultural youth groups. We have made major strides.

"Sayco executive members have also gone to London and as far as the Nordic countries to ask people to discuss the South African situation with youth there.

"Our members have been well received.

One of Sayco's biggest problems was attacks by vigilante groups.

"We have realised that this is a political problem which needs to be tackled politically," said Molefane.

"In many areas these vigilante groups consist of unemployed people who are ignorant of the political situation. That is why we have tried to organise some of them into organisations for the unemployed."

NSC is an insult = UDF

CP Reporter

The United Democratic Front this week expressed its "total and absolute rejection of the National Statutory Council and all government imposed structures designed to enforce and prolong white minority domination".

It also said that, before implementation of the government's proposed National Council, the UDF expected a clampdown on its activities "as the government tries to prevent united resistance to its schemes and to break the back of the democratic movement".

In contrast to the NSC proposal, the UDF reiterated its demand for one-person, one-vote in a united South Africa, saying that the NSC proposals would "only promote bad feelings, further mistrust and increase the chaos and violence that have resulted from the policies of the Nationalists."

"Any lasting solution must involve the transfer of power from the white

minority to the people as a whole, where all people - black and white - share in the decision-making processes in the country," read the statement.

"The National Statutory Council can be seen as a step backward, as even the Native Representative Council of 50 years ago did not divide South Africans into bantustans and so-called urban areas," the statement added.

The UDF called the allocation of nine representatives to ten million people "both insulting and ridiculous", and accused Chris Heunis and Stoffel van der Merwe of "cynicism and short-sightedness" for saying the NSC was aimed at "broadening democracy".

On the question of government's consultation with black leaders, the UDF said that this had only taken place with those black leaders the government "approves, appoints and recognises - and not the authentic

leaders of our people".

"The structure of the NSC exposes the government's intentions for what they are, that they are not seriously addressing the demands of the people and are instead once again finkering with apartheid and ways of retaining white rule," said the UDF.

"It is heavily weighted in favour of the government, with PW Botha being given a free hand to appoint nine people of his choosing.

"The proposed clause that prevents people from standing for election because they are in jail, or have been to jail, is an insult to the thousands of people who have suffered in the past because of apartheid's unjust laws. It also explicitly excludes recognised leaders of this country, like Nelson Mandela.

The UDF then said that, given the present conditions in the country, there was no way that democratic organisations could participate in negotiations with the government.

11A

(1/A) C/Press 20/9/87



Archbishop Desmond Tutu has flown to Zambia.

Tutu to meet the ANC

A DELEGATION of South African religious leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, flew unannounced to Zambia for talks with the ANC and the Zambian government.

The meeting was arranged on the initiative of the World Conference on Religion and Peace and its South African Chapter, according to the Archbishop's media secretary, John Allen.

Allen said the visit was not a one-man show.

"The Archbishop is one of a South

African delegation of about 10 which is joining members of the WCRP from other parts of the world in Lusaka.

"I understand the group includes Hindus, Muslims and Christians from a number of different denominations.

"The Christians include the Anglican Bishop of Pretoria, the Right Rev Richard Kraft, and the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Duncan Buchanan, accompanied Tutu.

"It is hoped that a separate meeting between the ANC representatives and the three bishops might be arranged. But the primary purpose of the visit is the WCRP meeting," said Allen.

Allen said the Lusaka trip had its origins in an attempt by the international organisation to hold a meeting in South Africa some years ago.

Foreign delegates were refused entry, so they decided to meet their South African counterparts outside the country.

The decision to meet the ANC came afterwards.

Sapa.

PFP challenges

CAW Times 22/9/87

UDF strategies

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE UDF had "little to show" for its years of struggle and it was time for this "passive partner of the ANC" to become involved "in the system it hates so much", the PFP MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said yesterday.

Mr Dalling said that since the outbreak of violence in Soweto in 1976, "the National Party government has faced everything that an incensed urban black populace — led by a heavily Marxist-influenced party and supported by a cynically outraged international community — could throw at it, and survived".

Speaking during the third reading of the budget debate, he said violent revolution was not necessary in South Africa and would fail.

"There is a message for those who support the UDF — the passive partner of the ANC. The UDF has little to show for its years of struggle. Most of its leaders are jailed.

"While the UDF elects to stay politically pure and aloof, others will dictate the future. The message to the UDF is that must get involved — yes, even in the structures which it hates so much.

"For if it does, then new and democratic processes will be released which will forever kill this ridiculous, racially focused tricameral system.

"But there are no quick fixes. There is no shortcut to a non-racial democracy."

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Anti-ANC-Swapo move backfires

WASHINGTON — An attempt by anti-sanctions Republicans to curtail ANC and Swapo lobbying activities by using the US Foreign Agents Registration Act (Fara) has backfired on their own allies.

Instead of causing trouble for the two opposition movements, the move has spurred the Justice Department to consider charges against two Washington-based associates of SA business consultant Sean Cleary.

SIMON BARBER

The two, lawyers Carl Shipley and Marion Smoak, are outspoken critics of Swapo and UN resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

Fara requires lobbyists for foreign countries and entities to file full disclosure statements with the Justice Department.

In 1985, Shipley and Smoak set up

an operation called the Namibia News Bureau.

The lawyers registered the Trade and Cultural Council (representing the SWA AG's office) with the Justice Department until the operation was dissolved, but not the Namibia News Service.

The justice department inspected the lawyers' books in April and May and concluded the news service was simply the council under a new name.

AKG45 22/9/87

New serviced sites for 5 000 black squatters

Staff Reporter

SERVICED sites for up to 5 000 homes will be available to squatters in a new black township near Crossroads but the allocation of plots is a problem.

Bitter arguments over squatters' rights to land have led to angry confrontation in the past and the rule of Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana — who has claimed the right to allocate land — is being challenged in the Supreme Court by rivals.

Provincial executive member Mr Koos Theron confirmed that development of a 218ha area in Lansdowne Road is to have priority treatment.

Families who cannot be accommodated because of redevelopment in Crossroads will be allowed to move to the new area.

"Roller"

"We have to get people off the land," he said. "All of them will not be able to remain there."

He described the move as "not resettlement, but a type of roller situation".

"Some will move back when the land is redeveloped."

Allocating sites would be "difficult", Mr Theron said.

"The new land will probably be handled by the Province because it has not yet been included in any local authority."

Existing land would be dealt with by whoever was decided to be the legal representatives of squatters.

Mr Theron said the administration hoped to involve the private sector in providing low-cost housing.

"We hope to have the services in by next winter. We must avoid having people living under the terrible conditions of this winter," he said.

He confirmed that he had arranged for several flooded families to be moved to the drier "no-man's land" fenced off by emergency regulation.

"Once we have enough land people will be allowed to move in," he said.

The proposals showed that the Government had "accepted certain realities", said independent MP Mr Jan van Eck, who has been closely involved in moves to rehouse the thousands of refugees left homeless after last year's squatter war.

Realities

"It seems that the authorities have become aware that it is impossible to force people to move to Khayelitsha," he said.

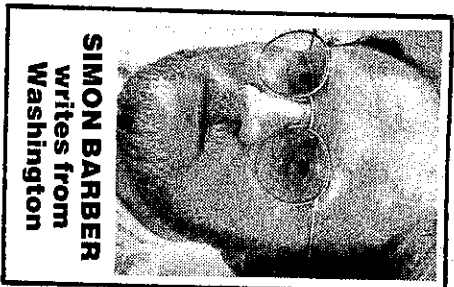
"To that extent the Province has actually recognised certain realities."

Those allowed to move to the new area would be close to transport and places of work, he said. Links with Guguletu, Nyanga and Crossroads would be retained.

However, it was unclear who would be allowed to move.

ANC star is waning in the West

11/11/80
27/9/80



SIMON BARBER writes from Washington

A year ago, the ANC's fortunes were in the ascendant. Its adherents in the townships smelled triumph in the smoke of burning flesh and rubber. After decades of disappointment, its friends overseas were at last beginning to push through policies aimed at weakening Pretoria's will to resist. Many believed a corner even the corner, had been turned. Now the movement looks close to paralysis, faced with critical decisions it appears unable to make and with circumstances well beyond its power to control.

The correlation of forces has shifted in a way the ANC's ageing exile leadership cannot fully digest. The West, which only a few months ago seemed poised to impose truly severe sanctions on SA is faltering. The Frontline States, exhausted by their own chronic political, economic and social crises, are losing enthusiasm for the struggle. The Soviet Union's self-interest is still as unlightened as ever, but in reassessing how best to pursue it, the Kremlin is hearing the conclusion that unconditional ANC victory is not worth the probable cost.

If present trends continue, and Pretoria does not oblige with some galvanising atrocity, the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act last October may go down as the high water mark of the ANC's campaign to enlist the Western industrialised world in the overthrow of the SA government. The CAAA and lesser steps taken by the European Community and the Commonwealth have sobered up their authors and changed the terms of the debate.

If Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British foreign secretary, is right, the Commonwealth leaders meeting in Vancouver next month will concentrate not on sanctions but on how to rebuild the shattered economies of SA's neighbours. Through this will undoubtedly be billed as a sophisticated blow against apartheid, SA stands to be a major beneficiary. The economies of SA and the Frontline States are closely interdependent and it is always useful to have trading partners who need and can afford your goods and services.

Less obvious, but in some ways far more important, has been the Israeli lobby which has been stealthily getting its revenge for the CAAA's requirement that Israel publicly and officially be named as a violator of the international arms embargo. Unweakened, indeed in some ways ironically strengthened by the brief anti-Israeli furore over Irangate and the

cally take place without SA, its exaggerated "destabilisation" policy notwithstanding. Undermine or attack the SA economy and very simply, you do the same to the region.

Pollard spy scandal, or- ganisations like the American Israel public affairs committee — the most dreaded lobby on Capitol Hill — see Pretoria-bashing becoming a cover for Jew-baiting.

even Tanzania) ready to take up the slack. Whether or not this is a purely Angolan idea, or even whether it has unanimous support within the MPLA elite, it fits intriguingly with the signals now emanating from Moscow. Namely that at some point, SA's future is inevitably going to have to be settled through negotiation and it would be preferable, when that point is reached, for there to be an SA worth negotiating over. To which end, the ANC would be better advised to talk its way into the system without setting impossible ideological preconditions. The system can be perfected later.

This is bad news for the ANC, but there is even worse in Washington. Since enactment of the CAAA, the movement has suffered a series of symbolic but bitter reverses in the supposedly sympathetic US Congress. The Senate has voted overwhelmingly to deny aid to countries harbouring ANC guerrillas, the House to restrict the movement of ANC representatives in the US and to deny funding to UN agencies that assist the ANC financially. None of these actions have become law, but the message is there nonetheless.

These groups, especially the B'nai B'rith anti-defamation league, are hostile towards the ANC because of the latter's relations with and rhetorical support for the PLO. They are also deeply suspicious of black American politicians like the Rev Jesse Jackson who, in their view, is only too ready to use Israel's ties with SA to stir up anti-semitism. Accordingly, they want the subject changed.

All told, this kind of pressure and the overall weakening of the ANC's position outside SA ought to be a good thing, conducive to the kind of settlement most of the world wants to see. The trouble is Pretoria seems only too likely to get greedy and press its current advantage too far. If that happens the chances are that the ANC in its present form will give way to real revolutionaries. Leninist professionals to whom men like Mandela, Tambo, even Slovo, are faded romantic and comrades nothing more than disorganised amateurs.

If present trends continue, and Pretoria does not oblige with some

At Congress' own di-

Everybody trades with SA, including "46 out of 52 black African countries" and the Soviet Union, Dine observed, so get off Israel's back. Besides, SA isn't the only human rights violator. "The problem is worldwide, including black Africa... be careful in your rhetoric, exacerbating black Jewish tensions will not work. It will not advance black

If Unita is to be believed, there are 12 such camps all told and though badly run down, they are thought to be the best training facilities and arms depots the ANC still has in the region. Their loss would be a considerable setback, especially since it is hard to see any other Frontline State (not

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A year ago, the ANC's fortunes were in the ascendant. Its adherents in the townships smelled triumph in the smoke of burning flesh and rubber. After decades of disappointment, its friends overseas were at last beginning to push through policies aimed at weakening Pretoria's will to resist.

Many believed a corner, even the corner, had been turned. Now the movement looks close to paralysis, faced with critical decisions it appears unable to make and with circumstances well beyond its power to control.

The correlation of forces has shifted in a way the ANC's aging exile leadership cannot fully digest.

The West, which only a few months ago seemed poised to impose truly severe sanctions on SA, is faltering. The Frontline states, exhausted by their own chronic political, economic and social crises, are losing enthusiasm for the struggle.

The Soviet Union's self-interest is still as unenlightened as ever, but in reassessing how best to pursue it, the Kremlin is nearing the conclusion that unconditional ANC victory is not worth the probable cost.

If present trends continue, and Pretoria does not oblige with some galvanising atrocity, the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) last October may go down as the high water mark of the ANC's campaign to enlist the Western industrialised world in the overthrow of the South African government.

The CAAA and lesser steps taken by the European Community and the Commonwealth have sobered up their authors and changed the terms of the debate.

If British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is right, the Commonwealth leaders meeting in Vancouver next month will concentrate not on sanctions but on how to rebuild the shattered economies of SA's neighbours.

Though this will undoubtedly be billed as a sophisticated blow against apartheid, SA stands to be a major beneficiary. The economies of SA and the Frontline states are closely interdependent and it is always useful to have trading part-

The ANC's star is waning round the world

SIMON BARBER in Washington

ners who need and can afford your goods and services.

Besides, aid to SADCC is its own best argument against sanctions — a point well taken by Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other European governments in their generosity to Mozambique.

Southern African development cannot realistically take place without SA, its exaggerated "de-stabilisation" policy notwithstanding. Undermine or attack the SA economy and, very simply, you do the same to the region.

This is bad news for the ANC, but there is even worse in Washington. Since enactment of the CAAA, the movement has suffered a series of symbolic but bitter reverses in the supposedly sympathetic US Congress.

The Senate has voted overwhelmingly to deny aid to countries harbouring ANC guerrillas, the House to restrict the movement of ANC representatives in the US and to deny funding to United Nations agencies that assist the ANC financially.

None of these actions has become law, but the message is there nonetheless.

At Congress's own direction in the CAAA, the State Department issued a report detailing its relationship with the South African — and by inference Soviet — Communist Party.

This was part of the price of the Bill's enactment. Combined with



HOWE ... Commonwealth will not concentrate on sanctions

the artful exploitation of "necklacing" by the Republican right it has had a chilling effect, quiet but not insignificant, on the great congressional middle. Seeds of doubt have been sown.

Less obvious, but in some ways far more important, has been the Israeli lobby which has been stealthily getting its revenge for the CAAA's requirement that Israel publicly and officially be named as a violator of the international arms embargo.

Unweakened — indeed, in some ways ironically strengthened — by the brief anti-Israeli furor over Irangate and the Pollard spy scandal, organisations like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC, the most dreaded lobby on Capitol Hill) see Pretoria-bashing becoming a cover for Jew-

baiting.

These groups, especially the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, are hostile towards the ANC because of the latter's relations with and rhetorical support for the PLO.

They are also deeply suspicious of black American politicians like the Reverend Jesse Jackson who, in their view, is only too ready to use Israel's ties with SA to stir up anti-semitism. Accordingly, they want the subject changed.

To that end, they are ostentatiously lobbying for increased regional aid and are making all the right noises about the evils of apartheid and the regrettable SA-Israeli arms trade.

In return, they want the issue dropped, and are prepared to take steps if it isn't.

Last April, liberal Michigan Senator Carl Levin felt constrained to insert into the congressional record a speech by AIPAC executive director Thomas Dine making the position very clear.

Everybody trades with SA, including "46 out of 52 black African countries" and the Soviet Union, Dine observed, so get off Israel's back.

Besides, SA isn't the only human rights violator. "The problem is worldwide, including black Africa ... be careful in your rhetoric, exacerbating black-Jewish tensions will not work. It will not advance black interests in Washington."

The ANC's star is not only wan-

ing in the West. There is trouble of an even more serious kind closer to home. It is becoming increasingly apparent that whatever their rhetorical protestations to the contrary, SA's neighbours are more interested in peace and development than they are in helping the ANC fight its way into the Tuynhuys and the Union Buildings. By actions, if not words, they are telling the ANC: we have given.

This calculus has been emerging for some time, witness Mozambique and the Nkomati Accord. Now comes Angola, which has told Chester Crocker it is prepared to close down the ANC's camps on its soil if it will help get the South Africans out of southern Angola, and Namibia before every last Cuban soldier goes home.

If Unita is to be believed, there are 12 such camps all told, and though badly run-down they are thought to be the best training facilities and arms depots the ANC still has in the region.

Their loss would be a considerable setback, especially since it is hard to see any other Frontline state (not even Tanzania) ready to take up the slack.

Whether or not this is a purely Angolan idea, or even whether it has unanimous support within the MPLA elite, it fits intriguingly with the signals now emanating from Moscow. Namely that at some point SA's future is inevitably going to have to be settled through negotiation and it would be preferable, when that point is reached, for there to be a SA worth negotiating over.

To which end, the ANC would be better advised to talk its way into the system without setting impossible ideological preconditions. The system can be perfected later.

All told, this kind of pressure and the overall weakening of the ANC's position outside SA ought to be a good thing, conducive to the kind of settlement most of the world wants to see.

The trouble is that Pretoria seems only too likely to get greedy and press its current advantage too far. If that happens the chances are that the ANC in its present form will give way to real revolutionaries, Leninist professionals, to whom men like Mandela, Tambo, even Slovo, are faded romantics and the comrades nothing more than disorganised amateurs.

Flag trial men were all 'pawns'

1/A
Epost
23/9/87

Court Reporter

SEVEN men convicted under the Internal Security Act, were given completely suspended sentences today after the PE Regional Court found that they had been "pawns" in the hands of others.

Yesterday, the court found that Temba Jimmy Basini, 42, Lwandile Nqru, 21, Mpumelo David Faxi, 21, Mtshuzeli Sheperd Ntombela, 29, Vulindlela Victor Puwani, 24, Thami William Madolo, 40, and a 16-year-old youth, by carrying flags, banners and placards of Soviet Russia, the SA Communist Party and the African National Congress at the funeral of Matthews Goniwe and other Cradock leaders at Cradock on July 20, 1985, had promoted the activities of illegal organisations.

The six adults were sentenced to two years each and the youth to one year. The sentences were conditionally suspended for five years in their entirety.

In his judgment yesterday, the magistrate, Mr A W Meiring, referred to various factors which had in the court's opinion changed a funeral into a mass political demonstration, creating a situation so explosive that even the police dared not intervene.

He referred specifically to an inflammatory speech by Dr Allan Boesak and "markedly political" addresses by Bishop Bruce Evans and Dr Beyers Naude.

He mentioned Dr Boesak's repeated references to the ANC and the consumer boycott in the Eastern Cape.

Passing sentence today, he noted that the defence apparently conceded that the men whose funeral it was had ANC connections. The defence had also given various reasons to justify the accused's actions — predominantly political reasons.

He said politics could never justify unlawful actions. Every country had laws and everybody should live out their political ideals within the ambit of those laws.

However, it was essential that the court view the question of sentence objectively. It was not there to govern the country or to express or protect political views.

Having seen the videos and photographs taken at the funeral, he had no doubt that the so-called "spirituals" had had an influence on the accused.

There was also no doubt that some of these speakers had committed offences themselves, but for some or other reason were not charged.

None of the accused had shown any leadership role and it was clear they were pawns in the game that was played there that day.

The law was clear that they should be punished only for what they had done.

If the court erred on sentence then it must be in the favour of the accused.

Mr H Goosen appeared for the State. Mr J Poswa, assisted by Mr H Rapiti and instructed by Julius Miya and Associates, appeared for the defence.

Winnie: Govt won't free my husband

1/1A
23/9/87

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Winnie Mandela has dampened speculation that the Government is about to free her husband, former ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A Johannesburg newspaper said at the weekend that Pretoria might free Mandela, jailed for life in 1964, and urge him to take part in the proposed National Council.

Mrs Mandela told reporters: "There has never been any indication by the Government it would consider releasing my husband."

But she said Pretoria might consider freeing Govan Mbeki, like Mandela a former leader of the ANC.

President P W Botha said last month he had called for a review of the case of Mbeki, who was jailed at the same time as Mandela and is now 77.

Speculation over Mandela intensified after Major Wynand du Toit was freed by Angola in a prisoner exchange earlier this month.

But Pretoria has since denied a link between the Du Toit prisoner exchange and the possible release of Mandela.

The planned multiracial forum, the National Council, has been rejected by most black leaders, who demand the release of Mandela and other political prisoners as a condition for taking part.

Mrs Mandela told reporters: "First the Government has to create a climate in which my husband can be released.

"I cannot see them being released into the same conditions that drove them behind bars 25 years ago." — Sapa-Reuter

Lilies will grow

11A

POET Gladys Thomas, of Ocean View, wrote the following poem in 1977. It has appeared in a German translation and have been read at memorials in countries like Holland, the United States and Germany.

He, Stephen Biko
walks with us no more!
The time he spent on earth
was short;
his work, he left undone.
Like a thief in the night
death came too soon.

Our troubled path he walks
no more.
He tried to clear the way
for us to walk free,
was his desire;
but like a thief in the night
death came too soon.
Where he walked
lilies will grow
and voices that once cried
will sound sweet and soft.
Our footsteps will pass
gently
where he walked.
He, Stephen Biko
walks among us no more.
Where he walked
lilies will grow
and we shall hear our
children's laughter!

Santw
17-23/18

Whole page 11A

Cops 'converted' at Biko service

EAST LONDON — About 20 Ciskei security policemen were "converted" at a service to commemorate the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, according to the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev David Russel.

People at the service were amazed when the leader of the group of policemen, Major Popo Blom, went on his knees and prayed.

"I got the feeling the po-

lice were moved by the service, and probably wanted to convey their Christianity.

"They were clearly not in the mood for joining the service when they arrived, and it seemed as if the whole thing was a security operation. After a while, they obviously warmed to us and there were no problems," Russel said.

Russel led the service at St John's Anglican church in Zwelitsha last Saturday, the tenth anniversary of

Biko's death.

The Ciskei security policemen, led by Blom, entered the church midway through the service.

The service was disrupted for about five minutes as Russel pleaded with Blom, who refused to leave.

Russel asked people to remain in the church and continue with the service despite the police presence.

After Canon Israel Tesane had finished his sermon, Blom fell to his knees and began praying

loudly. He asked God to forgive those who had necklaced others.

Throughout the service, the police kept a low profile and joined the praying and singing.

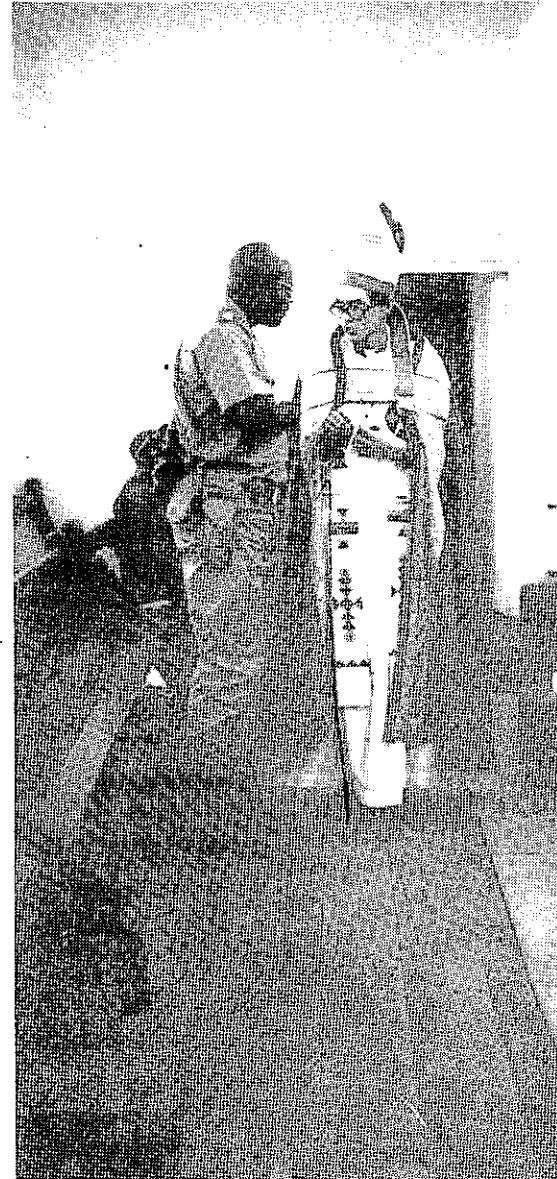
At the end of the service, Blom and the other policemen were seen shaking hands with the clergy, Biko's family and people in the church before they got into their vans and drove away.

Hometown

Earlier that day, about 300 people met in a small creche in Biko's hometown, Ginsberg near King William's, to commemorate his death.

The publicity secretary of Azapo, Mr Muntu Myeza, Mr Mandla Nkosi of the National Forum, the president of Azasm, Mr Monde Ntwasa, and Thami Klaas, of Azapo's Border region, spoke at the meeting.

A planned procession to the Ginsberg cemetery for the unveiling of Biko's tombstone, was cancelled at the last minute because of new regulations restricting meetings throughout the Eastern Cape.—Elnews.



The Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev David Russel, negotiates with Major Popo Blom of the Ciskei police, who led a group of armed policemen into the church where the Steve Biko memorial service was held.

Church doors closed, meeting called off

SOUTH REPORTER

A STEVE BIKO memorial service in Guguletu at the weekend had to be called off after Azapo supporters found the doors to the church locked.

The service was advertised in pamphlets to take place at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church, NY1, Guguletu.

Azapo is believed to have booked the venue two weeks before the planned service.

Damages

Azapo officials were reluctant to comment this week but it is believed they were refused use of the venue because the church had not in the past been compensated by some political organisations for damages to its furniture.

Azapo members, however, refused to accept this and turned up only to find the doors bolted.

A similar situation took place on September 6 when youth, who had planned a memorial service, also arrived to find the church doors locked.

Cape Teachers' Professional Association

South 17-23/9/87
11A

STEVE BIKO

Steve Biko died because he, more than perhaps anyone else of his generation, symbolised the re-awakening of the power which is vested in our Africanness.

The name Biko became synonymous with self-assurance and a new and unapologetic assertiveness of a new generation of Blacks in the sixties which was characterised by Utopian optimism, a fuller experience of life, a renewed recognition of the "Power to be" in Tillich's phrase and a new and liberating consciousness of our worth. Thus a new mood of excitement and expectation was born which in a real way is still sweeping through the dusty streets of the townships and is best expressed in the Serote poem:

"...Hell! where I was I cried silently
Yet I sat there until now.
I do not know where I have been,
But Brother,
I know I'm coming."

In commemorating the death of Steve Biko the 21 000 teachers united in the Cape Teachers' Professional Association re-affirm their belief that his death was not in vain.



Executive Committee



Cape Teachers' Professional Association.

UDF hits back at Dalling criticism

ANC Times 23/782

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (Western Cape Region) yesterday criticized Mr Dave Dalling's claims in Parliament on Monday that the UDF had "little to show" for its years of struggle and rejected his call for it to participate in the tricameral system.

A UDF spokesman rejected as "nonsense" the claim by Mr Dalling, Progressive Federal Party MP for Sandton, that the UDF was a passive partner of the ANC. Mr Dalling was "pre-occupied with criticizing the democratic movement", the spokesman said.

"We don't usually comment about things said by people who make the system work. The UDF's views were well documented . . . we decided to oppose the Tricameral Parliament because it is undemocratic and does not carry the blessing of the majority of people in the country."

He said Mr Dalling was correct in saying the UDF "hated undemocratic practices".

(Mr Dalling called on the UDF to "get involved — yes, even in the structures which it hates so much".)

The UDF spokesman said proof of his organization's opposition to undemocratic practices was their non-participation in the tricameral system.

He said it was "no wonder Mr Jan van Eck (who left the PFP and is now an independent MP) decided he had enough of the party".

"We agree with Mr Dalling that there is no quick fix to the country's problems and believe that the solution to the problem is the ANC — who have overwhelming support in this country."

ANC-Timels
23/9/87
11A

ANC-SA 'talks' cause confusion

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON. — Reported attempts by the SA government to make contact with the ANC are being interpreted by leading members of the banned organization as part of a strategy aimed at sowing confusion in its ranks.

In addition, the ANC believes hints at possible talks are being used to ensure the defeat of the sanctions lobby at the coming Commonwealth Summit.

According to the ANC there have been at least three incidents of people approaching its members claiming to be intermediaries bearing a message from the SA government.

The "intermediaries", the ANC says,

Top official denies bid to contact ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A top official at the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning yesterday denied claims that he tried to contact the ANC on a recent visit to Zambia.

A spokesman for the department said constitutional development director Mr Kobus Jordaan visited Zambia "in his private capacity" a month ago and they had no details of his visit.

Mr Jordaan yesterday "categorically denied" ANC claims this week that he tried to contact the organization when he was in Zambia. ANC sources in London said Mr Jordaan met President Kenneth Kaunda and tried to make contact with the ANC through him.

Mr Jordaan, who spent 16 years in Zambia as a missionary, said he attended the opening of the Zambian Reformed Church in Madzimoyo. "The only time I had contact with Kaunda was at the opening ceremony. I did speak to him but in the presence of other people and not about the ANC."

claim the government wants to talk but advance no further details.

The first approach was from one of the delegates to the Dakar talks who approached an ANC member in private. The second was a US academic who arrived in Lusaka with a similar message. On the third occasion an alleged NIS official made contact with a businessman with ANC links in Botswana.

The ANC also claims that a senior government official visited Lusaka two weeks ago and held talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Dr Kaunda is reportedly due to brief ANC executive members on the contents of the talks later this week.

The ANC, however, believes the intention is to create the impression that talks are possible rather than a serious attempt to talk.

According to one leading ANC member, the organization believes these "attempts at contact" are designed to sow confusion in the relationship between the ANC and internal organizations.

Government, he said, believed it could drive a wedge between not just the "communist" and "pure nationalist" ANC members, but also between those in exile and those in prison.

The idea of impending talks, the ANC says, has been conveyed via the British to Commonwealth members. "The inference being that something major is about to happen. Don't muck it up now by bringing more sanctions pressure on the South Africans."

The Foreign Office dismisses out of hand the suggestion that it has played any such role.

The ANC, however, says the British and the US are also bringing pressure to bear on the frontline states to persuade them to delay or abandon support for key elements of ANC strategy and ultimately to get it to drop armed struggle.

An example of this, it says, is the UK providing aid, both military and developmental, to frontline states suffering the effects of destabilization as an alternative, rather than in addition, to increased sanctions against South Africa.

The Office of the State President last night declined to comment on the claims. "Our policy on the ANC is well-known and we have nothing to add," spokesman Mr Jack Viviers said.

South
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Today's leaders came through BC, says IIA Pityana

From MOIRA LEVY
in LONDON

IN THE ten years since Steve Biko's death, "the face of life in South Africa has changed significantly," the Rev Barney Pityana told a packed mixed faith memorial service here last week.

Action had never before been sustained for so long. Political activity had never reached such heights nor commitment such depths, said Pityana, a close friend and colleague of Biko.

"And at the very centre of it all is Steve Biko. Not he himself, but Steve as part of the broad movement."

Steve Biko taught that in order to be free black people would have to free their minds. Nothing would come from nowhere to free them"

Pityana slammed the divisions that still exist in the protest movement as "most unfortunate".

"Today one can count very few leaders who have not passed through BC.

"Take Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Campaign and Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches.

"Whatever may have happen to BC, it did create its own leadership," he said.

"We are also here for our own faiths, to rededicate ourselves to the cause for which Steve lived and for which he died a horrible and painful death."

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Ignore Unity — UDF

THE United Democratic Front has called on its supporters to "ignore" the New Unity Movement.

"Let those organisations who, in this period of severe repression, consider their political pre-occupation to be to attack the mass democratic movement, hold their meetings in peace and have their say," the UDF's Western Cape executive committee said in a statement.

They were responding to the chaos at a recent Unity meeting which ended with scuffles between groups of youths, a car window smashed and bus tyres deflated.

The Unity Movement blamed the chaos on a group of youths, believed to be supporters of the UDF.

The UDF said they had "no intention of getting involved in a slanging match with any organisation which can only have the effect of diverting us from the real struggle".

"The UDF defends the right of all organisations in the broad democratic struggle to propagate their views and hold meetings without disruptions."

League's exco suspends Domingo

THE HEAD of the controversial Public Servants League, Mr Malcolm Domingo, has been censured and suspended from all offices.

This follows a motion alleging that he is unsuitable to be the League's chairperson.

The motion was carried unanimously by representatives of 26 districts at a weekend national meeting.

The Groote Schuur branch submitted a motion that Domingo be censured and a committee of inquiry elected to investigate his activities as chairperson.

Vice-chairman Mr Joe Davis has been appointed acting chairman until the investigation had been completed.

Domingo was elected to serve another term at the League's AGM earlier this year. He is now alleged

to have:

- Been part of an executive decision to invite Mr David Curry, a Minister in the House of Representatives, to be guest speaker at the last AGM, thus damaging the League's floundering credibility.

- Objected to an executive decision to invite Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CPTA), to speak at the AGM.

- Appointed a white East London woman into a vacant post without consulting the executive or the secretary.

- Used his position to try to lure an East London league worker into bed. When she refused he is alleged to have threatened that she was jeopardising her job, according to an affidavit.

- Used an employee of the Bureau of Information to canvass votes for him during the past AGM, raising serious doubts within the league.

- Spent League funds excessively. Domingo said he found the allegations laughable. He was appointed chairperson at the AGM, a body higher than the National Committee.

"Therefore, they have extended their powers by censuring me," said Domingo, who claimed it was a result of a personal clash between himself and Mr Arthur Farred.

"The allegations against me are nothing more than slanderous lies. I'm going to sue them," he said.

He had already sought legal advice and now considered all matters about the censure sub judice.

He accused Farred and others of trying to spread the lies about his alleged involvement with an East

London League worker at the time of the AGM.

League members, who refused to be named, complained of Domingo "being buddies" with members of the House of Representatives. They partly blamed him for the League's tainted image in the eyes of the community and community organisations.

Domingo was criticised for supporting President, PW Botha, over the resignation of the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, in a statement to an Afrikaans newspaper.

It was alleged that the league's name, for some obscure reason, was being "traded" for the eventual success of a multi-million rand holiday resort which, ironically, was beyond the means of most of members.

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In the dark on new mancoms

By RYLAND FISHER

THE problem of who will serve on the Coloured Management Committee in Mitchells Plain is baffling the City Council and civic organisations.

The names of committee members for the Bokkapp, Woodstock, Salt River and Walmer Estate areas were announced by the Provincial Council

recently in an apparent attempt to impose the widely-rejected management committees.

It was also announced that committees would be formed in Mitchells Plain and Retreat, but members of these committees would not be named until after the administration's executive committee meeting

on September 21.

But the Labour Party-aligned Mitchells Plain Ratepayers Association (MPRA) and the UDF-supporting Mitchells Plain Co-ordinating Committee (MPCC) said their members were not asked to serve on the management committee.

MPRA chairman Stanley Fisher said: "None of my executive

members have been approached. We were never involved in nominations and are in the dark."

The MPCC, an umbrella body of six civic organisations, said they had "no idea" who was going to stand for the management in the area.

Mr Wilfred Rhodes, chairperson of the Cape

Areas Housing Action Committee, said the appointment of people on to management committees in areas like Mitchells Plain "shows the bankruptcy of the State as far as democratic practises are concerned".

"The management committees will never be accepted in our communities," Rhodes said.

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New cycle of violence as Zulu police take over



Some of the Kwazulu police at the Amatigulu Youth Camp where they receive their training

DURBAN. — A new cycle of violence and intimidation has erupted in some Natal townships since the takeover three months ago of major police stations by the Kwazulu homeland.

Kwazulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has ordered an investigation into allegations of a "comrade" being sjambokked until he lost consciousness.

At the receiving end of the violence are anti-apartheid activists who want to have nothing to do with Inkatha, the Zulu "cultural liberation movement" led by Buthelezi.

In this cycle of violence seen by the UDF activists as an attempt to wipe out the movement in the region, scores of youths and residents have been assaulted.

Recently, a youth from Durban's Umlazi township was severely assaulted, allegedly by homeland policemen, and is now walking with difficulty.

Bhekisisa Mzizi 17, said he was walking home when a yellow van approached him.

"I was accused of being a comrade. But before I could deny the charges, I was thrown into the back of the van," Mzizi said.

Open weals

"I was taken to a golf course where I was sjambokked. They wanted to know the whereabouts of comrades," he said.

He was beaten until he lost consciousness. Mzizi, whose body is full of criss-crossed open weals, landed up at the Prince Mshiyeni Hospital.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, in his capacity as the Minister of Police, told newspapers that he ordered an investigation into the incident. The homeland's Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Andries Laas, said the matter was under investigation.

Residents claim many other assaults have gone without investigation, despite charges being laid.

Kwazulu's police force are presently facing claims of R78 000 from 13 Umlazi residents who allege that they were assaulted on the eve of June 16.

On this year's June 16 anniversary, Zulu police were working alongside the South African Police against demonstrators and workers planning stayaways to commemorate the day.

The Legal Resources Centre here has brought more than 40 claims against Zulu police, all of which Laas said were still under investigation.

In another incident three weeks after the takeover of police stations by the homeland, the Legal Resources Centre and the Progressive Federal Party's Unrest Monitoring Group collected more than 20 interviews from people

Buthelezi orders inquiry after boy is sjambokked



Bhekisisa Mzizi, the Umlazi youth who was assaulted by Kwazulu police who wanted him to reveal the hideout of comrades

who claimed to have been assaulted by Zulu police.

Mr Peter Rutch, of the LRC, told newspapers that his office had been inundated by people seeking advice on how to lay charges against the Zulu police and sue for damages from the Minister of Police.

In an affidavit a young male nurse at Shifa Hospital said he walked to KwaMashu police station with fresh weals on his body to lay charges

against policemen who had assaulted him. He claimed he was further assaulted at the police station and discouraged from laying charges.

Laas said this matter had not been brought to his attention.

"I am totally unaware of the situation. We have been in the dark at Umlazi for the past few days as telephones were out of order because of bad weather. We have been out of touch with our people in the town-

ships," he told a reporter.

In the Maritzburg Supreme Court, Zulu police and Inkatha are facing damages amounting to R154 550 arising out of the alleged attacks on people at Mpophomeni, near Howick, by members of Inkatha.

Twelve people are suing Inkatha, its national organiser, Joseph Mabaso, and the Kwazulu Minister of Police for damages caused by the death of a member of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa), Mr Alpheus Nkabinde, and injuries suffered by others.

Attack at meeting

It is claimed in papers before the court that if Kwazulu policemen, Mabaso and other employees and office bearers of Inkatha, who were present at the meeting where the attack was planned, were not party to the agreement or attacks, they negligently failed in their duty to prevent the attack when they could have done so.

According to the 1986 Kwazulu Police Annual report, 14 claims totalling R172 102 were instituted against Zulu Police and R18 551 was paid out last year. In 1985 ten claims amounting to R123 322 were made, but only R4 700 was paid. In 1984 14 claims totalling R310 319 were made with only R18 551 being paid.

The report did not detail these claims.

KwaZulu police were deployed in the Natal townships in June this year after a successful deal between the Pretoria government and Buthelezi to hand over police stations to the latter.

Earlier this year, Buthelezi, speaking during the visit of the South African Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, to the homeland's headquarters in Ulundi, said there was a need for the homeland to eradicate the kind of brutality that was "inherent in intimidatory politics".

And in the Kwazulu Assembly, Buthelezi said that he was committed to achieving a lasting peace in which the police force could become "the trust friend of the people".

He said he expected his police force to rise above party politics. This has been strongly disputed by political activists who point out that the Deputy Commissioner of Police in KwaZulu Brigadier Siphon Mathe, is a member of Inkatha's Central Committee, a political decision-making organ.

KwaZulu police draws its recruits from Inkatha Youth Brigade and arrangements are being made to turn Youth Brigade's camps at Amatigulu into training camps.

More police stations are to be handed over to the Kwazulu government this year. — *Concord News Agency*

South 17-23/9/87

dispersed a group outside

Two police vans were

used to

control

1/11/10

Bid to halt fighting

17-23/9/8 South

THE executive committee of the Boland Council of Churches (BOCC) has been asked to mediate among warring factions in the Worcester township of Zwelethemba where another person is believed to have been arrested.

Months of fighting among opposing factions came to a head last week with youth leaders and activists fleeing the township, at least three residents being arrested, several homes being damaged and scores of people being injured.

The three appeared in court on charges of public violence. Their bail applications were refused.

The arrest this week of Ms Nomfanelo Xenxe could not be confirmed with po-

lice.

According to a member of the Zwelethemba Civic Association, a meeting with the executive of the Boland Council of Churches (BOCC) is being set up in an attempt to halt the violence.

Representatives from the youth, civic, unemployed and the women met the Rev Frank Chikane this week about problems in the township.

Chikane is said to have referred them to the executive of the BOCC.

Residents fear that the violence has not ended and described the atmosphere in the township as very tense.

Chikane could be contacted for comment.

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114

Strife in Saldanha on eve of PW's visit

By CHRIS CUTUZA

VIOLENCE erupted in Saldanha Bay on the eve of P W Botha's visit to the West Coast village.

The violence was a sequel to a turbulent workers' strike.

President Botha is to open the annual Saldanha Bay Sea Harvest this weekend.

A weekend of violence unparalleled in the history of Saldanha saw a youth killed by the police, several injured and about 11 detained.

On Sunday, a 14-year-old boy, Abraham Julies, was killed and Felicia Cloete, 15, was shot in the face.

Abraham was a standard four pupil at Diazville Primary School. He was shot on Sunday evening and several others hurt

Nomaindia free to bury son



Ms Nomaindia Mfeketo (right) is greeted by Ms Gadija Vallie on her release from detention.

Picture: GREGORY FLATT

A TEARFUL Nomaindia Mfeketo was released this week after more than eight months in Emergency detention.

Attorneys had started proceedings for an urgent application for her release after her eldest son, Kenneth was killed in a car accident at the weekend.

"I feel terrible at the moment — but I am strong," Mfeketo told SOUTH minutes after her release.

Mfeketo, an executive member of the Federation of South African Women, is a former chairperson of the United Women's Congress.

She emerged from Pollsmoor Prison at about 4.30pm on Wednesday carrying four bags of clothing and food.

"I am disgusted that I must sacrifice my son to be released," she said.

The accident happened on Sunday when Kenneth and four companions were returning from a national conference of the UDF-affiliated Young Christian Students (YCS) in Johannesburg. The hired car in which they were travelling left the road just outside Bloemfontein.

Sindile Sigutya, 22, a law student at the University of the Western Cape from Nyanga, and Anne Briggs, 22, Masters student at the University of Cape Town, were also killed.

Lindelo Ramokola, 23, a first year social work student at UWC had been in a coma but was later reported to be in a satisfactory condition at Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein.

YCS national president Geoff Kalipa, 23, from Nyanga, a first year social work student at UCT, was discharged from hospital on Monday.

According to a YCS spokesperson, Kenneth and Sindile will be buried on September 26. Members of YCS, Uwco, the South African National Students Congress (Sansco) and the UDF will attend Anne's funeral in Pretoria on Friday.

Turn to page 3

TIA

south

Haunted by death row

FOUR young men in a town called Bhongolethu in the Little Karoo, have been sentenced to death. But many residents are with them in spirit in Pretoria's death row. Residents believe the "Bhongolethu Four" are there because of the community's struggle to improve conditions in the township and that they were caught up in the emotions that swept the country in 1985

Reports and pictures by SAHM VENTER

A TO

BHONGOLETHU, "Our Pride — only lives up to its name in respect of its unity and organisation among the residents.

The small township of 5 000 people was named by the first residents who moved there under the Group Areas Act as they were promised "beautiful houses" and permanent place to live.

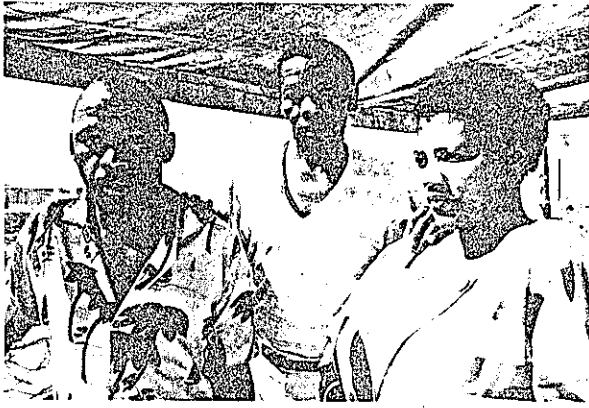
For the rest, Bhongolethu is a picture of poor housing, inadequate drainage systems with dirty water running along furrows on the roads and bumpy, gravel roads which become muddy and eroded when it rains.

There is a constant stench from the "bucket system" of toilets as the slop thrown into the furrows.

There are almost no recreational facilities. Children play in the



Mama Nomademfu Madikane, mother of Dickson Madikane, with her daughter, Thembeke, left, and her grandson Thobela



From Left: Tobile Manginda, brother, Zanele Manginda, father, and Nomahlubi Manginda, stepmother of Patrick Manginda

TO THE State, four Bhongolethu youths on Death Row are murderers — but to their family and community they are victims of a violent system which brings about further violence.

Attorneys have argued that the four youths sentenced to death had been caught up in a spiral of violence.

Patrick Manginda, Desmond Majola and Dickson Madikane were sentenced to death in September last year for the necklacing killing of community councillor "Big Boy" Marenene. They have been granted leave to appeal.

Michael Lucas was sentenced to death last month for the murder of a bus inspector, William Blaauw. His attorneys have filed a petition for leave to appeal.

SOUTH visited the homes of all four in Bhongolethu this week.

There but for the Grace of God . . .



Mrs Nettie Majola, mother of Desmond Majola, with his children, Angelina and Xola.

Patrick Manginda

THE family of Patrick Manginda is baffled at their son being charged and sentenced for murdering "Big Boy" Marenene.

"As far as I know, Patrick was not against him," his father, Mr Zanele Manginda, said.

Recalling the day of the necklacing, Mr Manginda said he was standing outside his house. "The whole of Bhongolethu had the spirit that day. As soon as somebody is called an informer about 300 people are around.

"Looking at the group of people then, I didn't think three would hang."

One of eight children, Patrick attended Fzekile Secondary School where he passed standard six.

When he left school Patrick did contract work mainly for construction companies.

"I feel very bad because Patrick would always bring happiness and jokes into the home," his stepmother, Nomahlubi Manginda, said.

Manginda has seen his son once since he was sentenced.

"He hopes that God will show the world the truth," Manginda said.

Desmond Majola

NETTIE Majola believes her son, Desmond, is on death row because of the system which creates the impoverished conditions under which she brought up nine children.

The old woman last saw him about two months ago. She is poor and cannot afford to travel often to Pretoria.

She is also taking care of her unmarried son's two children, Angelina, 6, and Xola, 4.

A tearful Mrs Majola told that Desmond had asked her to stay close to God and not to be ashamed.

In his precious letters from prison which she keeps locked away, Desmond asked that people back home should not forget to pray for him and the others.

"They are praying in prison too," she said.

Dickson Madikane

THE youngest boy of 16 children, Dickson Madikane comes from a very poor family.

His mother, Mama Nomademfu Madikane, one of her daughters and a grandchild, live in a tiny two-roomed corrugated iron house in Bhongolethu.

Mama Madikane, a widow,

believes that God still has to pass judgment on "whoever caused this whole business".

Like most Bhongolethu residents, Dickson was frustrated about the conditions under which they lived, his mother said.

She and her son had a "powerful connection" and she would not hesitate to work for the rights of people in the township.

Wiping away tears from her lined cheeks, Mama Madikane said when she had the chance to visit Dickson on death row, she couldn't face it. She sent her sister instead.

Dickson, a member of the Bantu Zion Church, attended primary school. He left school after standard five when he developed "mental disorders". Like many youths in Bhongolethu he worked for construction companies.

"He is a boy of peace. I never saw him fighting with other boys," Mama Madikane said.

Reporter's guide detained

Michael Lucas

WITHIN days of the sentencing to death of Michael Lucas, walls in Bhongolethu were daubed with slogans in support of him.

It is as if many in this closely-knit community it seems, share in the family's grief. Relating his predicament, many seem to say "there but for the Grace of God, go I".

Though heartbroken, his mother, Mrs Nowest Lucas, believes he represents a sign of the times.

He was frustrated at conditions in the township. The atmosphere there at the time is believed to have had a direct influence on the incident.

"He is a sweet, quiet person who didn't like doing bad things to other people," his mother said.

Michael, who finished standard eight, was going to go away to complete his education when he was arrested and charged for the murder.

Michael is a member of the Roman Catholic Church.

He was a keen soccer player and played for the White Spurs in Oudshoorn.

A BHONGOLETHU community worker, Mr Mbulule Grootboom, was detained by security police while accompanying a SOUTH reporter in the township last Friday.

Police have confirmed to attorneys that Grootboom, 27, who was detained for 13 months from June last year to July this year, is being held in terms of the Emergency regulations.

His attorneys said they were bringing an urgent application for his release.

Grootboom, who lives with his mother and three brothers, works for Saamstaan community newspaper.

Apart from his mother's small salary, he is the sole supporter of the family.

Grootboom, the first president of the Bhongolethu Youth Organisation (Bheyo), is highly respected in the community.

According to community leader Mr Reggie Oliphant, Grootboom is a "very disciplined, honest and sober person who is loved and trusted by everybody".

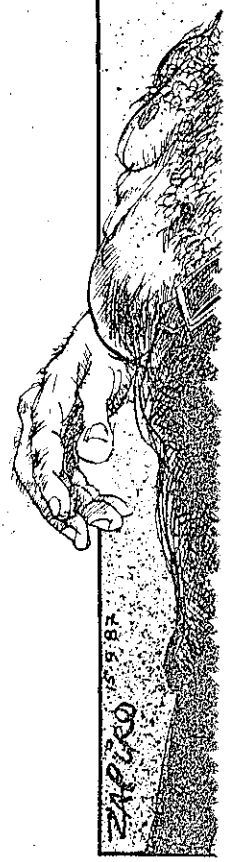
"His lengthy detention has inspired him to dedicate his time to assisting people," he said.

He took part in the organisation of a prayer service for the families in Lawaakamp who face removal and was involved in a focus on the families of the four people on death row.

Grootboom was a law student at Fort Hare University, but had to abandon his studies due to financial difficulties.

Sayoo

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A TOWN CALLED 'PRIDE'

BHONGOLETHU, "Our Pride" — only lives up to its name in respect of its unity and organisation among the residents.

The small township of 5 000 people was named by the first residents who moved there under the Group Areas Act as they were promised "beautiful houses" and a permanent place to live.

For the rest, Bhongolethu is a picture of poor housing, inadequate drainage systems with filthy water running along furrows on the roads and bumpy, gravel roads which become muddy and rutted when it rains.

There is a constant stench from the "bucket system" of toilets and the slop thrown into the furrows.

There are almost no recreation facilities. Children play in the

streets, often in the furrows where they can pick up diseases like gastro enteritis.

Africans in the Little Karoo town were moved from Oudstroom to Klippiess-eiland, a "mixed" "coloured" and African community, under the Group Areas Act. Then finally about 400 African families were moved to 306 sites, which are rented for R10 a month each. Only 13 water points were provided.

Overcrowding led to the rapid establishment of a squatter area, Amatotyombe, literally meaning shacks.

No housing was provided for nearly two decades until community pressure led to the building last year of an extension, New Bhongolethu.

But families are hard pressed to pay the R35 a month rent in the new houses. Some people are still living in the squatter area and in Bhongolethu people are still living two or three families in a house.

"There is still a great need for housing," a member of the Bhongolethu Civic Association (Bhoca) said.

The zinc and cement primary school built in 1967 was only replaced last year due to pressure from the community. The struggle for a new primary school was taken up by the now banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and later by other community organisations.

Pupils boycotted the opening of the school last year by the Minis-

ter of National Education, Mr Gerrit Viljoen.

The community wants the school to be named after the former principal of the Oudstroom Primary School, Sicelo Mhlaui, who was mysteriously murdered two years ago.

Alternatively the community wants the school to be named after Nokuzola Fatyi the 16-year-old girl who is serving a three-year jail sentence for public violence.

For many years there was only a primary school and children had to leave the area if they wanted to complete their education at great expense to their parents. Fekzeli High School only recently went as far as matric.

Bhongolethu is wracked by

hunger and unemployment. Some residents have to travel to George to work paying more than half their weekly wages in transport.

A survey done two years ago showed that 73 percent of Bhongolethu residents earned less than R150 a month. Residents complained of construction companies who bring in workers from the bantustans and then leave them in the area with nothing when the contract expires.

An attempt is being made to address the hunger situation in Bhongolethu and Bridgton.

Only roads surrounding the township are tarred. No sooner had one road been tarred recently than it had "Walter Sisulu Ave" painted on it in big white letters. Residents believe that the mu-

nicipality is planning a separate cemetery far from the township. Bhongolethu people have always buried their dead with the Bridgton community. But they believe the planned separation is to prevent political funerals in view of the town.

Residents attribute the unity to strong community organisation. The Bhongolethu Civic Association (Bhoca) formed in September 1985 consists of representatives from students, parents, youth, women's, and ministers' organisations.

It works closely with community organisations in Bridgton, Saamstaan and the Oudstroom Resource and Advice Centre (Orac) which were formed to bridge the gap between Bhongolethu and Bridgton.

Sayco fire first shots in campaign



THE first salvoes of the campaign in Western Cape to save 36 people on death row were fired this week in Athlone.

The meeting, initially scheduled for the UWC, was banned in the magisterial district of Bellville.

At the alternative venue at Kismet Cinema, a magisterial district of Wynberg, about 900 people saw prominent community leaders sign first letters of protests.

The campaign is spearheaded by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco)

The sentences on the 36 people followed the 1985 upheavals in the country. So far, two people have been hanged.

SOUTH spoke to members of the Sayco Campaign Committee about the campaign.

"The aim is to appeal to the government not to hang the people for humanitarian, political and moral reasons.

"We also want the government to give the people prisoners-of-war status," a member of the committee said.

In all regions sub-committees comprising youths, religious bodies, workers and women would be formed. These committees would link up all grassroots organisations.

So far, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and the South African Council of Churches have supported the campaign.

Sayco would seek support of peace-loving international countries to seek reprieve for the con-

demned people.

"We shall also collect at least 1 000 signatures for each person on the death row. We will ask for platform at the United Nation Organisation, Non-Aligned Movement and Organisation for African Unity."

Thousands of pamphlets highlighting the issue had been distributed in the country.

He expressed concern that the number of people

on the death row might increase.

"There are many trials of the same nature throughout the country at the moment. For example, there were 31 people when the campaign started but now there are five more."

"On the other hand, many of our comrades have been killed by vigilantes but no one has been brought to court," he said.

Pressure mounts in UK

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON — On the eve of the appeal for clemency of the Sharpeville Six, in a small ante room of the Westminster Cathedral in London, dozens of Britons stood to attention for a minute of silent tribute to the political prisoners who have been executed for crimes many say are "politically motivated".

They had just heard of three more hangings. The meeting was told that, unannounced and without any publicity, Solomon Maqusha and Alex Matsepan were hanged last December and Elile Webushe on a date unknown.

"Our task is more urgent than before," said organisers of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and Southern Africa — The Imprisoned Society (Satis). "We must speed up our operations to save the lives of the victims of the war-time situation in South Africa."

That call was echoed by campaigners from the towns and villages of Oxford, Sheffield, Derbyshire, Suffolk and organisations like Lawyers Against Apartheid and the Refugees' Study Programme.

Hundreds of demonstrators gathered outside the South African Embassy in London as part of the AAM and Satis campaign for an end to executions.

The campaign began about two months ago in response to the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) call for prisoner of war status for the 36 people convicted of politically-related crimes. Sayco issued a statement in London last week welcoming the AAM and Satis initiative.

Kids say 'we've failed'

THE root cause behind the four Bhongolethu youths being sentenced to death is entrenched in the township, according to the Rev Nzimeni Moses Mooi.

"If they had all the facilities in life, they would not have gone that far," said Mooi, leader of the Gospel Mission Church in South Africa and the Bhongolethu Mission Church, and one of the first residents of the township.

"They are kids who have grown up in front of me." He blamed their predicament on the lack of facilities at school and low wages earned by their



The Rev Mooi

parents. "Some children had to go to school without food," he said.

For many years there was no secondary school in Bhongolethu and if parents wanted to give their children higher education, they had to send them to the bantustans.

"It is not actually that these people wanted to do these things, they wanted to attract the attention of the government," Mooi said.

"The youth is trying to bring the government to their senses. We have been talking and talking for so many years, and they say we have failed."

(scribble) (149) smetan 23/9/87

UN 'no' to move on ANC

THE United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid has dissociated itself from a resolution adopted by an International Youth and Students' conference which recognised the African National Congress and Swapo as the "authentic and sole liberation" movements in South Africa and Namibia.

The resolution was taken in London recently.

Addressing over 60 representatives of American universities, the committee's chairman, Major General Joseph Garba, said the United Nations was deeply concerned and embarrassed by the resolution, especially since it provided funds with which the conference was organised.

Major General Garba said the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and the UN recognised both the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the ANC. That was why, Maj Gen Garba said, both organisations were enjoying observer status in these international bodies.

Statements

He was reacting to statements made by student leaders who cautioned the presence of an organised sectarian movement within the anti-apartheid movement bent on splitting national liberation movements by refusing to acknowledge the existence of any group outside the ANC.

Some black American delegates to the London conference complained that out of about 140 delegates who adopted the resolution, 120 were whites "who were representing groups that saw the ANC as the "Government-in-waiting".

The black delegates said the white delegates would not have anything to do with the PAC or the Black Consciousness Movement.

"The UN, Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU have pledged not to be party to this..."



Terror's 2 weeks in dock

THE United Democratic Front has never urged people at their meetings to join the banned African National Congress or its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

He has been in the dock for two weeks.

Cross-examined by Mr P Fick, for the State, Mr Lekota said the UDF wanted to peacefully persuade the Government to abandon its apartheid policy. And this would eventually lead to the end of armed conflict in the country. He added that the National African Congress (ANC) took up arms after being frustrated by the "unjust policies of the Government."

[By MONK NKOMO]

Mr Lekota rejected suggestions by the State that they were linked with the ANC and that the UDF's call for unity among the black masses was a call to overthrow the Government. "That is news to us. The allegation is a creation of the State," he said.

He added that each time blacks opposed any law promulgated by the Government, the authorities always thought that they had been told to do so by someone else "because we are used to being pushed from pillar to post."

Mr Lekota also told the court that the Government had smeared the UDF locally and abroad and also refused to grant some of its officials passports to go overseas. The Government was afraid that they were going to expose the real issues of this country "which are not said by bantustan leaders when they are there."

The Government, Mr Lekota added, has said negative things about the UDF, labelling them "agitators" and "a bunch of people" who conspired with the ANC.

"We are opposed to the apartheid policy. And many organisations, churches and black and white people have also voiced their opposition to it. Why should the UDF be wrong to

say things that are also said by others," he asked.

Mr Lekota and 18 others who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu, and the Vaal Civic Association, have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor, to charges of treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

Mr Lekota told the court that the recent decision by the UDF — which he read in the newspapers while in detention — to adopt the Freedom Charter, did not "make us a baby" of the ANC because that organisation also subscribed to it. "We don't get any instructions from the ANC," Mr Lekota said.

(Proceeding)

Four BC men held in Ciskei

11A
17-23/9/87

By AYESHA ALLIE

FOUR black consciousness officials detained in King Williamstown at the weekend after a memorial service for Steve Biko in Ginsberg, were released this week.

Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity-secretary of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Mr Monde Ntwasa, the president of the Azanian Students Movement, Azasm vice-president Mr Brister Kalaute and Azapo Eastern Cape vice-president, Mr Mandla Nkosi,

were held for three days by Ciskei police.

Ntwasa said their quick releases were mainly due to publicity around their detention.

"There are many other people who are detained and only their families know about it."

He said they had left the service early to go to Zwelitsha when they were stopped on the road and detained.

They were not told under which section they were being held and only read on

a file on the day of their release, that it was Section 26.

They were told Azapo and Azasm were illegal organisations in Ciskei.

Ntwasa said police had harassed people from neighbouring towns and prevented them from attending the church service.

It could not be established whether the men were kept by the SAP or Ciskeian police. The SAP confirmed their detention.

The Ciskeian police did not respond to inquiries about the detentions.

Official denies contact

ELSABÉ WESSELS

A HIGHLY placed official at the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning yesterday denied ANC claims that he had tried to make contact with the organisation on a recent visit to Zambia.

A spokesman for the Department said Constitutional Development Director Kobus Jordaan visited Zambia "in his private capacity" a month ago.

Jordaan "categorically denied" the ANC claims, made in London this week, that he had tried to contact the organisation.

According to ANC sources in London, Jordaan met President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka and tried to make contact with the ANC through him.

According to Jordaan, who spent 16 years in Zambia as a missionary, he and his wife visited Zambia for the opening of the Zambian Reformed Church in Madzimoyo. "The only time I had contact with Kaunda was at the opening ceremony."

Strategy 'aimed at sowing confusion' 23/9/87 (11A) B/day

ANC wary of 'govt attempts at contact'

MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — Reported attempts by the SA government to make contact with the ANC are being interpreted by leading members as part of a strategy aimed at sowing confusion in its ranks.

In addition, the ANC believes hints at possible talks are being used to ensure the defeat of the sanctions lobby at the Commonwealth summit.

The ANC says people have been approached three times by people claiming to be intermediaries bearing a message from the SA government.

The "intermediaries" claim the government wants to talk but give no more details.

The first approach was by a Dakar delegate, the second by a US academic in Lusaka and the third by an alleged NIS official in Botswana.

The ANC also said a senior government official visited Lusaka two weeks ago and held

talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Kaunda is reportedly due to brief ANC executive members on the talks later this week.

The ANC, however, believes the intention is to create the impression talks are possible rather than a serious attempt to talk.

A leading ANC member says the organisation believes these "attempts at contact" are designed to sow confusion in the relationship between the ANC and internal organisations.

Government believed it could drive a wedge between not just the "communist" and "pure nationalist" ANC members, but also between those in exile and those in prison, he says.

By creating the impression that it was interested in making contact with the ANC, government was also able to confuse relations between the ANC and those involved in "the broad

democratic movement".

There is much talk in exile circles here of a major government internal initiative. Much of this concerns the National Statutory Council (NSC), with some even suggesting an attempt will be made to appoint political prisoners to the body. However, the unstated fear in each case is that government has actually made a significant breakthrough in its negotiations about the NSC.

The ANC says the idea of impending talks has been conveyed via the British to Commonwealth members, "the inference being that something major is about to happen."

The Foreign Office dismisses out of hand the suggestion that it has played any such role.

□ The Office of the State President last night declined to comment on the ANC claims. Spokesman Jack Viviers said: "Our policy on the ANC is well-known and we have nothing to add."

11/18 (11/18) STAN 24/9/87

ANC believes 'church must side with poor'

By Carina le Grange,
Religion Reporter

The African National Congress (ANC) believed ecumenical relations within the churches had now gone beyond military chaplaincy, and ministry to "both sides" was no longer enough. The time had come to take the side of the poor, the Presbyterian Assembly was told in Pretoria yesterday.

During the tabling of a report on military chaplaincy, it was suggested that like other mainline English speaking churches, the Presbyterian church had become concerned in recent years that not only the South African Defence Force members had to be ministered to, and had investigated the possibility of sending chaplains to external political organisations like the ANC and the Pan.Africanist Congress (PAC).

CHAPLAIN 'WELCOMED' CONTACT

According to the report, personal contact was made by the Presbyterian church with the chaplain of the ANC who ministers to refugees in Zimbabwe. The PAC had not replied to an offer to hold similar discussions.

The ANC chaplain "welcomed" the contact and encouraged further contact and ongoing dialogue, the report said. The committee responsible for the report said it would like to "complete its work in respect of contact and dialogue with the ANC and PAC".

Proposals dealing with military chaplaincy using words seemingly referring only to the SADF were all amended and expanded to cover "military service of any nature" in order to include people serving in other military movements -- such as the ANC and PAC.

The proposals approved included a direction that all ministers wishing to serve as military chaplain should go through an orientation course and that all members entering military service should attend a one-day retreat.

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24/9/87

Lekota on the 'enemy'

THE United Democratic Front referred to the government as an enemy because of its entrenchment of apartheid — "a cancer must be excised". Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF, said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Lekota said there was no compromise between the UDF and apartheid. Quoting from one of the exhibits presented in court, he said: "Often in the day to day heat of the struggle we forget that our enemy is the apartheid system and not those whose views differ with ours".

The enemy in this country, Mr Lekota stressed, was apartheid and not the State.

Mr Lekota said that if our present rulers were blacks who also entrenched the policies of apartheid, the UDF would have opposed that system.

Mr P Fick, for the State, put it to Mr Lekota that both the UDF and the banned African National Congress had called for a "people's government" in South Africa.

Mr Lekota and 18 others who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have all pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor to charges of treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

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A major reform step ... or a 'toy telephone'?

W/Mail 18-24/19/86
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CONSTITUTIONAL Affairs Minister Chris Heunis used dramatic words when, after a delay of more than a year, he tabled final details of the proposed National Council.

He labelled the introduction of the Bill in parliament to establish the long-awaited National Council "one of the most fundamental reform steps" taken in the history of South Africa.

For an administration which had made exclusion of black people from central government a cardinal tenet of political faith, it was a major reform initiative.

But the United Democratic Front saw it as a form of historical regression, a return to the old Native Representatives Council of 1936-1950.

The NRC, the majority of whose members were indirectly elected, was meant to advise the government on racial policy. But the government paid no heed to its calls for the abolition of race discrimination, causing black leaders to describe the NRC as a "toy telephone".

The UDF alluded to that when it forecast that the National Council would join earlier "toy telephones" on the dustheap of history.

The UDF apart, most important black organisations have rejected the National Council, paralleling similar nationwide opposition to the NRC more than 50 years ago.

The National Council is seen not so much as an opportunity for blacks to forge a new constitution as the latest attempt by the government to co-opt selected blacks as junior allies.

The declared function of the National Council is twofold: to enable blacks to help draw up a new constitution for all South Africans and, in the interim, to give blacks a voice in the processes of government.

The National Council will have

PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the National Council proposals

some 30 members, of whom half will be black. Black delegates will consist, firstly, of nine representatives elected by black people living outside the borders of their designated "homelands" and, secondly, of the chief ministers — or their nominees — of the partially self-governing tribal states.

The four nominally-independent "homelands" will not be represented in the National Council, but the six partly-autonomous "homelands" are eligible for representation.

Apart from black representatives, the National Council will consist of the state president, who will serve as chairman, the minister of constitutional development, the majority party leaders in the three chambers of South Africa's tri-racial parliament, and 10 members nominated by the president.

The target is to place the National Council on the statute book by the end of the year, to hold elections for the nine black representatives next year and for the council to start operating in 1989.

That is the year in which Botha's term as president ends. A successful launch of the National Council could provide the high note for his graceful withdrawal. But black opposition remains a major obstacle.

Common to all major black political movements is the insistence that there can be no deal with Botha, not even to debate the future on the National Council, as long as major black leaders remain incarcerated in prison.

The point is stressed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the powerful Inkatha movement and the chief minister of KwaZulu, the largest self-governing black state.

In a major address Buthelezi said: "When we come to negotiate about the very destiny of our country, black democratic forces must be as free as white democratic forces."

The government is desperately keen to persuade Buthelezi to join the National Council. His Inkatha movement, with its 1.5-million signed up members, could make National Council deliberations meaningful.

For that reason it was not coincidental that when Heunis tabled the National Council Bill last week he declared that the government was not opposed in principle to a joint non-racial regional legislature for Natal and KwaZulu.

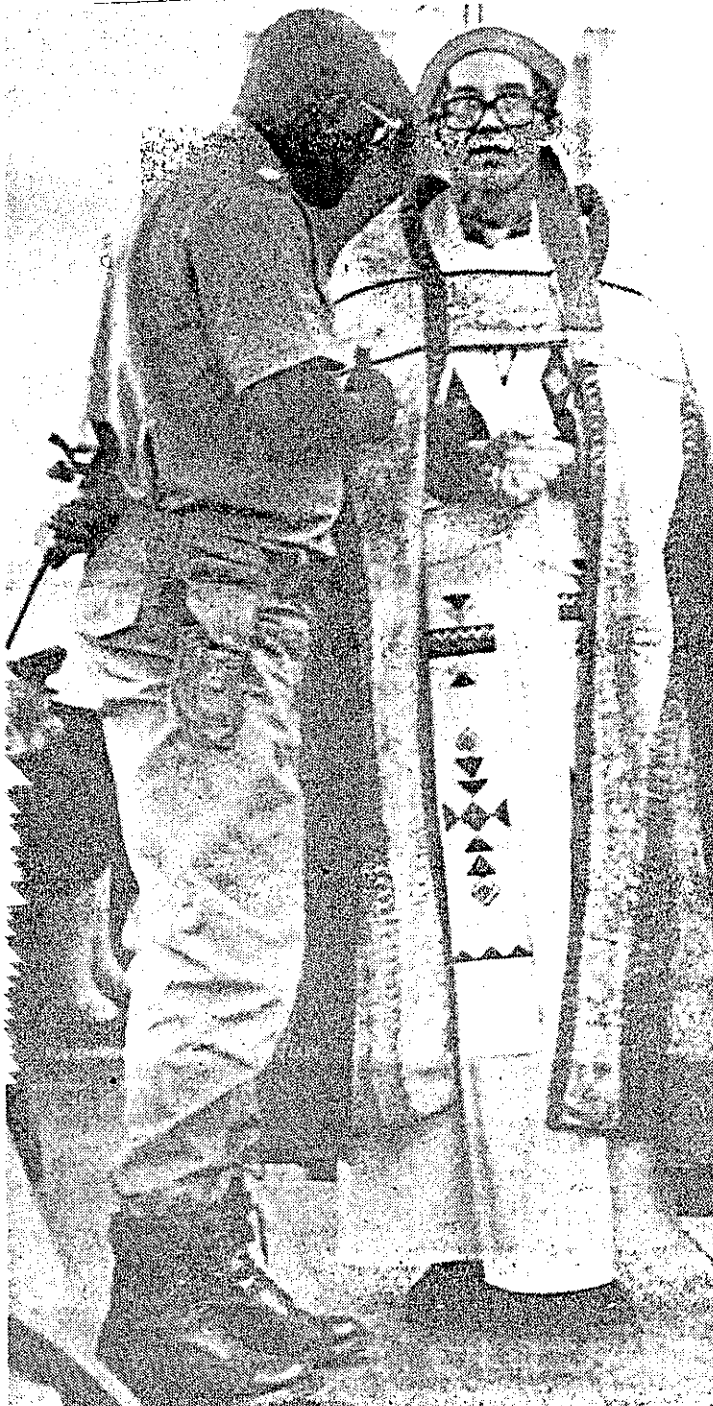
Election of a joint legislature, on the basis of one man, one vote, for Natal and KwaZulu is central to the Indaba proposals approved last year by black and white notables. Inkatha was a major, if not the major, force behind the Indaba.

Implementation of the proposals would almost certainly make Buthelezi prime minister of "KwaNatal", as the envisaged new region is called. It would widen his power base and enhance his prestige.

The government's approval of the idea of a joint legislature — it still has major reservations about the Indaba proposals *per se* — is seen as a bid to woo Buthelezi on to the National Council, to offer him a trade-off.

There is no sign it will succeed unless Botha releases Mandela, Mtho-peng and their co-political prisoners.

Thus, ironically, Botha's prisoners may hold the key to the next move in the intricate game of political chess.



Police receive communion with the Biko mourners

Picture: LOUISE FLANAGA

On their knees to Biko: The Ciskei police

TWENTY armed police fell to their knees at a commemoration service for black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

At the weekend police invaded the church in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, and refused to leave. Halfway through the service the major in charge knelt to pray and several policemen later received communion with the mourners.

After the service policemen shook hands with the clergy and members of the Biko family.

Anglican Bishop David Russell, who was officiating, later said: "The new testament has a long history of jailers who have been converted into a new direction of life.

"My impression is they were moved by the service and they probably wanted some means of conveying their Christianity.

However, if the invasion into the commemoration service for the black consciousness leader who died in detention 10 years ago passed off peacefully, those who tried to attend it weren't so lucky.

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation this week claimed Ciskei Police detained four of its executive members on Saturday and assaulted them. They were released on Monday.

Bishop Russel is confronted by a senior police official during the service. The official later took communion

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

18-24/9/87

11A

SOWETAN, Thursday, September 24, 1987

ATTACK BY PFP — UDF REPLY

THE United Democratic Front has rejected a claim by a Progressive Federal Party MP that it is a passive partner of the African National Congress.

Mr Joe Marks, Western Cape vice-president of the UDF was reacting to statements made in the Assembly by Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton).

He said Mr Dalling's claim was nonsense and that he was preoccupied with criticising the democratic movement. He also rejected a statement by Mr Dalling that the movement had little to show for its years of struggle.

It was clear that he was out of touch with the realities of the country.

The UDF's views were well documented.

It decided to oppose the tricameral parliament because it was undemocratic and did not carry the blessing of the majority of the people in the country.

In Parliament Mr Dalling said the UDF must get involved, even in the system it hated so much because this would release new democratic forces.

Mr Marks said the UDF hated undemocratic processes.

Proof of the movement's opposition to undemocratic practices was its non-participation in the tricameral system.

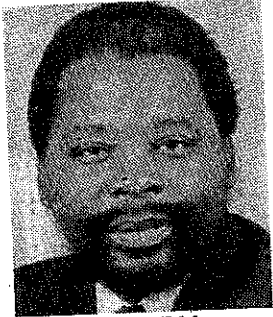
"We agree with Mr Dalling that there is no quick fix for the country's problems and believe that the solution to the problem is the ANC which has overwhelming support in this country.

"We long for the day when there will be peace and friendship and a just future for all," Mr Marks said. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

INKATHA AND UDF BID FOR ACCORD

11A
Somethu
24/9/87

EFFORTS to bring about peace between feuding Inkatha and United Democratic Front factions have raised a glimmer of hope that the black-on-black violence in certain Natal townships notably in the Maritzburg and Hammarsdale areas, will be reduced.



DR OSCAR Dhlomo.

The Pinetown district has also been hard-hit by "unrest" incidents this month, as shown in the terse official reports issued by the South African Police. An upsurge in the incidents took place when a bus fare increase came into effect on September 1.



MR ARCHIE Gumede.

Regarding the peace initiatives, Inkatha general-secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo announced earlier this month that top-level talks had been held between Inkatha and the UDF to bring about an end to the violence and counter-violence between the two groupings.

The problem now is to percolate these peace sentiments down to feuding elements in the township.

Making his announcement about peace initiatives, Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha had held talks with the president of the UDF, Mr Archie

Gumede, and that meetings between youth leaders of both organisations had been arranged.

One such meeting was arranged in the township of Mpumalanga, where violence between the groups has been prevalent, but — it was stated — the meeting failed because only two "very young people" had been sent to represent the UDF.

Accusations and counter-accusations of violence are made repeatedly by adherents of the two organisations

— and Press restrictions make it extremely difficult to establish who is correct in individual cases.

Mr Gumede, in an interview, said that further reports were being made in many communities, including Mpumalanga, to bring about peace.

Asked if he expected success, he said: "If I take the word of Inkatha people at face value, then I am hopeful."

The seriousness of the situation has been reflected by a leading black journalist, Mr Khaba Mkhize, editor of the *Natal Witness*' Echo supplement in Pietermaritzburg. He wrote recently of the "senseless spilling of blood in the townships" and of the "excruciating cry from the people who want no more bloodshed, but want peace and talks about peace".

He said: "We say to you politicians, if your promise of seeking liberation for us is sincere and genuine, then liberate us from black-on-black violence".

When asked to comment on the ongoing violence in the Pietermaritzburg district, the SAP public relations division said "this can probably be attributed to a clash of interests between certain organisations there".

B-24/9/87



IIA

w/maail

Twelve bullets in Nyoka, says post-mortem

TWELVE bullets were pumped into the body of Daveyton student leader Caiphus Nyoka, who was killed in his bedroom after police raided his home more than three weeks ago, according to a post-mortem examination report.

The fatal shot was fired into his forehead. Another bullet entered his neck, while six of the shots were lodged in his chest. Bullet wounds were also found on his right hand, right forearm and left elbow.

The post-mortem examination was conducted by an independent Cape Town pathologist, Dr L. Anstey, in

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

Johannesburg on September 2 — eight days after Nyoka, an executive member of the Transvaal Students' Congress, was slain in the early hours in the back room of his parents' Daveyton home.

He had been sharing the room with three other youths, who were allegedly ordered out of the room by police and made to lie face down outside on the ground where, they told *Weekly Mail*, they heard shots ringing out of the room.

According to the youths, who have

since sworn affidavits, police kicked open the door of the back room and entered, brandishing torches and asking which one of them was Nyoka. Nyoka, who was lying in his bed, identified himself.

The police then ordered them to leave the room immediately, and they complied, they said, leaving 23-year-old Nyoka behind.

According to Lt Olivier of the SA Police press liaison division, the matter is under investigation. Therefore the SAP cannot comment on the allegations made by the three youths.

AKW 25/9/87 (11A) (S)

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

SA approached ANC 3 times, says BBC

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The South African Government had tried three times in two months to arrange secret talks with African National Congress leaders, the BBC reported today.

The broadcast noted that in the past South Africa had consistently condemned the ANC as a terrorist organisation, saying it would never negotiate with those who perpetuated violence.

Tambo

The BBC said news of the reported attempts emerged at the Harare anti-apartheid conference. But one of those attending, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, had made it clear he was not interest-

ed in secret talks with South Africa.

Graham Leach, the BBC's Southern Africa correspondent, reporting from Harare, quoted "highly placed conference sources" on the three attempts.

The first occurred at the meeting in Dakar between ANC leaders and liberal Afrikaners, one of whom, said the sources, had previously met officials of South Africa's National Intelligence Service, who asked the Dakar delegate to tell the ANC that a Government minister was willing to meet them.

The sources said the second contact involved a meeting arranged through an intermediary between an ANC refugee in Botswana and members of South Africa's security police and military

intelligence when a similar message was passed on.

According to the sources, further interest in meeting the ANC was expressed by a South African official recently in Lusaka.

Why secret?

To each of these approaches, said the sources, the ANC response was the same: to ask which minister and why the talks had to be secret, as well as demanding that anti-apartheid groups within South Africa should also be consulted.

The sources said the ANC suspected that Pretoria was signalling a willingness to talk to help Mrs Margaret Thatcher to fight off further sanctions demands at the Commonwealth conference summit in Vancouver.

The internal management and among policemen.

CNF Times 25/9/87 307 11A

Ngxobongwana to have 'final say'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's Crossroads township committee would have the "final say" about the resettlement of persons in the areas upgraded after being devastated during clashes between rival squatter factions last year.

However, in the case of "incongruities or malpractices" in land allocation the Administrator may intervene, according to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Reading replies to questions from Mr Jan van Eck (Independent Claremont) on behalf of Mr Heunis, Mr Piet Badenhorst said the minister was not considering a neutral committee or body to investigate and to take decision on disputes between the township

committee of Crossroads and the squatter communities on settlement in the upgraded area.

"The power vests in the Administrator who is not in favour of such a neutral committee," he said. "It will have a negative effect on the autonomy of the town committee."

Mr Jan van Eck commented: "It is utterly unacceptable to let the man who was directly involved in driving thousands of squatters out of the Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement squatter camps to decide who may resettle on this land once it is upgraded."

Mr Van Eck said the decision was also unacceptable because the Crossroads town committee, of which Mr Nxobongwana is the mayor, "is not accepted as being legitimate or representative of the larger Crossroads community before the fires of 1986".

The film South Africa will not see is tainted by unconvincing performances and a rather simplistic depiction of the black political struggle, writes SUE LEEMAN of The Argus Foreign Service in London.

The Mandela love story on British TV

ARGUS 25/9/87 (11A)

THE pathos and drama of Nelson Mandela's political struggle — and his deep and abiding love for his wife Winnie are the twin themes of *Mandela*, the British television film screened for the first time last night.

Although the three-hour production has been crafted with sympathy and care, some of the dramatic impact is lost due to a number of unconvincing performances — notably that of Alfre Woodard as Mrs Mandela — and the film-makers' preoccupation with providing a history lesson.

Producer Dickie Bamber's depiction of the black political struggle is tainted by a rather simplistic approach, and he fails to probe such significant statements as Nelson's "We have started something that cannot be stopped".

"Cash in"

Looming large during the three hours of viewing is the knowledge that Television South made the film for Channel Four without Mrs Mandela's blessing. She tried at the last moment to have the screening stopped on the grounds that the film serves no political purpose and is merely an attempt to "cash in" on the Mandelas' story.

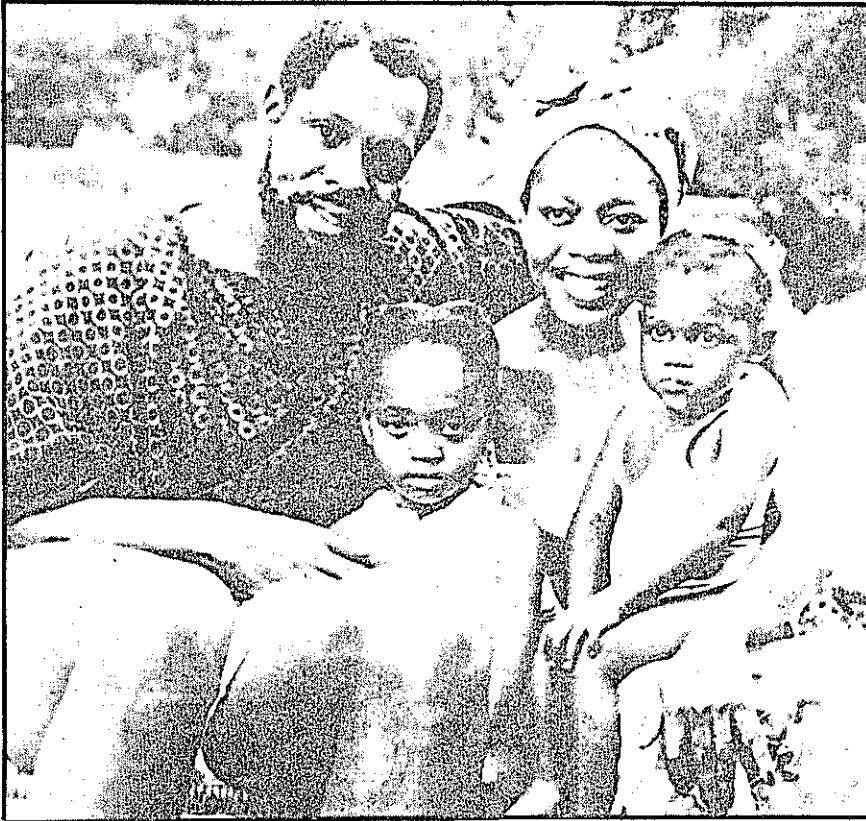
The viewer is constantly aware of this major shortcoming: if Mrs Mandela had been involved in production would the viewer have seen something different?

But, broadly, it is factually correct and the film-makers have been careful to make their sets as authentic as possible. Their recreation of events is a stark reminder of the evils of apartheid and the police state.

ANC stalwart

The film opens, chillingly, with the words of former Prime Minister Dr D F Malan in his historic address to Parliament as he ushers in the age of apartheid with its pass laws, job reservation and black homelands.

The first glimpse of Danny Glover's Mandela is of the ANC stalwart canvassing support and urging black people to support the ANC's defiance campaign.



Above: Mrs Winnie Mandela as she is today.

□ □ □

Left: Danny Glover and Alfre Woodard, who portrayed Nelson and Winnie Mandela in the film, and their children.

The film goes on to record the famous Kliptown meeting where the Freedom Charter was born and Mandela's subsequent brushes with the law, including several court appearances on allegations of inciting insurrection.

Then into his life comes Winnie, portrayed by Ms Woodard as a charming, if somewhat colourless, social worker.

As the film focuses on the couple's courtship and marriage the viewer begins to get an inkling of what apartheid boils down to for the township dweller. The Mandelas' first date is interrupted by a sobbing woman whose husband has been jailed for a pass offence and who pleads for Nelson's help.

The 1961 shooting of 69 pass law protesters at Sharpeville is vividly portrayed on a grand scale which again brings home the horror of police brutality. Great attention has been paid to detail and even the police badges look real.

As Nelson gradually becomes more defiant, going into hiding and adopting his "Scarlet Pimpernel" role, the film delves deeper into his relationship with his wife.

It is here where the film really begins to shine and where some of the most touching lines — in former South African Ronald Harwood's otherwise patchy script — are delivered.

Lacks impact

When they spend time in Rivonia with other activists, Winnie laughs as she reflects to her husband, who is now on the run: "You are in hiding, the most wanted man in South Africa... and yet we are enjoying a proper family life for the first time."

He confides his desire for her: "Without you... I would fall apart. I kiss your photo, it seems to ease the longing for you."

The ANC's new policy of sabotaging strategic targets is dismissed in a few short, sharp scenes featuring Holly-

wood-style pyrotechnics but showing little of the socio-political effects of such attacks.

The Rivonia trial — which Mandela made a platform for some of his most resounding attacks on apartheid, and where he was jailed for life for treason — lacks impact, perhaps because of the difficulty of capturing the atmosphere of any courtroom on screen.

The film goes on to chronicle the Soweto uprising and police shootings of 1976 and Mrs Mandela's growing stature as a politician.

Ms Woodard's performance begins to revive a little here and by the time Mrs Mandela is banished to Brandfort you really feel her anguish and hatred for the system which has forced her to live in a tiny house in a community which is strange to her.

But perhaps the most striking moment of the whole production is Mrs Mandela's first "contact visit" with her husband in 22 years. The sight of the whole family crying and

hugging each other says so much more about apartheid than the mere chronicling of events.

The film ends in the present with a greying but defiant Mandela refusing President P W Botha's offer of release in return for a renunciation of violence.

Impassioned

Danny Glover, although not physically all that similar to Mandela, is impassioned enough to make the viewer believe he is the ANC leader. His black South African accent seldom falters.

The same cannot be said for Ms Woodard, who struggles with her pronunciation. The notorious Sergeant Swanepoel, who pursued Mandela so relentlessly is a mere caricature — as are most of the policemen in the film — with a rather overplayed Afrikaans accent.

Filmed in Zimbabwe, the location is close enough to South Africa to pass for it and the set builders have constructed a creditable second Soweto up north.

SA attempting to ^{26/9/87} contact ANC?

LONDON — The South African Government has been trying to establish contact with the outlawed African National Congress, the Independent newspaper quoted sources close to the ANC here and in Harare yesterday as saying.

The British newspaper said in a front-page report:

"The ANC is officially denying that they received messages from

Pretoria but it is understood that a message was sent through one of the Afrikaner delegates to the meeting in Dakar, Senegal, in July where liberal Afrikaners met an ANC delegation.

"More recently, there have been attempts at contact through an unnamed American academic and, according to the sources in Harare, through Botswana and Zambia.

"Last week, the Minister for Constitutional Affairs, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, was reported to have refused to have confirmed or denied that he had spoken personally to Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders.

"But, he said Nelson Mandela was a person of 'great significance' whose release would have tremendous symbolic implications.

"There has been speculation that Govan Mbeki may be released shortly and that there is a possibility that the others will be freed if they agree to serve on the National Statutory Council.

"This is a body to be set up under the State President, Mr P. W. Botha's, chairmanship to discuss a future constitution for South Africa."
— Sapa

27/9/87 SIT (11A)

Hendrickse plea: Set Mandela free

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said yesterday he expected Nelson Mandela to be out of jail by November 7 — when he will have served 25 years — so that he could make a contribution to the proposed National Council Bill.

If not, he (Mr Hendrickse) would request the State President to order that Mandela be allowed to leave his prison cell at Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town to give oral evidence to the Standing

Committee on Constitutional Affairs on the Bill when the committee meets again in November.

Mr Hendrickse will open the 14th annual congress of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac) in Port Elizabeth tomorrow night when he is expected to spell out his party's views on black participation in deliberations on the Bill.

Assomac represents 183 coloured and Indian management committees (Mancoms) in the Cape province.

The National Council Bill, aimed at bringing into exist-

ence an instrument to negotiate a new constitution providing for the participation of all South Africans, is now before the committee.

Mr Hendrickse said that, in addition to Mandela, the leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, all UDF leaders such as Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Archie Gumede and others, including those in detention, as well as recognised leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Zulu-based Inkatha political party, should be invited to give oral evidence.

27/9/87

Info man in quiz

□ From Page 1

name of "Philip Anthony Clarke — previous ID number 966052938".

The Deputy General Manager of the Exchange Control Department of the Reserve Bank, Mr E J Pike, asked all banks to telex the names of branches conducting accounts for Mr Clarke and the others named, and to supply the respective account numbers and balances of these accounts.

Mr Hill has denied that he is any way involved in the Escom fraud.

Mr Clarke was a director

27/9/87 SIT

over Escom fraud

which massive profits were made.

The forged stock remained mainly in the possession of the perpetrators and no innocent outside parties, such as Escom and its stockholders, suffered.

Significant

He said that "nobody should be excluded from deliberations" on the Bill, which he said, could lead to "probably the most politically significant discussions on South Africa's future since the establishment of union".

Discussions on the Bill should "start without preconditions and with an open-ended agenda".

"This country is running out of time and we cannot make do any longer with interim blueprints. On the other hand, we have no right to be prescriptive to the majority of the peoples of South Africa," Mr Hendrickse said.

Winnie gives film cold-shoulder

-By EZRA MANTINI and DAVID JACKSON

WINNIE MANDELA has refused to view a copy of the controversial TV film of her jailed husband's life sent to her by the producers.

She said this week: "I refused to watch the film because I was never consulted and therefore am not interested in seeing the final version, and also because the ANC leader Oliver Tambo refused to co-operate on the making of the film."

Panned by critics for series of errors

The film-makers, TVS, said in Los Angeles this week they sent Mrs Mandela her own copy of the film hoping she would change her public opposition and give it her blessing.

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka this week backed Mrs Mandela's stand and confirmed that the film-makers did not seek their co-operation.

The spokesman said: "We stand by Mrs Mandela's statement that nobody in our organisation either co-operated in the research or gave approval to the film about the Mandelas."

"We think the producers should at least have had the courtesy to consult the family before going ahead with the film."

The spokesman confirmed

Makers accused of lack of courtesy

that producers consulted Oliver Tambo two years ago and gave him the script.

The spokesman said: "He rejected the script and said it served no purpose as many other important people such

as Walter Sisulu were not even mentioned.

"But we were surprised when the producers told us they were going ahead with a film, with or without the approval of the organisation."

The ANC spokesman said the producers engaged Oliver Tambo's son, Dali, to co-star in the film.

"But he later withdrew as he did not like the idea of the film, especially after being rejected by the organisation. "Besides, we became suspicious that the producers might use the Tambo name in the film and make it appear as though they had our approval," said the spokesman.

Red-faced Independent Television executives went ahead with this week's controversial Channel 4 screening of the two-and-a-half hour film, called simply MANDELA, despite Winnie's last-ditch legal bid to have it stopped.

Mrs Mandela's squabble with TV executives over the right to screen "the astonishing bond" between her and her jailed husband this week robbed the film — shown in 30 countries around the world — of much of its propaganda value, say ANC exile sources in London.

Gaffes

Winnie's decision to shun the film was vindicated by critics, who slammed a series of gaffes in the movie.

● The police at Sharpeville are shown opening fire on the crowd of pass-law protestors with bolt-action, 303 wooden rifles of "World War One vintage".

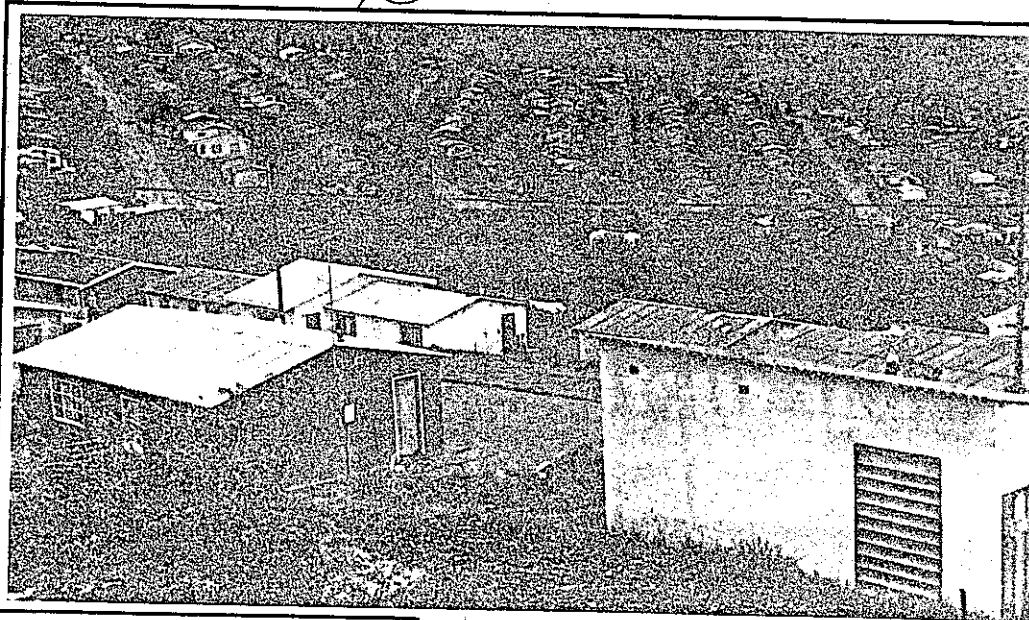
● Policeman in baggy khaki shorts are seen wearing at one point what look suspiciously like the uniforms of the old white Rhodesian police force.

● Oliver Tambo (then Mandela's legal partner on the Rand) is shown in the early 1960s wearing spectacles of a design which did not appear until some years later.

● While Danny Glover (Mandela) and Alfre Woodard (Winnie) were convincing as the young lovers caught up in political turmoil, the portrayal of some of the Afrikaner parts have been savaged by critics.

● Swanepoel, the policeman dedicated to putting Mandela behind bars, speaks in a grating accent which sounds like thinly-disguised Cockney.

Said Geoffrey Wheatcroft of the London Daily Telegraph: "ANC leaders are seen as noble and brave; Afrikaners as brutal thugs. This is not so much an historical travesty as artistically unsatisfying."



THE KwaZulu township of Mpumalanga at Hammarsdale, dubbed "the killing fields" because of the current strife, lies 50km west of Durban.

It is administered by a town council whose members were all elected on an Inkatha ticket and are mainly of business people.

Its population of about 70 000 people live in some 8 700 houses - both formal and informal. The township was established to accommodate workers employed in the neighbouring Hammarsdale, which was being developed by the Industrial Development Corporation as a growth point in the late 60's.

There is a lack in education and health facilities in the township. No new houses have been built to accommodate the influx of people from nearby trial areas of Gwala and Mabhela. The rate of unemployment is also said to be high since the IDC stopped the incentives for industries to move into Hammarsdale.

In the late seventies, organisation in the township consisted of Inkatha and the conservative Mpumalanga Residents Association founded by businessman, Rodgers Sishi, after his expulsion as the manager of the National Professional Soccer League in 1975.

Mpura's activities included organising functions for graduates in the area and tours for the youth during school vacations.

In the same year, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, Chief Mhlambuzima Maphumulo, for Mpumalanga, was involved in a confrontation with Inkatha after launching his Inala Party which was to oppose Inkatha in the elections.

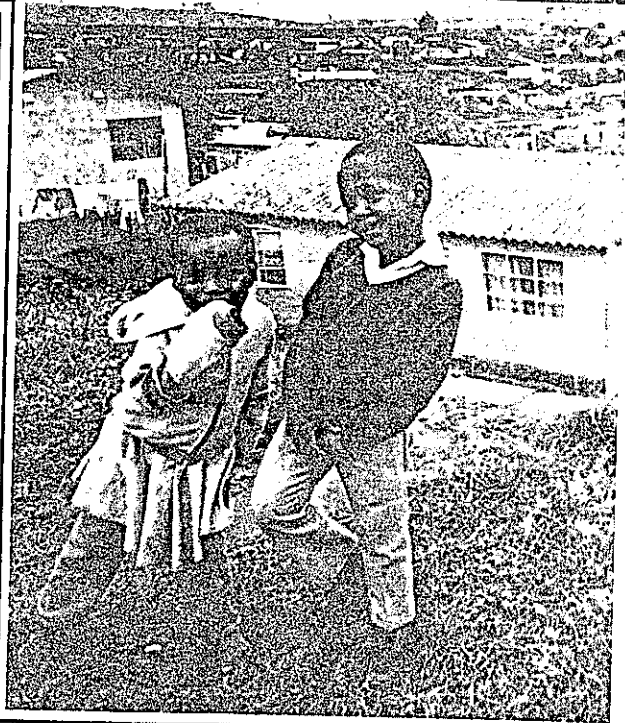
Maphumulo steadfastly refused to apologise to the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha. He defiantly continued to represent Mpumalanga constituency in the KLA until his expulsion in 1978.

In 1983, Maphumulo was assaulted by Inkatha supporters outside the KLA for refusing to join Inkatha. He said that, while Inkatha was non-violent when faced by a powerful government, its members were violent towards its black opponents.

He further claimed that Simon Conco, former KLA chief whip and Uwasa general secretary, and other senior Inkatha leaders had tried to force his people to join In-

Special report:
S'BU
MNGADI

Township terrorised by a spate of killings



katha.

In 1977, Mpura was involved in a serious confrontation with Inkatha, when some Mpura members expressed opposition to Inkatha.

In 1978, resentment of the KwaZulu government was taking root in Mpumalanga following rent increases. Rentals before KwaZulu took over the administration of the township had been R6,40. When the homeland took over rents increased to R11,04 a month.

Some "progressive" residents had involved themselves in Mpura in the hope that it might take a clear political stand. However, the leadership of Mpura maintained its membership of Inkatha and refused to take any political stand.

Even during the 1979 bus boycott, which had the majority support of the community, MPURA did not take a stand.

The boycott was initiated by workers following fare increases. Senior In-

reinstatement of a colleague fired two months earlier.

The striking workers were attacked by 40 riot squad policemen who fired teargas canisters at them. Some 555 workers were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Another scene of political activity in the township has been the Mpumalanga College of Education, where militant student activities date back to 1983 when students stoned riot police.

The divisions within community of Mpumalanga burst into the open with the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983.

During a UDF rally at Glazier Hall in the same year, vigilantes disrupted the meeting. A bus was burned and several cars belonging to UDF members and supporters were stoned.

With the tide of political mobilisation sweeping through Natal following

award winning play, *Asinamali*, written and directed by Mbongeni Ngema to perform in the township.

The play takes its title from the cry against rent increases, made popular in the fifties and used by Lamontville, Chesterville and Hambanathi residents during their struggles against rent increase in 1983.

After their performance at Glazier Hall, the cast of *Asinamali* was attacked resulting to the death of Durban showbiz impresario, Jeffrey Shongwe, and several members of the cast were injured.

After the incident Mpuyo members claimed to have received verbal threats from Inkatha members, resulting in them leaving the township in fear of their lives.

There was a lull in the activities of Mpuyo until December 1985 when concerned members

to the Hammarsdale Youth Congress to accommodate all areas under the Hammarsdale magisterial district. The late Vusi Maduna, a former Inkatha Youth Brigade's local treasurer, was elected its president.

As Hayco's popularity spread in the area, tensions with Inkatha also increased. Inkatha Youth Brigade members left in their large numbers to join Hayco, now led by their former leader. According to Maduna, almost 60 percent of the present Hayco members were former Inkatha Youth Brigade members.

Some schools were burnt in the early part of 1986. Hayco members were blamed. Several Hayco members were harassed by vigilantes. Among the victims were Mmashu Mbatha, who was abducted from his house in February this year and found dead in a water-storm drain.

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In the same year, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, Chief Mhlangu Maphumulo, or Mpumalanga, was involved in a confrontation with Inkatha after unchaining his Inala Party which was to oppose Inkatha in the elections. Maphumulo steadfastly refused to apologise to the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha. He defiantly continued to represent Mpumalanga constituency in the KLA until his expulsion in 1978.

In 1983, Maphumulo was assaulted by Inkatha supporters outside the KLA for refusing to join Inkatha. He said that while Inkatha was non-violent when faced by a powerful government, its members were violent towards its black opponents.

He further claimed that Simon Conco, former KLA chief whip and Jwisa general secretary, and other senior Inkatha leaders had tried to force people to join In-

katha. In 1977, Mpura was involved in a serious confrontation with Inkatha, when some Mpura members expressed opposition to Inkatha.

In 1978, resentment of the KwaZulu government was taking root in Mpumalanga following rent increases. Rentals before KwaZulu took over the administration of the township had been R6,40. When the homeland took over rents increased to R11,04 a month.

Some "progressive" residents had involved themselves in Mpura in the hope that it might take a clear political stand. However, the leadership of Mpura maintained its membership of Inkatha and refused to take any political stand.

Even during the 1979 bus boycott, which had the majority support of the community, MPURA did not take a stand.

The boycott was initiated by workers following fare increases. Senior Inkatha officials also did not take any stand on the boycott, mostly because the company involved was partly owned by the KwaZulu government.

Trade union activity, especially under the Federation of SA Trade Unions (now part of Cosatu), increased considerably during the late seventies and early eighties in Hammarsdale.

In August 1979 some 400 workers at the Hammarsdale headquarters of Rainbow Chickens downed tools in support of their demand for the

reinstatement of a colleague fired two months earlier.

The striking workers were attacked by 40 riot squad policemen who fired teargas canisters at them. Some 555 workers were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Another scene of political activity in the township has been the Mpumalanga College of Education, where militant student activities date back to 1983 when students stoned riot police.

The divisions within community of Mpumalanga burst into the open with the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983.

During a UDF rally at Glazier Hall in the same year, vigilantes disrupted the meeting. A bus was burned and several cars belonging to UDF members and supporters were stoned.

With the tide of political mobilisation sweeping through Natal following the launch of the UDF, the youth in Mpumalanga formed the Mpumalanga Youth Organisation in 1984. From its inception Mpuyo received threats.

Some time in 1984, Mpura held confidential talks with the UDF leadership in a bid to affiliate to the front. Since then nothing has been heard of Mpura.

Tensions between members of Mpuyo and Inkatha supporters reached a peak in mid 1985, when Mpuyo invited the cast of the multi-

award winning play *Asinamali*, written and directed by Mbongeni Ngema to perform in the township.

The play takes its title from the cry against rent increases, made popular in the fifties and used by Lamontville, Chesterville and Hambanathi residents during their struggles against rent increase in 1983.

After their performance at Glazier Hall, the cast of *Asinamali* was attacked resulting to the death of Durban showbiz impresario, Jeffrey Shongwe, and several members of the cast were injured.

After the incident Mpuyo members claimed to have received verbal threats from Inkatha members, resulting in them leaving the township in fear of their lives.

There was a lull in the activities of Mpuyo until December 1985 when concerned members came together and decided to amend the constitution to include a clause about education. The amended constitution called for "a single, democratic and free education system".

The amended constitution gave Mpuyo a wide scope of operation. During the first four weeks of 1986 academic year, some 200 students enlisted as its members. Its popularity spread to areas outside the township.

In March last year Mpuyo changed its name

to the Hammarsdale Youth Congress to accommodate all areas under the Hammarsdale magisterial district. The late Vusi Maduna, a former Inkatha Youth Brigade's local treasurer, was elected its president.

As Hayco's popularity spread in the area, tensions with Inkatha also increased. Inkatha Youth Brigade members left in their large numbers to join Hayco, now led by their former leader. According to Maduna, almost 60 percent of the present Hayco members were former Inkatha Youth Brigade members.

Some schools were burnt in the early part of 1986. Hayco members were blamed. Several Hayco members were harassed by vigilantes. Among the victims were Mmashu Mbatha, who was abducted from his house in February this year and found dead in a water-storm drain.

Scores of people have been killed since then, with most victims having had links with Hayco.

Locals blame a group of vigilantes they call "Otheleweni", after their war cry, for the murders. Eyewitnesses claim attackers were seen wearing T-shirts with "Mafeng/Mandleni camp" written across them. This camp was established by Inkatha.

After the death of the Sithembiso Magadi, killed this year in front of his comrades on the way from a street committee meeting, Hayco executive committee received an anonymous letter threatening that more and more Hayco members would be killed.

Hayco dismissed the letter as a "hoax". But a week later, three of its members were abducted and killed.

Following the killings, scores of Hayco activists left the township to seek refuge in neighbouring areas and Durban townships.

The Hammarsdale killings took a dramatic turn on March 14 when Maduna, Hayco president, was killed in Clermont by a group of about 40 people.

Reports alleged that he had been killed by "comrades" who suspected him of being a police informer. But Hayco and UDF blamed agents provocateur for the killings.

When students reopened for the second quarter in July, anti-Hayco attacks resumed, and over 12 people have been killed since then.

Inkatha Youth Brigades' National Secretary, Nkehli, said that he could not deny that his organisation's members were involved in the attacks of Hayco members, "but the question remains whether they did that as Inkatha members or individuals".




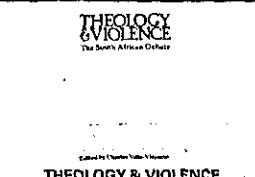
Nkehli, whose yellow Ford Cortina is said to be the notorious feature of the vigilantes, also admitted that the killings were as a result of a "misunderstanding".

A fortnight ago, UDF co-president Archie Gumede and Inkatha general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhomo, held the first round of talks in an attempt to diffuse the strife.

In the meantime the killings continue.

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BLACK anti-apartheid activist Winnie Mandela has put a dampener on speculation that the South African government is about to free her husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A Johannesburg newspaper said at the weekend that Pretoria might free Mandela – jailed for life in 1964 – and urge him to take part in a proposed National Statutory Council.

The NSC has been rejected by most black leaders who have demanded the release of Mandela and other political

Winnie squashes release rumours

prisoners as one of several preconditions before they take part in the structure.

Mrs Mandela, like her husband a symbol of black protest against apartheid, told reporters on Monday: "There has never been any truth or sincerity on the part of the white-led government that they would ever consider releasing my husband."

Speculation over Mandela intensified after a South

African Recce officer, Major Wynand du Toit, was freed earlier this month by Angola as part of a prisoner exchange involving a Dutchman, a Frenchman and 133 Fapla soldiers.

Botha suggested last year that Mandela might be freed should Du Toit and Soviet dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Andri Sakharov be released.

But Pretoria has since denied a link between the Du

VIA
CITY PRESS, September 27, 1987

PAGE 5

Toit prisoner exchange and the release of Mandela.

Pretoria officials say the continued detention of Mandela is an embarrassment, but they fear his release could fuel political unrest.

Winnie Mandela told reporters: "First the government has to create a climate in which my husband and his colleagues can be released into. I cannot see them being released into the same conditions that drove them behind bars 25 years ago."

She added the political situation was worse than when her husband was arrested. – Sapa.

Chiefs move to the left

27/9/87 (11A)

WIKIPEDIA

By SELLO SERIPE

HISTORY was made this week when 38 traditional leaders (sub-chiefs), mainly from the trouble-torn KwaNdebele homeland and Moutse, came together to launch a "left" Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA. The congress is already affiliated to the UDF.

The congress would be sending petitions to State President PW Botha, indicating that the majority of KwaNdebele residents are opposed to independence and that the Moutse community is not prepared to be incorporated into the homeland.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday, Prince Makhosane Mahlangu of Kwa-Maboku district in KwaNdebele and former MP said that the sub-chiefs had realised that the South African government had been using them to divide the country into tribal homelands.

Prince Mahlangu also said that they realised that the objective of the SA government was to strip blacks of their citizenship.

and unite all traditional leaders in the country; to build and deepen proper democratic relationship between the youth, workers and all sectors of the population and to take up demands jointly with the communities.

The Northern Transvaal Youth Congress and Sayco have welcome the formation of Cotralesa.

Those elected to serve in the Cotralesa's interim committee are: Morgan Mathebe, chairman; Isaac Ditshepo, treasurer; Prince Makhosana Mahlangu, secretary; Daniel Msiza, vice-secretary and Jabu Mahlangu, additional member.

● Meanwhile, one of the leading KwaNdebele MP's and a respected royal family member, George Mah-



Makhosane Mahlangu

langu, yesterday refuted claims by the Chief Minister, Majozi George Mahlangu, that the majority of the people wanted independence.

He said Mahlangu failed to comply with conditions laid down by the State President that there should be a referendum, and called for a commission of inquiry be set up to find out whether Mahlangu had mass support.

Kei duped of R8-m

By STAN MZIMBA

A BEIRUT man who allegedly swindled the Transkei government out of R8-million, has turned out to have given false credentials to the Transkei officials.

The commission of inquiry into the Transkei Department of Works and Energy, heard yesterday that the company was also fictitious.

THE EMERGENCY

This newspaper has been produced under emergency regulations which amount to censorship. The restrictions effectively suppress information of public interest. No details of unrest or security force action can be published without permission. However, within the limits of these restrictions, City Press will continue to make every effort to provide objective coverage.

Prince Mahlangu said Cotralesa members could recall with pride and dignity the battles fought by their ancestors.

Among its 11 objectives, the Cotralesa aims to run projects and self-help schemes, together with other "progressive" organisations, that will advance communities and enhance the good image of Cotralesa.

It also aims to organise

KwaNdebele on the boil. See Page 11

Tragedy brings a...

Cape Times 28/9/87
114 232 258

12 'Inkatha members' murdered at Maritzburg

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Fifteen people died violently in the Maritzburg area at the weekend — 12 of them shot and hacked down as they fled from a house which had been set alight.

According to the regional chairman of Inkatha in the Maritzburg area, Mr Joseph Mabaso, all the dead and injured had been members of Inkatha.

"There have recently been several attacks on houses of Inkatha members at KwaShange. On Friday, a group of about 20 youngsters had, for safety reasons, been together at a house when the attack took place."

Police in Pretoria reported that 12 men and youths, aged between 14 and 22, were killed and eight others were seriously wounded when they were attacked with pangas and firearms at KwaShange, near Edendale, late on Friday.

According to the police unrest report, a group of men were attending a meeting at a home when another group attacked the house and set fire to it.

"When the occupants fled from the house shots were fired at them and they were attacked with cane knives," a police spokesman said.

On Saturday the bodies of two men and a woman were found at Machibisa near Maritzburg.

Police said it appeared that the deaths were not unrest-related but rather a result of an "inter-group or faction conflict".

In other incidents of unrest reported from the Maritzburg area, three men were arrested when a group of people were dispersed as they attended an illegal gathering.

Thirty men were arrested in Edendale after shots were fired at security force members from among a group. One security force member was slightly injured and the group was dispersed with shotgun fire. Two firearms, a .32 revolver and a home-made shotgun, were seized.

Sapa reports that in other incidents of unrest the burnt body of a woman, aged about 18, was found at Linge-lihle, near Cradock, in the Eastern Cape.

A security force vehicle was damaged by arsonists at Mbekweni, near Paarl.

At Mariannahill, near Pinetown, a bus was damaged by stone-throwers and at Diepkloof in Soweto a bread delivery vehicle was looted.

UDF is 'aware of white fears'

Political Staff

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was not ignorant of white fears and was prepared to address them provided whites recognised the suffering of blacks, UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said at the Five Freedoms Conference.

He ruled out any form of parliamentary participation, albeit by those with progressive ideals.

"Change is not going to come about through parliamentary strategy. An alternative government cannot be based on a minority of whites who oppose apartheid.

"The only alternative government lies with all South Africans — black and white."

Mr Cachalia said whites should not leave the country but should stay and commit themselves. He called on "all democratic whites" to break decisively with apartheid and to act against it.

"We do not dismiss your fears, we are anxious to address those fears. But we cannot do that if you don't identify with our suffering," he said.

(11A) STAR
28/9/87.

THE STRIKER WHO WENT HOME TO STARVE

And to watch his neighbours queuing for his job

PAGE 6

The odd message on the station blackboard

Witnesses to Daveyton shooting claim they saw 'execution' slogan

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

THREE youths who were metres away from Daveyton student leader Caiphus Nyoka when he was shot dead this week have charged that shortly after the killing a white policeman wrote "999 Lemba Street — Caiphus Nyoka executed — Hands of Death" on a police station blackboard.

The former executive member of the Transvaal Students Congress was killed in the early hours of Monday morning, the youths said, after shots were fired in the back room of his parents' house.

The three youths are part-time matric student Exodus Gugulethu Nyakane, 21, of Wattville; and Excellent Mthembu, 18; and Elson Mnyakeni, 20, who attend Bonginhlanhla secondary school in Kwandebele.

They had come to Daveyton to attend a funeral. Their accommodation at the Nyoka house had been arranged by the family of the deceased.

The three told *Weekly Mail* that four white members of the SA Police arrived at the Nyoka home early Monday morning in the company of black council policemen.

The youths said police kicked open the door of the room they were sharing with Caiphus. The white policemen entered the room, brandishing torches, asking which one was Nyoka. Nyoka identified himself.

According to the youths, police then ordered them to leave the room immediately. Once outside, close to the room, they were told to lie face down on the ground. Clad only in their underpants, the three obeyed.

They said they "more than two shots" being fired in the room in which Nyoka had remained behind with the policemen.

The police then threw their clothes out of the room, they said, ordering them to dress quickly.

They said two of them were handcuffed to each other and all three were escorted at gunpoint to a white 10-seater Toyota "Zola Budd" outside the house.

The three said they were driven to Daveyton police station in the company of white and black policemen.

They said they were taken to an office in an outbuilding behind the main police station building. Fifteen minutes later, they said, they saw a white policeman write on the green blackboard. When he finished, he told the three to read what he had written: "999 Lemba Street — Caiphus Nyoka executed — Hands of Death".

The three described the policeman as being "of small build, dressed in jeans, a navy lumber jacket and a balaclava, folded up above his eyes.

Caiphus' father, Abednigo Moses Nyoka, 54, confirmed much of the youths' story this week. He said police arrived at the house at about 2.30

●To PAGE 2

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Picture: SANDY SMIT, Afrapix



Elson Mnyakeni, Excellent Mthembu and Exodus Nyakane — witnesses to the the death of their friend Caiphus Nyoka

Witnesses tell of shooting

From PAGE 1

am on Monday; that he heard them knocking violently at the door of the bedroom and then heard the door being kicked.

He said he next heard one of the policemen shouting, "Kaptein, hier is hy" (Here he is, Captain). The police then came to the main house and knocked at the front door, he said, while another knocked at the kitchen door.

"As I opened the kitchen door, a white policeman, dressed in uniform, pointed a rifle at me," he said. The policeman entered the house and looked around in all rooms, he said, then "woke my younger son up, Titus, and told him to lie down."

He said he went to Caiphus' bedroom and found his three young guests lying face down on the ground. "Just as one of the boys was beginning to explain what had happened, I was ordered back to the house," he said.

"A white policeman returned to the main house and asked us to come out and identify the three youths," he said. "As my daughter, Magdeline, 20, and I were walking out of the house, the policeman said only one of us should come out."

"Magdeline then went outside to identify the three," he added. He said

he saw the police taking the three away to a white kombi.

At about 4.30am, he said, a white mortuary vehicle arrived. Four council police pulled a stretcher from the vehicle, he said, and took it to the back room. "A short while later they returned with the naked body of my son, lying face up," he said.

When *Weekly Mail* visited the Nyoka home this week there were two bullet shells in the room and clothes relatives said were worn by Caiphus the night of his death were also there.

According to Lt Olivier of the SA Police press liaison division, the matter is under investigation and so the SAP cannot comment on the allegations made by the three youths and the father of the deceased.

"Should the four have any complaints against the police, they are free to submit such complaints to the nearest police station," he said.

Earlier this week, the SAP confirmed the death "during follow-up operations, after the arrest of two suspects who were found carrying a number of mini-limpet mines and handgrenades of foreign origin".

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Down at the Mbeki home, it's just life as usual

Govan Mbeki's family refuse to get excited over the speculation that the Rivonia Trialist will soon be released. FRANZ KRÜGER visits his his wife Epainette

WHEN Govan Mbeki was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963, his wife went back to running the family shop in a tiny village outside Idutywa, Transkei.

Her eldest son, Thabo, had already been in exile for three years. He is now the African National Congress' publicity secretary and led the organisation's delegation in the Dakar talks.

Her two younger sons, Moeletsi and Jama, followed Thabo into exile, leaving only the oldest child, Linda, in the country.

But Epainette Mamotscki Mbeki, now a sprightly 71-year-old, refuses to be sentimental about doing without her family. "I have got used to it. At the beginning I took it lightly and now it is commonplace."

She flashes her wide, ready smile. Around her are the signs of a life that has continued. Builders are installing drains and gutters on the tiny house, and people bustle in with queries or other business.

Despite all the speculation about an imminent release of her husband, Mbeki is not holding her breath for it. "We have no authority over his release or where he is dumped by the government. So it is correct just to wait and see — and hope."

She has not heard anything official, and doesn't expect any advance warning of her husband's release. "I think the government is putting out feelers, to find out the reactions."

"I would be in the same difficulty if I was Pretoria, because these people were initially put inside as the instigators of riots but the riots carried on without them."

"I have learned not to trust certain



Epainette Mbeki... reluctant to trust rumours

Picture: FRANZ KRUGER, Elnews "He takes more of an interest in what happens here than I do."

"He wants to know about the weather, what the rains were like, what is being planted. He still runs the household."

Epainette Mbeki does not have a copy of the book her husband wrote about the uprisings in the Transkei rural areas, *The Peasants Revolt*. There were times when "you could not have books of a certain line in the house", she says.

Mbeki is no longer at the shop in Mbewuleni village her husband started in 1940 when he was prevented from continuing his teaching career because of his political work.

The operation grew too big for her to handle and she moved to Sofute village, on the other side of Idutywa and closer to the small town. There, she started another, smaller, shop which she is currently negotiating to lease out.

Has she thought about what they would do if her husband was released? "Some time ago he said he would not like to live in Transkei. The former state president and he did not see eye to eye. But maybe it would be different now that Kaiser Matanzima is no longer in power."

Will it be a quiet life of retirement? Slightly wistfully, she weighs up the chances. "He was never one for a quiet life but maybe his age will force him." — Elnews

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w/maile
28/8-3/9/87

Pre-censorship looms for media

- thority or security force;
- the promotion of the public image of unlawful organisations;
- the promotion of the activities of unlawful structures; and
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Botha said the "rules of natural justice are duly taken into consideration. The *audi alteram partem* (let both sides be heard) rule is *inter alia* respected."

A "comprehensive" administrative process was being created.

People responsible for a publication

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w/maile
28/8-3/9/87

ust 28 to September 3, 1987

W/Mail (11A) 28/8 - 3/9/87

Two to hang Tuesday - but parents not told

By MONO BADELA

TWO of the 33 political activists on death row at Pretoria Central Prison are to be hanged on Tuesday — but their parents only found out about their appointment with the hangman by chance.

The families heard about the hangings when they visited their sons last weekend.

Wellington Meilies and Moses Jantjies were found guilty of killing a KwaNobuhle town councillor, Benjamin Kinikini, by "necklacing" him in March 1985. They have been on death row since December last year.

Meanwhile the name of a 33rd activist on death row is now known. He is Michael Lukas, of Queenstown.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee yesterday condemned the government for planning to "secretly" hang Meilies and Jantjies.

In a statement DPSC chairman Max Coleman said the DPSC "fully supports the call to the authorities to reprieve the 32 people on death row.

"We can only regard the 32 under sentence of execution as the victims ... of a situation in this country not of their making.

"That they should be sentenced to death by those who are responsible for the situation is the supreme irony. Even prisoners of war do not meet

with such a fate."

The Northern Transvaal Youth Congress, a South African Youth Congress affiliate, urged the government to spare the lives of the two men. The organisation also called on the international community to write letters of protest to the government.

"We are again calling upon the regime to stop killing our fellow compatriots. We reiterate our position that our peace-loving people have not committed any crime against humanity. Their only crime was to oppose the barbaric and inhuman system of apartheid, and the blame should be put at the door of the system," the statement said.

Sayco has called on workers to observe a few moments of silence on Tuesday for Meilies and Jantjies. A prayer meeting will be held at Khotso House at midday on Tuesday.

A Department of Justice representative has confirmed the hangings.

Among the 32 is a young Sharpeville woman, Thetesa Ramashamola. She was sentenced in 1985.

Three National Union of Mine-workers' members, Tlelubuyo Mgedezi, Solomon Mangaliso Nogwati and Paulos Tsietsi Tshehlana, are also among those waiting to be hanged. They were sentenced in May this year for killing team leaders at Vaal Reef's mine.

28/8-187

Wp'11 got SA

ANC, PAC deny 'meeting' claim

By MONO BADELA

SOUTH AFRICA'S two outlawed organisations, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, have denied reports that they recently held secret talks aimed at promoting a merger.

A confidential report published by *The Economist* said a secret meeting took place in Western Europe last week between officials of the ANC and the PAC.

The meeting, according to the report, was arranged by the Organisation of African Unity with the aim of promoting a merger between the two movements.

An ANC representative in Lusaka told *Weekly Mail* that there had been no meeting. "It's a lie. No such talks were held," he said.

The PAC secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim, who is based in Dar-es-Salaam, also denied talks had been held. "No such meeting took place anywhere. However, the PAC is prepared to have a principled united front with all organisations and forces opposed to the racist regime. We have expressed our willingness to cooperate on this issue with those African leaders who approached us."

According to the report the PAC delegation was led by Ebrahim. For sometime, the PAC had been showing signs of willingness to sink some of its ideological quarrels with the ANC, notably its links with the South African Communist Party, the report added.

It also said that PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo says his organisation is "socialist in a pragmatic way", and that it was ready to accept whites, as individuals, into the movement.

Picture: SANDY SMIT, AIRMAIL

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Popular poet Mzwakhe Mbuli recites from his *Change is Pain* collection at the United Democratic Front's cultural day, held at Wits University, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the organisation. A variety of plays were presented, including some from the factory floor and one from the Soweto Children's Theatre. Speakers included Curtis Nkondo, Albertina Sisulu and Thozamile Gqwetha

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

Secret venue for ANC conference

By HOWARD BARRELL in Harare

THE African National Congress has completed arrangements for a major conference of its women's section due to start on Tuesday next week.

Some 300 delegates are expected to attend the ANC's second Women's National Consultative Conference.

ANC headquarters in Lusaka would not comment on the possibility that women from its underground machinery inside South Africa might attend.

The ANC would also not be drawn on the venue of the week-long conference. The first Women's National Consultative Conference, held in 1981, took place in the Angolan capital, Luanda.

It is thought likely that ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo will open the conference.

The ANC's five Radio Freedom stations have been beaming special programmes at South Africa in recent days concentrating on women's issues.

Themes of this call include the view that a woman's place is in the struggle against apartheid, not "in the kitchen", and that local and national women's organisations inside the country should be strengthened.

11A

28/8 - 3/7/87

w/ Mail

Putco sells out to the taximen

2/17/86 *332* *alla/86*

By DERRICK LUTHAYI
BOYCOTT-HIT Putco is giving up its Durban South operations - and in a major move - the giant bus company is expected to sell its fleet to the South African Black Taxi Association.

Contrary to popular opinion, the company denies that the decision to sell was a result of a sustained bus boycott, which has cost it thousands of rands.

Putco, which operates mainly in Natal and the Transvaal, has been hit by boycotts both in Soweto and Durban South.

Putco suspended its operations in the Durban South region in October after more than 200 drivers were fired for allegedly giving commuters "free lifts" by refusing to collect fares.

The Durban South region covers the townships of Umlazi, Kwamakhutha and Umbumbulu. The proposed deal between Putco and Sabta will be channelled through the Ntokozweni Taxi Association, a Sabta affiliate. The new owners are to buy the buses at a bargain price of R20 000 each and they are to be operated by Region One - South Coast, which embraces only the Umlazi-based NTA under chairmanship of RV Ngcongco.

The NTA move is seen as the first positive step by blacks to stake a claim in the black commuter industry, which for many years has been controlled by white companies.

Putco spokesman Bruno Mautla confirmed the deal and said his company was approached by Sabta to negotiate the sale of 60 buses and his company was prepared to sell them at R20 000 each.

Mautla said the decision to sell was to help Sabta to cope with increased numbers of commuters in the Umlazi area and also because "we found ourselves with a surplus of buses".

Meanwhile, S'BU MNGADI reports from Durban that confusion reigned among Durban South bus commuters this week over the affair.

The Umlazi Town Council announced that Kwazulu Transport was to begin servicing several routes in Umlazi, Kwamakhutha and Umbumbulu today.

Umlazi's Ntokozweni Taxi Association chairman RV Ngcongco confirmed that his organisation was negotiating to buy Putco buses. The negotiations included buying the R100 000 Umlazi bus depot.

● Meanwhile a CP Correspondent reports that taxi

drivers in Port Elizabeth will be driving into the new year with bulging pockets.

They have benefited from the misfortune of their old foe and competitor, the Port Elizabeth Tramways Bus Company.

PE Tramways buses have been withdrawn from the townships since early December, resulting in almost 6 000 pirates grabbing their slice of the cake.

● MARTIN NTSOENLENGOE reports from the West Rand that there has been a boom in the taxi business in Krugersdorp, Randfontein and Westonaria since January.

In Mohlakeng there were 30 taxis at the beginning of the year. At present there are 58 taxis operating between Mohlakeng and Randfontein.

It's possible that before Christmas, 22 licences will be granted with more than 50 others trying their luck for taxi licences.

In Bekkersdal, there were about 40 taxis at the start of 1986, but now there are more than 80 taxis operating between Bekkersdal and Westonaria.

But some long-term taxi owners are worried that some of the new applicants may be "fronts" for whites - particularly in Mohlakeng.

Between Munsieville, Kagiso (1) and (2), there used to be 70 taxis. But now there are more than 90 licenced taxis.

Taxi owners in Mohlakeng, fear that the Transportation Board, is issuing too many licences while business was not that good.

They also fear that the issuing of too many taxi licences will kill their business.

Lehnberg freed

During the trial he denied that he loved Lehnberg. He said they were friends and that his feelings towards her was of a "fatherly" nature.

Lehnberg promised that she will always love him.

She wrote to him from the Roeland Street Prison. Some extracts of her letter reads: "There is still only one person for me"; "I shall support you until the end"; "Nobody can take away my love for you".

● The Prison Services refused to release more particulars about her release. A spokesman said it is the policy of the Prison Services not to divulge personal particulars about former prisoners. It is not considered to be in the interest of the re-introduction of these people into the community.



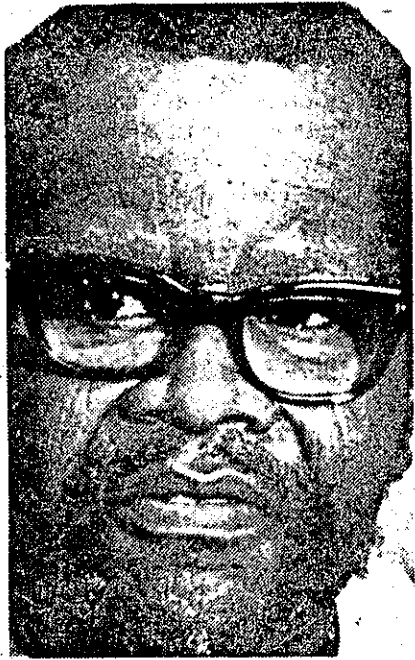
LEHNBERG

... free.
Pic: Courtesy of Beeld

THE EMERGENCY

This newspaper has been produced under emergency regulations which amount to censorship. The restrictions effectively suppress information of public interest. No details of 'unrest' or security force action can be published without permission. However, within the limits of these restrictions, City Press will continue to make every effort to provide objective coverage.

ANC slams brutal punishment



PRESIDENT Oliver Tambo.

STOP

Sowetan
28/1/87

TYRE

DEATHS

HARARE — “Neck-lacing” as a form of punishment should stop.

That is the message South African delegates, have taken home with them from the International Conference on the Plight of Children Under Apartheid.

The South Africans, several hundred from within and others in exile, were told this at a closed meeting with the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Reliable sources said Mr Tambo made it crystal clear that he was against “necklacing” — it had become difficult for him to answer accusations that the ANC had not sufficiently dissociated itself from the killing in which the victims were set alight with a petrol-soaked tyre around their necks.

The closed meeting on Saturday night lasted for about an hour and

SOWETAN Foreign Service

was the climax to several days of ongoing consultations between a powerful ANC delegation and anti-apartheid South Africans, black and white, of various persuasions who attended the conference conveyed by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Unity

Observers agreed that one of the most significant outcomes of the gathering was the opportunity it gave the ANC to put across its case, both publicly and in many private meetings with individuals or small groups of delegates.

Mr Tambo is understood to have stressed the need for unity at the session with South African delegates.

It is understood he referred to the need to try to win over

“vigilante” groups to avoid the emergence of an MNR or Unita type movement which would severely hamper the struggle to end apartheid.

There was a tremendous ovation at the closing ceremony yesterday for Imam Faried Esack of the Call of Islam, a UDF delegate, who spoke passionately of a future South Africa in which Muslims, Hindu, Christian and Jew would live together in harmony.

He was warmly embraced at the end of his address by Mr Tambo, by Archbishop Huddleston and by the Rev Beyers Naude, former General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Dr Naude paid tribute to the courage of delegates from South Africa for their frank descriptions of life under apartheid.

But he warned delegates not to be blind to the fact that the struggle to end apartheid would be a long one.

Top ANC suspect Webster recaptured

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

(112) SAM
28/9/87

South Africa's most wanted man, a suspected African National Congress insurgent, Mr Gordon Webster (24), had been recaptured in South Africa while apparently on an "important assignment" and was expected to appear in court soon, police have announced.

Mr Webster, who was snatched from Edendale Hospital in Maritzburg by an ANC squad in May last year, was captured with another suspected insurgent and two suspected collaborators in the Western Transvaal on September 18.

DOCUMENTS, WEAPONS SEIZED

The four were apprehended by police after they crossed illegally into South Africa from Botswana, the Police Commissioner, General Hennie de Witt, announced on Friday.

Police had also seized weapons and documents, which, they said, indicated that the four were on their way to Durban on an important assignment.

Mr Webster was first arrested in Maritzburg on April 27 last year after he was shot and wounded in the stomach by police who caught him and another man in a car in Edendale.

3 arrested after ANC 'celebration'

ANTWERP — Three people, including two Hollanders, were arrested in Antwerp at the weekend following a counter-demonstration to protest against a meeting celebrating the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress, police reported.

The three were among the counter-demonstrators.

The men were charged with carrying illegal weapons and wearing paramilitary uniforms. The third person, a Belgian, was arrested for injuring a policeman.

More than 500 people took part in the pro-ANC celebration, while more than 100 right-wing militants demonstrated outside the hall. — Sapa-AP.

(11A) SMC
28/9/87

— prosecuted.

Cape Times 29/9/87 *(27)*
Natal mass killing
SAP men detained *15.14*

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have detained six black men, including three members of the South African Police, in connection with the killing of 13 men and boys near Maritzburg, Natal, at the weekend.

It was the third mass killing in the area this year.

A police spokesman said the six were being detained for questioning, and the police officers had been suspended from duty.

He said the arrests were in connection with the killing late Friday and early Saturday of 13 men and boys aged between 14 and 22.

The dead, all members of Inkatha Youth Brigade, were shot and hacked to death outside a house in Machibisa township, near Edendale.

Inkatha organizer Mr Joseph Mabaso said the youths were guarding the home of an Inkatha member who feared attack by the more radical UDF.

"The house was set alight. The youths tried to escape and they were shot or cut down as they ran away," he said. — UPI and Sapa

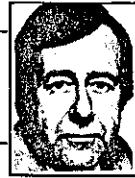
CMT Times 29/9/87 (8) HA

'Mandela' film damned

Poor mixture of romance and unreliable history

THE two-and-half-hour *Mandela* film shown on British television last week — and to be distributed in 30 other countries — has been damned by the critics with faint praise. The best they can say for it is that it will earn publicity for the anti-apartheid struggle around the world and that "150 minutes of undiluted praise for Mandela and the cause in which he is now the totem is a big gift to look in the teeth."

One critic dismissed the film as "basically glamorized tosh interrupted from time to time with careful expositions of the key political points," while another said, "it reduces Mandela's ideological sacrifice to some dumb romance: love means never having to say you're second class."



By STANLEY UYS

There is an embarrassing scene where Mandela, exhilarated by the success of the Congress of the People, where the Freedom Charter was adopted, cavorts down the street swinging around the lamp-posts like Gene Kelly in *Singing in the Rain*. It boggles the mind.

Mandela is an unsuccessful mixture of not always reliable history and romance. If a film can't get the facts of Sharpeville straight then what can it get straight? Sharpeville is presented as cold-blooded, deliberate killing by disciplined police acting on the orders of an officer, whereas the evidence is that the police panicked when the crowds started pushing against the fence surrounding the police station, two policemen started firing, and the rest then joined in.

The film does not show this, nor does it show the crowds pushing against the fence. Sharpeville was bad enough without having to falsify the facts. Telling the truth would have been just as effective.

Other reviewers had other difficulties. One wrote: "A moral dilemma here for those of us who support the black struggle in South Africa. Do we boycott this million-pound TVS film

... in solidarity with Mrs Mandela, who has attacked the production as a "commercial project serving no political purpose, cashing in on the family name" and who has tried to stop its screening in Britain? Or do we go along with the hope expressed by leading actor Danny Glover that the film ... will raise the level of public consciousness about South African politics?"

One can agree with Mrs Mandela without also boycotting the film. Boycott is becoming a reflex action for many people here who want to identify with the apartheid struggle but don't know how to do it.

The film raises some interesting ethical and cinematic questions, which no doubt will arise again in other films still to come. There is the question, for example, of invasion of privacy.

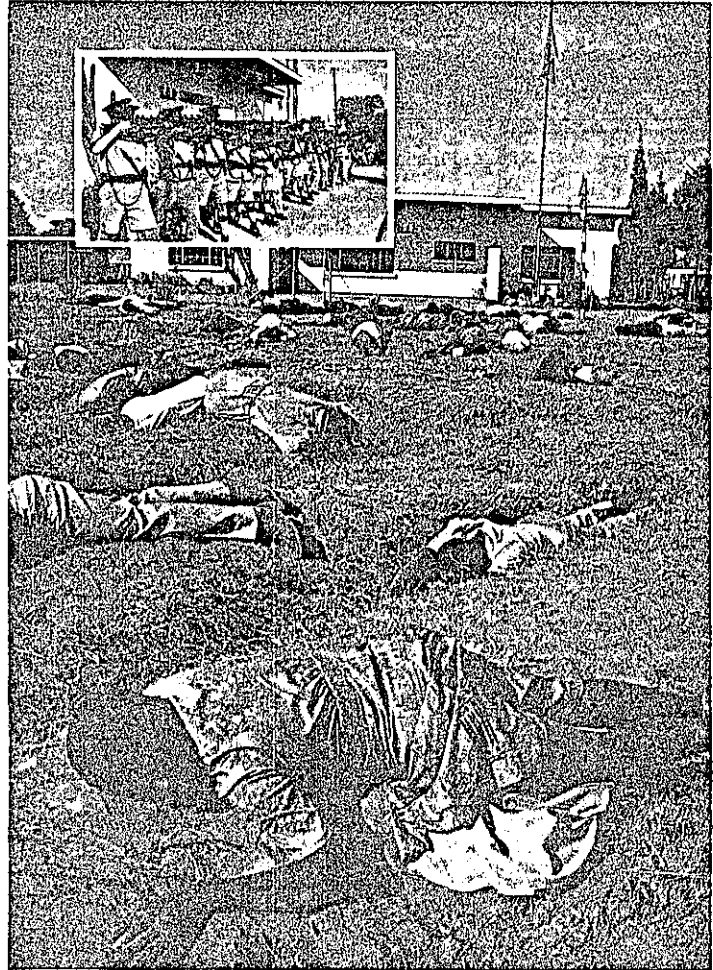
Mandela is billed as "the astonishing love story" between Nelson and Winnie. Is it acceptable to make a film with such an intimate theme — there is even the inevitable bed scene — without Winnie's consent? The anti-apartheid struggle, agreed, is public property, and so, too, to some extent are the private lives of Nelson and Winnie — this is the price of fame.

But the couple, after all, have been separated (through Nelson's incarceration in prison) for 23 years and this surely sensitizes the situation. Building a "love story" around two people who have seen each other only irregularly and briefly over 23 years could be distressing for them.

A "love story" between Nelson and Winnie is a delicate area where film-makers should tread lightly, especially since some blacks in South Africa already resent what they see as commercial "exploitation" of their struggle by foreign film-makers.

Sir Richard Attenborough has run into this kind of flak with his soon-to-be-released film on Steve Biko. Azapo spokesman Peter Jones came all the way to Britain to confront Sir Richard, but was unable to see him. For years, too, black consciousness leaders have been sniping at exiled South African editor Donald Woods, on whose books the Biko film is partly based, for "exploiting" his friendship with Biko for personal aggrandizement and commercial gain.

The South African-born playwright Ronald Harwood, who wrote the *Mandela* script, claims he flew to South Africa to see Winnie but she avoided him, possibly because she was co-operating with Harry Bela-



Two scenes from the dramatized Sharpeville shooting in "Mandela".

fonte on the "authorized" five-hour *Mandela* film which he is making for ABC-TV in the United States (based partly on Mary Benson's recent biography of Nelson) and was "very put out" by the unauthorized version. Does this entitle Harwood then to proceed to make the "love story" without the Mandelas' consent?

Harwood made a bizarre comment to the *Guardian*: "It is one of the curses of my life that I was born in South Africa," he said. "I can't throw it off. It's like a plague." What about the other 32 million white and black South Africans, including the Mandelas? Are they also all plague-ridden? Come off it, Mr Harwood.

The central cinematic issue raised by the *Mandela* (and similar) films is this: hasn't the time come to move away from propaganda films and start making films with some artistic merit? *Mandela* is in the propaganda category. It may be good propaganda, but it is no more than propaganda. After 40 years, the apartheid struggle surely by now deserves better treatment?

In *Mandela*, Nelson is over-glamorized (which he does not need) and the rest of the characters, like Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Braam Fischer, are mere paper figures, all one-dimensional.

Neither is Winnie a person in her own right. For most of the film she is seen as a girlish, twittering figure and only towards the end does some of the steel in her personality begin to show.

Mandela opens with the usual cliché: police pouring out of vans wielding whips while bulldozers demolish a squatter camp. There should be a dividing line here between these cliché-ridden scenes and the authentic event — it has to do with the art of the cinema.

Boer-bashing

The give-away in propaganda films about South Africa is their portrayal of the police. In *Mandela* the white police — besides having pink, knobby knees and being half the size of the average South African policeman — are as one-dimensional as the black radicals. They are chosen for their malevolent appearance, not their acting ability. All they have to do is wield whips or brandish guns, not act.

It's called boer-bashing and few film-makers can resist it because it simplifies film-making. It relieves them of the necessity to make good films.

Police are only the symptom of the South African situation, not its cause and the obvious question film-makers should ask themselves is — what is wrong with a society that produces gun-toting and whip-wielding policemen? What is the real nature of the problem? After all these years of apartheid, surely film-makers can advance now from the shock-horror, boer-bashing stuff to probing a little deeper into this complex problem? This is what film-making should be about.

Albertina Sisulu wins case

11A
30/9/87
Soweto

A JUBILANT Mrs Albertina Sisulu was hugged and kissed by well-wishers outside the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday after her conviction and four-year jail sentence imposed by a magistrate was set aside.

Mrs Sisulu is a president of the United Democratic Front as well as that of the Federation of Transvaal Women.

After the case she said: "I am happy it is all over. This whole thing has hung like a dark cloud

By **MONK
NKOMO**

over my head. I knew all the time that I was innocent."

She was sentenced to four years imprisonment, of which two years were suspended by Mr T J Le Grange in Krugersdorp in February 1984 for furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress.

Her co-accused, Mr Thami Mali, a school-

● **To Page 2**

Speech at funeral?

● **From Page 1**

teacher, was sentenced to five years imprisonment.

Both were released on bail totalling R3 000 pending the outcome of their appeal which was heard yesterday before Mr Justice Eloff, deputy judge-president of the Transvaal, with Mr Justice Schabert concurring.

The court was yesterday informed that Mr Mali has since left the country and was now "a fugitive from justice" whose appeal would not be entertained by the court.

Mr George Bizos, SC, who appeared for Mrs Sisulu, submitted that magistrate Mr le Grange's findings in convicting and jailing Mrs Sisulu were based upon "an unwarranted, impermissible and unsupportable assumption".

Mr Bizos added that the four year sentence imposed on his client, of which two years was suspended, "is unduly severe and disturbingly inappropriate" and asked the court to interfere with the magistrate's findings.

The magistrate, Mr Bizos added, "over-emphasised the effect of Mrs Sisulu's acts and under-emphasised her personal circumstances.

Both judges ruled that the speech Mrs Sisulu delivered at the funeral of Mrs Rose Mbele, a former ANC member, in Soweto, on January 16, 1982, did not support or praise the ANC as the magistrate had found. Acts of conspiracy allegedly by Mrs Sisulu were also not proved, Mr Justice Eloff said.

UDF MEN IN COURT PLEA

11/11/87
Smuts
20/9/87

THE hearing of an application for the release of two executive members of the UDF held under the emergency regulations was yesterday postponed in the Rand Supreme Court to a date still to be set.

The applicants are Mr Murphy Morobe, the acting publicity secretary of the UDF, and Mr Mohamed Vali Moosa, acting general secretary of the same organisation.

They have been held since July 22 this year after their arrest in Port Elizabeth.

They were transferred to the Diepkloof prison in Johannesburg on July 29. The respondent is the Minister of Law and Order.

In his founding affidavit, Mr Morobe, of Orlando East, said he and Mr Moosa of Lenasia, had gone to Port Elizabeth on "routine UDF business" when they were arrested on July 19.

They were staying with a friend, Advocate Dayalin Chetty when they were arrested, he said. A Captain Smuts who interrogated them on July 24, suggested that the purpose of their being in Port Elizabeth had been to re-organise a rent boycott in the local black townships, he said.

"The suggestion was, however not only untrue, but devoid of any basis whatsoever. I verily believe that that suspicion was completely arbitrary and no more than a mere guess as to what the purpose of our visit to Port Elizabeth might have been," Mr Morobe said.

He said their arrest could only be ascribed to the fact that they are office bearers of the UDF.

"The Government, and particularly the police, have since 1985 waged an unrelenting campaign against the UDF."

Continuing in his affidavit, Mr Morobe said the Government had

not seen fit to declare the UDF an unlawful organisation, but seemed bound on destroying it by alternative means.

"To that end," he said, "the Government has, inter alia, waged a sustained propaganda campaign against the UDF, and sought to disrupt its organisational structure by the arrest and detention of very many of its office bearers, including most of its national executive".

He said their arrest in terms of regulation 3 (1) was irregular and

accordingly void. Stating reasons, Mr Morobe said the policemen responsible for their arrest could not have been of the opinion that their detention was necessary for the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order or for their own safety or for the termination of the state of emergency.

Alternatively, Mr Moroka said, if the policemen responsible for their arrest and detention, was of that opinion, then that opinion must have been arbitrary, without any

foundation at all, or founded upon irrelevant considerations. He said it was accordingly not competent for the Minister of Law and Order to order their further detention under regulation 3 (3).

Mr Morobe submitted in his affidavit that this application was urgent because their "liberty is at stake".

This is Mr Moosa's second detention. The first was when he was held from January to April last year, under that year's state of emergency.

SMC
20/9/87

ANC says Winnie's words were 'unfortunate'

(112)

The Star's Africa News Service
LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) has for the first time expressed concern over statements made by Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mrs Winnie Mandela's remarks about necklacing were today described here by an ANC spokesman as "unfortunate".

The statement comes a few days after reports said the ANC had ordered its sympathisers to distance themselves immediately from the "necklacing" practice which was damaging the organisation's image.

The spokesman said, however, that the ANC had not stopped funds from reaching Mrs Mandela.

He was reacting to a Johannesburg morning newspaper story which said ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo had given an order to his organisation to stop sending money to Mrs Mandela.

The unsourced story said the ANC was unhappy over Mrs Mandela's political activities and other personal aspects of her life which were regarded to be damaging to the ANC.

These included her statements about "necklacing" as a means to achieve liberation and the construction of a R500 000 house.

The ANC spokesman said today it was "untrue" that Mr Tambo had given an order to stop money from reaching Mandela.

"We don't know where Mrs Mandela gets money from and Mr Tambo would not do that," he said.

The spokesman said many people in South Africa regarded Mrs Mandela as a symbol and such a matter would not to be decided by Mr Oliver Tambo or anybody else.

The two-and-a-half-hour Mandela film shown on British television last week, and to be distributed in 30 other countries, has been damned by the critics with faint praise.

The best they can say for it is that it will earn publicity for the anti-apartheid struggle around the world and that "150 minutes of undiluted praise for Mandela and the cause in which he is now the token is a big gift to look in the teeth."

One critic dismissed the film as "basically glamourised tosh interrupted from time to time with careful exposition of the key political points," while another said, "It reduces Mandela's ideological sacrifice to some dumb romance: love means never having to say you're second class."

There is an embarrassing scene where Mandela, exhilarated by the success of the Congress of the People, where the Freedom Charter was adopted, cavorts down the street, swinging around the lamp-posts, like Gene Kelly in Singing in the Rain. It boggles the mind.

"Mandela" is an unsuccessful mixture of not always reliable history and romance. If a film can't get the facts of Sharpeville straight then what can it get straight?

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panicked when the crowds started pushing against the fence surrounding the police station, two policemen started firing, and the rest then joined in.

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Mrs Mandela

Africa. Do we boycott this million pound TVS film... in solidarity with Mrs. Mandela, who has attacked the production as a 'commercial project serving no political purpose, cashing in on the family name', and who has tried to stop its screening in Britain? Or do we go along with the hope expressed by leading actor Danny Glover -

Mandela film falls down on facts

11K
3/9/97

that the film... will raise the level of public consciousness about South African politics?"

One can agree with Mrs. Mandela without also boycotting the film. Boycott is becoming a reflex action for many people here who want to identify with the apartheid struggle, but don't know how to do it.

The film raises some interesting ethical and cinematic questions, which no doubt will arise again in other films still to come. There is the question, for example, of invasion of privacy. "Mandela" is billed as "the astonishing love story" between Nelson and Winnie. Is it acceptable to make a film with such an intimate theme (there is even the inevitable bed scene) without Winnie's consent? The anti-apartheid struggle, agreed, is public property, and so, too, to some extent are the private lives of Nelson and Winnie: this is the price of fame.

But the couple after all have been separated (through Nelson's incarceration in prison) for 23 years and this surely sensitises the situation? Building a "love story" around two people who have seen each other only irregularly and briefly over 23 years could be distressing for them.

A "love story" between Nelson and Winnie is a delicate area where film makers should tread lightly, especially since some blacks in South Africa already resent what they see as commercial "exploitation" of their struggle by foreign filmmakers.

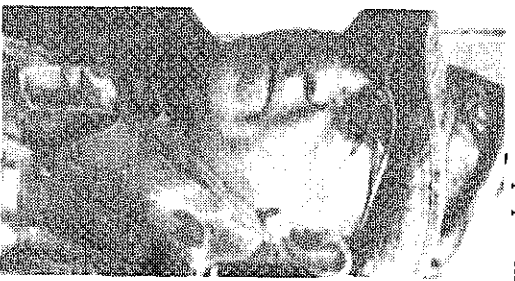
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Brig. Swanepoel

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By Stanley Uys

in London

now from the shock-horror, Boer-bashing stuff to probing a little deeper into this complex problem? This is what film-making should be about.

One of the characters in "Mandela," incidentally, is modelled on Brigadier (Roos) Swaneepoel, now in retirement (although he surfaced vociferously during the last elections). The method the film-makers use to portray him is to find the most villainous-looking actor available and let him snarl his way through the film.

It was a caricature. As a South African friend who watched "Mandela" with me remarked, "Hoo! With it impossible to translate credibly on to the screen. No actor dead or alive or still to come can do it."

Perhaps Sir Richard Attenborough's Biko film, Cry Freedom, deals with the South African situation in artistic as well as propaganda terms. If not, would a film-maker please step forward who recognises that the South African tragedy goes deeper than just Boers bashing blacks, and that, even if it doesn't make equally good propaganda, they should look at white society, with its mixture of privileges and tears, and explain the nature of the black man's adversity.

This is the other side of the coin. At least if the white side is shown of the black-white conflict, the film becomes two-dimensional, and that will be progress of a kind.

The two-and-half-hour "Mandela" film shown on British television last week — and to be distributed in 30 other countries — has been damned by the critics with faint praise. The best they can say for it is that it will earn publicity for the anti-apartheid struggle around the world and that "150 minutes of undiluted praise for Mandela and the cause in which he is now the totem is a big gift to look in the teeth".

One critic dismissed the film as "basically glamourised tosh interrupted from time to time with careful exposition of the key political points", while another said, "It reduces Mandela's ideological sacrifice to some dumb romance: love means never having to say you're second class."

There is an embarrassing scene where Mandela, exhilarated by the success of the Congress of the People, where the Freedom Charter was adopted, cavorts down the street, swinging around the lamp-posts, like Gene Kelly in "Singing in the Rain". It boggles the mind.

"Mandela" is an unsuccessful mixture of not always reliable history and romance. If a film can't get the facts of Sharpeville straight then what can it get straight? Sharpeville is presented as cold-blooded, deliberate killing by disciplined police acting on the orders of an officer, whereas the evidence is that the police panicked when the crowds started pushing against the fence surrounding the police station, two policemen started firing, and the rest then joined in.

The film does not show this, nor does it show the crowds pushing against the fence. Sharpeville was bad enough without having to falsify the facts. Telling the truth would have been just as effective.

Other reviewers had other difficulties. One wrote: "A moral dilemma here for those of us who support the black struggle in South Africa.

"Do we boycott this million pound film ... in solidarity with Mrs Mandela, who has attacked the production as a 'commercial project serving no political purpose, cashing in on the family name', and who has tried to stop its screening in Britain? Or do we go along with the hope expressed by leading actor Danny Glover that the film ... will raise the level of

Mandela's mission reduced to a 'dumb romance'

STANLEY UYS in London

public consciousness about South African politics?"

One can agree with Mrs Mandela without also boycotting the film. Boycott is becoming a reflex action for many people here who want to identify with the apartheid struggle, but don't know how to do it.

The film raises some interesting ethical and cinematic questions, which no doubt will arise again in other films still to come. There is the question, for example, of invasion of privacy. "Mandela" is billed as "the astonishing love story" between Nelson and Winnie. Is it acceptable to make a film with such an intimate theme — there is even the inevitable bed scene — without Winnie's consent?

The anti-apartheid struggle, agreed, is public property, and so, too, to some extent are the private lives of Nelson and Winnie — this is the price of fame.

But the couple have, after all, been separated (through Nelson's incarceration) for 23 years and this surely sensitises the situation. Building a "love story" around two people who have seen each other only irregularly and briefly over 23 years could be distressing for them.

A "love story" between Nelson and Winnie is a delicate area where film-makers should tread lightly, especially since some blacks in South Africa already resent what they see as commercial "exploitation" of their struggle by foreign film-makers.

Sir Richard Attenborough has run into this kind of flak with his soon-to-be-released film on Steve Biko. Azapo spokesman Peter



□ WINNIE ... 'exploitation'

Jones came all the way to Britain to confront Sir Richard, but was unable to see him. For years, too, black consciousness leaders have been sniping at exiled South African editor Donald Woods, on whose books the Biko film is partly based, for "exploiting" his friendship with Biko for personal aggrandisement and commercial gain.

The South African-born playwright Ronald Harwood, who wrote the "Mandela" script, claims that he flew to South Africa to see Winnie, but that she avoided him, possibly because she was co-operating with Harry Belafonte on the "authorised" five-hour Mandela film which he is making for ABC-TV in the US (based partly on Mary Benson's recent biography of Nelson) and was "very put out" by the unauthorised version.

Does this entitle Harwood then to proceed to make the "love story" without the Mandelas' consent?

Harwood made a bizarre com-

ment to the Guardian: "It is one of the curses of my life that I was born in South Africa," he said. "I can't throw it off. It's like a plague." What about the other 32 million white and black South Africans, including the Mandelas? Are they also all plague-ridden? Come off it, Mr Harwood.

The central cinematic issue raised by the "Mandela" (and similar) films is this: hasn't the time come to move away from propaganda films and start making films with some artistic merit? "Mandela" is in the propaganda category. It may be good propaganda, but it is no more than propaganda. After 40 years, the apartheid struggle surely by now deserves better treatment.

In "Mandela", Nelson is overglamorised (which he does not need), and the rest of the characters, like Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Bram Fischer, are mere paper figures, all one-dimensional. Neither is Winnie a person in her own right. For most of the film, she is seen as a girlish, twittering figure, and only towards the end does some of the steel in her personality begin to show.

"Mandela" opens with the usual cliché: police pouring out of vans wielding whips, while bulldozers demolish a squatters' camp. There should be a dividing line here between these cliché-ridden scenes and the authentic event — it has to do with the art of the cinema.

The give-away in propaganda films about South Africa is their portrayal of the police. In "Mandela" the white police — besides having pink, knobby knees and be-

ing half the size of the average South African policeman — are as one-dimensional as the black radicals. They are chosen for their malevolent appearance, not their acting ability. All they have to do is wield whips or brandish guns, not act.

It's called Boer-bashing, and few film-makers can resist it, because it simplifies film-making. It relieves them of the necessity to make good films.

Police are only the symptom of the South African situation, not its cause, and the obvious question film-makers should ask themselves is — what is wrong with a society that produces gun-toting and whip-wielding policemen? What is the real nature of the problem? After all these years of apartheid, surely film-makers can advance now from the shock-horror, Boer-bashing stuff to probing a little deeper into this complex problem? This is what film-making should be about.

One of the characters in "Mandela", incidentally, is modelled on Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, now in retirement (although he surfaced vociferously during the last election). The method the film-makers use to portray him is to find the most villainous-looking actor available and let him snarl his way through the film.

It was a caricature. As a South African friend who watched "Mandela" with me remarked, "Rooi Rus" is impossible to translate credibly on to the screen. No actor dead or alive or still to come can do it. "Rooi Rus" is *sui generis*.

Perhaps Sir Richard Attenborough's Biko film, "Cry Freedom", deals with the South Africa situation in artistic as well as propaganda terms.

If not, would a film-maker please step forward who recognises that the South African tragedy goes deeper than just Boers bashing blacks, and that, even if it doesn't make equally good propaganda, they should look at white society, with its mixture of privileges and fears, and explain the nature of the black man's adversary.

This is the other side of the coin. At least if the white side is shown of the black-white conflict, the film becomes two-dimensional, and that will be progress of a kind.

ANC reject Tutu peace plan

Argus Africa News Service *Argus 11/19/87 (111) 10*

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress has rejected a package of proposals for a negotiated settlement in South Africa presented by Archbishop Desmond Tutu during a recent trip to Lusaka.

The package included a call for the cessation of acts of violence but the ANC said it had differed with Archbishop Tutu on the question of violence.

The ANC confirmed yesterday that the request had been turned down because of what it said was South Africa's continued acts of violence and oppression under the state of emergency which did not create conditions conducive to political negotiation.

~~SECRET~~

w/ Mail 25/9-1/10/87

(1/A)

WHEN the British government granted independence to South Africa, it violated the right of the people of South Africa to national self-determination — a right enshrined in the 1919 League of Nations Covenant.

According to advocate Mathole Motshekga, a legal academic at the University of South Africa, the Covenant embodied a principle of trusteeship which required the British to administer South Africa until the people themselves could take over.

The 1931 Statutes of Westminster, which granted independence to a number of self-governing territories and dominions, including South Africa, violated the Covenant.

In a paper at the recent Intervarsity Law Students' Council in Johannesburg, Motshekga, senior lecturer in the Department of Criminal and Procedural Law, argued that instead of complying with the two requirements, the British granted independence to a settler white minority community thus creating a settler colonial state, contrary to international law and morality.

Both the South Africa Act of 1909 and the Status of Westminster Act were validly enacted in terms of British law. But insofar as they applied to

Why the State's been illegal for 56 years

A controversial paper by a legal academic argues that the South African state has been 'illegal' since 1931. THAMI MKHWANAZI reports

South Africa, they were illegitimate, he said, because they violated the Covenant.

The subsequent enactment of the Status of South Africa Act of 1934 did not validate the "fatally defective" title conferred on the settler white minority by Britain.

As a result all subsequent South African governments became "merely *de facto* governments". Such governments had no legitimacy because they were not constituted on "the will of the people".

Motshekga said the Freedom Charter, adopted in Kliptown in 1955, sought to remedy the British flaw, for it called for the extension of the right to national self-determination to South Africans as a whole. This im-

plied the replacement of the present apartheid administrative organs of power.

The idea of people's organs of power promoted by the "mass democratic movement" were the realisation of an alternative state envisaged in the Freedom Charter, he said, not some new state inspired by an alien ideology.

Because colonialists had robbed indigenous African people of their land and exploited its resources, thereby underdeveloping them, the charter called, as a remedy in post-apartheid South Africa, for the restoration of the national wealth — the mineral resources, banks and monopoly industry — to the people as a whole.

But by stating that "all other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people", the charter made it clear that the control of industries and trade did not mean a total prohibition of private enterprise. In fact, it extended the right to trade and to choose where to trade to the people.

In the paper Motshekga distinguishes between human rights and people's rights. The former were focused on the individual, while the latter were the rights of an organised people within a given territory. According to Motshekga, before human rights — such as the rights of assembly and worship, the right to vote, freedom of conscience — could be attained, people's rights had to be achieved.

"In South Africa," he said, "we have not yet achieved people's rights and therefore it is premature to debate about human rights."

Motshekga identified three main people's rights contained in the Freedom Charter: the right to national self-determination, the right to development and "permanent and inalienable" rights over the national wealth which, he says, entitles formerly colonised countries to nationalise it.

The right to self-determination, he said, was a fundamental "people's right". In underlining this the African Charter (adopted by the Organisation of African Unity) granted colonised and other oppressed people a "right of resistance" against all forms of colonialism and oppression. It also called upon member states to render material and other assistance.

The Freedom Charter, like the African Charter, was distinguishable from liberal human rights concepts in that it established a link between people's rights and human rights.

African states, he said, had developed the idea of people's rights found in a 1977 United Nations General Assembly resolution, sponsored by the Non-Aligned Movement.

The recognition of peoples' right to self-determination in the early forties coincided with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism. A group of young Afrikaner intellectuals published a draft constitution for the future South African republic which was couched, he said, in uncompromisingly racial terms.

Ironically in the same year, the African National Congress established the Youth League, which recaptured the ideology of Africanism and adopted it as their liberatory creed, relying on African culture as their inspiration.

SOCIAL ACTION IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY

"The oil company is like a drunken man who goes to a shebeen. He shows his wallet and he says, 'I'm a moneymaker. Everyone in the shebeen can get drunk.' But when he goes back home, his children haven't got bread; the children are not going to school."

— Oil company shop steward.

"Every employee in BP Southern Africa, each and every one of us, has every right to be proud of the manner in which we discharge our obligations of equal opportunity and contribute to the betterment of the society in which we all live."

— Ian Sims, chairman, BPSA

OIL COMPANIES spend a great deal of time and money on multi-million rand social responsibility programmes.

But the people who seem least convinced by these are the oil companies' own workers — who are increasingly calling for consultation in this area of their employers' activities.

In previous years, the companies could have dismissed what the unions and their members said about this issue as rhetoric — as much of it is. But now, with unions playing an increasingly central role both in internal politics and in setting the ground rules for sanctions and disinvestment, it is rhetoric they will have to listen to and deal with.

It is startling how different are the companies' and the unions' perceptions of the roles being played by industry. "The company (Shell) has accepted the inevitability of change, and is working towards creating a better tomorrow for all of South Africa's people," says chairman John Wilson. Mobil's chairman, Georges Racine, describes his company as having "placed itself in the vanguard of social change". "This company," BP says in its social report, "will continue actively to use its influence to hasten the process of change, enhance stability and the search for peaceful solutions."

But Frank Meintjies, publicity secretary for the Congress of South African Trade Unions, describes these as "stop-gap measures".

"They are attempts to build up the companies' image. But these companies refuse to acknowledge that the problems have deeper roots or to address them in those terms. They have no problem with the status quo remaining as it is."

This view tends to be all-embracing — it recognises no differences between companies that speak out strongly against apartheid and companies that say little; between companies that consult widely on social programmes and companies that act arbitrarily; between companies that opt for ostentatious, media-centric programmes and those that work more consistently and quietly.

Individual unions involved in these companies tend to speak more specifically, though their views reflect the same basic feelings as those that come from Cosatu headquarters and the United Democratic Front.

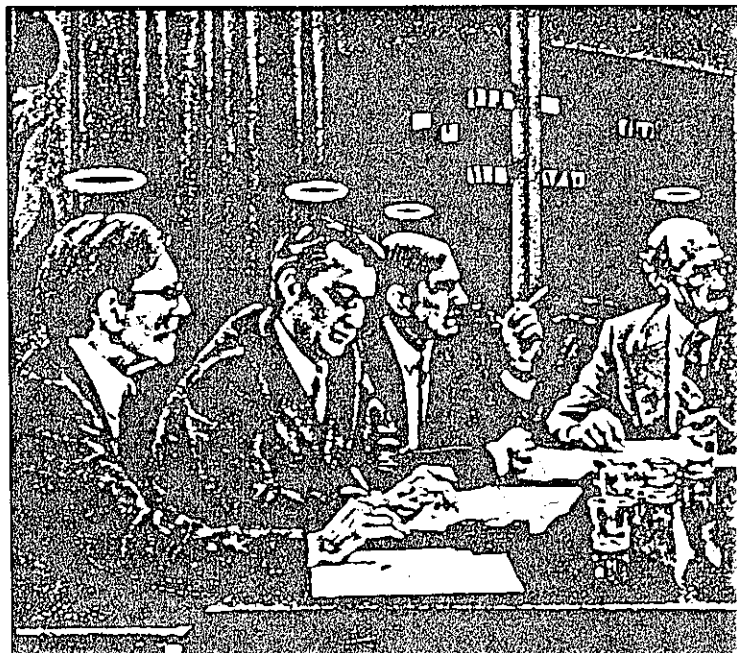
"The simple message is that charity begins at home," a Chemical Workers' Industrial Union representative said in an interview this week. "They have made much noise about what they are doing, but the wages they are paying to our members are a problem."

Another union representative gave a more concrete example: "Mobil gives money to soccer teams. They gave R450 000 to Swallows, but when we come to the table and ask for higher wages, they say there is no money."

By South African standards, petroleum workers earn relatively well. Minimum wages, after this year's wage negotiations, were R680 a month in Shell, R710 a month in BPSA and R735 a month in Caltech, according to the union. They are quick to point out that petrol workers in most of the world are paid much better, particularly in relation to other workers in the chemical industry.

In general, companies that have high profiles on social responsibility are better employers as well, again relatively speaking. After all, if they are sensitive about their international political profile, they are also sensitive about the effects in world circles of industrial action against them. Shell, for example, is still haunted by the firing

The soul of the large cor



UNIONS DO NOT DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN COMPANIES WHICH HAVE SOCIAL PRO

Only a handful of companies take social responsibility seriously. And those that do, find that in an increasingly polarised society, a programme can run into as much flak as applause. The unions, for example, accuse some corporations of 'image building' and complain that not enough is being done for employees themselves. A good example of the dilemma is the criticism levelled at some of the country's biggest social responsibility spenders: the oil companies. ANTON HARBER reports

of thousands of workers in their Rietspruit mine in 1982.

But the gripe being expressed by unionists is more basic than a comparison of salaries. Union members feel the profits being spent on social responsibility are the product of their own work and they should have either first claim on them or a say in where and how they are being spent.

"The trade union's position is that where these programmes exist, they should be negotiated with the trade union because the company's profits are generated by our members. But we don't have any say as to how the money is being spent," one shop steward said.

"The company gives money to organisations to suit themselves. For example, Shell gives money for education, but we don't know who they give it to. The money is going to the universities, not to the workers' children. They are using money we have earned for them, but it is going to everyone except our own children."

Another official made similar claims about BP: "BP says it is supporting non-racial education and so it gives money to private schools; but our children don't attend private schools."

"BP gives R50-million for (the development of) District Six, (money) which our members could have used. Who is going to live in this middle-class suburb? We won't be able to."

BPSA's projects have been among the more controversial. The company launched its massive plans to redevelop Cape Town's District Six as a

"new, non-racial, business and residential area" and pour money into supporting an option that allowed state schools to go non-racial if they wished. At the time, the company reacted very sharply to newspapers that pointed to potential problems in such high-profile activity.

Asked this week how the project had progressed, a BPSA representative replied: "Our offer to lead a private sector initiative to redevelop District Six and revitalise the adjacent areas of Woodstock, Salt River and Walmer Estates, on a non-profit basis in consultation with the community, the private sector and the city council of Cape Town, remains on the table."

The Mobil Foundation projects fall into three sections: black education, rural development and small business entrepreneurship. Its 1986 report predates the foundation but gives an indication of how its money is being spent, though hard figures and facts are rare.

The report says Mobil has given R1-million a year to black education, most of which goes to bursaries for university and technikon studies, the Teacher Opportunity Programmes (in-service teacher upgrading) and various winter schools. An unspecified amount goes to the Build a Better Society project, which runs Cape Town's Pegasus Centre, amongst others.

BP gives a more detailed breakdown of its expenditure, but also does not list actual amounts involved. Much of the focus is on black education (ranging from bursaries to the provision of



Mobil's Racine (left) and BP's Sims

equipment in teacher upgrading) and rural development. It lists 48 organisations which it gives money to, ranging from Operation Hunger to Strandfontein Lifesaving. Shell's main work is also in education, mostly teacher upgrading and bursaries for post-secondary education. Apart from relatively large donations to the Urban Foundation (R250 000) and Operation Hunger (R50 000), it also finances small business development programmes and environmental work and sponsors a high-profile Road To Fame competition.

Unions and political organisations accept education and housing as priorities. Their primary gripes are either with projects that confuse marketing with social responsibility (such as most of the sport and music sponsorship) or with projects from which they will not benefit, such as support for private schools or expensive middle-class housing.

More fundamentally, however, workers want simply to know how the money is being spent and to express their views on it.

With more consultation, money could be better spent — and the projects could be of more value

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COMPANIES WHICH HAVE SOCIAL PROGRAMMES AND COMPANIES WHICH DON'T: IT'S ALL CONSIDERED 'IMAGE POLISHING'

e corporation



Mobil's Racine (left) and BP's Sims (right) in teacher upgrading and rural development. It lists 48 organisations which it gives money to, ranging from Operation Hunger to Transfontein Lifesaving.

Shell's main work is also in education, mostly teacher upgrading and bursaries for post-secondary education. Apart from relatively large donations to the Urban Foundation (R250 000) and Operation Hunger (R50 000), it also finances small business development programmes and environmental work and sponsors a high-profile Road To Fame competition.

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to both the workers and their communities, they argue. For example, the shop stewards accuse Mobil of spending money to train selected employees to be artisans. But there is no job for them at Mobil once they are trained, so they have to leave — and the prospects of finding a job outside are slim.

"We are not against these projects, provided there is negotiation. But profits are thrown into projects and workers suffer because they can't get increases."

The companies answer the charge that they are neglecting their own workers. "Any BPSA staff member who is also a member of a union is entitled to the same general benefits applicable to any other staff member. This of course applies to the company's housing and education benefits as well. In this sense, they are the first recipients (of BPSA generosity)," a representative said this week.

Generally, the companies go much further than this, picturing their internal structures and relationships as models for a future, non-racial South Africa.

"In my role at BPSA, I have a responsibility to prepare the company and its staff for the post-apartheid era in South Africa," says Ian Sims, the chairman. "For the past decade ... the company has carried out its own active programme of internal reform. There have been times when our efforts ran ahead of the policies of the South African authorities, but this did not deter us."

The union view differs dramatically from this. As one shop steward put it: "The companies try to project a good image, but way back home it is all mess and stinking."

Says UDF spokesman Billy Nair: "You cannot separate the social responsibility of companies from their attitude to trade unions on the whole issue of wages and working conditions. No-one is deceived that the few millions injected into social projects offsets the super-exploitation of the workers."

On the second charge, a lack of consultation with unions on these issues, the companies have not got much to say. Asked how BPSA feels about union input on these issues, the spokesman said: "We are always willing to discuss our social responsibility programmes with anyone and are prepared to consider any well-motivated proposals."

But BPSA is reticent about whom it has consulted. Asked whom the company had spoken to about their District Six project, the representative said: "We are also highly conscious of the special nature of the District Six site and the sensitivities which surround it. Consequently, it would not be in the interests of the project to disclose precisely with whom we have consulted."

What is clear is that the company is unlikely to have consulted with any mass-based organisations, since such bodies have difficulty consulting their membership in a secretive way. The lack of progress made in this project seems to support the argument that prior consultation and negotia-

tion with bodies such as BPSA's own unions in its own factories would have been helpful.

Mobil has chosen a route that is increasingly popular because it throws the responsibility for consultation onto others. The company has created a Mobil Foundation, in which its role is simply to provide an annual grant and three executives on the board of trustees.

The criticism from unions and bodies like the UDF is not likely to stop, however, since their representation on such boards is either non-existent or token.

Cosatu speaks harshly about the level of consultation: "When big business implements these things, they are often acting in the same way the government does: undemocratically, unilaterally and based on their own assumptions."

"If these schemes are to have any credibility, they need to consult, not only the workers in their own factory, but more broadly with organisations such as the National Education Crisis Committee, community organisations, the UDF and the South African Council on Sport.

"But the priority is that consultation must begin with the companies' own workers."

The one factor both sides seem to agree on is that social responsibility programmes are the companies' answer to disinvestment and sanctions campaigns.

Although BPSA points out that its programmes began in 1977 and predate such campaigns, its chairman wrote in the company's report: "I am convinced that the pro-active and forthright involvement of international companies in the South African economy and in the South African

community continues to offer the best alternative to disinvestment, sanctions and other such negative efforts."

But for the unions and political organisations, this motivation is part of the problem. Said Cosatu's Meintjies: "The point of departure is wrong, because they are trying to evade demands from groups both within South Africa and outside it. As a result, most of the projects have not met any real needs, nor have they involved consultation with trade unions."

If companies believe the sanctions and disinvestment campaigns will be stopped by their programmes, they are probably going to be disappointed. The overwhelming perception is that these programmes exist precisely because of international pressures; remove the pressures, and firms will forget about social responsibility.

"We say the struggle of the people has pushed firms into changing direction. We won't reject what they are doing, but we are not about to start singing their praises," said Nair.

"We are not going to be deceived by corporate or state moves such as upgrading. The people will welcome it, but it won't ameliorate conditions to the degree that we will now forget the struggle, it won't blunt our insistence that international pressure should be maintained until people are really free and equal.

More importantly, there are fundamental differences in perceptions of the responsibilities of the companies.

The unions believe their primary responsibility is to their own workers. Where the companies picture their programmes as proof that they are "good, socially concerned citizens", the unions see it as conscience-appeasing charity.

"Workers don't want handouts," a union official argued.

Adds UDF's Billy Nair: "Workers want a living wage so they can build their homes and provide for their own welfare, provide for their own education and send their own children to university, go on holidays — which any decent human being is entitled to.

"The UDF believes the responsibility of companies is to get directly involved in moves to challenge the status quo and give support to organisations that do.

"If the impression is that these patchwork activities are going to placate the needs of the people, it is wrong. While corporations are engaged in this process, they have another duty: to support the struggle of the people and that means taking a stand against apartheid.

"We say if they are really serious, they have the economic muscle on which the Nationalist government rests. They can dictate change if they want.

Some of the companies have already responded to such suggestions and become more vocal in their political statements. Some companies ventured into direct political appeals through advertising, albeit for the exercising of the "local option" and the promotion of free enterprise — not something likely to excite the likes of Cosatu or the UDF.

Shell's John Wilson argued in his 1986 report that though business still had a role to play in change, this had diminished. "Shell has publicly stated its condemnation of apartheid and has committed itself to doing all it can to eradicate this oppressive system. It has also publicly called upon government to enter the negotiating arena."

"Shell's corporate responsibility programmes ... have seen a shift in emphasis from imposing patronisation, to the responsible corporate citizen, seeking from the people their needs and requirements. When these are established, it will support projects, institutions and causes whose goals and skills resources are most appropriate to the task facing South Africa," he wrote. But it is clear that they are going to be under pressure to do more.

Either way, the pressure is not likely to let up.

Travelling the Sullivan route

AMERICAN companies in South Africa are "constantly running around looking for projects" as one community worker puts it. And one reason is that they have little choice but to do so.

Corporate social responsibility and black advancement programmes are, in effect, legal obligations for American companies operating in South Africa. In terms of the the US Congress' Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act passed last year, American parent companies with South African subsidiaries have to sign up with either The Statement of Principles, formerly the Sullivan Code, or the US State Department code.

This means the South African subsidiaries are evaluated annually on their degree of compliance with the code.

Most have chosen the Sullivan route. The State Department evaluations are public, but details of the evaluations of individual companies who have signed the Statement of Principles (Sullivan), which are conducted each year by Washington management consultants Arthur D Little, are kept confidential. Only the aggregate figures are published.

Why the frantic American mania for projects? Because they don't have a choice. HILARY JOFFE on what the Sullivan Code means today

The Statement of Principles specifies a range of areas in which companies have to be active.

Companies are rated on a set of basic requirements for equal and fair employment practices, including equal pay for equal work, recognition of freedom of association, desegregated facilities, and minimum wages above the Household Subsistence Level set by the University of Port Elizabeth. But they also have to be active in four other areas:

- Commitment to social justice
- Education for non-employees
- Community development
- Black advancement and training

Companies who want top rating are now expected to spend the equivalent of at least four percent of their wage bill on each of the first three categories (the fourth, black advancement, Continued overleaf



226-11027 (62) WJ Mail

TIC meet...but without Rajbansi

ABOUT 1 000 people attended the Transvaal Indian Congress rally held at Gandhi Hall in Lenasia at the weekend ending speculation that an intended public debate between a TIC representative and National People's Party leader Amichand Rajbansi might take place.

Rajbansi had days earlier indicated he would be otherwise engaged on the date — but the TIC decided to go ahead with its meeting.

Rajbansi had challenged the TIC to

an open public debate after by-elections held in Lenasia last month. The TIC accepted the challenge; there followed weeks of telexes concerning conditions and counter-conditions of the debate.

Kgalema Motlanthe, educational officer of the National Union of Mine-workers, called on the community to forge greater unity.

Rajbansi could not be reached for comment at the time of going to press.

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Exclusive:

ANC kidnap conspiracy

Cape Times 11/10/87 (111) (111) (111) (111)

By CHRIS STEYN in Cape Town
and IAN HOBBS in London

DETAILS OF an astonishing spy deal that allegedly involved Britain, America and South Africa in a plot to overthrow the Seychelles government and kidnap or kill top members of the African National Congress are due to emerge in a London court, starting today — unless charges against a British intelligence agent and three other men are withdrawn.

The revelations seem certain to send shock waves through Whitehall and Washington.

The Cape Times has obtained exclusive details of allegations made to the British police of a daring operation involving agents from at least three intelligence organizations to overthrow the Socialist regime in the Seychelles.

A "piggy-back" operation to kidnap or kill top ANC members in London was also allegedly agreed on by the different agents.

The venture was blown open by what is likely to be regarded as one of the biggest bungles in recent Western intelligence operations: Mr Frank Larson was arrested in a public toilet in central London.

The police suspected he was importuning, but he was gathering intelligence.

The Cape Times has learnt that at least one of the four men who have appeared in Lambeth high-security court in London in connection with the bizarre ANC kidnap plot is a top secret agent.

He is Mr Evan Dennis Evans, a top M16 agent, who is now co-operating with the British police. The three other men appearing with him are Mr Frank Larsen, his son, John Terence, and Mr John Wheatley.

In a series of statements to the Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS), Mr Evans named wealthy South African businessman Mr Johann Niemoller as "the fifth man", and also gave details of an alleged associated bid to stage a coup in the Seychelles.

Niemoller speaks on plot charges

MR JOHANN NIEMOLLER, the wealthy South African businessman accused of being behind a bizarre plot to kidnap top ANC members in London, answered allegations against him for the first time this week in an interview in Upington with the Cape Times.

The Cape Times can also disclose today that at least one of the four men arrested in London in connection with the kidnap plot is a British agent.

The accused have sought to lay the blame for the carefully planned plot on Mr Niemoller, who has been referred to as "the fifth man".

Mr Evan Denis Evans, a M16 agent who is now co-operating with the British police, has accused Mr Niemoller of being behind the plot, and of asking Mr Evans to obtain explosives to blow up the ANC offices in London.

Impeccable sources told the Cape Times that should the ANC kidnap trial run its course, Mr Niemoller is likely to be portrayed as an "evil hit man" who is an expert on hits on the ANC.

But in this week's interview, Mr Niemoller, who has served in the army, denied any knowledge of, or involvement in, the kidnap plot. He also denied that he had asked Mr Evans to obtain explosives to blow up the ANC offices in London.

Mr Niemoller admitted to knowing Mr Evans, whom he said he met while the agent was working for a security firm in Cape Town.

Mr Niemoller, who manufactures

By
**CHRIS
STEYN**



camouflage uniforms at his textile factory in Upington, said he had wanted Mr Evans to open a depot for him in London but when he visited him in Wales last year he had realized that it would not work out. "He was working in his sub post-office and his wife was working in the shop. He just couldn't have coped," Mr Niemoller said.

Mr Niemoller has been described in a British court as a "wealthy South African businessman with extreme right-wing views". It is not a description he agrees with entirely.

He admitted to having extensive business interests in Japan, the UK and the US.

But he said that politically, he was "a moderate who believes in open negotiation".

Mr Niemoller said that the names of the other accused in the kidnap trial were not known to him.

Mr Niemoller, who is in his early 30's, is regarded as a "total loner" who doesn't mix socially.

Two large Rottweiler guard dogs lie in wait at the entrance to the factory which houses Mr Niemoller's office. The buildings are heavily burglar-proofed, and prominently displayed "danger" signs on the fences warn you of the extensive security arrangements.

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However, the information obtained by the Cape Times shows the alleged conspiracy has far wider implications.

The case will only reach committal stage on November 30, but Mr Wheatley and Mr Larson have threatened to start "going public" today unless the charge of conspiracy to kidnap — which holds the threat of life imprisonment — against them is withdrawn.

In the first dramatic indication of the explosive truth behind this case, they told the court they would supply full evidence, including documents, to reveal the extent of British government involvement in this case and other projects.

The Cape Times' information links the murky episode with the assassination in London late last year of Mr Bernard Horeaul, who was behind the abortive South Africa-Mike Hoare Seychelles coup.

Mr Horeaul, who had connections with South Africa's National Intelligence Services (NIS), was allegedly killed by a Mafia-linked hitman.

The Seychelles is said to be seen by some South African interests as having major international strategic significance for the country.

But because its president, Mr Albert Rene, has for some time not been regarded as 100% reliable by the British, Americans and South Africans, a plot to overthrow his Socialist regime was allegedly established in the middle of last year.

Full documentation on the alleged Seychelles coup, right down to landing points and names of conspirators on and off the island and Western political figures involved, are in the hands of the police in London.

South Africans linked with the plot allegedly agreed with the British agents to make available local "facilities and territories" for the coup, on condition that a "piggy-back" operation to kidnap or kill top ANC men was carried out in London.

Mr Evans, having by then settled in Wales, was regarded the ideal man for the ANC kidnap plot. He had also been involved in "general" spying on ANC members

alleged Mr Niemoller subsequently made contact with him.

The Seychelles coup — which allegedly involved both the British and Americans — and the ANC hits were set for December last year, but somehow the well-planned operations started going wrong.

It is believed Mr Evans "panicked or started double-dealing and taking heavy risks".

At this stage, Mr Niemoller was allegedly introduced to the Larsons and to Mr Wheatley, and was said to be "very upset indeed" because it appeared highly sensitive information was being leaked by Mr Evans.

If the ANC kidnap trial runs its course, Mr Niemoller is likely to be portrayed as an "evil hit man" who went to Britain to try to murder Mr Evans when the British agent became indiscreet.

He will also be accused of being an "extreme rightwinger" who tried to organize the kidnapping or murder of ANC members.

He has strenuously denied this to the Cape Times.

In July this year there was more activity, and it was confirmed to the Cape Times that at this stage different branches of British security were in the dark about each other's activities.

As a result, Mr Frank Larsen was arrested in a public toilet and the other arrests followed.

Mr Evans, a qualified lawyer, has served in the Royal Air Force, the Rhodesian forces, and at one time as a flight lieutenant in the British services in Zambia.

A sabotage expert, he later joined the South African security forces and was involved in Operation Cabinda, which was claimed at the time to have been aimed at blowing up American pipe-lines in Angola.

He worked for a security firm in Cape Town and served in the Recces before returning to Britain in 1985. He has allegedly been involved in several hits on ANC members.

Mr Evans' wife, Judith, who suffers from cancer, runs a sub post office business in Anglesey.

Mr Evans has claimed that Mr Niemoller, who is allegedly an expert on hits on the ANC, had asked him to acquire explosives to blow up ANC offices in London.

Mr Niemoller, who is in his early 30's, is mar-

ried with two small children.

The third man is Mr Frank Lyngse Larsen, aged 53, who has described himself as a psychologist. But the ATS is still not yet sure of his exact identity.

And the ATS suspect that he, too, has a high-level intelligence background and has operated in Africa for many years.

The other man in the conspiracy is Mr John Richard Wheatley, aged 28, from Guildford, Kent.

It is claimed by his closest friends and associates, including his former landlady, that he is or was a captain in British army intelligence and served in the Falklands war. Before his arrest, his landlady, Mrs Pearl Catlin, said he regularly wore a British army captain's uniform.

When Mr Wheatley was interrogated by the ATS, they quickly became convinced he was a highly trained professional agent of some kind. His skill at handling interrogation suggested British or South

African training.

According to graduation certificates found in his home, he is a double graduate from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and he was brought up in Zimbabwe.

The other accused is Mr Larson's son, the 27-year-old John Terence. He is a computer technician and has been described as an immensely capable young man.



Dr Motlana



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

Eight blacks walk out of US meeting on SA

From SIMON BARBER.

WHITE PLAINS, New York. — The much-heralded White Plains conference on South Africa came close to disintegration yesterday when eight black South African delegates walked out.

The eight, who included UDF representative Mr Cassim Salojee, Nactu's Mr Phiroshaw Camay and Mr Sam Motsuenyane of Nafcoc, acted after a series of telexes and telephone calls from home.

Their principal reason for leaving was Pretoria's refusal to issue passports to mineworkers' leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo and University of Natal Professor Fatima Meer to attend the meeting.

In a statement, the eight said: "The very fact that certain key organizations and their views will not be heard at this meeting is the direct responsibility of the minority racist regime. No prospect of dialogue therefore exists."

Led by Dr Willie Esterhuysen and other Stellenbosch academics, white South African and Inkatha delegates responded with a scathing attack on the government, which was represented at the meeting by Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Kobus Meiring.

Their statement, co-signed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Willem de Klerk, Prof Sampie Terreblanche, Mr Oscar Dhlomo and others, read: "We strongly condemn the refusal of the government to grant passports to a number of fellow South Africans who were invited to attend.

"The aim of this conference was to create a climate in which South Africans of all political persuasions could talk calmly and creatively about their country's future.

"Under these circumstances, to deny people with differing views the opportunity to put those views not only undermines the aims of the conference but grievously damages the credibility of the Republic's official delegation."

It called the government's action "short-sighted and morally unacceptable".

Abandoning the schedule, delegates emotionally debated whether to abandon the conference entirely, or radically alter the agenda.

Mr Meiring noted that the meeting was unrepresentative to begin with — "the AWB is not here", he said. Neither, he said, was the official opposition.

The ANC had earlier declined invitations to the conference.

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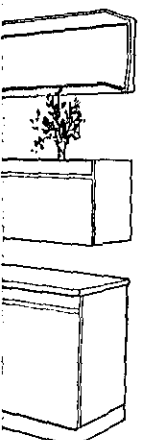
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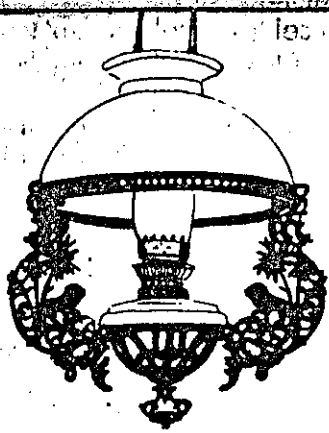
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Cape Times 1/10/87
**We do not support
necklace, says ANC**

ANC
LONDON. — While an ANC spokesman in Lusaka is reported to have described statements made by Mrs Winnie Mandela on the "necklace" as "unfortunate", ANC officials here were persisting with the view that "we will not be pushed into condemning our people".

"Our leadership has continually made it clear that the 'necklace' is not a method we advocate or support. But we are not prepared to condemn our people. This is the position we have maintained for at least 18 months since Mr Oliver Tambo addressed the Foreign Affairs Committee at the House of Commons," a spokesman said.

From page 1

ANC spokesman
The Angon *rebat*

NGUS 1/10/87

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Township mayor ousted by court

Supreme Court Reporter

MR Johnson Ngxobongwana was today ousted as mayor of the Crossroads Town Committee by the Supreme Court.

Mr Justice Conradie declared the appointment of Mr Ngxobongwana as mayor and six people as councillors "invalid and of no force and effect".

The councillors were Mr Alfred Pupu, Mr Alfred Gele, Mr Eric Nozungu, Mrs Princess Mbiza, Mrs Elizabeth Bhatyi and Mrs Alexandra Luke.

In terms of the order, the seven are also interdicted from exercising any rights, duties and functions conferred on them as the Crossroads Town Council, in terms of Provincial Notice 198 of 1987.

The application against the council and the Administrator of the Cape who appointed them was brought by Mr Simon Mgedle, Mr Shadrack Ludidi and former squatter leaders Mr Alfred Siphika and Mr Christopher Toise.

NOTICE

During argument, counsel for the Administrator said that the appointment of Mr Ngxobongwana as mayor by his client had been incorrect, but that the Town Council had since elected him as mayor.

Mr L Dison, for the applicants, said the mayor could be elected only by members of a local authority who themselves had been elected.

The Crossroads Town Committee was established by a Provincial Notice in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act in April.

It is part of the legislation that elections for positions on the Town Committee should be held as soon as practicable after the establishment of the local authority.

The court heard that there were no voters' rolls for the Crossroads area and that elections could not be held for some time.

Mr Justice Conradie said that the Administrator should not implement the Black Local Authorities Act until he was sure elections could be held in six months as laid down by law.

ANC call to stop necklacing

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress (ANC) has called on South Africans to stop necklacing.

The condemnation was contained in a message from the ANC to South African delegates who attended last week's conference on children and repression held in Harare. The delegates were urged to return home and tell the people to stop necklacing — initially used as punishment for government collaborators.

United Democratic Front (UDF) representative at the conference, Mr Maulana Farid Esack, delivered the message. — Sapa *Ewehdt 1/10/87*



11A
1/10/87
'Govt must talk to ANC'

THE banned African National Congress will abandon its armed struggle in South Africa if the Government opened channels to discuss the future of this country with ANC leaders, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF, said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Lekota said the imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was "forced" to resort to violence because of the Government's apartheid policies that banned his organisation and prevented him from opposing unjust laws in a peaceful and non-violent manner.

Asked by Mr Justice van Dijkhorst why he (Mr Lekota) did not choose violence to challenge these policies, Mr Lekota told the court that "human beings are not like match sticks".

He explained that there were those who ran out of patience quickly and resorted to violence and others who had patience and hoped that a peaceful and non-violent approach was the best solution.

Mr Lekota said Mr Mandela had stated that he was not a violent man. Asked why he refused a Government offer for conditional freedom, Mr Lekota said Mr Mandela believed that the offer was of no value because the apartheid policies he was opposed to before he was jailed were still in existence in South Africa.

Mr Fick yesterday produced a letter from one of the court exhibits dated August 14 1984 and written by Esther Maliga, secretary of the Federation of South African Women requesting links with the Swapo Women's Group.

Mr Lekota denied any knowledge of the letter which in part read: "We are fighting a common enemy."
(Proceeding)

UK govt link in ANC trial

Cape Times 2/10/87 (11A) ~~11A~~

From IAN HOBBS

Accused 'used cover identity'

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The man known as John Terence Larsen, who was discharged in the ANC kidnap plot case yesterday, was using a fraudulent identity, it has been confirmed by official sources.

His real name is Hans Kristian Dahl, said to be 28. He entered Britain illegally in 1982 using the cover identity of Larsen.

Mr Dahl is of Norwegian extraction but was brought up in Zimbabwe, it was confirmed.

Official sources said the man appearing under the name Mr Frank Lyng Larsen, 53, and claiming to be Mr Dahl's father, is also using a cover identity. An official declined to con-

firm or deny that he too was named Dahl or if he was Mr Hans Dahl's father.

The source said: "The older Larsen's true identity was buried years ago but he has a Rhodesia-Zimbabwean background."

It is understood that the third accused, Mr John Richard Wheatley, 28, is using his real name.

Mr Wheatley also has strong Zimbabwean and South African links but is said to have served as a captain in the British Army.

Mr Wheatley and Mr "Larsen" senior are still in a top-security prison. The fourth accused, Welshman Evan Dennis Evans, 49, is on bail.

LONDON. — A senior British government minister, a top Foreign Office official and an MP and spy were linked to the ANC kidnap case in a court hearing yesterday.

An exclusive Cape Times report revealed first details of the alleged spy deal yesterday.

Those named in the Lambeth High Security Court yesterday were Mr David Waddington, Secretary of State at the Home Office, Mr William Marsden, Secretary responsible for European Affairs, and Mr Julian Amery, MP, a famous British wartime secret agent with South African business connections.

When hearings resumed yesterday one of four men accused of conspiracy to kidnap ANC leaders in London was discharged.

But Mr John Terence Larsen was immediately rearrested by officers of the Anti-Terrorist Squad.

Mr Larsen's barrister, Mr Benjamin Conlon, later protested in court that the Anti-Terrorist Squad was being obstructive and had served the defence team with only 700 documents — less than 1% of a room-full of "highly-sensitive documents" seized when the house used by Mr Larsen in Aldershot, Hampshire, was raided in July.



Mr Julian Amery

Mr Conlon said some of these documents concerned "British national security".

He said police interviews with high-level figures, which were essential to the defence case, had not been given to them.

These included interviews with Mr William Marsden — "a Foreign Office official who has responsibility to do with certain Indian Ocean activities".

The Foreign Office officially lists Mr Marsden as Secretary responsible for European Affairs.

Mr Conlon said other "missing documents" included handwritten letters by Mr David Waddington, Secretary of State at the Home Office.

Other "missing" documents, he said, had been handwritten by a former Conservative government Foreign Office minister, Mr Julian Amery, MP — who was a famous British wartime secret agent and has close business connections with South Africa, and Sir Edward Gardiner, one of Britain's most famous QCs.

Further documents Mr Conlon sought involved police interviews with Seychelles Resistance Movement leaders Mr Peter (Pierre) Ferrari, Mr Bernard Verlaque, Mr David Joubert, Mr Barbara Ferrari, Ms Susan Glover and Ms Josephine West.

Prominent names

After the hearing Mr Conlon declined to comment to journalists on reliably sourced claims that a number of the "missing" documents he sought had been delivered to the South African Embassy in London by a lawyer.

It was the first time prominent names had been given in court following a warning from defence counsel last month that they would produce evidence of British government involvement in the alleged kidnap plot if the conspiracy charge — which could result in life imprisonment — proceeded.

Yesterday Mr John Terence Larsen, 28, who had been in a top-security prison for 10 weeks, was released by the stipendiary magistrate on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

But as he was led from court he was handcuffed by police officers and taken to West End Central police station.

He was charged with immigration offences. An urgent application was pending by the police last night to have him deported to an unnamed Scandi-

Natal: More floods forecast

Cape Times 2/10/87

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Natal floods were the worst natural disaster ever to hit South Africa and reconstruction of the province will take years. And it's not over.

Further grim news is that the Weather Bureau has issued a flood warning for the province, forecasting more heavy rain and snow in the Drakensberg.

Heavy rain has been forecast for some areas of Natal between today and Sunday, with more snow expected to fall on the Drakensberg.

The rain is bad news for the authorities as it could cause further damage to pipelines and spell disaster for many areas, including Durban.

Water supplies have been cut off to all industries in the Durban area and many residential areas are expected to lose their supply today following

the breakdown late yesterday of the city's last remaining pipeline to Nagle Dam.

The serious water crisis has raised fears about the possibility of a cholera epidemic worse than that in 1981 which killed about 400 people.

The Durban city council has appealed to industrial workers to stay at home today. It said residents without water would be able to get a rationed supply from fire hydrants.

There was no clear indication when Durban would get a satisfactory supply. No water was flowing into the city's water-treatment works last night and its already meagre reserves were dwindling fast.

Residents were warned that water would continue to be cut off.

As this happened, people would be restricted to water for drinking purposes only.

Meanwhile, five Durban townships were without water for the second day yesterday.

The Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said yesterday that the official death toll stood at 135. A further 78 people had been posted missing. Total deaths could exceed 200.

The chairman of the 13-member cabinet committee to co-ordinate relief work said damage was worse than expected, particularly in the outlying areas.

He estimated that between 30 000 and 50 000 people were homeless, many of whom had already been issued with tents, blankets, clothing and food.

Damage to the province's infrastructure would cost "hundreds of millions".

● Flood death toll 'at least 180' — Page 4

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navian country. He has a Scandinavian family heritage.

Mr Larsen, whose actual identity has been questioned in court, was brought up in Zimbabwe but opposed being deported to that country.

After Mr Larsen's rearrest an argument erupted between Mr Conlon and the police prosecutor, Mr Michael Bibby.

Mr Conlon represents Mr John Terence Larsen, a computer programmer, his father Dr Frank Larsen, 53, said to be a psychologist from Zimbabwe, and British computer expert Mr John Wheatley, 28, who jointly face the same charge.

The fourth accused, Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 49, a former RAF officer who served in the Rhodesian and South African armed forces — including the Recce Commando — till 1985, was granted bail at an earlier hearing and was not in court.

Mr Evans, said to have been a British MI6 double agent for many years, was alleged at an earlier hearing to have introduced the "fifth man" in the case, wealthy Uppington businessman Mr Johann Niemoller, to the Larsens.

Mr Niemoller, who has been interviewed in South Africa by unnamed British police representatives, denies any involvement in the alleged ANC kidnap plot or a related Seychelles coup plan, both due to have been launched in December last year.

Mr Niemoller rejects evidence heard in the London court alleging that he flew to England last year and urged Mr Evans to "blow up" the ANC in London and use the Larsens to kidnap the movement's leaders and smuggle them out of the country on a boat moored on the River Thames.

During yesterday's hearing, Mr Conlon told the police prosecution team there would be "no more deals". He said he would make known in open court the contents of a police interview with Seychelles rebel Mr Ferrari.

Previous hearings had been told that the alleged ANC kidnap plot formed part of a bigger operation to overthrow President Albert Rene's "unreliable" socialist regime in the Seychelles Islands and replace it with one more sympathetic to British, American and South African interests.

The hearing ended with the magistrate saying he saw no useful purpose in further disclosures being made in open court.

The case was adjourned to October 8.

The magistrate told Mr Conlon: "The prosecution has taken notice of what you say and, more importantly, what you threaten to say next week."

After the hearing, Mr Conlon told journalists he had been instructed that the British police had interviewed Mr Johann Niemoller "who has plenty to do with this case".

Declining to comment on Mr Niemoller's alleged role, he said: "You had better ask the South African government about that."

He said that "in order to make sense of what is going on" it was essential for the defence to see all interviews and documents.

Crossroads 'mayor' illegal

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT
Supreme Court Reporter

MR JUSTICE J H Conradie yesterday declared the appointed Old Crossroads Town Committee, headed by witdoek leader Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, an illegal body.

Also ruled invalid and "of no force and effect" was the designation of Mr Ngxobongwana as "mayor". He and his "councillors" were forbidden by the judge to exercise any of the rights and powers given to them when they were appointed by the Administrator of the Cape.

The Supreme Court ruling was on an application acknowledged as a "test case for local government in black townships" by counsel for the Administrator, Mr R G Comrie SC, who said "there are other local authorities where the same problem applies".

The "problem", or what Mr Justice Conradie described as "the crisp point", was whether the Administrator "had the power to appoint all the members of the Old Crossroads Town Committee until such time as they or others could, at some uncertain time

in the future, be elected".

He did not and does not, Mr Justice Conradie ruled.

The legislation relevant to the application is the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 as amended in 1985, regulations made in terms of section 56 of this act and the Provincial Government Act of 1986.

This legislation empowers the Administrator to establish local authorities by notice in the Provincial Gazette — which was done in this case on April 16, 1987.

It also requires that an election for members of the local authority be held "as soon as practicable after the establishment of the local authority" (Section 71 of the Black Local Authorities Act) and "within six months of the establishment" (Regulation 12 of the 1983 regulations).

No election has been held, nor can one be held for another 12 months, according to Mr Comrie, because, among other things, no voters' roll exists.

In areas where such practical difficulties exist, Mr Justice Conradie said, the Administrator "should not implement the provisions of the Black Local Authorities Act until he is in a position to ensure that the first election

will be held within the six months prescribed".

The Administrator does have the power to fill vacancies in a local authority after an election has been held. His counsel tried to argue that he therefore had the power to appoint people to "vacancies" existing before an election.

"It seems to me a travesty of language," the judge said, "to suggest that when the legislature speaks of there being no elected members it means that there were no elected members due to the absence of an election."

The administrator also has the power, introduced by the 1985 amendment, to dissolve a local authority and to authorize any other body or person to temporarily fulfil its functions.

"The date of the amendment tells one a great deal," the judge said. "It was introduced, it would seem, to help the authorities cope with the extensive disruption of local government structures in black areas during the unrest which began towards the end of 1984."

However, the power was to dissolve a local authority, not to appoint members to an existing one.

The historic application was brought by leaders of some of the estimated 70 000 people who lost their homes in the Greater Crossroads area between May and June last year when witdoeke, allegedly aided by police, destroyed three satellite camps and most of KTC.

Mr Comrie argued that some of the applicants had no right to bring the application because they no longer lived in the area.

Mr Justice Conradie dismissed this argument, ruling that the applicants — Mr Simon Mgedle, Mr Alfred Siphika, Mr Shadrack Ludidi and Mr Christopher Toise — had the necessary right since they would have to apply to the Town Committee for permission to reoccupy the sites from which they had been violently driven.

"The right which they have is the right to submit these applications to a duly elected body. They are not obliged to submit to the jurisdiction of an illegal body," the judge said.

Mr L R Dison SC, with Mr J A Shortt-Smith and instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the applicants. Mr Comrie appeared with Mr S A Jordaan and was instructed by the State Attorney. Mr D van Reenen, instructed by Bornman and Hayward, appeared for Mr Ngxobongwana and the six former "councillors".

Townships' faction problems worry PFP

Cap *Towns 2/10/82* *(112)*

By CLARE HARPER

THE Progressive Federal Party was "disturbed" that the faction problems experienced in the Crossroads area seemed to be appearing in Khayelitsha, the PFP spokesman on black affairs in the Western Cape, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday.

He was speaking during a PFP tour of the Peninsula townships in which PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin, national spokeswoman on black affairs Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Pinelands Mr Jasper Walsh and PFP MP for Constantia Mr Roger Hulley, took part.

The group met various community representatives in Site B and Site C.

Mr Andrew said: "We must warn the authorities that, unless nipped in the bud, large parts of Khayelitsha will turn into a nightmare for the residents, and a source of rich pickings for gangster leaders posing as represent-

atives of their communities."

After the tour, he said it appeared that a considerable amount of land was suitable for residential use in the KTC/Crossroads and Khayelitsha areas.

"Together with the proposed new township on Lansdowne Road, a significant improvement in the residential accommodation crisis of thousands of people should be brought about."

He said it was of growing concern that some 16 months after the land was cleared in KTC and Crossroads, it had not yet been made available to the community.

There were tens of thousand of people living in appalling circumstances, with large pools of water and little sanitation, and it was an utmost priority that these people were rehoused as soon as possible.

CAPC Times 3/20/87

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Teacher body to study Charter for adoption

THE 25 000-member Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa (Utasa) has decided to study the Freedom Charter and consider it for adoption.

Utasa is an umbrella body comprising the Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA), the Transvaal Association of Teachers (TAT), the Orange Free State Teachers Association (OFSTA) and the Society of Natal Teachers (SONAT).

Should Utasa adopt the Freedom Charter, the 21 000-member CTPA — headed by Mr Franklin Sonn, the Peninsula Technikon rector who is also president of Utasa — is almost certain to adopt it as well.

This will bring Utasa and the CTPA in line with major labour, religious and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, including Cosatu and the UDF.

In his presidential address at the Utasa annual meeting in Bellville South yesterday, Mr Sonn said he had taken a "very deep and serious look" at the Charter and commended it to

Utasa and its affiliates.

He said he agreed with a Sunday newspaper journalist who wrote that the Freedom Charter could be seen as a Bill of Rights because it was a document outlining "the reasonable objectives of the oppressed".

Mr Sonn said he sought the endorsement of the agm to request delegates to take the document back to its branches, regions and provinces and study it and return it for possible adoption.

Referring to the recent Dakar talks, to be discussed at the second day of the AGM at the Bellville Civic Centre this morning, Mr Sonn said he found the ANC delegation to be reasonable people with whom "in terms of principles, Utasa has no quarrel." (Both Mr Sonn and Utasa magazine editor, Mr Randall van den Heever, attended the Dakar conference.)

"The ANC made it clear that, as a matter of principle, it stands for the creation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. Utasa is known to be struggling for the same end."

ANC trial accused was a mercenary

From
MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON. — Norwegian police have identified the man known as Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, one of the accused in the ANC kidnap trial in London.

The Oslo newspaper Dagbladet yesterday reported that Mr Larsen, who is being held in a top security prison, has been identified by Norwegian police as Viggo Oerbak, a former mercenary who served in the Rhodesian army.

A Dagbladet reporter said Mr Oerbak was well known in Norway as "a liar and a swindler".

"In the middle '70s he boasted to us that he was a soldier in Rhodesia. As far as we could establish he was also involved in recruiting mercenaries."

Mr Oerbak was apparently identified from fingerprints sent to the Norwegian police by their British counterparts.

Meanwhile Mr Hans Kristian Dahl, the man who had earlier called himself John Terence Larsen, was still being held in custody here last night.

According to Dagbladet, Norwegian police had described Mr Dahl as a "younger man who was known to associate with Oerbak".

A Home Office spokesman said Mr Dahl, who was immediately re-arrested after being discharged from the ANC kidnap case, had 14 days to appeal against being deported to Norway.

Police are holding him for entering Britain illegally.

A spokesman for the Immigration Appeals Authority said that by late last night Mr Dahl had not appealed. He said that most appeals were held in public, but in special circumstances they could be conducted in private.

ONT. Times 3/10/87
Police
probe
shooting

Staff Reporter

POLICE are investigating a charge of attempted murder, or alternatively assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, after the shooting of a Nyanga resident, Mr Alfred Yamile, in Nyanga on Sunday night.

Mr Yamile, 38, is the brother of Nyanga Bush squatter leader Mr Melford Yamile. Another man, Mr Bobby Mpoto, was stabbed in the incident.

Mr Yamile was discharged from Tygerberg Hospital on Tuesday and Mr Mpoto was discharged yesterday.

Mr Yamile's attorney said yesterday Mr Yamile was shot in the head and wounded in the stomach, either with a gun or a knife.

A hospital spokeswoman said Mr Mpoto was wounded in the chest.

A police spokeswoman for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Denise Benson, said the incidents were being investigated as part of the same case.



CAPTIVE ANC MEN: Michael Bupise, of Port Elizabeth, and Mthunzi Nguni, of Johannesburg ... taken by Unita forces while game hunting

TWO ANC men, captured by Unita, were paraded before visiting reporters at Mavinga, Southern Angola, on Friday. They were identified as Michael Bupise, of Port Elizabeth, and Mthunzi Nguni, of Johannesburg.

They said they had been hunting game in a Russian car when they were taken prisoner in Malange Province, 250km from Luanda, on June 25.

Mr Bupise said they grew vegetables on an ANC farm in Angola, and he was unaware of any ANC alliance with the MPLA or Swapo.

Dr Savimbi said he didn't want to extradite them to SA because they were "just young men".

A 24-year-old MPLA helicopter pilot, Sub-Lieut Manual Sebastian, shot down by Unita, was also introduced to the Press. He said he was an Angolan and had received his training in the Soviet Union. — Sapa

**Captured
ANC men
shown
to Press**

SWA/Namibia. If Unita won, a stable Angola could ensure a swift resolution in SWA/Namibia.

Discussing the military situation, Dr Savimbi said: "We have the upper hand but we have not beaten off the offensive yet.

"We are trying to handle the situation but don't know what will happen in the next few weeks."

He described the battle as like being in the 13th or 14th round of a 15-round boxing match.

If Unita lost the battle for Mavinga and Jamba, it would continue a guerrilla war within the country, he said. Unita insurgents had recently penetrated to within 10km of Luanda and disrupted its electricity and water supplies.

Unita received support from three African countries, and Dr Savimbi suggested that Unita could be given more support by Western nations.

"I need support, but these countries must come to me. No one came to me with proposals."

He said SADF medics were in Angola to treat Unita's wounded. — Sapa.

UNITA EVERTS

Teachers are likely

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

TEACHER-State conflict could be on the cards after a decision by the 25 000-member Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa (Utasa) on Friday to study the Freedom Charter (FC) for adoption as its "bill of rights".

The idea was proposed by Utasa president Franklin Sonn, director of the Peninsula Technikon, at the Utasa AGM in Bellville South, Cape Town.

The move signals a drastic

to adopt

**Freedom
Charter**

departure from Utasa's comparatively apolitical stance to one of greater militancy and more visible involvement with South African politics, observers say.

However, Utasa's higher-profile political involvement, which must inevitably follow the adoption of the FC, is bound to bring it into further conflict with the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

On the other hand, the adoption of the FC by Utasa and its affiliates would have great credibility spin-off value for the body as it would bring it into line with other major extra-parliamentary political, religious and labour organisations, including Cosatu and the UDF, for whom the FC has already become the major common denominator.

For the American far right,

black is red

5/10/87

SPX

Anthony Lewis of the New York Times comments on reaction to the screening of the controversial dramatised biography of Nelson Mandela.

11A

The Citizens for Reagan movement recently urged its 100 000 members to boycott Home Box Office, the cable television service, in protest against an HBO programme. So did the Reverend Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority.

The target of these pressure tactics was a dramatised biography of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr Peter T Flaherty, chairman of Citizens for Reagan, wrote to HBO executives on July 17. He said that "a propaganda film" was going to be shown shortly before Congress would re-examine the South African sanctions legislation it passed over President Reagan's veto last year.

'Pro-communist'

"Of course this is a free country", Mr Flaherty said, "and HBO can offer its subscribers anything it wants, even pro-communist, pro-terrorist political films. You should be aware, however, that Citizens for Reagan is exercising the same freedom to urge our 100 000 members to terminate, or suspend for the month of September, their HBO service."

Mr Falwell wrote in similar terms. "This film is nothing more than communist propaganda," he said. "The Moral Majority and the

Liberty Federation will be urging all of their supporters to boycott the use of HBO for the month of September."

As the letters make clear, the effort to punish HBO is not mere censorship. It is politics, of an extraordinary and self-revealing character.

The two right-wing organisations align themselves with the white government of South Africa against the political figure most revered by the majority of South Africans. They dismiss as "communist" and "terrorist" the man regarded by Western democratic governments of all political hues, right to left, as the best hope for rational change in South Africa.

Nelson Mandela has been in prison for 25 years now. Polls among the black majority show him to be the overwhelming choice for leadership.

Last year the Commonwealth mission to South Africa visited

Mandela in prison. Its report said that the members were wary of "the mythology surrounding him". But they came away deeply impressed.

"He exuded authority and received the respect of all around him, including his jailers," the Commonwealth report said.

This is the man Citizens for Reagan and the Moral Majority think should not be profiled on television. It shows how elements of the right in America are off the extreme end of the world's political spectrum. After all, the Commonwealth mission included a former Conservative British Cabinet member and a former conservative Australian Prime Minister.

Nothing could be more revealing than Mr Falwell's and Mr Flaherty's use of the "communist" tag. That has been the strategy of the Afrikaner nationalists who hold power in South Africa; to paint all

opponents of white supremacy as communists.

The HBO film has some striking scenes of South African governments drafting legislation to define opposition to apartheid as "communism" that may seem incredible to American viewers, but it happened. The brutality of some white policemen may also seem unbelievable; but the police have beaten prisoners to death, and unarmed men, women and children were mowed down at Sharpeville.

By no means all American conservatives are insensitive to the cruelty of racism in South Africa. Conservative Republicans played an important part in enlarging congressional understanding of the issue. But Jerry Falwell and Peter Flaherty and their organisations matter. They and others have evidently made the decision to join Jesse Helms in defence of white South Africa. And they carry weight in the Reagan world.

"Mandela", the HBO film, has its gushy moments. But it is fundamentally accurate in its portrayal of the racial oppression that finally drove blacks to violent resistance in South Africa. It is accurate in the words and ideas of Nelson Mandela. Only someone with a heart of stone could see it and fail to be moved at the human toll of apartheid.

Film ⁽¹¹⁹⁾ does not distort Biko — Azapo

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian Peoples Organization is satisfied that Sir Richard Attenborough's film, Cry Freedom, that depicts the life of Steve Biko, does not distort Biko or the black consciousness movement, the organization said yesterday.

Publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said in a statement that an Azapo member, Mr Peter Jones, had just returned from London where he consulted Sir Richard late last month on the film.

Earlier this month Azapo threatened to boycott the film on its release in Europe and the United States, claiming that a film involving Donald Woods — former editor of the Daily Dispatch — would not be a genuine representation of Biko's life and black consciousness politics.

Mr Jones had consulted Sir Richard in November last year, after which he advised the Azapo central committee of "contentious words or lines that were among the things attributed to Steve Biko."

He reported back to the central committee after seeing Sir Richard last month.

Azapo has now decided the following:

- The film is not represented as an authoritative interpretation of the policies and role of the BCM, Azapo, its leadership, or Biko.

- The contentious lines or words attributed to Biko have been excised from the film.

- Adequate arrangements for the future educational and welfare needs of the three Biko children are in the process of finalization.

- A movie of this nature owes very little allegiance to absolute truth and fact. — Sapa

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

No; (a), (b), (c) and (d) fall away.

Aircraft registered in USA

462. Mr C B SCHOEMAN asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

(a) What is the monthly average number of aircraft registered in the United States of America that make use of facilities at airports falling under his Department, (b) for what purposes are the flights concerned undertaken and (c) in respect of what period is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(a), (b) and (c). It is not in the interest of the Republic of South Africa to divulge information of this nature.

SABC: meetings of Board

514. Mr S C JACOBS asked the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services:†

(1) Whether he is notified of meetings of the Board of the SABC; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether he was notified of a meeting of this Board about the continued employment of the present incumbent of the post of director-general of the SABC; if so, (a) by whom, (b) (i) when and (ii) where did the meeting take place or will it take place and (c) (i) who called the meeting and (ii) why was it called;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES:

(1) No. Because I don't require to be notified.

(2) During the discussion of my budget vote, the Chairman of the SABC informed me in passing that an ordinary meeting of the Board was to take place on 2 September 1987 in

HoA

Johannesburg. This was a routine meeting and was not specially convened for a specific matter.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

(3) No.

Economic summit conference

531. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the State President:

(1) Whether he intends holding an economic summit conference; if so, (a) when and (b) where;

(2) whether he intends inviting representatives of small and medium businesses to this conference; if not, who will be representing the interests of such businesses; if so,

(3) whether these representatives have been requested to obtain a specific mandate from the businesses concerned; if so, what are the relevant particulars;

(4) whether it is the intention to invite representatives of the agricultural sector to this conference; if not, why not?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) Yes. I refer the honourable member to my address in the House of Assembly on 13 August 1987 and my press release of 10 September 1987.

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(4) Yes.

Contact with ANC

586. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the State President:

(1) Whether any members of the Cabinet have been authorized or instructed to make any direct or indirect contact with officials or members of the ANC

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and/or their intermediaries; if so, (a) when and (b) for what purpose; if not,

(2) whether any members of the Cabinet have made such contact without their having been authorized or instructed to do so; if so,

(3) whether he supports the action taken by the Cabinet members concerned in this regard;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1), (2) and (4) No.

(3) Falls away.

Own Affairs.

Funds to certain company

106. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether his Department has made any funds available to a certain company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) what total amount, (b) when, (c) for what purpose and (d) what is the name of this company;

(2) whether this company is still operating; if not, (a) when and (b) why did it cease operations;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) No, not according to available records.

(a), (b), (c) and (d) Fall away.

(2) Has no knowledge about the firm's present position.

(a) and (b) Fall away;

(3) No.

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†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Written reply to question set down for oral reply on Tuesday, 13 October 1987:

General Affairs:

U 308: transportation by road

*1. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

(1) Whether the Nuclear Fuels Corporation (Nufcor) has a licence to transport U 308 by road; if not, why not; if so, (a) when was the licence granted, (b) what is the licence number and (c) what are the conditions of this licence;

(2) whether the vehicle transporting the U 308 which was involved in an accident at the Majuba Pass displayed this licence information as required by sections 30 (1) and 37 (2) of the Nuclear Energy Act, No 92 of 1982, as amended; if not, why not;

(3) whether any approaches were made to the Atomic Energy Corporation, Nufcor or the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research by any fire or traffic departments regarding the properties and hazards of U 308 and the action to be taken in the event of spillage thereof; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the response to these approaches;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

(1) Bearing in mind the relatively low hazard potential of this material, the AEC did not issue a licence in terms of section 30 of the Act. NUFCOR was granted an authority to export uranium oxide in terms of section 49 of the Nuclear Energy Act (No 92 of 1982).

Ministry or the Defence Force has been in contact with the South African Police regarding their investigation into the latter publication; if so, (a) when, (b) who and (c) for what purpose;

- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The matter is still being further investigated and it is envisaged to furnish the hon member with a written reply as soon as possible.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is he aware that in an interview in the *Sunday Times* of 28 June 1987 a spokesman for the SA Defence Force admitted that the SADF had been responsible for the printing of this document?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, we cannot go according to reports in the *Sunday Times*. I have explained to the hon member what we will do with regard to his question—we will reply in good time.

Publication, "Face to Face with the ANC"

*11. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 10 on 1 September 1987, the South African Police have been in contact with any member of the South African Defence Force or the Ministry of Defence in connection with their investigation into the publication "Face to Face with the ANC"; if so, (a) when, (b) whom did they contact and (c) what was the result; if not,
- (2) whether the Police intend contacting the Defence Force in connection with this investigation; if so, when; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
(a) After 1 September 1987.

HoA

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(b) An officer of the South African Defence Force.

(c) I refer the hon member to the reply of my colleague, the hon the Deputy Minister of Defence, to Question No 10, which I agree with and regard as sufficient.

(2) Falls away.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, is he aware that the booklet entitled *Face to Face with the ANC* is an exact copy of the book which the SADF claimed in this interview in the *Sunday Times* they were responsible for, namely *The inside story of the ANC*?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not aware of that fact but as my hon colleague explained to the hon member, he will be provided with an answer in regard to his question.

Director-general of SABC

*12. Mr S C JACOBS asked the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services:†

- (1) Whether he or any person acting on his instructions took any action and/or gave any instructions on or after 24 August 1987 with regard to the continued employment of (a) the present incumbent of the office of director-general of the SABC and (b) any other official or officials employed by the SABC; if so, (i) what action and/or orders, (ii) why and (iii) with what result;
- (2) whether he or his Department has investigated assertions with regard to the dismissal of the present incumbent of the above-mentioned post; if not, why not; if so, (a) (i) when and (ii) in what way were these assertions brought to his attention and (b) (i) why was the investigation instituted and (ii) what were the findings;
- (3) whether he has directly or indirectly been in contact with the Board of the SABC with regard to this matter; if so, (a) when, (b) with whom, (c) why and (d) with what result?

HoA

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (for the Minister in the State President's office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services):

- (1) No.
- (2) No. Because, according to a report in the *Argus* of 27 August 1987, the Director-General concerned, Mr Riaan Eksteen, declared that he had not been dismissed; because the Board of the SABC has the exclusive right to appoint or dismiss the Director-General; and because the State President had the right to demand from the Director-General that a reasonable and balanced report be given on a sensitive and contentious matter.

(a) and (b) Falls away.

- (3) (a), (b), (c) and (d). I merely saw the Chairman of the SABC Board and the Director-General of the SABC in Cape Town before 2 September 1987, the date when the Board took a decision on this matter. They were in Cape Town to assist me in my budget vote in Parliament.

On 2 September 1987, the Board of the SABC held a meeting and the Chairman subsequently issued the following statement:

"The Board noted the statement in Parliament by the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services. Mr A L Schlebusch, on the independence of the Board and other aspects concerning the SABC.

The Board also noted the statement of its Chairman on 27 August 1987 namely that neither the question of resignation, nor termination of Mr Eksteen's post was on the Board's agenda, and regards this matter as settled".

†Prof S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to know whether the hon the Minister of National Education, who replied to the question on behalf of the hon the Minister in the Office of the State President, knows if at-

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tempts were made to dismiss Mr Riaan Eksteen and, if so, whether he can comment on that. Does he know whether the hon the Minister in the Office of the State President knows if such attempts were made to dismiss Mr Riaan Eksteen? I am not asking whether an actual dismissal took place but whether attempts were made to do it.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the reply to this was drawn up and approved by the hon the Minister in the Office of the State President, who is not here at the moment. I am not entrusted with this at all and have no knowledge of any of the allegations that were made.

Brakpan Tattersalls Committee

*13. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

- (1) Whether he was involved in the appointment of a certain committee in Brakpan, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply; if so, (a) to what extent and (b) what is the name of this committee;
- (2) whether he consulted any persons and/or bodies in connection with the appointment of this committee; if so, what persons and/or bodies;
- (3) whether any of these persons and/or bodies made recommendations with regard to the appointment of members of this committee; if so, (a) what persons and/or bodies and (b) whom did each of them recommend;
- (4) (a) which persons did he appoint to this committee and (b) on what grounds did he appoint each of them?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL PLANNING:

- (1) No.
- (a) and (b) The name of the Committee concerned is the Brakpan Tattersalls Committee, which is appointed by the Administrator of Transvaal.
- (2) The Provincial Secretary of Transvaal consulted Mr F J le Roux, MP.

HoA

Blacks 'dominate the struggle'

(IIR) smc

The South African struggle for liberation was a black struggle, Mr Sam Mabe, assistant news editor of The Star, told a meeting of the South African Institute of International Affairs last night.

He said the non-racial movement came into being after the formation in 1979 of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which provided a political home for those affected by the banings of BC organisations.

He suggested that white liberals became involved in the liberation struggle because they saw that under BC, blacks were getting stronger and more assertive and were posing a threat to the status quo.

"That is why the white liberals launched their own campaign against the (BC) philosophy and why they also forced their way into black organisations so as to have a hand in controlling the development of political thinking among blacks."

In South Africa, said Mr Mabe, non-racialism was an

ideal that was still far from being attained. "In fact, to have 20 million blacks and a few thousand whites in the struggle does not make the struggle a non-racial one.

"People who preach non-racialism still see themselves as a group separate from everybody else and they want us to guarantee what they call minority rights. On top of that, they still want to retain their European culture and social values while despising African languages, cultural lifestyle and values."

He said South Africa was part of Africa and there was no desire to make it an extension of Europe or America — or even Russia.

"We believe in a government of Africans by Africans and for the Africans. An African, in this context, will have nothing to do with the colour of one's skin."

"Everybody who owes his loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority and to defend the African cause will be regarded as an African."

Cape Times
7/10/87

SADF link to ANC booklet

By BARRY STREEK

POLICE have contacted an officer in the Defence Force about the publication of an anonymously produced anti-ANC booklet, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

On September 1 this year, Mr Vlok said the police had been unable to trace the publisher or the printer of the expensively-produced booklet, "Face to Face with the ANC".

Yesterday he said that "after 1 September 1987", the police had made contact with "an officer of the South African Defence Force" about the publication.

'Sufficient'

Asked by Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North) what the result of the contact was, Mr Vlok referred to an earlier reply by the Minister of Defence "which I agree with and regard as sufficient".

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said the matter was still being investigated and Mr Soal would be furnished with a written reply "as soon as possible".

Mr Soal had asked whether the SADF was involved in the publication, its cost, who the printer was, the number of copies printed and where it was distributed.

In September, Mr Vlok said the publication may have contravened the Publications Act.

It was reported last year that the publication was printed by a Cape Town firm, Derek Butcher and Co.

In September this year, Mr Soal suggested he could help put the police in contact with those involved in the publication and said it was clear there was one law for right-wing and pro-government organizations and another for anti-apartheid organizations.

contribute towards the continuation of the rail service and that the matter again be considered after three months.

Town planning proposals for Khayelitsha

616. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether any changes have been made to the town planning proposals for Khayelitsha announced in March 1984; if so, in respect of each of the villages in each of the demarcated towns in the Khayelitsha area, (a) what form of housing, other specified residential development or site provision is proposed, (b) how many of each type are to be provided, (c) who is to provide them, (d) when will they be built, (e) how much will they cost, (f) who will pay for this development and (g) what estimated total number and (g) what estimated total number and (g) what estimated total number to accommodate once this development has been completed;

(2) whether (a) freehold and (b) leasehold will be permitted in respect of these developments; if not, why not in each case?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

- (1) Yes.
- (a) Town 1 village 1 and 2: No hostels to be provided; Town 1 village 3 and 4: Changed from residential sites to smaller higher density sites.
- (b) Town 1. 14 067 residential sites
 2. 15 370 residential sites (500 site and service)
 3. 16 200 residential sites
 4. No planning has been done yet.
- (c) Services are provided by the state in all the towns except in terms of 800 sites in town 2 where the development will be

done by the private sector. (Services and houses).

- (d) Towns 1, 2 and 3: 1988/89 (approximate dates).
 Town 4: 1990/92 (approximate dates)
- (e) Town 1: Vary from R5 949 to R21 833
 Towns 2, 3 and 4: No houses have been built yet and therefore no prices are available.
- (f) See (c) above. (Will be recovered from the residents through rent and service charges).
- (g) 301 600 people.
- (2) (a) and (b) Yes.

Police officers

618. Mr J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) How many Black persons are officers in the South African Police Force at present;
- (2) whether there are any Black commanding officers of police stations in the Police Force at present; if so, (a) how many, (b) what ranks do they hold and (c) how many of them are commanding officers of police stations in urban areas;
- (3) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) 76 officers.
- (2) Yes.
- (a) 35 Station Commanders.
- (b) Colonel 1
 Lieutenant-Colonel 3
 Major 4
 Captain 6
 Lieutenant 1
 Warrant Officer 17
 Sergeant 3.
- (c) 19.
- (3) 8 August 1987.

Parity in salaries

619. Mr J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether there is parity in salaries in respect of White and Black officers of the same ranks in the South African Police Force?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes. I also refer the honourable member to my reply to written question number 170 in the House of Assembly and written question number 2 in the House of Representatives.

Group Areas Act

620. Mr H J COETZEE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether the Town Council of Middelburg, Transvaal, lodged a complaint with the South African Police in Middelburg in 1984 in connection with certain Indian dealers allegedly trading in the local White group area in contravention of the provisions of the Group Areas Act; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the purport of the complaint;
- (2) whether the Police have investigated this complaint; if not, why not; if so, with what result?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
- (a) 12 April 1984.
- (b) That a number of persons traded from business premises in the White group area, in contravention of section 26 (1) of the Group Areas Act, 1966 (Act 36 of 1966).
- (2) Yes. The case docket was referred to the Attorney-General for his decision. He declined to institute prosecution.

ANC: funeral

622. Mr J M BEYERS asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether any members of the security forces were on duty on the occasion of the recent funeral of a member of the ANC at a cemetery in Maitland; if so, (a) why, (b) how many members were on duty, (c) what was the nature of their duties and (d) what was the total cost of these duties to the State?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

- (a) Because the South African Police received information that the organisers of the funeral apparently wanted to allow certain activities during the funeral which would have promoted the aims of the ANC.
- (b) Sufficient members to deal with a given situation.
- (c) General crime prevention duties.
- (d) The duties were performed by members of the Force during their normal hours of service. Separate calculation of expenses for these purposes is not kept by the South African Police.

Fund-raising numbers

625. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether the approval given by him for a fund-raising number is subject to certain conditions; if so, what are these conditions?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

The Temporary Authority issued by the Director of Fund-raising is subject to various conditions as stipulated in the Fund-raising Act, 1978 (Act 107 of 1978) and the regulations promulgated thereunder.

The Director of Fund-raising has in terms of the powers vested in him, added a further condition to the effect that should a fund-raiser be made use of for the collection of contributions for the organization, his total expenses may not exceed 40% of the total proceeds of the collection.

Police break up command structure of ANC in Cape

CAPE TOWN — Police in the Western Cape have made one of the biggest breakthroughs against suburban terrorism and bombings with the arrest of the complete command structure of an ANC terrorist network, police said yesterday.

Police confirmed that 11 people, including a 30-year-old white woman well known in academic circles, seven black men, two black women and a coloured man, had been arrested.

Police also seized a large quantity of weapons. Some of the arms were found in a flat in the white suburb of Wynberg.

Before the latest series of arrests members of a complete ANC cell in the

Cape were rounded up.

The people in the series of arrests were allegedly responsible for acts which include:

- A limpet mine explosion at the Mowbray police station on July 3, 1986.
- A limpet mine explosion at Lakeside post office on Aug 2, 1986.

● An AK-47 attack on members of the SAP while carrying out an arrest on members of this terrorist cell in New Crossroads on March 11, 1987.

● A limpet mine explosion at the Athlone Magistrate's Court on June 12, 1987. — Sapa

See Post 7/10/87

(MA)

UDF supporters flee troubled township

DURBAN. — Vigilantes are wreaking havoc in St Wendolin's, near Pinetown, and have left at least one person dead and several injured.

Several UDF supporters have fled the area to seek refuge in surrounding townships. Trouble started last Saturday when Gerome Mduduzi, 19, was dragged from his home by about 30 people and stabbed to death.

Later the vigilantes swelling in numbers to more than 100 people, visited homes which they suspected housed to UDF supporters. "If they did not find the youths they were looking for, they broke windows, burned clothes and assaulted the occupants including old woman and children," a resident said.

Mr Victor Makhanya, 25, said the vigilantes assaulted his grandmother and two "aunties" and abducted his brother Makehlane, 16, and a 10-year-old friend, Xolane.

"They forced them to point out houses of UDF supporters."

"The vigilantes were about to stab my brother and his friend when the police arrived," he said.

Police were unable to release details of the violence in the township but confirmed that incident of unrest had been reported from St Wendolin's. — *Concord News*.

In fear of Inkatha 'membership raids'

DURBAN. — Many residents of Maritzburg townships are forming "defence units" in order to protect themselves from raids by Inkatha.

In the past two months, more than 34 people have been killed.

This follows the brutal massacre of 16 people and the injuring of eight others in two townships in Maritzburg at the weekend.

All the dead and injured are reported to be members of Inkatha. Twelve killed ranged in ages between 14 and 22.

According to community leaders, the "defence units" are not aligned to any political organisation but they are simply fed-up with the killings, attacks on their homes and the humiliation of their children.

The townships affected

are Edendale, Ashdown, Imbali, Sobantu, Hammarisdale and many small outlying areas. A community leader, who asked not to be named, said in an interview that the Inkatha "membership raids" were being conducted by a man from the township of Harewood with the help of right-wing vigilantes into the other townships.

In the raids vigilantes knocked at the doors of people at night and simply forced them to sign Inkatha membership forms.

"When the people, especially the youngsters, resist they are beaten up and in many instances killed.

When they refuse to cooperate they are accused of being members of the UDF.

"Because of these raids the people no longer have the freedom to decide what to do," the community leader said.

"It is mainly because they cannot rely on the support of the authorities to protect them that the residents have decided to form themselves into protective defensive units," he said.

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Police say ANC network smashed

11A
7/10/87

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A young woman from one of South Africa's most distinguished families is among 11 alleged African Nationalist Congress members — including a military commander — who have been captured by security police in an investigation into ANC activities in the Cape.

This brings to 29 the total of alleged ANC terrorists arrested in the Western Cape since May this year.

According to information given to the Daily Dispatch's Cape Town correspondent, the young woman is a master's graduate of the University of Cape Town.

Her mother said yesterday she had no comment to make "except that I trust my daughter". She was detained on September 17 and neither her family nor her lawyers have seen her since.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday police had "exposed an ANC terrorist network" after an intensive 15-month investigation. He did not identify any of the people in custody.

Five of the 11 people captured had allegedly undergone terrorist training in Angola, Russia, and East Germany, he said.

Police had confiscated a large arms cache

consisting of AK-47 rifles, ammunition, Makarov pistols, limpet mines and hand-grenades. A quantity of arms had been seized at a Wynberg flat.

"The efficiency of the Security Branch of the South African Police has prevented loss of life as well as thousands of rands damage," Mr Vlok said.

A security police spokesman described the arrests and breakthrough as the "biggest ever" against urban terrorism.

The police believe the seizure of such a big quantity of weapons showed that the group had been planning to commit more acts of terrorism in the Peninsula.

According to Mr Vlok, police have linked the suspects to 14 acts of terror committed in the Cape Peninsula since July last year. They include:

- Limpet mine explosions at Mowbray police station and Lakeside post office in July and August last year.

- An AK-47 attack on policemen during the arrest of members of an alleged ANC cell in New Crossroads in March this year.

- A limpet mine attack at the Athlone magistrate's court in June.

- Two separate hand-grenade attacks on the home of a community councillor in June.

- A handgrenade attack on members of the South African Police in KTC squatter camp in June.

- A limpet mine attack at a Maitland service station and the placing of a limpet mine at a Plumstead service station in July.

- A car bomb explosion at Kasteelhof in July.

- A handgrenade attack on the Guguletu homes of a member of the SAP and of a special constable in July.

- A limpet mine explosion in the women's toilet at D. F. Malan Airport in July.

- A limpet mine explosion on the railway line at a station near Stellenbosch in July.

Mr Vlok said suspects were still being interrogated in connection with a handgrenade attack in January this year in which Constable Lappies Labuschagne was killed.

The recent arrests follow another breakthrough in the Western Cape in which 14 men and four women were arrested between May and August this year.

A number of terrorist weapons were also confiscated by police during the arrests linked to these attacks.

Mr Vlok said charges against all the suspected terrorists were being investigated.

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Mandela 'got more from press than UDF'

Pretoria Correspondent

The national press gave jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's refusal to renounce violence more publicity than the United Democratic Front could possibly have done.

This was said yesterday in the Pretoria Supreme Court by Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (39), one of 19 high-ranking members of the UDF, Azapo and local civic authorities who have pleaded not guilty to treason, and alternative charges ranging from terrorism to murder.

HIGH PROFILE

He was denying allegations by the State that the UDF had tried to give Mandela's statement a high profile at a meeting held to commemorate Archbishop Desmond Tutu winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985.

He said many newspapers had published Mandela's statement.

Cross-examination of Mr Lekota, who has been testifying before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and his assessor for over a month, ended yesterday.

Mr Lekota denied that Mr Solomon Mahlangu had written in a June 16 pamphlet: "The blood of our martyr will water the tree of liberation."

He said the statement was made by a historical figure, Giuseppe Mazzini, in connection with the unification of Italy.

The hearing continues.

Police seize large quantity of arms and ammunition

11A

SPM 7/10/87

Top ANC men held in Cape

Own Correspondent

Cape Town

Four regional commanders in the ANC and the daughter of a Natal academic are among the 33 people detained in the Western Cape on terrorism charges following recent explosions in Cape Town.

A police source said other detainees included members of the ANC intelligence unit and special operations group as well as couriers.

Investigators see the arrests as one of the biggest breakthroughs against the ANC.

Late yesterday the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the latest arrests of 11 people were linked to a series of blasts in the Cape.

Eighteen people were arrested in August this year.

The police source said that 33 members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and accomplices had been taken into custody in the past two months.

Mr Vlok said the latest arrests followed an intensive 15-month investigation. The people being held were a 30-year-old white woman, seven black men, two black women and a coloured man.

He alleged that five members of the group had been trained in Angola, Russia and East Germany.

He said that a large quantity of arms and ammunition had been recovered, some of it in a flat in Wynberg.

Prof's daughter detained

The daughter of Natal University's vice-principal, Professor Denyse Schreiner, has been detained by the Security Police in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

This was confirmed last night by her mother, Mrs Elsa Schreiner.

Miss Jenny Schreiner (30) is well known in Cape academic circles. She recently completed an MA in sociology at the University of Cape Town.

Further details of her detention have not been given by the Security Police.

Her mother said she had asked to be allowed to see Jenny but this had been refused.

Lawyers had been denied access to Miss Schreiner, but her mother said she had been told her daughter was in good health.

The weapons, shown to the press yesterday, included two Makarov pistols with three magazines, seven AK-47s with four metal and eight bakelite magazines, more than 1 000 rounds of ammunition, two limpet mines, four mini limpet mines, 10 offensive hand grenades and a defensive grenade.

Further acts

Mr Vlok said the weapons were proof that the ANC was prepared to commit "further acts of terror in the Cape Peninsula".

The detainees had been linked to 14 incidents between July last year and July this year including an AK-47 attack on policemen who went to arrest one of them in New Crossroads in March this year.

Mr Vlok said the group was also being questioned in connection with a hand grenade attack in January this year when a policeman, Constable Lappies Labuschagne was killed and two colleagues were injured.

Mr Vlok said those who were arrested earlier had been linked to various hand grenade attacks and the bomb blast at a bus stop in Rondebosch.

He said the cases against the arrested people were still under investigation and the dockets would be presented to the Attorney-General, Mr Niel Rossouw, soon.



Jeannette van Niekerk shows the Russian-made arms, ammunition and explosives seized by police in the Western Cape.

4 S AIX A

BC adherents

2 pages
 (11A)

'fixed' in past

SOUTH'S FORUM is an attempt to encourage debate on the political, social and economic issues of the day and to highlight ideas for a future South African society. The 10th anniversary of Steve Biko's death last month resulted in renewed debate on the relevance and the role of Black Consciousness in the South African political milieu of today.

Two guest writers, Dr Mamphela Ramphele and Monde Nivasa, this week present two differing views on the topic.

Dr Ramphele, 39, was born in Pietersburg and studied medicine at Natal University. She is a founder member of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and was active in the Black Consciousness Movement until 1977 when she was banished to Tzaneen in the Northern Transvaal until 1983.

Here she started a unique community health centre called Ethruseng which is mainly aimed at teaching ordinary people self-reliance.

Dr Ramphele is a senior research officer in social anthropology at UCT.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS is a philosophical approach that was popularised in the seventies by organisations like the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention as a response to the negative impact of white racism on black people in South Africa.

It is an approach that calls on black people to define themselves positively and reject the lie of white racism which seeks to define them as inferior beings.

It's a philosophy that fosters a positive self-image, acknowledges the richness of the heritage of black people and encourages them to rely on themselves in their struggle against racism and economic exploitation.

Black solidarity

It seeks to undo the damage of psychological oppression which results in an inferiority complex in blacks and a superiority complex in whites by emphasising a common humanity of all people — black and white.

The emphasis on black solidarity, captured by the slogan "Black man you are on your own" was essential in the political environment of the sixties and early seventies in which black people were rendered impotent by fear and dehumanisation and had placed their faith in white liberals as their spokespersons and ultimate saviours from the ravages of oppression.

It was a necessary tactic to wean black people of a reliance on others for their liberation.

It was also a necessary shock treatment for white liberals who had become complacent in their roles as protesters without a deep commitment to a truly nonracial, democratic and egalitarian South Africa.

The positive impact of Black Consciousness was felt by both black and white South Africans as both were forced to redefine their roles in the South African body politic in more creative ways.

Many of today's prominent black leaders were products of that era and have no doubt benefited enormously from it.

Whites also benefited in the process and many were forced to examine more radical ways of engaging in the struggle for justice — not merely for the sake of "the poor blacks who are suffering" but for their own sakes.

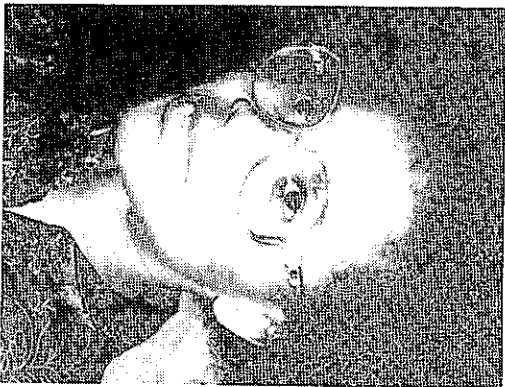
They had to develop an agenda that was meaningful for themselves in the wider society.

Nivas is a living example of an organisation that was radicalised by this movement although it sadly refused to acknowledge this in its review of its 50th anniversary in "SA Outlook" in 1985.

People who were touched deeply by BC spanned the political spectrum — ANC, PAC and ordinary people embraced the basic tenets of the philosophy.

These tenets are still relevant today and will remain relevant tomorrow.

There has been, however, a sad return to some individuals and/or



Dr Mamphela Ramphele

organisations to "own" BC and project it as holy possession of the exclusive few.

They have so distorted the fundamental message of BC that few people want to be identified with it.

For them being black is a political ideology and the need to maintain black exclusivism overrides any important issue that arises in this country — be it a worker, consumer or general issue.

For example, in 1983, having formed the National Forum to fight the tricameral constitutional system, they were reportedly have refused to comment on how whites should vote

in the referendum because "we have nothing to say to whites."

The mind boggles! Who else but whites could vote in that referendum? Why form an organisation to fight a specific issue then shy away from it?

They have great difficulty in relating to people who have the misfortune of being born a shade to pale to qualify as black. They go to great lengths apportioning blame to whites who are condemned to corporate guilt from which there is no escape.

To them all whites are the "baddies" and all blacks are the "goodies", provided they do not grossly violate certain norms.

Superficial analysis

Their economic analysis is superficial and ignores the reality of blacks also being capable of and practising exploitation.

This approach to politics in the eighties is naive in the extreme. We cannot reconstruct history but we can learn from it and move on to shaping a better future.

The attempt to ignore the process of reorganisation of forces against injustice in South Africa is suicidal, to say the least.

It is also extremely dangerous for all ready complicated political scene.

Today's BC adherents are people fixated in the past and unable to move into the present and take up the challenge of the future. They are blind to the lessons to be learned by all South Africa.

Black exclusivists are also doing an injustice to the cause by alienating people who are committed to liberation in its totality.

There needs to be a word of caution, however, to those who throw out the baby with the bath water. We do need BC to fight against the dehumanisation of white racism and exploitation.

Even if we were to have apartheid dismantled tomorrow, black people will still need a frame of reference to help cushion them from the paternalistic, condescending tendencies of some whites.

Even good white people, who are themselves victims of racism and a superiority complex need it to enable them to share a truly democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and egalitarian society.

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Talk to UDF, editor tells businessmen

Staff Reporter

THE editor of the influential British Sunday newspaper The Observer has suggested big business in South Africa should be talking to the United Democratic Front.

Addressing a luncheon organised by the South Africa Britain Trade Association, Mr Donald Trelford said members of the business community who held talks with the African National Congress had played an important role in altering overseas perceptions about the business sector's commitment to change.

"If it were possible to meet the ANC in exile, why is it not possible to talk to the UDF inside the country?"

He also questioned whether business was doing enough to promote education.

On the subject of media curbs, Mr Trelford said he believed the business community should "bring more pressure to bear on the Government" to relax restrictions.

"As members of a business community, you are entitled to know what's going on in your country."

BORN in the same country, products of the same struggles for freedom, united by similar goals, divided by geography and by circumstances. In Harare last week, they met for the first time.

Among the 700 delegates to an international conference on apartheid in Harare last week, were both South African exiles and people still living in the country.

For years they had known one another only as names, as they pursued similar ends in very different ways, sealed off, a world apart.

The International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa drew delegates ranging from the Black Sash through church groups to the African National Congress.

It also drew delegates from 45 other countries who listened to academic papers, engaged in debate and heard a group of exiled children describe their experiences in detention.

Of equal importance to the debates and the reunion was a resolution passed at the end, with the delegates committing themselves to the destruction of apartheid — thus taking the most significant global stand against apartheid in the past 18 months.

The declaration is expected to feature prominently in the British Commonwealth summit meeting scheduled later this month in Canada.

Sanctions is one of the issues on the agenda. Last weekend's declaration, with the demonstrated support of delegates from mass-based organisations inside South Africa and a good many interested groups outside the country, could give the pro-sanctions lobby extra weight.

Whether or not the declaration attracted outside notice, it certainly drew attention inside South Africa. In the course of the conference, Dr Beyers Naude, former SA Council of Churches general secretary, received a telegram from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warning that deliberations "would not pass unnoticed". South African delegates said they were not sure if this meant action would be taken against them when they returned home.

The declaration agreed to by the conference outlines four main areas of activity:

- A condemnation of people who execute government policies, particularly lawyers and judges who "lend (it) legitimacy" and medical practitioners who "conspire in keeping secret the brutality against children".

- A commitment to "act in a committed way" to keep the world aware of the plight of South African children, extending the task of "monitoring and exposing the repression and abuse" of South African children.

- A call on professionals, such as lawyers, medical practitioners, social and religious workers, to protect children of South Africa "and help free them from the apartheid system."

- An appeal to the international community to work for the imposition of sanctions against Pretoria, and a call for governments to declare their support for all those who, at risk to themselves, are prepared to act in defence of South African children.

Among the delegates were activists, lawyers, doctors, church workers, social workers, trade unionists, representatives of women's and youth organisations.

They came from Mitchell's Plain, Athlone, Langa and Gugulethu in Cape Town; New Brighton, Kwa-Zakhele, Malabar and Zwide in Port Elizabeth; Lamontville, KwaMashu, in Durban; Soweto, Lenasia, Sebokeng, Tembisa, KwaThe-

Just one more rally against apartheid? Not



First words for the children — Oliver Tambo opens the Harare conference

Everyone at the Harare hotel knew that this was rather more than just another anti-apartheid conference. This was a conference which brought together groups which had long been divided by geography, ideology and methods. It was a conference likely to have international repercussions. And Pretoria knew that too ...

MONO BADELA reports from HARARE



Thabiseng Mabusa (right), who was crippled in an SADF raid in 1986, with Glynnis Kinnock

ma and Kagiso from the Reef. The conference was held at the five-star Harare Sheraton, where most delegates stayed. As they approached the hotel from the airport, delegates found former Johannesburg lawyer, now South African Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo at the entrance, with a queue of South Africans waiting to greet him. Slovo moved around the hotel unguarded; there was a rumour he carried a small revolver in his back pocket. Whether or not he was armed, his

unguarded state came in sharp contrast to top African National Congress officials, who were always accompanied by a phalanx of bodyguards. The top floor of the 17-storey hotel included the quarters of ANC President Oliver Tambo; and there were six armed guards on duty on that floor all the time. An additional six armed bodyguards accompanied Tambo wherever he went.

Other top ANC officials stayed on the 12th floor, and there were four armed and uniformed cadres in black uniform guarding the floor at all

Raising the Nuremburg ghost

THE possibility of members of the South African government being prosecuted in post-apartheid South Africa at a version of the Nuremburg trials was raised during the conference by a University of Dublin academic.

In a paper, Kadar Asmal said planning, preparing, initiating or being a part of preparation was a violation of international law. The Nuremburg Principles, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1946, specifically provided that persons committing such crimes were no less responsible when they committed such acts in their capacity

as government officials. The ANC leadership, however, said a spokesman, is inclined to approach the question as did the victors in Zimbabwe. Former Prime Minister Ian Smith had also perpetrated crimes against humanity, the spokesman said.

"It can be said let us bury the past and build on the ruins of the past," he said. "But we do not want to promise anything. The question of what will happen is to be left for a decision at the time. There will be a democratic system to deal with the question. It will be decided by the people as a whole."

times. The prevailing spirit among delegates was one of comradeship, especially those South Africans inside and outside the country meeting for the first time.

The South Africans' reception was tremendous, from the warmth conference officials displayed at the airport to the greetings they received from exiles.

The majority of the delegates came from overseas: from the USSR, India, Cuba, Ireland, Britain, the US, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Yugoslavia. Delegates from Africa came from Libya, Egypt, Lusaka, Tanzania and Nigeria as well as Zimbabwe.

Hours before the official opening of the conference — by Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe — the hall was nearly full, with spectators including close to 1 000 schoolchildren in uniform.

Tambo, 70, was given a standing ovation when he entered the hall and took his seat on the podium. The excitement reached fever pitch when Mugabe arrived, and the audience rose for a standing ovation.

The conference kicked off on a high note with introductory remarks by long-time foe of apartheid, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who had convened the conference. He called for massive international action against South Africa.

"The issue of children's rights is something no respectable govern-

ment would dare advance an excuse for," he said.

"Torture, detention and killing of children in South Africa is a threat to humanity and has immense moral implications. I hope the massive chilling evidence on torture of children in South Africa will trigger massive action from the international community. Apartheid is irreformable and the world has to know this."

In a message read at the conference on behalf of Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramphal, his representative, legal division director Jeremy Pope, said that "repression of children through apartheid is an issue which not only concerns the future of South Africa, but one which also raises humanitarian and moral imperatives which demand the attention of the world."

"Those who had to live with apartheid inside South Africa or in its shadow in the Frontline states know that the Commonwealth has been by their side, standing against a system which is the denial of all that the Commonwealth represents"

The newly-appointed general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said when a state refuses to release an 11-year-old child on bail because this 11-year-old would be a danger to the security of the state "then there must be something drastically wrong with those adults".

Chikane said the government had turned Southern Africa into a subcontinent of refugees and exiles. "It has plunged this whole region into a war which is fought at various fronts — from Luanda to Maputo, from Lusaka to Cape Town."

He said the war against children in South Africa was taking place within the context of conflict and the destabilisation policies of apartheid.

He said South African children, particularly blacks, were being denied their right to be children.

"Children in our country are violently being forced by the conditions in the country to be adults before their time. They are put in a situation where they have to make decisions which are normally made by adults

A no to necklacing. A yes to winning over vigilantes

"THE necklacing as a form of punishment should stop. It has rightly or wrongly served its purpose and there is no way that people should continue with it."

This is the message given by the African National Congress to the 300 South African delegates who attended the Harare conference on children.

South African delegates and others in exile were told the "necklacing" had to go during a

closed meeting attended by 13 members of the ANC National Executive Committee, including its president, Oliver Tambo.

An ANC spokesman said the time had now arrived to put an end to the "necklacing" as a form of punishment. He said the ANC could not say whether the people who had applied the "necklacing" had been wrong. They "knew very well why they had to resort to using it.

Probably they were compelled by circumstances prevailing at the time."

The closed meeting lasted an hour and was addressed by the Tambo, among others. He made it abundantly clear that the ANC was against the "necklacing of people". It had become difficult for him to answer accusations that the ANC had not sufficiently dissociated itself from this sort of killing, in which victims were set

alight with a petrol-soaked tyre around their necks.

Tambo is also understood to have stressed the need for unity at the session with the South African delegates.

It is understood he referred to the need to try to win over "vigilante" groups to avoid the emergence of another Renamo or Unita-type movement, which could severely hamper the struggle to end apartheid.

Tales of the mystery nod from the mystery minister

THE South African government has made a definite attempt to talk to the African National Congress — but the movement is convinced that "Pretoria is not serious about negotiations".

A highly placed official in the ANC has also dismissed as "completely false and without any foundation" rumours that some of its members had had secret contacts with Pretoria.

He said when and if the time came that the South African government felt compelled to enter into such dialogue with the ANC, the offer would have to come openly and not in secret.

"We, who represent the majority of the people of our country, the victims of the apartheid system, would have to ensure that these masses know what racists are saying and ensure that these millions participate in any activities designed to shape their destiny."

The ANC made it abundantly clear that the Pretoria government that held power over the majority had neither political nor moral legitimacy.

The official was one of the top ANC national executive committee members who formed part of a huge delegation attending the Harare conference on children.

The attempt to hold talks with the ANC came in the form of an approach from an unidentified South African cabinet minister, the source said.

The ANC had not responded to the approach, as it did not know who it came from or what the intentions were involved. "We asked for details, and we're still waiting," he said, adding "Of course Pretoria is not serious about negotiating seriously with us. They have not yet prepared the ground to educate their electorate."

"We, of course, are ready for serious negotiations to move from apartheid to a non-racial South Africa. But at the same time we are quite convinced that Pretoria is not serious about negotiating."

The ANC believes the conditions should be such that the negotiations are "serious", and not just for show.

"The approach shows this. We were approached by an official who said a cabinet minister wanted to meet Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC." He said this was in response to reports suggesting that the ANC was considering talking to Pretoria.

"We thought it was strange to put it that way. We asked who this minister was, and there has been no answer to this question. There has been no direct approach from the government since then."

The ANC believed that Pretoria was not trying to improve relations with the organisation.

The government had been remarkable in its "persistent attacks" on the ANC, especially when its officials travelled abroad. It was difficult to reconcile that attitude with any attempts by the government to have relations with the ANC, he said.

He said the ANC believed Botha should go to his electorate first and declare that the ANC was not a monster.

Moreover, he said, South Africa had not yet fulfilled the conditions demanded by the Eminent Persons Group during its visit to Southern Africa last year: the dismantling of apartheid, the release of all political prisoners, including jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, and an end to the State of Emergency.



Black Sash AAM honorary secretary Abdul Minty, Oliver Tambo and Beyers Naude pay tribute to Bishop Trevor Huddleston. Pictures by: GILL de VREEDE

really. Ask Adriaan Vlok

A procession of children tell of days in the cells

THABISENG MABUSA, 12, attended the conference in a wheelchair.

She told delegates it was the SA Defence Force that had put her there.

On June 14 last year, she said, she heard shots being fired in the living room of her family's house in Gaborone. She went to investigate and found white soldiers there.

One of them fired at her, she said, hitting her in the stomach. She tried to run and fell. As she struggled to get up, she was shot again.

Thabiseng survived, miraculously, but she is now paralysed from the waist.

She has never been to South Africa, she said. Her mother was born in South Africa but had lived for years in Botswana with her husband, a former ANC member who died nearly four years ago.

When the soldiers came, she said, "They shot my uncle and they killed my aunt, Mmatsetse Polokelo. She had head and chest bullet wounds. My mother, sister and a friend managed to escape."

Said her mother, Anna Mabusa: "I don't know whether they attacked us because I was a South African and because my late husband had been an ANC member. My daughter is crippled — and no one has been apprehended."

Thabiseng Mabusa was one of a number of children who gave the conference personal accounts of their experiences.

Emergency regulations prohibit the reporting of most of the children's allegations of conditions of detention and treatment in prison or police cells.

They are made to fight battles they should not be fighting as children.

Mrs Euguenia Vachkova of the Women's International Democratic Federation said "the conscience of humanity cannot be at rest when children are suffering because children are the future and the pride of every nation, regardless of its colour, race, creed and political opinion".

She said from time to time her organisation, which has 81-million women, had supplied information to the UN Commission on Human Rights on the plight of women and children under apartheid.

The WIDF united 135 national organisations in 117 countries in all parts of the world.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Elmara Gaevaya, a delegate of the Soviet Women's Committee.



The Young Pioneers shortly before their performance at the closing rally in Harare

William Modibedi, 11, told delegates he had been woken at 1am and accused of having "necklaced" people in the strife-torn East Rand township of Kagiso.

He said he had been taken to a government mortuary to identify bodies.

He told the conference he now suffers from nightmares of children his age being imprisoned and tortured.

He had been kept in detention for 64 days, from July last year. Two of his sisters, Elsie, 18, and Sophie, 15, and brother Johnny, 17, were also detained, he said.

Mzimkhulu Ngamiana, 18, of

KwaZakhele told the conference he had left the country after his detention.

"I could not stand it," he said. "Every night I would hear gunshots. You cannot learn or do anything."

He said he left South Africa in August last year and was now attending Solomon Mahlangu College in Tanzania.

As president of the Tembisa Students' Congress, 17-year-old Bunas Nhalabathi said he knew he was in danger, and began sleeping away from his parents' home. But in October last year, he told the conference, the security forces

caught up with him.

He said he left South Africa in January this year. He is now in a transit camp in Lusaka and from there expects to go to school in Tanzania.

Naude Moitse, 22, told delegates he had been detained several times in 1984 before deciding to leave South Africa last year.

The longest period Naude had been detained was during the partial State of Emergency in December 1985 when he said he was kept in solitary confinement for three months. He left the country shortly after his release in March last year.

Angela Davis, co-chairman of the National Alliance against Racism and Political Repression in the US and a recent American vice-presidential candidate on the American Communist Party ticket, said that hearing the testimony of the children who had been brutalised, detained and tortured by the South African police had made it clear it was time for people to demonstrate whose side they were on.

"The testimony has left no room for rhetoric," Davis said. "When racism is in power children suffer in a most unspicable way."

"International public opinion should proclaim that Botha end the war against the children. All economic relations with South Africa must be broken. We want mandatory economic sanctions. We want the release of Nelson Mandela. We want a stop to the execution of the 32 young

people."

The declaration, drafted at the end of the conference, stated that South African children could not lead a normal life so long as apartheid remained.

In the declaration, delegates pledged "to use all our resources to work towards the realisation of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa, and thereby ensure a speedy end to the racial tyranny whose violence spares neither old nor young — in South Africa, Namibia and throughout Southern Africa."

Among the South African organisations represented at the conference were the United Democratic Front, South African Council of Churches, National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Free The Children Alliance, SWA People's Organisation,

Black Sash, Federation of Transvaal Women, South African Youth Congress and numerous civic associations and youth organisations.

The African National Congress sent 13 members of its national executive committee.

Among foreign organisations who participated were the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, African Groups Reconstruction Service, The Norwegian Save the Children Movement, The Soviet Women's Organisation, The Cuban Anti-Apartheid Federation, The International Defence and Aid Fund, The British Anti-apartheid Movement, Indian Youth Congress, World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism, the Lutheran World Federation and the Czechoslovakian Solidarity Movement.

rohibited.

(11A) B/Day 8/10/87.

New round of ANC talks is announced

ten Breytenbach.

But a Cape Town spokesman for Slabbert said Slabbert would not attend the talks.

"We managed to contact Slabbert in the United States and he said he was not invited to the talks. He also has other commitments," said the spokesman.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma is to head his delegation but the ANC representatives had not been named. ANC chairman Oliver Tambo shunned the Dakar meeting and it was not clear whether he would attend this meeting.

Organisers said contributors to the talks would include Harlem De-

sir, leader of France's SOS Racisme anti-racism organisation, and representatives of African countries and Russia.

The talks were to be broadcast live on local radio and opened by President Thomas Sankara.

Danielle Mitterrand, who played a

key part in organising the Dakar meeting as founder of the human rights organisation France-Liberte, could not attend the gathering as initially planned.

Organisers said she had accompanied her husband, President Francois Mitterrand of France, on a tour of South America. — Sapa-Reuter.

OUAGADOUGOU — White SA liberals are said to be resuming discussions with the ANC and Swapo today on ending racial segregation. Organisers of the meeting in the dusty Burkina Faso capital said they also expected representatives of the Pan-Africanist Congress to take part in the talks. They said white delegates at the three-day talks would include Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA, and exiled SA poet Brey-

CASE 107/15
8/10/87

11A

Mbeki bid to see lawyer

Supreme Court Reporter

RIVONIA trialist Mr Govan Mbeki, jailed for life on Robben Island in 1964, is considering "instituting a Supreme Court application should he not be released immediately", but has not been allowed to see his lawyer since August 21.

This emerged in an application brought yesterday by his wife for an order compelling the Officer Commanding Robben Island Prison to allow the family attorney to consult with her 76-year-old husband.

Mrs Epainette Mbeki said in an affidavit that since August 24 attorney Ms Priscilla Jana had tried "singularly unsuccessfully" to get the prison chief and the Commissioner of Prisons to consider an application for a consultation.

She said this consultation was urgently necessary because "either it is the intention of the government to have my husband released from incar-

ceration in the near future or it is not".

"If it is not, then I wish to pursue urgently such legal proceedings as might be available to secure his release. If, on the other hand, the government intends to release my husband, I need to make urgent arrangements to plan our future."

To be able to make these plans, she and her husband needed legal advice on matters such as what conditions could legally be attached to his release — including whether the authorities could lawfully confine him to the Transkei — and what legal proceedings could be instituted to obtain a declaration of his rights to South African citizenship and residence.

Mrs Mbeki noted that the State President announced in Parliament on August 13 that "consideration would be given" to her husband's release and that he had asked the Minister of Justice to give "serious attention" to his case.

In view of this and a subsequent

visit from "a delegation emanating from the Prisons Department" who asked Mr Mbeki "various questions", Mrs Mbeki said her husband had asked Ms Jana at a consultation on August 21 to investigate his legal options.

Further consultation was urgently necessary and had been requested by Mr Mbeki but an application for permission to consult, made by Ms Jana on August 24, had met with no success.

Mrs Mbeki said the attitude of the Officer Commanding Robben Island Prison to a flood of telexes, telephone calls and correspondence from Mrs Jana about her application for a consultation had been "characterized by a consistent failure to react promptly to a clearly urgent matter and to request information he already had".

An example of this was a letter from the OC dated September 16, enclosing without explanation a document sent to him by Ms Jana which set out fully the purpose of the requested consultation, and requesting her to complete an application form in duplicate that

she already had completed over a week earlier.

A telex dated September 1, which Ms Jana received from the Minister of Justice, to whom she had appealed, said the matter of Mr Mbeki's release was "receiving the necessary attention", adding that she was "again requested not to pressurize the issue".

The minister referred her to the OC Robben Island Prison on the matter of a consultation with Mr Mbeki. The OC has not responded to a letter from Ms Jana, sent on September 16, enclosing a second completed application form and asking him to indicate any "deficiencies" in her application.

Mrs Mbeki's suit was postponed by agreement to October 28. The respondents — the OC Robben Island Prison, the Commissioner of Prisons and the Minister of Justice — were ordered to file opposing papers by October 14.

Mr Justice J.J. Fagan presided. Mr L.A. Rose-Innes, instructed by Priscilla Jana and Associates of Johannesburg and Mallinck Röss Richman and Cloenberg, appeared for Mrs Mbeki. Mr D. Uijls, instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the respondents.

11A
8/10/87
Opinion

Talk to UDF as well - Editor

THE editor of the influential British Sunday newspaper *The Star* has suggested big business in South Africa should be talking to the United Democratic Front.

Addressing a luncheon organised by the South Africa/Britain Trade Association, Mr Donald Trelford said the members of the business community who had held talks with the African National Congress had played an important role in altering overseas perceptions about the business sector's commitment to change.

While he did not pretend to have any answers to South Africa's problems, he wished to pose a few questions.

"If it were possible to meet the ANC in exile, why is it not possible to talk to the UDF inside the country?"

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9/10/87
today

POLICE ACCUSED

LONDON — Highly sensitive documents concerning an alleged conspiracy to kidnap ANC leaders in London were being withheld by the police because they would prove embarrassing to the British government, Lambeth High Security Court in London was told yesterday.

Benjamin Conlon, counsel for two men charged with conspiracy to kidnap ANC leaders and smuggle them out of Britain on board a boat, said some of the "missing documents" involved national security and named a British government minister.

Conlon accused the Crown Prosecution Service of using legal ploys to suppress evidence and of attempting to have a defence witness deported.

He told the court yesterday that when his clients were arrested three months ago, thousands of documents, including alleged Ministry of Defence material and documents which named a "Minister of the Crown" were seized by the Anti-Terrorist Squad. — Sapa.

MMIFXEI

IN THE

One man and his war

This is the story of how Mthunzi Mguni left SA and was conditioned by the African National Congress (ANC) for his eventual return. He was captured in Angola in June and spoke to West German Africa specialist Thomas Kruchem in Jamba on September 9. Mguni has no mandate to speak for the ANC, and is a prisoner. But he speaks with the assurance of one who knows he is not about to be turned over to SA.

FM: Tell me about your early background.

Mguni: I was born in Soweto. I grew up under the township circumstances as they are known, but I had the opportunity to study at least and went to school in SA for 13 years. Then, in 1977, I went into exile.

What were your reasons for leaving SA?

As the youth in the country we had to take responsibility for doing something to change the system prevailing in SA at the time. So I joined the stream of people going into exile to meet the exiled organisations and to become a member.

Which route did you take?

Two of us left the country. My friend had money and he knew the route to Swaziland. So we went there to meet the ANC. In Swaziland we were received by the government and handed over to the ANC. We went to Mozambique, stayed there for two weeks and then came to Angola via Zambia.

What were your intentions in joining the ANC?

I decided I had to undergo military training in the ANC, but they said that, at 15, I was too young to fight. So they sent me to school in Cuba.

How did you get along with the Cubans?

They were friendly. First I was in a language school where I was secluded from Cubans. But when I went to the academy for my matric, I made friends — however, mostly girls.

Did the Cubans accept you as freedom fighters?

Fidel Castro makes speeches in Cuba all the time. So the population knows that everyone in Cuba must be a freedom fighter or from a revolutionary country.

How long did you stay in Cuba?

For two years. In 1980 I came back to Angola and had some military training. Then I went to the GDR (East Germany) to continue training.

Where in the GDR did you stay?

It was in the north of the GDR, near the seaport of Rostok. It was a five-month military course, training in urban guerrilla warfare. We were taught how to use small arms against a strong army. We were trained how to do service in SA, how to recruit people there, how to fight and how to survive under the situation there.

What was your relationship with the GDR people like?

In this course you don't meet the population. The only people you meet are those working with you. You stay underground there.

Did the ANC allow you to fight after this course?

No, they sent me to Bulgaria for a 10-month political course, getting to know economics and international politics; Marxism-Leninism also.

What did the Bulgarians teach you about economics?

They do what is called the political economy of capitalism and the political economy of socialism and communism. Then you are taught the history of mankind, historical materialism. It says that mankind passed so many stages from early communism, slavery and feudalism to capitalism. The next stage is socialism.



Mguni in Jamba ... a long way from home

Did you also stay underground in Bulgaria?

No, we were living in the economic academy, but we were free. We could mix with the population.

What were the people like in Bulgaria?

I had no relationship with the public because I spent most of the time in the academy. The people there are very strange. They are not as open to foreigners as I had expected them to be.

What task did the ANC offer you after all this education?

On coming back in July 1984 I stayed in a camp for another two years. Then I felt I had stayed too long in the camps and again asked the leadership to let me do something. They took me to Luanda and deployed me as a driver. They said they were still looking for something for me to do. Then I was involved in a car accident and had to be punished for

it. So I was sent to a farm of the ANC which is under the United Nations. It is a production farm. We were about 30 ANC members and about 40 Angolans working there.

This farm is under the United Nations?

It is financed by the UN, although the man in charge is an ANC man. The cars are the UN's. They have the High Commissioner for Refugees' stamp and the machines also come from the UN.

What were conditions like in that camp?

Some people live in tents, others in dug-outs which are roofed with zinc. We got water from the river, but it is clean and it is boiled. Food is tinned stuff, and rice, meat also. It is, however, difficult to eat meat in the camps, because there are no fridges. The meat only comes once or twice a week from Zambia.

Does the ANC have prisons?

I know nothing about Zambia. In Angola there is a camp. People, who have to be kept aside, stay in that camp. But I have not seen it.

What did you hear about that camp?

I only heard that it is somewhere in the north where, for instance, people are kept who have been proved to have been sent by the South African government, who are agents of the South African government. They are politicised to change. I have met some who have been there, but they don't talk about that. I tried to ask some: "But how do you live in that place? Is it different from the way we are living?" But they just don't talk.

Did people who have been in South African prisons tell you about them?

Well, they tell us that the situation is becoming better in the prisons, because they are fighting for that. The work is not like before and they have more leisure now. I don't know about the food.

What do you know about ANC training camps in Angola?

I have been in some of those camps. The camp I went to in 1984 is the biggest training centre of the ANC. There people go through basic guerrilla warfare training after which some go abroad. Some also go to a place in the north called Pango where they do more shooting, more on explosives and more on survival.

Are these camps also financed by the United Nations?

No, the United Nations are not involved. It is wholly an ANC project, maintained by funds which the ANC receives from different countries in the world.

Which countries?

Militarily we are supported mainly by the Soviet Union.

Do you also get help from churches?

There is a church in West Germany giving funds to the ANC. It is the EKD, if I remember well. I remember reading in Se-

chaba that at one time they gave a lot of money. But I don't know what it was spent on.

What type of nation does the ANC want to build in SA?

First of all it has to be a non-racial nation. The government must recognise that — although people have to be equal — they still differ in the South African case. So minority rights must not be suppressed. Also the Freedom Charter of the ANC says that minority rights must be recognised, but that we all are South Africans and we must have the same opportunities — all of us.

What economic system does the ANC envisage for SA?

The ANC says it will nationalise the monopolies and encourage individual trade which will be controlled to serve the interest of the whole nation.

Does that go hand-in-hand with what you were told in Bulgaria about political economy?

What the ANC wants to create is only a stage. According to the education in Bulgaria we recognise that there has to be this stage.

So, it does not contradict what they were saying in Bulgaria.

How do you feel about the newer developments in SA?

It makes me feel very bad. It makes me feel the urgency for change. But there are also some positive aspects, because during the past two years the government has been retreating on certain issues. It has, if I'm not mistaken, scrapped two of the main pillars of the system. So there is ground for hope at the same time.

Is the ANC ready to negotiate with the government?

There was a rumour spread around that there was a possibility for negotiations. Then the leadership said that negotiations are not just negotiations in the sense that you sit around the table. There have to be some results from these negotiations. So the ANC felt that the government was not serious, because people like Nelson Mandela were still in prison and the government ignored our wish to discuss the total scrapping of apartheid. So there was still a need to fight and pressurise the government in order to make it recognise that apartheid has to go.

Does the ANC hope to win its war against the South African government?

The ANC really hopes it will win the battle that is going on, but not necessarily militarily. It does not isolate the military fight from other forms of

struggling — I mean political pressure, sanctions, boycotts and the ANC's mobilisation of the African working class which is the majority in SA. So, with all these forms of struggle combined it hopes to win.

Who is the most popular leader of the ANC, and why?

The leader who is best known and understood by the cadres is Chris Hanie, because he is always with the soldiers. He is the Army Commissioner. Joe Slovo is also very popular. Everybody likes him because he has the qualities of being a leader in the South African situation. He is a white who understands the problems of the country, who has been in the struggle for a long time and has seen suffering with the blacks for all this time.

What do the ANC cadres think of Nelson Mandela?

They feel that Mandela is really a great leader because he has been firm in his position under the conditions of imprisonment. He has not changed. He is still Mandela, the leader, who was captured in 1962. Presently he has become a symbol of resistance in the struggle of SA. This is very great, if a nation puts its trust on you, not knowing whether you might fade tomorrow. The whole nation has put its trust in him and he so far is coping with it, he is not disappointing.

What would happen if Mandela was released?

People would be encouraged to fight even more, because they would see that the South African government is retreating.

How do you carry your military struggle into SA?

There are groups which take the fighting material into the country. They come from Angola and Zamiba. Then they go through Botswana and Zimbabwe — some time ago also through Mozambique but that has become less. The material is distributed to those who are fighting inside the country and carry out the operations.

Have you personally taken part in guerrilla warfare up to now?

No, I have never been involved in practical fighting.

Is there any co-operation between the ANC and Swapo in Angola?

I know of none. I only know that politically speaking we are allies. We are fighting the same enemy. But co-operation in terms of sharing a building, for example, I have not seen.

Did you meet Swapo people overseas?

Yes, I met Swapo people in Cuba. I was with them actually. But they were very young.

How old were they?

They were young — around 10, 11 and 14. They were going to school there with me. Those I met in Bulgaria were at least between 18 and 25.

How many Swapo children did you see in Cuba?

In my language school there were around 18 children.

Could you describe how you were captured by Unita?

It was on June 25 this year. We were hunting with a military car, and we all had Fapla (MPLA) uniforms on. Then the radiator began to boil and we decided to go back to our position. According to the Unita people, they heard the car moving. So they prepared an ambush. Then they started firing at us. While firing back we tried to move away from the car. I was together with the ANC commissar. He and one Angolan died. I fired until my magazine was empty. Then I pretended to be dead. They dragged me up and said: "Oh, we have captured one." They also captured my friend. The others escaped. Then they took me to the officers. The major of Fala (Unita forces) told me that I should be cool, because there was nothing bad going to happen to me. Also during the fire, I only got flesh wounds from some bullets. So I was very lucky.

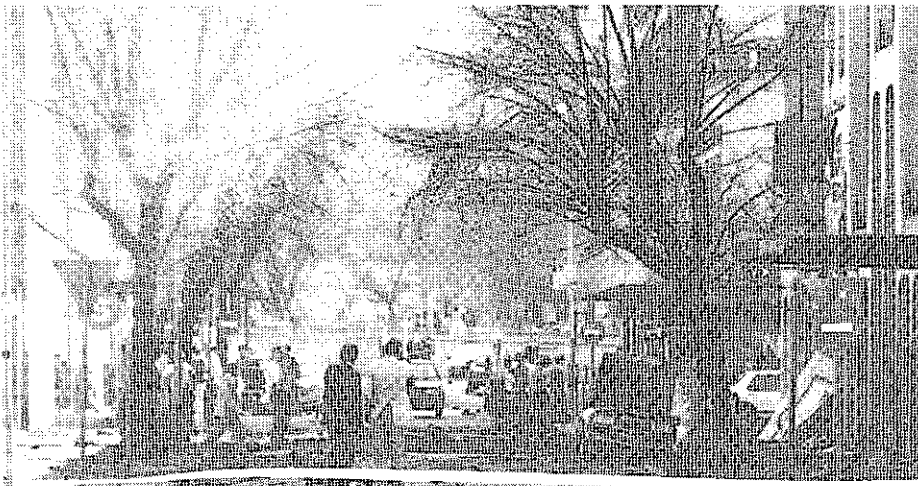
How did Unita treat you?

When I was captured, I thought I was captured by the enemy. But I feel different now. They did not treat me the way I had

expected it. They have been treating me well. However, I really want to move from this place. I want to be free and better my education. Maybe, since people like you can tell it to the world, there may be organisations which can intervene on my behalf.

Do you intend to go on fighting for the ANC?

Well, presently I would like to get some education.



ANC bomb target in Johannesburg ... military pressure for a solution

11A

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9/10/87
b/day

POLICE ACCUSED

11/7

LONDON — Highly sensitive documents concern-
ing an alleged conspiracy to kidnap ANC leaders in
London were being withheld by the police because
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uments, including alleged Ministry of Defence ma-
terial and documents which named a "Minister of
the Crown" were seized by the Anti-Terrorist
Squad. — Sapa.

'Daunting task' to feed SA adequately

GERALD REILLY

b/day

PRETORIA — The daunting task of adequately feed-
ing SA's fast-growing population was outlined by
Deputy Agricultural Minister Kraai van Niekerk yes-
terday.

Opening the National Centre for Pasture Research
at Rooodeplaats near Pretoria, he said in the five years
to 1982 SA — which covered 3,7% of Africa and had
5,2% of the continent's people — produced 45% of
Africa's wheat, 31% of its sugar, 81% sunflower seed,
20% potatoes, 17% red meat and 54% wool.

However, there was concern SA's population would
increase by 50% to the year 2000 and more than 90%
of the people would be urbanised.

To maintain the consumer pattern until the end of
the century, almost 2-million more head of cattle and
16-million more sheep and goats would be needed. But
it would be impossible to keep a lot more livestock.

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Govt cover-up in ANC case alleged

CATG Teips 9/10/87 117 107 300 320

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The British government was yesterday accused of using dirty tricks to cover-up embarrassing evidence of its involvement in an alleged plot to kidnap ANC leaders and overthrow the Seychelles government.

At Lambeth high-security court barrister Mr Benjamin Conlon suggested official subterfuge went to such a high level that even Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) was being kept in the dark.

In a dramatic protest Mr Conlon told the court that the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) was using legal ploys to withhold documents including papers revealing the involvement of a senior "Minister of the Crown".

He said the CPS, which controls police prosecutions, was also trying to have a key defence witness deported to suppress his evidence "which is likely to embarrass the government and the Crown".

He warned that if the CPS continued to "interfere" with the defence case by withholding evidence he

would reveal evidence in court that would prove "extremely embarrassing" to the British government.

Documents being withheld included the contents of interviews with "a South African called Niemoller".

At earlier hearings Mr Conlon, and the prosecution, have alleged that evidence would show that Uppington businessman Mr Johan Niemoller, 33, had been centrally involved in the claimed kidnap plot and a planned coup in the Seychelles Islands.

Mr Conlon appears for two of three men charged with conspiracy between October 1986 and July this year to kidnap ANC leaders including the movement's president Mr Oliver Tambo and former military head Mr Joe Slovo, and smuggle them from Britain on a boat moored in the River Thames.

Mr Conlon's clients, Briton Mr John Richard Wheatley, 28, and a man charged under the name Frank Lyng Larsen, 53, deny the charge.

The third accused, Welshman Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 49, a sabotage expert, did not appear in court yesterday.

CATG Teips 9/10/87

UDF's role in boycott

9/10/87

11/10/87
Soweto

THE United Democratic Front appealed to black community councillors to resign and those who did not heed the call had their businesses boycotted by residents, Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal UDF secretary told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Chikane denied under cross-examination by Mr P B Jacobs SC, for the State, that the UDF "forced" councillors to relinquish their posts.

Unfair dismissal alleged

9/10/87
Soweto

A WORKER at a Vanderbijlpark firm claims he has been dismissed from work for being a member of a trade union.

A spokesman for the Orange Vaal General Workers' Union said their shop steward, Mr Zacharia Makhanya, was told in a letter that the company he worked for, Huise Siesta, was to retrench a worker a month.

He was the first to be retrenched.

Later the same day Mr Makhanya was given severance pay in lieu of notice.

The company's chairman, a Mrs Strol, would neither confirm nor deny the claims. She told the *Sowetan*: "I have nothing to say" and referred any queries to a Mr Louw of a management and industrial relation consultancy firm. Mr Louw was "involved" in her company, she said. He was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

The OVGWU is planning legal action against Huise Siesta.

Mr Jacobs produced a document and put it to Mr Chikane that the Soweto Civic Association and its affiliates had discussed issues including rent increases and Black Local Authorities and allegedly stated that they had forced 37 councillors to resign.

These issues were claimed by the UDF to be their successes, Mr Jacobs said. The SCA was an affiliate of the UDF at the time, the court heard.

Document

Mr Chikane denied knowledge of the document and told the court that the document was never adopted as a policy of the UDF. He was seeing it for the first time in court, he said.

Mr Chikane and 18 others, including senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst who is sitting with an assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

(Proceeding)

UDF, Inkatha join in call for peace

*Give Thanks
9/10/87
NA*

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha have jointly called on their members to stop killing each other.

The joint statement signed by the UDF's president, Mr Archie Gumede, and the national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi, said concerned members of both organi-

zations had met recently to discuss the escalation of violence between the two movements.

"The purpose of the meetings was to iron out the differences between the two organizations which have led to the escalation of violence, and to perfect ways and means of stopping violence," said the statement, which was issued after a series of meetings.

After Rondebosch, Wynberg and township arrests

New ANC cell bust

16 held

Cape Times 10/10/87
11A
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~~11A~~



DECLARING WAR ... Dr Denis Worrall at his press conference yesterday.

Worrall declares

Cape Times 10/10/87

By CHRIS STEYN

ANOTHER 16 alleged African Nationalist Congress terrorists have been captured by police, bringing to 45 the number of alleged ANC members arrested in recent months in an unprecedented crackdown on the organization in South Africa.

The ANC has suffered heavy blows with the exposure of two underground cells in the Peninsula and the Witwatersrand.

Police also disclosed early today that 37 alleged terrorists had been killed since January this year.

Police announced early this morning that 12 alleged terrorists, two "trainee" terrorists and two accomplices had been arrested in the Transvaal during the past three weeks and another large cache of weapons seized.

This followed the announcement this week that 11 alleged ANC terrorists, including Ms Jenny Schreiner, a member of one of South Africa's most prominent families, had been arrested in the Peninsula. Another 18 alleged ANC terrorists had been arrested in the Peninsula between May and August.

The Cape Times learnt from top-level police sources yesterday that these suspects had lived in Rondebosch, Wynberg, Diep River, Bonteheuwel, Mitchells Plain, Maitland, Matroosfontein, Khayelitsha, Elsie's River, Gleemoor, Montevideo, Guguletu, Uitsig, Mossel Bay, Kraaifontein, and Mbekweni.

In another development yesterday the South African government warned Zimbabwe to stop ANC members from using its territory as a "springboard for the perpetration of acts of terrorism".

South Africa's trade representative in Harare handed a note of protest to the Zimbabwean government.

More names

THE names of more people held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act can be disclosed today.

They are: Mr Herbert Dlangudlangu, Mr Gary Kruser, Mr Michael Lumambo, Mr Wellington Nkwandla and Mr Mthetheli Titana. Ms Jenny Schreiner's arrest was disclosed earlier this week.

Among the 18 arrested



VA VA VROOM ... Mean macho machine and blonde. Johannesburg powerboat pilot Fred Steinberg's machine. Better still, you get to tomorrow when the SA offshore powerboat season opens.

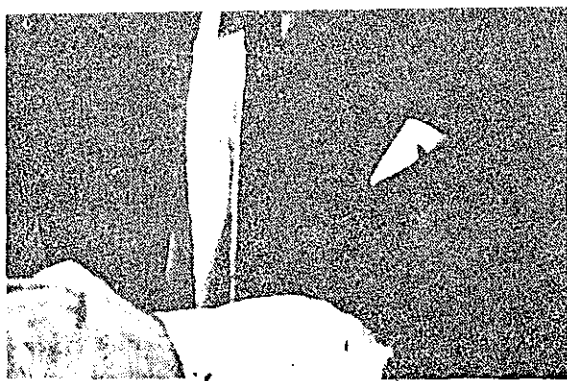
Malan says why SA is in Angola

Defence Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S involvement in the present Angolan fighting is "supportive and defensive (and) very limited", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said at the Namaqualand capital of Springbok yesterday.

crack of dawn





DECLARING WAR... Dr Denis Worrall at his press conference yesterday.

Worrall declares war on new group

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A DEFIANT Dr Denis Worrall last night declared war on Mr Wynand Malan's newly formed National Democratic Movement and resolved to go it alone after being "stabbed in the back" by his former colleagues in the Independent Movement.

The bust-up followed a crisis meeting in Somerset West between Dr Worrall's Helderberg constituency committee and two former close allies in the May 6 election, Mr Malan and Mr David de Villiers.

Dr Worrall's decision — unanimously backed by his constituency committee — to take his Independent Movement into head-to-head competition with the NDM has resulted in the second splintering of opposition forces to the left of the government in 48 hours.

The former ambassador said he regretted the split "very deeply" as he did not believe there were any significant policy differences between the two movements, but said Mr Malan "seemed pretty emphatic that he could not co-operate with me".

● Mixed reaction from PFP to moves by MPs — Page 2

cache of weapons seized. This followed the announcement this week that 11 alleged ANC terrorists, including Ms Jenny Schreiner, a member of one of South Africa's most prominent families, had been arrested in the Peninsula. Another 18 alleged ANC terrorists had been arrested in the Peninsula between May and August. The Cape Times learnt from top-level police sources yesterday that these suspects had lived in Rondebosch, Wynberg, Diep River, Bonteheuwel, Mitchells Plain, Maitland, Matroosfontein, Khayelitsha, Elsie's River, Gleemoor, Montevideo, Guguletu, Uitsig, Mossel Bay, Kraaifontein, and Mbekweni.

In another development yesterday the South African government warned Zimbabwe to stop ANC members from using its territory as a "springboard for the perpetration of acts of terrorism".

South Africa's trade representative in Harare handed a note of protest to the Zimbabwean government following the detonation of a landmine of Soviet origin on a road in the North-Western Transvaal about 8km west of Vhembe this week.

The Commissioner of Police, General H G de Witt, said this morning that police had uncovered underground ANC activities in the Transvaal which had resulted in the arrests of 16 people and the discovery of a large quantity of terrorist weapons.

General De Witt said that a number of the alleged terrorists had undergone training at the Pango Camp in Angola.

The latest arrests followed the exposure of "underground ANC activity of an ANC terrorist gang in Mamelodi, Soshanguve and Soweto", General De Witt said.

"A large quantity of terrorist weapons was also seized, including an AK-47, anti-personnel mines, limpet mines, hand grenades and TNT."

The note of protest from South Africa's trade representative in Harare read: "The South African government has obtained irrefutable evidence that the people who were responsible for the laying of the landmine infiltrated and subsequently exfiltrated the Republic of South Africa via the Republic of Botswana from Zimbabwe.

More names

THE names of more people held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act can be disclosed today.

They are: Mr Herbert Dlangudlangu, Mr Gary Kruser, Mr Michael Lumambo, Mr Wellington Nkwandla and Mr Mthetheli Titana. Ms Jenny Schreiner's arrest was disclosed earlier this week.

Among the 18 arrested between May and August are three teachers Mr Nazeem Lowe, Mr Leon Scott and Mr Jeremy Veary. The others are: Ms Soraya Abass, Mr Clement Baadtjies, Mr Colin Cairncross, Mr Anwar Dramat, Mr Ashley Forbes, Mr David Fortuin, Mr Peter Jacobs, Mr Ashraf Kariem, Ms Colleen Lombard, Mr Wayne Malgas, Ms Yasmina Pandy, Mr Nicolo Pedro, Mr Colin Petersen, Mr Walter Rhode and Ms Patricia Smit.



VA VA VROOM... Mean macho machine and blonde. Johannes powerboat pilot Fred Steinberg's machine. Better still, you get to tomorrow when the SA offshore powerboat season opens

Malan says why SA is in Angola

Defence Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S involvement in the present Angolan fighting is "supportive and defensive (and very limited)", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said at the Namaqualand capital of Springbok yesterday.

Opening the Springbok Show, he did not indicate how many South African or Namibian troops were involved in Angola, but emphasized that "we are temporarily there to prevent aggression from spilling over to our own borders; it is in South Africa's interest to take such action".

General Malan said South Africa was not seeking confrontation with the Angolan government, and "neither are we an enemy of the Angolan population".

He said although South Africa wanted peace and co-operation with Angola it would not tolerate the presence of "terrorists who are being trained there and then sent on missions of violence to South-West Africa and South Africa".

● Brigades to bolster Angolan forces — Page 5

crack of dawn



Concerning latest political developments I'm more or less where Denis Worrall is... in the dark.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn close)	\$461,25
Gold (NY close)	\$462,05
Rand	\$0,4854/61
FT index (close)	1852,20
BD 100	2461,10
Dow Jones	2492,00

Naas wants a running rugby match

By CHRIS BATEMAN

FOR those who think Naas Botha is a kicking flyhalf hear this: The South African Barbarians captain says his team are going to run the ball against their opponents from the South Seas today.

Botha arrived home on Tuesday after only four days in Italy where he is helping coach and playing for the club Rovigo near Venice.

He will lead the SA Baabaas at Ellis Park today in the last match of the South Pacific Barbarians' tour.

Botha said today's game plan would be to "run the ball".

His team planned to counter the open-style play the South Pacific Barbarians have till now displayed by denying them sufficient possession.

"We'll play them with the forwards — and I don't mean by kicking — I mean by taking the ball in the line-outs and rucks and driving in the whole time," the country's top point-scorer said.

Naas will be wasting no time in getting back to Italy. He boards a plane for Venice within hours of the game ending.

Why the rush? "We've got a game on Sunday which I

cat ^{10/10/87}
ANC

The South African government wishes to once again request the government of Zimbabwe to constrain the members of the ANC from using its territory as a springboard for the perpetration of acts of terrorism aimed against the Republic of South Africa."

General De Witt said some of those arrested in the latest crackdown had allegedly been involved in several "acts of terrorism" at Mamelodi, near Pretoria:

● A hand-grenade attack on the home of a Detective-Sergeant Sithole on December 14, 1985. Mr Peter Mabena was injured in the attack.

● A hand-grenade and

AK-47 attack on the home of a Detective-Warrant-Officer Hlongwane on August 7, this year. The policeman was wounded.

General De Witt said that one of the alleged terrorists involved in this attack was shot dead at a police roadblock at Halfway House on September 2. He was the leader of the group now in custody.

● The murder on August 29 of a municipal policeman, a Constable Mosambuka, who was shot dead by a person armed with an AK-47.

General De Witt said the fresh arrests followed similar successes achieved by the police in recent months which included:

● The detention on August 19 of two "over-seas-trained terrorists"

and a number of "helpers and couriers" detained in and near Cape Town, and the seizure of a large arms cache.

These arrests followed, among others, a limpet mine explosion in Rondebosch, an explosion at a high-tension electricity pylon in Goodwood in February, two grenade attacks on residences in Mitchells Plain and Bonteheuwel, and an explosion on the railway line at Manenberg in May.

● The capture on August 20 of an alleged terrorist in Galishewe, Kimberley. He was wounded during the arrest, and further investigations led police to a house in the township where another alleged terrorist was shot dead.

● The capture on August 21 of three foreign-trained ANC "terrorists" near the Groblersbrug border post in the far Northern Transvaal, and the seizure of AK-47 rifles, a Makarov pistol and ammunition. Further investigation led to the discovery of an arms cache.

● The arrest on September 15 of an alleged Angola-trained ANC terrorist in Chesterville, Durban. General De Witt said the suspect had attempted to throw a hand grenade at police, but it exploded, killing him. Russian-origin arms were confiscated during the operation.

● The recapture on September 18 of Gordon Webster, another "over-seas-trained terrorist", and two alleged collaborators after they entered the Republic illegally from Botswana. Police also seized terrorist arms during the arrest.

Webster, who was sprung from Edendale Hospital in May last year, was allegedly involved in various acts of terrorism.

● The exposure earlier this week of an alleged ANC terrorist network in the Western Cape. An arms cache was discovered, and the suspects were at present being questioned in connection with numerous grenade, limpet mine and car-bomb explosions in the Western Cape.

SAP arrest 16 ANC suspects in Vaal raids

MA

SAP 10/10/87
CRAIG KOTZE

Police claim to have struck again at the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Still reeling from recent setbacks in the Western Cape, the organisation has had cells smashed in Pretoria and Soweto, its activities uncovered and 16 of its members arrested, police said.

The latest arrests bring the number of alleged ANC insurgents arrested in the Cape and Transvaal recently to 49 — including Miss Jenny Schreiner (30), daughter of Natal University vice-principal Professor Dénysé Schreiner.

LINKED TO TERROR ATTACKS

Police also said they had killed 37 suspected ANC insurgents since January 1.

Some of the alleged Transvaal insurgents were trained in the Pango camp in Angola before being infiltrated into South Africa, police said.

ANC members were linked to a series of terror attacks in Pretoria townships and the Sandton area and had been sought since December 1985.

Police have also revealed that their alleged leader was shot dead in a hand grenade attack on a SAP road-block in Buccleuch, Sandton, on September 2. No policemen were injured.

Large quantities of arms and ammunition, including limpet mines, hand grenades, dynamite and anti-personnel mines, were seized during the security police operation, said Police Commissioner General Henric de Wit. He said the arrests were made over the past three weeks and included 12 trained insurgents, two trained insurgents and two collaborators.

The arrests were made after police uncovered the underground activities of an insurgent unit in Soweto and Mamelodi and Soshanguve near Pretoria.

The group was allegedly involved in the following attacks:

● **December 14 1985** — Hand grenade attack on the

● To Page 2

'More ANC cells smashed'

● From Page 1

home of Detective Sergeant Sithole in which Mr Peter Mabena was wounded.

● **August 7 1987** — Handgrenade and AK-47 attack on the home of Detective Warrant Officer Hlongwane in which he was injured. The alleged leader of the group is believed to have participated in this attack.

● **August 29 1987** — Municipal policeman Constable Mosambuka shot dead with an AK-47 rifle.

Three foreign-trained ANC members — James Maseko (23), Benjamin Mokgosi (28) and Samuel Mohope (25) were yesterday sentenced in the Rustenburg Magistrate's Court to eight years imprisonment each on terrorism charges.

They were found guilty of entering South Africa illegally from Botswana with Soviet rifles, ammunition and handgrenades on November 27 last year.



Tamsanqa Linda

Return rumours fly as Linda lingers on

By MBULELO LINDA

THE return of the unpopular former mayor of the Ibhayi Town Council, Tamsanqa Linda, to Port Elizabeth this week has sparked off rumours that he may be returning to serve on the council again.

Linda - forced by residents to resign in January last year - unexpectedly sneaked into the city this week on a so-called business trip and is reported to have been requested by 11 committee members of Ward 5 in New Brighton to resume his duties as a councillor. Sources at the council claimed

Linda's comeback was supported by the current mayor, Jimmy Nako, who is alleged to have approached him about his reinstatement over the weekend and at a second meeting at this office on Monday.

However, Nako denied having had an interview with Linda and dismissed rumours that Linda was to resume his post as a councillor.

"I have no knowledge of this and I can't comment further," said Nako. Linda could not be reached for comment.

Residents alleged Linda was un-

scrupulous in his duties as mayor. After he evicted a widow, Alice Mavela, and her eight children from her home and took occupation, the house was petrol bombed. Linda and his family then left the township and stayed at the PE Holiday Inn.

In response to Linda's rumoured reinstatement, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress said his return to the city would cause problems for the community.

However, Eastern Cape Azanian People's Organisation publicity director Ngcobo Nguna said the re-

turn or reinstatement of Linda was a "non-issue", but that "the people have not forgotten his filthiness".

Some councillors are reported to be far from happy about the rumoured move. A councillor who did not wish to be named said the work done by the council over the past few months would be destroyed should Linda return.

He said people who had once been the enemies of the council had become "trusted friends" and Linda's return would put their improved standing among the community in jeopardy. - Pen.

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C/Proes

Police claim second victory against ANC

12/10/87

PATRICK BULGER

(11A) B/don

THE SAP has claimed its second major victory against the ANC in a week.

Police said on the weekend 16 ANC members had been held in a swoop that would "significantly impair" the ANC's activities in the Transvaal.

The arrests follow what the SAP claim was a major breakthrough against the organisation in the Cape earlier this week.

A statement released in Pretoria by SAP Commissioner General Hendrik de Witt said arms and ammunition had been seized.

He said 12 "terrorists", two "trainee terrorists" and two "helpers" from Soweto, and Mamelodi and So-shanguve outside Pretoria had been held. The arrests had been made over the past three weeks, de Witt said. Some of those arrested had received military training at Pango camp in Angola.

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen. Newsbills by Michael Allwright. Headlines and sub-editing by Gordon Amos. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

'New deal' brought crisis — accused

THE new constitution in South Africa created "a crisis" that included economic recession and strained human relations between blacks and Indian and coloured communities, Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal secretary of the UDF, told the Pretoria Supreme Court on Friday.

Mr Chikane said expectations were raised in the black community that the proposed new constitution was going to address the problems created by the apartheid policy. The new constitution instead entrenched the apartheid policy and created a crisis which the Government could not handle, said Mr Chikane.

Cross-examined by Mr P B Jacobs, SC, for the State, Mr Chikane said the problems the Government could not cope

with after the introduction of the new constitution included economic recession, the high rate of unemployment and the straining of relations between blacks and Indians and coloured communities.

"The new constitution drew Indians and coloureds from blacks and placed them nearer Parliament thereby straining relationship between them because blacks were excluded from the

decision-making processes of this country," said Mr Chikane.

He also told the court that the Black Local Authorities was unacceptable to the UDF because these structures were powerless and some of those serving on them were "dishonest" councillors who failed to keep their promises after being elected, the court heard. "The Black Local Authorities have no money and cannot pro-

vide houses," Mr Chikane said.

He and 18 others, who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal (Civic Association) have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, sitting with an assessor, to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

The trial has been postponed for two weeks and will resume on October 26. (PA) Somerset

(11A)

ANC terror unit smashed, leader killed — police

SMA

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

12/10/87

Police have announced they have smashed an African National Congress (ANC) insurgent unit in the Transvaal, said to have been involved in a Sandton hand grenade attack and underground activities in Pretoria and Soweto.

Police also revealed that the commander of the unit — known as Kgase — was killed when he threw a grenade at a police roadblock in Sandton on September 2.

In another weekend announcement, police said three armed men shot dead by Johannesburg's Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit on Corlett Drive in August were also insurgents.

Police Commissioner General Hennie de Witt said on Saturday that some of the 16 suspects — 12 trained insurgents, two trainee insurgents and two collaborators — were trained in the Pango camp in Angola.

They were allegedly involved in attacks on police on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria's Mamelodi and Soshanguve townships.

Large quantities of arms and ammunition were seized, said General de Witt.

The latest police swoop brings to 49 the number of ANC suspects arrested in the Transvaal and Western Cape alone over the past few weeks.

Detectives arrested 33 suspects in the Cape, including Miss Jenny Schreiner (30), daughter of Professor Denyse Schreiner, vice-principal of Natal University.

This year, 37 insurgents had been killed by police action within South Africa's borders, police said.

General de Witt said the Transvaal gang was rounded up after their activities were uncovered in Soshanguve and Mamelodi and in Soweto.

UDF support for new movement

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Extra-parliamentary movements, including the UDF, have welcomed the launch of Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

An NDM spokesman said that among messages of support the NDM had received were those sent by National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede.

Another extra-parliamentary body, the Five Freedoms forum, had indicated it would allow the NDM to join, NDM spokesman Ms Sybelle Albrecht said.

Ms Albrecht claimed Dr Worrall had captured support from only three of the 60 area Independent Movement committees — Heiderberg, Grabouw and Simon's Town.

Prominent Stellenbosch academic Prof Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned with 27 other academics from the National Party in February, was also backing the NDM.

Mr Gumede yesterday described the NDM as a people's organization and said he had congratulated former PFP MP Mr Pierre Cronje for joining.

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia has already indicated "cautious approval".



Mr Cyril
Ramaphosa



Prof Sampie
Terreblanche

UK cops fail in bid to deport

'plot' man

OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON. — The bid by Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) to deport one of the mystery men involved in the ANC kidnap-plot case here was rebuffed yesterday.

The magistrate, Mrs Heather Mitcham, was shown documents purporting to prove that "the British and other governments" were involved in the alleged kidnap plot.

Defence counsel Mr Benjamin Conlon said: "This case involves national security and also involves this government and other governments."

After studying the documents in chambers at Lambeth high-security court, the magistrate granted a witness order in favour of Norwegian Mr Hans Kristian Dahl, who also used the false name Mr John Terence Larsen.

The order means Mr Dahl, due to be deported from Britain to Norway on Thursday, should be free to remain in Britain and attend remand hearings, as a witness, in the continuing case.

After the short hearing, a spokesman for Mr Conlon said: "There has been a blatant attempt to remove our client (Mr Dahl) from the scene by certain people who know he is a vital witness."

LONDON — The deportation of a Norwegian described as "an important defence witness" in a case involving two men charged with conspiring to kidnap members of the ANC has been postponed so that he can give evidence at the trial of the pair.

The defence barrister, Benjamin Conlon, yesterday made a successful application at Lambeth Magistrate's Court in London for a witness summons to be served on Hans Christian Dahl to give evidence in "a very sensitive case".

Conlon added: "This case involves ... this government and other govern-

Deportation put off in ANC case

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B/dawg

ments."

13/10/87

Dahl was discharged earlier this month from facing charges of conspiring to kidnap ANC members.

His former co-defendants, Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, and Jonathan Wheatley, 28, last appeared in court last Thursday on remand and will next appear on November 5. Their trial is due to start on November 30. A third man in the case, Evan Dennis Evans, 48, currently on bail, is also due to appear then. — Sapa.

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Buthelezi: UDF NIC fuelling strife

DURBAN. Chief Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi said
at the weekend that the
United Democratic
Front, its affiliate the
Natal Indian Congress,
and other similar orga-
nizations were keeping
black strife alive.

Leaders of the UDF
and the NIC said the
chief's claims were
"baseless".

UDF president Mr Ar-
chie Gumede said: "As
far as I am concerned
these are totally base-
less allegations."

He said the UDF did
not have the means to
use violence.

"Unlike Inkatha mem-
bers (of which Chief
Buthelezi is president),
the homes of UDF mem-
bers are always under
search by the police. We
can't keep any danger-
ous weapons in our
homes," he said.

An NIC executive
member, Mr Mewa Ram-
gobin, said Dr Buthele-
zi's statement was irre-
sponsible.

"This does not augur
well for reconciliation.
But we want to place on
record again and again
that the NIC will never
reconcile itself to apart-
heid or apartheid struc-
tures," he said.

Chief Buthelezi's com-
ments, made at the In-
katha Women's Brigade
conference at Ulundi,
came two days after Mr
Gumede — one of the
main targets of his at-
tack — and Inkatha
Youth Brigade chairman
Mr Musa Zondi issued a
joint statement calling
on their membership to
refrain from violence.

Their statement fol-
lowed negotiations be-
tween UDF affiliates
and the Inkatha Youth
Brigade. — Sapa and
Own Correspondent

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11A

'20% of blacks for revolution, but . . .'

CAPE TOWN — About 20% of South Africa's blacks support revolution but most feel goodwill toward the Government, according to the Deputy Information Minister, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe.

"There is a large measure of basic goodwill in the community but this is overlaid with a thick layer of suspicion and mistrust," he told

eight foreign journalists on Monday in a wide-ranging interview on South African issues.

Mr Van der Merwe said the Government recently commissioned an opinion survey including long interviews of 4 500 blacks to learn their political views.

Without giving exact figures on the poll, he indicated that the number of blacks with revolution-

ary tendencies appeared to be about a fifth of those questioned.

He said the poll represented a statistically large sample among South Africa's 26m black majority.

It was conducted in such a way that people did not know the Government was involved.

Mr Van der Merwe said the ANC had received "fairly high sym-

bolic support" — about 35% — in the poll.

But he said there was "very little" black support for positions taken by the ANC in favour of a violent struggle, divestment by foreign companies and an eventual socialist economic system.

Mr Van der Merwe said most blacks wanted a government that was neither all white nor all black.

(11A)

14/10/87 Ewe Post

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Doubt over Inkatha peace talks

DURBAN. - Political activists in Natal townships are sceptical of Inkatha's peace overtures to resolve the seven-year-old bloody conflict with UDF supporters.

This year alone more than 100 people are reported to have been killed in incidents related to Inkatha-UDF clashes and scores of people, mostly youths, have become virtual refugees.

Youths interviewed this week said while Inkatha was making peace overtures, vigilante activity directly linked to its members was spreading even to the remotest areas of Natal.

Over the last two months the Maritzburg area has seen an increased number of attacks. It is reported that 28 people have been killed in the last three weeks. At least 16 of them are said to be Inkatha supporters.

Youths also argue that the take-over of police stations by the Kwazulu police force in June had made life, especially at Umlazi and Kwamashu, even more tough.

"Vigilantes are still out to get us. I last slept at home about six months ago. Two of my brothers were brutally murdered by vigilantes in Mpumalanga. said a 23 year-old youth from the strife-torn Mpumalanga, near Hammarsdale.

Mr Vitus Mvelase, the Durban representative of Kwazulu and a member of the Inkatha Central Committee, said the talks held on Tuesday in Durban were "successful".

UDF's publicity secretary in Natal, Lechesa Tsenoli said the question of talking to Inkatha had the potential of splitting the UDF.

- Concord
News Agency

Blocks

Ungovernable?

11A
Whole page

No, say activists

By RYLAND FISHER

"FREEDOM Square" is written in bold red letters on a wall overlooking the new benches and tarred area behind the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre.

Political graffiti, most of which cannot be printed in newspapers in terms of Government regulations, is scribbled on walls around the square.

High school pupils, discussing in little groups, make snide remarks as four policemen walk past.

It is a typical Friday afternoon in Bonteheuwel, the township which the African National Congress wants to make "ungovernable," according to local Labour Party Member of Parliament Patrick McKenzie.

"Freedom Square" is an example of the battle between those in authority and progressive organisations in the area, who have been demanding better facilities for years.

Last year, City Council workmen moved in. They tarred roads, made new pavements, painted the railings around play-parks and created new leisure areas, like the space which activists have renamed "Freedom Square."

Activists have condemned the upgrading as a ploy of the Joint Management Centre (JMC), which has a sub-committee in the area.

"We agree that many things need to be repaired in Bonteheuwel. But what is being done is not because of the council's generosity. It is the result of the bitter struggles fought here since 1980, but it is still far removed from the people's demands," said a Bonteheuwel Advice Office worker.

Key figure

One of the key figures in Bonteheuwel's JMC structure, McKenzie has a different view. Speaking in parliament recently, he blamed the ANC for wanting to make the area "ungovernable" and "firing up" young people politically.

"It is a known fact that the ANC is trying to make Bonteheuwel highly politicised. Young people in our township are being told that formal teaching should be frozen.

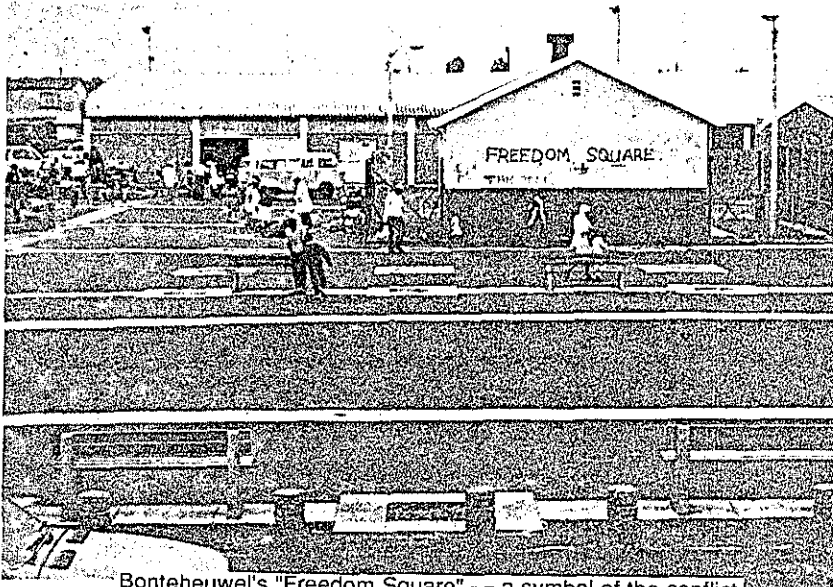
"They are being politically fired up. Some pupils in Bonteheuwel are being used for the express purpose of confronting the police. The silent majority cannot bear it any longer.

"Young people have been smuggled into neighbouring states for military training.

"It is not good to see a community like Bonteheuwel being dragged down because of a minority of young people," McKenzie said.

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok agreed that Bonteheuwel was an area which "the radicals aim to make unmanageable". He promised to visit the area "to see what can be done".

Members of the Bonteheuwel Interscholar Congress (Bisco) and the local branch of the Cape Youth



Bonteheuwel's "Freedom Square" — a symbol of the conflict

Congress disagreed with McKenzie and Vlok.

"We are not radicals and we are not trying to make the area ungovernable.

"They are themselves trying to make the country ungovernable with their repressive laws. They are probably upset because they can't crush our organisations," a Bisco member said.

They also questioned McKenzie's claim that pupils had been told to freeze formal teaching.

"We realise that our education system is bad, but it is the only education we have. We believe we have to go to school.

"We also don't force decisions on pupils. Issues are discussed in all classes and people have a right to disagree.

"We decided to write our September examinations in spite of some pupils being in detention and many being scared to go to school for fear of arrest.

"Last year, we were beaten in the schoolgrounds and had to write our June exams at gunpoint.

"We are finding it difficult to study because we do not sleep at home. In any case, how can one study with a police helicopter flying over the area at all hours of the day," an Arcadia pupil said.

An advice office worker questioned McKenzie's statement that the ANC wanted to make Bonteheuwel a "highly politicised" area.

"Bonteheuwel is a typical working class area with typical working class problems like low wages, high rents and high transport cost.

"These things, the living conditions

under which we live compared to privileges others have, politicise people. If one adds police repression to this, one is bound to have an explosion."

A United Democratic Front activist said there was no question of a minority of young people "dragging down" the area.

"The people of Bonteheuwel know who their true representatives are.

"Bisco has about 2 500 members at the three schools in the area. It consists of SRCs based on a class representative system.

"Our youth has an active membership of about 120 people and many more supporters. They also have close links with the church youth in the area.

Harassment

"The advice office helps many people with problems with housing, unemployment or personal matters.

"There is also the Parents Support Group which came about as a result of the harassment of pupils. Members of progressive organisations also run soup kitchens in the area.

"We are not able to build day hospitals, schools or old age homes because we do not have the kind of money the Government has. But we can at least make people aware of their right to have these things.

"Our campaigns have made people aware that they are human beings and do not need to be grateful for crumbs. They realise now they should control their own lives and will not be

satisfied until they have meaningful political power.

"We have seen how many people in Bonteheuwel supported protest meetings.

"Pat McKenzie does not have this kind of support. He claims to represent Bonteheuwel, but he has never held a meeting in the area. We never hear of the Labour Party in Bonteheuwel," the activist said.

He said delegates at a sports board meeting in the area earlier this year walked out because McKenzie attended. The Metropolitan Football Association, the largest sports organisation in the area, decided not to have any dealings with the Labour Party.

Mrs Annela Adams, 46, a housewife, said McKenzie's views were "irrelevant".

"What does he mean when he says Bonteheuwel is ungovernable. I don't agree with him or his tri-cameral parliament. I believe we have basic rights as human beings.

"McKenzie is not a spokesman for us. He does not represent us. Just look at the number of people who voted for him in 1984. The silent majority did not vote. They stayed away from the polls.

"I don't know what work he does in Bonteheuwel. I never see him in the area.

"I don't understand what they mean when they speak about radicals. Nowadays, anyone who speaks out against the Government is considered a radical. All we are doing is speaking about our rights," she said.

Yes, says Labour MP

BONTEHEUWEL MP Patrick McKenzie refused to be interviewed by SOUTH, but agreed to reply to written questions.

McKenzie said he grew up in Bonteheuwel "and was, still is and will be part of the struggle for freedom for our people".

"Bonteheuwel was planned in the early 1960's without the necessary amenities. Our people were dumped there by the oppressors against their will, through the unGodly Group Areas Act.

"I remember the bad roads. Ordinary house lighting was used as street lighting. The bus service only went as far as Athlone and one railway track was used for journeys both ways.

"I am glad I was instrumental in the upgrading of Bonteheuwel. Anyone who now walks through the streets of Bonteheuwel can see things are happening and, that the area is taking shape. And, may I say, this was not done with the help of any so-called radicals. I have not seen them at a single meeting where they have put the case on behalf of the people.

"To see what I have done, look at the civic centre. Once there were pools of water. We now have a tarred section with benches. Sidewalks are being laid in the main and side roads.

"The lighting in some roads is of the best in the Cape and this is being stepped up. All children's parks have been revamped with new swings, etc. Cottages for the aged have been built. The post office was renovated before the planned new one. Look at what is happening at our railway stations."

About the role of "radicals" he said: "Yes, I know some were instrumental in setting a school alight. Yes, I know that some were instrumental in petrol-bombing people's houses in Bonteheuwel and that young children turned away from death.

"Yes, I know some of them painted slogans on our walls, to the extent that people refused to use our civic centres because of the graffiti.

"Just look at the inconvenience brought upon our people by buses being moved to a different terminus because of the damage done to buses.

School boycotts

"Young children's careers have been damaged because of school boycotts and unrest. Now these same young people are disgruntled at the radicals because they cannot find work.

"About Law Minister Vlok wanting to visit Bonteheuwel, I have no problem with that because people, even the radicals, asked me why I don't bring the Minister of Police to Bonteheuwel so he could see for himself what the crime situation is like.

"The UDF does not represent the majority of people in Bonteheuwel, but I don't have a problem with that. Even if they represent one person, that person must be represented. We must be careful not to oppose each other, instead of jointly opposing the oppressor."

McKenzie did not respond to questions about his involvement in the Joint Management Centre (JMC) sub-committee in the area. In conversation, he said he could not give more details of what was planned for the area "for security reasons".

Some of the other questions McKenzie did not answer, were:

• Please clarify what you mean by ungovernable?

• How is the ANC trying to make the area ungovernable?

• Why do you say that a minority of young people want to "drag down" the area and that pupils have been told to freeze normal teaching?

• Do the views expressed in your letter to Mrs Kriel correspond with the official views of the Labour Party.

Labour MP praises Ashley Kriel

PATRICK MCKENZIE, the Labour Party MP for Bonteheuwel, has praised slain African National Congress guerrilla, Ashley Kriel, as "a young man who knew what he wanted and fought for it".

McKenzie wrote to Kriel's mother, Mrs Ivy Kriel, on July 12. Kriel was killed on July 9 when police swooped on a house in Hazelend.

McKenzie wrote in his letter: "It was with deep regret that I learnt of the passing on of Ashley."

"I have watched Ashley's life and was always most impressed with his leadership ability; because of

his ways and handling of people he could easily mobilise the masses. I have and will always respect him as a person.

"To me, he had a goal in life. He knew what he wanted and fought for what he wanted.

"I would like to say it is not how long one lives, but how well one lives, and Ashley has lived a full life for his community. For this we love him.

"My family and I are praying for you and your family during this trying period. Please accept our deepest sympathy."

Explaining the reasons for his

letter, McKenzie said: "I am of the opinion that each and everyone should have the right to his or her views.

"I have decided to opt for the peaceful road. And therefore I have entered parliament. I believe that a new and liberated South Africa should be built on the ashes of apartheid, not the ashes of human lives.

"I really would not like to swim through rivers of blood to gain our freedom and therefore all avenues should be used to break down the apartheid laws of this beautiful country.

"Ashely Kriel opted to use another avenue. And this is his right. Just as it is my right to use other avenues. But what must not be forgotten is that Ashley stayed in Bonteheuwel and at this point in time I am MP for Bonteheuwel and therefore I was his MP.

"I do write to people in my constituency from time to time, whether it is to congratulate them on the birth of a new-born baby or to sympathise for the death of a loved one. It is in this light that you should see my letter to Ashley's mother."

'Politics of negotiation' about to make a bow

When the United Democratic Front was launched four years ago one of its patrons, Dr Allan Boesak, said it heralded an era of "politics of refusal".

Countless boycotts and stay-at-homes later — and after almost two years of emergency rule — we are emerging from the phase of pure "refusal" and entering the age of the "politics of negotiation", says Wits University political scientist Mr Mark Swilling.

"The politics of negotiation is going to become the focus of political conflict in the future. How a 'climate of negotiation' will be created will crucially affect the way the current stalemate is resolved," he writes in the latest issue of the monthly journal *Reality*.

"Whereas the black opposition movements are clearly prepared to negotiate under certain conditions, there is no reason to believe that the State is willing to reciprocate at this moment in time."

This claim rests on Mr Swilling's analysis of a sea-saw battle between the "militarists" and the "reformers" in the Cabinet. He explains differences between the two groups in terms of their diagnoses of the roots of turmoil in the black community.



Mr Swilling

"Whereas the militarists assume 'communist agitators' and 'socio-economic grievances' underlie black unrest, the reformers accept that the real cause concerns political rights," he says.

The reformers were to be found mostly in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, as well as in the Manpower, Finance, and Foreign Affairs departments and in the National Party itself.

The names Mr Swilling mentions most frequently in the militarist camp are President Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The reformers, he says, pioneered such policy shifts as the inclusion of black people in regional services councils, the scrapping of the pass laws and Mixed Marriages Act and an end to the Political Interference Act. In the field of Foreign Affairs the possibility of negotiations was at least explored during the EPG mission.

Mr Swilling claims that the reformers lost the initiative to the militarists as late as May 1986.

"In April an open rift appeared

The phase of pure 'refusal' is ending, says a political scientist. Jo-Anne Collinge reports.

between what P W Botha and Malan were doing and what Heunis and his group were calling for. Whereas the former were referring to (black) 'city states' and independence for bantustans and defending the detention/imprisonment of political leaders, the latter were proceeding with the inclusion of black local authorities in RSCs, back-peddalling on independence, undoing influx control and supporting negotiations between senior government officials and UDF leaders in Port Elizabeth, Oudtshoorn, Worcester, Cradock and Uitenhage."

The final break between the militarists and the reformers came, Mr Swilling says, when the State Security Council decided to bomb the capitals of Frontline states and the EPG initiative collapsed.

"Significantly, whereas now P W Botha argues that the 'renunciation' of violence by the ANC is a precondition for talks, before the EPG collapsed the Government had conceded that the 'suspension' of violence would be sufficient," says Mr Swilling.

He argues that the EPG's indication that the ANC would agree to suspend violence made "P W Botha

and the generals" realise that "the chips were now down and they had to make a choice".

The choice they made, says Mr Swilling, was the "Brazilian option". This involved a combination of measures: raids on supposed ANC bases; destruction of internal opposition by mass detentions; imposition of the Government's own structures in the form of RSCs; and renewed efforts to upgrade black townships.

The aim was to crush township protest, eliminate "alternative structures" and undermine ANC support so that, in a relatively short time, the State would recover its former position of strength. "Only after that, they argued, could negotiations be considered."

"There is no certainty that the reformers will regain the initiative within the State. The conflict remains intense."

Mr Swilling says the position on negotiation within the ranks of the liberation movement is much more definite.

Since the national state of emergency was declared in 1986 the mass-based, legal opposition may have lost much of its "capacity to strike direct blows against the State" but it has

simultaneously consolidated its structures, Mr Swilling argues.

He says the strength of internal resistance to apartheid gives the ANC increased clout as it moves increasingly toward a stance of negotiation.

"The ANC is now more entrenched as 'the factor' in various international foreign policy formulations than ever before.

"More importantly, this entrenchment in Western foreign policy has led to the clarification and refinement of the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and a decline in the influence of the 'armed seizure of power' position."

Not unconditional

In addition, he argues, the vulnerable position of the Frontline states suggests that they are unwilling to "host an ANC that is locked into a full-frontal battle with the economic and military might of the South African State".

While the ANC might be prepared to negotiate, nobody in the extra-parliamentary opposition is suggesting that talks be held unconditionally. They speak of the creation of the "climate for negotiation" in which the State must meet certain demands.

"It remains to be seen how positions in the internal and external black movement will change in response to changes in State strategy if reformers gain the initiative," Mr Swilling concludes.

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'Jail OC delaying visit'

(11A)

(28)

CP Correspondent

EPAINETTE Mbeki, wife of 76-year-old Rivonia trailist Govan Mbeki, this week applied to the Supreme Court in Cape Town for an order giving permission to his attorney, Pricilla Jana, to have legal consultations with him.

Mbeki, of Idutywa, Transkei, said she believed the officer commanding Robben Island prison was delaying, without reason, an application by Jana to see her husband, who is serving a life sentence.

The application was made on August 24.

She and Jana had last had consultations on August 21 this year - about the House of Assembly statement by State President PW Botha, in which his name had been mentioned.

Mbeki said that after the last consultation with her husband, Jana immediately requested a further legal consultation to complete their unfinished deliberations.

The matter was postponed to October 28.

1/10/87 C/Meer

'green flies'

Magistrate W Viljoen found that Mbhayi Town Council, as employers of the municipal police, were liable for their actions and ruled that the council should pay the costs and amount still to be decided on by the court for shock, pain and suffering. -

UDF, NDM
 talks likely
 to 'clarify
 certain issues'

Political Staff

THE United Democratic Front is expected to hold talks with the new National Democratic Movement to "clarify certain issues" before anything more definite emerges than the "cautious welcome" with which the UDF has greeted the NDM.

Reports about messages of welcome and the relationship between the two organisations were clarified today by the UDF's national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, who said there could as yet be no "warm welcome" for the NDM as the movement's principles and strategies remained "woolly" and undefined.

"There are certain delicate issues we will need to discuss before we define our relationship to the NDM," Mr Cachalia said. Among these was the NDM's acceptance of preventive detention and confusing reports from some quarters that the NDM accepted the need for the state of emergency.

In a manifesto by the NDM late last week, the lifting of the state of emergency was set down as a "matter of great urgency and a pre-requisite for real and substantial progress through negotiation".

OPEN TO TALKING

"We are definitely open to talking with the NDM, though," said Mr Cachalia, pointing out that UDF speakers had shared speaking platforms — at the recent Five Freedoms Forum in Johannesburg — with Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Peter Gastrow, leading figures in the NDM.

"What we do approve of is what seems to be a move away from traditional white politics," Mr Cachalia said.

"Unlike the Progressive Federal Party's narrow approach to white politics, the NDM seems prepared to look beyond Parliament.

"That recognition and acknowledgement of what we define as the important realities of South African politics we welcome."

He said that, like most groups, the UDF was taken by surprise with the NDM launch last Wednesday and at the time his response was that it was "an interesting development".

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CITY/NATIONAL

20% of blacks back revolution, says Minister

AS many as 20 percent of South Africa's blacks support revolution but most feel goodwill toward the Government, according to Deputy-Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

"Basic good will is running very wide in the community but is overlaid with a thick layer of suspicion and mistrust," he said at a meeting with foreign journalists in Cape Town.

He conducted a wide-ranging, on-the-record conversation about South African issues.

Dr van der Merwe said the Government recently commissioned an opinion survey, including long interviews with 4 500 blacks, to learn their political views.

Apathy, intimidation

He said the poll represented a statistically large sample among South Africa's 26-million blacks and was conducted so that participants did not know that the Government was involved.

Results of the poll have not been published and Dr van der Merwe said his remarks were among the first public indications of the findings. He did not make a comprehensive disclosure of the results.

"Fifteen to 20 percent revolutionaries in a society is often enough to bring about revolution because of the apathy and intimidation of others," Dr van der Merwe said. The percentages were "more or less" drawn from the poll.

The African National Congress had "fairly high symbolic support", about 35 percent, in the poll.

But he said there was "very little" black support for positions taken by the ANC in favour of a violent struggle, disinvestment by foreign companies and an eventual socialist economic system.

Dr van der Merwe said most blacks wanted a government that was neither all white nor all black and most favoured a free-enterprise system.

"Very complicated"

"We are committed to the creation of a new political system in which all people participate, including blacks, with the proviso that no one group dominates, including whites," he said.

"We have a very complicated situation in South Africa, with huge potential for conflict. In the near future we do not look forward to a simple form of government.

"Apartheid as a policy is dead. But we have a strong legacy of apartheid."

More than 2 400 people, mostly blacks, have died since unrest and political violence began in September 1984, with protests against the three-chamber Parliament representing Asians, whites and coloured people, but not blacks.

The Government points to repeal of many apartheid laws in the past three years and says it is committed to negotiating with black leaders on a new constitution to share power and on continued gradual reform.

Most prominent black leaders have refused to negotiate until the ANC and other outlawed groups are legalised, the 16-month emergency is ended and detainees are freed. — Sapa-AP.

Teachers' body set to adopt Freedom Charter

By CHRIS GUTUZA

THE Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) and its mother body, the Union of Teachers' Association (UTASA), are set to adopt the Freedom Charter.

This will bring them in line with extra-parliamentary groupings like the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

At its AGM in Bellville last weekend, Utasa was strongly urged by its president, Mr Franklin Sonn, to study

the Charter for adoption.

If Utasa adopts the Charter, it will be a mere formality for the CTPA to take a similar decision.

Speaking at the AGM, Sonn said all Utasa members said the possible adoption of the Charter should be discussed by all regional and provincial structures.

He said the Charter outlined the reasonable objectives of the oppressed and only the prejudiced would interpret this in a narrow way.

The Charter was a broadly defined document which the ANC still held as the foundation of the struggle.

Speaking about the recent Dakar talks which he and CTPA vice-president Randall van den Heever attended, he said:

"I found the ANC delegation to be reasonable people with whom Utasa had no quarrel, in principle.

Reasonable

"The ANC had a long and dignified history of peaceful struggle. All their peaceful efforts were rebuffed by the government. To that extent they were in fact driven to the armed struggle," said Sonn.

He slated Labour Party MP's whom, he said, were blatantly interfering in

sensitive professional matters.

"They are clearly seeking patronage for their party by making party-political selections for promotion posts," said Sonn.

Gifted candidates who deserved promotion on merit were overlooked in favour of party members. This had a devastating effect on the morale and standard of the profession.

Guest speaker Mr Ebrahim Patel, the president of the South African Rugby Union, said sportsmen and teachers alike were fighting oppression to attain a nonracial democracy.

Patel affirmed his union's support

for Utasa, saying progressive organisations should work together instead of becoming tin castles in their bid to retain absolute autonomy.

It did not take courage or genius to propogate non-racial sport.

"Many years ago we were forced to look where we were heading. It suited the intellectual climate to support nonracialism and, in effect, it became a slogan rather than a conviction. It became fashionable to be non-racial and the badge was worn by all.

"We found we had to reject apartheid because it is evil and not morally justifiable," Patel said.

Reforms a cheap deception, says Issel

THE tampering with Apartheid instead of its complete abolition is providing no respite to the South African government, community leader Johnny Issel told delegates to the annual general meeting of the University of the Western Cape's Alumni Union last weekend.

Issel told the meeting the Government's reformist path of "gradualism" was cheap deception.

"Our people's demand remains unwavering, the total abolition of Apartheid and an end to economic exploitation.

"Their hegemonic political position of old has been reduced to their armoured vehicles and troop carriers which occupy the streets of our township," Issel said.

He said the desperation was indicated when "political unknowns and shereen kings" were "dressed up" and paraded on television as substitutes for such political giants as Nelson Mandela.

"No political meddling or constitutional tampering will succeed in distracting the people from their stated objective of a true and genuinely democratic South Africa.

Referring to education, Issel said the Government's old regulatory mechanisms and political control over black educational institutions had been rendered ineffective.

"What we teach and how we teach have ceased to be their sole prerogative. No more can they arbitrarily close our schools and universities or harass our teachers."

Dr Dwight Trieghaardt of the Peninsula Technikon was re-elected as chairperson of the Alumni Union.

Truce! UDF and Inkatha agree to stop the killings

Weekly Mail Reporters: Durban

AFTER years of bloody violence, the United Democratic Front and Inkatha have issued an historic statement agreeing to "stop the killing".

The truce was signed on Tuesday by UDF president Archie Gumede and Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi. It followed several talk-sessions between senior members of the two organisations

In a joint statement, issued a few days after the weekend killing of a youth in Mpumalanga township, Hammarsdale, the two leaders called on their members to "stop killing one another".

The statement was issued after residents of several violence-torn townships, including Mpumalanga, Kwa-Makhutha and the Pietermaritzburg areas, attended "three or four meetings" at a Durban venue.

Their statement says the purpose of the meetings was "to iron out the differences which have led the two organisations to the escalation of violence".

The two sides agreed to "ferret out ways and means of stopping violence" and stressed their commitment to freedom of expression, association, assembly and movement.

Differences between the two organisations were acknowledged but the signatories said these differences "should not be allowed to escalate to black-on-black violence".

The statement said the two organisations "believe strongly in national unity and call on their members to stop killing one another.

"We believe our common enemy is apartheid."

But the fragile truce between the UDF and Inkatha lay in the balance yesterday after three members of the UDF-affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress yesterday claimed they were routed out of Mpumalanga township by Inkatha members.

The youths were part of a group that returned to the township after several months in hiding.

The KwaZulu township of Mpuma-

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New democratic front welcome news — Gumedede

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

UNITED Democratic Front co-president Mr Archie Gumedede has welcomed the formation of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and hopes that it will eventually affiliate to the UDF.

Mr Gumedede says that "any movement which is directed at encouraging the electorate to accept the principles of democracy and apply them, is welcome news."

He had passed on this message to the NDM. It was his personal view — "at this stage.

"But I don't think there will be any differences in the UDF about accepting an organisation with democratic principles," he added.

Though Mr Gumedede has been slightly at odds with other members of the UDF before, UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia, who is closer to mainstream opinion, has also expressed "cautious approval" for the NDM.



Mr Archie Gumedede

He said the departure of Dr Denis Worrall from the NDM had opened up the possibilities for discussion and said that informal talks with NDM members "had uncovered more common ground than expected."

Mr Gumedede said he based his approval on no more than the fact that the NDM was based on democratic principles.

"How they propose to attain them I don't know."

Asked how he felt about the NDM's manifesto recognising "that circumstances may arise which may necessitate the exercise of special powers on the part of the State," Mr Gumedede said this was "understandable."

Asked why he did not lend approval to the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Gumedede said the PFP had "nailed its colours to the qualified franchise, a highly qualified franchise.

"We don't think that once you create a privileged group, it will relinquish power voluntarily."

Mr Gumedede explained that he was talking about the PFP policy of limiting the vote to people with certain property and educational qualifications. When told that the PFP had in fact abandoned this policy in 1978, Mr Gumedede said: "Well, we don't think much about the PFP. It is for the Oppenheimers and the Helen Suzmans."

Freedom Charter gains friends

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NATIONALIST views towards the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955, have undergone a remarkable change recently.

The Freedom Charter, which used to be regarded by government spokesmen as communist-inspired, was banned until 1984.

Previous government attitudes towards the Charter were hardly surprising, because when it was adopted 32 years ago it was endorsed by the then legal ANC, the Congress of Democrats, the SA Indian Congress and the SA Coloured Peoples Congress.

Recently a number of anti-apartheid organisations, including the UDF and three major unions affiliated to the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) — the National Union of Mineworkers, the Food and Allied Workers Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) — have adopted the Charter.

And the fact that the United Teachers Association of SA (Utasa) is to consider adopting the Charter as its bill of rights was interpreted in some sections of the Press as an indication of the possibility of teacher/State conflict.

However, it is not only within anti-apartheid organisations that the Charter is being reappraised. Minister of Defence Magnus Malan said in the House of Representatives this year: "It is an exceptionally significant document, as I want to tell Honourable Members today. Anybody who has not yet read it should do so."

A senior Nationalist MP, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, also took a conciliatory approach to the Charter. "When one looks at the Freedom Charter," he said during a Parliamentary debate, "one is struck by the fact that many of the demands have already been met."

"There is the following demand: 'All people shall be entitled to take

BARRY STREEK

part in the administration of the country'. But surely that is what the present state of affairs is all about? And that is also case in regard to the National Council.

"They also demand the following: 'The police force and army shall be open to all races'. That, too, is already a reality. A further demand is: 'All shall be free to travel without restriction. Pass laws shall be abolished'. That, too, is a reality.

"Then there is the demand that: 'All who work shall be free to form trade unions to make wage agreements with their employers'. And surely that, too, is already a reality?

"The South Africa of 1950 and the South Africa of 1987 are not, after all, one and the same. Yet, apart from the demands relating

to the economy, which amount to flagrant socialism, many of these demands have already been met," Geldenhuys said.

What he and Malan reflect — and their views were echoed in other Nationalist speeches in Parliament after the May 6 election — is that government's view of the Charter has changed dramatically.

It is no longer seen as a subversive document in itself, and most of its political goals are broadly acceptable to government.

The problem, as people like Malan see it, is that the Charter is only the first phase. "The fact remains that this document is accepted as the final goal and people do not realise that is merely the point of departure," Malan said.

One of the realities was that neither the ANC nor the South African Communist Party (SACP) regarded "this freedom manifesto as the final document for the future of the Republic of SA; this document is a

starting point".

"After this phase has been bridged, however, the manifesto will lose its power and the SACP programme will become operative," Malan said.

For Geldenhuys, many of the Charter's demands had been met, but the violence continued because the ANC was ideologically committed to violence as a method for bringing about change.

When the trade unions adopted the Charter they added an important qualification. They said they regarded it as the starting point — the "minimum demands for a democratic society," as Numsa president Daniel Dube put it.

Whatever the interpretation, whether from Malan or the unions and UDF, the Charter has clearly come of age. Given the significantly changed stance of government towards it, the Charter could even become the basis for real negotiation.

Swaziland, John O'Connell, says the Bureau had recruited almost 19 000 Sapa

Very different political positions. Malan would be operating more

nationalism and "turning away from the money after having profited in SA for 32 years".

In any event the union demands were excessive, he said. Numsa said it wished to negotiate for

Letter from ^{W/Max} Mbeki: come see me now

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

JAILED African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki sent his lawyer an urgent telegram yesterday. "Please come see me immediately," it said.

The message arrived one day after Mbeki's wife had applied for a court order to compel the Robben Island authorities to allow her husband to consult with his lawyers.

State President PW Botha implied two months ago that the 77-year-old Rivonia trialist would soon be released. However, since August 24 family lawyer Priscilla Jana had been refused permission to consult with him.

"As they are not giving us a legal vist, I might go and see him, on an ordinary family visit, in the next day or so," Jana said yesterday.

In her application filed on Wednesday, Mbeki's wife, Epainette, said legal consultation was "urgently necessary" to ascertain whether or not it was the intention of the government to release Mbeki from prison in the near future.

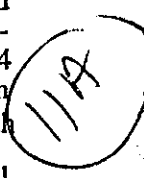
Botha told parliament on August 13 he had asked Minister of Justice Kobbie Coetsee to look into the possible release of Mbeki, who had been in prison for 23 years.

The application was postponed by agreement to October 28.

Yesterday it was rumoured Mbeki has been transferred from the Island to Pretoria Security prison. However, Jana said the telegram she received from Mbeki was posted from Robben Island.



9 75/10/87



THE COUNTRY DISCUSS DETENTIONS

hears detention allegations

●The South African Prisons Service comments:

"Allegations with regard to the incarceration circumstances of detainees in South African prisons are totally unfounded and seen as yet another attempt to discredit the system."

"The SA Prisons Service is satisfied that medical treatment in prisons is adequate and of a high standard, and contrary to the allegation detainees have access to medical practitioners on a regular basis and their instructions are strictly adhered to."

"The necessary facilities to isolate

patients with infectious diseases do exist at most prisons and if the need be patients can also be referred to provincial hospitals.

"As is the case with any other medical practitioner or nursing personnel, district surgeons and nursing personnel of the SA Prisons Service are also bound by the Hippocratic Oath and by the Declaration of Tokyo."

"A high premium is placed on hygiene and all people incarcerated in South African prisons are provided with the necessary personal toiletries. The allegation of women being vic-

timised while menstruating is therefore absolutely ridiculous and far-fetched."

●The SA Police Public Relations Division called the allegations "shocking".

"It has become common practice for the DPSC to base statements on biased, slanted, untested and exaggerated allegations and claims which are propagated for political gain."

"The allegations contained in your text are generalised and strangely enough, specific facts such as dates, times, places and names are con-

niently omitted.

"Your attention is also drawn to several statements by the minister of law and order, in which he has repeatedly spelt out conditions of detention, such as medical care, regular visits by judges, legal representatives, district surgeons and family members."

"A strict code of ethics is also strictly enforced and no ill treatment or abuse will be tolerated should they occur."

"The DPSC is challenged to produce the evidence on which they base their allegations so that these can be thoroughly investigated and tested by the independent judicial system. — PEN



The Mamelodi Theatre Group dramatises prison life at last weekend's International Political Prisoners' Day meeting. Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

THE education officer of the South African Youth Congress told a rally at the weekend that Sayco would one day march to Pollsmoor Prison to demand the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

Sayco education officer Ephraim Nkwe was addressing hundreds of people who attended a commemorative service at Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church to mark the International Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners.

He said Mandela and others had been sent to jail as a result of their "own unshakable commitment to the struggle against apartheid and colonialism in our country".

Nkwe also said the release of Mandela could not be tied to the release of "criminals" or "imperialist agents", for Mandela had made it very clear

Sayco and the Mandela march

By MONO BADELA

that he was not a "subject of an imperialist intrigue".

Strong calls were made to the government to free all political prisoners, some of whom have been in jail for 25 years, and to cancel its plans to hang 37 young men and one woman convicted of politically-related crimes.

The five-hour service was monitored by the police.

The Release Mandela Campaign national co-ordinator, Aubrey Mokoena, said South Africa was like a "huge prison".

"Not only those men and women who now languish behind prison

bars and the 38 on death row in Pretoria were political prisoners but that every oppressed man and woman in South Africa is a political prisoner but none is given an opportunity to decide his or her destiny."

Mokoena said the ANC, banned 27 years ago, "is everywhere. It is all over the country. The man who polishes PW Botha's car every morning may be ANC."

Cape Town Imam Faried Isaack said the international community had a duty to call for the unconditional release of political prisoners and an immediate end to detention without trial.

He said South Africa was calling itself a civilised country, a western na-

tion, but "what kind of society detains eight-year-old children? What kind of civilised society drives eight-year-olds to 'necklace' people?"

"I say South Africa is not a part of the civilised world. This country has not yet signed the Geneva Convention."

Speakers who added their voice to the call for the release of political prisoners came from the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Federation of Transvaal Women and South African National Students Congress.

●On Wednesday Mokoena's application for a passport was rejected. Mokoena had been invited to West Germany, as a guest of the government, and to the United Kingdom to address meetings there.

He said he was considering a legal challenge to the rejection.

Many
believe
Dakar
boosted
the ANC

VIA
16/10/87
C. W. J. S.

PRETORIA — The Dakar talks had been a propaganda victory for the ANC, according to more than half of whites interviewed in a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

The results of the HSRC survey, carried out by telephone between July 27 and August 3 this year among 1 142 whites and 547 blacks, were detailed today.

It found that 58,4% of white Afrikaans-speaking people believed the ANC had scored a propaganda victory while 37,5% of English-speaking whites felt the same.

More than half of whites interviewed (52,4%) believed the Dakar meeting had not enhanced the ANC's prestige in the eyes of the world.

Amongst blacks, 27,9% believed the Government had gained the greatest advantage from the Dakar meeting while 25,8% believed the ANC had gained most from the talks.

The statistics obtained from the survey showed that blacks were less inclined to ascribe negative characteristics to the ANC than whites.

The survey that 55,8% of blacks believed the ANC was strongly committed to democracy while only 5,1% of whites believed this.

More than 90% of whites believed the ANC was strongly committed to violence whereas only 39,1% of blacks held this view. — Sapa



Archbishop
Desmond Tutu

I'll defy Govt and talk to the ANC, says Tutu

Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu Town said today he would continue to travel out of South Africa to talk to the African National Congress.

He was reacting to a threat by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha to confiscate the passport of anyone the Government knew was travelling to talk to the ANC.

Mr Botha is reported to have

said at the Natal congress of the National Party in Amanzimtoti yesterday that "people must understand that it is just not done to talk to your enemy".

Archbishop Tutu said: "If what is reported in the Press is correct, Mr Botha must be repudiated in the most explicit terms.

"For most inhabitants of this country it is just not true to say the ANC are the enemy.

They consider the apartheid system and its perpetrators to be the enemy.

"As church leaders concerned for reconciliation, it would be quite intolerable for a secular authority to prescribe to us how we carry out our Christian mandate to be peacemakers.

"It must be obvious that you need to speak to both sides involved in strife if you are to succeed in your efforts at

bringing about a peaceful settlement.

"I will continue to meet the ANC, as I am required to by the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and by my church.

"I will have to accept the consequences of reprisals from a government which is straying more and more away from the rule of law and from the Christian faith it professes to uphold."

No passports for *Care Torkis* visitors to the ANC *16/10/87*

Political Correspondent *117*

AMANZIMTOTI. — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday that the government would confiscate the passport of anyone it knew was travelling to talk with the ANC.

Mr Botha said: "People must understand that it is just not done to talk with your enemy."

The government was watching the situation "very carefully" and would not duck its responsibility in taking steps against South Africans "who persist in negotiating with murderers".

● Govt denies open area claim — Page 3

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

Fission and frustration

What do the following have in common? Take a deep breath. Idasa, UDF, Azapo, Five Freedoms Forum, Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, End Conscription Campaign, Black Sash, AWB, Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, Inkatha, Inyandza, Unity Movement, TIC, NIC, the Anti-PC Committee, ANC, PAC, SACP, Jews for Social Justice, Jodac, Lawyers for Human Rights, Actstop, Soyco, Labour Monitoring Group, Trac, Tag, Lurk . . .

Well, all of them — from umbrella organisations like the UDF, to liberal pressure groups, to sponsors of guerrilla warfare — are "extra-parliamentary," to use a phrase much in vogue. The list, which takes in Left and Right, is endless: now we abruptly have Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM), another three-letter anti-apartheid group, with one foot in parliament, but seeking to reach out into that ill-defined, but immensely significant mass of the disaffected and unrepresented. And naturally there is still the vast array of black unions, with all their variety and complex affiliations.

One is, really, looking at a rash of organisations born out of historical forces and imperatives. Their ancestry can be traced to such movements as the Congress of the People, and even the Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (with which Denis Worrall was once associated).

Some began small — the Sash as a purely protest group of women against suppression of university freedom in the Fifties; now active in a wider spectrum of research and monitoring.

Others are far more ambitious — the United Democratic Front was launched to coordinate energies on the Left, specifically to smash the "Koornhof Bills" (on influx control) and the credibility of the tricameral parliament. Both aims were achieved, so now the UDF flounders ideologically, though its guiding light is the Freedom (or, if you are Black Consciousness orientated, the Klip-town) Charter. But it may yet seek to wield power by disrupting parliament through contesting seats in the next general election, whenever that may be.

The AWB, of course, seeks the restoration of the Boer republics. All it shares with others in the list, by way of aims, is huge antipathy to the P W Botha administration. But perhaps that is part of the point. Though the life of the current parliament is effectively limited by electoral volatility (we could see the CP as the next government), as it stands it is a hive of fears and gossip within certain inflexible parameters — parameters set by the

horizon of the reformists. For them the geographical and racial bases of apartheid remain sacred, however much they erode.

The organisations, inevitably, have their voice, their press: not just the proliferation — if not commercial success — of the "alternative" (that is, leftwing) media, but of CP and AWB mouthpieces; and even local newspapers that reflect the varied and variable concerns of ethnic communities on issues such as Islamic purity, "overcrowding" in parks (that is, too many blacks), and teaching standards.

On the surface, such heterogeneity and fission should make government laugh. It isn't — it fears the Right in the next election, and cracks down stronger by the day on the Left and its media — indeed, the media as a whole. This may simply be a holding operation of a party about to rupture further and make a messy exit from history's stage. Sometimes it seems the NP's sole cohesive factor is the immense personal power, if not prestige, of the State President.

But that hope (or nightmare) will not be fulfilled soon.

This is where the extra-parliamentarians really come in. To *control* all those people and all that energy — what political bliss. When — not just if — the centre (that is, the Nationalists) fails to hold, and the edifice comes tumbling down, the various members of the list want to have in place physical and intellectual structures which can immediately be mobilised to sustain national leadership, Left or Right.

It won't be all that easy: the AWB and the Left cannot, given their current positions, cohabit. They would kill each other first.

That is why what may be called the thinking Left (an academic term, but one which includes Wynand Malan, Denis Worrall, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Colin Eglin) is so assiduously seeking to cement its constituency. Unfortunately, the four elements represented by those names are — in their turn — hostile towards each other. They had better think matters through.

A coalition is in the nature of things a channelling of different political streams.

Without it, the PFP, NDM, Worrallites and Idasa will expend so much time and energy in squabbles that the ultimate winners will not be them, but the NP or its revised version, the CP — or some worse possibility. Coalition means compromise; compromise should be the name of the game, not Waiting for Godot. ■



Worrall



Eglin



Malan

PARTY CONGRES

11A

16/10/87

Govt 'to close loopholes for foreign funds'

AMANZIMTOTI — The Government was going to take steps to close loopholes and perhaps introduce new measures to control the flow of foreign funds to South African organisations involved in political actions, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, told the Natal National Party congress yesterday.

His replies to resolutions were read out on his behalf by Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

STRICTER CONTROL

A congress resolution called for stricter control on foreign funding for political organisations. Speakers singled out for attention the Dakar safari, the United Democratic Front and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Mr Coetsee said a great expertise had been developed in circumventing legal restrictions. The Government would investigate loopholes and even consider new measures to tighten control. — Sapa.

See Page 4.

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A new look at Freedom Charter

Nationalist views towards the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955, have undergone a remarkable change recently.

The Freedom Charter, which used to be regarded by government spokesmen as communist-inspired, was banned until 1984, when the Publications Appeal Board overturned the restrictions on it, which had been confirmed by a Publications Committee the previous year.

Previous government attitudes towards the Charter were hardly surprising because when on June 26 it was adopted 32 years ago, it was endorsed by then legal African National Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Coloured Peoples Congress.

Recently a number of anti-apartheid organisations, including the United Democratic Front and three major unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — the National Union of Mineworkers, the Food and Allied Workers Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) — have adopted the Freedom Charter.

And the fact that United Teachers Association of South Africa (Utasa) is to consider adopting the Charter as its bill of rights was interpreted in some sections of the press as an indication of the possibility of teacher-state conflict.

However, it is not only within anti-apartheid organisations that the Freedom Charter is be-

ing reappraised.

In Parliament this year, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, who is not known for his radical views, described it as "an exceptionally fine document".

General Malan said in the House of Representatives: "It is an exceptionally significant document as I want to tell Honourable Members today. Anybody who has not yet read it should do so."

A senior Nationalist MP, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, also took a conciliatory approach to the Charter.

"When one looks at the Freedom Charter," he said during a parliamentary debate, "one is struck by the fact that many of the demands have already been met."

"There is the following demand: 'All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country'.

"But surely that is what the present state of affairs is all about. And that is also case in regard to the National Council.

"Then there is also this demand: 'All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race.'

"Surely we have also given effect to this: A further demand is that: 'All people shall have equal rights to use their own language'.

"And even that is already the case, is it

Barry Streek: Cape Town

not? They also demand the following: 'The police force and army shall be open to all races'.

"That, too, is already a reality. A further demand is: 'All shall be free to travel without restriction. Pass laws shall be abolished'.



MAGNUS MALAN ... a fine document.

"That, too, is a reality. Then there is the demand that: 'All who work shall be free to form trade unions to make wage agreements with their employers'.

"And surely that too, is already a reality.

"The South Africa of 1950 and the South Africa of 1987 are not, after all, one and the same.

"Yet, apart from the demands relating to the

economy, which amount to flagrant socialism, many of these demands have already been met," Dr Geldenhuys said.

What he and General Malan reflect, and their views were echoed in other Nationalist speeches in parliament after the May 6 election, is that the government's view of the Freedom Charter has changed dramatically.

It is no longer seen as a subversive, communist-inspired document in itself; and most of its political goals are broadly acceptable to the government. The Freedom Charter is no longer regarded as the problem and the government apparently believes it could be used as a basis for negotiation.

The problem, as people like General Malan see it, is that the Freedom Charter is only the first phase.

"The fact remains that this document is accepted as the final goal and people do not realise that is merely the point of departure," General Malan said.

One of the realities was that neither the ANC nor the South African Communist Party regarded "this freedom manifesto as the final document for the future of the Republic of South Africa; this document is a starting point.

"It gives a view of the future and therefore

strikes a chord in Western circles which is quite understandable. This explains the general sympathetic attitude people adopt towards the manifesto."

Communist Party documentation admitted its shortcomings and the party programme merely accepted the manifesto "as a bait for the first phase, to entice people to use this document as a forum for discussion.

"After this phase has been bridged, however, the manifesto will lose its power and the SACP programme will become operative," General Malan said.

For Dr Geldenhuys, many of the Charter's demands had been met but the violence continued because the ANC was ideologically committed to violence as a method for bringing about change.

The issue, for him, was not the Freedom Charter's political demands, but the ANC's commitment to violence.

When the trade unions adopted the Charter they added an important qualification. They said they regarded it as the starting point — the "minimum demands for a democratic society", as Numsa president, Mr Daniel Dube put it.

Whatever the interpretation, whether from General Malan, to the unions and UDF, the Freedom Charter has clearly come of age. It is no longer perceived to be a radical or communist document.

Given the significantly changed stance of the government towards it, the Charter could even become the basis for real negotiation in South Africa some time.

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Talks ease tension over 'evictions' at hostel

Political Staff

TENSION over the 3am removal of Langa hostel-dwellers this week has eased after Community Services officials and the town committee agreed to consult the Hostel Dwellers' Association in future.

Association vice-chairman Mr Welcome Zenzile said his association was satisfied there would be no further evictions and that an upgrading project it had proposed would be investigated by Community Services.

Independent MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck was asked by the hostel-dwellers to intervene after people were moved at 3am from a hostel in Zone 17.

This year control of hostels in Cape Town's black townships was transferred from Community Services to town committees.

"REALLOCATIONS"

Mr Zenzile said that because the town committees was not recognised as representative of the people, the association would negotiate directly only with provincial authorities.

Mr J G Mafunga, town committee secretary for Nyanga, Langa, Guguletu and Khayelitsha, said he was satisfied with the outcome of the meetings.

He said the Langa moves were not evictions but "reallocations of accommodation" and people had been moved at 3am because "people sleep all over the show" and attempts to "negotiate" with them over the past two months had not been successful.

Mr Mafunga said he would put the association's upgrading proposals to his committee.

500 strikers' bid for reinstatement rejected

By DICK USHER
Labour Reporter

AN application for reinstatement by more than 500 Spekenam workers dismissed during a two-day strike in August was today rejected by the Industrial Court.

Presiding officer Mr H Fabricius said the case had caused the court much anguish.

"We know that much suffering followed the applicants' dismissal and we know that many innocents were drawn into the web," he said.

ACTED AGAINST ADVICE

Although he criticised the management's actions in several respects, he found that the employees' actions could not be condoned "merely on the basis of sympathy, or empathy, although such exists".

He said that during the strike the workers threw their own principles overboard, acted against the advice of their trade union, refused to discuss their legitimate grievances and

did not afford to others what they demanded for themselves.

The Industrial Court had held before that an illegal strike might not necessarily result in a fair dismissal, but the duty was on employees to provide a reasonable explanation as to why they resorted to illegal action.

"No such reasonable explanation exists in this case," said Mr Fabricius.

The court recognised that strike action was a legitimate weapon, but it had to be used with circumspection.

"In any civilised society one cannot simply expect and condone that brute force will be the victor."

HUMAN ELEMENT

However, the management had also failed in several respects to recognise that while it was their prerogative to manage, more was at stake than mere facts and figures.

"The human element ultimately either causes healthy bank balances or it doesn't."



Natal violence upsurge: 40 killed in 3 weeks

MARITZBURG. — In the rising tide of violence around Maritzburg in which at least 40 people have died in the past three weeks, certain districts have become "no-go areas" for flood-relief agencies and the public.

Red Cross workers distributing food parcels in Edendale have met with so much violence in some areas that they refused to return the next day. And a spokesman for the South African Council of Churches said their relief workers were experiencing the same problem.

And townships around Maritzburg again featured prominently in yesterday's SA Police unrest report.

In some of the incidents reported:

- At Sankotshe (Hammarisdale) two private dwellings were damaged when they were set alight by arsonists.

- At Mpumulanga (Maritzburg) a group

of blacks fired a number of shots at a private dwelling. The owner returned the fire, fatally wounding an 18-year-old attacker. A second man was arrested. In another incident in the area, a private house was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. Police arrested a black man in connection with the incident. In a third incident in the area, three black men were arrested after a private dwelling was stoned.

- At Esigodeni (Maritzburg) a black woman was injured when a group of blacks assaulted her and set her clothes alight. Police used birdshot to disperse the mob and arrested two black youths.

- At Taylor's Halt (Maritzburg) two adults and a youth suffered slight burns and their house was badly damaged after a group of blacks hurled a petrol-bomb at their home.

Several Maritzburg businesses are also experiencing problems with staff being prevented from reporting for duty on a number of occasions.

Police spokesman Colonel Chris Jonker said, however, that as far as they knew there was no area in which movement was restricted and there was certainly no area that had been cordoned off by police.

However, reports have been received of:

- Certain areas in townships, allegedly under the control of either UDF or Inkatha, where non-members cannot enter; vigilantes of different groups waking up residents at night to march the streets; employees of various businesses unable to get to and from their homes; and employees appealing to employers to be allowed to go home early because they were afraid of attacks late in the evening.

According to the Maritzburg Agency for

Christian Social Awareness, since January there have been 225 recorded unrest-related incidents, 90 deaths, 154 injuries and 111 cases of damage to homes, vehicles and shops.

Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly MP for Vulindela — all the KwaZulu urban and rural areas surrounding the city, confirmed that the situation was extremely bad.

"Just recently the violence has begun to erupt in almost every township around the city. People are dying. I don't want to blame anybody but I believe there is terrible misunderstanding.

"The principle of our organization, Inkatha, is to sit and talk and I want to appeal to everybody that the killing must stop and we must all start talking," he said.

"If people are running out of the townships, they are not doing the right thing. If

Inkatha or UDF people are running they should rather go to their leaders and tell them to do something about the violence."

Trade union leaders have said the situation in the townships is frightening.

Mr Norman Middleton, the Maritzburg co-ordinator for the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), said workers came into the union offices every day with stories about the killing and intimidation.

Nactu has called a meeting of its senior shop stewards this weekend to discuss the escalating violence.

Mr Harold Raybould, chairman of the city's Red Cross Society, said his field-workers distributing food parcels had met with so much violence in some areas that they refused to return.

A South African Council of Churches spokesman confirmed that their workers

experienced the same problem.

Mr Paul van Uytrecht, manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, confirmed they were aware of violence in townships and were extremely concerned about it.

"At the moment we are concerned about the escalating number of people being killed and injured," he said.

A spokesman for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) expressed extreme concern and said the issue needed urgent attention.

"Our members are dying daily in the townships and the question that concerns us is how it is going to be solved and who is going to solve it," he said.

Approaches had been made to the Chamber of Commerce about it. — Sapa

ANC Times 17/10/87

Tutu will 'continue to meet ANC'

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has said he will continue to travel to talk to the ANC despite a government warning that it would withdraw the passports of those who spoke to the organization.

In a statement yesterday he said: "As church leaders concerned for reconciliation, it would be quite intolerable for a secular authority to prescribe for us how we carry out our Christian mandate to be peacemakers."

He was reacting to a report that the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, had told the National Party Congress in Natal that the government would confiscate the passport of anyone it knew was travelling to talk to the ANC.

The archbishop said: "I will continue to meet the ANC, as I am required to by the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and by my church.

"I will have to accept the consequences of reprisals from a government which is straying further and further from the rule of law and the Christian faith it professes to uphold."

The Most Rev Desmond Tutu also responded sharply to Mr Botha's reported comment that "people must understand that it is just not done to talk with your enemy".

The archbishop said that if Mr Botha had been reported correctly, "he must be repudiated in the most explicit terms". — Sapa

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AZAPO SPREADS WINGS

FOR the third time this year the Azanian People's Organisation has sought to intensify its international offensive by sending a central committee member, Haroon Patel, to Europe this week to campaign for international solidarity with the people of South Africa.

Patel jetted out of South Africa on Monday to address various organisations and public meetings over a two-month period in West Germany, Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Denmark, Britain, Switzerland, Austria and Holland.

Patel's campaign tour follows two similar tours by the organisation in February and May.

Significantly, his trip has come a week before the 10th anniversary on October 19 of the banning in South Africa of 17 black consciousness organisations.

In what Azapo has seen as "a year of advances and gains", its two previous missions were aimed at certain objectives of paramount importance in the current struggle for liberation in South Africa, according to Patel.

In outlining these objectives, he emphasised that Azapo saw "the various organisations in the liberation struggle as the streams that lead to the river that ultimately will burst its banks with the

The Azanian People's Organisation for the first time openly speaks about its international campaign for international solidarity with the people of South Africa involved in what is generally known as the liberation struggle. Azapo's Haroon Patel explains the organisation's view on the issue and what the liberation struggle is all about.

blood of all people who had died in the struggle against oppression and exploitation".

Patel said that in its missions abroad, Azapo presented its perspectives on the nature of the struggle in South Africa and its belief that the struggle had to be directed "concurrently against a system of racism and capitalism".

The organisation promoted a more informed community of the reality of the liberation movement - that there was "one liberation movement made up of various organisations".

"The plurality of organisations in the broader liberation movement is a reality, and the international solidarity movement had to be informed of the positions of each one of these organisations.

"Azapo has asked that the international solidarity movement recognise the substantive and qualitative participation of all these organisations in the struggle," he said.

This was the first time

that Azapo had made public the purpose of its international campaign aimed at giving a hearing not only to its voice, but also to that of the other Africanist tendencies.

He added that Azapo had impressed upon the international solidarity movement that they give unconditional support to "the oppressed and exploited and their organisations".

They should refrain from imposing their own preference on any one organisation as a condition of their support.

Azapo also urged the international solidarity movement to shift the debate away from the view "that the only issue in our struggle is apartheid" and unambiguously stated that the struggle was "against racism, capitalism and imperialism".

Finally, according to Patel, Azapo endeavoured to expose the collaboration between Western imperialism and the South African authorities and to create links with progressive organisations for the purpose of arriving at a unified

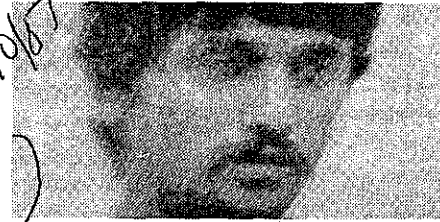
world strategy "to eradicate racism and capitalism" in South Africa.

Referring to the former, Patel said: "The South African bourgeoisie are intent on reactionary liberal solutions aimed at taking us in the direction of a negotiated settlement. They want to remove apartheid only, so as to promote capitalism."

Asked if Azapo, on its two previous missions, had attained any of its objectives, Patel admitted it had not.

"There exists a necessity for Azapo to continue with the same pattern of continually knocking on the door of the international solidarity movement - as was done in February and May. We will ask the people in Europe of the plans of their own rulers have as regards South Africa," Patel said.

However, Azapo had the support of various trade unions, student organisations, human rights groups, political organisations and academics during its February and May 1987 tours.



They are the launching of an Azanian-Namibian forum at the end of this month in London and a campaign for the release of black consciousness political prisoners.

"The concept of an Azanian-Namibian forum was mooted in February 1987 to provide a forum for all political tendencies inside and outside South Africa," Patel pointed out.

"This serves to show our seriousness for a non-sectarianism approach. There's an impression created that political prisoners belong to just one tendency, namely the Charterist faction," he said.

Patel has left South Africa for Europe amid a great deal of publicity for Azapo in several European newspapers.

There have also been scores of letters of solidarity written to Azapo from many overseas bodies, particularly in September when the organisation commemorated the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko, the father of the BC movement in South Africa.

And Azapo, as a result of its international campaign, was given a mandate at an international conference in Caracas, Venezuela, to organise a delegation to attend an African congress in Dakar in April 1988.

The main objective of the conference will be to bring together workers, cultural and youth movements from all over Africa. - Ano.

GUMEDE BLOWS PEACE PIPES

BY SIBU MNGADI

UNITED Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumedede this week defiantly continued with his crusade to end the current bloodshed between the UDF and Inkatha, despite Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "spurious" attack on him and his "comrades".

Addressing the Inkatha Women Brigade's annual conference at Ulundi at the weekend - three days after a historic truce signed by Gumedede and Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi - Buthelezi accused the UDF, Natal Indian Congress, Black Sash, National Union of SA Students, white academics and elements in the PFP of

helping to black strife alive.

The attack which was also directed at Diakonia and the SA - members of which have been instrumental in initiating the present dialogue between the UDF and Inkatha leadership - least doubts over Buthelezi's sincere commitment to reconciliation in embattled province.

To this, said: "I call for reconciliation on the basis that the organisation represents the totality of authentic black aims and aspirations."

Apart from this, the veteran anti-apartheid campaigner said, had on several occasions threatened persons.

In this scolding attack on

the left, Buthelezi claimed that NIC's modern leadership was "an insult to that great son of Africa, Mahatma Gandhi".

He said there was a brand of Indian who "is poison to the black struggle for liberation" and that certain Indians in the ANC were totally against any reconciliation between himself and his "brother", ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He accused Gumedede, who cut a lone figure as the only Natal UDF official at the forefront of peace talks between the two rival organisations, of "toadying" to divisive elements.

"Must I keep quiet about this because Gumedede is an expert at dis-

torting what I say?" he asked.

In spite of these attacks Gumedede was this week back on his peace mission. He led a large delegation from the "flash point" of Mpumalanga, KwaNdengezi and KwaMakhutha to a meeting with senior Inkatha leaders and Kwazulu MPs in another round of talks in Koinona, at Botha's Hill.

Gumedede said the utterances had not dampened his commitment to peace and co-existence.

When *City Press* interviewed him this week in his offices in central Durban, messages of support from throughout the country and abroad were pouring in, including from foreign diplomats who had been

present at the Inkatha Women Brigade's conference.

Responding to Buthelezi, he said:

"I'd like to know who I am toadying to? Toadying to him or to Botha? How can one toady to people who are powerless? I don't understand how people can pay attention to such spurious statements."

"Where does Buthelezi obtain the basis for his statement that our organisation is against the conciliation between Inkatha and us, and Inkatha and the ANC?" he asked.

"By looking at the number of people who had been killed or had their houses and property destroyed one could conclude who was re-

sponsible for the violence in this province.

"Unlike Inkatha members, the homes of UDF members are always searched. We can't keep any dangerous weapons in our homes."

"Those who can defend themselves do so while others run away. I know of thousands of refugees who have run away from Inkatha violence."

"Until Buthelezi distances himself from attacks on the campaign for comprehensive sanctions, I cannot see any rapprochement taking place between himself and the ANC nor do I see how the UDF can accept his bona fides while he is able to say he does not share our 'need to toe the line of the ANC,'" he said.

Lastly, he said: "I make no apology for the fact that I abhor apartheid in all its manifestations, irrespective of the might of its perpetrators, and I don't appreciate how a victim of that evil system can possibly accuse me of confronting him when I express my opposition to apartheid."

Meanwhile, KwaNdengezi and KwaMakhutha representatives of both rival factions applauded the Mpumalanga truce reached last week and agreed to go back to their constituencies for further consultations.



UDF Natal co-president Archie Gumedede.

had several clashes with vigilantes.

Among those killed this week were an unidentified black woman aged 50 and her 11-year-old daughter, shot dead in their home in Edendale area near Edendale.

Maritzburg SA Police PRO Captain P Kitching said two inspectors were shot dead in the back of the head at close range on a bus near Henley Dam outside Edendale.

A gunman opened fire in the bus killing Joseph Dube, 55, and Wilson Mda, 50, both of whom worked for Sizanani Mazulu Transport, before jumping out of a window.

Sizanani Mazulu Transport has been an ugly scene of confrontation between Inkatha-backed Uwusa

and the Cosatu-affiliated Transport and General Workers' Union members which has claimed eight lives so far.

In another incident, Anna Mathonsi, 47, died instantly when she was shot in the head outside her Imbali home. Shots were fired from a car which pulled up in front of the house.

The police also found a bullet-riddled body of a man at Edendale. Another man was seriously wounded.

There were other reports of injuries during attacks and counter-attacks, and seven youths were arrested after they refused to disperse from an illegal gathering, according to the police.

Goodwill in SA abounds, says Stoffel

AS much as 20 percent of South Africa's blacks supported revolution, but most feel goodwill toward the government, according to Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

"Basic goodwill is running very wide in the community, but is overlaid with a thick layer of suspicion and mistrust," he told eight foreign journalists this week.

Van der Merwe, in charge of the government's information agency, conducted a wide-ranging conversation about South African issues.

He said the government recently commissioned an opinion survey including long interviews of 4 500 blacks to learn their political views.

He said the poll represented a statistically large sample among South African's 26-million black majority and was conducted so that the participants did not know that the government was involved.

Results of the poll have not been published.

He said the ANC, had "fairly high symbolic support" - about 35 percent - in the poll.

But he said there was "very little" black support for positions taken by the ANC in favour of a violent struggle, divestment by foreign companies and an eventual socialist economic system.

He said most blacks wanted a government that was neither all white nor all black, and most favoured a free enterprise system.

"We are committed to the creation of a new political system in which all people participate, including blacks, with the proviso that no one group dominates - including whites," he said.

"We have a very complicated situation in South Africa with huge potential for conflict..

"Apartheid as a policy is dead, but we have a strong legacy of apartheid," he said.

As the black community solemnly reflects on the devastating body blow it received from the Government 10 years ago today with the summary banning of 18 organisations the Press — an integral organ of the community — is silently taking stock.

It was a decade ago today that *The World* and its stablemate, *Weekend World*, 17 Black Consciousness organisations and a church group were swept away by the tide of Government intolerance of criticism.

It was also a decade ago today that the Union of Black Journalism was outlawed. By then its president had been in detention for close on a year, and was only let out after spending a full year and a half behind bars. He was never charged, he was never told why.

The Government could not erode the few remaining civil liberties without taking periodic bites at the Press, because a free society depends on a free Press to safeguard the liberty of citizens.

For almost every piece of legislation further curtailing individual freedom, the State had a similar set of measures for the media.

In most cases what affected the individual also directly affected the institution of a free Press.

No sooner had the Government made monumental blunders about the death in custody of Steve Biko than it immediately worked out a cover-up for possible similar blunders in the future.

Because the Press had exposed the truth about Biko's death — he did not starve himself to death, as the Government had claimed — the authorities immediately enacted the Inquest Act.

The law simply forbids any disclosures — in effect, any investigation by people other than State appointees — about a person's death until an inquest is held.

Had the law existed before Biko's death, the State might have got away with many of its blunders regarding the black leader's death.

The 1980s started on a high note for black journalists in particular, and for the Press in general.

The blood, sweat and tears generated by the trauma of the mid-1970s had finally accorded black newsmen the recognition long denied them by their white employers and counterparts.

The Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) had come into being after the dissolution of the Writers Association of South Africa, and media

Press relives October 19

FOCUS

SOWETAN REPORTER

moguls knew it was only a matter of time before they faced their black employees in negotiations for a much better deal.

Two strikes in early 1980 set the pace, and by the end of the year a fullblown and unprecedented national strike by black journalists left no one in doubt that the age of newsroom paternalism was dead and buried.

The black journalists won their battle — but at a price no one, not even employers, had bargained for. The Government summarily closed down *Post* and *Sunday Post*, which had filled the void left by the departure of *World* and *Weekend World*.

The appointment of

the Steyn Commission to investigate and recommend possible legislation to further chain the media was seen by many newsmen as the beginning of the inevitable end.

The commission even saw Mwasa as a front organisation for external influences, and recommended a register for practising journalists.

A storm of protest blew from every corner of the country, and among the most vociferous opponents of any new legislation against the Press were the Afrikaans newspapers.

Mercifully the Government saw reason, but only for a short while.

Change

The unfolding 1980s convinced many, including the Government, that change in South Africa had to come about. But the authorities envisaged a different kind of change to that perceived by most of the country.

Still, for whatever change the Government intended to be a reality there had to be support for its manoeuvres by the Press which it had so maligned. The authorities set out to make reparations, but the way only the Nationalist Government could.

The introduction of the 1983 Constitution Act heralded what Government spokesmen and leaders called the age of "consensus politics."

It was a gentle tactic to win over the belligerent Press, whose function the Government saw as



STEVE BIKO... died in detention.

Turning
back
the
clock
as...

endorsing the "reform" proposals which, while giving limited power to the hitherto disenfranchised Indian and coloured sections of the population, still kept the African majority firmly locked out.

When most of the English-language Press withheld its support for the new order, the Government abandoned the "glasnost" approach and once more wielded the big stick.

The blacks had so convincingly rejected the new Constitution — coloured and Indian votes were dismal — that by the end of 1984 most of South Africa was in flames.

The "reform" package was a failure, but the Government wanted to make it an acceptable failure.

Widespread detentions followed ominous threats to the media to get their house in order.

It was a scaring throwback to a past best forgotten; the 1960 banning of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress, the detention without trial of thousands of people, and the introduction of a State of Emergency.

In a few months, mid-1985 saw the imposition of an emergency and drastic curbs on the media. Many newsmen who had covered trouble in such volatile places as Northern Ireland, Latin America and the Middle East generally agreed they had seen nothing worse.

But worse was yet to come.

Another emergency was declared in 1986. Whereas many had thought the Government incapable of exceeding

itself in the media curbs of the year before, a surprise awaited them.

Clauses on "subversive statements" were worked into the decrees, photographers and reporters had to make themselves scarce at the slightest hint of trouble — in effect meaning they had to run away whenever a news story out — and many other vague restrictions were concocted.

Successive court rulings rendered the emergency clauses of 1986 unworkable, but the Press could not take advantage because the Government signalled its determination to appeal to higher courts against the rulings.

Drastic

Instead, the end of 1986 saw even more drastic measures which went so far as to decree that a blank space in a newspaper was a statement so telling it must be omitted.

The Government-instituted Bureau for Information was to be the sole source of news about politically inspired conflict.

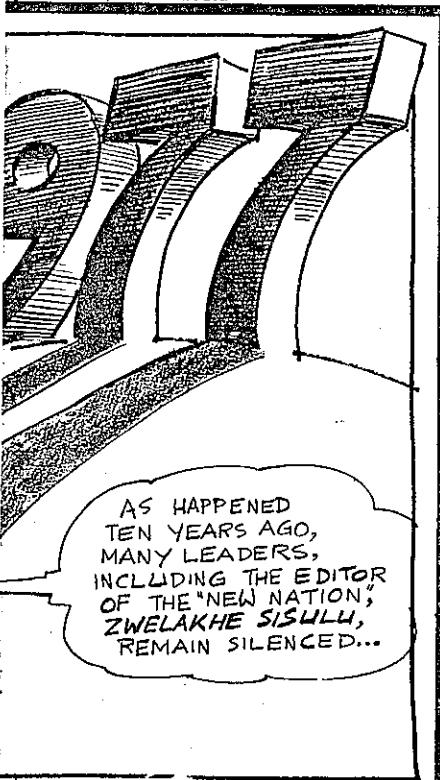
The publishing of the news of emergency detainees was banned, and *Weekly Mail* and *Sowetan* were swiftly taken off the streets by the police when they timidly transgressed the mark.

City Press, *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* were warned not to publish certain advertisements around Christmas last year. Earlier this year the police hovered over the editor of *The Star* as the newspaper was about to publish an edition containing an advertisement the police had "reason to believe" was a subversive statement.

And on it went, the battle between the media and authority. Until the Government instituted censors to "scientifically monitor" the Press.

The censors, except for two, are faceless people who the State won't name for fear they will be "ridiculed."

As the *New Nation* faces the State in its battle to retain its right to publish, the Press relives October 19 1977.



AS HAPPENED TEN YEARS AGO, MANY LEADERS, INCLUDING THE EDITOR OF THE "NEW NATION", ZWELAKHE SISULU, REMAIN SILENCED...

Political comment in this issue by J Latakomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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'People should fight, not embrace it'

ANC terror lambasted by Thatcher

11A
B/daw
19/10/87

VANCOUVER — The ANC was attacked yesterday by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who called it "a typical terrorist organisation" which people should fight and not embrace.

The attack — which marks a severe setback for the ANC — came when Thatcher spoke at the end of the Commonwealth summit. She also said the Commonwealth had endorsed her views on sanctions.

The ANC had — during the past two years — boosted its image by securing meetings with world leaders including UK Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, US Secretary of State George Shultz and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Asked to comment on reports that the ANC had threatened to attack British companies in SA, Thatcher said: "That shows what a typical terrorist organisation it is. I have fought terrorism all my life and if more people fought it we would be all the more successful."

MIKE ROBERTSON

Later she added: "I will have nothing to do with any organisation that practises violence."

"I have never seen anyone from the ANC, PLO or IRA. We will have no truck with any such organisation."

"I would hope you would fight terrorism and violence and not embrace it."

Her statements represented a hardening in the UK position towards the ANC. Earlier this year Britain welcomed the Dakar talks, and at the Nassau summit two years ago the UK, along with other Commonwealth countries, called for the unbanning of the organisation.

An ANC spokesman accused Thatcher of grossly distorting his statements regarding the possible attack on UK firms. He said: "What I said was that her opposition to sanctions encouraged more violence, that it would add to the voices who are saying the strategy of limited

● To Page 2



violence has run its course.

"And, if that happened, the British firms she seeks to protect could come under attack."

Thatcher also said that by its failure to adopt new sanctions the Commonwealth had implicitly recognised that no more progress could be made down that path.

Her claim was rejected by two of her staunchest opponents, Mulroney and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Mulroney — target of what Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke called an "abominable disinformation campaign" by British officials — said Thatcher, by her intransigence over adopting any new measures against SA, was providing succour to President P W Botha.

Asked to back her claim, Thatcher said: "In the communique there is no proposal for more sanctions, because they could not get further sanctions agreed by all Commonwealth members."

"Now if you say, 'yes they are vital, but we are not going to put any extra ones on', it does seem to be pretty telling."

Thatcher said there was a far greater recognition at the summit that change had to come from within SA. She said: "It is, in fact, happening. I think there is a change on the part of most South Africans."

Thatcher said apartheid was breaking

down mainly because of pressure from enlightened companies and people who had been working for its demise for a long time.

Measures against SA agreed to by all Commonwealth countries except Britain were:

A commitment to the wider, tighter and more intensified application of sanctions;

A call for genuine efforts to be made to secure the universalisation of existing measures along lines adopted by the US and Nordic countries;

Increased monitoring of sanctions;

The commissioning of a study to examine SA's relationship with international finance houses;

The setting up of a committee under the chairmanship of Canadian External Affairs Minister Joe Clark to ensure the adoption of the measures, act on them and encourage dialogue and organise conferences on the future of SA.

Mulroney said the Commonwealth would set up a transmission facility in a neighbouring state which would enable journalists to get around SA censorship laws. Canada would fund the project.

← ● From Page 1

11A

118 (118) 10/19/87

Blast on road to Machel crash site

By Jo-Anne Collinge

NELSPRUIT — A landmine blast which damaged a police Casspir near the site of the Machel plane disaster, and the restriction of United Democratic Front (UDF) president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, failed to halt the organisation's ceremony yesterday to mark the first anniversary of President Samora Machel's death.

The commemoration at the Eastern Transvaal vil-

lage of Embuzini started nearly four hours late as traffic to the area was blocked after the blast.

Two further landmines were discovered. One was detonated shortly before noon by the SA Defence Force and the other was removed, according to kaNgwane Police Commissioner Colonel R van Wyk.

The first blast occurred at 4.45 am as a police-driven Casspir patrolled the Embuzini road, according to a police liaison officer in Pretoria. He said the Casspir was damaged by the blast but nobody on the vehicle was injured.

Thousands of determined people set out to walk the remaining 15 km to the scene of last year's crash. Many reached it before the road was opened to vehicles in the early afternoon.

The opening of the road was preceded by an explosion which reverberated through the countryside at 11.45 am when the Defence Force detonated one of the landmines they were unable to remove in a controlled explosion.

Mrs Sisulu, scheduled as the main speaker at the ceremony, was served with the one-week restriction order under the emergency regulations on Saturday night as she set out for the Eastern Transvaal.

Mrs Sisulu said she had been followed from her home in Orlando West. When her driver turned into a garage in Diepkloof they were stopped by the men following them and the order made by the Commissioner of South African Police had been handed over to her, she said.

It prevented her going to the area of the service until October 25. Mrs Sisulu's written speech was read to the meeting by a representative of the Federation of Transvaal Women.

In an unusual show of unity, the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions speakers, including Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi, shared the platform with kaNgwane Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza.

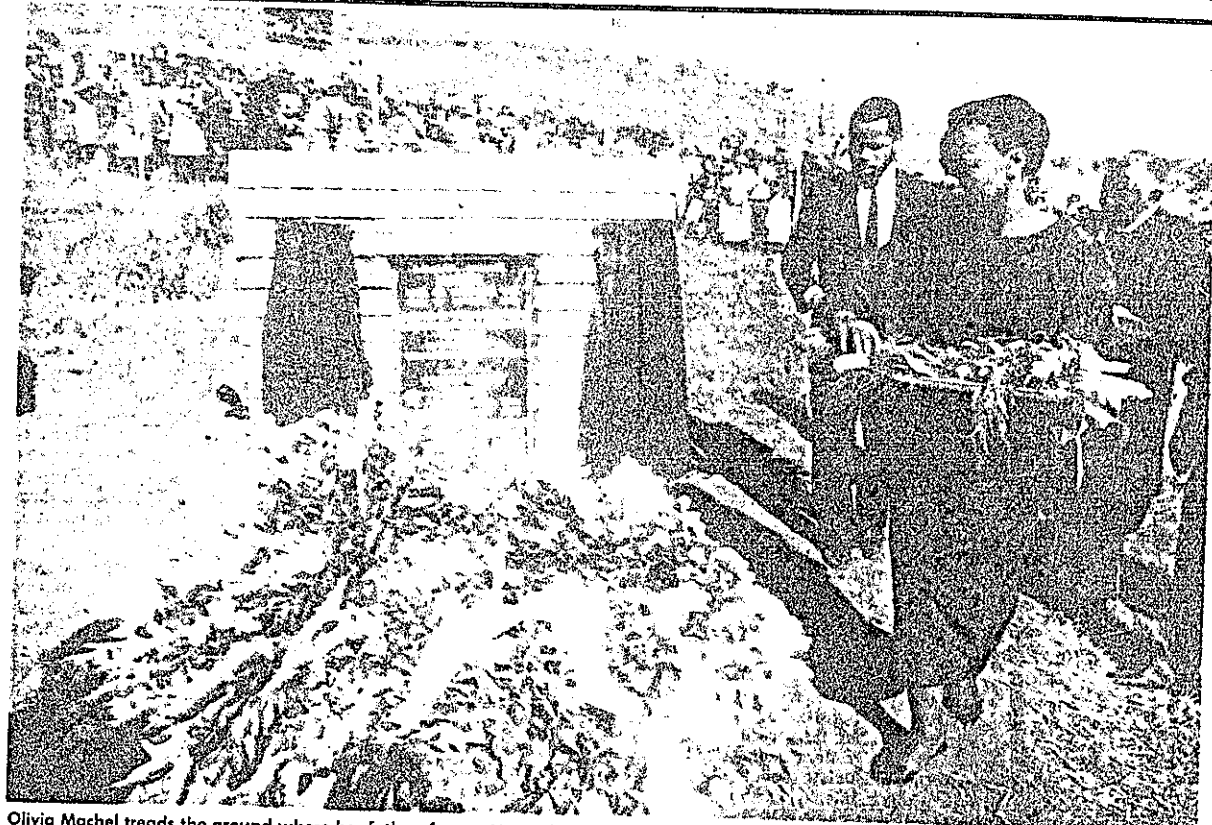
● See Page 5

SAA Harare office closed

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The South African Airways office in Harare was closed today as a precaution against the repetition of violence last year after the death of President Samora Machel.

Today is the first anniversary of his death.



Olivia Machel treads the ground where her father, former Mozambican President Samora Machel, died as she comes forward to place a wreath at the plain brick monument erected in his honour in the Eastern Transvaal village of Embuzini. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Black views mixed on sanctions, Dakar

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POLL 1:

MOST South African blacks support economic sanctions, though a majority were reluctant to back sanctions if it meant increased unemployment, a nationwide has revealed.

The survey, released at the weekend, was conducted by the independent Community Agency for Social Enquiry and designed and supervised by sociologist Mark Orkin. It included respondents from metropolitan, small town and rural areas. The so-called "Independent states" were also included.

Of 800 respondents interviewed, 67 percent supported sanctions, while 26 percent opposed sanctions fearing

that economic growth would be slowed. Six percent were non-committal.

Twenty-one percent backed sanctions as a means of forcing the Government to hand over power, while 46 percent believed sanctions must be applied until the Government stops the state of emergency, frees political prisoners, unbans political movements and abandons apartheid.

The questionnaire also named the leaders and groups that support each view.

In the pro-sanction group were the Progressive Federal Party and big business, and homeland leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while the African National Congress and Pan African Con-

gress were in the group supporting unconditional sanctions.

The United Democratic Front, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and Archbishop Desmond Tutu were in the group that sees sanctions as a way of pressuring the Government until "it provides the conditions for democracy."

Asked if they still supported sanctions if it meant job loss, 60 percent of the respondents said they were afraid to risk unemployment, while 26 percent were prepared to see some, but not many blacks lose their jobs as a result of sanctions. Fourteen percent stood by their "hard-line" sanction position whatever the unemployment costs.

Amongst blacks, 27,9 percent believed the Government had gained the greatest advantage from the Dakar meeting while 25,8 percent believed the ANC had gained most from the talks.

The statistics obtained from the survey showed that blacks were less inclined to ascribe negative characteristics to the ANC than whites.

Mr Frank le Roux, CP MP for Brakpan, rejected the poll as "unscientific."

"It's the usual story, that we have reached our ceiling. But at least they do show we have grown, which they did not say before the elections.

"The results of the election proved the February poll wrong.

"I think our support is more than 22. Also they give our support among Afrikaners as 26 percent. I would say it is more like 50 percent."

Mr Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens and chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's

Case found that opinion on this issue had not changed since a similar survey on disinvestment conducted two years ago.

Demand for sanctions was strongest in the big cities, where only 14 percent opposed economic embargo. Here 52 percent favoured conditional sanctions, while 29 percent demanded unconditional sanctions.

Nationwide, 24 percent supported Nelson Mandela or the ANC, 11 percent supported Chief Buthelezi or Inkatha, 10 percent supported the PW Botha or other government figures, seven percent supported UDF or other pro-sanctions groupings, while six percent supported Archbishop Tutu.

The survey that 55,8 percent of blacks believed the ANC was strongly committed to democracy while only 5,1 percent of whites believed this.

More than 90 percent of whites believed the ANC was strongly committed to violence whereas only 39,1 percent of blacks held this view.

federal executive, said the poll had been done in the worst time for the PFP, just after the controversy about the attendance of three PFP representatives at the Dakar talks with the ANC.

The Independents were now in "disarray" and the PFP may have picked up support from them.

"The results are not all that surprising given the PFP's disappointing show in the elections and the relatively good showing by the Independents.

"I think the PFP has now bottomed out and should soon be a few points above the Independents."

POLL 2:

THE Dakar talks had been a propaganda victory for the ANC according to more than half of whites interviewed in a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

The HSRC survey was carried out telephonically between July 27 and August 3 this year among 1 142 whites and 547 blacks.

POLL 3:

THE Conservative Party has rejected as "unscientific" a national opinion poll which shows they have over 22 percent of white voters' support — up from 15,2 percent in February.

The CP feels its support is much higher than that.

The usually-reliable poll conducted by Mark and Menings Opnemers in August, shows a drop in support for the National Party since February from 49,4 percent to 44,1 percent.

The Progressive Federal Party's support took a sharp

It found that 58,4 percent of white Afrikaans speaking people believed the ANC had scored a propaganda victory while 37,5 percent of English speaking whites felt the same.

More than half of whites interviewed (52,4 percent) believed the Dakar meeting had not enhanced the ANC's prestige in the eyes of the world.

dive from 19,4 to 10,4 percent.

The Independents, meanwhile, rocketed from 3,7 to 11,9 percent, to top the PFP.

But party leaders said that the position had changed since August, mainly because of the split in the Independents.

The poll was commissioned by an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper which concluded that there had been little growth in CP support since the election, when it had reached its high point.

It said most of the seven percent growth in support for the CP had been between the last poll in February and the May elections.

Argus 19/10/87 (11k) (874) (2/8) (3/11)

Mine fails to stop Machel ceremony

The Argus Correspondent

NELSPRUIT. — The planting of a landmine near the site of the Machel aircraft disaster and the restriction of Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, failed to stop the UDF's ceremony to mark the first anniversary of President Samora Machel's death.

Yesterday's commemoration at the Eastern Transvaal village of Embuzini started nearly four hours late as traffic to the area was blocked after the discovery of a landmine in the road.

Thousands of people set out to walk the remaining 15km to the scene of last year's crash. Many reached it before the road was opened to vehicles after the landmine was detonated by the Defence Force.

There was no injury to person or property.

ONE-WEEK BAN

Mrs Sisulu, scheduled as the main speaker at the ceremony, was served with the one-week restriction order on Saturday night as she was about to leave for the Eastern Transvaal.

The order prevented her from attending the meeting but her written speech was delivered.

President Machel's two daughters, Joscelina and Olivia, his three brothers and an uncle were present. They unveiled a plaque on a simple brick monument on the hillside where the aircraft went down.

Representatives from the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions shared the platform with Kangwane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza.

Speakers said there would be no true freedom in Mozambique until apartheid was destroyed and the majority of South Africans were freed from oppression.

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Can. Times 19/10/81
Botha
'refused
MP visit'

PORT ELIZABETH. — Relations between State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Labour Party plunged to a new low at the weekend with the revelation that Mr Botha had refused permission for Health and Welfare Minister Mr Chris April to travel overseas unless he did so at his own expense.

The disclosure by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, at the LP's South Cape congress, follows a threat by Mr Botha in August to "forbid" Mr April to travel overseas the next time he wanted to go.

The heated row in the House of Representatives between Mr Botha and the Labour Party led to the resignation of Mr Hendrickse from the cabinet.

Mr Hendrickse told the congress that he had been approached by Mr April who wanted to travel to Israel and West Germany to investigate health centres there.

He said he had agreed with the request and had recommended to Mr Botha that the visit go ahead.

Mr Botha, however, turned down the request for economic reasons and because there were enough local experts.

If Mr April wanted to go, he added, he would have to do so at his own expense.

Thatcher attacks ANC

From MIKE ROBERTSON

VANCOUVER. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday launched a scathing attack on the ANC, calling it "a typical terrorist organization" which people should fight and not embrace.

She was speaking at the end of Commonwealth summit which she claimed had endorsed her views on sanctions.

The unexpected attack marks a severe setback for the ANC.

In the past two years, it has boosted its image by securing meetings with world leaders, including UK Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, Deputy Foreign Secretary Ms Lynda Chalker, US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz and Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney.

Asked to comment on reports that the ANC had threatened to attack British com-

panies in SA, Mrs Thatcher said: "This shows what a typical terrorist organization it is."

I have fought terrorism all my life and if more people fought it we will be all the more successful." Later she added: "I will have nothing to do with any organization that practises violence."

"I have never seen anyone from the ANC, the PLO or the IRA."

"We will have no truck with any such organization."

Her statements represent a sharp hardening in the UK position towards the ANC.

Earlier this year Britain welcomed the Dakar talks and, at the Nassau summit two years ago, the UK, along with other Commonwealth countries, called for the unbanning of the ANC.

However, Mrs Thatcher said that when Sir Geoffrey Howe met ANC president Mr

Oliver Tambo it was in an EEC capacity and not as British Foreign Secretary. She was not able to say the same of Ms Chalker.

Addressing a press conference after Mrs Thatcher had spoken, Indian Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi drew attention to Britain's agreement to the Nassau communique call for the unbanning of the ANC.

"At that time Britain obviously did not think the ANC was a terrorist organization. It's very difficult to understand some of the logic on this issue."

● Britain is likely to come under pressure within the Common Market today to agree to a special EEC ministerial meeting to consider South Africa, and in particular the question of sanctions.

The request for the meeting has been made by the 66 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries with which the EEC is formally associated through the so-called Lome Convention.

Thatcher to visit Africa

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is to take her crusade against sanctions to black Africa in a visit to the "front-line states" in the new year.

It is thought that her itinerary will include Zimbabwe and Zambia and possibly Botswana. She might also go to Tanzania and Kenya but, while details of the trip are not complete, a visit to Mozambique is not yet on the agenda.

She is not expected to stop over in South Africa.

Downing Street officials have confirmed that Mrs Thatcher has accepted an invitation from Mr Daniel Arap Moi, President of Kenya, to visit his country during the Christmas recess.

Mrs Thatcher will use the tour of South Africa's neighbours, planned for January, to press home her belief that economic sanctions will only strengthen the resolve of the Pretoria Government.

The visit is also designed as an attempt to restore Britain's influence at the head of the Commonwealth, which has been seriously undermined by the increasingly bitter sanctions wrangle which has left Mrs Thatcher isolated.



LAI D ON THE LINE . . . British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher holds a copy of "British Aid to Southern Africa" at the closing news conference of the Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver at the weekend. Picture: REUTERS

Taxi attacks: 'Witdoeke also accused'

17/6/87
20/10/87

Supreme Court Reporter

WITDOEKE who burnt down houses in the KTC squatter camp in June last year as a "settlement" with KTC residents for attacks on taxis in which people were killed were themselves accused of the same conduct.

This was heard in evidence in the Supreme Court yesterday during a R312 000 claim for damages by KTC residents against the Minister of Law and Order.

Roman Catholic priest Father Desmond Curran said that early on June 9 last year he had heard a gathering of Witdoeke talking about "settling" with the KTC community.

Cross-examined by Mr G D Griessel SC, for the Minister, Father Curran said the Witdoeke had complained that members of their group had been pulled out of taxis and killed, after which the taxis were burnt.

"I didn't see any of these incidents but the Witdoeke themselves were accused of killing people in taxis. I don't know if they (the victims) were Comrades or KTC residents."

Casspirs

Father Curran said that on June 9, 10 and 11 last year people in the KTC area would have gained the impression police Casspirs were escorting Witdoeke.

"The impression was strengthened when a Casspir among a group of Witdoeke at the Zolani Centre did not stop them from carrying on (burning the premises).

"Casspirs were omnipresent — one didn't have to go far to see one.

Mr Griessel: Isn't it a reasonable inference from what you saw that the police were monitoring the situation?

Father Curran: They weren't stopping the men.

Mr Griessel: Why would police have had to act against the men?

Father Curran: They were heavily armed with knives and pickaxes.

He had previously seen police block marches with Casspirs and a wall of armed men.

He said teargas was another method which could have been employed.

Machine-gun

"In three days the only action by the Comrades was when they prepared to counter-attack at the Zolani Centre. A machine-gun was fired over their heads."

Father Curran said although he had given interviews to British radio and television at the time of the attacks he would not have described the Witdoeke as "pro-Government vigilantes", as put to him by Mr Griessel.

"I think there were people who would have described them in that way.

He said the Comrades — mostly young people — could be described as "anti-apartheid, anti-Government activists".

"But being an activist doesn't mean one is doing anything illegal."

Previous experience during the destruction of Nyanga Bush during similar attacks in May last year suggested to Father Curran that it would have done no good to tell the police on June 10 there was an impending attack on the Zolani Centre.

"On two occasions during the Nyanga Bush events police captains told me it was not part of their instructions to prevent people burning houses. They were to keep the two groups apart.

"They were keeping one side away, but not the side burning the houses."

● KTC residents claim police helped the Witdoeke in their attacks on KTC last year, alternatively that they failed to prevent the attacks.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice de Kock was on the Bench. Mr Griessel, SC, and Mr L Visser, SC, with Mr C Y Louw and Mr F D Brand, instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the Minister. Mr S Aaron, SC, with Mr A M Omar and Mr P Pretorius, instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the plaintiffs.

Britain not likely to take action against the ANC

11A
20/10/87
Cue

Post Correspondent

LONDON — The British Foreign Office will almost certainly maintain its limited contact with the ANC, in spite of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's denunciation of the organisation as terrorists in the mould of the IRA.

There will also be no attempt to shut down the ANC office in London — a courtesy granted to many exiled or banned radical political movements — as long as they obey the laws of the land.

While Mrs Thatcher's denunciation is embarrassing to the Foreign Office, the official view is that she was expressing her own opinion after a Commonwealth summit during which tempers ran short.

The British Government infuriated the South African Government last year when Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe met ANC president Oliver Tambo in Lusaka.

The meeting took place after the abortive European Community

mission to influence events in the Republic.

It is emphasised in London that when Sir Geoffrey met Mr Tambo he was acting on behalf of the 12 European Community nations, not just Britain.

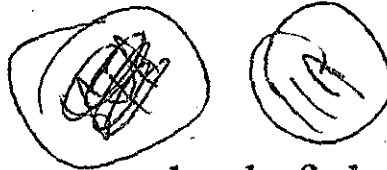
Apart from his highly publicised meeting with Mr Tambo, Foreign Office and other British officials have maintained regular contact with the ANC.

The movement's office in London is considered vital to such delicate diplomatic contact.

The ANC has consistently returned the hostility Mrs Thatcher directs at them.

Sapa reports that British Government sources said yesterday there was no likelihood of any action being taken against the ANC in Britain.

"I don't imagine that the Prime Minister's statement was meant to indicate that any action against the ANC in Britain was contemplated," said one source.



B/d am
22/10/87

Lusaka spokesman doubtful, but ...

Police think ANC laid E Tvl mines

ROGER SMITH

POLICE say the ANC was most likely responsible for the planting of landmines on the dirt road to Mbusuzini in the eastern Transvaal before a commemoration service there on Sunday for late Mozambican President Samora Machel.

But an ANC spokesman in Lusaka said he "doubted very much" that ANC members would have planted mines in such a place. He would not comment further, saying the organisation did not normally comment on military operations.

A police Casspir was damaged early on Sunday when it detonated one of the mines. Another two mines were found. One was removed and the other detonated.

Security forces set up a roadblock, preventing about 3 000 people in a convoy of buses and cars from proceeding to the service for several hours.

Among those travelling on the road

were KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, representatives of the UDF, Cosatu, the SA Youth Congress and the Mozambican government, and relatives of Machel.

Some people at the meeting speculated that Renamo could have been responsible for the mines.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday he had little doubt the mining had been the work of the ANC.

But nobody had claimed responsibility and he conceded that "somebody else could be responsible".

In blaming the ANC, he pointed out that the mines were planted in a border area which was patrolled regularly by the security forces.

In view of the importance of the meeting on Sunday, it was obvious police would go to the area, thus triggering a mine, he said.

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CART

Govt bans manifesto

THE Government has banned the Azanian Manifesto, a document adopted in 1983 by organisations affiliated to the National Forum.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the general secretary of the NF, Mr Luzipho Ndlovu, said the ban was published in the *Government Gazette* on October 9.

The conference was also addressed by representatives of all affiliates of the Azanian People's Organisation, the Azanian National Youth Unity, trade unions and the Black Theology Programme.

The organisations condemned, in the strongest terms, the ban

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

on the document and pledged themselves to continue the liberation struggle against oppression and exploitation.

The ban on the Manifesto, which espouses the principles of black leadership in a socialist Azania, coincides with the 10th commemoration of the crackdown on 17 black consciousness organisations and two newspapers on October 19, 1977.

Mr Ndlovu said the NF has consulted their legal advisors with the view to appeal against the ban.

He said the ban would not deter the aspirations of the oppressed black majority.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said the ban was a divisive attempt by the Government to stifle the cause for black liberation.

20/10/87
S. Muntu

A conflict as bloody as the gang warfare which ravaged Chicago in the 1930s is raging around a picturesque and historic town set amid the rolling hills of Natal. Moves to end the fighting have so far been unsuccessful.

AK645 20/10/87

UDF-Inkatha struggle leads to bloodshed

Dateline: MARITZBURG

AROUND the tranquil South African market town of Maritzburg, a conflict as bloody as the gang warfare which ravaged Chicago in the 1930s is raging.

A bitter struggle between rival black groups has claimed at least 90 lives so far this year and left a cloud of terror over local townships.

A 16-month-old state of emergency has quelled violence in most parts of South Africa, but there are daily arson attacks, stabbings and shootings around Maritzburg, a picturesque and historic town set amid the rolling hills of Natal.

Live in fear

Edendale, Imbali and Sobantu have replaced Johannesburg's Soweto as black areas most frequently named in daily police bulletins on political unrest.

Black residents live in fear of the crash of a petrol bomb through the window or a late-night knock at the door which could signal death.

"People are extremely anxious to the extent now that families are moving out. Others are setting up watches to protect areas at night," Peter Kerchhoff, an organiser of a church group which monitors the unrest, said.

Residents say the violence is the result of a power struggle between members of the conservative Zulu movement Inkatha and South Africa's biggest anti-apartheid grouping, the United Democratic Front (UDF).

89 dead

Inkatha and the UDF blame each other for the violence and say it is diverting them from the struggle against Pretoria's apartheid policies. Moves to end the fighting have so far been unsuccessful.

Kerchhoff's Maritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness says 89 people died in unrest in the first nine months of this year, 154 people were injured and 111 buildings damaged.

In the most serious attack, 13 Inkatha members were killed last month when gunmen set fire to a house in the hillside settlement of Kwa Shange and gunned down the occupants as they tried to escape.



Police reported two deaths and several injuries in the area last week. On Saturday, bystanders rescued a black youth who had been stabbed, covered with petrol and set alight.

"No-go" areas

The unrest has hampered relief efforts following floods which devastated the area last month. Some districts have become "no-go" areas for aid workers distributing food.

One victim of the violence, 35-year-old Gladys Sangweni, said she fled Nhlazatshe township after her husband and daughter were killed by people she described as vigilantes.

She said the men came to her house last July searching for her son, who they suspected was involved in killing the son of an Inkatha member. When they could not find him, they set fire to the house.

A month later, her daughter was stabbed to death. The vigilantes attacked the house again just before the funeral, hacking her husband to death with spears and knives, she said.

Other local residents alleged that Inkatha members had tried to force people to join the organisation.

Fighting apartheid

Inkatha and the UDF both say they are fighting apartheid but differ on how to go about it. Inkatha says it is non-violent and opposes sanctions and disinvestment as a way of putting pressure on the South African government.

The UDF, a loose coalition of some 600 groups, is more active, organising protests at national and local level against government policy.

The Maritzburg area is the frontline where support for Inkatha and the UDF overlaps.

Some of the city's townships form part of KwaZulu, the semi-autonomous Zulu homeland. They are administered by KwaZulu officials, all members of the million-strong Inkatha movement headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Skhumbuzo Ngwenya, regional secretary of the UDF, said one reason for the violence was that Inkatha often regarded the UDF's anti-apartheid campaigns as attacks on itself.

Confrontation

"In some townships under the KwaZulu government, whenever people take up community issues and maybe confront the authorities, Inkatha automatically intervenes because you are attacking KwaZulu authorities," he said.

The KwaZulu Member of Parliament for the Maritzburg area, Velaphi Ndlovu, said Inkatha was a non-violent organisation and its members had not started the fighting.

He said there had been little violence between blacks before the UDF was formed in 1983.

"Since 1985 until now, how many people have died? How many people have been petrol-bombed? How many black schools have been closed?" he asked. — Sapa-Reuter.

Thatcher's remarks won't change policy

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The Foreign Office has been at pains to point out that Mrs Margaret Thatcher's reference to the African National Congress as a "terrorist organisation" and to sanctions against South Africa not working has not signalled a change in the British Government's policy towards South Africa.

Although Mrs Thatcher placed the ANC alongside the IRA, a Foreign Office spokesman said this did not rule out future contacts with the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher has repeatedly said her government does not talk to terrorists but both Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, have met ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

On each occasion the British Ministers repeated their rejection of violence. Although no date was set for future meetings, the impression was left that the door was open for future talks. Mrs Chalker's talks with Mr Tambo were described by the Foreign Office as "useful and candid" and Sir Geoffrey's as "good, candid and open".

The Foreign Office says there is no indication that Britain will not carry out its commitment to impose certain sanctions on South Africa in spite of Mrs Thatcher's repeated assertion at Vancouver that sanctions have not worked and have been counter-productive.

Noted with dismay

Asked if Britain had not been somewhat half-hearted in its implementation of sanctions agreed by the Commonwealth, the European Community and the United Nations, the Foreign Office spokesman said: "We stand on our record however tightly we may have interpreted the precise letter of what we said we would do."

● The solutions to South Africa's problems would be resolved only if the African National Congress and the Government met to devise a new constitution, says the United Democratic Front.

A UDF (Western Cape region) spokesman said today it had noted Mrs Thatcher's remarks "with dismay and great disappointment".

South Africa came under the spotlight again at the Commonwealth leaders conference, but criticisms levelled at the country had been "fair" and "constructive", said the UDF.

"The theme of the conference, to us, seems that our immediate neighbours are concerned about the alleged destabilising role that the Government is playing in the region.

"We say that the British Prime Minister should endeavour to become part of the solution of the problems which face the South African nation," the statement said.

Argus 20/10/87

Township violence may stop matric exams

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Hundreds of Maritzburg schoolchildren may be unable to write their matric examinations amid simmering political and criminal violence in the townships, where 42 people have died and scores have been injured in a month.

Police have deployed reinforcements in the townships in an attempt to deter violence and it is believed that 60 people were arrested following clashes last weekend.

Inspectors and principals are to meet today to discuss alternative examination venues for the several hundred matric pupils, said to be staying away from school out of fear and not protest.

Their matric examinations are due to start on Friday.

There are 10 high schools in townships around Maritzburg and five appear to be affected by stayaways.

An examination crisis committee — comprising teachers, pupils and parents — has been established and will meet on Sunday.

A committee member said contingency plans would be discussed, including bussing pupils to other venues.

"Pupils have been assured that they will be protected at schools, but what

happens afterwards?" he said. "There are groups of vigilantes roaming around and pupils fear they will be attacked to and from school."

A Maritzburg businessman, who did not want to be named, said people are "still living in terror in the townships".

"If the army is in Maritzburg it is not visible," he said. "The police are trying very hard but they are spread too thin."

Mr Peter Miller, MEC for black community services in Natal, said there were no further reports of violence at the weekend.

"I firmly believe the political violence has degenerated into gangsterism involving the criminal element," he added.

In Durban the president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, made an urgent appeal for the end of violence between the UDF and Inkatha.

Mr Gumede has denied allegations that the UDF was increasing its activities and said that its leaders were doing everything possible to bring the situation under control.

However, anger among many of its members because of the actions of vigilantes was so deep that this was a difficult task.

● UDF-Inkatha struggle — page 11.

Gumede appeals for end to 'Maritzburg violence'

THE president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, yesterday made an urgent appeal for the cessation of violence between the UDF and Inkatha in Pietermaritzburg's troubled townships.

At least 90 people have died, hundreds have been injured and numerous houses petrol-bombed in continuing bloody battles in the areas surrounding the capital in the past year.

The escalating conflict has been brought to the attention of the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer, who told a group of young nationalists at a "leadership conference" in the Drakensberg at the weekend that the UDF were "increasing their activities" in Pietermaritzburg.

The Natal executive committee member responsible for black community services in Natal, Mr Peter

Miller, has also expressed concern.

Mr Gumede, however, emphatically denied Mr Meyer's allegations that the UDF were increasing their activities and said that their leaders were doing everything possible to bring the situation under control. However, he said the anger among many of their members who had suffered at the hands of alleged "vigilantes" was so deep that this was an extremely difficult task.

"When you say to someone who has had his brother killed that he must stop fighting and start talking, it is not always possible," said Mr Gumede. "But despite political differences it is not necessary that the present physical conflict continue and we believe that this violence is something that is likely to damage the interests of all concerned. The resolution of differences by talks is more appropriate."

11P Gumede 2/10/87

Bonteheuwel pupil starts jail sentence

BONTEHEUWEL schoolboy Norman Scheepers shrugged when asked about his one year sentence for public violence.

"No, I'm not scared. Maybe I'll start worrying once I'm inside," he said.

Scheepers, 19, spoke to SOUTH last Thursday, a day before he reported to the Goodwood Magistrate's court to start serving his sentence.

Members of the Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress (BISCO) went with him to court to wish him well.

Scheepers, a Standard Nine pupil at Bonteheuwel Senior Secondary School was convicted of public violence in October last year after being arrested on the school grounds after pupils had stoned the police on April 25.

He spent five days in Pollsmoor before he was released on R150 bail. He had pleaded not guilty. On September 14 this year he learnt that his appeal had failed and he had to report to start his sentence within 14 days.

Scheepers said he had applied for permission to write his final examinations and study in prison.

"I want to finish my matric and get a good job, maybe in a bank."

"My parents are worried but they have been very supportive. I did not worry much, maybe because it did not dawn on me yet."

"I believe people on public violence charges should not be kept with common criminals. Better still, they should be allowed to do community service," he said.

A Bisco spokesperson said they held meetings at the three schools in the area last week and had a church service for Scheepers.

"Bisco will miss Norman because of the role he played in organisations. We will continue and will not allow ourselves to be overpowered," she said.

Detained kids: Lawyers help

NATAL. — Lawyers are intervening in the increasing number of cases here in which conservative parents are reluctant to get legal help for their under-age children who have been detained.

A member of the Progressive Federal Party's

Unrest Monitoring Group confirmed this, saying that in some cases she had to get distant relatives or in-laws to apply for legal assistance for minors.

By law only a parent or adult relative can seek legal aid on behalf of a minor. — *Concord News Agency*

Families express concern

THE families of Section 29 detainees have expressed concern about the welfare of those in detention.

At a press conference held at St Georges Cathedral this week, the families and several organisations condemned detention without trial.

They said the detainees were denied access to families, friends, legal representatives and doctors of their choice.

Statements of support came from the United Democratic Front (UDF), National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), United Womens' Congress, the Western Cape Civic Association and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

A focus on detentions will be held in many areas this week.

Activities include:

Saturday October 17: A tea party for families of detainees at Wonderland Nursery School, Rylands at 3pm.

Sunday October 18: An inter faith service at the AME Church, Hazendal, at 3pm.

Monday October 19: Free the Children Alliance report back meeting on the Harare conference on detentions, at the New Education Block, UCT, at 8pm.

South
15-2/10/87

held

'Charter most akin to community's needs'

By MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS

FRANKLIN SONN started last week with a campaign that will radically alter the political profile of his organisation, the Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa — persuading 25 000 teachers to adopt the basic policy document of the ANC, the Freedom Charter.

The composition of the CTPA and Utasa, mainly "coloured" teachers employed by the House of Representatives' education department, makes it a daunting task.

While drawing a large membership in urban centres such as the Peninsula and Port Elizabeth, it also has a large membership in rural areas.

In a wide-ranging interview at his office on the campus of the Peninsula Technikon, Sonn said: "It's obviously not a decision that can be taken at a single meeting on a Sunday afternoon."

He outlined a blistering programme that will keep him and his executive members on the campaign trail to all parts of the country "virtually every weekend from now until next June".

"My proposal to the organisation is based purely on calculated strategic action in terms of its future development.

Structures

"For this, my organisation needs a mission statement which leads to shared values and on which a programme of action can be based."

Sonn said the adoption of the Freedom Charter as a mission statement could only be successfully done by painstakingly "working through" the organisation's democratic structures

"A decision to adopt the Charter can simply be announced and people will agree or it can be dictated to them to accept. But it will not be worth the paper it's written on.

"By the end of our campaign not one of our members will be able to say he or she had not had an opportunity to have a say on the adoption of the Charter," Sonn said.

This will be done through Utasa's regional and local structures and representatives at the the organisation's annual conference would be delegated to take a decision.

Sonn said he expected "some tension" in his organisation during the debate on the Charter, but he was confident that there would be a unified approach when a decision was taken.

"Our strategic plan is to mobilise our members on the basis of the Charter, which is not to simply get

"AT the end of the day I'm confident that I'll be able to get the 25 000 members of my organisation to support the adoption of the Freedom Charter."

This confident statement made by Franklin Sonn in an interview this week is not misplaced.

Attending the annual gatherings of the Cape Teacher's Professional Association (CTPA), one of the largest and best-organised teachers' bodies in the country, or of its federal body, the Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa (Utasa), the depth of his support and popularity among rank-and-file members is immediately apparent.

Sonn has pull and sway, together with charisma, a persuasive intellect and a "gift of the gab", that has led to his unchallenged leadership of teachers' organisations for more more than 11 years.

Born in the Vosburg district near Victoria West, Sonn matriculated at Harold Cressy High School in Cape Town in 1957 and attended the University of the Western Cape where he completed a BA honours and a teacher's diploma.

He taught for 12 years at secondary school level and served five years as principal of Spes Bona High School in Athlone.

He has been rector of the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville South for 10 years.

them together from time to time at meetings. Mobilisation can only be done effectively through effective planning and demonstrated hard work."

Sonn said the Freedom Charter succinctly expressed the aspirations and desires of the majority of the people in South Africa.

Beliefs

"The Charter is most akin to the existing beliefs of our community and is a document that best encapsulates a shared value system that is necessary if we want to liberate our country.

"It is in essence a bill of rights which satisfies almost all basic requirements. We will, of course, look at other documents such as the ten-point plan of the Unity Movement and the Manifesto of the

Black Consciousness Movement during our campaign."

Sonn said there were a number of organisations and people who had differences with articles in the Charter, such as its reference to national groups and the question of socialism.

"In any democratic system there will always be arguments over interpretations of concepts and issues. These arguments, however, must never stand in the way of the need to act together."

It was difficult to predict the political repercussions should the teachers' organisation decide to adopt the Charter, he said.

"We must act in terms of our convictions. We don't really have fears because what we are about to do we believe to be in the best interest of our members and community."

Sonn said he did not agree with all the methods employed by the ANC.

"We know, however, that the ANC has been driven to violence because for more than 40 years its peaceful efforts have been rebuffed by the violent reaction of the State.

"Terrorists"

"I don't believe there'll be a reduction in violence through counter State violence, or by merely preaching against violence."

There was an onus on South Africans to demonstrate they could find unity of purpose and create a democratic and nonracial society in a "non-violent way".

Sonn said he envisaged his teachers' organisations "growing closer" to other progressive organisations.

"In principle we are of one mind. Naturally, if we declare our shared values on the basis of the Charter, our affinity will be much closer.

"It is not in the interest of anybody to seek division. Our purpose is to seek unity and find points of agreement.

He said there are many people and groups "who are going around and saying things about us."

"These people say they believe in the liberation struggle, but some of them are more intent on destroying unity in the ranks of the oppressed and are as dangerous as the reactionary forces.

"Often these forces claim to be democratic, but when their strategic plan is examined, you'll find little evidence of respect for the rights of the individual which is after all the cornerstone of democracy."



'Mbeki in isolation'

15-21/10/87

South

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By SAHM VENTER

IMPRISONED ANC leader Govan Mbeki is being held in isolation on Robben Island.

This is according to Mr Lumko Huna released from the Island on Wednesday after more than nine years.

He said the 77-year-old former ANC national chairperson and Umkhonto weSizwe high commander was transferred to the "isolation cells" after President PW Botha hinted at his release in August.

A spokesperson for the SA Prisons Service said it was policy not to comment on the incarceration of individual prisoners.

Huna said: "Comrades used to do things for him like wash his clothes and read to him. It is very worrying that he is now being held alone."

He said the prison head told them there was nothing he could do about it, as the order had come from Pretoria.

Prisoners had been refused permission to see Mbeki but had linked his transfer to release rumours.

Azanyu man stabbed in Mbekweni

ANOTHER member of the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU) has been attacked this week in Mbekweni, Paarl.

According to residents, several clashes between members of the United Democratic Front and AZANYU has taken place in Mbekweni since 1985.

Earlier this month, the house of a slain AZANYU member Taelo Ntlaba was petrol bombed.

Matanzima Teleti was stabbed, according to sources, on Saturday night at a shebeen. The source said Teleti had crossed the "border" into "UDF territory". He sustained head and back injuries and is being treated at the Paarl East Hospital.

A Paarl UDF member condemned the stabbing and blamed the incident on undisciplined comrades or hooligans.

His mother, Mrs Ethel Teleti, a teacher at Langabuya High School, said her son came to visit her for the week-end.

She said he left Mbekweni last year to stay in Langa.

Take revenge

Her son was a member of Azanyu and was one of the accused in a murder case of a UDF member in 1985. "My son got acquitted in the case last year and had to leave the area for fear of being attacked."

She said one of the reasons for the stabbing was the outcome of the case. People wanted to take revenge.

"I was also attacked by members of the UDF in 1986 at the school. I was stabbed in the back and had acid thrown in my face because of my childrens' involvement. I was also accused of driving another of my sons away from home because he was a member of the UDF."

She said her son would have to leave Mbekweni as soon as he was discharged from hospital "because the comrades are hunting for him".

"People claim there is peace between the two organisations, but you can't even walk freely in this place", she said.

15-21/10/87
Santé

11A

Buthelezi tells why Tambo won't meet him

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DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused UDF co-president Archie Gumede and the Natal Indian Congress of preventing ANC leader Oliver Tambo from meeting with him.

Both Gumede and the NIC said if Buthelezi had any information he should supply it to the police for investigation.

Buthelezi also attacked certain anti-apartheid organisations for keeping alive "black-on-black strife".

Meanwhile, Gumede said in an interview that he did not take part in the recent Inkatha-UDF peace talks as a UDF

representative but as a representative of anti-apartheid organisations in the affected townships. 15-2-11/10/87

"The local community leaders asked me to bring about peace in their townships," Gumede.

"I volunteered to intervene because I am sick and tired of all the killings," he said. He said that since the murder of Mrs Victoria Mxenge in August 1985 more than 500 people had been killed and more than R2-million damages has been caused to private homes. — *Press Trust*

Southern

Foreign Office likely to keep ANC contact

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The British Foreign Office will almost certainly maintain its limited contact with the ANC, in spite of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's denunciation of the organisation as terrorist in the mould of the IRA.

There will also be no attempt to shut down the ANC office in London — a courtesy granted to many exiled or banned radical political movements — as long as they obey the laws of the land.

While Thatcher's denunciation is embarrassing to the Foreign Office, the official view is that she was expressing her own opinion.

The British government infuriated Pretoria last year when Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe met ANC president Oliver Tambo in Lusaka.

Foreign Office and other British officials have maintained regular high and medium level contact with the ANC.

THERE is an anarchical, surreal quality about the knifing to death of two middle-aged white men by unknown black youths in Johannesburg last weekend.

They were cut down in the precincts of a citadel of white power: Ellis Park, scene of many a triumph by white South African manhood on the rugby field.

Like several of the victims who were injured but luckily escaped with their lives, the dead men, Basil Delorme and Ledge van Druten, had been watching the match between the visiting South Pacific XV and the South African Barbarians.

The attacks took place on October 10, a public holiday which used to be known as Kruger Day in honour of the 19th-century Afrikaner patriarch and defender of Afrikanerdom, Paul Kruger.

The upsurge of black-on-white violence on that day led Sam Bloomberg, National Party MP for Bezuidenhout, and Geoff Stark, an independent member of the Johannesburg City Council, to conclude that it must have been politically motivated.

Both men cited the "organised" inflow of young blacks into Johannesburg parks in support of their view.

But police investigations have found no evidence to support the contention that the violence was political, Lieutenant Pierre Louw told *Weekly Mail*. Fourteen youths had been detained for questioning about the murders but were later released, he said.

Clashes between black picnickers and police at two parks, Bezuidenhout and Rhodes Park, preceded the rampage by the angry youths, suggesting that they may have been enraged by the clashes.

Police, acting on complaints from white residents of unruly behaviour and drunkenness by the picnickers, went to Bezuidenhout Park. There, according to an official police statement, they used teargas to disperse black crowds after they were attacked by stone and bottle-throwing youths.

Later a police constable was attacked at nearby Rhodes Park, forc-

Wild in the streets: A mob kindles white paranoia

It seemed to happen from nowhere: an explosion of violence near Johannesburg's Ellis Park, leaving two men dead. The immediate reasons remain unclear, but the root causes of the conflict have been spiralling over the years.

PATRICK LAURENCE on the demography of violence

ing him to fire birdshot at the attackers, injuring two of them.

The unfortunate Delorme and Van Druten may have encountered blacks en route to the Ellis Park train station from the two parks about 4 km away.

But if the immediate causes of the surge of murderous violence are still unclear, its deeper, underlying origins are less obscure.

The burgeoning population of the black townships which encircle Jo-

THE CITIZEN
 THE CITIZEN GROUP
 R699

2 DEAD, 8 HURT, 17 HELD AS MOBS RUN AMOK

He was killed



Surrogate gran leaves clinic



Heckling of Naas

How *The Citizen* portrayed the weekend park riots Johannesburg is obviously an important factor.

The white population is growing slowly, with its reproduction rate already "below replacement levels", according to demographer Johan Grobelaar of the Unit for Futures Research at Stellenbosch University.

Against that the black population is multiplying rapidly. Its reproduction rate — defined in terms of the number of live daughters born to women during their child-bearing years — is more than twice that of the whites.

Between 1980 and the turn of the century the total South African population will grow from 28.6-million to

44.9-million. Blacks will contribute more than 14-million of the anticipated increase against a combined total of barely over two million for whites, coloureds and Indians.

There is another crucial demographic dimension. Not only will blacks form an increasingly large proportion of the overall population — between 1980 and 2000 their proportion of the total will rise from just over 72 percent to nearly 78 percent — but young blacks will form a rising percentage of the black total.

Between 1980 and 2000, blacks in the school-going age group of five to 19 will rise dramatically. In 1980 blacks between the ages of five and 19 constituted about 75 percent of the total black population. By 2000 they will form about 83 percent.

By 2000, there will be nearly 16-million young South Africans between the ages five and 19. More than 12-million of them will be black.

These demographic forces are at work already; 1990 is no fewer than three years away.

The growing black population in the townships on the peripheries of the cities is already making increasing demands on available facilities.

One sign of it is the conspicuous, often dominating presence of blacks in many Johannesburg parks, which were desegregated as far back as 1974.

The underlying demographic forces, however, combine with another factor to form a socially explosive mix: the high drop-out rate at black schools.

As educationist and researcher Ken Hartshome has shown, for every 100 black pupils enrolling in Sub A, more than 50 fail to complete primary school and only 10 reach Sid 10. Of the 10 who reach matric, only five pass and only one gains a matric exemption certificate entitling him/her to go to university.

Many of the drop-outs become alienated desperadoes, unemployed and, after a time, unemployable. They can and do degenerate into a *lumpen proletariat* to whom violence is a daily occurrence and life is cheap.

These social forces are integral to the wider canvas against which the senseless knifings of Delorme and Van Druten took place. They are central to the context in which the sudden flurry of security proposals by the Johannesburg City Council should be seen.

The proposed steps to prevent further violence include the erection of fences around parks, the recruitment and deployment of special municipal police to maintain control at parks and the charging of an entrance fee of between R2 and R3 for adults and 50c for children on public holidays and at the weekend.

But, argued Progressive Federal Party city councillor Tony Leon, these measures will not succeed on their own and may even exacerbate the situation.

Unless the city council stopped thinking only of whites when it planned for the future, unless it started to plan for blacks, too, the presence of armed guards at parks could precipitate an even greater tragedy.

Leon, who estimated 2 000 blacks live on the streets of Johannesburg without any form of shelter, not even squatter shacks, urged the city council's management committee to hold discussions with accepted black leaders on how best to control crowds at parks.

The problem is not new. There has been violence before. On December 16, 1983, a man was killed and 22 people injured in fighting at Gilooly's Farm on the outskirts of Johannesburg.

In 1983 a report calling for fences and entrance fees at Johannesburg Parks was submitted to the city council. In 1984 it was reportedly accepted by the city council's management committee.

But unsurprisingly the problem was not solved. It could hardly be as long as Johannesburg has more than 700 parks and Soweto barely 40 parks and playgrounds.

UK MPs upset by ANC plot case

11A
See 11/11
22/19/87

LONDON — British Labour and Liberal MPs sympathetic to the African National Congress are expected to make demands in Parliament for an official inquiry after Scotland Yard sensationally dropped charges against three men accused of plotting to kidnap key ANC figures.

They claim the dramatic turn-around in the case was the result of high-level Government figures operating a cover-up.

During remand hearings, Mr Benjamin Conlon, counsel for Larsen and Wheatley, claimed the alleged ANC kidnap plot and a linked plot to overthrow the Seychelles Government, known as "Operation Layout" involved the British and American governments and unspecified South African commitment.

Mr Conlon warned that if the charges proceeded he would be forced to prejudice national security in open court by naming a "Minister of the Crown" and other senior British Government figures allegedly directly involved in the alleged conspiracy.

On the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecu-

tions, it was be formally announced in Lambeth High Security Court today that the charges against the three had been withdrawn on grounds of insufficient evidence.

Solicitor Mr Stephen Fiddler said two of the mystery men, known as Mr Frank Larsen, 53, and Mr John Wheatley, 28, had indicated publicly for the first time that they too they were acting as undercover British agents when arrested by the police "accidentally stumbling across" events.

The pair have been in a high security prison since July 9.

The third accused, Welshman Mr Evan Denis Evans, 49, who served as a sabotage expert in the Rhodesian and South African armies for 15 years has been on bail for the past month.

It is understood that the man charged in the name Frank Larsen, in reality a Norwegian national of Zimbabwean origin named Johan Viggo Orebak, will be immediately rearrested pending deportation to Norway.

just outside Wellington.

Cape Times 22/10/87 (119)

10-year-old decapitated

MARITZBURG. — A group of men decapitated a 10-year-old boy in Esibodeni, near Maritzburg yesterday. Police said a group of four or five men had burst through the door of Skumbuza Shezi's home and taken him outside. Police later found his decapitated body in a ditch near the house. It was understood that the incident was a revenge killing.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI.

NGK synod gives nod to ANC talks

Sinc
2/10/87

Own Correspondent

(11A)

CAPE TOWN — The Western Cape Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk yesterday acknowledged the right of the church and individuals to talk to organisations such as the African National Congress.

However, theological lecturers, students and ministers were asked to tread very carefully because of the "propaganda value of meetings with controversial political and other organisations.

RECONCILIATION

"At the same time the Synod emphasises the necessity and the right of the church as an institution and of individual believers to take reconciliation seriously."

In drawing up these recommendations, the Synod's temporary commission for general affairs rejected a motion by the Rev H M van Rensburg of Beaufort West which condemned ministers and theological students who had talks with "communist and terrorist organisations".

The commission also rejected an amendment from Dr J A Loubser which emphasised the importance of communication between conflicting groups in South African society and encouraged members to further this communication as part of their calling to reconciliation.

During debate, Mr van Rensburg proposed an amendment to the commission's recommendations that such talks would not take place without the permission of the moderator.

ANC kidnap case: Charges dropped

ANC Times
22/10/87

114 110 111 112 113
From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Scotland Yard's Anti Terrorist Squad (ATS) last night dropped the charges against three men accused of plotting to kidnap the ANC's key leaders in London.

The dramatic development is likely to spark accusations that the British government is involved in a massive cover-up because the men are secret service agents.

The move was confirmed in a formal statement by Mr Stephen Fiddler, solicitor for two of the mystery men, known as Mr Frank Larsen, 53, and Mr John Wheatley, 28, who have been in a high security prison since July 9.

The third accused, Welshman Mr Evan Denis Evans, 49, who served as a sabotage expert in the Rhodesian and South African armies for 15 years until 1985 and is separately represented, has been on bail for the past month.

Evidence submitted to the police claimed that Evans had for many years been a British MI6 senior agent who had worked as a double-agent.

In the statement released by Mr Fiddler, Mr Larsen and Mr Wheatley indicate publicly for the first time that they too were acting as undercover British agents when arrested by the police "accidentally stumbling across" events.

During remand hearings this month Mr Benjamin Conlon, counsel for Mr Larsen and Mr Wheatley, claimed that the alleged ANC kidnap plot and a

To page 2

From page 1

linked plot to overthrow the Seychelles government, known as "Operation Layout" involved the British and US governments and unspecified SA commitment.

Mr Conlon warned that if the charges proceeded he would be forced to prejudice national security in open court by naming a "Minister of the Crown" and other senior British government figures allegedly directly involved in the alleged conspiracy.

On the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecutions, it will be formally announced in Lambeth High Security Court this morning that the charges against the three have now been withdrawn on grounds of insufficient evidence.

It is understood that the man charged in the name Mr Frank Larsen, but recently revealed to be a Norwegian national of Zimbabwean origin named Mr Johan Viggo Orebak, will be immediately rearrested pending deportation to Norway.

Three weeks ago the same charge was similarly dropped against a fourth man, accused in the name of Mr John Terence Larsen, aged 28 and calling himself Mr Frank Larsen's son.

He was rearrested under his real name, Mr Hans Kristian Dahl, and is still in custody on a Witness

Order, pending deportation to Norway. He could be deported today.

The statement issued on behalf of Mr Wheatley and Mr Frank Larsen (Orebak) last night declared that they had consistently denied any involvement in an actual plot to kidnap ANC figures.

It claimed that, from documents in the possession of the Anti Terrorist Squad, "it is clear there never was any plot to kidnap the ANC which involved our clients".

"Our clients do not deny that they have been working for the British government. But they deny emphatically that they have ever had contact with or worked for the South African government."

"Their biggest worry at this stage is the present refusal of the prosecution to hand back a large amount of documentation which it has been admitted, on oath in open court, is in their (the prosecution's) possession.

"These documents concern matters of national security, with party political consequences, which would have catastrophic effects should they be leaked to enemy agents.

"Any release of the documents would most certainly cause a great deal of embarrassment to the British Government."

11-22/109/ (11A) W/Mail

Gumede's UDF peace pipe steams up his Inkatha rivals



Inkatha's chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, unleashes his verbal fury on the UDF

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

TALKS between warring Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters almost came apart this week with two outbursts against the UDF and its president, Archie Gumede, unleashed by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The attacks on Gumede seem to ignore the fact that the UDF president has been conducting delicate cease-fire negotiations at some considerable risk to himself — from both sides in the conflict.

Despite these verbal attacks made in statements from Ulundi — which some of Gumede's supporters fear could spark an attempt on Gumede's life — he has continued with the talks as scheduled, saying it was "not (his) make-up to drop everything in response to the remarks" however much of a shock they had been to him.

The first attack by Buthelezi followed just days after last week's historic "temporary truce" signed by Gumede and the national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Musa Zondi.

However, over the weekend at the Inkatha Women's Brigade annual conference in Ulundi, Buthelezi accused Gumede of "toadying" to divisive elements in the UDF which were trying to prevent talks between Inkatha and the UDF and which were promoting "black-on-black violence".

In particular he slammed the Natal Indian Congress for manipulative and divisive behaviour adding that Indian elements in the African National Congress were responsible for preventing Oliver Tambo from talking to him.

Gumede and members of the NIC responded with a demand that Buthelezi produce evidence that the Indian Congress was behind township violence.

Early this week Buthelezi fired a second salvo at Gumede, the UDF and NIC saying he and NIC's Mewa Ramgobin had "resorted to provocative political polemic in responding to my speech at the weekend in which I stated that their organisations ferment black on black confrontations and play a part in preventing black unity".

On his proof of NIC involvement in township violence he said, "I have ample evidence of their devisive manipulations throughout South Africa and abroad. Their own words and actions speak for themselves when they continually accuse me and Inkatha of being 'racist' and 'tribalistic'."

Commenting on his attitude to Buthelezi's remarks Gumede, who admitted they had come as a great shock, said talks between members of Inkatha and the UDF from several townships where there was violence between the two groups, had been held on Monday as planned and further discussions were scheduled for next week.

Gumede denied he had ever called Buthelezi "tribalistic or racist" but Asian' statements attributed to him (Buthelezi) as racist and calculated to fan the flames of patriotic fervour of his supporters".

Mbeki release rumours hot up

16-22/10/77
w/maie
BY MONO BADELA

DIPLOMATIC sources said this week Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has promised foreign editors he will release former African National Congress chairman Govan Mbeki next week.

At a closed-door meeting during *The Star's* international conference on the press last week, sources said, Vlok told a group of editors Mbeki would be freed by Wednesday.

The argument advanced in diplomatic circles is that the government wanted to wait for the conclusion of the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver before freeing Mbeki so as not to give the impression it was bowing to pressure.

Mbeki, 77, is the father of ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki. He was jailed in 1964.

It's ten years since the Jimmy Kruger crack-down on youth

11A W/Mail
16-22/10/87

DID HE SUCCEED? NO, SCHOOL MILITANCY HAS GROWN

WHEN, on October 19, 1977, Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger declared a range of black extra-parliamentary groups "unlawful", much of his ire was reserved for student and pupil groups.

The South African Students' Organisation, the South African Students' Movement, the Soweto Students' Representative Council and SRCs in townships around the country were summarily banned.

The intention of the government was, no doubt, to put an end to the youth-inspired spirit of militancy which had pervaded the townships in the aftermath of the Soweto uprising, and to ensure fledgling forms of youth organisation were crushed.

It must be judged to have failed. If anything, the importance of the "youth component" of resistance has grown dramatically since "Black Wednesday" in 1977. Today youths are organised not only in the schoolyards and on university campuses, but — through the South African Youth Congress — a far broader range of militant youngsters has found an organisational home. Sayco is the largest single affiliate of the United Democratic Front, claiming a membership of well over half a million.

In addition to the growth in numbers, the nature of youth and student activism has changed.

Politically, the dominant organisations are firmly wedded to the Freedom Charter, in stark contrast to the "black consciousness era" of black politics in the 1970s.

Organisationally, the structure of groups like Sayco (forced to operate on a semi-clandestine level) is a far cry from the largely spontaneous and parochial outbursts of anger in 1976 and 1977; and even from the often-amorphous and "triumphalist" activities of some "comrades" at the height of resistance from 1984 to 1986.

Although under tremendous pressure from the state, Sayco and its university-and-school-based allies, the South African National Students' Congress (Sansco) and the National Students' Co-ordinating Committee (Nascoc) have made vigorous attempts to forge alliances with trade unionists, parents and teachers. The "street politics" which characterised youth initiatives prior to the 1986 State of Emergency may have largely disappeared, but youth activists still play a critical role in resistance politics and, moreover, are learning to adapt to changing conditions.

The current state of organised youth resistance is the product of 10 intense years of mistakes made, hard lessons learned, and successes recorded. It is a process which is by no means complete.

About a year after "Black Wednesday", the Azanian People's Organisation was formed and launched a student wing, the Azanian Students' Organisation, or Azaso. Both groups were seen as successors to the black consciousness tradition.

However, at the same time, there was a resurgence of interest in the Freedom Charter and the history of the "Congress Alliance" of the Fifties. The Congress of South African Students, formed in 1979, became the first internal organisation to re-embrace the Freedom Charter. Cosas paved the way for a new phase of resistance politics, in which the youth

Ten years ago this week, the government banned 18 black organisations. Of these, ten were student groups which had spurred the resurgence of militancy.

But despite this and subsequent crackdowns, youth resistance has grown.

VUSI GUNENE and
SHAUN JOHNSON report



Kruger's failed masterplan

would have a much higher level of political consciousness than ever before.

In the early Eighties, against a background of militant action in black schools, Cosas leaders first mooted the formation of broader youth Congresses. The "Charterist" approach gathered pace, even leading to the weaning of Azaso away from the black consciousness camp. Black consciousness loyalists went on to form the Azanian Students' Movement, or Azasm.

Despite this hardening of ideological differences, however, the period was most notable for the swelling of the ranks of youth and student activists in structures which sprouted up across the country.

When the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983, the bulk of its affiliates were student and youth groups — loyal, in varying degrees, to the Freedom Charter. Black consciousness and leftist organisations opposed to the Charter coalesced in the National Forum.

When the "long wave" of resistance began late in 1984, black youth achieved unprecedented prominence — greater, even, than in 1976. In the schools and on the streets, youngsters ranging in age from pre-teens to early thirties — operating in hundreds of localised organisations — were at the forefront of resistance.

This had advantages and drawbacks for the youth movements: black adults increasingly recognised the importance of their children's contribution to resistance.

However, as the crisis in the townships deepened, the effects of brutalisation became evident. Aspects of the "comrades" phenomenon caused much controversy, and some leaders expressed concern that youth militancy was perhaps losing its direction.

On June 12, 1986, the government forced a reassessment of the direction of youth politics by declaring the most comprehensive State of Emergency in South African history.

Much more stringent than the 1985 Emergency (during which Cosas had been banned) the new clampdown saw thousands of activists being detained — some 40 percent of them under the age of 18 — and youth leaders who escaped the security dragnet having to operate "underground". Youth and student movements could clearly no longer organise publicly, and there was a danger that the mass militancy which had been released would lose its focus entirely.

But the increasing maturity of the youth movements was soon attested to by painstaking plans for the launch of Sayco. Although many student and youth congresses were immobilised by security action, activists were able to meet in secret and, after a long process, launch the national structure in March 1987.

Besides the organisational achievement, given the strictures of the Emergency, Sayco also represented a new approach to other sectors of resistance. Gone were the attitudes (which had become common, especially in 1985) that the youth were the "vanguard" of resistance, and that "liberation" was imminent.

In its place was a clearly-stated loyalty to the trade union movement and other popular organisations, and an understanding that resistance faced a "long haul". Amongst youth leaders at least, great emphasis was placed on the "responsibility" and "accountability" of the youth component to the broad anti-apartheid struggle.

Since its launch, Sayco has played a prominent role in several resistance campaigns — including, importantly, the Congress of South African Trade Unions' "Living Wage" campaign.

Although the Emergency has placed enormous pressures on youth activism in general, it is clear that repressive measures — from the "Black Wednesday" bannings onward — have not succeeded in stamping out youth militancy, nor its ability to maintain an organisational infrastructure. In fact, such repression has — on one level — contributed to an incremental political maturation among hundreds of thousands of young black South Africans.

The People's Computer Bureau_{cc}

Assistant

The PCB is involved in all spheres of Personal Computing and has need of the services of a young, dynamic and progressive-minded person whose duties will include:

-General office administration.

Mafuna ^{NA} speaks on black ^{CWC Times} perception ^{22/10/87}

EAST LONDON. — Young blacks had a clear perception of the society they would be living in in the future, unlike young whites who thought in the short-term, the Assocom's Director of Consumer Behaviour, Mr Eric Mafuna, said in East London yesterday.

In a wide-ranging speech on black perceptions, Mr Mafuna gave the Assocom congress, during a debate on the economic outlook, several ideas based on research for companies in South Africa.

These included the fact that extra-parliamentary politics shaped black perceptions and blacks felt their politics were legitimate and white politics were not.

He said young blacks wanted to get away from violence and prepare for a true post-apartheid society.

The ball was now in the whites' court to achieve a settlement.

Dealing with the contention that extra-parliamentary politics shaped black perceptions, Mr Mafuna said blacks had come to realise that the impetus for change lay outside parliament.

"Change cannot come through parliament and it is felt there is no role for it."

Pointing fingers aplenty. But the facts don't match up

BEHIND the Kruger Day race riots lie a tangled mesh of contradictory and politically expedient explanations.

National Party MP Sam Bloomberg blamed "truckloads of blacks". Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok blamed "rowdy youths" and seized the chance to take a swipe at the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. And SABC-TV news insinuated the Soweto Students Congress was involved.

Five Freedoms Forum member and Troyeville resident David Webster said he spent part of Saturday afternoon in Rhodes Park. "There were lots of people, lots had drunk too much and there was a disturbing amount of litter and broken glass. But the atmosphere was good."

Another picnicker recalled one potentially explosive incident when a white wedding party arrived. "A lot of little kids crowded around the couple, to get in on the video being filmed. The party left quickly, but nothing else happened."

The bare facts around which the versions are built are the following: Hundreds of black Johannesburgers converged on parks in white suburbs to enjoy Saturday's rare sunny weather. There was drinking and rowdy frolicking and the police were called in by white residents.

By 8pm two white men had been stabbed to death outside Ellis Park. Nine people were wounded and 17 were arrested by police.

One of the first commentators to capitalise on the suburban unrest was Bezuidenhout MP Bloomberg. Blaming the Progressive Federal Party for stalling NP attempts to police the parks, he pinned the cause of Saturday's violence on "truckloads of blacks descending on Rhodes Park with vast quantities of liquor, apparently with the intention of causing trouble".

Bloomberg told *The Citizen*: "It doesn't take a genius to work out that the violence was timed to coincide with Kruger Day and to give the dis-

Officials lost no time in uncovering political conspiracies to explain the violence. But attempts to pin the blame on black radicals don't hold together. JO-ANN BEKKER reports

tinguished press delegates to *The Star's* centennial press symposium the impression that our country is ungovernable and that our cities are seething with bloodshed and unrest."

Sunday night SABC-TV news also attempted to enlighten viewers as to the reasons behind the apparent anarchy. While the reporter read a grim inventory of murders, stabbings and injuries, the screen showed film footage of black youths showing off for the camera. The reporter noted solemnly that the picnic at Rhodes Park had been organised by the Soweto Students Congress.

This claim was denied by Sosco members who said it was an attempt to criminalise the congress. Eyewitnesses said there had been no political banners or T-shirts displayed at Rhodes Park.

Early in the week, liaison officers for the South African Police offered a sketchy reconstruction of Saturday's events.

According to *The Star's* crime reporter, the first incident was reported at 5pm at Bezuidenhout Park when crowds pelted police with bottles and tried to set a road grader alight. Riot police used teargas to disperse the crowds, which then streamed through the streets of Bezuidenhout Valley and Dewetshof to Ellis Park. People damaged cars and property on their way.

Insurance assessor Basil Delorme, about 50, and 58-year-old Ledge van Druten of Benoni, who were leaving the stadium, were stabbed to death when the mob reached Ellis Park. Other spectators were injured.

At about 7pm at Kensington's Rhodes Park, a crowd of about 150



Vlok: drunk youths to blame

cornered police Constable J Willemse, who fired birdshot to escape. He was injured and two people — an 18-year-old man and a 21-year-old woman — were wounded and later arrested.

Seventeen people were arrested that day. However, by Monday all but three had been set free unconditionally. Police said the three would face charges of public violence, assault and murder.

Vlok, meanwhile, blamed drunken youths for the violence. "Those people who continually plead the innocence of so-called youths, such as the DPSC, must take note of the ghastly events of the past weekend," he added.

In a statement, the DPSC asked whether people were detained because of drunk and disorderly behaviour. "If so, what are the ordinary laws of the country for? ... He (Vlok) has resorted to ridiculous ir-

situations from any platform to try to discredit the DPSC and justify an unjustifiable system."

The police took the opportunity to appeal to whites — who according to Bloomberg were itching to form vigilante groups — to join their police reserves and form legal neighbourhood watches.

And the Johannesburg City Council rushed through a set of recommendations which would turn the city's parks into fenced-off zones whose gates would only unlock to those paying entrance fees — and then only until the quota of one person per 20 square metres of usable space was filled.

The recommendations are almost certain to be ratified by the National Party-dominated Independent Ratepayers' Association at the end of the month. Meanwhile, the weekend mayhem will reportedly speed up negotiations between the city council and police aimed at establishing a municipal police force for white areas.

But among some white residents in Johannesburg's eastern suburbs there is strong resistance to this trigger-happy response.



Webster and a Kensington resident who asked not to be named described how green-suited security guards carrying 9mm automatic pistols and armed men on horseback had created tension at the park two weeks earlier. At that time the boisterous crowd at the park were white country music fans who were watching a festival.

The resident said the guards had instructed picnickers to keep their dogs on leads and ordered an ice-cream vendor to leave the park. "Two uniformed men on horseback cantered across the lawn, terrifying the young children in our group," Webster said. "It was very unpleasant."

"Sealing off the parks would be an outrage," he added. "There are no decent parks in Soweto so obviously people are going to seek more decent surroundings on public holidays. I would rather have lots of people in the park than guys with guns."

THINK YOURS SHOULD BE IN THE NEWS FROM OUR
 ONLY ONE BROWN STAMP IN THE NEWS

(TIA) Mail 16-22/10/87

AKG:s 22/10/87

LITAN

11A

Tutu, Hendrickse clash over teacher

Mitchell's Plain Bureau

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Hendrickse have locked horns over the archbishop's presence at a demonstration in support of demoted schoolteacher Mr Peter Carelse.

Mr Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, objected to Archbishop Tutu attending the meeting.

The archbishop, among more than 1 000 people at Mitchell's Plain town centre a fortnight ago to protest against the demotion of Mr Carelse, acting-principal of Glendale Senior Secondary School for five years, today urged Mr Hendrickse to "come to terms with the feelings of the community".

"UNWARRANTED DEMONSTRATION"

Mr Hendrickse said in a telex the archbishop's presence at an "unwarranted demonstration" was "cause for concern". The issue revolved around the "inability of a principal ... who has already served periods of probation".

The decision to demote and transfer Mr Carelse was an "education and administrative one and taken at that level was certainly not political".

If the archbishop was interested, he could arrange a meeting with the Department of Education and Culture.

"I do not believe a meeting between me and the department will help resolve the situation," Archbishop Tutu said.

"It is my belief that the only way of resolving the growing crisis is for your department to come to terms with the very strong feelings of an unusually united community of pupils, parents and teachers."

'I said no to ANC kidnap plot'

By CHRIS STEYN

A WORLD exclusive report in the Cape Times three weeks ago disclosed the first details that lie behind yesterday's remarkable UK cover-up to protect cabinet officials of both Britain and the United States from damaging revelations in the ANC kidnap trial.

The Cape Times reported that three of the men accused of plotting to kidnap the ANC's key leaders in London, were secret agents, and predicted that attempts at a massive cover-up were under way. The attempts succeeded this week with the dropping of charges against the three men.

Cape Times 23/10/87 11A

WIN! WIN! WIN! WIN! WIN!

£5 000 in gold — health spa — TV & video — personal computer — £5 000 in gold

Exclusive:

ANC kidnap conspiracy

By CHRIS STEYN in Cape Town and IAN HOBBS in London

In a dramatic development yesterday the "fifth man", wealthy South African businessman Mr Johann Niemoller, said that he was approached to take part in the kidnap operation — but he

refused to become involved.

Mr Niemoller had repeatedly denied that he was behind the plot. He was accused by MI6 agent Mr Evan Dennis Evans of having planned

the operation — code-named "Layout".

The Cape Times reported details of an astonishing spy deal that allegedly involved Britain and America in a plot to overthrow the Seychelles government and kidnap or kill top members of the African National Congress.

The first disclosures came after the Cape Times had obtained details of allegations made to the British police about Operation Layout, involving agents from at least three intelligence organizations, to overthrow the government in the Seychelles.

But these details never reached open court. This was, according to high-level sources in London, because it was feared that if the true story came out, it could sour present US talks with the Soviet Union.

The United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, opened two days of talks this week concerning arms control and a superpower summit later this year.

Police at the highest level in London are said to have been enraged with political interference throughout the ANC kidnap trial which had obliged them to drop the case.

From page 1

Senior detectives who had investigated the details now claim that they were obstructed by intelligence agencies.

In an exclusive interview with the Cape Times yesterday, Mr Niemoller said: "Yes, I was approached, but I found the whole scheme totally unacceptable.

"They wanted me to be involved. But I was not available."

Asked why he declined to take part in the operation, he said: "The South Africans are in the process of negotia-

tion with opposition political groups in an endeavour to improve communications between all these groups, including the ANC.

"I too believe in open negotiation, and therefore such a proposal was totally unacceptable to me," he said.

Asked to comment on the dropping of charges against the other three men allegedly involved in the plot, Mr Niemoller said: "The charges have been dropped. That's fine."

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B
23/10/87
3/2

Calls for probe into cover-up

Call Times 23/10/87

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The British government faced protests of a cover-up and demands for a public inquiry yesterday as charges against three men accused of plotting to kidnap ANC leaders were dropped.

During three months of hearings since their arrest, and discharge three weeks ago of a fourth man, a senior government minister, a Foreign Office official and a Conservative MP have been named in court.

They were Mr David Waddington, Minister of State at the Home Office, Mr Julian Amery, a Conservative MP and wartime spymaster, Mr William Marsden, a senior Foreign Office official, and Sir Edward Gardiner, a lawyer close to Mrs Thatcher.

All were said to have been implicated in the alleged ANC plot and a linked bid to overthrow the socialist Seychelles government.

Sir Edward last night denied any involvement but there was no comment from the other three.

In Parliament yesterday afternoon Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher refused a request by Labour MP Mr Richard Caborn to make a statement on the case, saying it was purely a matter for the Attorney General, Sir Patrick Mayhew.

Earlier, at Lambeth High-Security Court, Mr Frank Larsen, 53, Mr John Wheatley, 28, and Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 53, all alleged to have acted for British intelligence services, were discharged when the police offered no evidence.

Mr Larsen and Mr Wheatley did not appear and their counsel, Mr Benjamin Conlon, startled the court by insisting that they should stay in the "safety" of prison for another week. He said their lives would be in danger if freed.

The court was cleared for a hearing in camera when Mr Conlon insisted that the reasons for his unusual request concerned matters of national security that would have embarrassing consequences for the government and "catastrophic" effects on the Conservative Party if heard in open court.

He later announced in open court that agreement on the discharge of his clients had been reached, but declined to give details.

Mr Caborn, leader of the Labour anti-apartheid group, said that with the backing of dozens of MPs he was placing his demand for an inquiry in writing to the Prime Minister.

A complete surprise — ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC last night said the discharge of the three men accused of plotting to kidnap their leaders had come as a "complete surprise".

A statement added: "This is particularly so in view of the fact that the ANC office in London had been informed by the police handling the case that they were treating it with utmost seriousness.

"... We think that both the British and US authorities have an inescapable obligation to explain their roles, if any, in these disturbing developments.

"Our feeling of great unease is further heightened by the extraordinary outburst of the British Prime Minister against the ANC which she categorized as terrorist, while keeping silent about the hundreds of thousands of people who have died or are maimed in ... Southern Africa at the hands of Pretoria."

conomic questions in Africa.

Another delegate, trade unionist Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of the National Council of Trade Unions, had been invited to take part in a panel discussion with Free Market Foundation director Leon Louw and economist Professor Christo Nel. But he was held up by two men at Jan Smuts. The men asked to read Nefolovhodwe's paper; by the time they returned it to him — apparently without finding anything "wrong" with it — the Cape Town flight had left.

It seems SA's political scientists have, in the words of outgoing president Gerard Tomemeyer, arrived at the crossroads. He says they should "demand voicing one's opinion loudly and clearly, in an environment which is already characterised by restrictive liberty and limited academic freedom." ■

LABOUR PARTY

High noon

Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse's newly aggressive approach is linked directly to a brutally honest self-examination by the LP — an analysis which shows it has lost direction and purpose in parliament.

As a result of Hendrickse's refusal to cooperate, unless the Nats compromise on certain issues, President Botha will probably be forced to call a general election in 1989 for



Hendrickse... so far and no further

all three houses — and face further losses to the right.

Hendrickse has also managed to thwart, for the time being, Nat plans to go ahead next year with joint debates (but separate voting) for all three houses. The LP had initially supported the idea.

It's obvious that Hendrickse has little to gain from his stubborn stand (apart perhaps, from a bit of much-needed credibility). Gains for the Conservative Party would be bad news for SA, never mind the LP. And joint debates, even without joint decision-making, would be a minor advance.

But it is a principle that Hendrickse is

standing for — he refuses to be taken for granted. Compromise, he says, is simply doing what the Nats want. After three years of saying "Well, okay," he is now saying "So far and no further."

The new strategy follows a closed party conference at St James near Simon's Town in August. MPs were asked to take a critical look at the party and its performance since it decided at Eshowe in 1983 to participate in the tri-cameral parliament. There was criticism of individual MPs and of the party's lack of dynamism, but the main thrust was that the LP became known as "junior partners" to the Nats, because of its lack of real opposition to apartheid.

Some of the observations: "Of concern to the majority of voters is the fact that power still rests in the hands of the white man... most people in our community believe we are collaborating with the NP... From Eshowe to St James the achievements have been few. Power has not been forthcoming... pre-occupation with 'coloured' affairs... We should be the real opposition to the NP. We fell back as spectators."

On the basis of this soul searching, Hendrickse renewed his determination to resist the Nats, and is now even willing to ask for an election for the coloured house alone, if he must, in order to get a mandate for his

new strategy. He acknowledges that some MPs may lose their seats, but says that's the luck of the draw. As chairman of the coloured Minister's Council, Hendrickse can at any time ask for an election.

He says he's taking a tough line because the NP has refused to compromise on the Group Areas Act, which the LP has demanded be scrapped immediately. LP MPs are generally bitter at the shoddy way in which they believe Botha, in particular, and the NP have treated them since 1983. Hendrickse says Botha is far more concerned about losing support to the CP, which has 23 seats, than in winning the support of the LP, which holds 73 seats.

He says the LP originally received a mandate from voters to enter the tri-cameral system to dismantle apartheid, but the NP seems determined to resist any such attempts.

It may have taken a long time, but at last it appears that the LP is coming to grips with why it decided to participate in parliament in the first place. ■

Lawyer: police stumbled on govt-linked ANC kidnap plot

Thatcher faces public inquiry

from IAN HOBBS, Daily Dispatch man in London

LONDON — The British government faced protests of a cover-up and demands for a public inquiry yesterday as charges against three men accused of plotting to kidnap ANC leaders here were dropped.

During three months of hearings since the arrest of the three, and a fourth man discharged three weeks ago, a senior government minister, a Foreign Office official and a famous Conservative MP have been named in court.

They were Mr David Waddington, Minister of State at the Home Office, Mr Julian Amery, a Conservative MP and wartime spymaster, Mr William Marsden, a senior Foreign office official and Sir Edward Gardiner, a top lawyer who is close to Mrs Thatcher.

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In Parliament yesterday afternoon Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher refused a request by Labour MP Mr Richard Caborn to make a statement on the bizarre case, saying it was purely a matter for the Attorney General, Sir Patrick Mayhew.

Earlier, at Lambeth High Security magistrates court, Mr Frank Larsen, 53, Mr John Wheatley, 28, and Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 53, all alleged to have acted for British intelligence services, were discharged when the police offered no evidence.

State prosecutor Mr Michael Bibby declined to say why the case had been dropped although he had claimed to possess substantial evidence of a "well thought out plot" to kidnap ANC leaders.

The charge brought by the Anti Terrorist Squad

had claimed that the accused plotted to kidnap ANC leaders, including Joe Slovo, at gunpoint and smuggle them to South Africa in a boat moored in the River Thames.

Earlier remands were told by Mr Bibby that Mr Evans, who served in the Rhodesian and South African armies for 15 years, had introduced the South African "fifth man", alleged to be Uppington businessman Mr Johan Niemoller, to a claimed kidnap conspiracy.

Mr Larsen and Mr Wheatley, did not appear, and their counsel, Mr Benjamin Conlon, startled the court by insisting that they should stay in the "safety" of prison for another week. He said their lives would be in danger if freed.

The court was cleared for a hearing in camera



MRS THATCHER...
no comment

when Mr Conlon insisted that the reasons for his unusual request concerned matters of national security that would have embarrassing consequences for the government and "catastrophic" effects on the Conservative party if heard in open court.

It was later officially confirmed that immediately on discharge that Mr Larsen, also known as Johan Viggo Orebak, said to be a Norwegian national of Rhodesian origin, was "re-arrested".

He was charged with

immigration offences and faces being deported to Norway.

Another accused who was discharged earlier this month, Mr Hans Kristian Dahl, 28, who was arrested using the name of John Larsen and calling himself Frank Larsen's son, also faces deportation to Norway.

Mr Wheatley's whereabouts were not known, but his solicitor, Mr Stephen Fiddler, claimed that both he and the two using the name Larsen had been working for British intelligence.

Mr Fiddler said he was particularly concerned for the safety of Mr Wheatley who was a "clear target for assassins — he knows too much".

Mr Fiddler declined to comment on documentary evidence present during secret session and said to describe "Frank Larsen" as a senior British intelligence agent who had even secretly received a top award for

his covert services to Britain.

Nor would he comment on claims that Mr Wheatley had been an army intelligence officer and that "John Larsen" had operated on the fringes of intelligence.

Mr Fiddler claimed that the police had "stumbled accidentally" on a covert operation that went to the highest levels of the British and "other" governments and that "lack of communication" with intelligence services had caused a major blunder that should never have happened.

Attorney General Sir Patrick Mayhew was not available to comment on Labour charges that the government was covering up the truth of the case.

But Mr Caborn, the leader of the Labour anti-apartheid group, said that with the backing of dozens of MPs he was placing his demand for an inquiry in writing to the Prime Minister.

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Women's leader 'Mama' detained

Mitchell's Plain Bureau *NR*
A 67-YEAR-OLD great-great grandmother who is a diabetic was detained at D F Malan Airport as she was about to leave for Johannesburg.

"Mama" Dorothy Zihlangu, president of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) in the Western Cape, was going to a Lutheran Church women's conference.

A Fedsaw spokeswoman said Mrs Zihlangu was a diabetic who needed a special diet and medication. She was blind in one eye and sight in the other had been affected.

She was taken to the airport yesterday morning by a friend, Mrs Bulelwa Tinto, who said she saw two men approach Mrs Zihlangu.

"They identified themselves and told her to leave with them. They took her luggage," Mrs Tinto said.

Mrs Zihlangu's lawyer, Mr Essa Moosa, said police had confirmed they were holding her under the emergency regulations.

The Fedsaw spokeswoman last night condemned the detention.

She said Mrs Zihlangu was active in church affairs, had been the first chairwoman of the United Women's Organisation and was involved in the United Women's Congress and Western Cape civic associations.

AK646 23/10/87
SA 'blocked
envoy's bid to
see Mandela'

11A
The Angus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The South African Government has turned down "numerous" formal requests by the US ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, to visit jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

This emerged in a report issued at a Senate hearing yesterday.

"The Ambassador continues to seek a meeting," the report said in reviewing how the Reagan Administration was implementing the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act of 1986.

The US has long urged the release of Mr Mandela, describing it as a strong sign of government reform-mindedness and a prerequisite to true black-white dialogue and progress in South Africa.

● US "should lead world in curbs", page 11.

Row brews in aftermath of 'ANC kidnap'

From SUE LEEMAN

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The British government has been plunged into a major political row amid allegations that it ordered the dropping of charges that linked a Minister and intelligence agencies to a plot to kidnap ANC leaders here.

The Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, was under pressure last night to explain why the three men accused of plotting to kidnap leading members of the ANC in Britain were discharged unconditionally yesterday. A fourth accused was discharged earlier.

Questions are being raised in Parliament over why the prosecution suddenly dropped all charges — after telling Lambeth Magistrate's Court it had detailed proof of a well-orchestrated plot to smuggle leading members of the organisation out of Britain.

Call for inquiry

And last night Mr Roy Hattersley, Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, urged Mrs Thatcher to launch a top-level inquiry into allegations that "people in high places" were involved.

He suggested that she might call in the Security Commission to investigate claims that Conservative Party MPs had been questioned by the police.

There is growing talk of a government cover-up and speculation that the Crown was forced to abandon the case after the defence threatened to produce evidence implicating the British authorities.

Two of the accused have claimed they worked for the British government and said documents seized from them by the police affect British national security.

Yesterday Mr Johan Viggo Orebak, a Norwegian who appeared in court as "Frank Lar-

sen", and Mr Jonathan Wheatley were discharged with co-accused Mr Evan Dennis Evans.

Mr Orebak is still in custody with fellow-Norwegian Hans-Christian Dahl, alias "John Larsen", who was released earlier this month. They are charged with immigration offences.

Asked in Parliament for an explanation yesterday Mrs Thatcher replied: "Prosecution matters are not a matter for me. I will draw this to the attention of the Attorney-General. Whether he responds is purely a matter for him."

● An ANC spokesman expressed surprise at the dropping of charges, saying that the government knew a great deal about the activities of the accused, and hinting at United States involvement.

Help is needed for dismissed workers

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THE Azanian People's Organisation (Zamdela branch) has appealed to the local community to help provide accommodation to Sasol workers who were recently dismissed and kicked out of the company-owned hostels.

An Azapo spokesman said the dismissed workers needed community support in their fight for better wages and re-instatement. He appealed to priests and residents to accommodate these workers.

More than 1 300 Sasol workers, all members of the South African Chemical Workers' Union, downed tools at Sasol's plants early this month, demanding a R200 monthly increase. Management is offering a R100 across-the-board rise.

Last week, Sasol management was granted a Supreme Court order evicting 450 dismissed workers from company-owned hostels in Sasolburg.



LONDON — Britain's director of public prosecutions is to drop all charges against three white men who were alleged to have conspired to kidnap members of the African

UK DROPS CASE AGAINST 'KIDNAPPERS'

National Congress in London, *The Independent* reported yesterday.

The newspaper said the three men, Frank Larsen, Jonathan Wheatley and Evan Dennis Evans were expected to be discharged yesterday.

"The prosecution will offer no evidence," the newspaper said.

Similar charges against a fourth man, John Larsen, were dropped last month.

The four were arrested last July by Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist

squad. *The Independent* said: "A solicitor acting for Mr Larsen and Mr Wheatley said that he did not deny they had been working for the British Government and that they had a large amount of documentation concerning matters of national security in their possession."

"Had they been leaked, he said, it would have had a "catastrophic effect" and "cause a great deal of embarrassment to the British government."

"The solicitor also said that he was extremely concerned for the safety of his clients and in particular he was

concerned that Mr Wheatley might be abducted."

The Independent said the case had been confused because of the identities of the accused, and the huge quantity of documents, including classified Ministry of Defence manuals and Foreign Office material

found at the Larsen home near Aldershot in Hampshire.

"The solicitor said he would not discuss the nationality of his clients, but it is believed that Frank Larsen is also known as Viggo Oerbak, a Norwegian who went to fight for Ian Smith's regime in Rhodesia.

"Johann Neimoller, a South African who was also believed to be involved in the alleged plot, told *The Independent* from South Africa earlier this week that he had been interviewed by the British police in connection with the case, but the police deny this." — Sapa.

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Detention after being on the run

By ANDREW DONALDSON

MAMA Dorothy Zhilangu, the 67-year-old president of the Federation of South African Women, was detained this week in terms of the emergency regulations after she had been on the run for more than 16 months.

Her detention at D F Malan Airport on Thursday shortly after noon, and before a scheduled flight to Johannesburg, was confirmed by her lawyers yesterday.

Currently on a special diet and medication — she is a diabetic, blind in one eye and with impaired vision in the other — Mama Zhilangu was on her way to attend a Lutheran Church women's conference.

It is the third time the Fedsaw president has been detained. She was also detained during the 1960 and 1985 states of emergency.

Insufficient evidence against four

'Thatcher had no hand in ANC case'

Star 24/10/87

LONDON — Britain's Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, yesterday defended the decision to drop charges against four men accused of conspiring to kidnap African National Congress (ANC) members and denied any British government involvement in the matter.

Sir Patrick told the House of Commons that the decision to discharge the men was reached by Mr Allan Green, Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), alone, without reference to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

He said there was "no connection whatsoever" between any of the defendants and British security and intelligence services.

Three Conservative politicians allegedly linked with the case have all denied any involvement.

Sir Patrick made his statement to the Commons following a political row in which opposition Labour MPs levelled charges of a cover-up at the government.

He said that "to his knowledge" Mrs Thatcher as head of security services had not been consulted over the affair.

"I have had inquiries made and I am advised that none of the defendants has at any time been employed in any capacity in the security services or the intelligence services."

Sir Patrick said he had no knowledge that any classified material was discovered at the home of one of the defendants.

He said Mr Green had decided to drop the case on advice of independent leading counsel.

"Mr Green, is entirely independent in the judgment he brings to these matters.

"He did not think it necessary — and I make not the slightest criticism for this — to refer the matter to me."

NOT ENOUGH TO CONVICT

Sir Patrick said that although the evidence against the accused had been "quite sufficient for their arrest and charging", it had been considered that it was "not likely to be sufficient" to secure a conviction on trial.

He said the security services had at the request of the DPP examined alleged government documents involved in the case and had advised that the documents were not genuine.

Labour MPs pressed questions about the case, with left-wing MP Mr Dennis

Skinner branding Sir Patrick "a squalid operator from the Tory front-bench".

He said there had been a "squalid cover-up between the government and DPP, protecting Mrs Thatcher's back because of her known hatred of the ANC.

"Are we to believe the Prime Minister did not know about this? It is asking us to believe one hell of a lot."

Sir Patrick said conspiracy to kidnap charges had been laid on July 15 against Frank Larsen, John Larsen and Jonathan Wheateley.

FALSE DOCUMENTS

Similar charges were made against Evan Dennis Evans on July 19.

Sir Patrick said: "These charges arose from events beginning with the arrest on July 9 of Frank Larsen in a lavatory at a hotel in London.

"He produced a document purporting to be a warrant card, but which was not.

"He claimed to be an Assistant Chief Constable in the Ministry of Defence police, which he was not. He had with him documents in different names."

Sir Patrick said that Frank Larsen's home in Aldershot, Hampshire, had subsequently been searched.

"A quantity of documents were found which, among other matters, purported to relate to a plan to kidnap members of the ANC in London."

Sir Patrick said "leading counsel" had advised on October 1 that "there was insufficient evidence to warrant proceeding with the prosecution".

During the court case it was claimed that the British Government and other governments were involved.

It was also claimed that police had seized documents linking Conservative figures with the affair.

Labour MPs named them in the Commons as Home Office Minister of State Mr David Waddington, MP Mr Julian Amery and former MP Sir Edward Gardner.

They have all denied any involvement in the matter.

The name of a Foreign Office official, Mr William Marsden, was also mentioned in connection with the documents.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "It is preposterous to suggest the British government or British government officials have been involved in illegal activities."

— Sapa.

37 STELLA ROAD
PLUMSTEAD 7802
Winner of a Gill Goni

Try to put a little money aside as
before the end of the year, possibly to put
yield both pleasure and profit. This
with people from another area who
are planning to alter your property,
and cost of there could be disappointing.

Handwritten: *Call Times 24/10/77* (MP) (circled)



FUNERAL . . . At the funeral yesterday, of Jayraj Naidoo is his father, Mr Krishna Naidoo (left), his sister Tara (middle) and his mother, Mrs Marlene Naidoo. Behind Mr Naidoo is Mr. Moosa Kaprey, chairman of the school's Parent Teacher Student Association.
Picture: PATRICK COLLINGS

1 000 attend Rylands funeral

By PETER DENNEHY

THE coffin of Jayraj Naidoo, surrounded by more than 1 000 people — most of them high school pupils, was yesterday carried past the home of a man who has been arrested in connection with the shooting.

Jayraj Naidoo, 16, was shot dead on Thursday.

Bearers took the coffin from the Naidoo home at 18 Arba Crescent to Rylands High School, where a funeral service was held.

On the way, they took a detour past the home of Mr Ebrahim Parker, a

businessman who was released on bail of R100 yesterday after appearing in court in connection with the shooting.

Some pupils, carrying a banner with the words "Hamba Kahle Comrade Jayraj" stopped outside the Parker home.

No classes were held at Rylands High School yesterday. Pupils of Alexander Sinton and Belgravia High also attended the funeral.

Rylands High principal Mr Ismail Waja said the school had lost a pupil who would be remembered for his gentlemanly behaviour.

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LONDON. — Major Wynand du Toit was captured in Cabinda through information passed to Western intelligence by one of the double agents accused of plotting to kidnap leading ANC members in London, sources here revealed yesterday.

Mr Evan Dennis Evans, one of the men against whom charges of conspiracy to kidnap were dropped this week, was a former RAF officer and had for many years faithfully served MI6, British intelligence's foreign arm.

Mr Evans, 53, Mr John Wheatley, 28 and the particularly shady Mr Frank Larsen, 53, were charged earlier this year with conspiracy to kidnap leading members of the ANC in London and bring them back to South Africa.

The charges were dropped this week amid protest that there had been a cover-up. All three were also mentioned in the unsuccessful coup attempt against the socialist government of Mr Albert Rene in the Seychelles.

According to his own evidence, Mr Evans's last job was as quartermaster to the South African Recce Commando. He is quoted on record as saying that he helped plan the fatal raid on the Cabinda oilfields on May 21, 1985.

Only survivor

However, it is claimed that Mr Evans informed London of the plan to strike at American oil installations in Cabinda, and London in turn informed Washington.

The angry Americans then tipped off the Angolans. The usual Cuban guard was taken out of the sabotage zone and Major Du Toit and his sabotage team walked straight into the arms of an ambush set up by Fapla, the Angolan army.

The only survivor was Major Du Toit, who recently returned to South Africa in the spy swop involving Angola and Mozambique.

Mr Evans returned hastily to his native Wales, where he set up a business in Anglesey in October 1985, after 15 years' service as an officer in the Rhodesian and South African forces.

According to reports Mr Evans left in haste because he feared the revenge of the Recce Commando — and in particular he feared Mr Johann Niemoller, the Uppington businessman rumoured to be the mastermind of the plot to kidnap such leading members of the ANC as its London representative, Mr Solly Smith.

After his arrest, Mr Evans's wife Judith admitted the family was terrified when Mr Niemoller suddenly arrived on their doorstep in late 1986.

Her husband's sole wish, she said, was to put distance between himself and Mr Niemoller and to safeguard his family.

She supported evidence given on Mr Evans's behalf in court that Mr Niemoller asked him to get involved in either "blowing up" the ANC offices or kidnapping its members, particularly former military wing leader Mr Joe Slovo.

According to his statement, Mr Evans agreed to become involved in surveillance of the ANC offices but told them to "get lost" when they asked him to join the alleged kidnap plot.

Mr Evans has since refused to discuss the case. But there is a glaringly obvious security screen around his house. Journalists who have made approaches have found themselves followed by plainclothes police.

Du Toit

114
24/10/87
APC - Timp

betrayed

MI6 agent

A storm of protest broke in England this week when the kidnap charges were dropped against the three on Wednesday.

Britain's Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, yesterday defended the decision to drop the charges and also denied any government involvement.

Sir Patrick told the House of Commons that the decision was reached by the Director of Public Prosecutions alone, without reference to Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

He said there was "no connection whatsoever



Gladys Sangweni ... her husband and daughter were killed because her son supported the "wrong group". 11/16/87 24/10/87

Caught in the crossfire ...

GLADYS SANGWENI'S son supported the "wrong group", and so terrified was he of being attacked that he vanished and went into hiding.

For that, his mother paid the ultimate price: she witnessed the brutal and retributive killing of her husband and her teenage daughter, and watched her house burn.

When it happened, over two successive nights, she was left helpless and totally alone. Neighbours locked their doors and pretended that nothing was happening. A false move and they knew they would be next.

This is not an unusual incident. In past years, and with greater intensity in recent weeks, many families have been caught in the crossfire.

Observers in the region say that the conflict has reached the proportions of a full-scale civil war. It is South Africa's newest battlefield and, like Beirut, the townships around the Natal capital are divided into zones.

If you belong to one group you dare not venture into the other. If you do you will die.

Yesterday Mrs Sangweni returned from hiding to her "killing fields" outside Edendale. Through an interpreter she told her story:

"Early in the evening I was making supper and I heard my daughter Zandile coming home.

"My husband was away at the time. I then heard a group of people singing and chanting slogans. The sound came nearer and then I heard screams. I heard my daughter shout my name and that of her father and her brother. I hid under a table. I was too afraid to go outside but I wanted to help.

"When they went away I went to look. They had stabbed her a lot. They even took her schoolbooks."

As she and her husband were preparing for bed the following night she heard the same group of people, singing and chanting.

"We ran through to a neighbour's house but they must have seen us. They caught us outside the house next door."

Mrs Sangweni said the group fell on her husband and butchered him to death with a knife.

She escaped in the turmoil and as she was running she saw her house begin to burn.

All this because her son belonged to the "wrong group".

100 multimillion-rand films planned SA movie boom

Bloody conflict in Maritzburg townships war

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A peace envoy — Terry Waite style — could be the only workable solution to end the spiralling and increasingly violent township war being fought in and around Maritzburg.

The idea, which has been mooted for some time in clerical circles, was this week given unqualified support by spokesmen for the United Democratic Front and Inkatha, whose organisations are waging the bloody and brutal conflict in the area.

Residents and observers in the area believe that a peace envoy would be able to move quickly and freely between the warring groups, and at all levels.

27 killed in 10 days

In less than 10 days, at least 27 people have been killed in battles between the two groups.

This figure includes the deaths of two 35-year-old men who were stabbed to death in a home at Taylor's Halt yesterday. Since mid-October more than 300 people have been detained.

Horror stories of death and destruction emerge each day.

Hundreds of refugees have fled the townships and the number is escalating daily. Since the beginning of the year there have been close on 100 deaths.

Unconfirmed reports of fighting between Inkatha and Azapo groups in Greytown

Peace envoy

may be only way to end spiral of UDF-Inkatha violence

were also received this week, as were reports of sporadic fighting further south at St Wendolin's.

Peace broker

The Progressive Federal Party, which is to tour the strife-torn area tomorrow with a top-level parliamentary delegation, has also backed the idea of independent peace broker.

While no names have yet been mentioned, observers of the conflict believe that a senior church representative acceptable to all parties would be the best candidate.

A meeting of Maritzburg church leaders is scheduled for later next week and the idea of an envoy is likely to be discussed.

Attempts to find a solution to the conflict appear so far to have failed. Talks between UDF and Inkatha senior lead-

ership have met with little success.

It has been indicated that while a willingness does exist among leaders to end the fighting, there is a complete breakdown in communication to rank and file membership.

Efforts by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce to mediate have also met with little success, as has the intervention of National Party MP Brian Edwards.

Local Inkatha leader Mr V V Mvelase said: "We have no objections to the appointment of a peace envoy. At this stage we are prepared to support any peace efforts."

The leader of the Maritzburg branch of the UDF, Mr A S Chetty, expressed similar sentiments: "We would support such a move but it would have to be a very special man."

Mr Peter Kerchhoff, director of a local monitoring group, the Maritzburg Association for Christian Social Awareness, said that initial priorities in bringing an end to the violence should be:

- Guarantees from both sides to end recruitment;
 - Freedom to join any association;
 - A "ceasefire"; and
 - The drawing up of dual agendas which could then be jointly discussed.
- Mr Kerchhoff also supported the idea of a peace envoy.

W Cape traders celebrate 10 years

Finance Editor

THE Western Cape Traders' Association, which represents almost 2 000 black traders and storekeepers, is to hold its 10th annual conference in Cape Town next Wednesday.

Mr Kassiem Allie, general secretary, said the central theme of the conference would be: Businessmen in the economic crisis, the political crisis and the socio-economic crisis.

"We are black businessmen and have a role to play in changing the unjust Government to bring about a just society.

"We have to normalise the situation — to get a sound

South African economy, which at present is definitely in a depressed state," he said.

The secretary of the association, Mr Yusuf Pahed, said the conference would be open to members and invited guests.

It would begin at 6.30 pm in the Wittebome Civic Centre, Wynberg.

He believed the association had the support of virtually all the black traders in the Western Cape.

Mr Pahed said the association was closely involved in community affairs and was an affiliate of the United Democratic Front.

People in the townships

now identified black traders with the community and not with the "enemy".

"In 1976 a tremendous number of traders had their shops looted and burned down.

"During the last riots in 1984-85 it was a totally different picture as a result of our development work among the community.

"We've taken part in strike negotiations, we have assisted communities when there have been disasters or other problems, and we have also supported them such as when they have called on traders to close in June 16."

Mr Pahed said the association
(Turn to Page 3).

★ Supplement to Weekend Argus, October 24 1987 3

W Cape traders hold 10th city conference

(From Page 1)

tion had opposed the national chains moving into black areas.

Today they needed to expand, and the only way then could do this so would be by coming back into the black areas.

"We have opposed this at all levels. The national chains did not oppose our removals from white areas," he said.

Mr Pahed said it was difficult being a trader on the Cape Flats.

There was high unemployment which was affecting townships directly.

"The unemployment in the area is far higher than has been estimated.

"Where in the past you had a family of four working, today you have only one working and three unemployed.

"People are becoming extremely price conscious and we have to work on very thin margins."

THE NATAL 'WARZONE'

25/10/87
 (Handwritten marks and initials)

By S'BU MNGADI

THE bloody United Democratic Front-Inkatha conflict for political supremacy has reduced Natal Midlands townships to a warzone.

The death toll during the past three weeks alone, which yesterday morning stood at 47, could increase dramatically as more bodies continued to be found after each night's pitched battles.

Recently devastated by floods, residents in the area also have to face nights of terror.

The bashing down of doors, kidnappings, screams, executions and the flames of burning houses have become permanent features of the townships.

Hundreds of supporters of both Inkatha and the UDF, and to a lesser extent Cosatu, have been maimed and killed during the past year and scores of houses destroyed.

The matric examinations, scheduled to begin today, hung in the balance yesterday because schools are situated in areas that have become no-go areas for either the UDF or Inkatha supporters.

On Monday, a heavily armed group of people allegedly disrupted pupils preparing to write their examinations at two Edendale schools. This was confirmed by LJ Simelane, S'Mero High School's committee vice-chairman.

Several businesses in Maritzburg have also been severely disrupted, with employees staying at home to protect their property which rival political gangs have been threatening to destroy if the men refused to join their "armies".

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries frantically convened meetings with concerned organisations, but without any success.

All townships in the area have been torn into "strongholds" for either the UDF or Inkatha.

UDF strongholds have been renamed after socialist countries.

On arriving at Kwadambuza (Angola), we were ushered into a mud house where "comrades" - all members of "The Scorpions" (named after an automatic Russian pistol) - had been discussing the war.

The group consisted of scholars, workers and unemployed people - including a prison warden - and their ages ranged from 13 to 21.

Hundreds of local youths are said to be members of The Scorpions.

**It's 24-hour
where night
to the flood**

According to the group, they were formed out of fear of retribution following the killing of two prominent Inkatha members accused of being at the forefront of a reign of terror by vigilantes at Kwadambuza last year. Sitting at the table was pint-size Themba Gasa, 14, who appeared to be second-in-command of The Scorpions. Themba's profile depicts



Sister Bernard Ncube ... freed after 16 months in detention.

'Prayers answered' as nun is released

By MARTIN NTSOELNGOE
 IT was a happy reunion for the president of the Federation of Transvaal Woman, Sister Bernard Ncube, and her family in Dube, Soweto, when she was released on bail this week after 16 months in detention.

Ncube was joyfully welcomed by her elderly parents who said, "Our prayers are answered," when she visited them this week.

Ncube and 14 members of the Krugersdorp Residents' Committee were detained on June 12 last year. They are facing charges of sedition, subversion and assault.

Those who were freed on R500 bail

with Sister Ncube are: Abel Mokonyane, Steven Mottingoe, George Xolelizwe, Moses Kelebane, Mathew Kope and Christopher Sithole.

Two others, Lawrence Ntloko, secretary of the KRO, and Bongani Dlamini, an executive member, were the first to be freed after their lawyers successfully applied to the Rand Supreme Court for their release.

The chairman of the KRO, Joshua Dekeme Makgotlo, and Zacharia Molele, are allowed to go to work in Chamdor, but are not allowed to enter Kagiso.

Isaac Genu, KRO vice-chairman, Jerry Kgofera, Morgen Morwa Montoedi, George Xolelizwe, Abel Mokonyane, Steven Oupa Mottingoe, Jo-

hanna Mokowe, Moses Kelebane, Christopher Sithole and Mathew Kope are all staying in a mission house in Soweto.

The trial of Ncube and the 14 others is due to start in January.

According to bail conditions, Ncube, who is living at the Ursuline sisters' home in Kensington, is prohibited from entering the magisterial districts of Krugersdorp, Roodepoort and Randfontein or move her place of residence without the permission of the investigating officer.

She is restricted from participating in any actions or attend any political organisations or civic associations meetings and has to report to the police twice a week.

Mokone is no more

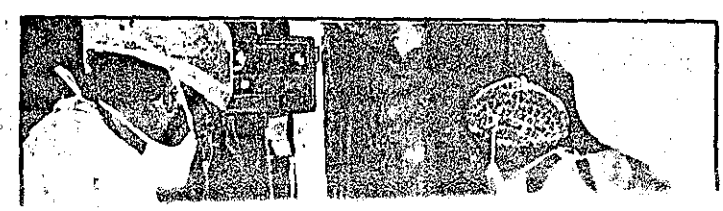
ELIJAH Mokone, the erstwhile boxing "Ellis Brown", is no more.

Mokone, 54, one of the finest lightweight champions SA has ever seen, passed away this week at the Sababana Hospital.

THE EMERGENCY

This newspaper has been produced under emergency regulations which amount to censorship. The restrictions effectively suppress information of public interest. No details of 'un'

Twins start solo



a tis de if mv th an ho "d thv lox wv bo an sic th ni pe tr wi

ning in the balance yesterday because schools are situated in areas that have become no-go areas for either the UDF or Inkatha supporters.

On Monday, a heavily armed group of people allegedly disrupted pupils preparing to write their examinations at two Edendale schools. This was confirmed by LJ Sime-lane, S'Mero High School's committee vice-chairman.

Several businesses in Maritzburg have also been severely disrupted, with employees staying at home to protect their property which rival political gangs have been threatening to destroy if the men refused to join their "armies".

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries frantically convened meetings with concerned organisation, but without any success.

All townships in the area have been torn into "strongholds" for either the UDF or Inkatha.

UDF strongholds have been renamed after socialist countries.

On arriving at Kwadambuza (Angola), we were ushered into a mud house where "comrades" - all members of "The Scorpions" (named after an automatic Russian pistol) - had been discussing the war.

The group consisted of scholars, workers and unemployed people - including a prison warden - and their ages ranged from 13 to 21.

Hundreds of local youths are said to be members of The Scorpions.

It's 24-hour terror where night adds to the flood horrors

According to the group, they were formed out of fear of retribution following the killing of two prominent Inkatha members accused of being at the forefront of a reign of terror by vigilantes at Kwadambuza last year.

Sitting at the table was pint-size Themba Gasa, 14, who appeared to be second-in-command of The Scorpions.

Themba's profile depicts

A young girl do Park schoolgirl walked off with the prestigious Miss Sabta 1987/88 beauty title at the Standard Bank Arena this week.

Celest Dollie, 16, won R3 000 in cash and a make-up kit from Justine Cosmetics.

Her princesses, Hillary Arendse, 17, also from Eldorado Park, won R2 000 and Vivianna

a grim picture of brutalised youth.

He said he had no fear of death and would "be proud if I die protecting my community from these thugs".

The Scorpions use anything from pangas, spears and an assortment of homemade weapons to "defend themselves".

They have also won themselves friends among local policemen and prison warders.

In Dambuza alone, they boast four prison warders and two policemen on their side.

And a fortnight ago three local policemen and nine Kwasange men appeared in the local magistrates' court in connection with the killing of 13 Inkatha Youth Brigade members.

The prison warden present told *City Press* that many of his colleagues and policemen had been forced to take sides because, unlike their white seniors whose main concern was to protect the government and its apparatus, they were facing unprovoked violence in the townships.

He insisted that he was not a UDF supporter but the suffering endured by the front's supporters in the current strife had drawn him closer to UDF policies.

The Scorpions said of the prospect of a truce with Inkatha: "We did not start this, they did."

The group's leader added: "If they are now calling for peace talks we must consult the communities they have brutalised."

"We don't want the peace initiatives to come from above. The people must decide. Look what happened at Mpumalanga - it is a joke, they signed the truce but our people are still being attacked."



Procedure to separate the twins.

that it can be controlled from outside their bodies.

Initially the operation would have been performed yesterday or today, but at the weekend the team had decided to advance the date of the operation.

The twins were put under an anaesthetic at 7am on Tuesday and they were placed in the required position on their stomachs for the operation.

The team of plastic surgeons started the operation and about 45 minutes later

the team of neuro-surgeons took over.

The team was very positive about the outcome of the operation, said a spokesman.

The biggest danger to the twins at present is possible infection. They are, therefore, being kept in extreme sterile conditions.

The twins' mother, Sophie Mathibela, is staying in the hospital.

The team is being led by Prof Lipschitz, chief of the hospital's neurological unit.

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Jon
ohane

Move to get 'ANC kidnap' papers back

TOP British Government officials will be subpoenaed tomorrow to return vital documents to the four men acquitted this week of plotting to kidnap leading ANC executives.

The move — by lawyers representing the men — is intended to force the British authorities to release documents they claim will prove beyond doubt that at least one of the conspirators in the hair-brained scheme to kid-

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

nap ANC members in return for South African support in overthrowing the Seychelles Government was connected with the British secret service.

In a bizarre late-night Press conference yesterday, Mr Ben Conlon, representing the acquitted men, said he would be going to court to force the Director of London's Metropolitan Police and the Director of Crown Prosecution Services to return documents seized in their inquiries.

Deportation

Mr Conlon also claimed that one of the acquitted men, Mr Frank Larsen, alias Johan Viggo Oerbak, was the former head of the Rhodesian Psychological Warfare Section and had been recruited in 1981 by British military intelligence.

He had worked for them since in a number of top-secret assignments including, allegedly, a period in Angola as a mercenary.

The dramatic turn in the long-running ANC-kidnap case came soon after the Crown Prosecutor withdrew charges against the men: Oerbak, now threatened with

□ To Page 2

'ANC kidnap' move

□ From Page 1

deportation, John Terrence, Dennis Evans and Jonathan Wheatley.

A puzzled magistrate — the fourth to deal with the case — heard that charges against the men had been lifted by the Crown Prosecution Services with no explanation.

The move has led to a political storm in Britain, with opponents of the government claiming it is trying to cover up another major scandal involving the country's secret service.

The story first broke with the news that three men had been arrested in connection with an amateurish plan to kidnap top ANC leaders in London in return for what they hoped would be South African support for a plan to topple the coup-prone Seychelles with a band of 100 heavily armed mercenaries

and a payroll of R5-million.

Among documents seized by the police, and now the subject of the action by the men's legal representatives, are papers signed by a former Minister of the Seychelles Government instructing the purchase of large amounts of weaponry and from the US through a Swiss-based company using Nigerian end-user certificates.

The charges of British Government complicity were denied this week by Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Attorney-General. In a carefully worded statement he said he had investigated the matter and that none of the defendants had had any connection with British security services.

The response, in the House of Commons, has failed to satisfy opposition members who insist there has been a "squalid" cover-up.

11A) (S) ST 25/10/87

Blacks form 'laagers' in city of death

AS POLICE reinforcements rolled into Maritzburg's townships of death this week, residents were organising their own laager-style protection.

"Defensive units" is the new buzzword in the townships — a system of safe areas, manned and patrolled mainly by youths.

Woman, children and the elderly are crowded into the centre of the safe area, which consists of anything from a few houses to several blocks.

The outskirts are unobtrusively monitored by youths, many lounging around houses evacuated in the fighting.

"Fewer people are getting killed since the defensive units were set up — but the fighting will continue. People are now feeling more secure, and there is an attitude on both sides of "we are winning". Nobody is going to give up," said a young man from the township of Edendale.

Report: SHAUN HARRIS Pictures: JIMMY HUTTON



One of the defensive units which have sprung up in Maritzburg

Front for control of the townships; on another it is open season for what is now being called the third force — gangsters, thugs, and criminals who are using the ideological conflict to rape, loot, and murder.

The official death toll in the violence so

far this year stands at around 100 — unofficially it could be much higher.

Houses have been burnt to the ground, vehicles destroyed, children forced out of school and parents prevented from going to work in the city.

In one bloody weekend this month eight

people were killed, six of them shot. Victims are also being burnt to death or hacked to pieces with pangas and axes.

And while Inkatha and the UDF make claims and counter-claims about each other, peace talks initiated between the two political parties last year seem to be on the rocks with little chance of being salvaged.

Black high school pupils began their final matric exams on Friday. Many were unable to write, threatened or too scared to attend school.

Unless alternative venues can be arranged or the exams postponed, 1987 will become just another wasted school year for thousands of pupils.

"Why do you think the killing is getting worse? It is because the UDF do not want the children to write exams. They (the UDF) want them out of school and on the streets so they can recruit them," said Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, regional chairman of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Maritzburg.

"That is a ridiculous claim. Of course the youths want to write exams, but they are unhappy because they have learnt that the army is to be called in to invigilate the exams," said Mr Archie Gumede, UDF president and one of the leading figures in the stalled peace talks.

Other UDF leaders also claim that the reason behind the violence is a recruitment drive by Inkatha, organised from Ulundi.

Although Inkatha controls many Durban townships and most of the smaller areas in Zululand and on the South Coast, they do not have a firm power base in Maritzburg.

In many ways the city is a natural battleground for the two groups, where they are fighting a type of border war for the hearts and minds of the residents.

"We are the defending side — it is our members who are being killed," says Mr Ndlovu.

But as far as the UDF is concerned, bands of Inkatha vigilantes are going from door to door forcing residents to sign up.

Peace

Inkatha responds with similar claims about young UDF members, saying they are forcing children out of school and making them join in night marches.

Mr Ndlovu says Inkatha is ready for a peace meeting.

Mr Gumede says agreement was reached at meetings with Inkatha officials in Durban for a structure to be set up to resolve the conflict.

"Proposals from the meeting have been sent to UDF affiliates. I am still waiting for replies."

One of the worst affected areas during the past week has been Zayeka, a part of Sweetwaters, a rural township 15 minutes from the centre of Maritzburg.

Mrs Thembisa Ndlele was outside her house sorting through a mound of burnt furniture, clothing and bedding.

"Four men came last Friday looking for boys to join them. When they didn't find any they hit me, then began to burn everything inside the house.

"I know some of them — they were from Inkatha," Mrs Ndlele said, adding that she was confused by the attack because she was also a member of the organisation.

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IN AREAS.

Albert Luthuli's legacy lives on

CP News (25/10/87)



CP Correspondent

"WE must seek a way whereby we can realise democracy... more and more people are coming to accept that and to work for it."

Chief Albert Luthuli, late president of the African National Congress who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on October 23, 1961, said this some years before becoming a Nobel Laureate.

Although the democracy that Luthuli dreamt and spoke about has not yet been attained, events show that the people of South Africa are hungry for this democracy and are striving towards it.

Exactly 26 years after he had received the award, more and more people and organisations have endorsed the historic Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 at Kliptown near Johannesburg. At the same time, these people are increasingly coming to accept that nothing short of a democratic and non-racial South Africa will suffice.

Although Luthuli lived for just a few years after the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to him, his quest for democracy and peace in South Africa lives on in the actions of today's political activists.

In the last decade, there have been numerous boycotts of black schools and opposition to other laws discriminating against the black people of South Africa has grown.

Recent protests have been built on the legacy left by the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the largest non-violent resistance campaign ever witnessed in South Africa.

The campaign was a test for non-violent means. Although it did not deflect Pretoria from its apartheid policies or win the sympathy of the white electorate, it did instill discipline and confidence in ANC members, and saw the rise to its presidency by Luthuli in 1952.

Chief Luthuli received the Nobel Peace Prize exactly 26 years ago.

In the late 1950s, the ANC called for a schools boycott.

He said that blacks had to make public their dissatisfaction with the system of apartheid.

Since then, non-cooperation with the authorities has gained such momentum - particularly in the last 10 years - that democratic organisations and their leaders inside South Africa have been exposed to harsh government action.

In 1957, the ANC tried in vain to exact a response from Pretoria to its demand for the repeal of unjust apartheid laws.

Luthuli himself wrote a letter to the then Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, JG Strijdom, protesting against the discriminatory conditions under which blacks in South Africa lived. The ANC was banned three years later.

Recently there appears to be concern among the ANC leadership about the effects of disunity among blacks in the struggle and appear to believe that the goal of the different black organisations is the same: attaining freedom and a non-racial South Africa.

In his book *Let My People Go*, Luthuli said: "Our primary concern is liberation and we are not going to be side-tracked by ideological clashes and witch-hunts."

Born in the then Rhodesia, Luthuli trained as a teacher at the Edendale Teachers' Training College in Maritzburg. He taught at a school in Northern

Natal and at the Amanzimtoti Teachers' Training College on the South Coast of Natal near Durban.

Luthuli died under what was regarded by observers as strange circumstances. He was knocked over by a goods train at Grentville on the North Coast of Natal. Some believe the "accident" could have been foul play.

At the time of his death, Luthuli was restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act to the lower Tugela River district on the North Coast. - Ano,

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CP Press
25/10/87

SAP-vigilante link to be probed

By MBULELO LINDA

HEADS of the newly established Human Rights Trust, based in Port Elizabeth, met the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, in Cape Town this week in a further initiative to quell more than 10 months of violence in Uitenhage townships.

The Minister was also asked to investigate allegations concerning the treatment of detainees in the Eastern Cape by members of the security branch.

Director of the trust, Rory Riordan, PFP spokesman for Law and Order,

Helen Suzman and former PFP MP for Walmer Andrew Savage met with Vlok, two senior officers and the Commissioner of Police, Hennie de Witt,

Riordan said before the meeting that the initiative had the support of the community. He presented Vlok with a 200-page dossier

containing allegations about police involvement in vigilante attacks on residents in Kwanobuhle township.

Since the January 4 vigilante attacks in Uitenhage, Riordan has been monitoring the clashes which are believed to have been between Ama-Afrika vigilan-

tes and UDF supporters.

The Minister and De Witt, according to Riordan, have agreed to launch an inter-departmental investigation concerning allegations of security branch maltreatment of detainees and the alleged collusion between police and vigilantes in the assault and killing of Uitenhage residents.

In a letter written by Riordan, the Minister has been advised that the dossier, consisting of over 40 statements concerning the treatment of detainees, were brought to his attention by Suzman during a parliamentary debate this year.

Also included in the dossier is a series of documents concerning events

monitored by the HRT in Uitenhage townships and a "diary" of the detention of Emson Banda, a Uitenhage Advice Centre worker who was brutally attacked by vigilantes soon after his release from a year's detention in August this year.

Other documents contain an analysis of the reasons given by the Minister for the detention of individuals in the Eastern Cape and concludes that Vlok acted on incomplete and misleading information received from his sources in Port Elizabeth.

It is alleged by Riordan in a covering letter to Vlok that SA police under Colonel Laurie Strydom of the riot police, together with Ama-Afrika vigilantes, attacked residents of Uiten-



Adriaan Vlok ... called on to investigate police involvement.

hage on January 4. Many people were killed or assaulted and the property of over 20 families was destroyed.

Meanwhile, the leader of the Ama-Afrika in Uitenhage and in Port Elizabeth, Rev Ebenezer Maqina, said he had also collected affidavits from people who were the victims of certain individuals who were "used" by the police.

"There is a possibility that there are certain individuals who are using the Uitenhage situation for their own benefit," said Maqina.

He denied that his organisation had been working with the police and said Ama-Afrika was an Africanist movement which did not want any association with whites. - Pen.

Sport must become mass based



SPORT in South Africa is obviously a sensitive issue and a matter of intense debate and struggle.

On the one hand, there is the South African government and its allies in racially organised sports-bodies, who are committed to promoting apartheid through reformist rhetoric.

Their real objective in organising and promoting sport in the country is to win the hearts and minds of the people - particularly the African community, to wreck the successful international sports isolation of South Africa and to break the backs of those who organise sport on a non-racial basis.

To achieve this they have unsuccessfully resorted to every trick in the book. From going cap in hand and pleading for international re-admission, they have resorted to repression, propaganda which falsely reflects sport in South Africa as "normal", rebel tours and to pumping millions into racist sport.

Yet they remain isolated from both the international sporting community and the vast majority of black sportspersons in South Africa.

The South African Council on Sport has - in spite of harassment, lack of funds and poor facilities - established itself as the leader of the non-racial sports movement.

Having tremendous support and credibility internally and internationally, Sacos has located itself as a key obstacle in the designs of those who wish to use sport to promote apartheid.

Although Sacos has not yet taken full advantage of the potential that exists to organise sport on a non-racial basis, it has nevertheless been able to mobilise a significant membership and present itself as the force that can lead the struggle for non-racial sport in South Africa.

Today, each and every sportsperson and individual in SA has to decide



Sport plays a major role in the lives of South Africans. However, it, too, is plagued by apartheid. The United Democratic Front's sport and cultural section takes an in-depth look at sport in South Africa and recommends that the South African Council on Sport takes the lead in establishing a broader non-racial sport movement in this country.

whether one should support the racist sport movement - which serves essentially to promote apartheid - or to support Sacos and the non-racial sport movement which has a significant role to play in bringing an end to apartheid and its evils.

To confuse sportspersons and restrict people from making their choice, the forces of apartheid imposed the debate, focusing on the relationship between sport and politics.

They hoped that, through this debate, people would believe that sport and politics are totally separate and therefore the choice of whether to support the non-racial or racial movement is irrelevant.

This debate, we believe, has long been concluded in favour of those who argued that sport cannot be seen separately from politics; that the development in sport in SA reflects the development of apartheid.

We believe that it is now time to engage in debate and action that would focus rather on how non-racial sport can play a more significant role in contributing to the liberation of our country.

Today the struggle for liberation in South Africa has intensified as never before. In spite of the states of emergency, detentions, killings and various other sinister attempts to undermine the spirit of our people, the liberation struggle continues to gain momentum.

It is in this context that we must understand the precise role of non-racial sport in the struggle for democratic South Africa.

Sport, we believe, has a tremendous role to play

in any society. It builds the unity and pride of a nation. It contributes to building friendly and cooperative relationship between different countries. As a creative and constructive activity, it promotes good health, friendship and enjoyment.

In South Africa, although the role of sport need be no different, it is complicated by the racist policies of the apartheid government.

Historically, in our country sport has always been the privilege of the white minority, who have enjoyed excessive sponsorships, facilities and opportunities to promote their sporting interest.

Blacks have been restricted to either playing in township streets or on a limited number of poor facilities. Big companies have kept their distance, showing their collusion with racism, resulting in a negligible amount of money being made available for black sport.

It is against this background that Sacos has developed the principle that sport will never be equal, free or non-racial as long as apartheid exists.

The United Democratic Front, while accepting fully this principle, also believes that to bring apartheid to an end, sport has an important role to play.

The UDF has various thoughts of its own on the role of sport in the struggle against apartheid. We do not believe that we should be prescriptive to any particular organisation, but we believe we have a responsibility to share these views in a spirit of comradeship and concern.

It is our view that non-racial sports organisa-

tions have not fully exploited the potential that exists. Far greater emphasis must be placed on organising ordinary people in the townships.

Those who are playing soccer on the street corners; those who, with home-made equipment are playing cricket and tennis; those who, on their own, are teaching themselves to swim, practicing long-distance running and all those others who have a yearning to play sport and are doing so informally must now be organised.

Sport is a key interest for most people, and possibly has the greatest potential for organising all those sportspersons who have no real access to the non-racial sports movement.

In this way the non-racial sports organisations will gain far more leverage in their struggle against racist sport and be able to play a far more influential role in the struggle against apartheid.

The people pay taxes for sports facilities. Sportsbodies must lead the struggle against the authorities for more and better facilities that must be controlled by the people. Sponsors who promote racist sport must be challenged. The laws of apartheid must be fought against.

In developing sports organisations, particularly Sacos, into mass movements, we believe that democratic organisations like the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have a significant role to play.

It is obvious that, together with Cosatu, we enjoy the greatest respect among the population as a whole. Through years of struggle and sacrifice, the UDF has located itself as the political leadership of the movement for liberation inside SA.

Far greater emphasis need to be placed on the

development of an ongoing relationship between Sacos and the UDF and Cosatu. Sacos has much to gain in developing a clear relationship with the UDF. The UDF is prepared to create links between Sacos and unorganised sports people in the township through structures in the different areas and its affiliates.

Such a relationship is essential as the struggle for sport cannot be seen in isolation of the general struggle for democracy in SA. An ongoing relationship would bear much influence on the co-ordination and intensification of the struggle as a whole.

Party politics must be cast aside and a genuine relationship must be established which emphasizes our common objectives of achieving non-racialism and democracy.

It is also important that Sacos pays more attention to understanding sport in a post-apartheid SA. It can do this not only by creating the necessary democratic structures, but also understanding that Sacos will have a key role to play in ensuring that a future, democratic South Africa enjoys its rightful place among the great sporting nations of the world.

The issue of coaching has been complicated by the UN resolution restricting international coaches from coming to South Africa. Is it not time that this resolution is openly debated among sports organisations and reviewed in the interests of the non-racial sports movements? Would not allowing coaches to visit SA only on the invitation of Sacos help advance non-racial sport?

It is hopeful that none of the proposals made become sources of antagonism. It is made in the spirit of us recognising Sacos as the leadership of the non-racial sports movement and in the hope that greater co-operation can be achieved between ourselves and Sacos.

The youngster soon found out - when faced with the lack of facilities and sponsorship for black sportspersons - that not even sport in South Africa is untouched by apartheid.

People being organised in sporting bodies cannot in itself change their consciousness. It is important that they participate in the struggle to change the reality around them.

South Africa is faced with many problems. These include the lack of facilities, the bias of sponsors and the apartheid laws which divide and promote suspicion among sportspersons. These are issues we must struggle against.

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Huge row over Govt role in the ANC kidnap plot

THATCHER UNDER FIRE

LONDON — The British Government has been plunged into a major political row amid allegations that it ordered the dropping of charges that linked a minister and intelligence agencies to an ANC kidnap plot.

Mrs Thatcher was under pressure last Thursday night to explain why the three men accused of plotting to kidnap leading members of the ANC in Britain have been discharged unconditionally. A fourth accused was discharged earlier this month.

Questions are being raised in Parliament as to why the prosecution suddenly dropped all charges — after telling the Lambeth Magistrate's Court it had detailed proof of a well-orchestrated plot to smuggle leading members of the organisation out of Britain.

And Mr Roy Hattersley, the opposition Foreign Affairs spokesman, urged Mrs Thatcher to launch a top level inquiry into allegations that "people in high places" were involved in the abortive case.

He suggested she might call in the security commission to investigate claims that Tory MPs had been questioned in the investigation by police.

There is growing talk of a government cover-up and speculation that the crown was forced to abandon the case after the defence threatened to produce evidence implicating the British authorities.

Two of the accused have talked of working for the British Government and say documents seized from them by police directly affect British national security.

In a day of high drama, Norwegian Johan Viggo

Orebak, known in the court as "Frank Larsen", and Mr Jonathan Wheatley — who have both claimed they worked for the British Government — were discharged by a Lambeth magistrate along with co-accused Mr Evan Dennis Evans. The office of the Director of Public Prosecutions said later it was unlikely the men would have been convicted.

Mr Orebak is still in custody, together with fellow Norwegian Hans-Christian Dahl, alias "John Larsen", who was released earlier in October. They are now charged with immigration offences.

Secretary of the parliamentary Labour Party's anti-apartheid group, Mr Richard Caborn asked Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for an explanation.

But she replied that "prosecution matters are not a matter for me. I will draw this to the attention of the Attorney-General. Whether he responds is purely a matter for him."

Mr Caborn and other Labour MPs are particularly interested in letters from two Conservative MPs and a home Office minister as well as a statement from a Foreign Office official, all of which are understood to be in the possession of the prosecution in the case.

Mr Caborn said he was also "extremely concerned about the evidence collected by the prosecution which included classified ministry of defence (MOD) and Foreign Office documen-

tation, forged passports and forged MOD passes.

"The house and the country must be satisfied as to why breaches of security of this nature could take place without prosecution. I cannot but conclude that this action is related to the statement made by our Prime Minister in Vancouver when she denounced the ANC as a typical terrorist organisation."

An ANC spokesman expressed surprise at the dropping of charges, saying evidence "had already been led in court pointing to the fact that the British Government knew a great deal about the activities of the accused."

And he hinted at United States involve-

ment in the case, saying the British and US authorities have "an inescapable obligation to explain their own roles, if any, in these extremely disturbing developments."

Later, an official statement from the ANC in London expressed concern about the decision, adding that the allegations made by the defence lawyers "raise matters of the gravest concern to the ANC and, indeed, the whole of Africa".

Anti-apartheid Movement secretary Mr Mike Terry said there appeared to have been "a very high-level cover-up to prevent this prosecution going ahead." The AAM, he said, would be writing to the Prime Minister demanding "a full investigation and statement."

Mr Orebak and Mr Wheatley said in a statement that the only reason the case had come to court was "a lack of communication between the various government agencies."

They said a lot of the seized documentation could, if leaked to enemy agents, have a "catastrophic effect."



BRITISH Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

ANC plot man claims

8/20/27
26/10/27
MI5 job (11A)

LONDON — The man at the centre of the ANC kidnap row, self-styled secret agent Frank Larsen, claims to be working for the British secret service MI5, a British newspaper reported yesterday.

The Mail on Sunday said a statement issued by Larsen's barrister at the weekend said the 53-year-old Norwegian, who is awaiting deportation after the case against him was dramatically dropped on Thursday, said he had been recruited by former MI5 director-general Sir Michael Hanley in 1981.

Barrister Benjamin Conlon denied suggestions that his clients were "con-men", saying: "There are various fears for their safety and it is clear that their continued presence in this country will cause severe embarrassment to the highest in the land."

Conlon said he had secured High Court injunctions against police and prosecutors for the return of "hundreds of thousands of documents".

He said Larsen had worked in intelligence in Rhodesia and had an interview with Hanley in 1981.

The dropping of the kidnap case last week caused a political row. Labour MPs accused British PM Margaret Thatcher and her government of a cover-up.

This was denied by Attorney-General Sir Patrick Mayhew in a special statement to the House of Commons on Friday. — Sapa.

'Weak' protests attacked

Education Reporter

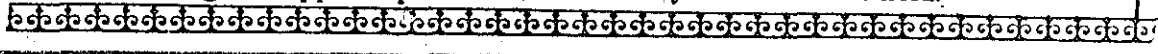
The plan by five South African liberal universities to hold simultaneous assemblies, processions and plaque-laying ceremonies on Wednesday in protest against the imposition of conditions on State subsidies, has been rejected as "weak" by the Black Students' Society (BSS) at the University of the Witwatersrand.

In a statement, the BSS said ceremonies and plaques were a weak response to the regulations which came into force last week and were condemned as "failing to resist the systematic onslaught on our organisations and their right to oppose apartheid".

The BSS said the regulations were part of a strategy to silence protest and dissent and should not be allowed to "cow" students into submission.

The society, which had planned an off-campus march last Thursday but was persuaded to postpone it so as not to reduce the impact of this week's planned march, called for "unified student action" against the regulations.

A Wits spokesman said an assembly and campus procession of students and staff in full academic dress would be held on Wednesday in protest against the regulations. A plaque-laying ceremony would then be held.



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3 more die in Natal fighting

26/10/87

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By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THREE more people were killed at the weekend, bringing to 73 the number of people killed in fights between members of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha in Maritzburg, Natal, in the past three weeks.

A spokesman for the police directorate in Pretoria, yesterday said two of the men, both over 18, were stabbed to death after being attacked by a group of youths in the township of Matsabusa.

"The unidentified body of another black man was found with numerous stab wounds in the township of Dambuzo. Another man, also over 18, was seriously injured when another group of youths attacked a home with a petrol bomb at Sweetwater," the spokesman said.

Police also announced that two homes in the area were gutted. This also took place at the weekend.

The spokesman said two men have been arrested in connection with the fatal stabbing of the two men in Matsabusa. They will be appearing in

court soon.

Police have confirmed that at least 73 people have been killed since the fights between the two groups started three weeks ago.

They have also confirmed that scores of other people have been injured as the situation in the area deteriorates.

Since the fights started, police have arrested 324 people.

The victims are either shot, hacked, stabbed or burnt. Classes have also been disrupted. Half of the pupils in the areas affected by the clashes have missed writing their final examinations.

Last week, a group of men decapitated a 10-year-old boy in Esibodeni. S'khumbuzo Shezi and his brother, Bongani (8), were in their home on Wednesday night when a group of five men burst through their

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Six more die in Natal violence

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Six people were killed as violence continued in the trouble-torn black townships of Maritzburg at the weekend, in spite of a special police task force and reinforcements being deployed in the area.

Senior Progressive Federal Party officials toured the township of Edendale today in a bid to find a solution to the fighting and killing of the past six weeks.

At least 52 people have died in the townships in the past month and several organisations, including Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the

Association for Christian Social Awareness, have expressed a need for a "peace envoy" to get talks going between the warring factions.

Police public relations officer Captain Pieter Kitching said the special police unit, under the command of Brigadier Johan Kotze, Divisional Commissioner for Maritzburg, had been working round the clock.

Captain Kitching said that since October 15, 333 people had been arrested for offences ranging from murder and attempted murder to possession of dangerous weapons.

According to the latest police un-

rest report, six people died at the weekend.

In Edendale, the body of a man was found last night. He had been stabbed to death.

At Matsabusa, two men were stabbed to death when they were attacked by a mob. Two people have been arrested.

At Taylor's Halt, two men were stabbed to death and at Dambuza the body of a man was found with multiple stab wounds.

Several incidents of petrol-bombing and stone-throwing were also reported.

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Secret 'Operation Fiasco'

British agents 'flirted' with Seychelles coup planners

LONDON. — The man at the centre of the African National Congress kidnap row, self-styled secret agent Mr Frank Larsen, claimed to be working for the British secret service MI5, the Mail on Sunday said yesterday.

The newspaper reported that in a statement issued by his barrister on Saturday night, the 53-year-old Norwegian, who is awaiting deportation after the case against him was dropped last Thursday, said he had been recruited by former MI5 director-general Sir Michael Hanley in 1981.

The newspaper said British barrister Mr Benjamin Conlon had invited journalists to a secret meeting beneath London's Tower Bridge, where he said he was acting in his capacity as a United States attorney-at-law.

Mr Conlon denied suggestions that his clients were "conmen", and said: "There are various fears for their safety and it is clear that their continued presence in this country will cause severe embarrassment to the highest in the land."

Mr Conlon said he had secured High Court injunctions against the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, the Director of Public Prosecutions and the Crown Prosecution Service for the return of "hundreds of thousands of documents".

He said Mr Larsen had worked in intelli-

gence in Rhodesia and had an interview with Sir Michael Hanley in 1981.

The dropping of the kidnap case last week caused a political row, with Labour MPs accusing the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and her government of a cover-up.

This was denied by the Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, in a special statement to the House of Commons last Friday.

He said Mr Larsen and three others who had been charged in the case had no links with British security or intelligence services.

The Mail on Sunday carried a lengthy analysis article on the ANC kidnap case under the headline "Operation Fiasco".

It traced how what it termed a "bungling" ANC kidnap conspiracy had replaced a "sophisticated" coup plot against the Seychelles that had been aborted.

The Mail on Sunday said the coup plot and the alleged kidnapping emerged when Mr Larsen was arrested for importuning at a

London hotel.

"Police soon discovered his real identity as John Viggo Oerbak, a Norwegian with convictions for fraud who had served in the Rhodesian Army and secret police. A known homosexual, he had been living with a 28-year-old man he claimed as his son but who was in fact another Norwegian mercenary, Hans Christian Dahl.

"Both are now being held in custody awaiting deportation.

"One of the other two men discharged was former South African sabotage expert Evan Evans, who came to Britain last year and bought a Welsh sub-post office, where police recovered a cache of arms. Evans is known to have worked with MI6 in the past.

"A fourth man, John Wheatley, a British ex-paratrooper, is said to work for Argen Security Services — a private company run by former BOSS and MI5 agent John Fairer-Smith."

The Mail on Sunday said that though all of this clearly absolved the government itself of all responsibility for what went on, Mrs Thatcher, who had overall responsibility for the security services, could not be entirely happy as to their performance in this, as in many other matters.

The newspaper continued: "Our investigation shows conclusively that British agencies were at the very least 'flirting' with the Larsen gang during the planning stages of the Seychelles coup.

"That the gang unbelievably got themselves involved in an amateurish attempt to kidnap members of the ANC does not mean that they were not at one stage involved in a very impressive operation designed to overthrow the government of one of the member states of the Commonwealth.

"Our inquiries show that they had \$5 million (about R10 million) available to them for this purpose. Where that came from nobody is saying."

The Mail on Sunday said its inquiries had shown that British ministers and MPs were entirely innocent of any of this.

"But whether one or other of the more shadowy arms of the Whitehall machine should be playing this kind of game without the knowledge of their political masters, must now be a matter for Mrs Thatcher to resolve." — Sapa



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Move to unite groups opposed to apartheid

Political Staff

Nus 26/10/87
A MOVE to unite organisations opposed to apartheid and to mobilise the support of white South Africans in search of a non-racial democracy was supported by about 200 people at a gathering at the University of Cape Town.

Progressive Federal Party member Mr Tian van der Merwe said yesterday. "If this meeting has done nothing more than achieve just the beginning of co-operation and goodwill between organisations and individuals opposed to apartheid, then it has indeed achieved something."

A broad cross-section of people from different constituencies in the white community attended a report back meeting yesterday of the Five Freedoms Forum held in Johannesburg recently.

The meeting was attended by people ranging from Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck, members of the PFP and the

National Democratic Movement to individuals from organisations like Nusas, the End Conscription Campaign, the Black Sash and the United Democratic Front.

A message to the Cape Town meeting from UDF National Treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia called on whites to "break decisively with apartheid" and to seek "innovative ways and means of fighting against it."

COMMON GOAL

"It is imperative that the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa must involve black and white," said Mr Cachalia. "The UDF extends its warmest greetings to the participants of this conference today."

The gathering supported a resolution at the end of the day agreeing that the common goal of ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial, democratic South Africa was a stronger commitment than any divisive differences among them.

A VOTE FOR ALL ULTIMATE GOAL

BLACKS should be given the right to vote and be allowed to make decisions on laws that affect their lives, Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal secretary of the UDF said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Cross-examined by Mr BP Jacobs SC, for the State, Mr Chikane said one man "one vote in South Africa" was the "ultimate goal" which would bring about everlasting peace in the country.

Asked if blacks would agree to be included in a fourth chamber of parliament, Mr Chikane told the court: "We don't want it because it will be based on apartheid."

Struggle

Major decisions in the present tricameral parliament, he said, were in the hands of a white parliament.

Mr Chikane said the struggle waged by blacks in this country was for equality and the dismantling of apartheid. He called on the Government to scrap all education departments "based on the colour of a person" and replace them with one system of education for all.

Break

Mr Chikane and 18 others who include senior members of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association, have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

The trial resumed yesterday after a two-week break.

Mr Jacobs put it to Mr Chikane yesterday that the UDF wanted to destroy the existing

By **MONK
NKOMO**

education system in black areas and take over control of schools and replace the syllabus. Mr Chikane denied the allegations and said UDF policy was to oppose apartheid.

Mr Chikane denied that the UDF wanted the Government to hand over power and stressed that the UDF wanted a government that was

based on the will of the people. "We want to vote and elect a capable prime minister — black or white," he said.

Mr Chikane added: "We want a right to vote and decide on laws that govern our lives. All facets of apartheid laws which include bantustans and the Group Areas Act must be abolished. People will continue to protest unless apartheid is scrapped."

'Man uneasy over gun'

A WHITE man who allegedly crippled a Winterveldt resident yesterday admitted in the Pretoria Supreme Court that the man suing him for more than R800 000 was possibly the person who he shot three years ago.

Mr John Frederick Gouws (27), made this admission before Mr Justice Hartzenberg. He was being cross-examined by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, who appeared for Mr Simon Mdakane (30).

Mr Gouws told the court that his wife woke him from his sleep and told

him that someone had entered the house. He said he was attracted by the light which shone from his parents' bedroom.

"I saw two men, one of whom was busy searching a drawer. I asked them what they were looking for.

Mr Gouws said that five months after the shooting incident, he cancelled his firearm licence as he wanted to sell the weapon he had used. This was because it was the first time he had shot someone and keeping the same firearm did not make him feel at ease.



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Natal violence 'out of control': Over 70 dead

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The violence in Maritzburg townships has spiralled beyond the control of political organisations, with bands of armed killers rampaging in a vicious cycle of attacks and revenge and ignoring peace calls by their leaders.

During meetings between Progressive Federal Party MPs and community leaders yesterday, and an inspection of Maritzburg townships, it became clear that no end to the violence is in sight.

However, those involved were emphatic that township negotiations must begin, that the state of emergency was hampering dialogue and that killers must be brought to justice as a matter of urgency.

More than 70 people have been murdered in the townships in the past five weeks, including six deaths at the weekend.

Fled homes

Hundreds have been injured, scores of houses have been attacked and burned down and thousands of people have fled their homes in fear. Many sleep under trees at night and go home only during the day.

There have been more deaths this month than ever before and last week extra police forces, special investigating teams and a helicopter were deployed to control the violence.

The PFP party, including Natal leader Mr Ray Swart and MPs Mr Roger Burrows and Mr Mike Ellis, was stopped by police yesterday afternoon. They were allowed to continue after producing identification.

The PFP delegation met church leaders, the police, the Chamber of Commerce, Cosatu officials, the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), and Inkatha and United Democratic Front leaders.

Confusion reigned over causes and solutions, but church, community, Inkatha and UDF leaders stressed that the bands of men wreaking death and fear in the townships must be stopped at all cost.

Inkatha says the UDF has enlisted the support of the police in the bloody "civil war". But a police spokesman today denied the claim.



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

LAST DAY: Pupils at Cape Town High School staged a production of "Grease" today to mark the last day at school for thousands of matrics who write exams soon.

'Bop' voters go to polls today

MMABATHO. — Half-a-million people choose a parliament today for the homeland of Bophuthatswana — but they will have to wait three weeks to hear the result.

The election is for 72 seats in the National Assembly in this tiny capital close to the Botswana border. It could result in the emergence of a small parliamentary opposition for the first time, since the homeland gained its independence from Pretoria 10 years ago, according to local politicians and university lecturers.

Bophuthatswana, set up for Tswana speakers, is one of 10 tribal territories established under the Government's separate development policy. It is divided into seven pockets of land hundreds of kilometres apart. — Sapa-Reuter.

Healer, father of 22 jailed for rape

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — A 60-year-old traditional healer who raped three of his women patients and warned them they would be eaten by lions if they complained to the police has been jailed for 10 years.

The women were raped after the healer told them to remove their clothes so he could rub snuff on their bodies.

The magistrate said the man was a herbalist of some repute who had 22 children from 10 wives. He was also described as a spirit medium who commanded respect in his village.

The court was told that because the healer was being tried, drought would hit the area.

US celebrates first satellite in 18 months

WASHINGTON. — The US Air Force has successfully launched its first satellite in 18 months from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California.

The air force did not disclose what type of satellite was carried into orbit by the Titan rocket. The speculation is that it was a strategic reconnaissance satellite about the size of a bus.

The last Titan launches ended in failure, one in 1985 because of a leak which shut down an engine and another last year which blew up after launch. — Sapa-Reuter.

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'600 burned to death in terror campaign'

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — About 400 people had been necklaced and another 200 burned to death in other ways in the African National Congress (ANC) attack on "the system", Brigadier Herman Stadler, head of intelligence in the Security Police, said in the Supreme Court.

He said yesterday the killings were part of the ANC's campaign of terror and intimidation aimed at making South Africa ungovernable.

He was giving evidence for the State in the trial in which Mr Thuso Tshika, 22, of Lamontville and Mr Mtunzi Sithole, 24, Mr Tembinkosi Nkosi, 19, and Mr Abraham Mathe, 33, all of Newcastle, are appearing on charges arising from bombings in Durban and Newcastle.

They have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Brigadier Stadler said the distinction between the ANC's "hard" and "soft" targets had disappeared. Its bombs had killed civilians who were not part of the system — in shops,

arcades, streets and bus queues.

The ANC had tried to create the impression that civilians were not targets.

Sometimes attacks on civilians were justified indirectly.

The Amanzimtoti bombing was initially attributed by ANC leader Oliver Tambo to a possible lack of discipline — but later an attempt was made to justify it in an ANC publication.

Brigadier Stadler said the ANC tried to avoid being labelled as a terrorist organisation and tried to gain for itself the image of a revolutionary movement.

Individuals who were part of the system seemed to be considered by the ANC to be legitimate targets. They were people such as black councillors or border farmers who served with the commandos.

But busloads of blacks — including women and children — had been blown up by mines.

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Editor tells of witdoeke in police Casspir

Supreme Court Reporter

KTC was beginning to burn when the editor of the Western Province Council of Churches publication "Crisis News" saw an armed witdoek climb into a police Casspir in which other witdoeke were already seated, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of Ms Emma Huismans, the fifth witness to testify in the R312 000 damages suit brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when KTC was destroyed in June last year.

The minister is being sued on the basis of an allegation that police played an active role in the destruction. Some 3 198 similar suits, with claims of over R5 million, are pending against the minister and may depend on the outcome of the KTC suit.

Ms Huismans said she was a passenger in a kombi driven along NY5 by the Rev Des Curran on June 9, the first day of the witdoek rampage in KTC.

At least five Casspirs were parked at the side of NY5 on the northern boundary of KTC, which was already beginning to burn.

"Around each Casspir a group of witdoeke was gathered," Ms Huismans said, "and every now and then something in Xhosa was broadcast from a Casspir after which the witdoek group would leave the Casspir and disappear into KTC."

View into Casspir

She said she could not see what the witdoeke did in KTC, but that minutes after they entered houses began to burn.

As Ms Huismans drove past the Casspirs, she got "a clear view" into a brown Casspir whose rear door was open. She said she saw a number of witdoeke seated inside and an armed witdoek heave himself up into the vehicle.

Uniformed policemen were standing next to the Casspir while the witdoek climbed in, Ms Huismans said.

She said her impression of relations between witdoeke and police was that there was clear contact and communication between them "and it was not aggressive or unfriendly".

Like all the previous witnesses, she said police made no attempt to stop the witdoek rampage. On the contrary, her impression was that police vehicles functioned as escorts for the armed witdoek horde.

The trial continues.

Mr Justice M R de Kock presided. Mr S Aaron SC, with Mr P Pretorius and Mr A M Omar and instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the plaintiffs. Mr G D Griessel SC and Mr L Visser SC, with Mr F D J Brand and Mr C Y Louw and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.

Inkatha wants SAP to hand over station

CMT Times 27/10/87 114

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Inkatha leaders in strife-torn Maritzburg townships have called for the handover of Plessislaer police station to KwaZulu police because they allege the South African Police had failed to maintain law and order.

However, a UDF spokesman said he feared the worst if the police station was taken over by KwaZulu authorities.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Maritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, said that after an emergency meeting to discuss the violence in the city's townships, a letter had been written to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, asking for the handover of the police station to KwaZulu.

The Divisional Commissioner of KwaZulu Police, Brig Dries Laas, said last night that he did not know anything about the matter.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order said it was ridiculous to suggest the SAP was favouring the UDF.

"It is not police policy to favour the UDF or any other organization and we have no knowledge of ill-feelings towards police there."

However, Mr Ndlovu said: "Whenever our members phone the Plessislaer police station to report attacks on their homes police there do not do anything."

"We are being attacked but when we try to defend ourselves we are being disarmed by police. But the attackers are not being disarmed," Mr Ndlovu said.

Mr Ndlovu referred to the killing of 13 Inkatha members in the village of Kwa-Shange and said the arrest of three policemen after the incident indicated that they (the police) were biased towards the UDF.

Three policemen were arrested after 13 Inkatha members had been killed in Kwa-Shange last month. They appeared in court in Maritzburg last week and the case was postponed to December 18.

Mr Ndlovu said that in Durban townships, where police stations had been handed over

PFP tours townships

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A Progressive Federal Party delegation yesterday toured townships here to gather information from warring political factions in the hope of bringing peace.

The PFP envoy, headed by its Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart, met representatives of several community organizations in the Edendale townships.

A contingent of 13 local and foreign journalists were barred from the townships by the police and were unable to accompany the PFP on its fact-finding mission.

to KwaZulu, there was no burning of houses and there was peace and order.

A spokesman for the Edendale Youth Organization (EDEYO), who asked not to be named, rejected Mr Ndlovu's charge that the UDF was supported by police.

"What has happened is that all members of the community who have been the victims of Inkatha violence have decided to resist. That might include police who have been victims of the violence," he said.

He said he feared for the worst should the police station be taken over by KwaZulu police.

"There have been several reports of assaults by KwaZulu police in Durban townships. We are suspicious of the motive behind the takeover of the police by KwaZulu."

On the question of talks, Mr Ndlovu said Inkatha was prepared to talk to local UDF leaders.

● Police have found the body of another black man in the trouble-torn black township of Edendale outside Maritzburg.

Police reported the discovery of the body in their latest unrest report issued yesterday.

They said a charge of murder was being investigated, but gave no further details.

In another incident near the Natal capital, a private dwelling in Harewood was "damaged by arsonists".

ures, he said. Police are urged to

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ANC trialist wins access to documents

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — There were further surprise developments in the ANC kidnap case yesterday when the man known as Mr Frank Larsen or Mr Johan Viggo Orebak won an inspection order in the High Court on documents seized by the Anti Terrorist Squad (ATS).

Counsel for Mr Larsen, who says he was acting on orders as a British spy when he became involved in the ANC kidnap case, accused the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) of holding thousands of his documents illegally.

Mr Larsen was one of three men discharged on Thursday when the police, on the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecutions, withdrew the conspiracy charge without explanation.

Mr Larsen was rearrested immediately after being discharged and accused of entering Britain illegally using forged documents. He was detained in custody pending appeal against deportation to Norway.

Mr Larsen claims that the documents which the ATS seized from his home in Aldershot will prove his allegations that he was a British spy — and that he is British.

The inspection order granted yesterday will allow Mr Larsen and his counsel to inspect the seized documents being held by the CPS and then reclaim them in a bid to prove his claims.

The man who led ANC from bleakest to brightest days

From HOWARD BARRELL

HARARE — Oliver Tambo's colleagues in the African National Congress' External Mission are planning a round of festivities to celebrate the long life of the man who has led the movement through what were its bleakest days into what are now its brightest.

Soft-spoken Tambo turns 70 on Friday.

Whereas for his colleagues Tambo embodies the integrity and character of their struggle, for some others in South Africa he is as dangerous a terrorist as any to stalk the shadows of a white nightmare.

At 70, Tambo is just five years younger than the ANC itself, which marked its 75th anniversary on January 8 this year.

And, when the history of the ANC can finally be written and read, the individual personality of Tambo will, without any doubt, be recorded as a vital force in keeping the movement united and combative through nearly three often-lean decades.

Whereas Nelson Mandela was the "bulldozer" and "action man", Walter Sisulu the strategist and Govan Mbeki the theorist, Tambo was the man able to reconcile the different strands that make up the united front at the heart of the ANC.

That is a characterisation of the ANC leadership of the late 1950s and 1960s one often hears from exiles who knew them.

"Nelson Mandela was the 'bulldozer' and 'action man', Walter Sisulu the strategist, Tambo was the man able to reconcile the different strands"

Tambo, in the revolutionary lexicon, is a "revolutionary democrat". He has overseen the confluence of the two main tributaries of revolutionary politics in South Africa: The sense of black national grievance, and the impulse for socialism.

Himself a Christian who once considered becoming a priest — until Walter Sisulu talked him out of it — he has welcomed other religions, liberals and communists in the ANC. Even the odd Trotskyite still survives.

At the age of 67, the youthful delegates to the ANC's second National Consultative Conference in Zambia in 1985, gave him thunderous and unanimous re-election to the ANC presidency.

It was, perhaps, the crowning glory of his life so far. From the jaws of bitter defeat in the 1960s, he had brought the ANC to a position where many of its members felt it could contend — though by no means yet decisively — for power.

That belief is scorned by some Western analysts and some South African government members, but it is in 1987 not a belief that can be called entirely unrealistic.

Indeed, even apartheid's architects have begun to relent and admit, after three years of sustained insurrectionary violence in South Africa for which the ANC has been blamed or acclaimed, that many of the demands made by Tambo will have to be conceded in negotiations if they are not eventually to be taken in national insurrection and revolution.

It was not always like this for Tambo.

In 1969 he presided over the first



Oliver Tambo in a relaxed mood PIC: RASHID LOMBARD

National Consultative Conference of the ANC since its banning in 1960. The conference in Morogoro in Tanzania, was a "crisis meeting" at which the ANC had to admit that it had not succeed in rebuilding itself significantly since the thrashing it had received from the government in the years after 1960 and the Rivonia trial.

Serious divisions arose at the conference and grave frustrations were voiced. The whole national executive of the ANC was forced to resign.

But, by the end of the conference, Tambo had re-established his leadership. He was elected president of the ANC to succeed Albert Luthuli (who had died in 1967), and the ANC had created a Revolutionary Council to try to take the struggle against apartheid back into South Africa.

"Tambo considered becoming a priest until Sisulu talked him out of it"

The years since 1976 — under Tambo's leadership — have been the ANC's brightest.

Whether seen as an infamous terrorist organisation or the flagbearer of a non-apartheid South Africa, the ANC has made a mark on South African politics in a way neither its friends nor its enemies have been able to ignore.

The story of Tambo's life bears a

strong resemblance to the lives of many young militants who have swelled the ranks of the ANC since the students' revolt of 1976.

Like them, Tambo — who was born to peasant parents in Bizana in the Transkei — was radicalised during his school years. His clashes with school and university authorities — for which he was once expelled — awakened a spirit in him which brought him into conflict with the South African state itself.

"The years since 1976 have been the ANC's brightest"

He, Mandela, Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe and other ANC intellectuals and university students formed the ANC Youth League in April 1944 at a meeting in the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg.

In the process, they remoulded the ANC of the 1940's in a way resembling the radicalisation of the movement by waves of young militants from 1976 onwards.

After gaining a BSc degree and teaching diploma, Tambo later practised as an attorney with Mandela in Johannesburg.

At the same time, both men began a rapid rise up through the expanding ranks of the then-legal ANC.

Recalling these times, Mandela said in a message smuggled out of prison in 1985: "Oliver Tambo is much

more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years".

Tambo was for a while national secretary of the ANC, later its Transvaal president and, in 1948, he was elected its national vice-president as it prepared the "Programme of Action" of 1949.

Tambo was elected onto the ANC's national executive committee in 1949. Six years later, he was elected ANC secretary general, and, in 1958, he was elected deputy president of the ANC, serving under Chief Albert Luthuli.

He was served with a two-year banning order in 1954 and a five-year banning order in 1959.

A week after the Sharpeville shootings on March 21 1960, Tambo was ordered by the ANC executive to leave South Africa and establish the ANC's external mission.

"Tambo was born to peasant parents in Bizana, Transkei"

"O. R.", as Tambo is known by his colleagues in the ANC, is a very popular man.

Whereas one can often hear criticisms of other members of the ANC leadership when in the company of ANC members, one does not hear harsh words spoken about Tambo. This does not spring from fear, but from what appears to be a very widespread respect — Agenda Press

Police held for Inkatha deaths

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

VIOLENCE in Natal has taken a new turn with the detention of three members of the South African Police in connection with the mass killing of Inkatha Youth Brigade members at the weekend.

Six people, including the three SAP members, were originally held but police said on Wednesday the three non-police suspects were released.

They added, "At this stage we cannot comment on the political affiliations of the three SAP concerned." The three suspects have, however, been suspended.

The incident in which they were allegedly involved was one of several mass killings over the last 10 months in which Inkatha or United Democratic Front-related people were victims.

A number of people — aged between 14 and 22 — were in a house in KwaShange, near Edendale, when the doors of the house were locked and the building set alight by a group outside.

When the people inside tried to escape from the flames, they were shot and attacked with pangas.

Altogether 12 people died immediately and a 13th, who was severely burnt in the attack, died in the Edendale Hospital. Seven others were being treated at the hospital.

Police released the information as part of their unrest report but added the deaths "were not unrest-related but the result of inter-group or faction conflict".

Although officials said they were unable to comment on the names and

political affiliation of the victims, senior Inkatha leaders said they had been members of the Youth Brigade.

Referring to the many incidents of violence in the area over the last few months, Pietermaritzburg Inkatha official Vitus Mvelase added, "These incidents are UDF elements attacking our people and now policemen have also joined the UDF. The police are failing to stop the violence."

Mvelase's claims were sharply denied by the divisional commissioner of police for the Pietermaritzburg area, Brigadier J Kotze.

He commented that the remarks were typical of Mvelase's attitude and added, "he has at times made complaints about individual policemen but when we look into the matter we discover that it was a policeman who refused to join Inkatha".

Meanwhile, talks lasting over three hours were held on Monday between members of Inkatha and of the UDF.

UDF president Archie Gumede and a number of youths from Mpumalanga, where there have been a number of deaths since February, met a delegation including Mtwe Mafole, national organiser of the IYB, and Sigfried Bhengu of the KwaZulu communications office, Ulundi.

The meeting, attended by between 15 to 20 on each side, was described as having covered useful ground and it was understood another meeting was scheduled for yesterday.



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ARGUS 28/10/87

Claims of MI5 involvement in ANC kidnap plot persist

The Argus Foreign Services secret service is an embarrassment to Westminster.

LONDON. — Allegations are persisting that Britain's secret services were involved with at least one of the three men in the alleged plot to kidnap ANC leaders in London.

Lawyer Mr Benjamin Conlon said at a Press conference yesterday: "There are considerable concerns for his safety and even the possibility that he will be deported prior to the notified date."

The case has been dropped amid political controversy, with the Labour Party saying it is not satisfied with the answers given in Parliament about allegations of British collusion.

Mr Conlon released a statement on Mr Oerbak's behalf. He said his client had been a Rhodesian secret serviceman responsible for setting up the "Rhodesian psychological research assistance unit".

FACING DEPORTATION

Lawyers representing the men — at first charged, then released — are continuing to claim on their clients' behalf that British intelligence was somehow involved.

He was approached by the British Government during that time and asked to work for MI5. He had later seen Sir Michael Hanley, the director of MI5.

Viggo Oerbak, alias Frank Larsen, 53, who faces deportation to Norway, has claimed that his involvement with the British

"It is because of this knowledge that it is necessary for him to be deported as his presence continues to be an embarrassment," Mr Conlon said.



Days hit at ANC

South
22-28/10/87

(11A)

By KURT SWART

SOUTH AFRICA's gay community is upset over what is perceived to be the ignoring of gay rights by the African National Congress (ANC), according to the gay newspaper, Exit.

A report in the October edition of the paper said "surprise and dismay" had been expressed over the rejection of support for gay rights by leading members of the ANC.

An official spokesperson for the ANC in Lusaka, contacted for comment, said the organisation found the situation awkward as it had never seriously addressed the subject.

"At the moment there is no such official viewpoint as the matter has never been discussed at a policy-making level. We are not saying it is an unimportant matter but we feel there are more burning issues at stake right now," he said.

The report in Exit has been criticized as "misleading, mischievous and designed to stir up trouble" by members of the South African delegation who spoke to the ANC at the Harare conference recently.

Exit reported that the ANC's Solly Smith said: "We believe in the majority being equal. These people (gays) are in the minority. The majority must rule."

No problems

They said Ruth Mompoti of the ANC's national executive in Lusaka told a London newspaper: "I cannot even begin to understand why people want gay rights. The gays have no problems. They have nice houses and plenty to eat. No one is persecuting them."

"She justified the lack of policy by saying the ANC does not have a policy on flower sellers either," the report stated.

Alfred Machel, chairperson of the Rand Gay Organisation (RGO), said in the report the gay issue had strong support in South Africa. It stated Winnie Mandela had helped Machel this year when he encountered problems organising his trip to an international gay conference in Europe by sending a personal note to the Swedish gay movement.

Notoriously poor

She is also reported to have declared support for gay involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle, including support for Simon Nkoli who is on trial with nineteen others charged with treason.

Dr Ivan Toms, who spoke to Ruth Mompoti about gay rights during the recent Harare conference, said: "These reports are totally misleading. Exit is a notoriously poor newspaper, practically a one-man show. It was this newspaper that urged gays to vote Nationalist in Hillbrow because the government candidate was supposedly more pro-gay."

Ruth was scornful at first when I raised the gay issue with her, but was very reconciliatory the next day, admitting that as a 62-year old African woman, more concerned with the raising of children, she did not have "much understanding" of the issue.

"She mentioned that a London paper interviewed her for about fifteen minutes and my own feeling is that they pushed her into a corner and caused her to lose her cool", he said.

Dr Toms added that he had also talked with Joe Slovo who was fully supportive of gay rights.

"Everyone I spoke to on this subject was positive and sympathetic. I was assured the ANC supports gay rights but that they do not feel it is necessary to make a big issue of it as it is secondary to the main struggle," he said.

White youth join Cayco

TWO groups of white youth have applied to join the Cape Youth Congress, the UDF's largest and most militant affiliate in the Western Cape.

The groups, in Gardens and Mowbray/Observatory, have been accepted in principle by Cayco's general council, but will first have to work together for a period.

The youth in these groups are UDF supporters who have not been able to find a political home in any other affiliate.

The UDF decided at a general council earlier this year that people could join the Front only if they were members of affiliates. They gave members till the end of July to join organisations.

These include the United Women's Congress, the Women's Movement for Peace and the National Union of South African Students in the Observatory and Gardens areas.

For those who are not women or students it has been difficult to join the UDF. The Gardens/Observatory and Claremont area committees investigated ways of accommodating these people.

One of the options investigated was a Western Cape political organisation along the lines of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac).

The other political option was the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), but they saw it as an issue-orientated organisation, while they wanted to take up broader political issues.

Some of the youth are also believed to feel uncomfortable about the involvement of liberal groups, like the Young Progressives in the ECC.

Three options were considered; becoming the youth wing of a political organisation, becoming a Cayco branch or affiliating directly to Cayco's

mother body, the 700 000-strong South African Youth Congress.

The second option was favoured because it would work towards nonracialism and help in building up a disciplined unit.

The youth argued that the UDF would in time displace the PFP as the dominant political force among middle-class English-speaking youth. White youths had not yet become used to voting as their major form of political expression and found it easier to identify with extra-parliamentary organisations, they said.

The decision to work with, and eventually accept, the white youth groups, also indicates a shift in thinking among Cayco activists.

With the formation of the UDF in 1983, the involvement of Nusas in the Front was a controversial issue which almost caused divisions in Cayco ranks.

A Cayco spokesperson said the new groups would be evaluated on the same basis as other branches. They must have at least ten members, work in the community and abide by the organisation's aims and policies.

"The two groups each have at least 20 active members.

"We may have some problems in implementing Cayco's programme of action in those areas because of the peculiarities of organising white youth.

"Cayco's programme of action revolves around issues like unemployment and the campaign to save people on death row. We are also actively campaigning for the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of political prisoners, like Nelson Mandela.

"They may need to take up other local issues which will attract a wide range of young people in their areas.

"They will also need to gauge the response of their constituency to the formation of a militant political youth organisation.

Cayco, formed in May 1983, has 40 branches throughout the Western Cape, in areas like Hout Bay, Mitchells Plain, Bonteheuwel, Guguletu and Langa.

11/11

Violence in Maritzburg townships has now gone out of control

THE violence in Maritzburg townships has spiralled beyond the control of political organisations, with bands of armed killers rampaging in a vicious cycle of attacks and revenge and ignoring peace calls by their leaders.

The only solution appears to be "grassroots" negotiations and increased police and court action.

During meetings between Progressive Federal Party MPs and community leaders on Monday, and an inspection of Maritzburg townships, it became clear that no end to the violence is in sight.

However, those involved were emphatic that township negotiations must begin, that the state of emergency was hampering dialogue and that killers must be brought to justice as a matter of urgency.

More than 70 people have been murdered in the townships in the past five weeks, including six deaths over the weekend. The official figure stands at about 54.

Hundreds have been injured, scores of houses have been attacked and burned down and thousands of people have fled their homes in fear — many sleep under trees at night and go home only during the day.

There have been more deaths this month than ever before and last week extra police forces, special investigating teams and a helicopter were deployed to control the violence.

ARMED KILLERS GO ON A SPREE



INKATHA leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

UDF leader Archile Gumede.

On Monday areas around Edendale were heavily patrolled by police, and reporters were followed and told to leave. Three correspondents were arrested on Sunday night, but released soon afterwards.

Reporters covering the funeral of 10-year-old Skunbuza Shezi — who was decapitated last week by a gang of men chanting political slogans — were told by police to leave and the funeral was postponed.

Funeral restrictions were declared in Maritzburg last month.

The PFP delegation — including Natal leader Mr Ray Swart and MPs Mr Roger Burrows and Mr Mike Ellis — was stopped by police during an inspection tour. They were allowed to continue after producing identification.

The MPs met church leaders, the police, the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Cosatu

officials, the Maritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), and Inkatha and United Democratic Front leaders.

Confusion reigned over causes and solutions, but church, community, Inkatha and UDF leaders stressed that the bands of men wreaking death and fear in the townships must be stopped at all costs.

Maritzburg's mayor, Mr Mike Cornell, told the delegation that one of the causes of the violence was the ghastly suffering of thousands of people.

Squatters who had lost their homes had taken to the hills and were living with no shelter. Many people had lost everything in the floods, and their suffering had exacerbated the violence.

In Sobantu, Mr Cornell said, people were

SOWETAN Correspondent

living "25 to a house" in terrible conditions. Many were unemployed and no help was coming in.

Mr Peter Kerchhoff, organiser for Pacsa, said the state of emergency was hampering grassroots negotiations. His opinion was shared by a Cosatu organiser, who said that Inkatha was the

only group allowed to conduct meetings.

This was seen as unfair by the UDF, which was not permitted to hold meetings, whose leaders were detained and who were thus unable to organise grassroots negotiations.

Mr Kerchhoff said: "Everybody is living in fear and people are saying: 'Let us see genuine control by the authorities over the perpetrators of the violence.'"

He said township residents wanted to see killers being charged and imprisoned before they could see "a way to peace" — but as yet too few perpetrators had got to court.

Justice

"If justice was being seen to be done there would be more willingness to respond to dialogue at a grassroots level."

After the inspection, Mr Swart said that there

were "inordinate delays in bringing people to trial after they have been charged. The PFP intend to raise the issue and will be looking into it."

He added that the "while situation in Maritzburg is yet another example of the legacy of apartheid."

"There is evidence of unsettlement, of tremendous frustration, and it is a classic example of the success of a 'divide-and-rule' policy with black-on-black

violence on the increase," he said.

"The present situation in the Maritzburg townships is extremely disturbing because of the escalation in death and injury by violence. But clearly in the long-term the solution is a socio-political one."

"In the short-term, it is encouraging that there is widespread commitment to the need for negotiations among all groups concerned, in order to bring an end to lawlessness and violence."

ANC Times 28/10/87
SA was
behind
ANC
kidnap
plot'

LONDON. — South Africa was behind the plot to kidnap African National Congress members in London, the Independent newspaper here claimed yesterday.

The newspaper said it had obtained a copy of the notes made on the kidnap plan, which "show how the South Africans were to fund the kidnap team and supply it with forged police warrants.

"The kidnap plan was the sting in a sophisticated South African-organized scheme which would have made it seem that the British secret service were behind the kidnapping and that Seychelles exiles carried it out."

The Independent said the British secret services appeared not to be involved — contrary to what defence lawyers claimed — but they were tipped off about the plan.

Britain's Director of Public Prosecutions last week dropped charges against Mr Frank Larsen, Mr Jonathan Wheatley and Mr Dennis Evans, who had been accused of conspiring to kidnap ANC members.

Similar charges against Mr John Larsen were dropped earlier this month. — Sapa

CMG Times 28/10/87 (28/10) (11/2)

More police to be moved into Maritzburg townships

Own Correspondent

MARTITZBURG. — An additional police task force is expected to move into the troubled Maritzburg townships following talks yesterday between Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Although the content of the talks in Ulundi yesterday was not disclosed by either party, it is thought the "good-will" talks dealt with increased violence in the townships.

Reliable sources said extra police would be moved into the townships within a few days to sort out the problems there.

Mr Vlok's press secretary, Brig Leon Mellett, who attended the talks, confirmed the discussions last night but would not elaborate on them.

A spokesman for Chief Buthelezi's administration said a statement was

expected to be released today.

Mr Radley Keys, director of the PFP's Natal inland region, who was part of the delegation which met community leaders in the Maritzburg townships this week, said the conflict was one brought about by the lack of credible political structures which left a vacuum causing a power struggle between Inkatha and the UDF.

He said the state of emergency was preventing leaders of the UDF from discussing plans with their members in the area to end the violence at Maritzburg and was promoting the conflict.

Mr Keys said, however, that both sides now wanted to negotiate and end the violence.

He added that an additional aspect of the conflict was that people did not want to be forced to join either organization and seemed to arise out of frustration at this.

Chikane states Neusa stand

11A
Smeton
28/10/87

THE United Democratic Front blamed community councillors for the violence that erupted in black townships and encouraged the setting up of alternative structures to replace the Black Local Authorities, it was alleged in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Referring to court exhibits, Mr P B Jacobs, SC for the State, said the UDF also resolved at a conference held on April 7, 1985, to strive for the collapse of the local authority system throughout the country.

According to the exhibits, the UDF allegedly resolved to isolate those who collaborated in "puppet structures and warn that they will have to answer for their violence against the people".

The UDF had also allegedly noted that the Black Local Authorities Act had been totally rejected because of its "illegitimacy and ineffectiveness" in solving the black people's problems.

Document

Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal UDF secretary, told the court that at the time the document was allegedly adopted, he was no longer a UDF official. Mr Chikane said he could not testify about the documents because he did not even attend the conference due to family commitments.

Reading from the exhibits, Mr Jacobs said the UDF also resolved to "direct all regions to consolidate, establish and encourage the formation of community organisation which must become the alternatives to the local authority system".

Mr Chikane and 18 others who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association, have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst who is sitting with an assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

(Proceeding)

22/28/10/87
Maggie a
'blood sister' IIA South

DURBAN.- British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is not only a "honorary citizen" of South Africa but is also a "blood sister" of apartheid.

This is how the joint president of the UDF, Archie Gumede, described Thatcher after her performance at the Commonwealth conference in Vancouver, Canada, last week.

Thatcher was the "odd man out" in not only opposing sanctions against South Africa but also castigating the ANC as a "terrorist organisation".

Gumede said Thatcher had shown her "real colours" at the conference.

"I didn't expect anything better from Thatcher because she is, as far as I'm concerned, a blood sister of apartheid.

"She really has no great desire to destroy apartheid because it will lead to the downfall of the white minority government and the privileged position of her own kith and kin."

He said British companies made excessive profits in South Africa because of apartheid.

"In her case one can never expect her to support sanctions because her husband Dennis has investments in South Africa.

"She must not pontificate about the suffering of the black people when she did not know what the black people wanted," he said.

He said her remarks about the ANC put her "in bed" with apartheid.

"No world leader in his right sense of mind will refer to the ANC as a terrorist organisation. It has been fighting for the cause of the black people even before Thatcher was born," Gumede said.—PTSA

Riddle of UK hand in anti-ANC kidnap plot

W/Mail 23-29/10/87 (16)

THE 'HIT LIST'

THE Weekly Mail has been told that the full 'kidnap-list' — which the British have never published — included these names:

Oliver Tambo, Reg September, Solly Smith, Phyllis Altman, Azaz Pahad, Barry Glider, Frene Ginwala, Paillo Jordan, Brian Bunting, Ronnie Kasrils, Shawn Slovo, (unknown first name) Jassert, Francis Mezi, Ismail (unknown surname), Abdul Bham, Freedom Mkwazazi, M Thembu, Thabo Mbeki.

ANC DEMANDS 'EXPLANATION'

THE African National Congress has demanded an explanation from the British government for the court decision to free the three alleged kidnapers. An ANC spokesman said yesterday: "This decision comes as a complete surprise, particularly in view of the fact that the ANC has more than once been informed by the police that they were treating the case with utmost seriousness."

"In addition, evidence had already been led in court pointing to the fact that the British government knew a great deal about the activities of the accused. The allegations made by the defence lawyers raise matters of the gravest concern to the ANC and indeed the whole of Africa." Included amongst these allegations was the suggestion that the "conspiracy" to kidnap top ANC members was linked to a wider strategy involving subversion in the Seychelles.

W/Mail 23-29/10/87

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE sudden dropping of charges this week against three men accused of plotting to kidnap senior members of the African National Congress in London has lifted the lid on an extraordinary tale of intrigue — but left a host of questions unanswered.

The men had been accused by a British prosecutor of hatching a "well thought-out plot" to kidnap top ANC officials, who would then be smuggled to South Africa via a boat moored on the Thames.

New, bizarre details emerged yesterday — after the decision to drop the charges on grounds of "insufficient evidence" was announced at Lambeth Magistrate's Court.

The men's defence lawyer had warned in remand hearings that if the case were pursued, he would be forced to "prejudice national security" by naming a "minister of the Crown" and other senior members of the British government involved in the "conspiracy", said to involve British and American intelligence and extend to an alleged plot to topple the Seychelles government.

It seems certain a plot to kidnap ANC members did exist, despite denials by the accused — a "hit list" has been seen by reliable sources. But, although it has been alleged that at least some of the accused were British undercover agents, probably in MI6, it is not clear where the impetus for the plan came from.

Even the identities and nationalities of the accused are shrouded in mystery. They were named as Frank Larsen, 53, Jonathan Wheatley, 28, and Evan Dennis Evans, 48, the last named on bail when the release announcement was made. A fourth man facing the same charge, named as John Larsen, 27, was discharged on October 1.

● "Frank Larsen", named on the charge sheet as a psychologist born in Zimbabwe, is reputed to be one Viggo Orebak, a Norwegian who enlisted in the Rhodesian army before Zimbabwean independence. He claims to have been acting as a British undercover agent. It is

● To PAGE 2

thought he will face deportation to Norway.

● Jonathan Wheatley, described on the charge sheet as unemployed, shared a house near Aldershot with both "Larsens", and also indicated he was an agent.

● A solicitor acting for the ~~two~~ told a London newspaper he "did not deny that (his clients) had been working for the British government, and that they had a large amount of documentation concerning matters of national security in their possession."

● "John Larsen", described as a computer technician, was presented as "Frank Larsen's" son, but is said by some sources in London to in fact be his lover — real name Hans Kristian Dahl. He is thought likely to be deported to Norway.

● Evan Dennis Evans was described as a sub-postmaster in Anglesey, North Wales. He is alleged to have been a sabotage expert in the Rhodesian and South African armies for 15 years, up to 1985.

A "hit-list" of ANC members was allegedly found in the possession of Wheatley and the Larsens when Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad raided a home in Hampshire in July. Police also found a vast quantity of documentation, including a classified Ministry of Defence manual and Foreign Office material.

The entire episode is riddled with

Riddles of ANC kidnap plot

W/Mail 23-29/10/87 (16) ● From PAGE 1

extraordinary allegations, some of which sources in London describe as "more plausible" than others.

Sources say British and American involvement in subversion against the Seychelles government "doesn't ring politically true", as relations between those two countries and the Seychelles government are by no means strained.

Also, say the sources, it is unlikely that UK and US intelligence services would easily become involved in an operation which bore the risk of exposing contacts with their South African counterparts.

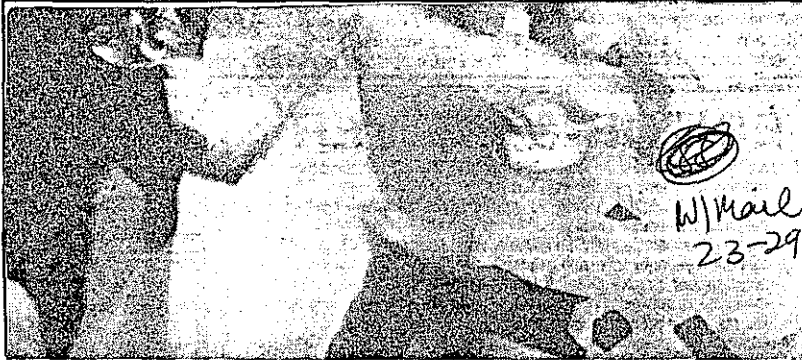
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gone this far is a lack of communication between the various government agencies," said a defence lawyer. "No arrests should ever have been necessary."

In a further twist to the tale, while Evans walked free from the court yesterday, "Frank Larsen" and Jonathan Wheatley stayed in prison — apparently by choice. Defence counsel said he "feared for their safety", especially that of Wheatley, who he said might be abducted.

They were "content" to stay in prison for another seven days, he said. Asked to expand upon this remark by reporters in London, he said: "Allegations have been made that they were conspiring to kidnap the ANC. Isn't that sufficient?" It is not clear when they will actually walk out of the prison gates.

The only reason why matters have



W/Mail 23-29/10/87

1/19. (S) SABA 27/10/87

UDF suspends relations with British government

The United Democratic Front had suspended relations with the British government and its representatives, the UDF national executive committee said last night.

The dropping of charges against people who allegedly plotted to kidnap African National Congress members living in Britain was "the last straw", an open letter from the committee to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said.

The UDF said Mrs Thatcher and her government should apologise to the ANC for the statement and reinstate charges against the alleged kidnapers.

"For some time now, the oppressed people of South Africa have watched your political antics in the region with some dismay," the letter said.

"However, your recent attack on the African National Congress and the dropping of charges against apartheid agents engaged in illegal activity on British soil, are the last straw.

"As a result the United Democratic Front has decided to express its strong objections to the actions of yourself and the British government by suspending all relations with the British government and its representatives, pending further dis-

cussions with our affiliate organisations."

The action should be seen against widespread anger that calls for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions had been dismissed by the British government, the letter said.

"Your latest actions have only served to confirm our view that you and your government have taken sides with the racists against the people of South Africa."

The UDF was appalled at the dropping of the charges.

It believed this was evidence of close working relations and "collusion" between the British and SA governments.

It was no coincidence that Mrs Thatcher launched an attack on the ANC, claiming they were terrorists, at the same time as "British complicity in apartheid terror" was being covered up, the letter said.

The SA Government would regard the recent actions of the British Government as direct support for its policies.

The UDF "believes that Mrs Thatcher personally, and the British government, should apologise to the African National Congress and the people of South Africa for the offensive statements". — Sapa.

UK hand In anti-ANC

By SHAUN JOHNSON

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Riddles of ANC kidnap plot

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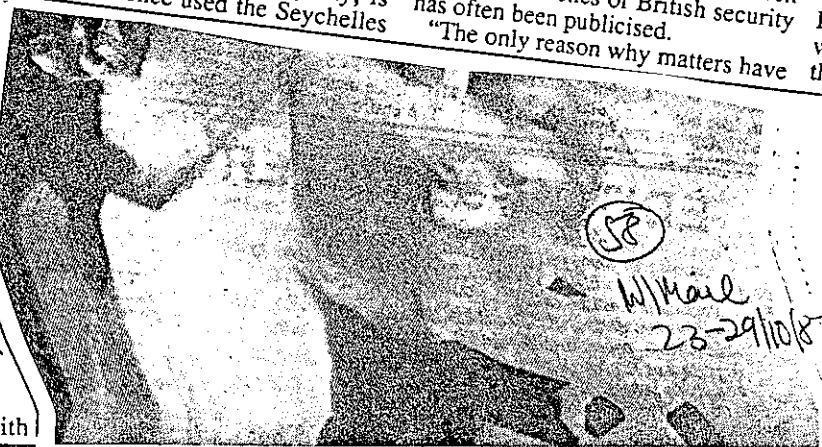
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There are further ironies and imponderables: the defence claims the Anti-Terrorist Squad "accidentally stumbled across" the activities of the alleged agents. Such a lack of communication and co-operation between different branches of British security has often been publicised.

"The only reason why matters have

extraordinary allegations, some of which sources in London describe as "more plausible" than others.

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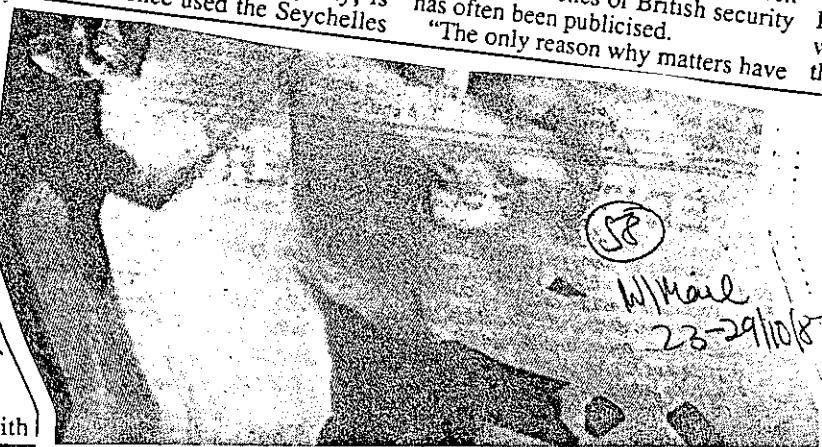
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ANC DEMANDS 'EXPLANATION'

THE African National Congress has demanded an explanation from the British government for the court decision to free the three alleged kidnapers. An ANC spokesman said yesterday: "This decision comes as a complete surprise, particularly in view of the fact that the ANC has more than once been informed by the police that they were treating the case with utmost seriousness. W/Mail
 "In addition, evidence had already been led in court pointing to the fact that the British government knew a great deal about the activities of the accused. The allegations made by the defence lawyers raise matters of the gravest concern to the ANC and indeed the whole of Africa." Included amongst these allegations was the suggestion that the "conspiracy" to kidnap top ANC members was linked to a wider strategy involving subversion in the Seychelles.

23-29/10/87

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE sudden dropping of charges this week against three men accused of plotting to kidnap senior members of the African National Congress in London has lifted the lid on an extraordinary tale of intrigue — but left a host of questions unanswered.

The men had been accused by a British prosecutor of hatching a "well thought-out plot" to kidnap top ANC officials, who would then be smuggled to South Africa via a boat moored on the Thames.

New, bizarre details emerged yesterday — after the decision to drop the charges on grounds of "insufficient evidence" was announced at Lambeth Magistrate's Court.

The men's defence lawyer had warned in remand hearings that if the case were pursued, he would be forced to "prejudice national security" by naming a "minister of the Crown" and other senior members of the British government involved in the "conspiracy", said to involve British and American intelligence and extend to an alleged plot to topple the Seychelles government.

It seems certain a plot to kidnap ANC members did exist, despite denials by the accused — a "hit list" has been seen by reliable sources. But, although it has been alleged that at least some of the accused were British undercover agents, probably in MI6, it is not clear where the impetus for the plan came from.

Even the identities and nationalities of the accused are shrouded in mystery. They were named as Frank Larsen, 53, Jonathan Wheatley, 28, and Evan Dennis Evans, 48, the last named on bail when the release announcement was made. A fourth man facing the same charge, named as John Larsen, 27, was discharged on October 1.

"Frank Larsen", named on the charge sheet as a psychologist born in Zimbabwe, is reputed to be one Viggo Orebak, a Norwegian who enlisted in the Rhodesian army before Zimbabwean independence. He claims to have been acting as a British undercover agent. It is

● TO PAGE 2

thought he will face deportation to Norway.

● Jonathan Wheatley, described on the charge sheet as unemployed, shared a house near Aldershot with both "Larsens", and also indicated he was an agent.

● A solicitor acting for the two told a London newspaper he "did not deny that (his clients) had been working for the British government, and that they had a large amount of documentation concerning matters of national security in their possession."

● "John Larsen", described as a computer technician, was presented as "Frank Larsen's" son, but is said by some sources in London to in fact be his lover — real name Hans Kristian Dahl. He is thought likely to be deported to Norway.

● Evan Dennis Evans was described as a sub-postmaster in Anglesey, North Wales. He is alleged to have been a sabotage expert in the Rhodesian and South African armies for 15 years, up to 1985.

A "hit-list" of ANC members was allegedly found in the possession of Wheatley and the Larsens when Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad raided a home in Hampshire in July. Police also found a vast quantity of documentation, including a classified Ministry of Defence manual and Foreign Office material.

The entire episode is riddled with

Riddles of ANC kidnap plot

● From PAGE 1

extraordinary allegations, some of which sources in London describe as "more plausible" than others.

Sources say British and American involvement in subversion against the Seychelles government "doesn't ring politically true", as relations between those two countries and the Seychelles government are by no means strained.

Also, say the sources, it is unlikely that UK and US intelligence services would easily become involved in an operation which bore the risk of exposing contacts with their South African counterparts.

What is more likely, they say, is that the defence used the Seychelles

issue to "blackmail" the Department of Public Prosecutions into dropping charges, for fear of allowing sensitive information to reach the public domain.

Had documentation in the possession of the men been leaked, according to the defence, the effect would have been "catastrophic" and cause "a great deal of embarrassment to the British government".

There are further ironies and imponderables: the defence claims the Anti-Terrorist Squad "accidentally stumbled across" the activities of the alleged agents. Such a lack of communication and co-operation between different branches of British security has often been publicised.

"The only reason why matters have

gone this far is a lack of communication between the various government agencies," said a defence lawyer. "No arrests should ever have been necessary."

In a further twist to the tale, while Evans walked free from the court yesterday, "Frank Larsen" and Jonathan Wheatley stayed in prison — apparently by choice. Defence counsel said he "feared for their safety", especially that of Wheatley, who he said might be abducted.

They were "content" to stay in prison for another seven days, he said. Asked to expand upon this remark by reporters in London, he said: "Allegations have been made that they were conspiring to kidnap the ANC. Isn't that sufficient? It is not clear when they will actually walk out of the prison gates."



58
 W/Mail
 23-29/10/87

1/A

UDF stops UK links

*29/10/87
Cuc Nest*

JOHANNESBURG — The United Democratic Front had suspended relations with the British Government and its representatives, the UDF national executive committee said last night.

The dropping of charges against people who allegedly plotted to kidnap African National Congress members living in Britain was "the last straw," an open letter from the committee to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said.

The UDF said Mrs Thatcher and her Government should apologise to the ANC for the statement and reinstate charges against the alleged kidnapers. — Sapa

CME Trip

(11A)

WCTA aims for 'new morality'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

TODAY'S challenge for black traders was whether to resist succumbing to an unfair system and join in a "spree of super-profits" or to make major sacrifices by participating in the struggle for a new morality.

This was said by Mr Dullah Omar, a United Democratic Front chairman, who delivered the keynote address at the congress of the Western Cape Traders' Association last night.

He said that in a country in which 80% of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange was owned by five major companies and all sectors were dominated by huge monopolies as millions starved, the dominant value propagated was selfishness.

"That's why the WCTA's contribution is so important. We are not only trying to improve the material contributions of people but to promote a new morality," he said.

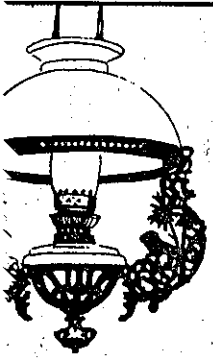
Unfortunately people were faced with a regime which was determined to maintain a system based on super-profits and black traders were encouraged to "take the coward's way out by joining this spree of super-profits".

Speaking on the state of emergency, he said one of the main reasons for its imposition was not a breakdown in law and order but that the liberation movement had been making rapid strides.

In 1983 the government produced a new constitution which resulted in "that fraud — the Tricameral Parliament".

In 1984 people had boycotted this Parliament "out of existence" — creating a political crisis in which the liberation movement had scored victory after victory.

In spite of the Bantu Education Act in 1954 launching a "gigantic attack on the minds of our youth" to accept the status quo, the "revolts" of 1976, 1985 and 1986 had turned the situation completely around.

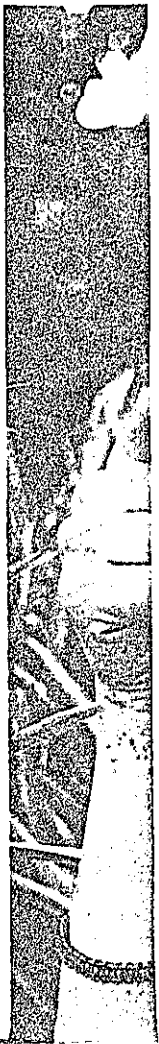


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CME Trip 29/10/87

New Moon, Nov 21.

APC Times 29/10/87

Extra police for strife-hit township

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Extra police reaction units moved into the strife-torn Edendale township near Maritzburg yesterday in what was described as a mission to restore law and order.

Meanwhile the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce is forming a mediation committee in a further effort to end the strife.

Police say 60 people have been killed but independent monitoring groups claim as many as 300 have died in the unrest.

A number of schoolchildren, who apparently have been unable to attend classes because of the unrest, went back to school yesterday.

Meeting

The move comes after a meeting between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister, on Tuesday.

The police were on patrol in Edendale streets and in areas where, according to police in Maritzburg, hooligans and criminal elements had been exploiting the situation.

Brig Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, confirmed that police reinforcements had moved into the township and said the duty of police was to restore law and order.

Meanwhile Mr Paul van Uytrecht, manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, said the chamber had been approached by Inkatha and the UDF to assist in resolving the violence.

ICE

(AGA13866)

PROFILE: Oliver Tambo

Tambo at 70

The ANC chief celebrates his seventieth birthday today. Almost thirty of those years have been spent in exile

THE closest Oliver Tambo has got to South African soil since the day he slipped across the border into exile, was a passenger seat in a high-flying plane which hurried him across the country's eastern edges, en route to a funeral in Lesotho.

The plane flight, in December 1982, followed a South African commando raid on Maseru in which 42 people were killed, 30 of them African National Congress members.

Tambo insisted at an emergency national executive committee meeting in Lusaka that he would attend the funeral. The president could not cover behind in safety while his colleagues died in the frontlines.

The executive refused to let him go.

They pointed out that the only way he could get to landlocked Lesotho was by flying over South African territory, and there was no guarantee his plane would not be downed.

But Tambo insisted and a fierce debate ensued. By the time it had ended, Tambo had extracted an agreement from his colleagues.

Firstly, he would go. Secondly, their objections would be placed on record in the minutes of the meeting. And, thirdly, if his plane was in fact downed, his colleagues would not say publicly, "We told him so".

Very much against their better judgement, his top security advisors set about making a set of devious arrangements to get Tambo to Lesotho safely.

There, a few days later, he addressed the mourners. After 20 years in exile, he was finally south of the Limpopo. But still a long way from home.

Today Oliver Tambo turns 70. His colleagues in the ANC's External Mission are preparing a round of celebrations to mark the birthday of this African Moses who, they believe, will lead them out of despair and nearly 30 years of exile.

Tambo has not yet parted the heavily guarded Limpopo — and some would argue he is unlikely ever to do so. But this does not dampen ANC members' enthusiasm for him. He enjoys an astonishing measure of respect and affection from his colleagues at all levels in the outlawed movement.

Whereas criticism of other members of the outlawed movement's leadership is quite often heard in ANC circles, "O.R.", as he is known, escapes completely.

This enthusiasm mystifies outsiders. Particularly since the ANC, 75 years after its launch, seems a long way from reaching its objectives.

But the respect for Tambo is derived from precisely this fact: he has stuck with the ANC through thick and thin — and some of those times have been very lean indeed.

He has led the ANC through its bleakest days to what are now, arguably, its brightest. Its enemies are now forced to accord it more attention than at any stage in its chequered history.

Any realistic history of the ANC will have to take Tambo's personality into account. Without doubt, it has been a major unifying catalyst within the movement. Above all, it is that unity which has enabled the ANC to occupy the



Tambo today: To the ANC's followers, an African Moses they hope will someday part the waters of Limpopo

Picture: VUYI MBALO, Alrapix

place it now does in South African politics — that of a ubiquitous, combative phantom, which few either can or do ignore.

One often hears from exiles their characterisations of the ANC leadership of the fifties with Nelson Mandela the "bulldozer" and "action man", Walter Sisulu the "strategist", Govan Mbeki the "theorist", and Oliver Tambo the "unifier", the man who could hold together the different strands which make up the ANC.

It was, above all, this group of (then) young nationalists and communists who remoulded the ANC from an inert body into a militant movement with a mass following.

The ANC is now, since the 1976 Soweto students uprising, again being remoulded by another and larger group of young intellectuals.

Like many of today's youth, Tambo learned his first political lessons in confrontations with school and university authorities.

Born to peasant parents in the Bizana district of the Transkei, he received a series of scholarships. At Fort Hare, where he later completed a BSc, Tambo led protests against an assault on a black woman by a white boarding master.

And, while doing a subsequent Education Diploma, he was expelled for leading another

student protest.

Together with the brilliant young Africanist Anton Lembede, Mandela, Sisulu, A.P. Mda and Robert Sobukwe, Tambo was a leading light in the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944.

Tambo served as national secretary of the ANCYL, later becoming its Transvaal president, and eventually its national vice-president in 1948-9.

In 1949, the year the Youth League produced the ANC's first militant "Programme of Action", Tambo was elected to the ANC national executive committee proper.

Over this period, he considered entering the priesthood but, after Walter Sisulu had talked him out of it, he went into legal practice in Johannesburg with Mandela.

In the 1950s, he was served with first a two-year and then a five-year banning order. He was elected at different times to the posts of ANC secretary general and, then, deputy president, the position he held when the ANC was outlawed in 1960 under the presidency of Albert Lutuli.

A week after the Sharpeville shootings of March 21 1960 and two days before the declaration of the state of emergency Tambo left the country illegally to form the ANC External Mission. In fact, the executive's decision that he should leave had been taken a year earlier — but Tambo had been resisting it.

Through the ANC's bleakest years — 1960 to 1969 — Tambo led the movement in exile, treading an often lonely path from Tanzania, to London and Lusaka, and back.

Progress was slow and very painful for the ANC. The Wankie Campaign, mounted jointly by ANC and Zulu guerrillas in then-Rhodesia in 1967, proved a costly experience.

And, when the ANC held its first National Consultative Conference in Morogoro, Tanzania, in 1969, feelings ran high. The entire executive was forced to resign, and Tambo was lambasted by delegates speaking from the conference floor.

But, by the end of the conference, Tambo had been elected president to succeed Albert Lutuli (who had died in 1967) and a new sense of purpose had been achieved in the ANC. A "Revolutionary Council" was established to "take the struggle back home".

However, in 1975, the ANC was again shaken when eight senior members, led by Tennyson and Ambrose Makiwane, formed a faction they called ANC (African Nationalist) and sought an alliance with the Pan Africanist Congress.

The group also campaigned to end the relationship between the ANC and SA Communist Party. The eight were suspended from the movement and the ANC(AN) faded away.

An ANC veteran, who spent years in guerrilla camps doing very little, recalls of those grim days: "They were very confusing, very difficult times. But O.R. led us through them, and so he became the father and mother of us all".

Howard Barrell

A FORMER member of Uitenhage's Ama-Afrika group, Monwabisi Qoqo, last week told journalists how he and other vigilantes marched on Tyoksville residents in July.

Speaking from a hideout in Zwide township, he described participating in raids and beatings, joining in, he said, "because I did not want to draw attention to myself".

Three days after he moved to Tyoksville, a shanty area near the Ama-Afrika stronghold of Khayelitsha, "a group of men armed with assegais, pangas, knobkieries and pick handles banged at my door and said if I belong to the UDF, it would be made obvious by my refusal to join them. They said they were going from door to door, searching for the 'comrades'."

He said he joined because he was afraid if he refused he would be accused of being a 'comrade' and beaten. Youths were hijacked in the streets in the same manner.

"I was told to arm myself with any weapon I could find, so I grabbed a stick and followed," he said.

"We met a resident in the street. He was beaten to pulp and left lying in the street. I didn't know whether he was dead or alive.

"We proceeded and raided homes of United Democratic Front supporters. The group was led by Kelman Befile, Mandla Nkonki, 'Ace' Befile, Malawu Nakase and other men I did not recognise.

"A week later, we went to another area in Tyoksville. A man who was accused of being a street and area committee member was assaulted. I also took part in beating him because I did not want to draw attention to myself.

"Nakase ordered the man to be taken to 9 Sogewayi Street, the headquarters of the vigilantes. On the way we met some municipal police. A few of us ran away as we did not want to be seen as part of the gang and thought we would be arrested. We later heard that the victim was arrest-

I joined a gang who beat up UDF members

I was scared of the vigilantes, so I joined them. I was scared of the comrades, so I fled ...

Caught between warring factions, a frightened Monwabisi Qoqo joined the vigilantes ... then fled when the 'comrades' caught up with him. MBULELO LINDA reports



Monwabisi Qoqo: took part in attacks

Picture: M LINDA, PEN

ed by the municipal cops and the vigilantes were told to go on their way."

In that week, five UDF supporters were killed and a house belonging to a street committee member was damaged with stones.

Qoqo admitted he took part in some of those attacks. "In many instances we met municipal police who wanted to know why we were moving around in big groups. But they did not ask why we were armed.

"Nakase acted as the spokesman

when the group was confronted by the police. They said nothing when he said they were looking for 'comrades'. They just milled around while the group continued their raids.

"At one stage municipal cops arrived while we were attacking a 'comrade'. Again Nakase did the talking. I did not hear what he said but the cops ignored what they saw."

Qoqo said he remained with the group even when he witnessed the atrocities committed. Youths picked

up at random "were too frightened to complain. We just discussed it among ourselves."

He said he decided to abandon the activities when he was confronted by "comrades".

"I was visiting my girlfriend in another area of Tyoksville when I met my former comrades who demanded an explanation about my involvement with the Ama-Afrika group. They did not believe I was forcibly recruited.

"I was given two options: either I

stay an Ama-Afrika member and live in Khayelitsha, or I leave the group, and then I could return to Tyoksville."

He said he was too frightened to stay in Tyoksville after he left Ama-Afrika, so he returned to Langa. But the community rejected him because of his vigilante connections. "I was stabbed in the leg and shoulder and people would not accept that I was no longer an Ama-Afrika member. I fled to Port Elizabeth."

Ama-Afrika leader, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, said: "It is good this person has the names of these people that he said are Ama-Afrika members. It is going to make things easier for us to check out these members.

"If there is a member of Ama-Afrika involved in such actions, I will suggest the necessary action."

He said his organisation had received complaints that people who were not members were being used by police. "We will try to co-operate with any group that exposes the involvement of police with people or their organisation."

He said Ama-Afrika was no longer using the Sogwayi street house. "I'm afraid the house is harbouring tsotsis," he said, "and I hope the police will do something about it."

The control and enforcement officer of the municipal police in Uitenhage, Commandant KL van der Linde, said he did not know anything about Qoqo's allegations.

"There are so many allegations against municipal police and I don't keep records of them," he said.

Meanwhile, KwaNobuhle town council clerk Eddie Coetzee said he would not respond to an individual's allegations: "In July, according to the municipal record books, it was peaceful and quiet in all Uitenhage townships."

He said people should complain to the police or a magistrate so the matter could be investigated, and he had never heard any complaints about municipal police involvement with the vigilantes. — PEN

Radicals to fore in ANC leadership changes

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has announced changes in the leadership of its guerilla army which bring to the fore two radicals.

Former political commissar Mr Chris Hani becomes the new chief of staff and deputy commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, replacing the white South African Communist Party leader, Mr Joe Slovo, who resigned from the post earlier this year.

The new commissar and number three in the military hierarchy is Mr Steve Tshwete, who served a 15-year sentence on Robben Island before helping to found the United Democratic Front.

He was active in the Eastern Cape before fleeing the country in 1985.

Both he and Mr Hani are in their 40s.

The changes were announced at the 70th birthday celebrations of ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo in Lusaka. Mr Tambo remains overall commander-in-chief and Mr Joe Modise continues as army commander.

Mr Tambo's speech on that occasion may not be reported in South Africa as he is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act. — Financial Times.



Handwritten signature or initials, possibly 'M. M. M.' or similar, written in ink over the bottom of the page.

Prisons man tells that he joined pro- UDF hit-squad

By MIKE LOEWE, Durban

A PRISON warden in the violence-torn township of Dambuza, Pietermaritzburg, yesterday said he and five township policemen and a prison official had, while off duty, engaged in combat against armed Inkatha groups.

11A He said the officials recently fought alongside or within the ranks of the United Democratic Front-supporting volunteer defence units.

11B Their participation — possibly including a security policeman — was confirmed this week by top Inkatha and UDF officials.

11C During an interview in Edendale with 13 of the Scorpions — young armed UDF supporters — a man who wished only to be known as Will, said: "I am a prison warden. I know of three other wardens and a police officer involved. There is also a police constable in the CID and a security policeman involved."

Willard He said he joined the Scorpions because Inkatha burnt down his house. "Now I am in a position to defend others who are against Inkatha."

23-29/10/87 Vitus Mvelase, the Durban representative of the KwaZulu government and a member of the Inkatha central committee, said "black policemen are very much involved" and claimed that the UDF had bribed lowly-paid policemen into siding against Inkatha.

Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, the UDF secretary of the Natal Midlands, said township police and prison wardens had joined UDF supporting communities in fending off forced Inkatha recruitment drives.

Lieutenant SJ Makatini, of the KwaZulu Police, said a "prisons officer was involved in the shooting of an Inkatha youth". He was recording the cases coming into the Edendale Inkatha offices. — Concord News

11A
By MONK
NKOMO

THE United Democratic Front and its affiliate have, at several meetings, referred to black councillors as "puppets" and also urged them to resign from their posts, Mr Moses Chikane, former UDF secretary in the Transvaal, told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Chikane said the UDF arranged protest meetings and demonstrations urging residents to boycott the

Court told of protests

election under the Black Local Authorities Act and to reject the new South African constitution.

Cross-examined by Mr P B Jacobs, SC, for the State, Mr Chikane said the UDF wanted a non-racial and democratic constitution for South Africa.

"The country's constitution embodies

apartheid. We reject it because it is based on apartheid. We want a non-racial democracy to prevail in South Africa," said Mr Chikane.

He and 18 others, including senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and an assessor to charges of treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

Mr Chikane said the UDF urged councillors to resign.

CAH/Tmj5 29/10/81

Advice for ANC

114

LONDON — British Home Office Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd has said that leading members of the African National Congress in the UK have been seen by the police and been given advice about their personal security.

CB

207

UDF snubs Britain *Am. Trip 29/10/87*

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front had suspended relations with the British government and its representatives, the UDF National Executive Committee said last night. The dropping of charges against people who allegedly plotted to kidnap African National Congress members living in Britain was "the last straw", the committee said in an open letter to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

SMC 30/10/87

11A

Award for journalist

The 1987 Rosholt Fellowship in Journalism was awarded last night to Mr David Carte, financial editor of *Business Times*.

Mr Carte will spend nine weeks at the Oxford Centre for Management Studies.

Mr Carte was presented with the award by Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand.

Presenting the award, Mr Rosholt appealed to the media to continue to emphasise the very considerable contribution which business was making in attempting to deal with South Africa's political problems.

Britain closes door on contact with ANC

By Michael Morris, The Star's Foreign News Service
LONDON — Britain is apparently closing the door on further official contacts with the African National Congress.

In a significant policy shift, Whitehall sources have indicated that the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and the Foreign Office Minister of State, Mrs Lynda Chalker, are expected to have no further contact with representatives of the ANC.

This follows Mrs Thatcher's strong attack on the ANC during the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver this month, when she likened the it to the PLO and IRA, calling it a "typical terrorist organisation".

Her comment that she would "have no truck with those organisations" surprised observers, who pointed out that, a year ago, Mrs Thatcher publicly acknowledged the importance of the ANC in the future of

southern Africa, and backed calls for its unbanning in South Africa and the freedom of Nelson Mandela.

When Britain did formally meet ANC leaders, the Foreign Office was always at pains to point out that the contacts provided an important opportunity to dissuade the African nationalists from taking the course of armed struggle.

It is possible Mrs Thatcher is anxious to dispel the impression that her emphasis on giving material aid and a measure of political support to the Frontline states means Britain is siding with the "liberation" movements based there.

In fact, her attack on the ANC in Vancouver was in response to a question by a journalist who asked if giving aid to black South Africans (part of Britain's alternative to imposing sanctions) meant Britain would give aid to the ANC.

Many thought at the time that the virulence of the attack suggested it was a hasty, ill-considered response which did not reflect Foreign Office thinking, but Whitehall sources dispelled that doubt yesterday by saying her statement represented the government's policy.

This emerged on the day the UDF announced its suspension of relations with the British government.

It must be of some concern to the diplomats responsible for shaping southern Africa policy that the latest developments look likely to restrict the scope for creative diplomacy in a region sorely in need of dialogue, rather than a fractious schism.



Mrs Thatcher taking a tough line.

22 MPs in f-ANC-y dress

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A group of 22 Labour MPs wore African National Congress and Swapo T-shirts in the House of Commons yesterday afternoon as a protest against Mrs Thatcher's reference to the ANC as "terrorists".

The Speaker, Mr Bernard Weatherill, confined himself to saying that no reaction was necessary to members appearing "in fancy dress", until one of the MPs, Mr Tony Banks, rose to ask a question.

The Speaker told him: "If the honourable member wishes to take part in the serious business of this House, he should be prepared to dress appropriately."

Mr Banks said he was taking part in a "legitimate protest" against the Prime Minister's statement about the ANC being a terrorist organisation. This had "given great offence to every single head of the Commonwealth in Vancouver".

The Speaker said, however, that he was concerned about the dignity of

Parliament. The wearing of T-shirts may have been a peaceful demonstration, but the House of Commons proceeded by words and argument, rather than demonstration.

Mr Richard Caborn, secretary of the Parliamentary Labour Party Anti-Apartheid Group, who took part in the protest, said later he thought it had been effective.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Caborn sent a letter to Mrs Thatcher drawing her attention to the news that the United Democratic Front was suspending its relations with Britain.

This development was what he and colleagues had predicted when they tabled an early day motion on the subject. "I believe it is vital that you repair the damage that you have done to relations between Britain and the black majority in South Africa," he said.

He asked her to withdraw immediately the statement in which she described the ANC as "a typical terrorist organisation".

EC not pushy SA sanctions

The Star's Foreign News Service

30/10/87

BRUSSELS — The European Parliament has heard calls for tougher centralised monitoring of economic sanctions against South Africa but the pleas for an extension of the measures were muted.

The parliament held its debate at Strasbourg, France, yesterday on the first year of the European Community's ban on new investment in South Africa and on iron and steel imports.

Halloween celebrated

Local children will get a taste of an American traditional festival tomorrow when the American International School of Johannesburg in Diepsloot, north of Sandton, celebrates Halloween with a grand carnival.

The day's activities are open to the public and commence at 10 am with 10 km and 5 km sponsored "walkathons".

Tende Ste Super R7, per l

Free

Killing fields

Superficially, the black townships of Pietermaritzburg have lapsed into a senseless anarchy reminiscent of Beirut. In the three weeks to last Friday, 47 people died in township violence — much between arch-rivals Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF). The most recent death was the brutal decapitation of a 10-year-old boy.



Dhlomo

Whether there is method to this mayhem, neither residents nor academic researchers can answer with certainty. It is equally impossible to apportion relative blame. But there is general agreement about the principal antagonists: Inkatha and the UDF.

Embarrassed leaders of both have failed to stem the violence. Appeals from residents for a peace envoy reflect the seriousness of the situation. The *Sowetan* recently lamented: "Because of political in-fighting, many people have lost all confidence and trust in politicians and their organisations. This has set the struggle back by many years."

3/10/87



Inkatha-UDF clashes in the region date back to August 1985. It is perhaps significant that the recent upsurge comes when Inkatha is lobbying ahead of a proposed provincial referendum on the Indaba. The UDF and its affiliates have branded the Indaba's constitutional arrangement as ethnic, regional and thus divisive.

At a weekend seminar, University of Natal (Durban) researcher Douglas Booth defined the "structural and locational" contrasts between the two organisations.

The UDF and its extra-parliamentary affiliates respond to local community grievances, such as housing shortages and inferior education. At national level they have coalesced into anti-government, anti-apartheid, and anti-capitalist movements. Strategies include boycotts, protests, and support for disinvestment, he explained.

Inkatha's discourse on the goals of black liberation differs little from that of the UDF, but strategic contrasts include a tacit support for capitalism and working within the system. Structurally, it differs in that its leadership is middle class — tribal chiefs, traders, and professional civil servants.

Conflict between the two, said Booth, arose in township administration, education, and the trade union movement. Since the Indaba does not address the problem of transposing a regional arrangement to a national one, it has been categorically rejected by extra-parliamentary opposition.

UDF and Inkatha sources offer differing explanations as to why violence has escalated. To the UDF, it has a great deal to do with Inkatha's stepped-up recruitment drive in townships, where, some aver, Inkatha support is not as strong as Ulundi would like. The UDF claims that people who refuse to co-operate with Inkatha, either by proving membership, or agreeing to join there and then, end up "on the wrong end of the stick."

Academic researchers agree that Inkatha employs coercive methods to expand its membership — like insisting on membership cards before houses are allocated. But coercion, they add, is not uncommon on the other side of the spectrum either.

A UDF Maritzburg official questions the nature of recruitment which takes place in the middle of the night. Inkatha committee member Vusumuzi Mvelase returns the

compliment, claiming the UDF specialises in late-night terrorising of the population. He also maintains that people join Inkatha "of their own accord."

Both sides concede their supporters are not all paragons of virtue, and agree that a substantial "thug element" is at work. Both express disquiet at the role played by the police.

The UDF claims the police have given "at least tacit support" to Inkatha, while Inkatha complains that the police show little interest in quelling violence. Astonishingly, Inkatha's Oscar Dhlomo this week claimed the police are working in collusion with the UDF in the "civil war" in Maritzburg.

Ironically, if the UDF is indeed "winning," violence might increase: people do not negotiate when they think they can win.

Also endangered by violence is the prospect of an Indaba referendum (see *Natal Indaba*). Government is unlikely to repeat the boycott and violence "trap" it fell into over the tricameral elections. So there may be method to the mayhem after all.

J

ANC links denied

A HIGH-RANKING official of the United Democratic Front, Mr Moses Chikane, yesterday denied that his organisation was linked to the banned ANC and that it was responsible for the violence that broke out in black townships.

Mr P.B. Jacobs, SC, for the State, put to Mr Chikane in the Pretoria Supreme Court that violence erupted in the townships throughout the country after the UDF affiliates had mobilised, politicised and organised the masses in

22 black areas. Mr Chikane rejected the allegation.

Mr Chikane and 18 others, including officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and an assessor to charges of treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

Shortly after Mr Chikane was re-examined by Mr Karel Tip, for the defence, Mr George Bizos, SC, told the court that next week they would apply for

bail for three of the accused — all high-ranking UDF officials — who have been in custody for three years.

They are Mr Popo Simon Molefe, national general secretary of the UDF, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF and Mr Chikane, former Transvaal UDF secretary.

They were denied bail on June 30 this year after the court ruled that they were a threat to the State.

All the other accused are out on bail.

(11A) Innetm 30/10/87

UDF severs links with Britain after ANC kidnapping case dropped

IR 30/10/87

JOHANNESBURG — The United Democratic Front had suspended relations with the British Government and its representatives, the UDF National Executive Committee said.

The dropping of charges against people who allegedly plotted to kidnap African National Congress members living in Britain was "the last straw," an open letter from the committee to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said.

The action should be seen against widespread anger that calls for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions had been dismissed by the British Government, the letter said.

The UDF was appalled at the dropping of the charges.

But UDF leaders yesterday gave conflicting accounts of the authenticity of the UDF statement.

The UDF would have

nothing more to do with the British government or its representatives, the UDF co-president, Mr Archie Gumede, said.

But another co-president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said: "We in the National Executive Committee know nothing about this statement." She said the statement "carried no weight".

The UDF national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, who is in Messina attending a terrorism trial, said he did not know about the statement but endorsed its sentiments.

The confusion was cleared up by Mr Ismail Ayob, one of the UDF attorneys, last night.

Confirming it had

been issued by the UDF executive, Mr Ayob said the confusion had arisen when certain UDF officials approached by members of the media yesterday in connection with the statement, said they knew nothing of it.

Mr Ayob explained that these officials had not been directly involved in the issuing of the statement and, for various reasons, had not yet known about it.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher last night declined to comment on the UDF's letter which accusing her of "siding with the racists against the people of South Africa".

The UDF action was reported prominently on national radio but a spokesman for the Prime Minister said she could not comment as she had not even been sent a copy of the organisation's open letter.

The spokesman added that as there had never been a formal relationship between Britain and the UDF and therefore nothing to break off.

In Parliament last week the Attorney General Sir Patrick Mayhew said Mrs Thatcher had never been consulted on the case or the decision to drop charges, which was entirely the responsibility of the director of public prosecutions.

There has also been no official comment on a report in New Statesman magazine yesterday saying that one of the accused in the ANC case, who was using the name John Terence Larsen, 28, had met Mrs Thatcher during the 1984 miners' strike.

John Larsen, who also uses the names Hans Christian Dahl and John Andrew Lewes Parker

made the claim in signed statements after police interrogation in July.

The New Statesman said that for reasons best known to the Anti Terrorist Squad (ATS) they asked Larsen if he knew Margaret Thatcher.

Larsen then told the police of an alleged meeting with the prime Minister during the strike.

The inference of his claims in the statement were that he had been employed during the strike to infiltrate the National Union of Mineworkers and to spy on its leaders including Mr Arthur Scargill.

The New Statesman also claimed that in spite of denials from the Foreign Office and the South Africa House, the former Armed Forces attaché at the Embassy, Colonel Rob Crowther,

left Britain "as a result of his involvement in this case, although it was thought unwise to make a public issue of it."

The magazine said Col Crowther was one of three people at the Embassy named in documents seized by the police in the course of their investigation.

The Embassy and Foreign Office said Col Crowther left London because his normal term had ended.

However, because Britain is signatory to limited European Community sanctions against military links, the South African government was refused permission to replace him or to elevate his junior, Air and Navy Attaché Col G. D. B. van Niekerk, to the status of Armed Force Attaché.

Hani ANC

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Summ

30/10/87

army chief

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has announced changes in the leadership of its guerrilla army which brings to the fore two radicals popular with young South African blacks.

Former political commissar Mr Chris Hani becomes the new chief of staff and deputy commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, replacing the white South African Community Party leader, Mr Joe Slovo, who resigned from the post earlier this year.

The new commissar and number three in the military hierarchy is Mr Steve Tshwete, who served a 15-year sentence on Robben Island before helping to found the United Democratic Front.

Active

He was active in the Eastern Cape before fleeing the country in 1985.

Both he and Mr Hani are in their 40s. The uncompromising Mr Hani, prominent in Umkhonto we Sizwe since the 1960s, has been



TAMBO ... still overall commander.

the target of assassination attempts by agents.

ANC leader Oliver Tambo remains overall commander-in-chief, and Mr Joe Modise continues as army commander.

(118)



PRIME Minister Margaret Thatcher.

UDF CUTS LINKS WITH UK

THE United Democratic Front had suspended relations with the British Government and its representatives, the UDF national executive committee has announced.

The dropping of charges against those who allegedly plotted to kidnap African National Congress members living in Britain was "the last straw," an open letter from the committee to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said.

The UDF said Mrs Thatcher and her government should apologise to the ANC for the statement and reinstate charges against the alleged kidnappers.

"For some time now, the oppressed people of South Africa have watched your political antics in the region with some dismay," the letter said.

"However, your recent attack on the African National Congress and the dropping of charges against apartheid agents engaged in illegal activity on British soil, are the last straw.

SA Press Association

"As a result the United Democratic Front has decided to express its strong objections to the actions of yourself and the British Government by suspending all relations with the British Government and its representatives, pending further discussions with our affiliate organisations."

Apologise

The SA Government would regard the recent actions of the British Government as direct support for its policies.

The UDF "believes that Mrs Thatcher personally and the British Government should apologise to the African National Congress and the people of South Africa for the offensive statements.

"We further demand that the charges are immediately reinstated against the kidnappers, and that a commission of inquiry investigates and makes public the conspiracy as well as the extent of undercover actions by the South African Government on British soil."

(11)

MM

3/10/87

Inkatha accuses police of siding with UDF

BRUCE CAMERON

CAPE TOWN — The police have been accused by kwaZulu of Machiavellian intrigue by supporting the United Democratic Front (UDF) against Inkatha in the bloody power struggle in the Maritzburg townships.

The allegation, which has been denied by the police, was levelled by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, at a Cape Town Press Club function.

Dr Dhlomo said in reply to questions: "We are worried about police involvement on the side of the UDF."

He referred to charges laid against two policemen following the deaths of a number of children but said he was of the opinion there was a conspiracy rather than individual action.

COMPLAINTS

In an interview later, Dr Dhlomo said there was evidence that the police had acted on the side of the UDF on a number of occasions. This was not restricted to the Maritzburg area.

"We have been observing this for a number of months. At kwaMakhutha, south of Amanzimtoti, we have had complaints from members (Inkatha) that UDF people had been involved in petrol-bombing and received instant bail."

In one Maritzburg case, he said, police had ignored the calls for assistance from an Inkatha member, whose home was surrounded by UDF supporters. The home had been petrol-bombed and a child killed.

Brigadier Leon Mellet rejected Dr Dhlomo's claims saying the police "cannot take sides in party politics — white or black".

However, he acknowledged two policemen were facing charges which appeared to have involved the UDF.

PFP votes to forge closer co-operation with ANC

11/12
w-pom 31/10/87

By PATRICK CULL

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Cape Congress of the Progressive Federal Party today voted overwhelmingly in favour of working towards closer co-operation with other anti-apartheid groups.

This includes the African National Congress despite the fact that this was used with telling force against the party in the May 6 general election.

Speaking on one of nine motions on the subject of co-operation with other anti-apartheid forces, the MP for Geleen Point, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, said the PFP should not only talk to friends, but also to political adversaries.

He said that despite the vicious attacks on the party during the election campaign, it was imperative that the PFP remained committed to talks — “even if it makes us unpop-

ular”.

“We will have to continue to pave the way for a spineless Government which should have done the right thing in the first place.”

The MP for Groote Schuur, Mr Jan van Gend, said that while he was in favour of co-operation, it needed to be remembered that the PFP was competing for support.

He warned that the party would have to make its position very clear if it was to have close links with other groups whose attitudes on subjects such as disinvestment were different.

Pleading for the party to hold the middle ground against both pro-apartheid groups and left-wing revolutionary forces, a King William's Town delegate, Mr Alastair Bentley, criticised PFP activists.

Many activists, he said, perceived every action and person in the National Party as “evil”.

PFP activists, Mr Bentley said, had become apologists for the ANC, were narrowing the support base of the party and making it more difficult to raise funds and recruit members.

“Activitists draw the line so solid between the PFP and the National Party that no NP supporters, however verlig, will join the PFP.”

● See Page 10

Party may contest local elections

Political Correspondent
GRAHAMSTOWN — Local option will be the key to whether the PFP contests next year's municipal elections on a party political basis in the Cape, it was decided at the Cape Congress today.

A motion was accepted authorising regional executives, after consultation

with the federal executive, to decide whether the party would contest elections on a party political basis.

The motion noted that other political parties had already indicated their intention to fight the local government elections.

The congress also unanimously condemned the Group Areas Act with the

MP for Green Point, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, warning that the Government would only declare areas open where *de facto* they were open already.

He warned that the trauma created by having a limited number of open areas might be greater than if the Act was scrapped overnight.

● See Page 10

(11) 3/10/77

Police help UDF, says Inkatha

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The South African Police was backing the UDF in the violent clashes between the organisation and Inkatha that left scores dead in recent weeks in Natal, the Inkatha Secretary-General, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said yesterday.

Dr Dhlomo said attempts had been made to bring the "warring factions" together but such peace initiatives were being complicated by intrusion of "third forces" with their own "devious intentions" who "hoped to see the split widen".

Answering questions at a press meeting about the continuing violence between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal, Dr Dhlomo said: "We are all worried about the violence taking place and we have tried to bring the warring factions together but it doesn't seem that peace efforts are succeeding."

Dr Dhlomo, who is also the co-convenor of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, said he was "worried" by the involvement of the SAP — "allegedly on the side of the UDF" — and that he "only hoped that this faction realized the implication of the involvement of third forces" in trying to resolve the problem.

Asked to elaborate on the SAP's "apparent" support for the UDF in the clashes, Dr Dhlomo responded: "I think its a fact and not just apparent."

He noted that two SAP members were standing trial in Pietermaritzburg for their involvement in the conflict, adding: "UDF members admit that they have enlisted SAP members and prison warders to attack Inkatha."

"It is not a secret. That is what is worrying: to have third forces which have their own devious intentions and hope to see the split widen."

Dr Dhlomo said he "did not know" whether the police were behaving as individuals or part of a more general "conspiracy" but "they did kill 13 young people in the most brutal manner".

Questioned later during an interview on why the police might be "taking sides" in the conflict, Dr Dhlomo offered four possible explanations:

- "The police are state authorities and don't mind black-on-black conflict because it minimises the possibility of black unity.

- "In the past the UDF always accused Inkatha of collaborating with the police and maybe the police are becoming self-conscious and want to refute that there is collaboration with the UDF."

- "The UDF may have infiltrated some elements of the police force as they claim to have done.

- "The UDF may have been infiltrated by members of the police."

Asked if he was basing his allegations of SAP-UDF collaboration on individuals incidents or whether this was part of a general trend in Natal, Dr Dhlomo said the pattern had been observed "for quite a few months".

Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha had held peace talks with UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede "but unfortunately he does not deliver the goods — it appears that he does not have the support of the UDF. It is difficult to talk to Gumede as an individual — we must get the support of the leadership".

Earlier this week, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, responding to the same allegations by Inkatha, said it was ridiculous to suggest the SAP was favouring the UDF.

"It is not police policy to favour the UDF or any other organisation and we have no knowledge of ill-feelings towards police there," he said.