

BLACK POLITICS - 1987

NOV. — DECEMBER.

11A S. Times
11/11/87

ANC's terror chief dodged raids

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

AN experienced survivor of many terrorist raids into South Africa, Chris Hani has taken command of the military wing of the African National Congress. The former Fort Hare student, now in his 40s, this week stepped in to replace veteran strategist and former Johannesburg lawyer Joe Slovo as chief of staff. Hani is now in charge of day-to-day operations by Umkhonto we Sizwe and responsible only to the ANC's leader, Oliver Tambo, and army commander Joe Modise. According to sources in Lon-



CHRIS HANI ... promoted

don, Hani has escaped numerous attempts on his life, sometimes only hours before SADF forces raided houses he was known to frequent.

He was political commissar for the army — in charge of political indoctrination of trainees and the army's political strategy.

As such, he formulated ANC policy on necklaced executions — saying that while the organisation had not directly ordered the method to be used, it made a potent deterrent for informers and "traitors of the class struggle".

While based in Cape Town, he organised the ANC's Youth League before fleeing the country in 1962.

He trained in Zambia before taking part in a largely unsuccessful operation to establish base camps in the bush, launching cross-border raids into the Transvaal and the Cape.

The ANC's reshuffle is seen as a power struggle between the South African Communist Party (SACP) and an anti-Marxist old guard within the organisation.

Hani is not a member of the SACP, but is thought to have close sympathies with the party.

Hani's successor is former Eastern Cape teacher and Robben Island prisoner Steve Tshwete, 50, who fled to Lusaka in 1985.

C/Am, 11/1/87

QUESTION 9

CP Correspondent

FRANK Talk, a quarterly journal dedicated to the black consciousness movement in South Africa, has been revived in Durban after two-and-a-half years of being dormant.

Frank Talk was a pseudonym used by Steve Biko, the father of the BC movement in South Africa, who died in 1977 while in detention.

This edition of *Frank*

Azapo's 'frank talking'

the official organ of the Natal province region of Azapo.

By February 1985, it had ended what its editorial collective described as the journal's "first cycle".

Talk, put out by an editorial collective with allegiance to the Azanian People's Organisation, contains writings by Biko.

The publication first appeared in March 1984 as

The publication of *Frank Talk* follows close on the heels of the banning by the Directorate of Publications in South Africa of the journal's sister publication in Johannesburg, *Azanian focus*.

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(1)

(b) What is the search of

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(c) Given the following ten keys, suggest a hashing algorithm (which may be as simple as you wish to make it), and, using that algorithm, insert the keys in the table given below (12 positions).

(3)

(i) Hashing algorithm

(ii) Insertion:

KEY HASH KEY

TABLE

POSITION KEY

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Pictures: LEON MÜLLER, the Argus

The UDF delegation at the congress was, from left, Mr William Thomas, Mr Rauf Kahn, Mr Wilfred Rhodes, Mrs Rashida Omar, Mrs Sabira Jinnah, Mrs Maggie Marks and Mr Joseph Marks.

Traders' association has strong links with community

Staff Reporter

FROM an organisation born out of grocery traders' problems, the Western Cape Traders' Association had grown during the past 10 years into an organisation which embraced all types of business and established strong links with other community organisations.

Speaking at the conference session of the WCTA's 10th annual congress in the Wittebome Civic Centre last night, chairman Mr Sharief Hassan said one of the major achievements of the organisation was the establishment of the WCTA Educational Trust.

The trust had recently been promised a total of R37 500 by two new sponsors.

Politically, the WCTA had established closer links with the community by, for example, becoming affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

Hadji Ebrahim Essop Patel, an executive member of the Municipal Market Buyers' Association for fruit and vegetable dealers, called on WCTA members to work more closely with trade unions and other community organisations.

"Don't exploit. Never become so inhumane that you become profit-motivated only," Mr Patel said.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Mr Faried Sayed, editor of the weekly Muslim Views, said the WCTA had raised the political consciousness of its members and had to realise it was "part of the broader mass of people with a responsibility in the struggle for liberation".

Advocate Mr Dulla Omar, chairman of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, said that the WCTA had "through participation in action heralded in a new era of co-operation between black traders and the oppressed workers".

During the second session of the congress, the following office-bearers were elected:

Mr Sharief Hassan (chairman); Mr Abdul-Kader Roomaney (vice-chairman); Mr Kassiem Allie (secretary); Mr Yusuf Pahad (assistant secretary); Mr Hamza Essack (treasurer); Mr Siva Moodley (assistant treasurer); Mr Kazi Abdullah (trustee); Hadji Ebrahim Essop Patel (trustee).

Other executive members are Mr Makkie Isaacs, Mr Aneez Samsodien, Mr Les Rudolph, Mr Ebrahim Badroodien, Mr Rob Williams, Mr Abubaker Amien, Mr Shaheen Ebrahim, Mr Hasmet Khan and Mr Sataar Parker.

STimes 11/1/87

Peace bid in townships war

CHURCH groups and organised commerce were frantically trying to set up peace talks this weekend to stop the carnage between the warring Inkatha and United Democratic Front forces in Natal.

Stabbings, stone-throwing and arson continued unabated this week, leaving another nine people dead and bringing the official death toll in the past month's violence to at least 56.

Police have increased patrols in the Maritzburg townships, calling in reinforcements from other parts of the province.

But as refugees from strife-torn Maritzburg continue the feud, violence is threatening to spill over into other Natal townships. Unrest killings outside Amanzimtoti and Umkomaas on the Natal South Coast have been linked to the trouble in Maritzburg.

Meanwhile, the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce is attempting to bring Inkatha and the UDF to the negotiating table to start peace talks.

Church organisations are also trying to get the two sides together. And the Rev Athol Jennings, director of the Buleka Trust, is chairing talks between Maritzburg residents.

The trust, backed by the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist churches, has for some time provided a forum for talks between warring factions in troubled areas.

"We were approached by several Maritzburg residents and a series of discussions is taking place.

"The next meeting is on



LETHAL . . . police show some of the weapons welded in Natal

By DENYSE ARMOUR

Wednesday," Mr Jennings said.

In a dramatic peace move today, an interdenominational mass prayer service for peace is being held at the Edendale Ecumenical Centre in Maritzburg.

Rejection

Church leaders at the meeting include the Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Rev Denis Hurley, the president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Khoza Mgojo and the Methodist Church's presi-

dent-elect, the Rev Stanley Mogoba.

While the organisers of the service expect about 3 000 people to attend, the Maritzburg chairman of Inkatha, Velaphi Ndlovu, has rejected the service.

"Although individual members are welcome to go and pray, as they do every Sunday, I will not be going," he said.

"Tutu is a patron of the UDF, the organisation we are at war with. How can we go and listen to what he tells us?"

"Anyway, we need peace talks — not prayer. A ceasefire won't fall from the heavens. We must sit at a table

together and resolve the issue."

Mr Ndlovu said it was imperative for the two sides to reach a ceasefire before the end of this month — when students will have written their end-of-year examinations.

"We can communicate with and control our members now, but we must have a ceasefire before the students start their holidays.

"We in Inkatha are trying our best, but the UDF leaders will not come to the table."

Mr Ndlovu added that Inkatha recognised the Chamber of Commerce efforts at peace-making as the only forum for negotiations with the UDF.

Mr AS Chetty, Midlands chairman of the UDF, said the UDF was ready to negotiate.

"We're not stalling. We believe in the democratic process. But we have an enormous constituency that we must go to for mandates," he said.

Support

"It's easy for leaders to sit down and talk but they must have grassroots support if lasting peace is to result from those talks.

"We are consulting our members now.

"We want to go to the talks set up by the Chamber of Commerce with all our facts correct.

"There have been so many accusations and counter-accusations since the violence started in 1985. We must now establish our points of difference."

Mr Chetty said he would be attending today's prayer service.

"Prayer is the best way of getting people together."

The Rev Benson V Nsimbi, one of the organisers of the prayer meeting, said: "All Christians and concerned people are invited to attend."

11/1/87

11A C/Pres



Kenneth Kaunda honours Tambo and Mandela

CP Correspondent
PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia, this week awarded jailed South African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela and ANC president Oliver Tambo the Order of the Grand Companion of Freedom, first division.

Kaunda bestowed the honours on Man-

dela and Tambo during a special investiture ceremony held at Lusaka's State House.

Tambo, who celebrated his 70th birthday this week, was on hand to receive his award while the liberation movement's secretary-general, Alfred Nzo, received the award for Mandela, who has been in prison for 23 years now.

The 69-year-old Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1964.

Following the banning of the ANC in 1960 by the Pretoria government, Tambo and others in the ANC Youth League (the organisation's youth wing), decided to wage the struggle from outside.

Tambo assumed the leadership of the ANC in 1967 after Albert Luthuli's death.

Kaunda commended Tambo for spearheading the struggle for the oppressed in South Africa through his unwavering and dedicated leadership.

He said through Tambo's leadership, black South Africans had rallied behind the ANC for a just society despite the "brutality" of the South African government.

Presenting Mandela's award to Nzo, the President paid tribute to Mandela for dedicating his entire life to the liberation struggle.

He said Mandela was the true embodiment of the struggle and a vital symbol of a new South Africa. — Anon.

NC President Oliver Tambo ... highly praised.

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SIZE: 3-8
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Witness tells of tents burning

Supreme Court Reporter

MOMENTS before witdoeke set fire to two big tents sheltering homeless refugees on the border of KTC on June 9 last year, three witdoeke jumped out of a police Casspir that stopped at the scene, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of 20-year-old Ms Phillia Kwinana, now a Std 9 pupil at Malizo High in Khayelitsha, but also a Red Cross voluntary worker.

She is the sixth witness to give evidence in the R312 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when most of KTC was destroyed.

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 Kwinana told the court she had been working at the Divco clinic in Terminus Road from 7am on Monday, June 9. They were very busy and had

no clocks or watches so she had no idea of how much time went by.

"While we were working I heard a noise. People screamed 'the witdoeke are coming!' and then I heard shots," she said.

"I went to the window and saw people running in all directions. After about five minutes, I'm not sure of the time, I saw a yellow Casspir, a brown Casspir and a white police van with a lot of witdoeke in front of and next to the vehicles."

Ms Kwinana said the procession moved slowly, halting at intervals, till it stopped near the corner of Terminus Road and Zwelitsha Drive.

"Three witdoeke wearing blankets jumped out of the open back door of the yellow Casspir and joined the crowd of witdoeke on the corner. Then I saw about eight witdoeke running towards the tents and after that we saw smoke and flames coming from the tents."

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 Vlaser SC, with Mr F D J Brand and Mr C Y Louw and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.

SA part in ANC kidnap exposed - claim

SOUTH Africa was behind the plot to kidnap African National Congress members in London, the *Independent* newspaper in London claimed this week.

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 newspaper said the British secret services appeared not to be involved - contrary to what the defence lawyers claimed - but they were tipped off about the plan.

Britain's Director of Public Prosecutions last week dropped charges against Frank Larsen, Jonathan Wheatley and Dennis Evans who had been accused of conspiring to kidnap ANC members.

Similar charges against John Larsen were dropped earlier this month.

The *Independent* said Frank and John Larsen, who posed as father and son, had been identified as Norwegians, Viggo Oerbak and Hans Dahl.

Both are now detained under Britain's Immigration Act and might face deportation.

The *Independent* said notes kept by Frank Larsen revealed that on October 12 last year at a hotel in Surrey, he met with Wheatley, a former paratrooper whom he had recruited, and Johann Niemoller, a former South African special forces officer posing as a businessman in Britain.

According to the newspaper, Larsen wrote: "The South Africans are prepared to fund and supply the team and accept responsibility for the operation."

The newspaper said that after a meeting the next day a list of ANC kidnap targets was reduced to five senior congress members - Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Reg September and his wife, and Solly Smith.

The notes also said: "Any South African personnel involved must appear to look British. If possible it may be an idea to use Soviet bloc weapons so it may appear to the indiscriminating (International Press) that it is an internal power struggle within a terrorist organisation."

After the kidnap case was dropped last week, British opposition politicians accused Margaret Thatcher's government of a "cover-up".

This was denied by the Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, in a special statement to the House of Commons.

Meanwhile, the London *Guardian* reported this week that lawyers representing Frank Larsen, Jonathan Wheatley and Dennis Evans were given permission by a High Court judge to inspect documents seized in raids by anti-terrorist squad officers.

The newspaper said the lawyers claimed the police had 70 000 documents which could cause embarrassment to the British government.

Argus 29/08/77

Arms haul found in home of aid worker

Argus Africa News Service

MBABANE. — Swazi police have found a cache of military arms at the house of an aid organisation worker, it was confirmed today.

A police spokesman said the arms included plastic explosives, many magazines for AK-47 rifles, a number of sub-machineguns, pistols, and a large quantity of ammunition.

He said the arms were found yesterday at the Manzini home of a woman who works for Ephesus House, a Canadian-based aid organisation which helps refugees, and in many cases organises scholarships abroad.

Police spokesman Mr Azaria Ndzimandze said the woman, whom he did not identify, was being held at Manzini police station.

The Manzini offices of the Ephesus House organisation were in the headlines about two years ago when security guards came across a group of men taking files out of the office building late one night.

When the guards arrived the men leapt into two cars and drove out of the town at high speed, firing weapons as they left.

Swazi police have not made any arrests in connection with the incident.

Britain closes the door on the ANC

From MICHAEL MORRIS of the The Argus Foreign Service in London

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30/10/87

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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 Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and the Foreign Office Minister for African Affairs, Mrs Lynda Chalker, are expected to have no further contact with representatives of the ANC.

This follows Mrs Thatcher's strong attack on the Congress during the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver earlier this month, where she likened the ANC 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

... but Labour MPs protest-

A GROUP of 22 Labour MPs wore ANC and Swapo T-shirts in the House of Commons as a protest against Mrs Margaret Thatcher's reference to the ANC as "terrorists". The Speaker confined himself to saying that no reaction was necessary to members appearing "in fancy dress" until one MP, 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 "typical terrorist organisation". The Speaker replied that he was concerned about the dignity of Parliament. The wearing of T-shirts may have been a peaceful demonstration but the House proceeded by words and argument, rather than by demonstration.

● Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Johannesburg that Mr Ismail Ayob, an attorney representing the UDF, commenting on confusion over the authenticity of the UDF statement, confirmed that it had been issued by the UDF executive.

its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela.

When Britain did formally meet ANC leaders, the Foreign Office was always at pains to point out that these 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 put by a journalist who wondered if giving aid to black South Africans, which forms part of the British 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. However, Whitehall sources dispelled the 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.

Mrs Thatcher is apparently putting her foot down and there is clearly a cooling of relations all round between Britain and Pretoria's strongest critics.

But it must be of some concern to the diplomats responsible for shaping Southern Africa policy.

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Stopping the 'Natal war'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Rev Athol R Jennings will be the man in the hot seat at a summit meeting to bring about reconciliation and to stop the killing and bloodshed in the Maritzburg "civil wars" between supporters of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

He has the backing of three major churches.

Mr Jennings, 56, is a former Olympic athlete and is now director of the Buleka Trust, which manages the

Koinonia conference centre at Botha's Hill.

His task is to direct moves aimed at bringing justice and reconciliation wherever it is needed, but he said that it was neither the Trust nor the centre (which is backed by the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist Churches) which initiated the move to get the warring groups to talk.

"It was the people who felt that there was a need to talk to resolve the crisis in the townships," said Mr Jennings. "We are not here to tell them what to do. I am here to ensure that those people who want to talk are able to do so."

Both UDF president Mr Archie Gumede and members of the Inkatha organisation such as Mr Musa Zondi and Mr Mtwe Mafole have said the talks already held at community level had been "very useful".

He said the talks that had already taken place and which would begin again next Wednesday were at a local level.

"But there will have to be some talks between the leadership at a higher level. Who knows what will happen then," said Mr Jennings.

He is a man who chooses his words and talks softly. Obviously deeply caring about all people, Mr Jennings, in 1960, was appointed resident minister at Kloof Methodist Church and was later appointed chaplain of Kearsney College.

In 1968, he was appointed Methodist youth leader in Natal.

During Christmas of 1972 he took part in the 965-kilometre pilgrimage of confession and concern from Grahamstown to Cape Town, to make whites aware of the evils of the migrant labour system.

By CLARE HARPER

JAILED ANC member Wilton Mkwayi will be married to Mrs Irene Mkwayi by the Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town, the Rt Rev Patrick Matolengwe, in a ceremony at Pollsmoor Prison today.

Mkwayi, 64, was jailed for life in 1964.

The former South African Council of Trade Unions (SACTU) member has served 23 years of his sentence on Robben Island, since he was tried and convicted under the Sabotage Act with Mac Maharaj and David Kitson, who have both since been released.

Yesterday the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, blessed the couple's wedding bands in a small ceremony at Nyanga Holy Cross Church.

The guests included veteran United Women's Congress and Federation of South African Women activist Mrs Annie Jibiliza and Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association spokesman Mr Johnson Mpukumpa.

Archbishop Tutu said: "We know we believe in a God that opens the doors of prisons, and lets prisoners out."



WITH THESE RINGS . . . Archbishop Tutu yesterday blessing the wedding bands of Wilton Mkwayi and his common-law wife, Mrs Irene Mkwayi. Archbishop Tutu described the marriage as "a wonderful act of faith; as we know one is separated from the other". The couple will be legally married in Pollsmoor Prison at 10am today.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

Cape Times 3/11/87
Prison wedding for ANC man today

Speaking after the ceremony yesterday, Mrs Mkwayi said she hoped her husband would be released so they could spend the rest of their lives together.

The guests at today's wedding will comprise witnesses — the bride's sister, Mrs Mavis Ngwane, and a priest — and Mrs Mkwayi's

attorney, Mr Ramesh Vassen, and his wife.

Mr Mkwayi will be brought from Robben Island to the inland jail for the ceremony.

Mrs Mkwayi, a retired nurse from Soweto, Johannesburg, was married by proxy to Mr Mkwayi in 1967 in a traditional ceremony in Ciskei.

11/1/87 (11A) (S) C/Press

UDF action threatens British interests in SA

By KHULU SIBIYA

THE United Democratic Front's decision to suspend all relations with British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher's government could have serious implications on British companies operating in South Africa.

In an open letter to Thatcher, the UDF said for some time now, the oppressed people in South Africa had watched the British political antics in

the region with dismay.

The dropping of charges against people who allegedly plotted to kidnap members of the African National Congress living in Britain and the attack by Thatcher on the ANC were "the last straw", the UDF said.

The UDF said it had suspended all relations with the British government and its representatives, pending fur-

ther discussions with its affiliate organisations.

"This action must be seen against the backdrop of widespread anger amongst our people that their calls for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid government have been contemptuously dismissed by the British government," the open letter stated.

The UDF said the dropping of charges against men who allegedly plotted to kidnap ANC members living in Britain had only served to confirm that the British government had taken sides and had a close working relationship with the South African government against the people.

"What can we conclude, other than that the British government directly supports apartheid and is prepared to cover up the illegal actions of the regime and its supporters both internally and externally?"

"In our view it is no coincidence that, just at the time British complicity in apartheid terror was being covered up, you launched an attack on the ANC, claiming that they were terrorists," the letter said.

In conclusion, the letter calls for Thatcher and the British government to apologise to the ANC and the people of South Africa for the "offensive" statements.

"We further demand that charges are immediately reinstated against the kidnapers, and that a commission of inquiry investigates and make public the conspiracy as well as the extent of undercover actions by the South African government on British soil," the open letter added.



Margaret Thatcher

Political Correspondent

THE SA Police was backing the UDF in the violent clashes between the organization and Inkatha that left scores dead in recent weeks in Natal, Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo charged yesterday.

Earlier this week, a

Att. Temp 3/10/87 (119) (270/28)
Dhlomo: SAP backing UDF

spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, responding to Inkatha's claims, 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," he said.

Answering questions at a Cape Town Press Club meeting, Dr Dhlomo noted that two SAP members were on trial in Maritzburg for their involvement in the conflict: "UDF members

admit that they have enlisted SAP members and prison warders to attack Inkatha."

Later he said during an interview that the UDF may have infiltrated the police force or "the UDF may have been infiltrated by members of the police".

981 Times 30/10/87 (117) 1/87

UDF's letter to Thatcher confirmed

JOHANNESBURG. — Confusion over the authenticity of a UDF statement on Wednesday night, that it was suspending relations with Britain, was cleared up last night by Mr Ismail Ayob, one of the UDF attorneys.

Confirming that the statement had been issued by the UDF executive, Mr Ayob said the confusion arose 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 the officials had not been directly involved in the issuing of the statement.

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 organization'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.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Dr Boesak said it was "about time the UDF took this stand", adding that he had himself adopted such a position for almost a year to protest the British government's "support" for Pretoria.

— Sapa, Own Correspondent and Political Correspondent

Laws hamper black business, congress told

Staff Reporter

IT WOULD be impossible for seven-million whites to create job opportunities for 50-million blacks by the end of the century and black businessmen would have to help generate enough wealth to meet this demand.

However, this would only be achieved once apartheid was abolished, said Western Cape Traders Association general secretary Mr Kassiem Allie.

Giving the keynote address at the 10th annual congress of the association, which represents about 2 000 Cape Flats traders, Mr Allie said the Group Areas Act limited blacks' opportunities to become part of the economic mainstream.

More tax

This was so because the Act "denied them the right to trade freely, live freely and to educate their children freely in all parts of South Africa".

Mr Allie said the introduction of regional services councils meant that businessmen had to pay additional taxes to implement the tricameral system of government.

"In order to maintain a fast-drowning Government, our taxes are one of the highest in the world and our company taxes are enormous. The Government is

fast losing control of the country's economic fate and it has shaken the confidence of the businessman.

"The Government has further lost touch with the plight of the millions of South Africans."

Turning to international pressure on South Africa and internal labour struggles, Mr Allie said: "Surely the workers of South Africa have realised their only weapon is the withdrawal of their labour and purchasing power as a peaceful method to drive some sense into the heads of the rulers."

Prisoners

He said the WCTA called on the State to avoid such a situation by implementing a number of measures "in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency".

He listed these as the dismantling of apartheid, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unconditional and immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of all political organisations and the initiation of dialogue across colour lines with a view to establishing a non-racial, representative government.

This had to take place in the context of the suspension of violence on all sides of the political debate.



Delegates listen to a guest speaker at the congress.

TEENS SMUGGLED

OUT OF SA — MP

0/6/86/87 (117) (117)

We have also been told that many children who were thought to be in detention at the time were outside the country doing training.

"I had parents come to me looking for their children. We searched and found out later that they had been caught while being smuggled back into South Africa from neighbouring states.

Children who agreed to receive training were taken from Bonteheuwel to another part of the Peninsula — the name of which I cannot disclose — where they were kept until children from all parts of the Peninsula had gathered. They were then smuggled out in groups to ANC bases for training.

"The method of recruiting these children was to paint a dark picture of the Government and then to ask the children if they wanted to be part of the re-building of the country for the benefit of all.

"If the children agreed they were then selected to attend the meetings on beaches and on Table Mountain.

"The parents thought these meetings had been arranged by the schools and gladly helped their children to attend."

"I am not telling you these things because I am against them. I admire people who take a stand against our unjust system."

"I am telling you because the State will have to take steps soon to stop what is happening. They are sitting in a political time-bomb and unless a lot of money is pumped into areas such as Bonteheuwel to upgrade them, there will always be the breeding ground for such schemes."

Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said that Mr McKenzie's "revelations are certainly not to be ignored."

"I refer you to a speech made by the Minister of Law and Order, M Adriaan Vlok, recently in which he dealt at length with the abuse of children and youths by the ANC and the South African Communist Party in revolutionary warfare," he said.

Mr Vlok spoke in Boksburg last Saturday.



by MARK STANSFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

PENINSULA children aged between 14 and 18 have been smuggled out of South Africa by a highly-organised cell of the African National Congress and given extensive training in neighbouring states before infiltrating back into their communities.

Many of their parents thought that their children were in detention until they were informed that they had been caught re-entering South Africa from neighbouring states. They are being held under the emergency regulations.

Mr Patrick McKenzie, MP for Bonteheuwel, this week disclosed that he had correspondence from the parents of youths recently arrested for allegedly committing acts of arson, attempted arson, public violence and attacks on the homes of policemen while "acting under the influence of the ANC."

The youths wrote to their parents telling them to "get out of Bonteheuwel" because some of them wished to leave the organisation but had been threatened with death and the harming of their families if they did so.

Meetings on Table Mountain

Mr McKenzie also claimed that indoctrination meetings of groups of youths were held at popular beaches on the Atlantic coast and on Table Mountain by members of the ANC in South Africa.

"These meetings were arranged as school outings, usually at weekends, where the children were told 'facts' about the South African Government which led them to believe that an armed struggle was the only way to bring about change," Mr McKenzie said.

Cape Times 30/10/87

Mandela to be best man at wedding

Staff Reporter

IMPRISONED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is expected to be best man tomorrow at fellow-Rivonia trialist and Robben Island prisoner Wilton Mkayi's wedding at Pollsmoor Prison.

ment with Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others, will be legally married to his common-law wife Irene — 11 years after a traditional wedding ceremony in the Transkei which did not require his presence, a friend of the Mkayi family said last night.

moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor for the service, to be conducted by a prison chaplain, while his bride was flying to Cape Town today. She could not be contacted last night.

A spokesman for the Prison Services said matters such as marriages of individual prisoners were considered to be of a personal matter involv-

ing the prisoner and the family concerned. It was therefore the policy of the prison services not to comment on such matters.

Mkayi's marriage was also confirmed by his attorney, Mr Ramesh Vassen. Mr Vassen said three previous applications for the wedding were turned down.

Mkayi, sentenced to life imprison-

ment with Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others, will be legally married to his common-law wife Irene — 11 years after a traditional wedding ceremony in the Transkei which did not require his presence, a friend of the Mkayi family said last night.

According to him, Mkayi will be

'Kidnap': ANC takes 4 to court

3/10/87 (119) ~~119~~
From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The ANC has reopened the kidnap case in London by issuing civil writs against four men.

The writs allege conspiracy to kidnap two ANC executive members in London.

The ANC allegations are a repeat of the police charge the Director of Public Prosecutions last week ordered to be dropped.

The civil action will open in the High Court in London on Monday.

The ANC has also announced that it will seek preservation orders on thousands of documents the police seized in July.

The four men originally charged

will almost certainly be obliged to defend themselves in open court.

The ANC writs allege that two men in Home Office detention awaiting deportation and originally charged by the police under the names Frank Larsen, 53, and his son John Larsen, 28, and Briton John Wheatley, 28, who was freed from custody last week, plotted to kidnap ANC leaders in London between late 1986 and July 1987.

The ANC has also served papers on the fourth man who escaped the original police charge, Welshman Evan Dennis Evans.

● Lawyers acting for Frank Larsen have won the right to challenge moves to deport him to Norway. — Sapa

Clergymen in bid to stop bitter power struggle in Natal

End the killing, pleads Tutu

2/11/87

~~III~~ IIIA ~~III~~ JPA

Maritzburg

Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu made an impassioned plea yesterday for an end to one of South Africa's worst internecine power struggles.

In a hard-hitting address at a peace service in Edendale, the sprawling township complex near Maritzburg, he told blacks they were setting back the anti-apartheid struggle by brutal political feuding.

"God wants us to be free," the Archbishop said. "And we say: 'Not yet — we have not suffered enough.'"

The Anglican archbishop pleaded: "We appeal (for peace) on behalf of God to those involved in the carnage, in this bloodletting."

About 700 people of all races crowded into a church hall at Edendale for the service.

As Archbishop Tutu, Catholic Archbishop Dennis Hurley, and the Rev Khoza Mgojo, head of the Methodist Church in southern Africa, prayed, the police reported more deaths.

The fighting stems from a bitter power struggle between supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Inkatha movement led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Archbishop Tutu said violence made it harder to argue "the black majority" case. "We have 99.9 percent of the world on our side, but they say: 'Why are people doing this kind of thing?'"

Three men were killed in continuing fighting between rival groups at the weekend, pushing the death toll to well over 150 — with more than 70 people killed in the past six weeks.

Reinforcements

Police have sent reinforcements, including helicopters, to the area but policing the areas townships had been complicated by the recent floods in Natal, said Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order.

Another factor was that much of the violence in the area was committed by gangs of children, he said.

According to the latest police unrest report, a man was stoned and hacked to death by a mob at Sinahingl near Maritzburg.

At Kaluza also near Maritzburg a shot was fired at security forces from a group that had gathered illegally.

The security force patrol opened fire with shotguns, fatally wounding a man, according to the report.

A youth was seriously injured when a group stabbed him with sharp objects at the Mphophomeni township near Howick.

At Edendale a shop was extensively damaged by arsonists and a nightwatchman stabbed and killed. Six youths and a man were arrested. — Reuter and Staff Reporter.

ANC could be coaxed to the table, says academic

11A 5700 2/11/87

By Martin Challenor

There were various possibilities which could induce the African National Congress into negotiations with the South African Government, Dr Tom Lodge, an academic who has studied the movement extensively, said at a University of the Witwatersrand Business School forum at the weekend.

He said that among ANC strategists there was a fairly strong belief that militarily they would never be in a position of superiority. Joe Slovo had himself said Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC military wing) was unlikely to knock the SADF out of the field.

Dr Lodge said ANC military operations peaked in 1986 when 228 attacks were recorded. The prospects of increasing this figure were remote. "The ANC is unlikely ever to be in a position, even within the context of widespread political unrest, to achieve a revolutionary seizure of power. It has all got to end in talks."

Industrial power

Dr Lodge added: "The ANC is aware South Africa is a modern industrial power. They are rather keen to inherit this economic power and modernity. And they do not contemplate with any relish its being disrupted in a major way. They would favour a relatively short rather than a protracted struggle, and one the least destructive and bloodless as possible."

The ANC believed it should inherit South Africa's industrial achievement "because it is built upon the sacrifices of generations of black people".

Dr Lodge said the ANC and South African Communist Party favoured a transitional period when South Africa would not be a socialist state, but a mixture of socialism and capitalism. From the ANC's ideological perspective, so-

Military option is fading with time

cialism "comes about through a long period of human development, and is by no means near its maturity in present-day South Africa".

He made clear: "I do not believe we are anywhere near a position where talking is anything more than building castles in the air."

But he said the Government might decide to talk to the ANC after 15 years of severe economic sanctions.

The Wits forum was on the ANC and the future of negotiations. Dr Lodge shared the platform with Mr Sam Mabe, assistant news editor of The Star, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Wits Business School, and University of Cape Town political scientist Professor Herman Giliomee.

Professor Giliomee suggested that negotiations between the Nationalist Government and the ANC could damage both organisations.

In the ANC there were "differences about the position of whites in leadership positions in the organisation, and positions of whites in a post-liberation South Africa.

"If the ANC were to start talking to the Nats, but not about the transfer of power, then major differences will surface. That is why the ANC is desperately afraid of participating in an intermediary constitutional arrangement like the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, because it will inflame tensions in the organisation."

The ANC-in-exile had to keep itself intact, and in this respect was no different from the Nats, Professor Giliomee said, "because the Nats think that the moment it starts talking to the ANC it will be confronted by a white backlash".

The question relating to negotiations between



Dr Tom Lodge . . . "The ANC is unlikely to ever be in a position to achieve a revolutionary seizure of power."

the ANC and the Nats "should not be 'Why don't they negotiate?', but 'What is there to talk about?'"

Professor Giliomee said the top 5 percent of owners of wealth accounted for 88 percent of personally-owned wealth in South Africa, while black people had less than 2 percent. "Any black constituency will demand the redistribution of wealth. Whites will resist that, if it comes from existing wealth."

CMS 2/11/87 (117)



PRISON WIVES . . . Mrs Irene Mkwai (left) and Mrs Winnie Mandela at Mrs Mkwai's wedding reception at the weekend. Mrs Mkwai left her husband, jailed ANC member Wilton Mkwai, behind at Pollsmoor Prison. Mrs Mandela was one of the guests. Both women's husbands are serving life sentences and have been imprisoned for more than 20 years.

Picture: 'ADIL BRADLOW

Pollsmoor ceremony ends years of waiting

ROBBEN ISLAND prisoner Wilton Mkwai swapped his prison clothes for a tuxedo and tie at the weekend when he married his bride, Mrs Irene Mkwai, in a small ceremony at Pollsmoor Prison.

The couple had waited 21 years, since their marriage by proxy in 1967, to be married in person.

Mkwai, 64, a former South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) activist, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for helping to organize the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

His lawyer, Mr Ramesh Vassen, told

reporters that warders received the small wedding party hospitably.

The Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town, Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, married Mkwai and Irene, 63. A small reception took place in the prison, while scores of guests waited outside for the bride to emerge.

Later, celebrations at Cowley House were joined by Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The Prisons Service has declined to comment on the marriage, saying such an event was a personal matter.

Mr Nelson Mandela, despite rumours earlier this week, did not serve as best man.

'CHILDREN LED ATTACK'

(11A) SOWETAN 4/11/87
COUNCILLORS in Alexandra township resigned en-bloc and police moved out to live in tents at nearby Kew township, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This followed instructions from the "comrades" that all "collaborators" like the police and councillors should resign from their jobs and join the "struggle". Shops affected by a

SOWETAN Reporter

consumer boycott had been looted and destroyed by fire, the court heard.

Some houses of "collaborators" were also set alight, a policeman was killed and trenches were dug in some streets to make it impossible for vehicles to pass. This was done to disrupt the movement of police and soldiers in the township.

Treason

This evidence was given at the trial of Mr Moses Mayekiso (38), of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) and civic leaders, Mr Obed Bapela (28), Mr Mzwandile Mayekiso (22), Mr Paul Tshabalala (38) and Mr Richard

Mdakane (29), all of Alexandra township.

They are charged with treason, alternatively subversion and sedition. The State alleges they committed the offences between January 1985 and June last year in Alexandra township.

They have pleaded not guilty and are appearing before Mr Justice PJ van der Walt. The case is in camera.

A witness, who may not be identified, said he had been living in Alexandra since 1985. He said some councillors resigned and those who remained eventually resigned because they could not form a quorum. The comrades, he said, forced the councillors to resign.

The council police in the area wore a green uniform and were called "Green Beans". Following a night vigil on February 15 last year a big crowd stoned and petrol-bombed police guarding council property and told them to quit Alexandra, said the witness.

Police scared them off by shooting on the ground, he said.

The witness said children aged about 10 and 15 led the huge crowd and adults remained at the back.

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CALL FOR CEASEFIRE

By SOWETAN Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday called for a ceasefire between the warring United Democratic Front and Inkatha factions in Maritzburg's black townships.

Addressing journalists after a prayer meeting in the area, Archbishop Tutu said the killings that had occurred in several weeks of fighting in battles for territorial advantage were "horrendous, barbaric and un-African".

The service was led by Archbishop Tutu, Archbishop Denis Hurley of the Roman Catholic Church and Dr Khoza Mgojo of the Methodist Church.

Two people were killed in incidents of violence in the strife-torn townships



ARCHBISHOP Tutu. near Maritzburg at the weekend.

A young man was seriously injured when a group stabbed him with sharp objects at the Mphophomeni township near Howick outside Maritzburg. The security forces dispersed the group with shotgun-fire and tear-smoke and arrested a man in connection with the incident.

At Catuza also near Maritzburg, a shot was fired at security forces from a group that had gathered illegally. The security forces answered with shotgun-fire, fatally wounding a man.

Gumede

Among the crowd of more than 1000 who attended, was Mr Archie Gumede of the UDF and supporters of both organisations.

At the time of going to Press it could not be established if Inkatha's leadership had attended after weekend reports that the organisation felt it had not been officially invited.

More than 60 people from both sides have died in fighting that has horrified everything decent in man. Children as young as 13 have been involved in heavy fighting.

Natal death toll tops 150 as more killed in clashes

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Three men were killed as fighting between rival groups in Maritzburg's townships continued at the weekend, pushing the death toll to well over 150. More than 70 people have been killed in the past six weeks.

The violence, which has dominated the country's unrest in the past few months, has been characterised by bloody clashes and massacres, reportedly between UDF and Inkatha members.

Police, unable to stamp out what they call "inter-group or faction fighting", have been accused by Inkatha of siding with the UDF.

This claim has been denied by police.

They have sent reinforcements, including helicopters, to the area. But policing its townships had been complicated by flood damage to the infrastructure of Natal and the hilly and rough nature of the terrain, according to Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary for the Minister of Law and Order.

EMERGENCY UPDATE

Another factor was that much of the violence was committed by gangs of children, he said.

Brigadier Mellet said individual policeman had taken sides in the fighting. "But four of them have already been arrested and have appeared in court."

According to the latest police unrest report, a man was stoned and hacked to death by a mob at Sinathing near Maritzburg. Security forces used shotgun fire and tearsmoke to disperse the crowd.

Stabbed

At Kaluza near Maritzburg a shot was fired at security forces from a group. The security force patrol opened fire with shotguns and fatally wounded a man, according to the report.

A youth was seriously injured when a group stabbed him at the Mphophomeni township near Howick outside the city. The security forces dispersed the group with shotgun fire and tearsmoke and arrested a man.

At Edendale a shop was extensively damaged by arsonists and a nightwatchman was stabbed and killed. Six youths and a man were arrested.

Seven men were wounded after security forces opened fire with shotguns following "an illegal gathering" near Hofmeyr in the Free State. The seven wounded men were arrested and are under police guard in hospital.

IRENE (63) WEDS HER MAN AT LAST

MRS Winnie Mandela joined wedding celebrations on Saturday for a bride who said she had to wait 20 years for South African Government permission to marry her jailed fiance.

Mandela arrived at a Cape Town church hall for the wedding reception of 63-year-old Irene Mkwai, just married in the city's Pollsmoor Prison

to 74-year-old Wilton Mkwai. He was jailed for life in 1964 for guerrilla activities.

Winnie Mandela, whose own husband, African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, is serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor, joined the feasting, dancing and singing.

But she told the guests: "This is a

sad day. It should have happened 25 years ago in a normal society."

The couple first sought permission to wed in prison in 1967. Consent was granted this month and Mkwai was brought from the offshore Robben Island jail, where he is held, for the civil ceremony.

The Prisons Service has declined to comment on the marriage, saying that

such an event is a personal matter.

Lawyer Ramesh Vassen told reporters that warders received the small wedding party hospitably and allowed the groom to swap his prison clothes for a tuxedo and a bow tie.

Eyewitnesses said some 100 other guests waited outside Pollsmoor during the wedding. Police kept watch on them but took no action. — Sapa



WINNIE Mandela . . .
guest at wedding.

Cap. Times 2/11/87
307 110

PW's travel action 'a slap in the face'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, has once again hit out at President P W Botha's stand on foreign travel by ministers in the House of Representatives.

Mr Botha recently stopped the Minister of Health and Welfare in the House, Mr Chris April, from undertaking a study tour to Israel and West Germany.

Speaking at the LP's Cape Peninsula congress at Paarl at the weekend, Mr Hendrickse said: "The State President's decision can be regarded as nothing else but a slap in the face for Mr April and an insult with which Mr Botha will have to live for the rest of his life."

The LP leader's remarks represent yet another indication of the steadily deteriorating relations between the

majority party in the House of Representatives and the government in recent months.

Meanwhile, the LP will try to patch up their relations when a delegation from the party travels to Ulundi this Friday for discussions with Inkatha.

Relations between the two have been strained ever since the LP decided to ignore the advice of Inkatha in 1983 and participate in the tricameral Parliament which excludes Africans.

Till the bust-up, Inkatha and the LP formed the major components of the South African Black Alliance (SABA).

This week's talks, initiated by the LP, could pave the way for a thaw in relations between the two parties.

The LP delegation will include the party's deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, while KwaZulu's Education Minister, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, will head the Inkatha delegation.

Vigilantes could force youths to miss exams

By Jo-Anne Collinge

SMM 3/11/87

Scores of Harrismith school pupils may be forced to miss their year-end exams because of vigilante activity in the township, say members of the Phomolong Youth Congress.

Supporters of the youth congress and the students' congress have been forced to flee the area of 42nd Hill — also known as Phomolong — in the wake of clashes between their organisations and the more conservative Eagles Club, according to eight Harrismith youths in hiding in Johannesburg.

They estimated 200 young people might be hiding out as a small band of Eagle Club vigilantes was still patrolling the township.

The Eagles Club has distributed leaflets threatening: "We will not tolerate any killing, stayaways from schools or burning the property of the innocent people. If this happens, the Eagles will react. The same will happen to them, (as) what happened to the comrades who have burned the bus of the Eagles on Saturday (sic)."

This refers to a clash about a month ago when "comrades" demonstrated at an Eagles meeting. Some "comrades" were assaulted and a bus which had carried Eagle Club members was burnt. One youth was admitted to hospital for stab wounds.

Subsequently, at least five homes of "comrades" had been petrol-bombed and one of the Eagles was badly burnt.

Police have confirmed several clashes and have said they will act to stop intimidation.

robber

ANC to sue London kidnappers ⁽¹¹⁾

LONDON — A High Court Judge yesterday granted an injunction restraining men who featured in the bizarre ANC kidnap case from conspiring to kidnap or assault members of the movement in England.

The order was made in Chambers by Mr Justice Kennedy, as two senior ANC officials — Solly Smith and Frene Ginwala — opened an unprecedented civil action claiming damages from four men for alleged conspiracy to kidnap, assault

3/11/87. IAN HOBBS B/day

or kill them.

As a preliminary step, the ANC was asking the Judge for preservation and inspection orders to be placed on thousands of documents which include minutes of meetings at which the kidnap plot was drawn up.

The ANC specifically wants documents which involve the so-called "fifth man" in the case, Cape businessman Johan Niemoller.

Wife of past ANC leader sure he will be released

11P
7/11/87

Daily Dispatch
Reporter

UMTATA — The wife of the former chairman of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Govan Mbeki, believes her husband will be released, but felt that the time was "immaterial".

Living a quiet rural life, which she does not want to change, Mrs Epainette Mbeki, 71, said she believed the South African Government would watch the public's reaction as closely as the public would watch the government's reaction.

Mrs Mbeki said from her home in the Ngcingwane administrative area, Idutywa, as she and her husband could not both be activists, she had resigned herself to remain at home while he had travelled the country.

A former member of the Communist Party, Mrs Mbeki exclaimed: "Govan was never a member of the Communist Party but I was."

She said she was not an excitable person, and freely talked about her husband's situation.

Speculation about Mr Mbeki's release began after a statement by President P. W. Botha who told the South African Parliament that the case was under review.

Born in Nqamakwe in Transkei, Mr Mbeki rose through the ranks of the ANC to be elected national chairman in 1956.

He has served almost 24 of his 77 years in jail where he was sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage.

Mrs Mbeki said the public was excited over the question of her husband's release and noted that such an occasion would be emotionally charged.

Born in Mount Fletcher, she met her husband in Durban where they both taught at a government school. Mrs Mbeki taught English and geography and Mr Mbeki taught Latin and history.

She said her husband's ideas had attracted her to him, although he was not a political activist at the time of their marriage in 1940.

She supported his ideology "one hundred per cent", adding that she held no bitterness in spite of what had occurred. "We can't



Mrs Epainette Mbeki, the wife of Robben Island prisoner Govan Mbeki: "We can't be nasty."

which time his political activities intensified, she said.

A relaxed and youthful-looking Mrs Mbeki said the atmosphere at home during those years was not really tense.

Her husband was detained in 1960 for six months when a State of Emergency was declared after the Sharpeville shootings.

At this time, she said, the "struggle began" until the time of his arrest in 1963.

The security situation for her after 1960 was "very nasty". During that time Pretoria still controlled Transkei and security police might come at any time of the day or night to search her house.

She said there was "no peace of mind" during those times.

Since Transkei independence in 1976, the situation had calmed down. "Perhaps because they are black, too, there is an understanding," she said.

Mrs Mbeki said after her husband's arrest many of her friends ran away and now with talk of his probable release, many were coming back.

"They are the laughing stock," she added.

She said she had raised her children in a "spirit of independence" where education was the top priority.

Her son, Moeletsi, lives in Harare where he is a reporter on the Herald, and her other son, Jama, is an attorney in Botswana. Her daughter, Linda, lives in Butterworth.

Due to her health, the last time Mrs Mbeki visited her husband was six years ago.

They often wrote to each other, but only on superficial matters as the letters were inevitably opened, she said.

The family lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, was her only source of information but Mrs Mbeki said she had noted from her husband's letters that he was much better following an operation.

Mrs Mbeki said that as far as the family's lawyer was concerned, her husband's release was likely.

She explained that all along Mrs Jana could freely visit Mr Mbeki,

but that all of a sudden this was stopped.

"I think the government on one hand would like to release him, but is not aware of the reaction if he is released — therefore this hide and seek."

Asked if her husband would consider returning to Transkei, where she has been living since 1940, she replied that if it would jeopardise his political position than a compromise would have to be made.

She described her husband as a placid and easy-going man, saying she could not speak on her husband's behalf but thought it was time "he settled down".

Some time back, she said Mr Mbeki had mentioned he would not come to Transkei, but it was at the time Paramount Chief Matanzima was ruling the country.

The new Prime Minister, Miss Stella Sigcau, and the State President, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, were from a totally different background.

She said that President Ndamase's father had been a member of the Democratic Party, which had opposed Paramount Chief Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party, and consequently hoped that her husband would consider returning to Transkei.

Mrs Mbeki said she did not envy the high profile life led by Mrs Winnie Mandela, saying she preferred the lifestyle of Mrs Albertina Sisulu who worked among the people.

She has never met Nelson Mandela.

Asked what she thought about the future of Southern Africa, Mrs Mbeki said liberation rested with the worker.

"He's the man with more power," she said.

She felt this power could begin with the mineworkers and spread to the ordinary worker.

She believed some support for the ANC existed in Transkei but added that there was little common cause in Transkei.

Continued

FERTILITY STUDY - MALE Questionnaire M3

No _____

Main Questionnaire Number _____
 Child Number _____

M301 Name of child _____

M302 Age in years _____

M303 Marital status of mother

1. Married
2. Never married
3. Separated
4. Divorced
5. Widowed

M304 Sex of child 1. Male 2. Female

M305 Is the child still alive?

1. Yes
2. No Skip to M307
3. Don't know

M306 Who does the child

1. Mother
 2. Relatives
 3. My parents
 4. Other (specify)
 5. Don't know
- Skip to M308

Mrs Mbeki said she did not know many people who shared her ideas and felt that Transkeians basically had been "brain-washed", and because of the security situation "one tended to accept the status quo".

M307 How old was the child when her husband became politically active, she said: "He brought the spirit from Fort Hare."

Mrs Mbeki described Transkei's self-government as a farce with nothing tangible about it.

M308 Do you support the Prime Minister's policy that jailed ANC leaders with Transkeian roots would be free to return because the organisation was also banned in Transkei.

She said there was a contradiction in the new Prime Minister's policy that jailed ANC leaders with Transkeian roots would be free to return because the organisation was also banned in Transkei.

M309 Place of birth

An American lecturer, Mr Max Yergan, was a great influence at Fort Hare at the time, she said, and through him, Mr Mbeki became politicised.

"How can their members come back?" she asked.

M310 Did you still

1. Yes

Mr Mbeki taught at Adams College and later at Clarkebury, and was fired from the Education Department after he wrote a pamphlet, Transkei in the Making, Mrs Mbeki said.

She felt a necessary political action was the unbanning of political organisations.

She explained that teachers in government schools were not supposed to be politically active.

Mrs Mbeki can be seen around the village huddled in conversation with both young and old who come to seek her advice.

Later, Mr Mbeki became a reporter for the Guardian, which was subsequently banned, at

A mother of four children, three of whom are living in exile, Mrs Mbeki has not seen her son Thabo, a leading member of the ANC in Lusaka, since 1960.

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ANC gets protection from kidnap accused

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — A High Court judge yesterday granted an injunction restraining men who featured in the bizarre ANC kidnap case from conspiring to kidnap or assault members of the movement in England.

The order was made in Chambers by Mr Justice Kennedy as two senior ANC officials opened an unprecedented civil action, claiming damages from four men for alleged conspiracy to kidnap, assault or kill them.

As a preliminary step, the ANC was asking the Judge for Preservation and Inspection Orders to be placed on thousands of documents.

The ANC claims the documents, now in police hands, include the minutes of meetings at which a plot was drawn up to kidnap, assault or kill its leaders

in London.

The ANC specified that it was seeking inspection of documents which in any way involved the so-called "fifth man" in the case, a Cape businessman, Mr Johan Niemoller.

The ANC's damages action, taken in the name of Solly Smith, head of the London mission and Dr Frene Ginawala, a senior member, was adjourned to a future hearing.

When it comes before the judge again the two ANC leaders will be obliged to supply prima facie evidence support-

ing their claim that they suffered material and other damages from a kidnap conspiracy.

Many of the documents the ANC seeks, including forged passports and police warrant cards, were seized in July by Scotland Yard's Anti Terrorist Squad when four men were charged with conspiracy to kidnap the ANC officials.

There was an outcry in parliament on October 22, when the Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Patrick Mayhew, order the charges to be dropped against three men. The fourth man had been discharged earlier.

The discharged men were Frank Larsen, 53, John Larsen, 28, John Wheatley, 28, and Evan Dennis Evans, 49.

The Larsens, who yesterday gave undertaking that they would not act against the ANC members, are in custody pending their appeals against deportation to Norway.

The police maintain that Frank Larsen is in fact a convicted Norwegian swindler named Johan Viggo Orebak and John Larsen is not his son but another Norwegian named Hans Christian Dahl.

In a pending habeas corpus action, "Frank Larsen" claims he was using false names because he was a British intelligence officer.

He now claims his true name is John Parker, and he was born in Essex in 1931. He says he will undergo DNA tests to prove that "John Larsen" is his son.

11A
3/11/87

Inkatha boycotts Maritzburg prayer service

Peace talks plans to go on — both parties

(11P) SPK 3/11/87
MARITZBURG — The peace talks between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, (UDF) which are due to start soon, are not in jeopardy following Inkatha's boycott of the peace service held in Edendale yesterday.

Both Inkatha and the UDF said today that they were committed to finding a negotiated solution to the bloody conflict in Maritzburg's troubled townships and would attend the talks.

The "Prayer for peace" service held in Edendale was organised by local clergy for all concerned people in an attempt to bring the two warring parties closer together, but Inkatha refused to attend because it was "a UDF service" and it had not been officially invited.

Today the local leader of Inkatha and kwaZulu MP for Vulendla, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, said the peace talks were "very, very important" and Inkatha would still attend.

"The peace talks are not in jeopardy, as long as the UDF comes. The peace talks are more important than the prayers. We must first sit down and

talk about the conflict and then pray for what we talked about," Mr Ndlovu said.

"If the UDF is really as sincere as we are, then the talks can succeed in bringing peace to the area," he said.

The chairman of the Natal Midlands branch of the UDF, Mr A S Chetty, said: "The UDF is equally prepared to talk.

"We are very, very keen to bring an end to the violence. But it is pointless sitting at the top level for discussions when, at the ground level, killings continue.

"Therefore, if one is serious about negotiations, one would have to work out a procedure before the negotiations can start," Mr Chetty said.

Local businessmen, Members of Parliament and newspaper editors were today told of Congress of SA Trade Union investigations into township violence at a press briefing.

Cosatu told the meeting that it had documented evidence of township violence and outlined further action which the union intended to take to help bring the violence to an end.

CAPE TOWN 3/11/87

Three die, 3 injured in Natal violence

Own Correspondent 119

MARITZBURG. — Police are investigating several incidents of violence in the Hammarsdale area at the weekend, in which three people were killed and three injured.

Captain P Kitching, police press liaison officer for Maritzburg, said the incidents were believed to be the result of fighting between the Majola and Khumbule clans.

He said police believed the chain of killings and assaults were sparked off by the death Mr Eric Mncwane, 20, who was found stabbed to death at his home on Saturday.

Later Mr Joseph Maseko, 23, was shot and killed.

Mr Anthony Zondi, 24, was then killed in his home by three men who shot him in the left arm, chest and leg. Mr Anton Maseko was shot in both legs.

● The police unrest report issued in Pretoria yesterday said a security force vehicle was set alight at Mbekweni, near Paarl.

The report also mentioned incidents of stone-throwing at Forty-Second Hill near Harrismith, at Clermont (Durban) and at Bonguletho, near Oudtshoorn.

Petrol-bomb attacks occurred at New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, and Enhlakhale, near Greytown, the report said. — Sapa

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AKG 46 3/11/87

Maritzburg's faction war a battle for supremacy

By Georgina Hamilton
in Durban

THE violence in Maritzburg is too easily viewed as an evenly-weighted and brutal battle for political control of the area between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Equally, the fact that there is violence on both sides, fanned in recent weeks by the involvement of apolitical criminals and thugs, lends itself too easily to interpretation by the Chief Minister of Kwazulu as 'black-on-black' strife.

Such interpretation suggests that the violence around Maritzburg does not have serious political origins, or reflect understandable political and economic aspirations.

'Black-on-black' violence is a racist concept that attributes some kind of essence to violence involving black people; suggesting that violence, like everything else in the country, is susceptible to racial categorisation.

Strife

Just as the violence cannot be understood simply as an evenly-weighted clash between Inkatha and the UDF, it cannot be understood as 'black-on-black'.

Strife. Both are simply descriptions and inaccurate at that. They do not approach the terrain of analysis or understanding.

The violence in Maritzburg is not an unpredictable explosion. Officials of the Congress of South African Trade Unions have documented evidence to demonstrate that there has been a long process in the areas surrounding Maritzburg in which Inkatha-supporting vigilante groups have escalated their activities in response to organisational challenges to their self-proclaimed supremacy.

Retaliation, and the initiation of violence in recent weeks, have also escalated from the UDF side. Now it is possible to play a numbers game in which numbers of people murdered or injured are given either as an indication of which side is doing the most damage or which side is most in control.

Even within the limited value of such an exercise, existing evidence shows that the weight of victimisation has fallen on members of the UDF, trade unions, and their families and associates.

Much more important than numbers though, are the structures and circumstances that have produced the conflict.

It is often forgotten, or perhaps not even understood, that Inkatha is the



governing party of Kwazulu. Throughout the state of emergency it has been able to operate openly and legally. The Kwazulu government has its own branch of the national police force. Chief Buthelezi has twice met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok this year to discuss violence and police matters.

In March he asked the minister for more powers to arm his supporters. He said: "I am talking here about the need that there is for the Kwazulu government and the Kwazulu police to be put in a position to rally to the cause of the people to eradicate the kind of brutality that is now inherent in intimidatory politics."

This is in stark contrast to the groups and organisations, notably the UDF and Cosatu, whose activities have been severely constrained by emergency regulations that keep their leaders and members in detention, and prevent open organisation and political opposition.

While the normal processes of political organisation are allowed to Inkatha, they are denied to the UDF and Cosatu. It is not a question of them being constrained from subversive activity, but from normal political process such as organising opposition to rent increases or to plans put forward by the Indaba.

The most publicised initiatives of Inkatha-supporting vigilantes in the Maritzburg area over the past couple of years are the threats levelled by Inkatha leaders at the community of the Federal Seminary in Imbali in 1985, Inkatha's opposition to the widely-supported consumer boycott of the same year, opposition to trade unions, and widespread vigilante opposition to the formation, organisation and activities of youth groups.

What these confrontations with organisations outside of Inkatha's ambit have in common is the refusal by Inkatha supporters and local leadership to countenance opposition, or even the possibility that not all opposition in Natal is under Inkatha control. Attacks, both verbal and physical, have been levelled at youth organisation and opposition in Natal for at least the past seven years.

Their vehemence increased with the formation of the UDF in 1983. Similar attacks on trade union organisations have escalated since the formation of Cosatu in 1985.

Radicalism

Both the UDF and Cosatu have heralded the presence of a politics in Natal that cannot be contained in Inkatha's fold. Both are part of a national struggle that has already abandoned Inkatha to its regional and ethnic preoccupations.

The threat that they pose ideologically is almost more important to Inkatha, judging by its supporters' responses, than the actual size of the opposition. Thus the Federal Seminary in Imbali was portrayed by Inkatha supporters as a hotbed of radicalism.

Its crime, it seems, was that it was a small community of people that did not actively support Inkatha within an area that Inkatha had defined as its own territory.

In the case of clashes between Inkatha supporters and students at the Ngoye campus of the University of Zululand the offence to Inkatha was that students had created a 'no-go' area for Buthelezi within his very own Kwazulu.

The Inkatha terrain is both geographical and ideological. It was once supposed to have encompassed the whole of South Africa, but the strength and direction of national extra-parliamentary politics has tended to make Inkatha more circumspect of late and its supporters seldom claim to monopolise national black political aspirations as they frequently did in the late seventies and early eighties.

Alarm . . . pangas into action

By Jeremy Maggs
in Durban

"THEY usually attack in the early morning when we start to feel drowsy and sleepy . . . when we have been up and on guard all night. They will burst through the door. These days we are ready. I'm not scared. It is my duty . . ."

It is past midnight. The speaker is a jaded 15-year-old boy. As he talks, he fingers a rusty bush knife. He chain smokes and his bloodshot eyes never stop darting around the tiny room.

Should he and his 10 battle-ready colleagues hear a secret alarm call, they will spring into action. A single candle in the dingy room will be snuffed. In an instant they will be outside and ready to meet the "enemy".

"Defence units"

A clash is likely to follow and the tragic results will possibly feature in the next day's police unrest report.

These are a new breed of soldier-children. They are members of "defence units" — armed guard groups, born of a necessity to survive, as the township war in Maritzburg continues.

Scores of these cell-like structures have sprung up in recent weeks. Their locations for obvious reasons, closely guarded secrets.

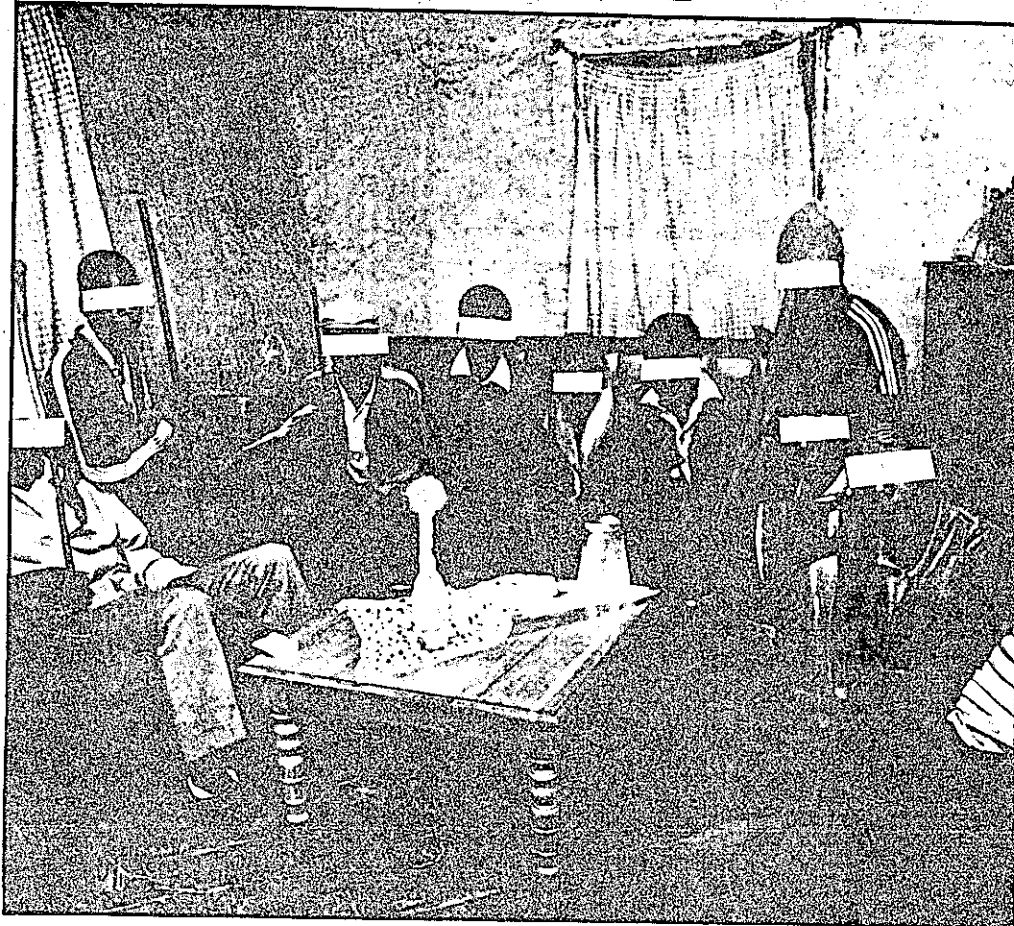
The Argus correspondent visited one such group late last week. The venue, reached under the cover of darkness, was undisclosed. A condition of the interview was that the members would not reveal their names.

At same time, according to later reports, two groups armed with pangas and knives clashed in the vicinity. A 16-year-old youth was hacked to death and another was seriously wounded. Later a man was injured when he was attacked by a group also wielding pangas and knives.

The group sat in a small stuffy room. A battered cassette recorder played muted jazz. A faint smell of dagg and paraffin hung in the air.

At the foot of each boy was a weapon. Mostly homemade knives, clubs and spears. One had a firearm which he would not let anyone touch.

They meet at dusk and stay awake until sunrise every day. Should one of the 50-odd houses under their "jurisdiction" sound the alarm the group will react instantly.



READY AND WAITING: The local township defence unit with their homemade arsenal



ON WATCH: An armed youth looking out for the "enemy".

Pictures by John Woodroof

Two-pronged peace initiative to end the township killing

A two-pronged peace initiative is under way to end Maritzburg's township war which has claimed more than 70 lives in the past six weeks.

Late last week the city's Chamber of Commerce met members of Inkatha and later the Congress of South African Trade Unions/ United Democratic Front grouping in an attempt to get the two sides to nominate representatives for mediation talks.

On a wider scale, three major church alliances are supporting efforts by the Rev Athol Jennings, director of the Vuleka Trust, to bring about a "peace summit" between the two groups.

"We will not be concentrating solely on the violence in Maritzburg but in Natal as a whole," said Mr Jennings, whose secret meeting with the two groups is scheduled for tomorrow.

Business sources say it is

in the "immediate political interests" of Inkatha and Cosatu/UDF to end the fighting.

They said both had "hidden agendas" which made a peace settlement in the area "vital to their future credibility".

"The Natal Indaba is seen by many white people as a viable political alternative," a source said.

"In this, Inkatha plays a leading role. However, if it is unable to find a workable

solution in its own backyard, its effectiveness in the Indaba process might also be questioned."

Cosatu is engaged in a major membership drive in the area, and its inability to find a solution to the conflict might affect this, another source said.

According to Mr Paul van Uytrecht, manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, the chamber would like to see two representatives nominated by

each side thrash out, with the help of a "process specialist or technocrat", a solution "which would at least bring about an end to the fighting".

"The parties must all agree on the representatives. If it would help, the chamber would be prepared to drop out," he said.

The short-term goal would be to install a "joint monitoring group" to maintain order.

The chamber had become

involved in the search for peace not through any request but because it was "impossible to separate business and politics in the present political climate", Mr Van Uytrecht said.

The prolonged violence was battering the city's image.

"Every time Pietermaritzburg's name appears in an unrest report we lose potential investors. When we lose them, we lose employment opportunities and standards of living drop."

Defence units, 'liberated zones' in Natal's 'Angola'

MARITZBURG. — The strife-torn townships near here have been aptly nicknamed "Angola".

Like the strife-torn Frontline state, rival groups are embroiled in a virtual civil war as residents are determined to resist outside interference in their lives.

The civil war is ostensibly a struggle for control of the townships by UDF supporters and members of Chief Gqasha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Killed

The killings and counter-killings have claimed so many lives that human rights organisations have been unable to keep track of the statistics.

However, UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede believes more than 500 people have been killed since 1983.

Over the past four weeks as many as 70 people are reported to have been killed and scores have been injured. But conflicting reports cast doubt over the accuracy of the statistics.

More than 350 people have been arrested, and many homes have been damaged by petrol bombings and arson.

The schooling of hundreds of children has been disrupted with matriculants worst off as examinations approach.

The "war zone" comprises Edendale, Ashdown, Imbali, Sobantu, Hammarisdale and smaller outlying areas.

The attributing of the killing of at least five people last weekend to thugs and common criminals masquerading as UDF and Inkatha members, has added a new dimension to the conflict.

Two of the victims were stabbed to

death, a number of people were injured and some houses were attacked with petrol bombs.

Groups have formed "defence units" and cleared "liberated zones", to protect themselves and their homes. And "rebel" groups are conducting "guerilla" raids on innocent residents.

Residents claimed they had to establish their own units because of attempts by armed raiders who they allege are trying to make them to join Inkatha.

Peace

"These invaders knock on our doors at night and pressured us to join Inkatha. When we refuse, they think we are members of the UDF. They then either attack, kill or burn us or our properties," a resident said.

"We want to emphasise that we are not UDF supporters or members, but just ordinary people who want nothing to do with what's going on between these people."

One angry youth said vigilantes and others were tearing the communities apart.

"We are being told to throw away our books and join units to protect ourselves because some organisations want to control our lives."

"Our parents are afraid, but we want to make sure that our people live in peace without being troubled," he said.

The combatants in the "civil war" are blaming each other for the killings.

A local Inkatha representative, Mr V V Mvelase, claimed his members were protecting themselves against attacks by supporters of the UDF.

The Pietermaritzburg Christian Social Awareness organisation has claimed that since the beginning of the year more than 100 people have been killed in the clashes.

Conflict

The director of the organisation, Mr Peter Kerschhoff, said communities had been broken up and the family life of thousands of people had been disrupted by the conflict.

"The violence has caused hundreds of people to flee their homes and become refugees.



Gladys Sangweni stands in the ruins of her house. Her husband and daughter were killed by vigilantes. PICS: CEDRIC NUNN

"It has become a traumatic experience for hundreds of families. In many cases people have had to flee because they have refused to be drawn into the clashes between the supporters of either the UDF or Inkatha."

Gumede is desperate to end the conflict, but claims that he cannot do much if the local residents do not come forward for assistance.

"The residents have become so brutalised that they are suspicious of the motives of both sides. UDF

supporters are saying that they are being attacked and they are only protecting themselves. On the other hand the Inkatha leadership is saying the same thing.

"I am prepared to intervene if I am called upon to do so," said a dejected Gumede.

The violence is a spin off of the battles that have taken place throughout Natal since the UDF was established in August 1983.

Inkatha saw the emergence of the UDF as a threat to its control in Natal and its members and vigilantes immediately went on the offensive against UDF supporters and members.

Violence

Inkatha has attained a semblance of control in some areas because of the violence and the active collusion of different authorities.

Townships in and around Durban are subdued, but there are still strong undercurrents militating against permanent peace in the townships.

In Maritzburg, however, the continued conflict shows that Inkatha has not been having it all its own way.

"We have to do something to end the senseless killings, but it seems some people are not keen on seeing an end to the violence because peace in our townships will not make them sleep peacefully in their areas," Gumede said.

"The forces who do not want peace and unity" can only survive when there is chaos, confusion and division in our ranks," he said. (PTSA)



Residents pray at the opening of a meeting at Edendale. The meeting was called to find ways to resolve the crisis.

Police in door-to-door survey

POLICE have started a door-to-door survey in strife-torn Bonteheuwel, raising fears among political activists of a possible major security swoop on the area.

But police have denied the survey was politically motivated. They said it was "to build a better relationship with the community".

Members of the Bonteheuwel Interschools Congress (Bisco) said police were seen in the area at least twice a week.

"They ask questions about the number of people in the house, where people work and which schools the children attend."

"They have also handed out pamphlets suggesting they should contact the police if there is any unrest in the area," a Bisco spokesperson said.

She said Bisco believed the reason

for the survey was to get information about activists and to find out where students live.

"Policemen told people they could make anonymous phone calls if they wanted to give information."

"Even primary school pupils were asked detailed questions about activists."

"We are preparing ourselves for a swoop on Bonteheuwel. The survey could also be related to the planned visit to the area by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok."

"Vlok is welcome to visit the area if he comes in peace and not to harass us," she said.

A Vlamboom Road resident said she was asked if she had problems with a nearby liquor outlet and nightclub.

"I was also told to contact the police if I have any information about

people who throw stones and burn the buses," she said.

Labour Party MP for the area Patrick McKenzie said: "All I know about the survey is what people came to tell me."

"The most surprising thing is that people are so pleased with what the police are doing. I did not find anyone who was upset."

He did not know if the survey was linked to the Joint Management Centre (JMC) sub-committee in the area.

"I have not been to JMC meetings for months because of my commitments in Parliament," he said.

Bishop Lavis police station commander Captain D A Langeveldt confirmed the survey, but referred questions to the Western Cape police liaison department.

Western Cape police liaison officer

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher confirmed that "senior policemen and officers are visiting the residents to obtain personal contact".

"They act like a deacon would, to find out if people have any problems which they are reluctant to talk about."

"It's purpose is also to win the confidence of residents. It is to build a better relationship between the police and the community."

"The police are not just those on a patrol van or Casspir."

"These policemen are specially trained for the task. It has been going on for a month and it will go on longer as we hope to reach all the houses in Bonteheuwel. It is not unrest-related."

He said the operation was being run by the Western Cape regional office.



By RYLAND FISHER
ANY move from traditional parliamentary politics needs to be welcomed, says UDF national treasurer Azar Cachalia.

UDF welcomes any move from parliament

Cachalia was explaining his statement indicating "cautious approval" of the launch of Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

"When the formation of the National Democratic Movement was just announced, I indicated cautious approval because any move from traditional politics need to be welcomed. But this was far short of endorsement and cannot be seen as endorsement," Cachalia said.

"The NDM had given the impression that they wanted to make contact with extra-parliamentary organisations, and that

they realised Parliament itself would not bring about the necessary changes.

"Since then there have been some problems. Some of the NDM speakers have said they are in favour of actions like preventative detention.

"A serious problem is that they want to reconcile conflicting positions from the Conservative Party to the UDF.

"We cannot endorse their initiative if they are not prepared to identify with the demands of the democratic movement,

especially the UDF, and to actively oppose the National Party Government.

"That does not mean that the UDF does not regard this move from traditional politics as significant.

"It does not mean we cannot have discussions or some kind of relationship with them.

"But there is no question of us having an alliance with the NDM.

"There is a subtle distinction, but it is important to remember that the NDM is not the National Party."

Cachalia said the UDF

did not send the NDM any letters or messages of support.

Asked if their approach to the NDM indicated a shift in the UDF's attitude towards Parliament, he said: "The UDF is opposed to participation in the Tricameral Parliament. There is no suggestion that we are about to depart from that position. In UDF ranks, we speak with one voice on that issue.

"But when there are moves and shifts in Parliament, we cannot say it is irrelevant.

"When someone like Jan van Eck resigns from the PFP but remains in Parliament and says his politics is closer to the UDF, we have to respond.

"We understand the history of whites and the House of Assembly. We cannot make someone's position on Parliament a pre-condition for everything."

Cachalia said the NDM was not discussed by UDF affiliates and regions.

"What was discussed is the Five Freedoms Forum and we decided to take part in their conference along with people like Van Eck and even PFP MPs.

"We realised that the UDF needed to adopt a broader approach to organising the white community."

BC's champs run for cover

South
Oct 29 - Nov 83
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From AMEEN AKHALWAYA
JOHANNESBURG — The onslaught against Black Consciousness has reached such proportions that even those who once were among BC's pre-eminent champions have run for cover for fear of being labelled 'racists' or 'reactionaries'.

With a few prominent exceptions, such as the SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, it is strange that those now in the progressive democratic movement who championed BC in the 1970s pretend it didn't exist. Or that it was some kind of political aberration, which, like an embarrassing invalid member of the family, must be locked away and not be talked about in decent company.

Many of us believe that we are being separated by a thin white dividing line, of whether or not to accept whites in our ranks. And when we look at the small number of whites prepared to support the cause of democracy, we fail to understand why our political organisations cannot — or refuse to — agree on their role.

"I was fascinated by their courage and commitment to justice."

As one of the many thousands who have undergone the experience of both the Congress movement and BC, I can find no major contradiction in supporting both.

I was born into a family that supported Gandhi and raised politically at the feet of Walter Sisulu, Yusuf Dadoo, Molvi Saloojee and Cachalia.

As with many a starry-eyed child, I was fascinated by their courage and their commitment to justice, their visions of a nonracial democracy. It is a vision I still share.

As a sports fanatic, it was this vision that led me into supporting the cause of the nonracial sports organisations that became South African Nonracial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) in exile and the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) internally. And that sports cause became almost all-consuming in the absence of any real political vehicle after the 1960 banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the jailing, banning and exile of our leaders.

"Our psychological oppression was complete."

Throughout the 1960s, most of my contemporaries in Johannesburg had no political home. The Government was setting up its puppets in the homelands and creating the CRC and the SA Indian Council.

People died in police custody, young activists were detained without trial under the new laws and came back with shocking tales of



Steve Biko, seen by many as the father of modern black consciousness

their treatment inside.

Added to that was the fear of the new phenomenon, the ubiquitous informer, and we reached a stage where even at the family dinner table, we wouldn't discuss politics. "Walls have ears," our leaders warned. We went into a political and psychological shell.

Then along came the South African Students Organisation (Saso), a brilliant band of young men led by Steve Biko whose rhetoric scared the hell out of us. More than anything, it was their boldness and confidence that made us cower in terror. Our psychological oppression was complete

"We had proudly chosen our own identity as 'blacks'."

At the same time, BC as analysed in the white media appeared to contradict our nonracial philosophies, so we tried to distance ourselves from it. But through our experiences as adult workers in liberal white institutions, it gradually began to dawn on us that Biko and his associates had a valid point. So we, too, grew a little bolder and joined the emerging BC groups.

Soon people such as Allan Boesak were championing BC, and older people such as Winnie Mandela and Nthato Motlana, ANC supporters

through and through, Desmond Tutu and Curtis Nkondo, helped to usher in the exciting BC era. Suddenly from being psychologically devastated "non-whites", we had proudly chosen our own identity as "blacks".

Many of us still had some reservations about the thin line between black racism and promoting our own worth as black people inferior to none and owing nobody an apology for what we were. I joined the Union of Black Journalists and, after it was banned with other BC groups on Black Wednesday, October 19 1977, its successors, Writers Association of South African (Wasa) and Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

Membership of those bodies was my most exhilarating political lesson and experience. Initially, as small band of journalists without union status, we were virtually a talk-shop. The membership comprised people such as Zwelakhe Sisulu, born into an ANC family, Joe Thloloe, who had marched alongside the PAC's Robert Sobukwe, others who were hardcore Saso/BPC supporters, and yet others with political allegiances or leanings we didn't question.

There was no need to question to many of us, the BC movement was a transitory stage, a holding operation to free us psychologically and enable

us to take our places in the ANC, PAC, or other historical bodies once they were unbanned.

After Black Wednesday, Azapo emerged as the major BC political vehicle. It went further than the "psychological liberation" aspect of Saso/BPC, and formulated its own ideology. That's when the problems started for those of us who considered BC to be transitory.

Many found it difficult to accept BC as a "third force", hence the emergence of the UDF became inevitable. And once the lines were drawn between Azapo and UDF, the pressure to take sides affected all existing bodies such as Mwasas and Sacos.

However, some, while accepting the need for the Freedom Charter supporters to band together, found contradictions in the progressive democratic movement. For example, Cosas, before it was banned, as well as black students societies on university campuses, supported non-racialism, but their membership was black.

As the UDF idea grew, some in Azapo started using racist justification to exclude whites, or denigrating the UDF for accepting whites as members. In turn, some in the UDF, to show that they were nonracial and Azapo racist, bent over backwards for whites at the expense of uniting the main victims of apartheid.

"There are many who can be comfortable in both BC and Congress movements."

Thus we have been caught up in a vicious circle, or by taking inflexible stands, we paint ourselves into corners from which we dare not move. Hence we find it easy to label all BC sympathisers as Azapo supporters, and all Freedom Charter sympathisers as UDF supporters

The truth is that not all BC supporters back Azapo, and not all Freedom Charter supporters back the UDF. There are many who can be comfortable in both. But those who try to point that out, to show that strategically — in terms of their standpoints on economic and sports boycotts, and isolating the apartheid practitioners — there is little difference, are shouted down as deviants. For them, it is a politically lonely road in terms of extra-parliamentary politics.

Of even greater concern is that to justify our ideological attitudes, we try to distort the contributions of organisations that have played major roles in our history.

Many of us are proud of having been part of the Congress tradition and of BC, and acknowledge the roles played by various bodies and individuals in the struggle.

No date yet for Maritzburg 'peace talks'

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DURBAN. — Warring factions in Maritzburg's troubled black townships have expressed a willingness for eyeball-to-eyeball talks aimed at putting an end to political violence, but no definite date has been set.

United Democratic Front and Inkatha leaders in Maritzburg said they were still committed to ending the intense fighting which had resulted in more than 60 deaths.

The peace talks between Inkatha and the UDF were due to start soon.

The chairman of the UDF in Maritzburg, Mr A Chetty, said they were prepared to stop the "bloodshed" though they were being made to appear villains.

He said UDF had had discussions with the Chamber of Commerce about talks but he did not know how far the discussions had gone.

"Under the present circumstances we would take everyone in good faith and we hope the chamber of commerce would be an honest broker," he said.

He said they were very keen to bring an end to the violence. But it was pointless sitting at top-level discussions when, at the ground level, killings were continuing.

"Therefore, if one is serious about negotiations, one would have to work out a procedure before the negotiations can start," Mr Chetty said.

Inkatha said it was still committed to talks.

The local leader of Inkatha and KwaZulu MP for Maritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, said the peace talks were "very, very important" and Inkatha would still attend.

"If the UDF is really sincere as we are, then the talks can succeed in bringing peace to the area."

The acting chairman of the Maritzburg Council of Churches, the Rev Lizo Jafta, said the church was trying to create the climate for talks.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — At the ceremonial first meeting of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in the City Hall here yesterday, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged State President Botha to speed up reform.

Chief Buthelezi punted the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the proposals of which the National Party has rejected as containing insufficient safeguards for minority rights.

He said he was very depressed by the views of certain South African MPs about the Indaba.

"If you can't meet half-way, even with a leader like me who is sentenced to death because he believes in negotiation, I don't know what kind of leader can negotiate with white South Africa.

"If we can't give the young people who support me in their hundreds of thousands some hope of a compromise solution such as in the Indaba, then I feel a sense of despair for this troubled land."

He said the JEA was a step in the right direction and would contribute significantly to the domination of the politics of negotiation over the politics of confrontation and violence.

Studiously avoiding the Indaba, Mr P W Botha praised the leadership of Chief Buthelezi and the Natal Administrator, Mr Radctyffe Cadman, for the good record of negotiation, co-operation and assistance between the two regional authorities.

Mr Botha said the government fully supported the JEA because it enhanced the process of regional government.

"We are often criticized for supposedly imposing centralized policies on people. But decentralization and privatization will afford everyone the opportunity to try to influence ser-

CAPE TIMES 4/11/87

Speed up reform, Buthelezi urges PW

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused journalists of being propagandists for his enemies during an explosive press conference here yesterday after the inaugural meeting of the Joint Executive Authority.

The atmosphere turned sour when one of 30 local and foreign journalists asked about alleged Inkatha involvement in violence in Maritzburg townships.

"That's bull ... You're accusing me of criminal acts."

Another journalist said it seemed Inkatha leaders were doing little to end the violence.

"That's nonsense, what kind of journalist are you?" retorted Chief Buthelezi. He said violence was being fomented by people in tandem with the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi exploded again when a reporter asked him about a coming court case in which he is suing a magazine for defamation.

"What kind of journalism is this? You're being propagandists for my enemies. What I am going to say in court has nothing to do with you."

A journalist finally defused the tension by exclaiming: "Gee Chief, you're awfully touchy today!"

vices and policies directly, according to his choice."

Mr Botha said the JEA was an experiment which could succeed and for which there was an increasing need in the Transvaal and Free State.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary-general, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and Indaba co-convenor, was elected JEA chairman.

Dr Dhlomo said he looked forward to using Mr Botha's "open door" to express the hopes and dreams of the region beyond the JEA.

● As Mr Botha arrived just before the ceremony started, three members of the Black Sash were hustled from the city hall by police.

The women were about to take out banners and posters. A police spokesman said they had not been arrested.

'CHILDREN LED ATTACK'

(11A) SOWETAN 4/11/87
COUNCILLORS in Alexandra township resigned en-bloc and police moved out to live in tents at nearby Kew township, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This followed instructions from the "comrades" that all "collaborators" like the police and councillors should resign from their jobs and join the "struggle". Shops affected by a

SOWETAN Reporter

consumer boycott had been looted and destroyed by fire, the court heard.

Some houses of "collaborators" were also set alight, a policeman was killed and trenches were dug in some streets to make it impossible for vehicles to pass. This was done to disrupt the movement of police and soldiers in the township.

Treason

This evidence was given at the trial of Mr Moses Mayekiso (38), of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) and civic leaders, Mr Obed Bapela (28), Mr Mzwandile Mayekiso (22), Mr Paul Tshabalala (38) and Mr Richard

Mdakane (29), all of Alexandra township.

They are charged with treason, alternatively subversion and sedition. The State alleges they committed the offences between January 1985 and June last year in Alexandra township.

They have pleaded not guilty and are appearing before Mr Justice PJ van der Walt. The case is in camera.

A witness, who may not be identified, said he had been living in Alexandra since 1985. He said some councillors resigned and those who remained eventually resigned because they could not form a quorum. The comrades, he said, forced the councillors to resign.

The council police in the area wore a green uniform and were called "Green Beans". Following a night vigil on February 15 last year a big crowd stoned and petrol-bombed police guarding council property and told them to quit Alexandra, said the witness.

Police scared them off by shooting on the ground, he said.

The witness said children aged about 10 and 15 led the huge crowd and adults remained at the back.

Labour Update

Meeting on Natal violence

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front are to hold a joint Press conference today, focusing on the violence in 'Maritzburg.

Cosatu press officer Mr Frank Meintjies said documents and papers relating to the matter will be presented to news-men.

The conference comes in the wake of continued bloody clashes between rival groups in the Natal townships.

The conference will focus on:

- The violent attacks against UDF/Cosatu members;
- Court action; and
- Past efforts aimed at ending violence in the area.

The conference will be held in 'Maritzburg.



MR MEINTJIES: Conference to focus on 'Maritzburg Violence.

11A
 Sowetan 4/11/87

Plea for the six

VIA
Smetan

10/12/87

COSATU, along with other "democratic" organisations, called on the Government not to go ahead with the execution of the "Sharpeville Six", the trade union federation said yesterday.

"We are aligning ourselves with other democratic organisations who have expressed concern about the impending hanging," the statement from the Congress of SA Trade Unions said.

The Six, five men and a woman, face the gallows after the Appellate Division's recent decision to dismiss their appeals against the death sentence.

Cosatu rejected the use of the death sentence for political activists, the statement said.

The "escalation of conflict" can be attributed directly to the political policies of the Government, Cosatu added.

"Successive governments have attempted to deny the majority of people any democratic means to redress grievances."

The "only solution" to the conflict was for the Government to allow "full and open democratic political participation, to end repression of political opponents, to lift the state of emergency," Cosatu said.

Policeman 'beckoned to witdoeke to charge'

t Supreme Court Reporter
S WITDOEKE gathered in front of the Divco clinic in Nyanga surged forward and torched the Zolani Centre and refugee tents pitched beside it after a policeman in a Casspir beckoned them into a charge, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of 26-year-old Dr Mark Blecher, the seventh witness to testify in the R312 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when most of KTC was destroyed last year.

From a window in the clinic where he was

working on June 9, Dr Blecher saw several hundred armed witdoeke approaching from Old Crossroads.

"They charged a group of so-called comrades who were opposite the clinic and a battle ensued. Four Casspirs and Buffels were patrolling the area but did absolutely nothing to prevent the attack, let alone stop it," he said.

"The witdoeke then gathered in front of the clinic and I saw a policeman in a Casspir sta-

tioned next to them beckon with his hands to the witdoeke to charge in the direction of the Zolani Centre.

"He then turned and aimed his gun and from where I was it looked as if he was shooting at the comrades in the direction of the Zolani Centre. The witdoeke then surged forward on to Zolani Centre."

Dr Blecher said about four other witdoeke came from the other refugee tents after this and all the tents were

afame.

"All this was done a mere ten to 15 metres away from a stationary Casspir. The policemen in the Casspir did nothing to prevent the tents being burned, nor did they take any action whatsoever against the witdoeke who burned the tents," he said.

The hearing 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 V Louw and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.

THE Messina Circuit Court heard yesterday how a white farmer had shot and killed an alleged guerilla who was trying to shoot back with a jammed AK47 rifle.

The court had earlier been told of how three other alleged African National Congress guerillas had been shot dead a day before while hiding under rocks — with one of them killed while attempting to throw a handgranade at army trackers.

This evidence included a description of the capture of one of the accused, came during the trial of Mr Mthetheleli Mncube (27) and Mr Msondeleli Nondula (24), who both face 41 charges ranging from murder to treason.

They are appearing before Mr Acting Justice J P O de Villiers sitting with two assessors, and have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Mr Jack Vivian Raal, who owns the Petershof farm and is a corporal in the Dongola commando, testified that he had been part of a team following the tracks of an alleged guerilla near the Zimbabwe border on December 27, last year.

He said his farm labourers had pointed at a man lying in a ditch on the road pointing an AK47 rifle at their vehicle. "I jumped and got my R1 rifle and ran in front of our van.

"The man on the road was trying to cock the AK47 and I shot him dead," Mr Raal said, adding that the spot was about 6 km from the Zimbabwe border.

Earlier, Lieutenant Zacharia Eloff of the SADF's Special Task Force, described how a black corporal had shot and killed the leader of the five-man group of the alleged guerillas after the leader had refused to surrender. This was on December 26.

Lt. Eloff said minutes later he had shot and killed two other men hiding in crevices on the rocky hills. "One tried to throw a handgrenade and I shot them both dead," he said.

He added that he had then followed tracks of two of the men who had run away from the spot headed north towards Zimbabwe.

"About 21 m away I found one of the men and arrested him. The man never stopped running. He did not surrender and I had to catch up with him. I ordered him to undress to make sure

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

there were no concealed weapons. He had no weapons on him," he said. He identified the man as Mr Mncube.

An SADF intelligence officer, Major John Linden, testified that he had spoken to Mr Mncube immediately after his capture. "He told me the group had come to lay landmines south of the Messina tar road and was due to return to Zimbabwe by December 29.

"He told me without being asked that he was not a terrorist and that he had been forced to return to South Africa," the major said.

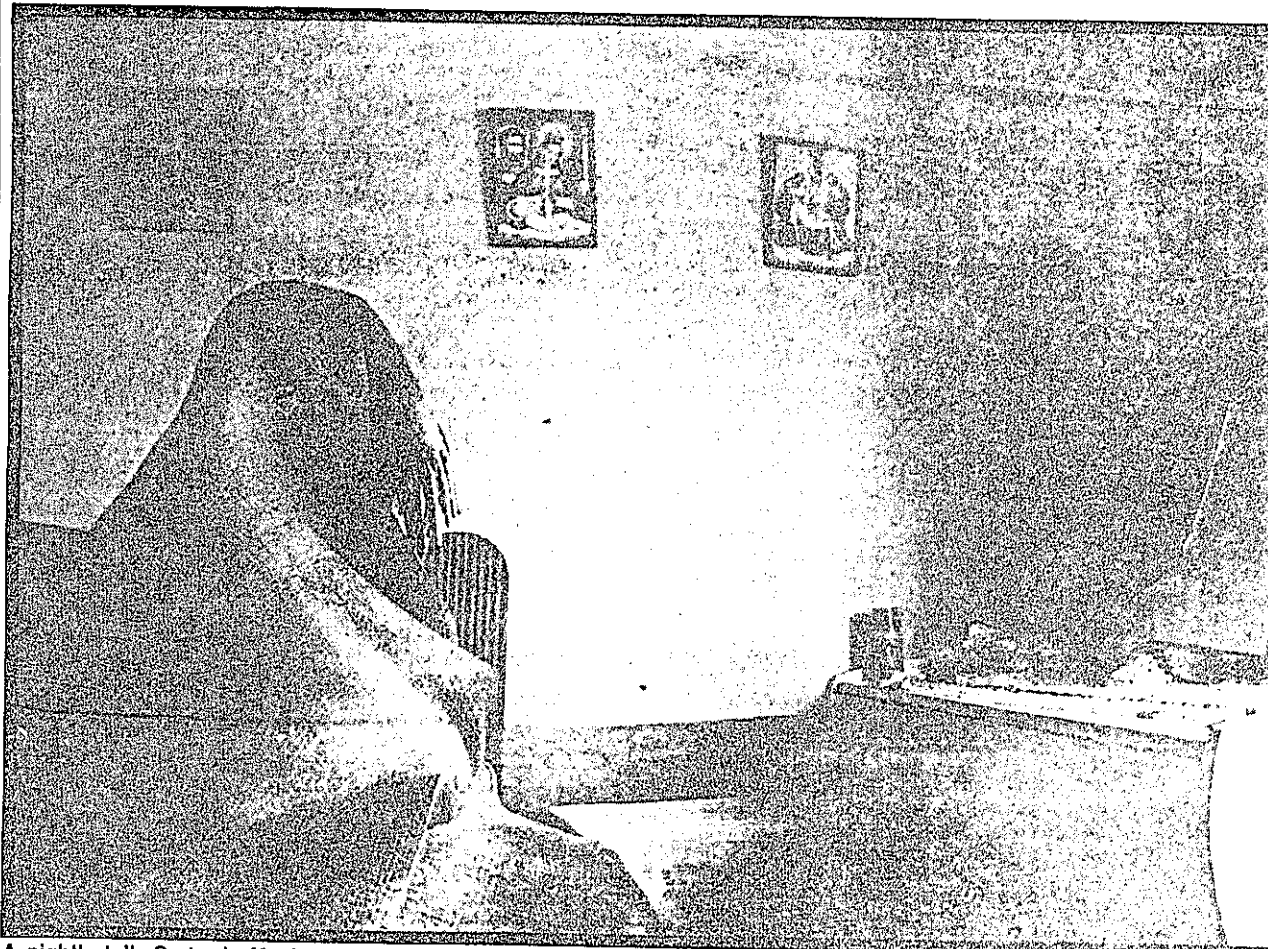
Earlier evidence has been that Mr Mncube was later handed over to two security policemen who tied him up with shoe laces before loading him on the back of an open van with four loaded AK47 rifles. The policemen were later found shot dead in the van. Mr Mncube had disappeared with one of the rifles and was captured on January 2.

11A

Shot 'ANCO man' Court told how farmer

BEHIND THE INKATHA-UDF VIOLENCE

11A
W. W. M. L.
Oct 30 - Nov 5
'87



A nightly toll: Gertrude Mvubo mourns her teenage son, murdered coming home from a funeral Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapl.

Behind the lines in a bloody war which has claimed 150 lives

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

VELAPHI Ndlovu, KwaZulu MP for the Pietermaritzburg area and regional chairman of Inkatha, believes if an Inkatha member is killed by a member of the United Democratic Front, it is acceptable to take revenge by killing relatives of the UDF member.

The bloody war which claimed 150 lives

●From PAGE 1

"It's defence," said Ndlovu in an interview on Sunday. "Because if there was no attacker there would be no revenge."

"Revenge killing is not acceptable in the policy — but what can you do if your house is burnt down and the law won't do anything about that? You revenge yourself so he won't come back again."

Ndlovu said when Inkatha acted to "defend" itself, it used all kinds of weapons: "It can be the teeth — everything — as long as they are defending themselves, because life comes once, not twice."

A few hours later the sirens of ambulances could be heard in the distance as the brutal Inkatha-UDF war, in which more than 150 people have died this year, continued to take its nightly toll.

Ndlovu was speaking after the local Inkatha committee met to discuss their remedy to the war: they want police stations handed over to the Inkatha-run KwaZulu government.

Not far away, the "enemy" was meeting in a darkened and sparsely furnished church in newly-liberated "Angola" (to get there you go left at "Moscow"), a section of the Edendale valley, to form an area committee.

A youth activist opened the meeting by outlining the priorities of the community. These, he said, were defence committees to counter vigilante attacks; people's courts to discipline "comrades" who misbehave; and first aid committees to treat the battle-wounded.

As he spoke, shafts of light illuminated the whites of the eyes of a row of delegates, none of whom could have been more than 12 years old.

Everyone — from the Chamber of Commerce to the warring factions — is talking about the need for a truce to stop the killing.

But the factors which have turned Pietermaritzburg's black areas into a mini-Beirut go back more than two years and are deeply embedded in the politics of Natal.

The August 1985 consumer boycotts in Pietermaritzburg — partially spurred by the BTR Sarmcol dispute at Howick down the road — and the emergence of UDF-supporting youth congresses were regarded as politically threatening to Inkatha in an area where its support was not traditionally high.

According to Ndlovu's own figures, there are 53 functioning Inkatha branches in the area, with 40 to 100 people in each — a maximum of about 5 000 members out of more than half a million people in the area.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has warded off a challenge in the area, centred on bus drivers, from the Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of South Africa.

And although the June 1986 Emergency temporarily stunted the growth of the youth organisations, they have been regrouping strongly this year.

The current escalation of violence follows an Inkatha recruitment drive in Edendale which began in late July and August.

Though the area is semi-rural with traditional chiefs still in place, much of Edendale falls outside KwaZulu and the proximity of a big city has loosened the tribal sway of the Inkatha-supporting chiefs.

Siphwe Khanyile, a fieldworker for the Pietermaritzburg Agency for



Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

Relative merits of different whistles are debated in Edendale. Three long blasts will summon your "comrades".

Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), said the trouble started when Inkatha began forcing people in Edendale to join them.

"It was a lot of money. People had to pay R5 if they were parents or R2 if they were students. The chiefs started in Harewood and moved systematically through the townships. People who didn't want to join were killed while others fled."

As an example, Khanyile cited a church meeting in Mpumuzi in early September, where a chief said everyone had to join Inkatha and "woe unto them" who did not. "The next Tuesday a mother and her son who did not want to join Inkatha were killed."

Numerous residents told similar tales of conscription into the ranks of Inkatha, with bloody consequences for those who refused or were identified as UDF activists. It is understood that in many cases legal action is pending.

Even during the floods the recruitment drive did not let up. Mark Cornell, mayor of Pietermaritzburg, said: "If Inkatha had wanted to make friends, they should have gone and helped the people instead of going and saying to them at three o'clock in the morning — sign this card or I'll kill you if you don't."

"On the Monday night, at the height of the floods, 13 people were killed."

Asked to comment on this yesterday, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the Inkatha general secretary, said: "I don't think I need to give this respectability by responding to it. It is just the old story repeated without substantiation."

"It is a waste of time and perpetuates this conflict to respond to such allegations. We don't want to rake up

A father tells of a son's death

WILLIE MPULO, a 49-year-old resident of Sweetwaters outside Pietermaritzburg, describes how his 22-year-old son, Aaron Bhekabantu, was murdered by what he described as Inkatha-supporting vigilantes on Saturday 4 October.

"At 23h30 there was a loud bang at our door and we heard men claim that they were the police. The men demanded that I open the door. They said that they had come looking for *qabane* — a reference to 'comrade'."

"At this time, my yard was thick with Inkatha men: there could have been well over 100 about the area of my house. The men were heavily armed with assegais, spears, bush knives and sticks."

"One of the leaders insisted: 'We want to know why he did not come to join Inkatha at our meeting.'

these things. It is not in our interests to comment."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister, said Inkatha was a voluntary organisation.

"The kind of coercion alleged here is strictly contrary to the dictates of the movement. Unfortunately, the allegations do not record specific examples which would enable us to conduct an immediate investigation."

"Inkatha leadership would not tolerate such behaviour."

"The allegations are typical of the propaganda aimed against Inkatha. The facts are that various groups are killing each other and this must stop. Numerous members of Inkatha have been butchered by pro-UDF elements and yet a concerted effort is being made to cover this up. Inkatha has been involved in peace initiatives for a considerable time and has done whatever it can to stop the carnage.

"Perceiving that there was no alternative, Bhekabantu and I decided to wage a fight. I grabbed a stick but the Inkatha mob said: 'No, old man, we don't want you, we want your son.'"

"We heard members of the mob exclaim: 'We must burn the house', and thereafter unsuccessfully attempt to get petrol from a car. In all the confusion, Bhekabantu managed to slip out the back door of the house."

"As my niece Mnandi later recounted, Bhekabantu entered her house in an effort to hide from the mob. Moments later, the mob broke the windows to Mnandi's house and smashed down the doors. They entered the house and repeatedly stabbed Bhekabantu."

"After killing him they pulled him from the bed and dragged him outside where he was left for dead."

"I find it interesting that little mention is made of the extreme difficulty experienced by Inkatha in getting the UDF to bring its leadership grouping to the peace initiative," he said.

Though the initial pressures came from Inkatha's recruitment drive, Peter Kerchhoff, Pacsa organiser, pointed out there had been tremendous retaliation against the organisation in the past months.

The best-publicised case was the KwaShange shooting on September 16 in which 13 members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade aged between 14 and 22 were locked in a house which was set alight. As they fled they were attacked and killed. Three policemen were arrested in connection with the killings.

Even the UDF does not deny that "a number of excesses" have been committed by members of the UDF-related defence committees patrolling the townships.

CHURCH LEADERS PLAN A SERVICE FOR PEACE

By Carmel Rickard, Pietermaritzburg

IN response to the soaring death rate in Pietermaritzburg's townships, national and local church leaders — including Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu — are planning a "peace service" in the troubled Edendale township.

They have called on people "of all political persuasions" in and around Pietermaritzburg to attend the service, scheduled for Sunday at 2pm in the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre.

The church leaders have also asked congregations throughout South Africa to pray for the success of the service.

vices, and for all those living in the strife-torn areas.

The event will be hosted by the Rev Liso Jafa, acting chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches.

Among the church dignitaries who will attend are Archbishop Tutu of the Anglican Church, the Rev Khoza Mgojo, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, Methodist president-elect, and the Rev John Boraman, Methodist leader of the Natal

coastal area. A senior Catholic representative will also be present.

According to a member of the organising committee, the initiative has been taken "in view of the fact that at the very least, 138 people have died in the fighting around Pietermaritzburg this year — 39 in September, and 38 so far in October."

He said the service would give the clergy an opportunity to identify with the people in their suffering.

"We hope that a large number of people from all backgrounds will attend the service as an act of solidarity

with all those who have suffered in the violence, and to demonstrate their deep desire for justice and peace.

"We also hope the service will encourage existing church efforts to end the violence and inspire new efforts."

Archbishop Tutu has been mentioned in some quarters as a possible mediator, but a member of his staff said yesterday that there were no plans at this stage for action beyond his participation in the service.

"He is of course being kept in touch with the situation by the local church representatives who know of his concern about the situation."

The UDF and Cosatu jointly issued pamphlets calling on their members to organise against the violence and not to retaliate against ordinary members of Inkatha.

The two organisations are involved in a bid to highlight the situation in the area and there are to be meetings with a wide range of organisations in the next few days to brief them on the violence.

A UDF statement issued this week said that though the township violence had reached crisis proportions "we in the UDF do not feel that we are the aggressors or the main culprits."

"In order to achieve an end to the violence, it is imperative that we be able to consult freely with our members and all the victims of vigilante violence."

"This is made very difficult by the activities of Inkatha supporters and is also restricted by the State of Emergency."

The claims coming from both Inkatha and the UDF are in some ways strangely similar. Both claim the South African Police are siding with their enemies.

Apart from the KwaShange massacre, a UDF youth activist said several black policemen living in the community had chosen to side with them because they too were victims of the recruitment campaigns.

However, he said, the general trend was that in cases where UDF people were murdered by known Inkatha supporters, no action was taken.

Ndlovu said the Plessieslaer police station was "biased" against Inkatha because, he alleged, the police removed their weapons.

"Inkatha members are on the defending side," he said. "Some of our members, if they are being attacked and come out to defend themselves, are arrested, while those who are doing the defending are left alone without their weapons."

He denied that Inkatha was involved in a recruitment drive and blamed the conflict on the UDF. He said the UDF was disrupting exams because "if the people don't pass at the end of the year, it means they are nothing. After that, they will be carrying guns on the other side of the fence because they are not educated. The UDF are the baby-sitters of the ANC."

Both UDF and Inkatha leaders say they are in favour of peace talks — though a youth activist pointed out their priority was setting up the defence committees because "that is the only way we can stop them killing us. If we didn't embark on defence committees we would all have been forced to join Inkatha by now."

The apparent disparity between the sentiments of leaders and the war at the grassroots level has prompted definitions of the battle as being increasingly taken over by armed gangs of no particular political hue who are totally out of control.

The reality, as people like Kerchhoff point out, is that the battle is fundamentally political.

Political antagonisms throughout Natal run so deep that the best outcome to be hoped for in a situation like Maritzburg's is a temporary truce.

On one hand, the militant youth congresses are involved in a fight against the apartheid system. They see Inkatha — as the government of KwaZulu for the past 12 years — very much as part of that system.

On the other hand, there is what Gerhard Maré of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences describes as Inkatha's desire to dominate all of Natal.

This, he says, is part of a political strategy in terms of which Natal, and the boast of the support of six million Zulus, is a stepping stone for the Inkatha leadership on to the national political stage.

"It is very difficult in the long run to imagine Inkatha co-existing with the UDF and Cosatu," said Maré. "There is a very strong trend of saying they solely represent the interests of African people, or of peasants or workers. That approach means they can't allow anything else to happen."

From Robben Island with love

By SAHM VENTER

A SMALL piece of land in Middledrift in the Ciskei was one of the driving forces behind Rivonia trialist and ANC leader Wilton Zimasile Mkwai's battle to be legally married.

Not being on the land and paying the taxes himself, his worry was his family — his unmarried sisters and their children — may lose the main source of their livelihood. The solution — a civil marriage and the transfer of the land onto his wife's name.

Thus the bitter disappointment when his first application to marry Irene Khumalo, originally from the Imfume Mission Station, Natal, was turned down. In October 1966, Mkwai, Prisoner No 259/65, wrote not only of the refusal but also the hope.

About 21 years later, the Prisons Service conceded. And Mkwai's "dream come true" was their marriage ceremony conducted by Bishop Patrick Matolengwe at Pollsmoor Prison at the weekend. Mkwai, 64, serving life for helping to organise Umkhonto weSizwe, was taken by speedboat to the mainland. He brought a bunch of orange, pink and white flowers grown by fellow Rivonia trialist Elias Motsaolodi.

Tuxedo and bow-tie

Mkwai wore a tuxedo, dress-shirt and bow-tie and Mrs Mkwai a white suit, yellow shirt and yellow hat. Witnesses were Mrs Mkwai's sister from Durban, Mrs Mavis Ngwane and Pastor Chambers.

No photographs were allowed, not even the Prisons Service photographing the ceremony for Mkwai's file.

After a small reception of cake, samoosas, chicken, tea and coffee, Mkwai was whisked back to the Island with wedding cake, his gold wedding ring and a gift from the Detainees Parents' Support Committee.

A change from last year when Rivonia trialist Raymond Mhlaba was married and not allowed to keep his wedding ring.

Celebrations, however, continued outside the prison with Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Caroline Motsaolodi and Mrs June Mlangeni, whose husbands are all serving life sentences.

The Mkwai's met in Johannesburg in 1964. "I didn't know he was politically involved — I just fell in love with a man," Mrs Mkwai said.



Wives on the outside. Mrs Irene Mkwai and Mrs Winnie Mandela at the Rondebosch Congregational Church hall where one of the Mkwai marriage celebrations was held at the weekend. Picture: GUY TILLIM (Atrapix).

The man who slipped the Rivonia net

WILTON ZAMISILE Mkwai is described by friends, family and acquaintances of the 50s and 60s as a "remarkable man".

And they have several anecdotes to back up this claim.

Often mistaken as a Rivonia trialist because he was involved right up to the arrests at Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia in 1963, Mkwai narrowly escaped being nabbed. He was apparently out organising at the time.

As one of the accused in the Treason Trial, he again narrowly missed being detained in the 1960 State of Emergency.

During a tea break,

Mkwai had left the court building to get coffee. In his absence the other trialists who had not been arrested the previous night were being detained.

Mkwai found a police cordon around the court room. Despite his demands to be let through and his claims that he was one of the accused, the police still refused.

A policeman said to him: "Kaffir, if you don't voetsak, I'm going to arrest you."

Mkwai walked out of the court and into the underground. He travelled throughout South Africa organising for the ANC and also overseas for the South African Congress of

Trade Unions (Sactu).

After undergoing military training, he slipped back into South Africa in 1962 where he operated underground and was sometimes only hours ahead of the police.

He began reorganising Umkhonto weSizwe after the Rivonia Trial and until his arrest in October 1964.

The eldest son of a

senior counsellor in the council of elders of the village of Zikhahleni in Middledrift. In the Ciskei, Mkwai left school in Std 4 to work when his parents died. He worked on the gold mines, in dynamite factories and as a stevedore at the Port Elizabeth docks.

His political activity started with a dock-workers' strike in 1948.

He was also actively involved in the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

He later became secretary of the African Textile Workers' Union and also held executive positions in Sactu.

He was treasurer of the New Brighton branch of the ANC Youth League and was later Cape Volunteer in Chief of the African National Volunteer Corps.

MUKHTAR HIRING SERVICE

The Hiring Specialist in:

WILL MBEKI BE FREED TODAY?

11A
Encl 851
5/11/87

Post Reporter

THE national and international media have been summoned for an important meeting at the offices of the Bureau for Information in Port Elizabeth tonight — and speculation is rife that it could involve the possible release of Govan Mbeki.

The bureau, however, is not making any statement. The meeting is to be held in the bureau's new offices in the old Kolnick's Building.

Mbeki, 77, an ANC leader, who has been imprisoned on Robben Island for the past 23 years.

His attorney, Miss Priscilla Jana, was in Cape Town today and could not be contacted.

Mbeki's wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki, lives at Idutywa, Transkei.

The regional director of the bureau, Mr Carel van der Westhuizen, said today that he had no idea what the meeting, which had been organised by the bureau in Pretoria, was being called for. He was just making his facilities available for the meeting.

Details would only be made available at 5pm today, he said, adding a warning about "raising expectations".

A call to the bureau's Pretoria head office this afternoon also drew a blank.

● Mbeki was sentenced to life imprisonment with Nelson Mandela and other members of the ANC in 1964 for sabotage, but the State President, Mr P W Botha, recently intimated that he could be released on humanitarian grounds.

Brits mum on UDF cold-shoulder

By MONO BADELA

THERE will be no official British response to the United Democratic Front's decision to cut contact with the Thatcher government — until the organisation's "open letter" reaches the Iron Lady of Downing Street.

Plied with requests for comment after the announcement yesterday, the British Embassy in Pretoria would only confirm that the letter had been received.

Embassy press officer Andrew Gibbs told the *Weekly Mail*: "I can't comment at this stage. It would be incorrect for us to respond to an open letter to the Prime Minister when she

has not even seen it."

He added that the copy they had received had not been signed.

In suspending relations with Whitehall, the UDF launched a blistering attack on Mrs Thatcher. "For some time now the oppressed people of South Africa have watched your political antics in the region with some dismay," the UDF's national executive committee wrote.

"However, your recent attack on the African National Congress and the dropping of charges against four apartheid agents engaged in illegal activity on British soil are the last straw."

(11A) WUKKAL OCT 30 - NOV 5 1987

Urgent bid to save man from death row

(1/A)
Some from
5/11/87

LAST-ditch attempts were yesterday made by local and international organisations to save a member of the Azanian National Youth Unity, Mlungisi Lumphondo (21), who is to be hanged on Friday.

Lawyers acting for Lumphondo visited him at the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday to prepare his last appeal.

Lumphondo and two others, Sisa Maqina (21) and Lutando Mdolwane (19), were convicted for the killing of Mr Patrick Jacobs, a Ciskei consul-general and his girl-friend, Ms Alinah Maphatsoe in 1986.

Organisations that have asked the State President, Mr P W Botha, to stay execution include the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the African-Group in the UN, Non-Aligned Movement and the UN Security Council.

The National Forum, the Azanian People's Organisation, the United Democratic Front, the National Council of Trade Unions, the South African Council of Churches and the Azanian National Youth Unity, have also appealed for a reprieve.

Co-ordinator, Mr Lusiba Ntloko, said Lumphondo's hanging "would not deter the oppressed and exploited people's quest for true humanity, justice and freedom."

The president of the UDF, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, has appealed to the State President not to hang Lumphondo.

The president of Azapo, Mr Nkosi Molala, said although his organisation had not sent a message to Mr Botha, they wanted him to stay the execution.

Dr W Kistner, senior director of the SACC, said they have send an urgent message to the State President to stay execution.

Administrator probes possible JEAs in Tvl

CAPE TOWN 5/11/87

Own Correspondent
PRETORIA. — The possibility of establishing four joint executive authorities (JEA) in the Transvaal is being probed.

Transvaal Administrator Mr Willem Cruywagen yesterday said he had written to the Commissioners General of the four self-governing

states pointing out that provision was made in the Provincial Government Act for the establishment of JEAs and asking for their views.

In Durban on Monday, President P W Botha said at the opening of the KwaZulu/Natal JEA that the structure was an experiment that could succeed.

He added that an increasing need for similar ventures existed in the Transvaal and Free State.

Mr Cruywagen said the position in Transvaal differed greatly from that in Natal, where there was only one homeland to deal with.

"Here in Transvaal it is more complicated. We have four self-governing states, and separate JEAs would have to be formed."

Mr Cruywagen said he had had "purely exploratory" discussions on the issue with Lebowa Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi shortly before his death and had also spoken to Chief Minister Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane. — Sapa

MANDELA NEXT?

Mbeki speaks of ANC leader: ^{mbeki 6/11/82} I have no doubt he will be freed soon'

From PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Govan Mbeki, 77, a free man today after nearly a quarter of a century as a prisoner on Robben Island, believes African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will be released soon.

Mr Mandela was one of the last people he saw before being freed yesterday.

At a Press conference here last night at which he reaffirmed his commitment to the ideals of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, he said he was taken from the island to Pollsmoor Prison for a medical check-up yesterday morning.

He spent an hour with Mr Mandela who was in good health and who supported his release. He could not say what they had discussed but he had no doubt Mr Mandela would be released soon.

Quietly-spoken Mr Mbeki, who was sentenced to life imprisonment with Mr Mandela and other members of the ANC in 1964 for sabotage, faced a glare of spotlights as he was ushered into a hotel for the conference.

Dignity

Neatly dressed in a grey suit and white shirt, he looked slightly bewildered by the large contingent of national and international journalists, but he soon settled down.

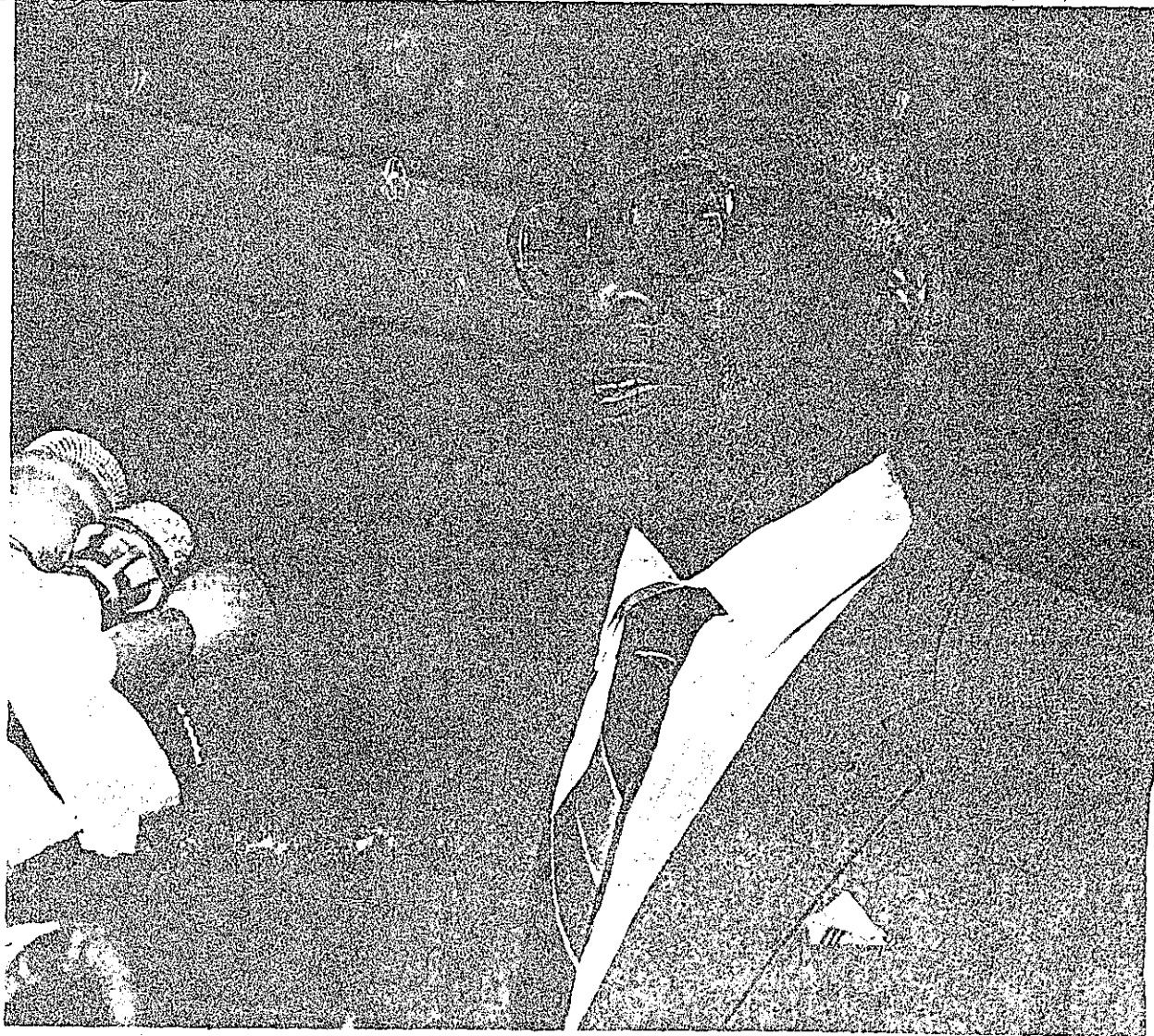
Appearing slightly strained at times, he handled the conference with tremendous dignity for a person who had been in prison for more than 23 years.

There was an emotional scene when he threw his arms around his former secretary, Mrs Nondewe Namkahlha, with whom he has kept in close contact through the years, and a former colleague, journalist Mr Jimmy Matyu.

Mrs Namkahlha, who worked for him when he was a journalist on New Age, said emotionally: "He has not changed. I am so happy to see him again."

Communist

Mrs Namkahlha, who has been detained several times and now works for a hardware store, said she did not care under what conditions he was released as long as he was free.



Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.

FREE AFTER MORE THAN 23 YEARS: Pictured in public for the first time since being jailed in 1964, Mr Govan Mbeki faces the Press at a Port Elizabeth hotel last night.

Mandela next to be freed?

(Continued from page 1)

"international importance" yesterday.

He said the ANC's association with the Communist Party was one of alliance as the Communist Party and the ANC shared similar views. The Communist Party had accepted the ANC programme up to a point.

He viewed his release with mixed feelings. He was happy "in a way" to be back but was concerned about those he had left behind.

Asked why he thought he had been released, he said it was probably out of consideration for his age. The Government had nothing to lose by releasing him. No conditions had been set and he was free to go where he liked.

He would probably be staying in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, and did not intend going to Transkei.

He had no major plans for the future but was concerned about what was happening in South Africa.

VIEWS UNCHANGED

He would be applying for travel documents and hoped to go to Lusaka to see members of the ANC.

After 23 years on Robben Island he firmly believed that "we all belong to South Africa and South Africa to all of us".

"With this as a premise it should not be difficult to find solutions to South Africa's problems."

Asked whether he had changed his views in prison, he said views might become modified but his basic views had not changed.

He said he had not been tortured or beaten while in prison and was relatively well-treated, specially in later years.

Asked for his views on Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who was Prime Minister when he went to jail, he replied: "How can you compare Dr Verwoerd with anybody else?"

FIRST THOUGHTS

He said he had been able to keep abreast of what was happening while in prison through newspapers and did not feel too cut off.

He said the youth should continue fighting the struggle.

Among his first thoughts after his release were how good it was to be able to talk to journalists again.

Mr Cas Venter for the Bureau of Information said that at Mr Mbeki's request the conference would last 20 minutes.

However, after 20 minutes Mr Mbeki said he would continue to answer questions for a few minutes.

He did not recognise the homelands and did not intend to go to Transkei. He hoped to see his wife, who lived in Transkei, as soon as possible.

Asked whether he was surprised by his release, he said there came a stage when those in authority had to consider releasing people.

FEET FIRST

In 1964, when he was sentenced to life imprisonment, he was told by a warder the only way he would leave prison was feet first.

Did he see his release as a step towards a solution to the country's problems?

"I would not say so. The solution cannot depend on one man. It is a question of negotiation."

He could not support the National Statutory Council and felt that while the Government was operating along certain lines, a solution was not within reach.

Asked what the Government would gain by releasing him, he replied: "What would they not gain by it?"

The Government would gain a better image by releasing him so that he could play his part for the benefit of the people.

● Other prisoners released included Walter Tshikila and Thomas Masuku, ANC members jailed 10 years ago for the murder of a policeman, and Mike Matsobane and John Nkosi, members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Also released were Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik Jacobz, who in 1983 were convicted of terrorism for stockpiling arms and allegedly plotting to kill black leaders.

Appearing slightly at times, he handled the conference with tremendous dignity for a person who had been in prison for more than 23 years.

There was an emotional scene when he threw his arms around his former secretary, Mrs Nondwe Namkahlala, with whom he has kept in close contact through the press and a former colleague, journalist Mr Jimmy Matyu.

Mrs Namkahlala, who worked for him when he was a journalist on *New Age*, said emotionally: "He has not changed. I am so happy to see him again."

Communist

Mrs Namkahlala, who has been detained several times and now works for a hardware store, said she did not care under what conditions he was released as long as he was free.

The journalists were told by spokesmen for the Bureau for Information that as Mr Mbeki was a listed communist only what he said at the Press conference could be quoted.

Special dispensation had been granted for the conference after which he was once again silenced.

Mr Mbeki said he was in good health but had problems with his eyes. He had had excellent medical treatment.

On the question of violence, he refused to say either that he supported violence or was against it. He said violence came about as a result of force against force.

"I cannot give you a direct answer. It is something that is determined by circumstances and conditions."

Calling for the unbanning of the ANC, he said no solution could be found to South Africa's problems without the co-operation of the ANC.

"Negotiations with the ANC are desirable. No solution can be arrived at by keeping the ANC out."

"I still stand for the ideals for which I went to jail and still hold my Marxist views," he told journalists who had rushed to Port Elizabeth from around the country when the Bureau for Information announced a Press conference of

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

FREE AFTER MORE THAN 23 YEARS:
1964, Mr Govan Mbeki face

On his first day of freedom

1960
6/18/7
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From PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Scores of journalists, including foreign television crews, gathered early today at the hotel where Mr Govan Mbeki spent his first night of freedom.

The foyer of the Holiday Inn resembled an international airport as they waited for a glimpse of the 77-year-old former chairman of the African National Congress.

But, they were unlucky. Mr Mbeki remained in his room and his attorney, Miss Priscilla Jana, said he was not granting interviews.

FLAT FOUND

A delegation from the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Association led by the Rev Mcebisi Xundu arrived about 9am.

Later, the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Right Rev Bruce Evans, joined them and they went Mr Mbeki's room.

Mr Xundu said a flat had been found for Mr Mbeki in New Brighton. The rent would be paid by the Dependant's Conference of the South African Council of Churches.

Miss Jana said he would not visit New Brighton today.

She said Mr Mbeki's wife and family were travelling to Port Elizabeth from Transkei and there would be a photographic session, but no questions would be allowed.

ONE TIMES
6/11/87

Activists 'called SA's sports bluff'

HARARE. — World anti-apartheid activists had called South Africa's bluff and proved they were ready for any confrontation forced by breaches of the sports boycott, the president of the South African Non Racial Olympic Committee, Mr Sam Ramsamy, said yesterday.

Addressing the first conference here on apartheid and sport, Mr Ramsamy, accused South Africa of wanting to see international events disrupted.

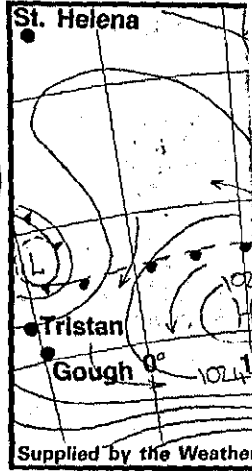
But the boycott of last year's Commonwealth Games had shown how serious the opponents of apartheid were.

Mr Ramsamy claimed South African embassies were in the forefront of the country's attempts to gain a foothold in international sport, through the secret appointment of special "sports liaison" diplomats.

The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, called on all national and international sports bodies to strengthen the Organization of African Unity and United Nations endeavours to eliminate apartheid in sports.

The finance secretary of Sacos, Mr Krish Mackerdhuj, said inequalities, brutalities and atrocities in sport in South Africa must be highlighted to expose the cosmetic nature of the so-called reforms in that country.

In an interview he said his delegation had had few chances of coming out of South Africa to tell the world what sport under apartheid was like.



Fine a

CAPE PENINSULA and vicinity and Western Cape Coast

Belt: Fine and cool but cloudy in the Overberg with light rain clearing later. Wind fresh to strong southerly becoming gale force south-easterly and moderating over the Boland. The minimum and maximum temperature will be between 13 and 22 deg C.

Coastal belt Cape Infanta to Plettenberg Bay: Cloudy and cool with light rain clearing partially.

Coastal belt Plettenberg Bay to Port Alfred: Cloudy and cool with light rain.

Namaqualand and the South-Western Cape Interior: Cloudy and cool.

Pretoria, Witwatersrand and the Eastern Highveld: Partly cloudy and hot with scattered thundershowers.

Transvaal: Partly cloudy and hot with scattered thundershowers.

Free State: Partly cloudy and hot with scattered thundershowers.

Natal: Partly cloudy and warm with rain later.

Namibia: Partly cloudy and hot with scattered thundershowers.

Botswana: Partly cloudy and very hot with isolated thundershowers.

YESTERDAY'S READINGS

	noon	8pm
Barometer	1023.2	1023.8
Humidity	63.0	69.0
Temperature	18.8	15.1
	max 19.7	min 12.3
(At DF Malan 24 hours to 8pm)		
Hours of sunshine: 11.8		

telev

TV schedules, supplied by the SABC

- 6.00-8.00: Good morning SA
- 3.27: Programme schedules
- 3.30: Take a break
- 4.00: The Raccoons

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ARGUS 26/11/87

11/11

Army moves into Natal townships

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Defence Force armoured vehicles have rolled into the strife-torn Maritzburg townships for the first time in a move to strengthen the security force presence there.

Captain Pieter Kitching, police liaison officer for the region, confirmed that the army and police had formed a joint security force to maintain law and order.

More than 140 people have died in the region this year in the conflict involving members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front/Congress of South African Trade Unions grouping.

Many unaligned individuals have also been murdered or injured, with the death toll climbing rapidly in the past two months, during which about 80 people have lost their lives.

Captain Kitching said yesterday that the three deaths reported in the day's report on unrest were not exceptional and that the average daily death toll was still about three.

A week ago the police reaction unit in the area was enlarged. Captain Kitching declined to say how many policemen were being deployed but said that police from Kwa-zulu were also operating.

Among the latest victims was a 16-year-old boy stabbed to death in Ashdown township on Wednesday.

In another incident police dispersed a crowd with teargas and subsequently found the body of a man who had been stabbed to death.

Another group stabbed a 30-year-old man to death after stoning his home.

And in a separate attack a 17-year-old youth was seriously wounded after he was stabbed by a group of youths.

● Meanwhile, leaders of the UDF and Inkatha in three townships — Mpumalanga, Kwandengezi and Kwamakutha — will continue their peace talks at a private venue in Durban on November 22.

My years in the cells with Mbeki

● FROM PAGE 1

Zizi never used an iron. To press his clothes he used the old "sleep-on" method of prisoners — he would place the clothes to be ironed under the mattress and sleep on them for the night.

Like Mandela he did not completely escape the demands of old age. He developed the strange habit of switching off the lights in the corridors and cells whenever he saw one burning.

On cloudy days and when there was not enough sunlight coming into the cells and passages, he would walk past and switch off the lights. Immediately he would say "Sorry, comrade."

Although most people attributed this habit to old age, we were told that in the early Sixties when he arrived, the authorities insisted all lights be turned off by a certain time during the night and never turned on during the day. Since inmates refused to be ordered around, Mbeki was assigned the job by his colleagues of turning them off.

Older inmates were exempted from the work spans assigned democratically by inmates. His daily task was to clean the cell windows opening onto the corridor — he used a cloth and water — and to polish door handles and light fittings in the corridor, taps in the bathroom section, any chrome and brass fittings in the dining hall.

He had trouble with his vision. Ten years ago the authorities began sending him to specialists in Cape Town, who prescribed eye drops. Later in the Eighties as his sight began to blur specialists diagnosed glaucoma, and in 1983 his eyes were operated on. Two years later, his left eye developed a cataract and an artificial lens was implanted. At the time of my release in March, Mbeki was using eye drops again.

He respected young and old and everyone was his equal whenever the South African struggle was debated.

He was among the inmates who celebrated my farewell from prison with an elaborate (by prison standards) lunch, catered by my colleagues. It is a tradition when prisoners are released.

I could not hold back my tears when we said goodbye at 4 am on the morning of my release. He reached his hand through the window of his locked cell and said "Hamba kakahle, comrade." (Farewell, comrade.)

It was unbearable to leave him behind. He had been in jail more than three times as long as I had.

Mbeki avoided going to church, but one day he received a beautiful, expensive leather-bound Bible from a relative. It was placed on his table when he called me to his cell shortly before my release.

I had thought we were going to analyse the phrase "Blessed are the poor for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven."

Instead, he wanted to know what to do with the Bible, which had been sent to him in good faith.

This time, I was able to offer advice to the man who had advised so many of us. I advised him to keep it and give it to the Christians in prison.

MY YEARS ON ROBBERN ISLAND WITH MBEKI

(TIA) (S) 6-12-1988 By Thami Mkhwanazi

GOVAN MBEKI always did his laundry on Monday — because that was the day films were screened in B-Section on Robben Island.

He never went to film shows. Western-produced films were products of capitalism and therefore promoted the "economic exploitation of man by man".

Even after the introduction of television on the Island last December, Mbeki would sit through the news readings but nothing else.

B-Section, which housed the Rivonia stalwarts, was forbidden to inmates in other parts of the prison. Those of us in A-Section had to be content with letters smuggled into our section.

In the letters I received from Govan Mbeki he was interested in the way South Africa's economic cake was divided and asked about the press and any gains made by the ANC military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, as well as what influence MK had on the masses.

Journalist THAMI MKHWANAZI spent nearly half of his seven year sentence on Robben Island, much of the time in the same section as Govan Mbeki. Here he describes life with the man the prisoners knew as 'Zizi'

We were allowed to meet him officially when inmates of A-Section were permitted to mix with those of B-Section on a trial basis.

But long before, walking past B-Section, I often stood to peep through a small hole at Mbeki — known by his clan name of Zizi — and others strolling in the section's courtyard.

Tall, slim and grey-haired, Zizi walked alone, and away from the others.

I thought he was unique. And indeed he was. He was viewed as being on the more socialist wing of the ANC. He had been an activist since the age of 20, during the time the then National Party leader Hertzog was striving to remove the franchise from the Africans.

It was a time, he said, when his confidence in the church was undermined, because the church did nothing to intervene.

After I was permanently transferred to B-Section in June 1982, I finally was able to learn more of this remarkable man.

Like Mandela, Zizi was neat — so neat he kept carefully folded small pieces of toilet paper placed on his table to wipe off anything that resembled dirt on the table or his utensils.

The soft-spoken Zizi spoke very little and yet said so much. As a man holding a BA Honours degree in economics, he was interested mainly in that subject.

Like Mandela, he was consulted for information required for the purpose of political education among inmates



Thami Mkhwanazi

in the Freedom Charter camp. He respected young and old, and everyone was his equal when the South African struggle was debated.

From time to time inmates also had to contend with personal problems, and Zizi would be assigned by the B-Section committee, composed of fellow inmates, to help them. During meetings in which a problem with the

authorities was being discussed, Zizi would say very little, but his views invariably carried weight.

He was generous with more than advice. At a time when I was ill and had been prescribed a special ulcer diet which was not being supplied, Mbeki sacrificed his own meal — he was on the identical diet — and gave it to me.

He distanced himself from members of the Prisons Service and spoke only when it was necessary.

He was notorious from the state's point of view for what they considered his uncompromising communist leanings. Yet at weekends the same Mbeki would strum his guitar and play Afrikaans folk songs like "Hasie, hoekom is jou stert so kort ..." and "Jan pierewiet staan stil ... goeie more my vrou, goeie more my man ... daar is koffie in die kan".

Although inmates were allowed to buy and use irons for their laundry,

● TO PAGE 2

Weeks of speculation
end as Rivonia man
is finally released

11A
WMMML
6-12 NOV 1987

FREED MBEKI SPEAKS



“I wouldn't say my release is a step towards a solution; a solution is not found with one man”

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

Weekly Mail Reporters

AFRICAN National Congress leader Govan Mbeki was freed last night after 23 years in prison — and immediately reaffirmed his dedication to the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

“The ideas for which I went to jail and which the ANC stands for I still embrace. I am still an ANC member.

“I am still a member of the Communist Party. I still embrace Marxist views,” he said.

Mbeki was one of seven prisoners released yesterday before ending their sentences, including PAC member John Nkosi, who was also serving a life sentence.

The 77-year-old Mbeki, the first major ANC leader released unconditionally while serving a life sentence, spoke shakily and uncertainly at

The prisoners who were released

ALSO released with Mbeki:

● John Kosi of Atteridgeville, Pretoria. Served 24 years of a life sentence (PAC)

● Michael Matsobane of Krugersdorp. Served 8 years of a 15-year term (PAC)

● Zifozone Tshikila of East Lon-

don. Served 8 years of a 15-year sentence (PAC)

● Tom Masuku of Pretoria. Served nine years of a 20-year term (ANC)

● Jacob Viljoen. Served four years of a 15-year sentence (AWB)

● Hendrik Jacobsz. Served four years of a 15-year term (AWB)

a press conference organised by the Bureau for Information.

The grey-haired, slightly balding grandfatherly figure said he was “happy to be back”, though he was concerned about his prison

“comrades”.

But, he added, he was confident they would soon be released.

“I wouldn't say my release is a step towards a solution; a solution is not found with one

man. No solution can be arrived at by keeping the ANC out,” he said.

Mbeki, who was imprisoned for his membership of the high command of Umkhonto we-Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, said there was still a need for MK.

“As long as the ANC sees fit for it to be there, it would be there.”

Asked about the UDF, he said it was “a good thing”.

He had no definite plans. He was due to spend the night in the Holiday Inn and would then take up residence in the nearby New Brighton township.

He was keen to see his exiled sons and to collect an honorary degree he had been awarded in Amsterdam. He would be applying for

● To PAGE 3

P.T.O

Rivonia man Mbeki walks free after 24 years in prison

11A
6-12-87

travel documents.

Bureau for Information representative, Caspar Venter, cut the press conference short. He also told journalists that special permission had been granted for the conference to be reported, though Mbeki would now be "listed".

The African National Congress immediately issued a statement demanding that Mbeki be allowed "to speak to the people".

In a statement released in Lusaka last night, the ANC said Mbeki's release would "significantly enrich and augment the leadership of the democratic forces as a whole".

The ANC said it would now step up the campaign for the release of other political prisoners.

And family members in exile — including his two sons who have not seen or spoken to their father for over two decades — gave emotional accounts of their feelings on their father's release.

One son, ANC national executive committee member Thabo, is listed and cannot be quoted.

The other, Zimbabwean-based journalist Moeletsi, said yesterday he was both "thrilled" and "apprehensive" about the release of his father, whom he last saw when a young teenager in about 1961.

"This is victory. Botha and his government have been forced to release my father — first and foremost by the fact that they completely failed to destroy his spirit.

"He has come out of prison more firmly resolved than when he started out in politics in the 1930s.

"As a victory, I am happy and excited. But we haven't solved the problem that led him to politics. And that is where my apprehension and foreboding come from."

He said he was looking forward to seeing his father, but "I won't be asking permission from the regime to go to South Africa to see my father. How do you ask permission to go to your own home?" he said.

©From PAGE 1

The ANC statement said the campaign to free South African political prisoners had scored an important victory.

But, said the ANC, "we are acutely aware that his release in a real sense also means a change of address from the confines of Robben Island into the prison house of South Africa".

John Nkosi, also released yesterday, was a PAC member who has served 24 years of a life sentence. Also released were two other PAC members, one ANC member and two members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB members had served just four years of 15-year sentences. They are J D Viljoen and J G Jacobsz.

The others released were Michael Matsobane, Zifozonke Thsikila, both PAC members who had served eight years of 15-year sentences, and Tom Masuku, an ANC member who has served nine years of a 20-year sentence.

Mbeki's release comes after months of wrangling between his lawyers and the government since PW Botha announced on August 13 that he had asked the prison Advisory Release Board to look into his case.

It is also the culmination of a step-by-step backdown by the government in its bid to impose conditions on the release of political prisoners serving life terms.

Gradually, through three major statements on political prisoners, Botha has dropped most of the conditions he attached to their release.

Many observers will see these releases as a step along the road to the possible freeing of South Africa's best-known political prisoner, ANC leader Nelson Mandela — a view that will be strengthened by a throwaway remark by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee in his announcement of yesterday's releases: "The release policy ... will be applied in the usual manner as a continuous process".

The six released: A diverse sweep from left to right

THE BIG PRISONER RELEASE

By JO-ANN BEKKER
THE six political prisoners released with Govan Mbeki yesterday hail from political organisations as diverse as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. Lawyers and friends of the freed men — who served sentences ranging from four years in the case of the AWB prisoners, to 24 years for a PAC lifer-prisoner — said news of their release had come as a surprise. John Kosi, 46, had recently instructed lawyers to investigate exactly what his life imprisonment sentence meant, according to his Pretoria attorney.

Mbeki in the 50s: Perhaps the crucial E Cape figure

By SHAUN JOHNSON
THE name of Govan Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki, an ageing, greying man on an island prison, may not be as instantly recognisable to the world as that of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. But the struggle has also, quite literally, been his life. Mbeki is one of the African National Congress' pivotal leaders. He has lived through — and deeply influenced — the fluctuating fortunes of that movement.

In the 1940s, as a member of the ANC Youth League, he played a central role in injecting the Congress with a note of urgency and confrontationism. In the 1950s he was the ANC in Port Elizabeth, inculcating a level of militancy among resistance organisations which is still reflected in the South Africa of the 1980s.

And while Mbeki may never have been an international symbol, he has certainly remained a potent cynosure for the black youth of South Africa — the myriad parks and schools named in his honour during 1984-86 bear graphic testimony to this.

Born in 1910 in Transkei's Nqamakwe district, the son of a chief, Mbeki attended mission schools and worked as a messenger and newsboy before entering (then-independent) Fort Hare University on a bursary from the Transkei Bunga. He completed his BA in 1937.

While a student he rapidly became politicised, rising to prominence in the ANC Youth League and embracing socialist ideas. He worked as a schoolteacher for several years after graduating, eventually being dismissed by the educational authorities for his forthright political views.

He gained a BEcon in social studies in 1940 through the University of South Africa. Following his dismissal

a conspiracy to overthrow the South African government. His parents still live in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. Nkosi, who was held on Robben Island, refused President PW Botha's offer two years ago to free prisoners who renounced violence.

Two PAC men were among the three political prisoners who received remission of sentence yesterday. They are Michael Matsobane and Zifozonke Tshikila. The third was African National Congress guerrilla Tom Masuku.

Matsobane was among 18 accused who stood trial in Bethal from 1977 to 1979. He was in his mid-30s at the time.

They were charged with involvement in a PAC conspiracy to overthrow the government, with furthering the aims of the PAC, and with

promoting the 1976 uprising.

One trialist was acquitted and one received a suspended sentence. The remaining 16 were sent to Robben Island with sentences varying from five to 30 years. Matsobane received a 15-year sentence.

At the time of his arrest he was head of the Young Africans Christian Movement. He was found guilty of carrying out military training at his home, producing home-made bombs, and causing damage to a clothing outlet in Krugersdorp.

Mwasa general secretary Sthembele Ikhalha — a fellow-accused — recalls that the judge said Matsobane had "corrupted the minds of the youth and bedevilled race relations in this country".

While on Robben Island, Matsobane studied for a B Proc degree.

Ikhalha described Matsobane as "an inspiration to young fellows like myself. He never lost hope of things changing in this country. He had the belief that whatever happens to him, the ideas he lived for and was prepared to die for would continue."

Matsobane had previously served a five-year prison sentence. His wife and two children live in Kagiso.

Tshikila, believed to be in his late 50s, was tried with three others for furthering the aims of the PAC and recruiting people for military training. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in 1979. He comes from East London.

Masuku, who left the country in the middle of the 1976 uprising, was sentenced in 1978 to 20 years' imprisonment for ANC activities. He was convicted of having undergone military training in Angola and elsewhere. He hails from Mamelodi, Pretoria.

The two AWB men granted special remission are Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik Jacobsz. They were each convicted of terrorism under the Internal Security Act and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in June 1983. They were refused right to appeal against their conviction.

According to the Survey of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the two — who resigned from the AWB in May 1983 — had been charged with planning to overthrow the government.

The court found that they intended to sabotage multi-racial hotels and the President's Council offices in Cape Town. They also planned to assassinate certain black politicians.

Viljoen and Jacobsz were both former policemen. The court found they had collected 60kg of explosives, arms and ammunition to carry out their aims.



Govan Mbeki's wife Epainette: lots to laugh about

Govan Mbeki's son Thabo

as a teacher, Mbeki had a spell as owner/manager of a co-operative store in Idutywa in the Transkei. But his overarching — and interlocking — passions for politics and journalism proved irresistible.

Through the Transkeian Organised Bodies, he had led a boycott of elections for what were called "Native Representatives" in 1936. He edited the *Territorial Magazine* from 1938 to 1944, and in 1939 wrote a book, *The Transkei in the Making*. In 1941 he became secretary of the Transkei African Voters' Association, and was elected to the Transkei Bunga as Idutywa's representative in 1943.

He was a member of the drafting committee of the ANC's famous 1944 document, *African Claims*.

In the early 1950s Mbeki's store was destroyed by a tornado, prompting him to try teaching for a second time. Political activity — this time an attempt to organise coal workers in Ladysmith — led to another dismissal. When he moved to Port Elizabeth

in 1955, all other pursuits gave way to politics.

As Port Elizabeth editor of the influential left-wing newspaper *New Age*, Mbeki became probably the most important political figure in the Eastern Cape. Combining journalism and activism, he turned the newspaper office into an ANC nerve centre. Port Elizabeth became one of the few areas in which resistance organisation was sufficiently entrenched for the "M-Plan" to be introduced.

Mbeki was an influential planner of the Congress of the People in 1955. In the following year, he became national chairman of the ANC. Despite subsequent restriction orders, his political activity continued. During South Africa's first State of Emergency, in 1960, he spent five months in detention.

In 1961 he joined the Communist Party of South Africa. In October 1962, he was a key delegate at the ANC's conference held in Lobatse, Bechuanaland (now Botswana). He was arrested in the same year, and charged under the Explosives Act. After a spell in solitary confinement, he was brought to trial and acquitted on a technicality, after which he was placed under house arrest.

Mbeki chose to go underground, joining the ANC's newly-formed military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. Less than a year later he was arrested — along with the rump of the ANC High Command — in the "Operation Mayibuye" raid on Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia.

After his conviction in 1964 on charges of sabotage and his sentencing to life imprisonment, Mbeki was sent to Robben Island — where he was incarcerated until his release yesterday. While in prison he completed a BA Honours degree in Economics. In 1977 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in social sciences by the University of Amsterdam, in recognition of his authoritative book *The Peasants Revolt*.

Mbeki's wife, Epainette, still lives in Idutywa. He has three sons and a daughter — one son, Thabo, is a prominent figure in the movement with which his father's name is inextricably linked.

Rivonia man Mbeki walks free after 24 years in prison

travel documents.

Bureau for Information representative, Caspar Venter, cut the press conference short. He also told journalists that special permission had been granted for the conference to be reported, though Mbeki would now be "listed".

The African National Congress immediately issued a statement demanding that Mbeki be allowed "to speak to the people".

In a statement released in Lusaka last night, the ANC said Mbeki's release would "significantly enrich and augment the leadership of the democratic forces as a whole".

The ANC said it would now step up the campaign for the release of other political prisoners.

And family members in exile — including his two sons who have not seen or spoken to their father for over two decades — gave emotional accounts of their feelings on their father's release.

One son, ANC national executive committee member Thabo, is listed and cannot be quoted.

The other, Zimbabwean-based journalist Moeletsi, said yesterday he was both "thrilled" and "apprehensive" about the release of his father, whom he last saw when a young teenager in about 1961.

"This is victory. Botha and his government have been forced to release my father — first and foremost by the fact that they completely failed to destroy his spirit.

"He has come out of prison more firmly resolved than when he started out in politics in the 1930s.

"As a victory, I am happy and excited. But we haven't solved the problem that led him to politics. And that is where my apprehension and foreboding come from."

He said he was looking forward to seeing his father, but "I won't be asking permission from the regime to go to South Africa to see my father. How do you ask permission to go to your own home?" he said.

From PAGE 1

The ANC statement said the campaign to free South African political prisoners had scored an important victory.

But, said the ANC, "we are acutely aware that his release in a real sense also means a change of address from the confines of Robben Island into the prison house of South Africa".

John Nkosi, also released yesterday, was a PAC member who has served 24 years of a life sentence. Also released were two other PAC members, one ANC member and two members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB members had served just four years of 15-year sentences. They are J D Viljoen and J G Jacobsz.

The others released were Michael Matsobane, Zifozonke Tshikila, both PAC members who had served eight years of 15-year sentences, and Tom Masuku, an ANC member who has served nine years of a 20-year sentence.

Mbeki's release comes after months of wrangling between his lawyers and the government since PW Botha announced on August 13 that he had asked the prison Advisory Release Board to look into his case.

It is also the culmination of a step-by-step backdown by the government in its bid to impose conditions on the release of political prisoners serving life terms.

Gradually, through three major statements on political prisoners, Botha has dropped most of the conditions he attached to their release.

Many observers will see these releases as a step along the road to the possible freeing of South Africa's best-known political prisoner, ANC leader Nelson Mandela — a view that will be strengthened by a throwaway remark by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee in his announcement of yesterday's releases: "The release policy ... will be applied in the usual manner as a continuous process."

The Island's man of peace

If there was a single political prisoner in South Africa to whom unity between the ANC and the PAC could possibly be attributed, it was John Nkosi.

The only PAC prisoner in B-Section at the time of my release from prison in March this year, Nkosi breathed peace throughout my stay on the Island.

Soft-natured Johnnie — as he was affectionately called by inmates — participated in almost every committee whose task was to promote peace and unity among prisoners in the section.

I once served with him on the welfare committee of B-section. The duty of this committee was to organise birthday, welcoming and farewell parties.

The committee, which was democratically elected every year, kept a record of everyone's birthday so that celebrations could be planned.

It also arranged parties to welcome back any inmate who had been hospitalised for a long time in a private or provincial hospital, and organised tea

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

parties every Saturday morning in order to inspire a community spirit in the section.

Johnnie only used to receive visits once a year, during the festive season, from his aged mother. Prior to my release I asked him whether I should encourage his relatives and others people to visit him frequently, but he declined the offer.

He was only 21 when he was sentenced in 1963, together with other PAC cadres including Masemola, his former schoolteacher during his primary school days in Atteridgeville.

Spending his free time in his cell — No 5 — Nkosi read extensively for a BSc degree. When I was released, he had not yet completed the work for his degree.

He is one of two PAC lifers who rejected Botha's "forswear violence" offer of release. He vowed he would not accept such a conditional offer. He believed he and another PAC lifer, Jeff Masemola, would be released unconditionally one day.

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6-12-1987

Govan Mbeki

Plan to set up PE home

PORT ELIZABETH — Transkei-born Mr Govan Mbeki, freed yesterday after 23 years in prison, told a press conference here that he intended to remain and settle in Port Elizabeth as soon as a house could be obtained in New Brighton.

Mr Mbeki's family had an urgent meeting at his home in Ngcingwana administrative area, Idutywa, last night.

Mr Zizi Mbeki of Butterworth, a nephew of Mr Mbeki, who is the family's spokesman, said the urgent meeting had been called by Govan's wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki.

What the family dis-

cussed last night would only be known today.

Mrs Mbeki who had been running a small shop at her house in Idutywa is now selling jerseys for a living.

Linda is the couple's only child still living with her mother in Transkei. The couple's sons Thabo, Goduka and Jama live in exile.

Asked how she felt about the release of her father, Linda said: "The only person who can comment is my mother."

Mr Zizi Mbeki refused to comment saying he was still awaiting instructions from Mrs Mbeki. — DDC-Sapa.

PORT ELIZABETH

— The ANC veteran, Mr Govan Mbeki, walked free yesterday after 23 years on Robben Island and declared: "The ideas for which I went to jail and for which the ANC stands, I still embrace".

Mr Mbeki, 77, was one of seven ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and former Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members freed yesterday in terms of a new dispensation for political prisoners announced by President P. W. Botha in August.

Mr Mbeki, formerly national chairman of the ANC, was jailed for life in 1964 for his role in the Rivonia conspiracy to overthrow the State.

The others freed are: an ANC member, Mr John Nkosi, who was sent to jail in 1963; PAC members Mr Walter Tshikila, jailed in 1977 for 13 years, Mr V. Masuku and Mr Michael Matsobane who were jailed in 1979; and former AWB members Mr Frank Jacobs who were sentenced to 15 years for terrorism in 1983.

There were scenes of jubilation when Mr Mbeki arrived at a Port Elizabeth hotel for a press conference yesterday evening.

Mr Mbeki was hugged by his one time secretary in the ANC and New Age offices, Miss Nondwe Mankahla, and Mr Jimmy Maityu, a journalist and ANC associate at the time.

"You are still hefty, man" Mr Maityu said while Miss Mankahla clung to the old ANC leader.

Mr Mbeki nodded and smiled as scores of camera flashes and TV lights followed the threesome to a small rostrum prepared for a brief press conference.

Mr Mbeki looked healthy, his hair quite white, and gave the almost caricature appearance of the venerable old gentleman in a grey flannel suit.



Mr Govan Mbeki at his press conference in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

found in South Africa.

"I would expect that negotiations with the ANC are desirable as no solution in this country can be arrived at by keeping it out."

He did not believe any responsible government would allow people to remain indefinitely in jail for their ideas.

He said he had spoken to Mr Mandela yesterday morning after he was brought from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison for a medical check up.

"He is fit and healthy," he said.

"I can't say what Mr Mandela and I discussed but it was good things.

"It is with mixed feelings that one is here and I am happy in a way that I am back," he said.

A VIP welcome for wrong man

CAPE TOWN — A crowd of hospital patients, Mr John Gqabothu, received a VIP welcome at Port Elizabeth's H. F. Verwoed airport yesterday when members of the Press photographed him, believing him to be Mr Govan Mbeki.

Mr Mbeki, a member of the ANC, was released from Robben Island yesterday after serving a 23-year jail term for sabotage.

A tip-off that Mr Mbeki would be on a flight from Cape Town arriving in Port Elizabeth at 4 pm sent newspaper reporters rushing to the airport to meet him.

When the only black passenger wearing a white scarf around his head emerged from the plane, photographers took numerous pictures of him, thinking he was Mr Mbeki.

Mr Gqabothu's slight build resembled that of a man who had been behind bars for years.

Mr Gqabothu said he was surprised by the welcome he had received. — DDC

freed

	W.D.	AMND	INCR	W.D.	INCR	AMND	INCR	INCR			
	12/72	1/78	1/79	6/81	6/82	10/83	7/84	4/85			
Clerk											
	29.54	46.15	48.46	55.20	62.56	71.30	77.74	84.64			
	49.40	62.62	58.95	48.76	47.61	46.66	46.55	45.17			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +186.5%									Real -17.4%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 40.81
Clerical Asst											
	0.00	0.00	0.00	29.20	34.50	39.56	43.70	47.84			
	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.80	26.26	25.89	26.17	25.53			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +0.0%										Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 23.07
Countersalesman											
	0.00	0.00	0.00	55.20	62.56	71.30	77.74	84.64			
	0.00	0.00	0.00	48.76	47.61	46.66	46.55	45.17			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +0.0%										Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 40.81
Drvr W/in L MV											
	9.43	16.79	18.63	28.06	31.74	36.34	39.50	47.77			
	15.77	22.78	22.66	24.79	24.16	23.78	23.78	23.78			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change										Wage at 12/85: R 20.63
Drvr W/in M MV											
	11.98	21.39	24.15	32.66	36.80	42.3					
	20.03	29.02	29.38	28.85	28.01	27.7					
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change										Wage at 12/85: R 24.18
Drvr W/in H MV											
	11.98	21.39	24.15	36.80	41.86	48.3					
	20.03	29.02	29.38	32.51	31.86	31.1					
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change										Wage at 12/85: R 27.50
Drvr W/in XH MV											
	11.98	21.39	24.15	42.78	48.76	55.1					
	20.03	29.02	29.38	37.79	37.11	36.1					
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change										Wage at 12/85: R 31.72
Drvr W/out L MV											
	14.95	24.38	26.45	28.52	32.66	37.1					
	25.00	33.08	32.18	25.19	24.86	24.1					
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Chang										Wage at 12/85: R 22.18
Drvr W/out M MV											
	17.25	29.44	31.51	36.80	41.86	48.1					
	28.85	39.95	38.33	32.51	31.86	31.1					
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Chang										Wage at 12/85: R 27.50
Drvr W/out H MV											
	21.16	34.27	36.34	42.78	48.76	55.1					
	35.38	46.50	44.21	37.79	37.11	36.1					
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +256.5%									Real +2.8%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 36.37
Dvr W/out XH MV											
	21.16	34.27	36.34	49.22	56.12	64.40	69.72	75.44			
	35.38	46.50	44.21	43.48	42.71	42.15	41.75	40.26			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +256.5%									Real +2.8%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 36.37
First Aid Attdt											
	12.42	19.78	21.62	32.66	36.80	42.32	46.00	50.14			
	20.77	26.84	26.30	28.85	28.01	27.70	27.54	26.76			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +303.7%									Real +16.4%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 24.18
Foreman											
	45.00	67.16	70.61	74.06	84.18	96.60	105.34	114.08			
	75.25	91.13	85.90	65.42	64.06	63.22	63.08	60.88			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +133.5%									Real -26.9%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 55.00
Hostel Manager											
	38.00	58.19	61.18	74.06	84.18	96.60	105.34	114.08			
	63.55	78.96	74.43	65.42	64.06	63.22	63.08	60.88			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +200.2%									Real -13.4%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 55.00
Hostel Overseer											
	10.12	17.48	19.32	32.66	36.80	42.32	46.00	50.14			
	16.92	23.72	23.50	28.85	28.01	27.70	27.54	26.76			
	Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +395.5%									Real +42.9%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 24.18

The government temporarily lifted the restriction on Mr Mbeki being quoted.

A Bureau for Information spokesman warned journalists that although the press conference was being allowed, quoting Mr Mbeki afterwards would fall under the restrictions applying to a listed communist.

Mr Mbeki said that as far as he was concerned no conditions had been attached to his release and that he was unaware there would be restrictions on him being quoted.

He said he was still a member of both the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"I am still a Communist Party member and I still embrace Marxist views," he said.

He said the ANC should be unbanned if solutions were to be

He was concerned, however, for Mr Mandela's continued imprisonment, "but I am confident that in the course of time, he will also be out under the same conditions".

Asked about these conditions he said that "conditions" was not the correct word to use.

"No conditions have really been set for me. What I have in mind are the factors which had to be taken into consideration for my release and the same will have to apply to him."

The State President had for instance mentioned old age. Had he been surprised at being released?

"I think at some stage those in authority must consider releasing people," he replied. — DDC-Sapa.

More reports page 3

Wage at 12/85: R 20.63

Wage at 12/85: R 24.18

Wage at 12/85: R 27.50

Wage at 12/85: R 31.72

Wage at 12/85: R 22.18

Wage at 12/85: R 27.50

Wage at 12/85: R 31.72

(11A) 6/11/87
B/day

Mbeki — an ANC activist for 52 years

GOVAN Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki, the ANC leader released from prison last night, was one of eight ANC members — including Nelson Mandela — who received life sentences at the 1964 "Rivonia" sabotage trial. Mbeki, 77, is a former national chairman of the banned ANC.

The only white man convicted at the Rivonia trial, Dennis Goldberg, was freed in 1985 and has since moved to London. Mbeki is the first of the seven black defendants to be released.

The first public sign that Mbeki might be freed came on August 13 this year, when President P W Botha said he had told Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to consider Mbeki's case.

In the same speech, Botha said the cases of imprisoned black leaders would be given periodic consideration based on reports of government advisory bodies.

Botha also indicated that decisions to release jailed ANC leaders would no longer depend solely on whether they renounced violence, government's long-standing condition for freeing Mandela.

Influenced

Mbeki was born in 1910 in the Nqamakwe district of the Transkei, the son of a chief. After attending mission schools he received a bursary from the Transkeian Bunga to study at Ford Hare. He obtained his BA in 1937 and completed a diploma in education.

He joined the ANC in 1935 while still a student, and was influenced by Edward Roux, an SA Communist Party leader, and Max Yergan, a black American, who was at one time a communist.

Mbeki taught at various schools, including Clarkebury Institute and Adams College, but was dismissed for political activity. He then ran a co-operative trading store in Idutywa and was editor of the Territorial Magazine from 1938-44.

He obtained his B Econ in Social Studies in 1940 through Unisa.

In 1941 he served as secretary of the Transkei African Voters' Association and in 1943 was elected to a four-year term in the Transkeian Bunga as representative for Idutywa.

Mbeki's store was destroyed in a tornado in the Fifties and he went back to teaching. He was again dismissed, from a post in Ladysmith, for attempting to organise coal miners.

He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1955 as local editor of New Age, a leftist newspaper. He was not a communist at this time, though his views were left-wing.

From Port Elizabeth he reported on news of the Transkei and maintained close ties with students at Fort Hare. He was a prominent figure amongst graduates of the university and served as the convocation representative of the university council from 1944-46.

In Port Elizabeth Mbeki became deeply involved in ANC activities, consolidating its support in the area



□ MBEKI ... as he was in 1959

to an extent that it became the hub of ANC support in SA. Port Elizabeth became one of the few areas in SA where the M Plan, a system of cell organisation devised by Mandela, was effectively implemented.

Mbeki at this stage voiced his opposition to Bantu authorities and Bantu education, and published articles on these subjects in a number of journals. He took part in the planning of the Congress of the People in 1955, becoming leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape. He was elected national chairman of the ANC in 1956.

During the Sharpeville emergency in 1960, Mbeki spent five months in detention. On his release he took a leading role in the Orlando Conference, which led up to the All-In Africa Conference at Maritzburg and the call for a national convention.

In 1961 he joined the Communist Party of SA and in December of that year was arrested and charged under the Explosives Act, spending several months in solitary confinement before being brought to trial. He was subsequently acquitted on a technicality.

Went underground

In 1963, ignoring a house arrest order, he went underground and joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, and served as secretary of its high command.

In July 1963 he was arrested during the police swoop on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, the headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and was sent to Robben Island to serve a life sentence for sabotage.

In 1970, while in prison, Mbeki completed his BA Hons degree in economics and in 1977 was awarded an Honorary Doctorate in Social Science by the University of Amsterdam for his work "The Peasant Revolt," which had been published in the UK in 1964, and is banned in SA. In 1939 he had also written "The Transkei in the Making".

Mbeki is married and has three sons and one daughter. His wife, Epainette, lives in Idutywa in the Transkei. His son, Thabo, is in Lusaka, Zambia, serving on the executive committee of the external mission of the ANC. — Sapa-AP.

MRS MANDELA TO MEET MBEKI

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Wendy



Mr. GOVAN MBEKI, the former chairman of the ANC, who was released after 23 years on Robben Island, addresses a Press conference at a beachfront hotel in Port Elizabeth last night. Picture: Evert Smith.

MRS WINNIE MANDELA, wife of the imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela, left Johannesburg early today to meet Mr Govan Mbeki in Port Elizabeth this afternoon.

She is accompanied by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of the former ANC general-secretary, Mr Walter Sisulu, also serving a life imprisonment term on Robben Island, and Mrs Irene Mkwayi, who last week was given permission to marry Robben Islander and former ANC member Mr Wilton Mkwayi at Pollsmoor Prison.

Others who will be arriving to meet Mr Mbeki are his wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki, and other members of the family, all from Transkei.

Today Mr Mbeki, who was released from prison yesterday, also met his niece, 76-year-old Miss Lily Williams, who lived with him at 39A Ferguson Road in New Brighton before he was jailed.

Miss Williams, who walks with the aid of a walking stick, was hugged and kissed by Mr Mbeki when they met in his room at the Holiday Inn at noon.

She last saw her "oompie" at the Rivonia trial in Pretoria during 1964.

"God works in wonderful ways. Today I am able to see Mr Mbeki, something I never thought would happen," she said.

Miss Williams said that she had been praying for "oompie" ever since his imprisonment.

Mr Mbeki will be leaving at 5pm today in a chartered plane for Johannesburg where he will have another Press conference tomorrow at noon and possibly return to Port Elizabeth on Monday.

Mr Mbeki spent the morning of his first day of freedom closeted in his Port Elizabeth hotel room with members of the Interdenominational Ministers Association of South African (Idamasa), awaiting the arrival of his family from Transkei.

An expected visit to New Brighton did not materialise. It also became clear that his welcome back in New Brighton would be kept low-key.

Mr Mbeki spent the morning in his room with members of Idamasa, led by the chairman, the Rev De Villiers Soga. The Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, Bishop Bruce Evans, was also present.

Members of the Mankahla family were also with him. Miss Nondwe Mankahle was his secretary in Port Elizabeth in the 1950s.

An executive member of the United Democratic Front and Idamasa, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, said Idamasa had arranged a flat for Mr Mbeki.



Another happy reunion . . . Mr GOVAN MBEKI greets his niece, Miss LILY WILLIAMS, with whom he shared a house in New Brighton before being jailed in 1964.

By JIMMY MATYU

Mbeki the first Rivonia trialist to be set free

By Martin Challenor

Accused No 4 in the Rivonia Treason Trial, Govan Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki, refused to plead guilty before the Judge President of the Transvaal.

Instead, the national chairman of the ANC, secretary of the high command of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and member of the SA Communist Party said: "I do not accept that there is any moral guilt attached to my action."

Mr Mbeki (77), arrested in a police swoop on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, on July 11, 1963, was one of eight ANC leaders sentenced to life imprisonment.

His exiled son Thabo is tipped to succeed Mr Oliver Tambo as leader of the ANC in exile.

For almost all his imprisonment, Mr Mbeki's wife Epainette (71) has run a shop in Idutywa, Transkei. Their two other sons, Goduka and Jama, are also in exile.

Mr Mbeki was a journalist, politician, teacher and trader.

Born in Ngamakwe, Transkei in 1910, the son of a chief, he attended mission schools and received a bursary to study at the University of Fort Hare.

There he completed a BA and a diploma in education. He joined the ANC in 1935 and worked actively with the Communist Party from that time.

Mr Mbeki was sentenced for his role in launching Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Justice de Wet found him guilty of instructing and training recruits in sabotage, preparing and manufacturing explosives, and carrying out acts of sabotage. He was convicted of furthering the aims of the SA Communist Party and for offences linked to the financing of the sabotage campaign.

Unable to speak for himself in the past 24 years, Mr Mbeki has been described as a hard-line ANC militant. He refused to leave his Robben Island prison if any conditions were attached to his release.

Mr Mbeki was the oldest of the Rivonia trialists and reports from Robben Island were that he was frail.

The release of Govan Mbeki gave hope that the Government could show compassion and may be a signal for the opening of doors to other prison cells, the Archbishop of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said.

"Some people might have considered Mbeki to be a criminal but in the eyes of the black community he is a man who has paid a very high price for something they would all like to see — their freedom.

"For black people he is a hero and we are very proud of him — champagne corks will be popping tonight."

Author Dr Alan Paton (84) said from his Durban home last night: "I am very glad and I hope this is the beginning of more releases, including that of Nelson Mandela."

He is a hero, not a criminal, says Tutu

Dr Paton remembers Mbeki as "a very militant ANC man".

"And when he and Mandela and others decided that peaceful non-violent policies were no good any more, they decided to use violence."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, said: "We are happy and welcome him home and we hope that he will still be with us in our struggle in the destruction of apartheid."

The UDF's demand, however, was for the release of all political prisoners.

The National Democratic Movement said: "We sincerely hope that this is a forerunner of the release of more political leaders in prison or in detention."

The acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, last night welcomed the release.

He called upon the Government to give urgent attention now to the release of Mandela and others in a similar position.

Mr Dave Dalling MP for Sandton, said the PFP hoped

this meant the release of other important political prisoners.

The Conservative Party denounced Mr Mbeki's release, saying the Government had turned its back on its conditions for the release of security prisoners.

The Five Freedoms Forum welcomed the release, but added: "It would be good to believe that this was not only a token measure."

A US embassy spokesman said: "We are especially pleased that their release was apparently unconditional."

A spokesman for the British embassy in Pretoria said his government was "holding on" to its comment on the release of Mbeki, until clarity had been obtained on possible conditions attached to his freedom. — Sapa and Staff Reporters.

Mbeki move may set stage for Mandela

Release of ANC leader welcomed

The release yesterday of seven prisoners sentenced for political offences, including Mr Govan Mbeki (77), former secretary of the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command — the African National Congress's military wing — has been welcomed throughout South Africa and in Washington, London and Lusaka.

The release has increased speculation on the possible release of Nelson Mandela.

Among others freed were Mr Walter Tshikila and Mr Thomas Masuku, ANC members jailed 10 years ago for the murder of a policeman. Mr Mike Matsobane and Mr John Nkosi, members of the Pan-Africanist Congress, were two others released.

Right-wing white political prisoners Mr Jacob Viljoen and Mr Hendrik Jacobz were also set free. They were members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who were convicted in 1983 of terrorism for stockpiling arms and allegedly plotting to kill black leaders.

They received special remission of sentence after being sentenced to 15 years in jail.

At a press conference after his release Mr Mbeki made it clear that he still remained a communist and a member of the ANC and would still fight for the ideals he had always held.

The press was given special permission to quote Mr Mbeki at yesterday's press conference, because he is a listed person and may not normally be quoted.

In Washington the release was welcomed by both Democrats and Republicans, with most spokesmen hoping that other leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu would also be released soon.

The British Foreign Office "wholeheartedly welcomed" Pretoria's decision in an unusually warm response. The official spokesman said the decision was "entirely right".



Mr Govan Mbeki ... told a news conference in Port Elizabeth yesterday that he viewed his release with mixed feelings. He said he was happy "in a way" to be back but was concerned about those he had left behind.

● See Page 11.

continued

AMND	INCR	W.D.	INCR	AMND	INCR	W.D.
10/75	10/76	1/80	1/81	12/82	12/83	11/85
Engn Room Attd						
0.00	0.00	25.30	27.50	40.50	46.00	54.00
0.00	0.00	27.03	25.44	29.07	29.75	26.55

Embrace spans 23-year absence



An emotional Mr Govan Mbeki embraces his former secretary Mrs Nondwe Makhla after his release from 23 years in prison.

+0.0%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 26.04
+195.6%	Real	-14.8%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 29.93
+214.1%	Real	-9.4%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 27.26
+202.8%	Real	-12.7%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 29.93
+135.2%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 70.32
+220.5%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 27.82
+243.8%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 25.03
+190.4%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 33.60
+173.3%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 33.60
+138.7%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 36.83
+236.0%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 27.70
+124.2%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 45.40
+124.2%	Real		Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 45.40
+135.6%	Real	-32.1%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 54.52
	Real	-9.6%	Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 29.48

Britain is also keen that Mandela should be released soon. In Lusaka, the ANC's headquarters-in-exile hailed Mr Mbeki's release as a victory, but added: "His release means a changed prison address from the confines of Robben Island to the prison house of South Africa." The only dissenting reaction came from the Conservative Party, who said that Mr Mbeki should have stayed in jail. The mix of released political prisoners from the left and right was interpreted last night as an attempt by the Government to balance the euphoria that would greet the release of ANC and PAC members, against a white backlash from the right. Mr Mbeki was one of eight ANC members, including Mandela, jailed for life in the Rivonia treason trial in 1964. His release could be a prelude to the eventual release of Mandela — a move which would have a major effect on the political situation in South Africa. Mr Mbeki was flown from jail by the Government yesterday to face an international press conference in Port Elizabeth. His wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki (71), runs a shop in Idutywa, Transkei. She has not seen her husband for six years. Three months' amnesty is also to be granted to prisoners in jail on December 1 — except those convicted of violence, rape and certain security offences.

Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal

Team Supervisor						
19.50	21.50	30.00	33.00	48.00	52.00	61.15
32.61	33.08	32.05	30.53	34.46	33.64	30.06

The other prisoners in poor health

By SEFAKO NYAKA

IF 77-year-old veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki was released on compassionate grounds, as President PW Botha implied this week, then several other political prisoners should also have been considered, according to the Release Mandela Campaign.

"Oscar Mpetha, although in good health and virile, has had one of his legs amputated (from the knee down) and Harry Gwala is partially paralysed," said RMC representative Aubrey Mokoena.

"Surely Botha's claimed compassion should have included the release of a one-legged man and a man who is paralysed."

Azapo agreed that prisoners like Mpetha, Gwala, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and PAC president Zeph

Mothopeng should have been considered for release, if Botha was sincere. "Mandela recently underwent an operation and according to reports Mothopeng had to be moved to Johannesburg because of his failing health," said Azapo representative Lybon Mabasa.

Mpetha, RMC president and veteran trade union leader, has served two years of a five-year sentence.

He was detained in August 1980 and nearly three years later, after a terrorism conviction, he was released on bail.

His appeal against sentence failed and he was jailed in 1985 with the

government ignoring national and international condemnation at confining a 78-year-old diabetic.

Gwala, 66, a former Communist Party member, has been suffering from a terminal motor neuron condition and is reported to be paralysed.

His transfer from Robben Island to the Pietermaritzburg prison two months ago led to speculation that he may be released on medical grounds.

Gwala was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977 for recruiting people

for military training. The 74-year-old Mothopeng is currently serving his third spell in prison, this time for 15 years.

He was found guilty on charges under the Terrorism Act at the marathon Bethal Trial in 1979.

Mothopeng, who is presently being held at Johannesburg Prison, is known to be suffering from a cancerous tumour.

Opening the Cape National Party congress this week Botha said the government would not hesitate to show compassion when this became the overriding factor in considering the release of security prisoners.

"If prisoners do not meet the conditions I laid down in parliament, they will not be released, but at the same time ... will not hesitate to show mercy if we feel mercy must be the determining factor," he said.

A few days earlier Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had told newsmen Mbeki had been selected for release because he was 77 and starting to show signs of his age.

He also conceded that if anything happened to one of the major security prisoners while still in jail it would play into the hands of radical activists.

But Mbeki, who was released last Friday, showed no obvious signs of ageing and has displayed remarkable stamina for a man his age.

The ailing man who rose from bed to greet his friend

By MONO BADELA

WHEN 74-year-old ailing Simon Phakama Mkalipi heard Govan Mbeki had been released, and that he was going through New Brighton, he got up and walked.

Blind for more than 28 years, he found it difficult at first. But the thought of being reunited with fellow treason trialist Mbeki, "gave him strength — it drove him on", said Mkalipi's wife, Maria Mkalipi.

Mkalipi may not be quoted — like Mbeki, he is a listed communist.

He met the man he regards as his leader on Sunday when Mbeki returned triumphantly to Port Elizabeth's townships after a short trip to Johannesburg.

It was, as Maria Mkalipi says, "a joyous reunion of comrades in arms. You see my husband has what is known as an inner vision. He said he could see Mbeki very clearly," said Maria Mkalipi.

"He now realises that freedom is just around the corner. He is now very hopeful that his other leader, Nelson Mandela, will soon be home."

Mkalipi's meeting with Mbeki was brief but, according to his wife, a much longer appointment has been fixed for the two ANC stalwarts.

But Mkalipi has not lost his power to enchant and inspire people with his vision of an undivided South Africa, free of racism and exploitation.

He was unbanned in 1968, after being confined to KwaZakhele for five years. Today he is a patron of the Port Elizabeth region of the United Democratic Front.

Mkalipi was born in 1913 in Grahamstown and came to Port Elizabeth in 1939 where he worked for a cigar



In a moving moment Simon Mkalipi (right) is reunited with former colleague Govan Mbeki. Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

ette company. He joined the ANC in 1943.

He was active in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and led several marches in Port Elizabeth in protests against Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act and increased rents and bus fares.

Mkalipi was in Kliptown when the Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter in 1956.

That year he defied an order not to attend a prayer meeting in Grahamstown and was sentenced to eight months imprisonment.

One December afternoon, while serving his sentence, the security police arrived with a warrant for his arrest. He was taken to Port Elizabeth where he was told he was charged with of high treason.

In the Northend Prison he joined many former ANC leaders like Professor ZK Mathews, Cannon James Calata, Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Vuyisile Mini, Caleb Mayekiso, Florence Mayekiso and Frances Baard.

He was flown to Johannesburg and locked in the Fort. Every day, during the preliminary period of the marathon treason trial, he would be handcuffed and escorted to the Drill Hall to join his colleagues. The state lost the case in 1961 and all 156 accused were acquitted.

It was in 1958 during the trial that Mkalipi became blind. Maria Mkalipi claimed her husband was pushed and fell on his forehead while serving his sentence in Grahamstown.

● Canzibe Ngxiki, another ex-Robben Island prisoner, was the first

former colleague to meet Mbeki on Friday morning. When charged with furthering the aims of the ANC, Ngxiki called on Mbeki and life prisoner Raymond Mhlaba to give evidence in his defence in the Cradock Regional Court.

Ngxiki forced his way through the crowded hotel lobby and entered Mbeki's suite. After seeing him he said he was convinced that Mbeki still had a major role to play in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Also making a pilgrimage to meet an old friend was Mayford Mfazwe, 59, a veteran ANC campaigner who has spent about 20 years in banishment after serving a five-year sentence on Robben Island.

"People are very excited about Mbeki's release," Mfazwe said.

Nkosi: Out of jail but back at his books

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

FORMER Pan Africanist Congress activist John Nkosi, who was released last week with Govan Mbeki and three other Robben Island prisoners, does not seem excited about his freedom after serving 24 years of a life sentence.

Nkosi spent the better part of Wednesday, the sixth day of his release, engrossed in books — a common scene in his Robben Island prison cell at this time of the year, with exams scheduled.

He has been reading for a BSc degree.

The *Weekly Mail* found Nkosi in a tiny room at the back of a house opposite his parents' Atteridgeville home. Between his own studies, he has been assisting a young university student to prepare for exams.

As he is left with exams in two modules to complete his degree — computer science and information systems — and the first of the two tests is scheduled for today, he was reluctant to leave his swotting to be interviewed. In any case, he said, he did not understand why he should be interviewed.

"Unlike Zizi" (as Mbeki was called by inmates close to him on the island) "who is a leader, I'm just an ordinary prisoner," he said. He added that he did not deserve the publicity that characterised Mbeki's release.

His plans for the future: "I have none," he said, moving towards the door so he could continue studying.

Nkosi was sentenced in the Pretoria Supreme Court to life imprisonment in 1963 with five co-accused, whose sentences ranged between five years and life imprisonment, found guilty of plotting to overthrow the state by violent means.

He is one of two PAC lifers who refused to sign the Botha "forswear violence" conditional release offer in 1985. The other one is Jeff Masemola who is still serving his life sentence in Johannesburg prison.

SADF move into strife-torn Maritzburg townships

South African Defence Force armoured vehicles rolled into the strife-torn Maritzburg townships for the first time yesterday in a move to strengthen the security force presence in the area, according to local sources.

Police liaison officer for the region, Captain Pieter Kitching, confirmed that the army and police had formed "a joint security force to maintain law and order" in the area.

More than 140 people have died in the region this year in conflict between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front/Cosatu grouping.

Large numbers of unaligned individuals have also been murdered and hurt, with the death toll climbing rapidly in the last two months during which about 80 people have lost their lives.

Captain Kitching said the three deaths reported in the day's unrest report were not exceptional and "the average daily death toll is still around three".

DEATHS

A week ago the police reaction unit for the area was enlarged. Captain Kitching declined to say how many policemen were presently deployed in the area. The force comprised South African Police and the kwaZulu Police.

Captain Kitching would not disclose whether the SADF would be stationed in the sprawling complex of townships and villages, or in town.

Police headquarters in Pretoria could not comment on the strength of the army presence but said "a unit" had been moved into the area.

Among the latest victim's of conflict in the area was a 16-year-old boy. He was stabbed to death on Wednesday by a group in the Ashdown township, according to yesterday's police unrest report.

In a nearby area, police said that they had dispersed a crowd with teargas and had subsequently found the body of a man who had been stabbed.

Another group stabbed a 30-year-old man to death after stoning his home, police said.

And in a separate attack, a 17-year-old was seriously wounded after being stabbed by a group of youths, police said.

Mbeki goes free

Cape Times 6/1/87

On Page 6

- Mandela may be next
- PW Botha asked for release
- Wife divorced ex-AWB man

Wrong man welcomed home

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — A Grootes Schuur Hospital patient, Mr John Gqabothi, received a royal welcome at the H F Verwoerd Airport yesterday when press photographed him, believing him to be Mr Govan Mbeki.

Mr Mbeki, a member of the ANC, was released from Robben Island yesterday.

A tip-off that Mr Mbeki would be on a flight arriving here at 4pm sent newspaper reporters rushing to the airport to meet him.

When a black passenger — wearing a white scarf around his head and led by an air hostess — emerged from the plane, photographers took a number of pictures thinking he was the man for whom they had been waiting. All laughed when the man said he was a patient from Grootes Schuur.

Mandela's release 'closer'

AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) veteran Mr Govan Mbeki walked free yesterday after 23 years on Robben Island and declared that "the ideas for which I went to jail and for which the ANC stands, I still embrace"

Mr Mbeki, 77, was one of seven ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and former Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members freed yesterday in terms of a new dispensation for political prisoners announced by President P W Botha in August.

Mr Mbeki, formerly national chairman of the ANC and a lieutenant to jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, was imprisoned for life in 1964 for his role in the Rivonia conspiracy to overthrow the state by force.

Soon after going free, he said: "I am confident my release has brought Mr Mandela's (release) closer."

The others who were freed are: ANC member Mr John Nkosi, who was sent to jail in 1963; PAC members Mr Walter Tshikila, jailed in 1977 for 13 years; Mr V Masuku and Mr Michael Matsobane, who were jailed in 1979; and former AWB members Mr Jacob Viljoen and Mr Hendrik Jacobsz, who were sentenced to 15 years for terrorism in 1983.

Joy at release

There were scenes of jubilation when Mr Mbeki arrived at a Port Elizabeth hotel for a press conference yesterday evening. White-haired and trim, he appeared to be in good health.

Joy at his release was also reflected in Lusaka, where hundreds of ANC members clapped and danced to celebrate his freedom.

The government temporarily lifted the restriction on Mr Mbeki, a listed communist, being quoted.

Mr Mbeki said that as far as he was concerned, no conditions had been attached to his release.

But the government said the ban on his being quoted was being lifted only temporarily and would remain in force in South Africa.

Mr Mbeki said he was still a member of both the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"I still embrace Marxist views," he said.

One of his main concerns was the continued imprisonment of Mr Mandela.

Conditions in prison had initially left a lot to be desired, but now they were "very good".

He said the ANC should be unbanned if solutions were to be found in South Africa.

Mr Mbeki's release drew favourable local and international reaction.

'A signal for others'

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it was "tremendous news" and that he hoped this would be "a signal for the opening of the doors of all the other prison cells".

The release was welcomed by Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, and UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, whose husband was jailed together with Mr Mbeki and Mr Mandela.

Acting leader of the PFP Mr Ray Swart and a spokesman for the National Democratic Movement also lauded the move.

But Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said he had "serious misgivings".

The US State Department called it "a positive move on behalf of the government".

In London, ANC spokesmen said they were not surprised by Mr Mbeki's release. The British government reserved its comment when it learnt Mr Mbeki remained "listed".

Mr Mbeki told the press he hoped soon to see his 71-year-old wife, Epainette, who visited him only three or four times during his imprisonment.

He said he was particularly proud of his son, Thabo, 45, who is widely regarded as a likely successor to ANC leader Oliver Tambo, and would apply for a passport to visit him at the movement's headquarters in Lusaka.



FREE ... Mr Govan Mbeki at a press conference yesterday soon after his release and a picture taken before he was imprisoned (inset).

11A Swanton 6/11/87

Veteran PAC man dies

A VETERAN Pan Africanist Congress of Azania member, Mr Isaac Lolwana Mhlekwu, has died after a long illness.

Mr Mhlekwu, who was a member of PAC's Liberation Army (APLA), died at an East London hospital on October 28. He will be buried at Mqanduli in Transkei on Sunday.

Mr Mhlekwu was released from the

Robben Island last year, after being convicted of carrying out activities of the outlawed organisation.

His health deteriorated while serving the sentence on the Robben Island, according to his family.

The PAC has sent a message of condolence to his wife, Selina.

Hope fades for Lungi ^(11A)

6/4/87

AZANIAN National Youth Unity member, Mlungisi Lumphondo (21), was due to hang this morning.

Late yesterday, all hope that this Port Elizabeth youth could still be saved from the gallows had evaporated as he met with his family for the last time.

His two sisters, Miss Deborah Lumphondo and Miss Georgina Lumphondo, were with him the whole day yesterday. Earlier, he had met with another relative, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, who is well-known in black trade union circles.

In a statement yesterday, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), said it had appealed to the United Nations and other world organisations to intervene and save Lumphondo from the gallows.

At a spirited service at Khotso House in



ACTIVISTS holding candles at yesterday's prayer service for convicted Azanyu member, Mlungisi Lumphondo, who is

Hope fades for Lungi ^(11A)

← From Page 1

Johannesburg yesterday, speakers described Lumphondo as one of Azania's gallant fighters.

The speakers included leaders from Azanyu and Mwasa, the Rev Stanley Ntwasa and a speaker from the All African Students' Action Committee. The speakers also attacked the Government for not taking into account the circumstances that led to Lumphondo's taking up arms.

Lawyers acting for Lumphondo yesterday said hope was running out fast.

"We have explored all avenues to try and get a

stay of execution but we are hitting our heads against a brick wall. We will, however, continue fighting.

"We will do so even if it means continuing until just before the trapdoor is sprung," a spokesman said.

Gulity

Lumphondo and two other youths, all from Port Elizabeth, were found guilty of the killing of Ciskeian consul-general, Mr Patrick Jacobs, and his girlfriend, Miss Alinah Maphatsoe, in April 1986.

Lumphondo was sent-

enced to death while the other two, Sisa Maqina (21) and Lutando Mdolwane (21), were given 10-year sentences.

Efforts to save him from the gallows started soon after his sentence. An appeal to the State President, Mr P W Botha, for clemency failed and this week efforts were being made for a stay of execution.

The Special Committee Against Apartheid has sent telegrams to his lawyers to "exert maximum pressure on the authorities to stay the execution of Lumphondo and all other people on death row."

In a telex to the State President, Dr W Kistner, senior director of the South African Council of Churches, said: "We appeal to you to practise mercy in this case and to bestow presidential pardon upon this young life. Perchance, he may still repay his debt to society in a way that will enrich all of us."

UDF 3 still dangerous, says State

By SOL MORATHI

THE State yesterday vehemently opposed a bail application of three United Democratic Front officials during a heated argument with the defence counsel in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The State still maintains that Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota and Moses

Chikane are a threat to national security and must, as a result, be refused bail.

But George Bizos SC, for the defence, argued that the State was denying the trio bail for its own selfish and manifestly unfair reasons.

Despite having failed to give substantial and logical facts of the dan-

gers posed by Molefe, Lekota and Chikane, he said.

"There are glaring loopholes in the State's case which the court must sternly look into before giving judgement," said Bizos.

Bizos also said the State had failed to show any casual connection between the trio and the unrest that occurred in the Vaal.

He further pointed out that the mere assertion that a "revolutionary climate prevailed in South Africa" was no reason to continue denying the men bail.

The State handed in a letter written by Lekota to ANC leader Govan Mbeki on his recent release from Robben Island.

It also submitted statistics regarding sabotage attacks, public violence, strikes and arson in recent months.

State prosecutor Peter Sick said the revolutionary climate in the country was still going on and there were no doubts that the trio might fan the flames even more upon their release.

Molefe, Lekota and Chikane have been refused bail on three occasions in the past. If the three men do not succeed with their application, they might spend yet another Christmas and, perhaps, one more year in custody.

Sixteen of their co-accused have been granted conditional bail of R15 000 each.

All of them are facing charges of treason, terrorism, subversion and murder. They have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

ANC, PAC MEN FREE

11A
6/11/87
Sanction

RIVONIA treason trialist and veteran African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki and other political prisoners were released from jail yesterday.

In the other dramatic development one of the country's longest serving political prisoners, John Nkosi, who was convicted for Pan Africanist Congress activities, was also released.

Nkosi and Jeff Mosemola, who was not released, were the first political prisoners to be sentenced to life in the country — in June, 1963.

Significantly, three other political prisoners were released after Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, said they had served their "sentences to such an extent that they can now be released".

Govan Mbeki among those out of prison

The three are Mike Matsobane and Walter Tshikila, both sentenced for activities of the PAC, and Tom Masuku, serving a jail term for ANC activities.

The Government has also granted special remission of sentence to prisoners J D Viljoen and H G Jacobz, according to the statement.

Mr Coetsee's announcement

follows that by the State President on August 13 that the release policy applicable to prisoners in general would in future apply to security prisoners as well.

The State President has also approved a three-month amnesty for all sentenced prisoners who would be in prison on December 1 this year, but excluding those sentenced for crimes of violence, rape, robbery, security, unrest, stock theft or prisoners sentenced for refusing to testify.

"It is expected that a considerable number of prisoners of all population groups will benefit from this over a period of time," Mr Coetsee added.

Mbeki was jailed for life in 1964 for plotting to overthrow the Government, along with ANC president Nelson Mandela, and has served his sentence on Robben Island.

SOWETAN Reporter
and SAPA

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Township reaction the guide to more releases

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Government will wait for reaction from the townships to the release of Mr Govan Mbeki, former national chairman of the African National Congress, before any further decision is taken on the freeing of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The swearing-off of violence as a way to political ends is no longer the sole condition for the release of political prisoners.

There was speculation in Nationalist circles today that the release of Mr Mbeki was a "kite-flying" exercise by the Government to test reaction inside the country. At the same time there has been favourable international reaction.

Some top Nationalists also see the latest move as an attempt to create a better climate for negotiation in constitutional reform and black political rights.

They said the Government would study what effect the releases have on the security and the political situations.

SOFTER APPROACH

One said that the release of Mr Mandela could not be expected within the next few weeks but would be a slow process.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice was cautious today about speculation on Mr Mandela after Mr Mbeki's release, but he referred to statements by President Botha earlier this year which indicated a softening attitude to the release of political prisoners.

According to some Nationalist sources, the release yesterday of the seven members of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging had to be seen in the spirit of goodwill in which it took place.

Mr Mbeki himself said yesterday he was confident that his release had brought Mr Mandela's release closer.

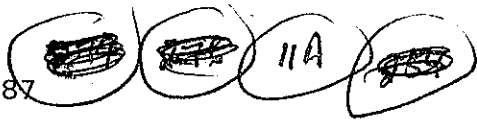
The gesture can be seen as a Government move aimed at improving race and political relations. If the step is received in a calm fashion, especially in the townships, the release of other political prisoners, including Mr Mandela, could be considered.

In a statement yesterday the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the policy for freeing prisoners would be applied as a continuing process.

Mr Botha told Parliament in August that the advisory board on the release of prisoners had recommended that the policy be the same for criminal and political prisoners.

Mr Botha said that renouncing violence could, like any other single positive factor, contribute to a good prognosis but that this would not be decisive in its own right.

● See Page 11



Natal fighting: Army moves in

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The SADF has been called in to help police in the troubled townships here where more than 60 people have died in the past six weeks.

A police spokesman said the SADF and the police would form a joint security force to maintain law and order.

Last week extra police units moved into the Edendale area and are being helped by a police helicopter.

Meanwhile, township violence here has claimed another three lives, bringing the death roll in the past six weeks to 65.

Police yesterday reported three fatal stabbings in the city's township of Ashdown. One of those killed was a 16-year-old youth.

A group stoned two homes, entered one and stabbed to death the owner, a 30-year-old man.

The body of a man, apparently stabbed to death, was found in Ashdown after police dispersed a large group with teargas.

At Sweetwaters, also near Maritzburg, police said a 17-year-old youth was attacked by a group armed with knives and seriously injured. Two youths were arrested in connection with this incident.

© Sapa reports that, according to the Sowetan yesterday, an Atteridgeville, Pretoria, couple escaped death on Wednesday when four petrol bombs were hurled into their house.

Mr Marcus Lekgoro and his wife Mary, of Ditodi Street, escaped unhurt when one of the petrol bombs was thrown into their bedroom about 1am, their sons told the Sowetan.

Their three children — all political activists — also escaped uninjured when three other petrol bombs were hurled into the lounge. Damage to the rooms is estimated at R7 000.

The three activists are Mr Kgaugelo Lekgoro, publicity secretary of the Southern Transvaal Youth Congress, Mr Mpho Lekgoro, secretary of the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organization, and Mr Nathaniel Lekgoro, a member of the local branch of the Detainees Parents Support Committee.

All these organizations are affiliates of the United Democratic Front.

Mr Mpho Lekgoro told the Sowetan neighbours informed them that the petrol bombs were thrown by three men who were wearing balaclavas and were seen running away from the scene.

The petrol-bomb attack on the Lekgoro house is the third in two years.

The attack has raised fears among local activists that there is a violent crackdown on them again, similar to attacks that erupted in 1985.

Freed Mbeki is 'still communist'

11A
6/11/87

Business Day Reporters,
Own Correspondent and Sapa

AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) veteran Govan Mbeki yesterday walked free after 23 years on Robben Island and declared "the ideas for which I went to jail and for which the ANC stands, I still embrace".

Mbeki, 77, was one of seven ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and former Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members freed yesterday in terms of a new dispensation for political prisoners announced by President PW Botha in August.

Mbeki, formerly national chairman of the ANC, was jailed for life in 1964 for his role in the Rivonia conspiracy to overthrow the State by force.

The others freed are: ANC member John Nkosi who was sent to jail in 1963; PAC members Walter Tshikila, jailed in 1977 for 13 years, V Masuku and Michael Matsobane who were jailed in 1979; former AWB members Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik Jacobsz who were sentenced to 15 years for terrorism in 1983.

There were scenes of jubilation when Mbeki arrived at a Port Elizabeth hotel for a Press conference yesterday evening. He appeared to be in good health.

Government temporarily lifted the restriction on Mbeki, a listed communist, being quoted.

Mbeki said that as far as he was concerned no conditions had been attached to his release and that he was unaware he there would be restrictions on him being quoted.

He said he was still a member of both the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"I am still a Communist Party member and I still embrace Marxist views," he said.

One of his main concerns was the continued imprisonment of his friend and leader, Nelson Mandela, but he believed he would be released soon.

"I am confident my release has brought Mr Mandela's (release) closer," he said.

He said the ANC should be unbanned if solutions were to be found in SA.

"I would expect that negotiations with the ANC is desirable as no solution in this country can be arrived at by keeping it out."

Mbeki's release drew favourable local and international reaction. The US State Department called it "a positive move

● To Page 2



Freed Mbeki says he is still a communist

on behalf of the SA government". In London ANC spokesmen said they were not surprised by Mbeki's release. The British government reserved its comment when it learnt Mbeki remained "listed". Dutch and West German

foreign ministry spokesmen welcomed the move and expressed the hope it would lead to Nelson Mandela being released.

● From Page 1



11A

Is Mandela next to be freed?

Case Times 6/11/87 (11A)

Political Staff

The release of Mr Govan Mbeki — one of “big three” jailed members of the ANC’s old guard — inevitably fuelled speculation yesterday that Mr Walter Sisulu and eventually Mr Nelson Mandela could follow.

The 77-year-old Mr Mbeki, the oldest of the Rivonia trialists, has spent the past 23 years on “The Island” and is regarded as one of the toughest of the old guard leaders.

The release of the former national chairman of the ANC will mean only relative freedom, for as a listed communist he may be quoted only with the permission of the Minister of Justice.

This restriction will no doubt weigh heavily on the ANC leader who, before his imprisonment in 1964, widely publicized his views during a varied career profile that included journalism, teaching, writing and politics.

Although remembered for this intellectual prowess, Mr Mbeki was also considered a man of action, given his role as ANC activist, trade union organizer and high command member of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Govan Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki was born in 1910 in Transkei.

A bursary from the Transkeian Bunga allowed him to study at Fort Hare, where he obtained a BA in 1937 and an education diploma. He went on to earn a B Econ in Social Studies through Unisa in 1940, and in 1970, while in prison, completed a BA Hons degree in Economics.

Mammoth trial

Mr Michael Matsobane, another of the security prisoners who was released yesterday, was one of 17 people sentenced after the mammoth PAC trial in Bethal between 1977 and 1979.

Mr Matsobane was given a 15-year sentence on June 18, 1979.

He and his co-accused were charged with furthering the aims of the PAC between 1963 and 1977.

They were also charged with recruiting people to undergo military training for the PAC abroad; the alleged use of a religious organization, the Young African Religious Movement, as a cover to further the aims and objects of the PAC; as well as encouraging violence and sabotage during the unrest in Kagiso in 1977 and attempting to reactivate the PAC.

Mr Matsobane and the current PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who was also jailed for 15 years, received the harshest sentence in the trial. Both were due for release in 1994.

Also released was Mr Walter Tshikila, who had previously spent six years on Robben Island for political offences relating to the PAC. He was jailed for 13 years in 1977 in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, after he had pleaded guilty to being a PAC office-bearer, to inciting people to leave the country for military training and to giving lectures on the PAC.

During the trial, Mr Justice Kannemeyer said that although Mr Tshikila had been driven by his personal ideals and had not committed the offences for personal gain, no state could tolerate movements which aimed to overthrow authority by force.

Call on BP to drop District Six plans

11A
Cape Times 6/11/87
Staff Reporter

BP Southern Africa has been called upon to "publicly renounce" its proposed plans for the redevelopment of District Six and to commit its top executives to face-to-face meetings with local community representatives.

The call was made in a statement issued yesterday and endorsed by 23 organizations in the area — including political, youth, sporting and cultural bodies.

The convener of the Hands Off District Six Committee, Mr Anwah Nagia, said: "We have made it very clear to BP Southern Africa and its conglomerates that we totally reject any sinister scheme in cahoots with this government to redevelop the salted earth of District Six."

However, the Western Cape Traders' Association's general secretary, Mr K Allie, yesterday welcomed the scheme for the redevelopment of District Six, Woodstock, Walmer Estate and Salt River — provided priority was given to allowing those who had been forcibly removed from the area to have the opportunity to return.

A BP spokesman said Mr Nagia last wrote to BP on behalf of a number of organizations in a letter received on October 12.

"We replied on the same day by letter inviting discussions with a properly mandated group. There has been further correspondence and we look forward to further discussion."

'Positive development' ^{Cape Times 6/1/89} Chester Crocker

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Govan Mbeki's release received a cautious welcome from European countries but the British government delayed issuing an official response when it learnt he had been "listed".

ANC spokesmen said they were not surprised by the release. They had expected it to occur before the Commonwealth Conference, but believed the government had delayed it so as not to be seen to be influenced by external pressure.

The British Foreign Office was geared up to express "unmitigated" pleasure at the release, but delayed any formal statement when it learnt Mr Mbeki had been listed.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, said Mr Mbeki's release was "a positive development ... I would hope it would lead to other things".

But he added that he was still to receive details and did not know whether there were any "conditions". He also wanted to know where Mr Mbeki would be going before he issued any final verdict.

The French, West German and Dutch foreign ministries welcomed Mr Mbeki's release but added that they hoped it would lead to that of all political prisoners — "Nelson Mandela first and foremost", said the West German Foreign Ministry.

And in South Africa last night, political groupings to the left of government welcomed Mr Mbeki's release and called for the freeing of all remaining political prisoners, ANTHONY JOHNSON reports.

But the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said he had "serious misgivings" about the release of the former national chairman of the ANC as it set a "dangerous precedent".

ANC spokesman Mr Victor Moche hailed Mr Mbeki's release as a victory, reports AP.

However, he added: "Even as we receive him with joy and renewed determination we remain acutely aware that his release in a real sense also means a changed prison address from the confines of Robben Island into the prison house of South Africa."

The acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, said the blatant discrepancy between the release of Mr Mbeki after 23 years in jail and the freeing of two right-wingers who had served four years of a 15-year sentence had to be explained.

The Five Freedoms Forum — an alliance of white organizations including the Black Sash, the End Conscription Campaign and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee — welcomed the release but asked why all political prisoners had not been released.

"It would be good to believe that this was

not only a token measure," it added.

All political prisoners should be released so that the leaders of the majority of the people could participate in a "true process of negotiation and participation in working towards a democratic future".

A Detainees' Parents' Support Committee statement released to Sapa said that only when political prisoners and detainees had been released, when the state of emergency had been lifted, when exiles returned home and when organizations had been unbanned would the release of Mr Mbeki have any real significance.

Welcoming the release on behalf of the PFP, the party's justice spokesman, Mr Dave Dalling, said the PFP hoped this meant the release of other important political prisoners.

If this was the case, the government might be "taking the first steps in creating a new climate in which a more representative constitution can be negotiated in peace".

The National Democratic Movement (NDM) welcomed the release of Mr Mbeki and other political prisoners.

"We sincerely hope this is a forerunner of the release of more political leaders in prison or in detention.

"The NDM hopes Mr Mbeki will be allowed to freely participate in the political process. Should he be restricted, his release would

have no meaning.

"We hope this will open up the urgent debate on the unbanning of the ANC, because unless its leaders can take part freely as respected representatives of that organization the political process cannot be opened up in order to resolve the conflict in South Africa."

Dr Treurnicht, however, described Mr Mbeki's release as "dangerous".

"My difficulty is that if Mbeki is released, then Mandela is also knocking at the door," the CP leader said.

"Previously the government put some very strong conditions on the release of these prisoners — the renunciation of violence — but as far as I know Mbeki has not renounced violence or communism.

"The government has set a dangerous precedent and it will now have to follow with other concessions."

Dr Treurnicht said he did not know enough about the circumstances surrounding the sentencing of two AWB members, Mr J D Viljoen and Mr H G Jacobsz, to comment on their special remission of sentence and release from prison yesterday.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the release of Mr Mbeki and others would not in itself be sufficient to give the State President the credibility he needed to do what he had publicly undertaken to do. It was however a start.



MBEKI TALKS . . . Mr Govan Mbeki surrounded by pressmen in Port Elizabeth last night.

CAPL Times 6/9/87
11A 208 783
SP asked for Mbeki release - Coetsee

PRETORIA. — The release of Mr Govan Mbeki followed a request by the State President, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced here yesterday.

Mr P W Botha also granted special remission of sentence to six other prisoners.

Mr Coetsee's announcement follows that by the State President on August 13 that the release policy would apply to security prisoners as well.

The State President also approved a

three-month amnesty for all sentenced prisoners who would be in prison on December 1 this year, but excluding those in for violence, rape, robbery, security, unrest, stock theft or for refusing to testify.

The complete list was too long for publication but the information could be had from the prisons liaison office, Pretoria.

"A considerable number of prisoners . . . will benefit from this over a period of time," Mr Coetsee said. — Sapa

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Extended amnesty for many prisoners

Political Correspondent

THE release of seven political prisoners yesterday will be followed by a three-month amnesty for all prisoners in jail on December 1, except those serving sentences for certain categories of crime.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said exceptions would be people sentenced for crimes of violence, robbery, security prisoners under certain conditions, prisoners sentenced for unrest-related transgressions, for refusing to testify and for crimes like stock theft.

A considerable number of prisoners are expected to benefit from the amnesty over a period of time.

In his statement, Mr Coetsee referred to an announcement by President Botha in Parliament on August 13 that the release policy applying to prisoners in general would also apply to security prisoners.

ADVISORY BODIES

Mr Coetsee said Mr Botha had asked him to consider seriously the case of Mr Govan Mbeki and he had requested the advisory bodies which dealt with the consideration and recommendation of the release of prisoners for advice on Mr Mbeki and a number of other prisoners.

On the advice of the Advisory Release Board, the Government had decided to free Mr G Mbeki and Mr J Nkosi who had both served more than 20 years of their sentences.

It had also been decided that security prisoners Mr M Matsobane, Mr W S Tshikila and Mr V T Masuku should receive remissions of sentence.

In terms of the Prisons Act, the President had also granted a special remission of sentence to former Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters Mr J D Viljoen and Mr H G Jacobsz who had served four years for terrorism.

The Minister said the release policy as announced would be applied in the usual manner as a continuous process.

pointer but Govt remains silent

Chorus

Mandela's release grows for

Mandela's

11/4 7/1/1987

Newly released political prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki thinks Nelson Mandela will be released soon. So does Mandela's daughter Zenani — and expectations have been raised elsewhere in and outside South Africa.

The Afrikaans Press is also openly asking if Mr Mbeki's release this week, with others, presages freedom for Mandela.

Observers are saying the Government is testing opinion by releasing Mr Mbeki and the four other political prisoners.

Last night SABC-TV, in an unprecedented move, interviewed the chairman of the Advisory Release Board, Mr Justice Kurnleben, about the release of Mr Mbeki, thus placing emphasis on the "neutral" role the board played in the freeing of the prisoners.

The Government would appear to be depoliticising the issue by "leaving" the release of Mandela to the board's discretion.

Mr Mbeki's attitude to violence was taken into account by the board, the judge said.

The judge said no distinction was drawn between security prisoners and other prisoners, and Mr Mbeki's case was decided on the norms applied to all prisoners.



GOVAN MBEKI: "Nelson Mandela will be released soon."

He said the board had been aware of Mr Mbeki's attitude to, and his views on, the use of violence, and this had been an important consideration in deciding whether he should be released.

The board had also taken into account the unpredictability of his behaviour after release, and notwithstanding these factors, it had decided that grounds existed for Mr Mbeki's release without the imposition of conditions.

Referring to the possible release of Mandela, Mr Justice Kurnleben said the case was not on the agenda. There was no fixed procedure for the holding of meetings on the release of prisoners, but details

TO PAGE 2.

'Mandela to be freed'

FROM PAGE 1.

about each case were usually available at least a week before any hearing.

The board held four meetings a year, but an extraordinary meeting could be held if circumstances warranted it.

Mandela was one of the last people Mr Mbeki saw before being freed on Thursday.

Mr Mbeki said he could not disclose what they had discussed, but he had no doubt Mandela would be released soon.

In Washington, Mandela's oldest daughter Zenani (Dlamini) expressed fears for her father's safety when he is released. Her concern is over "what the Pretoria Government or young black militants might do to him".

"Some black South Africans don't want daddy out of jail because, well, daddy is a powerful personality," she said. "Many people, of course, will see him as the leader of black South Africa if he is released from prison, and ignore many of the people now in the leadership."

Mrs Dlamini, who lives with her husband and three children in Boston, told the *Washington Post Magazine* in an interview to be published this weekend, that she has been encouraged by report that the South African Government did not want the 69-year-old Mandela to die in jail.

She said her optimism was sparked in May when she and Mr Robert Brown, a black businessman, were allowed to visit Mandela. Mr Brown was nominated by President Reagan to be Ambassador to South Africa, but later withdrew his name.

Mrs Dlamini said she was optimistic about the prospect of her father being released soon because of the release last month of a white South African army captain who had been captured and held prisoner in Angola.

President Botha suggested in January last year that he would consider releasing Mandela if the army captain and Soviet dissidents Mr Andrei Sakharov and Mr Natan Sharansky were freed.

"For the first time in my life I have the feeling that his release is not remote," Mrs Dlamini said.

In a statement yesterday, Minister of Justice Mr H J Coetsee said Mr Mbeki could not be quoted without permission first having been obtained.

He gave permission that the statement which Mr Mbeki would make at a Press conference on his release could be recorded, published and disseminated by those present.

"I want to emphasise that the permission given by me on November 5 1987 only applies to the recording and publication of what was said by Mr Mbeki at the Press conference on November 5 1987.

"The permission does not apply to anything said or written by Mr Mbeki in the past, and also not to any statement made by him at any time after the Press conference on November 5 1987 or in the future, and also not to any writing which he may produce. This means that nothing said or written by Mr Mbeki before or after the said Press conference or in future may be published without my consent."

Other speculation on Mandela's release came from numerous sources:

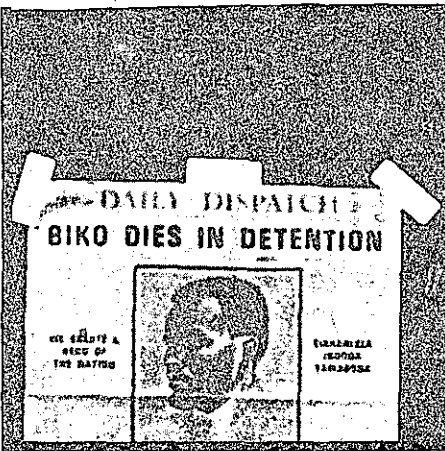
Mr Tom Lodge, an expert in black politics at the University of Witwatersrand. "This is probably a carefully-timed move to test the waters before deciding on the more major event of freeing Mandela. This is a dry run for that."

Mr Nthato Motlana, a veteran Government opponent from Soweto, said Mr Mbeki's freedom could be an experiment by the Government. Other nationalists, jailed for life in the famous 1964 Rivonia Treason Trial, including Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu, could be freed one by one, with Mandela last.

Mr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said the Government had set a dangerous precedent by releasing Mr Mbeki unconditionally. "If Mbeki is released, then Mandela is also knocking at the door."

Political scientist Mr Robert Schrire did not believe Pretoria intended releasing Mandela while he was in good health.

WEEKEND FOCUS



The last laugh is on Steve Biko

Editor Donald Woods, with the front page marking Biko's death. INSET: Denzel Washington, who plays Biko.

by NEIL LURSSSEN, Weekend Argus Foreign Service in WASHINGTON

STEVE Biko is said to have been blessed by a sense of humour. Maybe he would have found some dark amusement in this week's situation.

The young black leader whose brutal death in police custody 10 years ago is an indelible mark of shame for South Africa, has this week acquired the international status of martyr — and has thereby become in death perhaps the most potent weapon the SA authorities have ever delivered to their worldwide enemies.

Make no mistake about it, *Cry Freedom*, the Richard Attenborough film about Biko and his white friend, Donald Woods, is a big event in the history of South Africa.

It's big in the sense that it will help to shape the attitudes of millions of people towards white South Africa, millions who might otherwise have remained neutral about a situation that was, after all, just another strange trouble spot in the TV news.

FILMGOERS will come out of countless cinemas feeling anger and contempt for white South Africans. You can count on it. From the theatres, the movie will go to video rental stores for second and third viewings. *Cry Freedom* will be a central feature of South Africa's image — just as *Missing* shapes attitudes about Chile and *The Killing Fields* about Cambodia.

So the last laugh is on Steve Biko — if laugh one could. The young man who was killed before he could blossom into the national leader his potential promised to produce, and before his youthful political passion could mature into a vision for all South Africans, has now emerged as a much bigger figure in the South Africa story than he ever was in life.

It is a great pity most white South Africans will not see the film. They ought to know what they are up against.

Cry Freedom is not a great movie. It presents a distorted, one-sided image of South Africa, and it depicts Donald Woods, once editor of East Lon-

Cry Freedom is not a great movie. It presents a distorted, one-sided image of South Africa, and it depicts Donald Woods, once editor of East London's *Daily Dispatch*, in an heroic light that borders on the absurd. Filmgoers will come out of countless cinemas this week feeling anger and contempt for white South Africans. You can count on it. From the theatres, the movie will go to video rental stores for second and third viewings. *Cry Freedom* will be a central feature of South Africa's image — just as *Missing* shapes attitudes about Chile and *The killing fields* about Cambodia.

WHAT THE MOVIE SHOWS

THE first half is the most powerful part in a dramatic and political sense.

It starts with scenes of a dawn police raid on the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town, a truly horrible portrayal of apartheid in action.

This serves to introduce Biko (admirably played by Denzel Washington with effective understatement) as an articulate young man trying to instill in his people a sense of pride in their blackness and

confidence that justice and history is on their side.

Inevitably, Biko comes into conflict with the authorities as represented by the Security Police, as unsavoury a bunch of thugs in the movie as ever tarnished the silver screen.

Donald Woods (played by Kevin Kline) is portrayed as a traditional white liberal who interprets Biko's stance as black racism and rejects it.

He seeks out Biko, becomes convinced

that the young man is a moderate whose views must be understood by SA whites, and develops a warm friendship with him.

Biko emerges as an engaging and witty character, easy to admire and like. This makes his arrest and brutal treatment by the police even more shocking.

A scene in which he lies mortally ill and naked on a jail floor while a doctor and a police officer discuss what

should be done with him, is horrendous.

The first part of the movie ends with a depiction of Steve Biko's funeral. The anger in the funeral oration, against a background of African singing, is movingly captured and it leaves viewers with a feeling of deep loss and tragic senselessness.

The final scenes show the Woods family — Donald and Wendy and their five kids — flying to freedom across the South African landscape.

don's *Daily Dispatch*, in an heroic light that borders on the absurd.

Afrikaners are portrayed as something akin to the spiritual heirs of the nazis. The little *Dispatch* is, by implication, the one newspaper that really cared, and all blacks are heroic. The movie can't seem to make up its mind whether Biko or Woods should be the main character.

THE result is an unbalanced, unsatisfying drama that curiously lacks tension much of the time in spite of its subject matter — the conflict between oppressed and oppressors leading to inevitable tragedy.

Nevertheless, it is made on an epic scale. The camera work is quite brilliant and the scenes are at times unforgettable in their harshness and horror.

As a newsman in Cape Town in the seventies, I was intimately involved in coverage of the raids on the Crossroads squatter camp. I thought I knew it all. But, sitting in a comfortable Washington theatre after a pleasant lunch, I watched Sir Richard's stunning reconstruction of one such raid with anger and deepening despair. And I don't mind admitting that the images on the screen left me close to tears.

Filmgoers around the world are going to react in a similar way. Publicity for *Cry Freedom* is everywhere in the US this week. To give an example, this past Wednesday night American viewers of the prime time network current affairs programme *Crossfire* would have seen Donald Woods' defending his role in its production against critics who raised some of the points listed above.

Had the viewers switched after *Crossfire* to MTV, the 24-hour music video channel, they would have seen former Genesis pop star Peter Dinklage performing his hit song *Biko* against scenes from the movie.

As a South African, I believe it is right that Steve Biko's story should be told. It happened and the people responsible for it must live with their deed, their cruelty and their stupidity.

But it is part of the continuing Biko tragedy that this movie does little to advance the fact that South African whites must be part of the solution and not only part of the problem.

Most of the whites in it are hateful. It will probably stir up new demands for sanctions and other embargoes that slow down rather than hasten fundamental change and reform.

So I believe Donald Woods has not done his fellow South Africans a service. His anger at what happened to Steve Biko is justified and shared by many white South Africans.

But as the principal consultant to the producer of *Cry Freedom* and as author of the two books on which the script was based, he should have insisted that some recognition be given to those whites, Afrikaans and English, who are working for a new future. They are key to the solution and worldwide recognition of their existence and efforts is vitally important.

Cry Freedom says nothing about them.

Buthelezi, Tutu bid to end battle

W/C ARGUS 7/11/87

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Weekend Argus
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The bloody battle for control of the black townships around Maritzburg continued to rage in spite of a surprise joint intervention by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

They put aside their antipathy towards each other to meet at a secret venue in Durban yesterday. Although the meeting was inconclusive it has increased hope for a solution.

Meanwhile, troops were being poured into the townships to keep the warring United Democratic Front and Inkatha factions apart amid claims and counter-claims

about who was responsible for the continuing bloodshed.

Another three people are believed to have been killed at Kwandengezi near Hammarsdale, bringing the total to more than 130 this year.

Yesterday's meeting, which lasted almost three hours, ended with the two leaders agreeing to continue negotiations.

The latest violence came only 48 hours after leaders from Kwandengezi, Kwamakuta and Mapumlanga agreed to continue the peace talks "facilitated" by the Rev Atholl Jennings.

Mr Jennings is attempting to establish the extent of Thursday night's violence.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede, who also met Archbishop Tutu yesterday, blamed Inkatha supporters for the renewed violence.

In a statement Chief Buthelezi accused the UDF of declaring war on Inkatha. But said in spite of Archbishop Tutu's patronage of the UDF he would create a platform on which all leaders could stand for a joint drive for peace.

Mass meeting

"I could call for the biggest mass meeting that this region of South Africa has ever seen.

"We could put together teams to work in every and any area where there is a threat of violence."

Others who attended the meeting were Archbishop Denis Hurley, the president-elect of the Methodist Church the Rev Stanley Magoba, the Rev P Montgomery and the Rev R Steel of the Congregational Church, secretary-general of Inkatha Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Mr R Arenstein, Inkatha's leader in Maritzburg Mr Velapi Ndlovu and Kwazulu government representative Mr V Mvelase.

Archbishop Hurley described the meeting as "cordial" and "useful".

"It was decided that negotiations would go on and that there will be more meetings. I do not want to say more at this stage except to that this will be an ongoing process."

Miss A Peckham prosecuted. Mr William Booth appeared for Norval.

Mr Tombs

ANC-case man's birth claim rejected

IA From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The British government has rejected ANC-case mystery man Mr Frank Larsen's claim that he was born in Essex in 1931 under the name John Parker.

The police maintain that Parker is another false name and that documentary evidence — including a British certificate — is invalid.

High Court Judge Lord Parker was told yesterday that the police and Home Office maintained that Mr Larsen, 53, was in fact a Norwegian swindler and former mercenary named Mr Johan Viggo Orebak.

They rejected a sworn affidavit in which Mr Larsen, the name he used when he was arrested in July and charged with conspiracy to kidnap ANC leaders in London, claimed he was a top British secret agent who had been working undercover for the Ministry of Defence.

Lord Parker rejected an application for habeus corpus made on Mr Larsen's behalf by barrister Mr Tony Rimmer but granted permission for a judicial review to be heard next week. If the finding goes against Mr Larsen he will be deported to Norway immediately.

The judge also rejected an application for bail for Mr Larsen, who is being held in a high security detention centre.

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JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress veteran, Mr Govan Mbeki, bedecked with a flower garland, arrived at Jan Smuts airport last night to a rowdy welcome from a cheering crowd.

About 500 supporters had gathered in the terminal to greet him.

Before he emerged, the crowd had formed a guard of honour along the length of the arrivals concourse.

Among the supporters were Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, the veteran anti-apartheid activist, Mrs Helen Joseph, and the national secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

As Mr Mbeki emerged, the crowd burst into cheers and chants. Within seconds he was mobbed and police moved in to escort him out of the airport terminal into a waiting car.

Mr Mbeki was driven away soon afterwards, apparently to Soweto where it was arranged a party had been arranged for him.

Associated Press reports that during the two-hour flight to Johannesburg Mr Mbeki had his first experience with some modern devices he had not seen before going to prison. His attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, had to open a pop-top tin of cold-drink for him, and he fumbled with his seat belt, unable to lock it for the landing.

The Minister of Jus-

tice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has muzzled Mr Mbeki, released from Robben Island after 23 years on Thursday, by stressing that he is listed and may not be quoted without permission.

Thursday night's press conference in Port Elizabeth, he said, had been an exception. Mr Mbeki had justified his original listing by stating at the conference that he was still a member of the South African Communist Party, Mr Coetsee said.

Earlier yesterday Mr Mbeki was reunited with his wife Epainette in Port Elizabeth.

He failed to make a planned trip to New Brighton. No reason was given but Mrs Jana dismissed suggestions that he had planned a triumphal return to the township.

It is understood, however, that members of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa (Idamasa), with whom Mr Mbeki spent several hours yesterday, were anxious to keep events as low key as possible in the hope that further political prisoners will be released.

Mr and Mrs Mbeki hugged and kissed as they met in their hotel suite. Later they made their way down to the poolside cocktail bar for

a prayer service and thanksgiving with Mr Mbeki, whose eyesight began to weaken during his years on Robben Island, leaning on his diminutive wife's shoulder.

Mrs Mbeki wept and her husband stood tight-lipped during the service. He raised his clenched fist in salute during the singing of Nkosi Sikele i'Afrika.

The Reverend De Villiers Soga of Idamasa offered a prayer of thanksgiving for his release, stating that it showed that "God cares for us and for what is happening in South Africa".

Mr Soga prayed that God would give Mr Mbeki strength "to continue in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa".

Mr Mbeki's meeting with his wife followed a meeting with a member of a CBS team which has secured rights to exclusive interviews with him — a situation which resulted in pandemonium among photographers and reporters on the one occasion when he did emerge during the day.

Asked how she felt about her husband's release, Mrs Mbeki said it was wonderful, adding that "he looks nice".

She said it had not yet been decided where the couple would settle.

● The chairman of the advisory release board, Mr Justice Kumbleben, said last night Mr Mbeki's attitude to violence had been taken into account by the board, but it was still decided to release him without any conditions.

In an interview with SABC-TV news he said no distinction was drawn between security prisoners and other prisoners and Mr Mbeki's case was decided on the norms which were applied to all prisoners.

He said the board had been aware of Mr Mbeki's attitude to the use of violence, and this had been an important consideration in deciding whether he should be released.

The board had also taken into account the unpredictability of his behaviour after release, but, notwithstanding these factors, it had decided that grounds existed for Mr Mbeki's release without the imposition of any conditions.

Referring to the possible release of Nelson Mandela, he said the case was not on the agenda.

Mbeki mobbed by crowd at airport

11/11/78

A man whose intellect shaped the movement

HARARE — Whereas Oliver Tambo was the meticulous organiser who could hold together the African National Congress's "broad church" and Nelson Mandela was the bulldozing action-man, Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki were the intellectual and theoretical luminaries of the ANC in the 1950s and 1960s.

This is a characterisation of the ANC leadership of that time often heard from exiles.

Mr Mbeki is generally identified with the hard left of the ANC and is believed to be a long-standing member of the outlawed South African Communist Party as well as its predecessor, the Communist Party of South Africa.

Those who have known him during his years of imprisonment on Robben Island say there is no likelihood that he will have altered his commitment to the ANC's armed struggle.

It is known Mr Mbeki sought the ANC's guidance on all aspects of his release.

But the Government can afford to ignore his views about armed struggle as he is unlikely to be able to play any significant activist role.

For exiles the most intriguing aspect of Mr Mbeki's release is that it will provide the Government with a testing ground for the release of the big one: Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

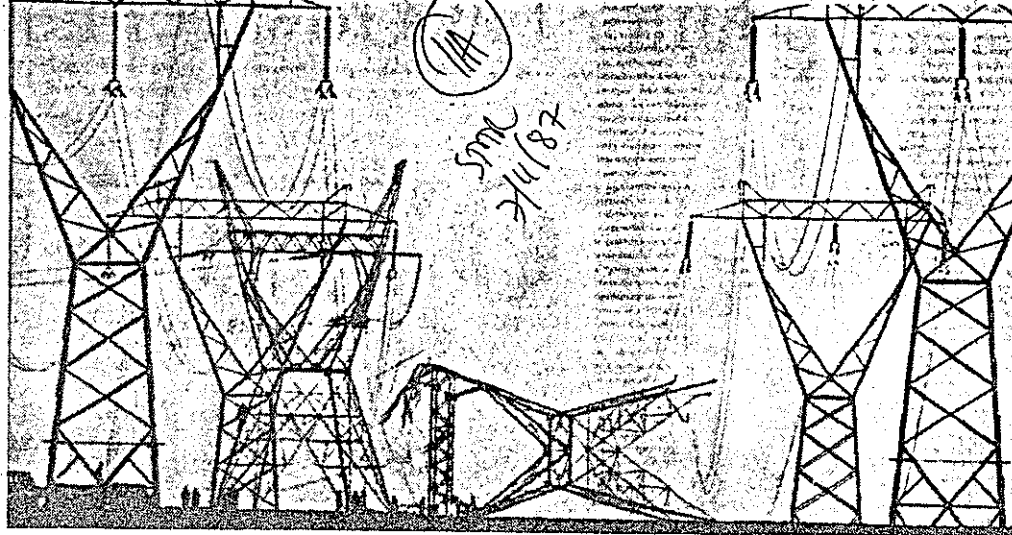
The ANC views Mr Mbeki's freedom as a vic-

**Saturday Star
Africa News
Service**

tory for its campaign for the release of political prisoners. The outlawed movement believes that, when all is said and done, the Government is freeing Mr Mbeki only to take the international heat off a bit. The organisation does not believe his release springs from any new-found humanitarianism in Pretoria.

Mandela's pre-eminence, dynamism and charisma have made him the main focus of the political prisoners campaign, but he has never been the sole intended beneficiary of it.

A warm welcome will await Mr Mbeki from the ANC. His memory commands reverence, he is sometimes referred to as



FLASHBACK: Powerlines sabotaged by Umkhonto we Sizwe after the ANC went underground. Incidents such as this formed the focal point of the Rivonia trial.



Mbeki, in disguise, at the time of his arrest . . . a far cry from the dignified man freed this week.

being "intellectually gifted", and a number of his young proteges have risen to prominence.

These include the highly popular Umkhonto we Sizwe commissar Mr Chris Hani and the ANC's chief representative in Tanzania, Mr Stanley Mabizela. In addition, Mr Govan Mbeki's one son, Thabo, has emerged as a key player in the ANC and a member of the national executive committee, its top political organ.

Mr Govan Mbeki was one of the pivots in the transformation of the ANC in the late 1940s and early 1950s from a somewhat passive body into a combative, campaigning organisation.

He was a key figure in strengthening the marriage of nationalist and working class constitu-

ties that stand at the heart of the ANC.

And later, with the ANC's banning in 1960, he was central in attempts to transform the ANC from a mass legal organisation into one employing the politics of conspiracy necessary in an underground situation.

In 1956, he was elected the ANC's national chairman and he also served on the Joint Committee of the Congress Alliance, which brought together the ANC, South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organisation and the (white) Congress of Democrats. At the time of his arrest in June 1963 at Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, he was secretary of the high command of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Born at Ngqamakwe in

the Transkei in 1910, he was educated at Healdtown and Fort Hare, getting both a BA and diploma in education and, later, a B.Econ through Unisa. He involved himself in politics in the Transkei, becoming chief organiser of the Transkei Organised Bodies, which co-ordinated a number of African organisations.

He joined the ANC in 1935 and, in succeeding years, played an important role in building the ANC branch in the Eastern Cape into its most effective of any in the country — the results of which are still evident today. In 1943, he was among the leading ANC members to produce "African Claims", subsequently adopted as a basic policy document of the ANC.

When he was dismissed shortly after taking up a teaching post in Ladysmith, Natal in 1954, he returned to Port Elizabeth to become local editor of the leftwing newspapers, "New Age" and "Spark" until they were banned, and continued organising for the ANC in the region. Among those Mr Mbeki was ordering around at this time was King Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembu tribe.

After the Sharpeville shootings, Mr Mbeki was among the thousands detained, spending five months behind bars. After Umkhonto we Sizwe announced its birth on December 16 1961 with a spate of bombings, he was among those arrested. But the State did not succeed in getting a conviction under the Ex-

plosives Act and he was released.

During these periods of imprisonment he wrote much of the manuscript, later published as "The Peasants Revolt", which dealt with the uprising in Pondoland in 1960. Parts of it were written on toilet paper smuggled out of his cell. He also authored a second book, "The Transkei in the Making". Rather than tolerate the house-arrest order imposed on him in 1963, he moved underground at the behest of the ANC national executive and then, after his capture at Rivonia, was sentenced to life imprisonment with Mandela, Sisulu and five others. The charges were attempting to overthrow the state by violent revolution.

In 1970, he gained an honours degree in eco-

nomics through study whilst in prison. And, in 1978, the University of Amsterdam awarded him an honorary doctorate and established the Govan Mbeki Foundation. In 1981, the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) awarded Mr Mbeki the Julius Fucik medal, named after an East European communist journalist brutally tortured and then murdered by the Nazis.

ANC spokesman Mr Victor Mophe is reported to have said in a radio interview monitored in London that he foresaw an active role for Mr Mbeki in the organisation following his release.

"Most certainly, yes," he said when asked about the possibility of an active role. "He will resume his leadership of the ANC."

FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER

33 1/3%

Govt's act can 'only promote peace'

The reaction to the release of Mr Govan Mbeki and four other political prisoners was generally welcomed in South Africa and around the world.

● Zambia's Mr Daniel Lisulo, chairman of the political sub-

constitution for one South Africa."

● AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said it was "proof the Government had capitulated to the ANC and the Communist Party"

● The Chief Minister of kaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said: "This conciliatory move will undoubtedly indicate not only to all South Africans but to the international community a willingness on the part of the Govern-

ment, we will have come a long way towards real and lasting reform."

● The British government said it "wholeheartedly welcomed" the release.

representative in
nia, Mr Stanley
la. In addition, Mr
Mbeki's one son,
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ayer in the ANC
member of the na-
executive commit-
ts top political

Govan Mbeki was
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formation of the
n the late 1940s and
1950s from a some-
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was a key figure in
gthening the mar-
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spiracy necessary in
an underground situation.

In 1956, he was elected
the ANC's national chair-
man and he also served
on the Joint Committee
of the Congress Alliance,
which brought together
the ANC, South African
Indian Congress, the Col-
oured People's Organisa-
tion and the (white) Con-
gress of Democrats. At
the time of his arrest in
June 1963 at Lilliesleaf
Farm, Rivonia, he was
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EVER

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3 1/3% OFF EVERYTHING

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everything

Govt's act can 'only promote peace'

The reaction to the release of Mr Govan Mbeki and four other political prisoners was generally welcomed in South Africa and around the world.

- Zambia's Mr Daniel Lisulo, chairman of the political sub-committee of the ruling United National Independence Party central committee, said Zambia hoped the State President, Mr P W Botha, would go further and free other political prisoners.
- While welcoming the releases, the Azanian Youth Congress said: "The black community accepts this supposedly bold action by the Government, but we are perturbed and disgusted by the release of the AWB members."
- Lebowa's new Chief Minister, Mr Mogoboya Noko Nelson Ramodike, said: "I hope other prisoners, like Nelson Mandela will be released, so that everybody can participate in drawing up a

constitution for one South Africa"

- AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said it was "proof the Government had capitulated to the ANC and the Communist Party".
- Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said: "The release of a leader who challengingly says he is still a Communist, supports the ANC, and does not forswear violence is not an act of compassion, rather one of repudiation of our sons on the border."
- United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) president Mr Tom Boya said no political dispensation or forum — including the National Council — would get off the ground unless it had been "negotiated" with "national heroes" like Mbeki, Mandela and Sisulu.

- The Chief Minister of kaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said: "This conciliatory move will undoubtedly indicate not only to all South Africans but to the international community a willingness on the part of the Government to make a real move towards negotiated reform."
- The president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Dr Khoza Mgojo, said the government's "statesmanlike act" could "only promote goodwill and peace in our land".
- Mrs Rebecca Matsobane said the release of her husband, Pan Africanist Congress member Mr Sello Matsobane, would end years of loneliness.
- The right wing International Freedom Foundation's Southern African director, Mr Russell Crystal, said: "If Mr Mbeki takes this opportunity to renounce violence and engage in peaceful ne-

gotiations with the Government, we will have come a long way towards real and lasting reform."

- The British government said it "wholeheartedly welcomed" the release.
- In British Press reaction, *The Independent* said the Government had moved decisively to break the logjam in apartheid politics. The release was interpreted as the first step in a new approach that might lead to freedom for Mandela.
- *The Financial Times* said the release was "widely seen as a test of the likely reaction within the black community and among right-wing whites before the possible release of Mandela and leaders of other organisations".
- *The Guardian* said the releases would inevitably give rise to further speculation that Mandela and others may be released in the coming months.

Times have changed since the Rivonia trial

CAPE TOWN — It was the swinging Sixties. Back in 1964 the Beatles were conquering the pop world, England was two years away from winning the soccer World Cup — and in South Africa eight men were appearing in the sensational Rivonia treason trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Accused number four was journalist Govan Archibald Mbeki, then 54, who was released last night after serving 23 years of a life sentence on Robben Island.

The world Mbeki left then is vastly different from the world he returned to on Thursday, white-haired and now a venerable 77.

It will take him some time to adjust to the 1980s.

Life was cheaper, different and more laid back in 1964 according to dusty, yellowing newspapers in The Star archives.

On June 12 1964 The Star reported in banner headlines on the front page that the Rivonia treason trialists had been sentenced to life imprisonment.

On the same day the Select Committee on Coinage recommended that the ticky — worth 2½c — should remain in circulation and that a new gold coin, the Trojan, be struck. The ticky has since disappeared. So has the ½c coin. The Trojan never saw the light of day and the Krugerrand is still going strong.

Milk was sold for an unbelievable 6c a pint over the counter, and home deliveries cost

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

6½c a pint.

The newspaper advertisements of those times are enough to make a grown man cry. Amid stock market crashes, the seemingly constant dwindling of the buying power of the rand, it is heartbreaking to note that in 1964 furniture stores offered a three-piece lounge suite for R128,50 cash or R1,29 weekly.

Remember those good times? Clothes were marvellously cheap. Anyone with R10,25 in his pocket could buy a three-piece men's suit or a dress for R4,50.

The Fab Four from Liverpool never toured South Africa, but their South African fans could buy Beatles sweaters and dresses, and a Beatles seven-single cost you 79c.

Petty apartheid was still rife and more noticeable than it is today. Benches with "Whites Only — Slegs vir Blankes" were everywhere.

Best-selling author Wilbur Smith had just written his first best-seller. "When the Lion Feeds" was one of the five most popular books (fiction), according to leading booksellers.

Another was John le Carre's spy classic, "The Spy Who Came In From The Cold". Richard Burton, now two years dead, had no idea then that he would play the lead in the movie version of the novel.

On the day the Rivonia plotters were arrested — July 11 1963 — His Majesty's theatre, celebrating its 50th anniversary, was showing "Lawrence of Arabia" introducing a young virtual "unknown" named Peter O'Toole.

"Pyjama Tops" was at the Brooke Theatre and at another Johannesburg cinema Elvis Presley was starring in "It Happened at the World's Fair".

Jazz musician Chris McGregor — he was no veteran then — and his Blue Notes played their farewell concert at the Weizmann Hall, Sea Point, while Jean Rockwell, the Falcons, and the Flames played at a concert at the Luxurama Theatre in Wynberg. Tickets were 50c for adults and 35c for children.

Newspaper subscribers could have the paper delivered at their homes — including Saturdays — for R3,04 for three months, R6 for six months and R12 for a year's subscription.

Newspapers, following the official line, called a coloured a coloured, a black a native and a white a white.

The Right Reverend Selby Taylor (54), formerly Bishop of Grahamstown, was elected head of the Anglican Church in South Africa.

On the international front, France established links with Communist China, Mr Lyndon Johnson was president of the United States, and the Cuban leader Fidel Castro visited the Soviet Union.

Mappin Plate

andburg

Two wounded in Natal as clerics, leaders start talks

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Two men were wounded when birdshot was used to ward off a group of armed blacks who attacked a police foot patrol in Ashdown, near here, on Thursday.

According to the overnight unrest report released in Pretoria yesterday the group was armed with stones, knobkerries and assegais.

Two wounded and a further 27 men and nine youths were also arrested, the report said.

In another incident in the same area a 37-year-old man was seriously injured when a group of youths at-

tacked him with knives.

Police have arrested two youths.

Meanwhile, South African church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Denis Hurley, held meetings yesterday with leaders of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha to discuss an end to the conflict between the organizations.

Details of the meeting with the UDF are unclear.

They also met an Inkatha delegation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Maritzburg leaders and the leader of the youth brigade, Mr Musa Zondi.



REUNITED ... Mr Govan Mbeki reunited with his wife Epainette yesterday.

Cape Times 7/11/87

Big crowd cheers Mbeki at Jan Smuts

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki, bedecked with a flower garland, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night to a rowdy welcome from a cheering crowd of about 500.

He was also greeted by police with dogs.

Before his emergence, the crowd formed a guard of honour at the concourse for the former ANC chairman.

Among the first supporters to meet him in an airport room were Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Helen Joseph, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu,

and UDF treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia.

As Mr Mbeki emerged, the crowd burst into cheers and chants.

He was mobbed and police moved in to escort him out of the airport terminal into a waiting car. Scuffles erupted and one youth was brought down by dogs.

Mr Mbeki was driven away soon afterwards — apparently to Soweto, where it was believed a party had been arranged for him.

Before Mr Mbeki's arrival, the terminal was patrolled by about 35 policemen with dogs who announced to the waiting supporters that in terms of airport regulations no placards were allowed to be displayed.

Hears for Mandela

111
CANC T-1075
7/10/77

WHILE the Department of Justice would not be drawn yesterday on the possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, his daughter in Washington expressed fears for his safety should he leave jail.

Mrs Zenani Dlamini told the Washington Post magazine she expected her father's release from prison "soon" but feared what the South African government or young black

Militants might do to him

"Some black South Africans don't want daddy out of jail because, well, daddy is a powerful personality," she said. "Many people, of course, will see him as the leader of black South Africa if he is released from prison and ignore many of the people now in the leadership."

She was interviewed soon after the release of Mr Mandela's top lieutenant, Mr Govan Mbeki, who spent his first hours of freedom yesterday under guard at a luxury hotel in Port Elizabeth after his 23 years in jail.

Prison officials and police kept watch on the hotel amid fears of an attack by white extremists on the ANC leader.

Reporters warned

Mr Mbeki, former national chairman of the ANC, flew to Johannesburg last night after being reunited with his wife, Epainette, yesterday afternoon and spending much of the rest of the day avoiding the media.

In Pretoria the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, issued a statement warning reporters that nothing Mr Mbeki said could be recorded or published because he is a "listed" member of the Communist Party.

Mr Coetsee authorized an exemption for Mr Mbeki's first news conference yesterday.

In Washington Mrs Dlamini, who lives with her husband and three children in Boston, told the Washington Post magazine in an interview to be published tomorrow that her optimism was sparked in May when she and Mr Robert Brown, a black businessman, were allowed to visit Mr Mandela, 69, for two hours and to discuss the previously forbidden subject of politics.

Mr Brown told the Post Mr Mandela told him he wanted to negotiate a peaceful settlement between black and white South Africans.

"For the first time in my life I have the feeling that my father's release is not remote," said Mrs Dlamini, who was three when her father was jailed in 1962.

"When I was eight or nine I came to realize that I had no daddy at home," she said. "Other children had fathers who came home from work. My daddy stayed in jail. That was his job, my mother told us."

Mrs Dlamini recalled that relatives often took care of her and her sister, Zindziswa, because her mother, Winnie, was frequently arrested. At the time, she said, she had little understanding that South Africa's racially segregated society was different from other countries.

"When my eldest daughter was six months old, in December '77, we had our first contact with daddy," she said. "It was the first time Muzi (her husband) saw him... He stood up and we hugged. He said it was the first time in 15 years he had held a baby."

Meanwhile, in Port Elizabeth yesterday, a few white guests looked on from the balconies of their rooms as some 20 priests and well-wishers

To page 3

From page 1

prayed, chanted ANC slogans and sang the unofficial black national anthem "Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika".

Mrs Mbeki wept and her husband stood tight-lipped while a black Presbyterian clergyman thanked God for "keeping him in your care all these years on Robben Island, along with all those others (political prisoners) who are still there".

Mr Mbeki plans to address a press conference arranged by the South African Council of Churches at Khotsa House at noon today.

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, evicted most of the reporters and photographers who besieged his room yesterday, allowing in a few friends and a delegation of local clergymen.

Ms Jana said Mr Mbeki had not yet decided where he would live.

Sapa reports that Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Albertina Sisulu left Johannesburg yesterday to meet Mr Mbeki in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Mbeki's planned reception in New Brighton township was suddenly cancelled after a spokesman for the ANC leader said negotiations with the Minister of Justice were still in progress.

Reaction to Mr Mbeki's release continued to flood in yesterday.

ANC expert Dr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand said: "This is probably a carefully timed move to test the waters before deciding on the more major event of freeing Mandela."

The British government — which initially delayed its response — has wholeheartedly welcomed the decision to release Mr Mbeki, a spokesman said in London.

The chairman of the advisory release board, Mr Justice ME Kumleben, said last night on SATV that Mr Mbeki's attitude to violence had been taken into account by the board but it had still been decided to release him without any conditions. — Political Correspondent, Sapa-AP and UPI

CUT HERE

Life in a whirl for Mbeki

W/E ARGUS 7/11/87



Mrs Mamotseki Mbeki weeps as she stands with her husband after 23 years on Robben Island. On the right, the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth

Weekend Argus Reporters and Sapa

LIFE for 77-year-old Mr Govan Mbeki has been a whirlwind of events ever since his release late on Thursday.

And if Port Elizabeth gave him a rather muted welcome, not so the Transvaal.

His arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday was every bit as dramatic as when he left 23 years ago: chaotic scenes, a melee of hundreds of chanting supporters baton-charged and chased around by police dogs, and hordes of local and international news crews adding to the confusion.

The wives of his Rivonia co-trialists, wearing the colours of the African National Congress, were there to welcome him at Jan Smuts Airport. The same women had seen him and his comrades being whisked off to Robben Island almost a quarter century ago.

Hundreds of jubilant blacks screaming their cheers nearly overwhelmed police when they storm the airport to greet the released prisoner.

Journalists, police at press conference

W/E ARGUS 7/11/87

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A press conference given by Mr Mbeki went off without incident in the South African Council of Churches headquarters here this afternoon.

More than 100 local and foreign journalists heard Mr Mbeki give his view of the present situation in South Africa and comment on possible solutions to the country's problems. Mr Mbeki is a listed person and may not be quoted in South Africa.

The press conference was also attended by the wives of other imprisoned ANC leaders, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Police kept a low profile around Cosatu House where the press conference was held but the people attending were filmed as they entered the building by a police video unit in a flat across the street.

Pressmen identified several

security police photographers at the conference.

It was disclosed at the conference that Mr Mbeki was released "without conditions" and that he had talked with Nelson Mandela and other jailed leaders before being released.

A UDF statement read out by Mrs Sisulu said the organisation was "elated at the release of a giant of the struggle".

The statement said: "He has returned to a South Africa in the grip of a state of emergency, a climate similar to the one in which he was jailed."

After reading the statement Mrs Sisulu said she never thought she would live to see the day she would be able to welcome one of the nation's leaders from jail.

Speaking without notes, Mrs Mandela said she was ashamed to have to welcome Mr Mbeki back to a country that was still not free, 22 years after he had been jailed.

A possible riot was averted by Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of Mr Nelson Mandela, who was imprisoned with Mr Mbeki 23 years ago, and by the thin, mustached police officer who ordered his men to stay away from the excited, defiant crowd, and promised Mrs Mandela that no force would be used to disperse them.

Mrs Mandela, wearing a green silk African print dress and head scarf marched along the street in front of the Jan Smuts International Airport Terminal, just in front of the car carrying Mr Mbeki, his wife, and some black leaders who had come to the airport to hug and kiss the 77-year-old man.

Behind the car, marched more than 100 blue-uniformed policemen, with batons in their hands. Security policemen occasionally tackled journalists who were marching backwards, taking pictures of the dramatic parade.

The hundreds of blacks, who had squashed police and Press in their exuberance to cheer Mr Mbeki, surged out of the arrivals hall in a huge swirling mass around him. "Viva, viva, viva," they chanted with raised fists, while some among the crowd yelled for silence so they could hear anything Mr Mbeki might say.

The crowd, most of them young, scattered and hurled themselves over barricades when the police drove up and jumped out of their trucks. But there were no reports of any arrests or injuries.

Mrs Mandela had been planning to drive away with Mr Mbeki and the others. But she jumped out of the surrounded car to ask the police to move back. The officer in charge approached her, and she whirled around.

"Why should your men be running all over there chasing these people because they have come to meet Mr

Mbeki? You are provoking people who have done absolutely nothing, in front of a man who has been in prison for over 23 years."

"I give you my word," the officer said, "no force would be used. He turned towards his men, raised his hands and addressed them in Afrikaans. They stepped back and let the car pass, as scores of youths ran along next to it, chanting as they escorted it toward the airport exit.

During the two-hour flight to Johannesburg, Mr Mbeki had his first

the hotel suite furnished with a luxury settler style where relics hung in cases on the

Quietly sobbing with Mbeki, a Transkei shop-her husband whose sight during the 23 years he spent on Robben Island, on to a Port Elizabeth lawn for a thanksgiving.

It was the climax to a day of confusion at the hotel as the staff at the hotel welcomed him for higher wages.

His first 24 hours of frantic and riddled with Even chequebook journalists' head as an American crew rudely shooed off men in Port Elizabeth, have "exclusive rights" to

But because of the striking staff at the hotel, reporters posed as waiters, offered refreshments to the suite and stayed to get to

For a man who unrepentantly embraces the ideals of the Party, he was accorded treatment by a government member of the Bureau of Information. Mr Caspar Venter Pretoria to Port Elizabeth. He gave his Press conference in front of the hotel.

The man who told the Press conference he remained a communist was welcomed with prayer service conducted by clergymen at the hotel and stood with his head bowed as prayers were said.

One of the first things he did was to call his publicity secretary of the executive

Welcomed with a prayer service

experience with some modern devices he had not seen before going to prison. His attorney, Priscilla Jana, had to open a pop-top can of carbonated drink for him, and he fumbled with his seat belt, unable to lock it for the landing.

Mr Mbeki and his wife, Mamotseki, 71, earlier in the day embraced for the first time in six years at the Port Elizabeth hotel where he had been released Thursday.

Mr Mbeki and his 71-year-old wife hugged and kissed when they met in

Daughter fears for Mandela's safety

WASHINGTON. — The eldest daughter of Nelson Mandela says she thinks her father will be released from prison soon, but she fears what the Pretoria government or young black militants might do to him.

"Some black South Africans don't want Daddy out of jail because, well, Daddy is a powerful personality," Zenani Mandela Dlamini said.

"Many people, of course, will see him as the leader of black South Africa if he is released from prison, and ignore many of the people now in the leadership."

Mrs Dlamini, who lives with her husband and three children in Boston, told the Washington Post magazine that she had been encouraged by reports that the South African Government did not want her 69-year-old father to die in jail.

Peaceful

She said her optimism was sparked in May, when she and Robert Brown, a black businessman, were allowed to visit Mr Mandela for two hours and discuss the previously forbidden subject of politics. Mr Brown was nominated by President Reagan to be ambassador to South Africa but later withdrew his name.

Mr Brown told the Post that Mr Mandela told him he wanted to negotiate a peaceful settlement between black and white South Africans.

Mrs Dlamini said: "For the first time in my life, I have the feeling that his release is not remote." — Sapa-AP.



Picture: PETER STANFORD, Weekend Argus.

Mrs Mamotseki Mbeki weeps as she stands with her husband Govan, released on Thursday after 23 years on Robben Island. On the right, among pressmen and well-wishers, is the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt Rev Bruce Evans.

Mrs Mbeki: "You are provoking people who have done absolutely nothing, in front of a man who has been in prison for over 23 years."

"I give you my assurance," the officer said, promising force would be used. He turned towards his men, raised his hands and addressed them in Afrikaans. They stepped back and let the car pass, as scores of youths ran along next to it, chanting as they escorted it toward the airport exit.

During the two-hour flight to Johannesburg, Mr Mbeki had his first

the hotel suite furnished in 19th-century settler style where old hunting relics hung in cases on the walls.

Quietly sobbing with joy, Mrs Mbeki, a Transkei shopkeeper, led her husband whose sight deteriorated during the 23 years he spent on Robben Island, on to a Port Elizabeth hotel lawn for a thanksgiving service.

It was the climax to a day of chaos and confusion at the hotel. As journalists from all over the world and a multitude of well-wishers crowded out the public rooms and corridors, the staff at the hotel were on strike for higher wages.

His first 24 hours of freedom were hectic and riddled with paradox. Even chequebook journalism reared its head as an American television crew rudely shooed off other newsmen in Port Elizabeth, claiming to have "exclusive rights" to the story.

But because of the strike by catering staff at the hotel, determined reporters posed as waiters and delivered refreshments to Mr Mbeki's suite and stayed to get the story.

For a man who unrepentantly embraces the ideals of the Communist Party, he was accorded red-carpet treatment by a government implacably opposed to communism: Senior member of the Bureau for Information, Mr Caspar Venter, flew from Pretoria to Port Elizabeth to co-ordinate his Press conference at a beach-front hotel.

The man who told the packed Press conference he remains a communist was welcomed with a solemn prayer service conducted by leading clergymen at the hotel's poolside, and stood with his head bowed when prayers were said.

One of the first things Mr Mbeki did was to call his exiled son Thabo, publicity secretary of the ANC and a member of its executive committee.

Welcomed with a prayer service

experience with some modern devices he had not seen before going to prison. His attorney, Priscilla Jana, had to open a pop-top can of carbonated drink for him, and he fumbled with his seat belt, unable to lock it for the landing.

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Mr Mbeki and his 71-year-old wife hugged and kissed when they met in

MBEKI IS BACK IN THE FRAY

Released
ANC boss
offers
to help
settle
faction
war
in Natal

STWWS
8/11/87
11A

Sunday Times Reporters

FREED African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki was leaving the Government in no doubt this weekend that he is back in political business.

Within hours of his release from prison, the white-haired ANC chairman plunged back into the political fray with an offer to mediate in the violence between warring Inkatha and UDF-linked factions in Natal's townships.

The offer was instantly accepted by Inkatha, thus raising the intriguing possibility that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu may soon be dealing directly with the ANC.

Also now on the cards is the possibility that Mr Mbeki may become the nucleus of an unofficial and public "internal" wing of the banned ANC.

Mr Mbeki, 77, has made it clear that his political views remain as determinedly communist as they were when he was jailed for plotting the downfall of the Government 23 years ago.

And he promised a visit to Lusaka to meet the exiled ANC leadership — including his son, Thabo, who is information chief of the banned organisation and regarded as one of its rising stars.

Government sources were at pains to stress that Mr Mbeki is a free agent — he may go where he pleases, see whom he likes, and engage in lawful politics.

But, as a listed person, he may not be quoted in South African newspapers.

The ageing activist's release sparked widespread celebrations in South Africa's black townships — and also a sense of anticipation that the country's long-deadlocked political scene may be shifting gear.

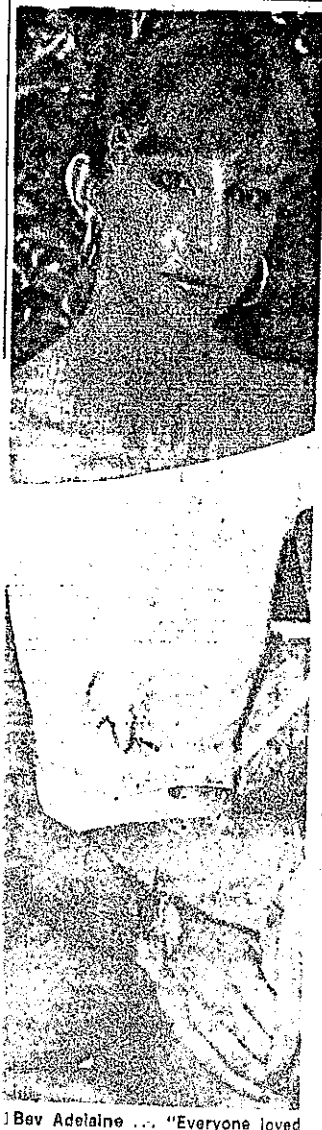
His choice of the Natal violence as starting point for a resumed political career is fraught with danger.

The clashes between Inkatha and UDF-linked groups have so far claimed 170 lives and resulted in troops being deployed in the area.



Govan Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela face the Johannesburg Press

MY
HELL
with
the
beast
who
slew
Carla



Bev Delaine ... "Everyone loved

spread celebrations in South Africa's black townships — and also a sense of anticipation that the country's long-deadlocked political scene may be shifting gear.

His choice of the Natal violence as starting point for a resumed political career is fraught with danger.

The clashes between Inkatha and UDF-linked groups have so far claimed 170 lives and resulted in troops being deployed in the worst-hit townships in the Natal Midlands.

Attempts by UDF leaders and Archbishop Desmond Tutu to defuse the issue in talks with Chief Buthelezi on Friday were only partially successful: the antagonism between Inkatha and UDF runs extremely deep.

Mr Mbeki's comments at a Johannesburg Press conference yesterday cannot be reported in terms of the law.

But it was clear that he did not intend relinquishing a political role inside and outside the country and that the ANC was deeply concerned about the savage violence in Natal.

Mr Govan Mbeki's offer of assistance in settling the war in Maritzburg's townships

BACK TO THE CROWDS AND COPS

See Page 3

has been welcomed by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, general secretary of Inkatha.

He said yesterday he was sure Inkatha would give its full co-operation to Mr Mbeki's initiative.

"Since Inkatha is seriously trying to end the violence, without co-operation from the UDF leadership, we would heartily welcome the involvement of Mr Mbeki as mediator in the current conflict in Maritzburg.

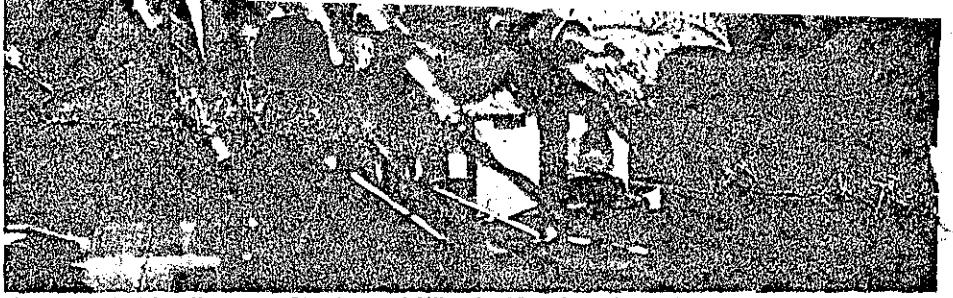
"We have always felt that the imprisoned political leaders, once they are released, could play a vital role in bringing about unity among all black political groupings across the political spectrum.

"I have no doubt that if Mr Mbeki did decide to get involved in Maritzburg, he would receive the full co-operation of the president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and our local Inkatha leadership in Maritzburg," Dr Dhlomo said.

The release of Mr Mbeki, meanwhile, follows months

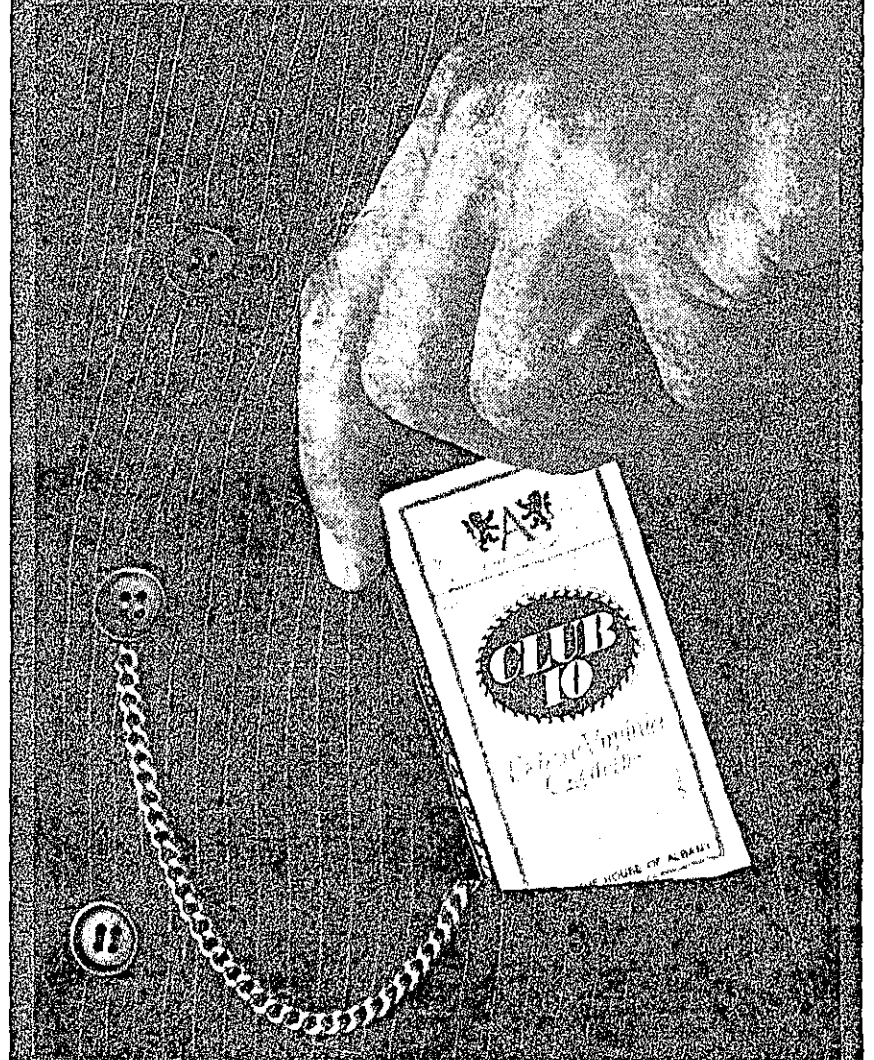
□ To Page 2

The contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.



Govan Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela face the Johannesburg Press

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DELUXE VIRGINIA CIGARETTES FROM THE HOUSE OF ALBANY

P.T.O.

Continued

□ From Page 1

of careful screening by the Government's Release Advisory Board under Mr Justice Kumleben.

It was, however, only the shift in Government policy in August this year — whereby the Government quietly shelved its insistence that prisoners renounce violence — that made this week's dramatic event possible.

According to informed sources, the system had not worked because some prisoners with bad records and dubious intentions had willingly signed the declaration, while other prisoners whom the Prison's Department considered more suitable could not qualify.

Hijack

Mr Mbeki was not asked to give any undertakings or assurances before his release, but Government sources indicated this week that they had the fullest confidence that Mr Mbeki would not abuse his freedom.

There is, however, deep concern that radical activists

Mbeki is back in business — and eyes Maritzburg

might try to hijack the emotions surrounding his release for their own ends.

The Government's view is that some elements in the ANC would welcome an outburst of violence in the wake of Mr Mbeki's release, thus jeopardising further prisoner releases — including Nelson Mandela. They would prefer him to remain in prison as a symbol of resistance.

The Release Advisory Board proposed some weeks ago that Mr Mbeki be released and it was accepted by President Botha recently.

Mr Mbeki — clad in a suit provided by the Prisons Department — was brought from Robben Island to Pollsmoor, where he had an hour-long meeting with Nelson Mandela — their first in four years.

A Prison's Department officer was assigned to help him with his transfer, and protection was provided until he was safely ensconced in Port Elizabeth. He is cur-

rently being protected by his lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, and a contingent of supporters.

Mr Mbeki's supporters fear he might be a target of rightwing violence — also of concern to the Government who have made it clear to him that he is entitled to po-

Freed rightwingers are also gagged

Sunday Times Reporter

THE two rightwing activists released this week with ANC prisoners are as securely gagged as their black counterparts.

Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik Jacobs, members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, were jailed after being convicted of various offences under the Internal Security Act.

Together they accumulated arms and plotted to assassinate political personalities and commit sabotage at a homeland casino.

The terms of their parole,

lice protection whenever he requires it.

The release of Mbeki, it is reliably understood, is not part of a broader and carefully orchestrated package to bring about reconciliation with either the ANC or Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Instead it is a first step which, if successful, could lead to other prisoner releases and the possible creation of an atmosphere in which political negotiations can begin.

Government sources, meanwhile, have pointed out that the release of Mr Mbeki was taken entirely at their own initiative and not subject to any pressures.

They also warn that, if it leads to renewed violence, it will mean the end of any further moves to release prisoners.

however, demand that they do not speak to the Press.

Government sources said their conviction under the Internal Security Act means they are "listed" and cannot be quoted.

Govan Mbeki, the most prominent of the ANC prisoners released on Thursday, was listed in 1952, which means that he cannot be quoted without Government permission.

Petane refused POW status

CP Correspondent

ANC member Mxolisi Edward Petane, 29, of New Crossroads, has lost an appeal to be accorded prisoner-of-war status in terms of the 1977 Geneva Protocol. Outside the Dion's Shopping Centre in Parow in July last year. In argument on the Geneva Protocol issue, the counsel for Petane said the device was incapable of exploding.

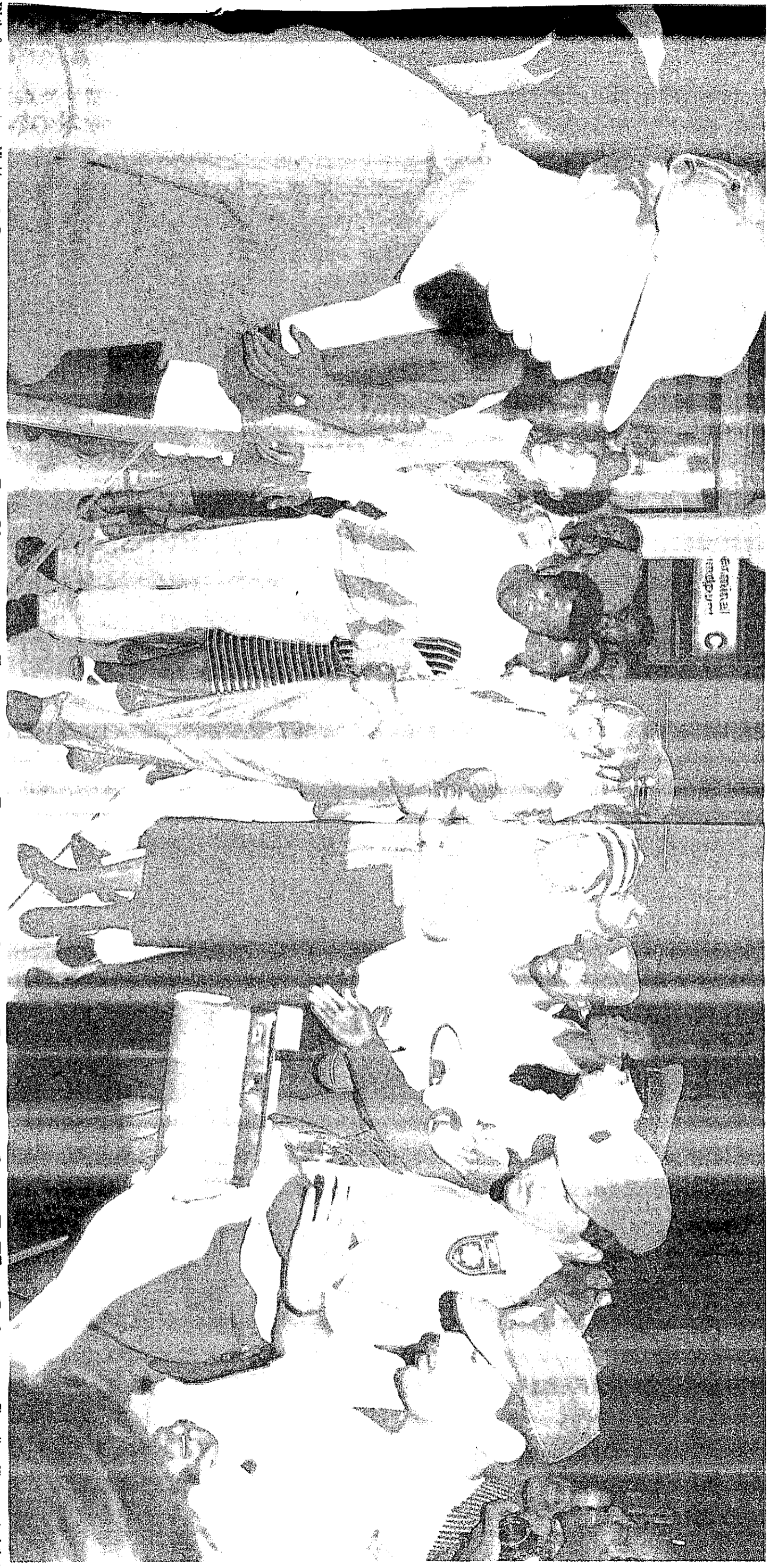
Petane's application was rejected in the Cape Town Supreme Court this week. In September, Petane refused to plead to the charges and pleas of not guilty were entered by the court.

Charges of terrorism and two of attempted murder against Petane will now proceed. Judge Conradie is sitting with assessors WR Vivier and LP Francis. DW Roth-

An allegation in one of the terrorism counts is that Petane placed a car-bomb well, SC, and M Stowe appeared for the State.

Back to the crowds and cops

Times November 8, 1985



23 years on . . . defiance, dogs and a hero's welcome for Mbeki

BY EZRA MANTINI

Supporters came by bus from Soweto to give the freed ANC leader a hero's welcome.

With Winnie Mandela clutching his arm, the elegantly dressed and bespectacled Mr Mbeki had to fight his way through the jubilant throng.

Picture: JUDAN KOOS

As he emerged from terminal C at the airport, he was met by Mrs Mandela and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu. When Mr Mbeki first walked through the doors leading from the tarmac, there was a roar as he was almost swamped by the crowd. Chants of "Viva ANC! Viva Mbeki! Viva Tambo!" were accompanied by raised fists.

A reception committee comprising Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Sydney Madimand, general secretary of Losers, and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the NCB, tried to guide the crowd for Mr Mbeki to deliver a speech, but it soon became clear that this would be impossible.

At one stage it seemed that the crowd would clash with police as wildly singing and shouting supporters pressed forward against hastily erected barricades.

That was when Mrs Mandela intervened and quietly and diplomatically conferred with the officer in charge of the 100-strong police contingent.

Mrs Mandela, wearing an African print dress and head scarf in the ANC's black, yellow and green colours, talked quietly to the officer in charge and implored him to ensure that his men did not over-react to the crush of chanting and singing supporters.

In the 23 years since Mbeki was jailed, the ANC changed a lot. But one thing has remained the same: the black struggle for freedom.

Mr Mbeki, who was released from Port Elizabeth in 1985, met Mrs Mandela when she flew to Johannesburg from Port Elizabeth.

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Motsobane still committed to Africanist, non-racial ideals

11A Smith
9/14/87

AFTER 10 years in jail, Mr Mike Sello Matsobane (46), still upholds Africanist and non-racial ideals.

Interviewed shortly after he had arrived at his new Kagiso home near Krugersdorp on Friday afternoon, Mr Matsobane, however, cast doubts about the exact nature of his new found freedom following several parole restrictions that were served on him immediately after his release.

Mr Matsobane was convicted of furthering the aims of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in the marathon Bethal trial in 1979, and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment of which he served eight on Robben Island.

He was released on Thursday together with six other political prisoners who include Rivonia treason trialist, Mr Govan Mbeki.

Among the restrictions imposed on Mr Matsobane is that he should not engage in any political activities until September 1990, failing which the Commissioner of Prisons

By ALI MPHAKI

may suspend his parole.

If the Commissioner of Prisons notices that he has not been observing the conditions he will be detained until the Commissioner is satisfied with his conduct.

Other conditions are that:

- He must report to the Kagiso or Krugersdorp police station;
- For the duration of the parole he is under the control of the commanding officer of Krugersdorp Prisons;
- A warrant of his arrest can be issued and he can be detained at any time depending on the discretion of the authorities;
- He must report within a month his residential address at the Kagiso or Krugersdorp police stations; and
- The Commissioner of Prisons may at any time alter or correct any of the conditions or make applicable any of the conditions not originally included in the present form.

The soft-spoken Mr



HAPPY REUNION: Mr Matthews Matsobane with his wife after his release last week after spending eight years on Robben Island.

Matsobane, commonly known as Sello, said he will be visiting the Krugersdorp Magistrate today for further explanations about the conditions.

ON THE LINE
columnist Aggrey
Klaaste is overseas.
He will resume his
column next week.

TOMORROW/TV REVIEWS/PERSPECTIVE/SWOP-A-STAMP/STARS FORETELL

NKOSI SLAMS SENTENCE

YESTERDAY was the first Sunday in over twenty-four years that John Nkosi (46) spent free of the fear that at about 6am he must be locked up in his cell.

In July 1963 a Pretoria judge sentenced him and five other Pretoria activists to terms of imprisonment varying from five years to life. Nkosi, then 21 and a Form One student, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Nkosi remembered

By MONK NKOMO

those days as he spoke to the *Sowetan* at his home on Friday.

"The sentences we received were more than harsh. We were students and what we had planned had not even materialised. We had not used the weapons we had," he said.

Despite his belief that the sentences were harsh, Nkosi is one of three PAC stalwarts to reject President PW Botha's offer of a conditional release two years ago. The others are PAC president Zeph Mothopeng and Jeff Masemola, who were both sentenced to life with Nkosi in 1963.

Mr Nkosi said he did not respond to the Government's amnesty offer in 1985 "because the conditions of release were very unreasonable."

One of the conditions of release, he said, was to renounce violence.

"We had already served 22 years in jail and a conditional release was unacceptable," he said.

Mr Nkosi was arrested at a house in Lady Selborne at about midnight on April 8, 1963.

Happy

"I was on the run at the time after reading in newspapers that a number of PAC members had already been arrested in Atteridgeville in March that year," he said.

At the time of his arrest, Mr Nkosi said he worked as a messenger at the Department of Inland Revenue in Pretoria. Although he was happy to be released, Mr Nkosi said he was disappointed that his "comrade," Mr Jeff Masemola, who was sentenced with him to life imprisonment, was still in jail.

"I have a strong hope that Jeff as well as other political prisoners will be freed," he said.

Degree

Mr Nkosi, born at Riverside near Pretoria on September 14, 1941, said he became involved in politics and joined the PAC in 1960.

Mr Nkosi studied for his Junior and Matric certificates while in prison, and is presently studying for a degree in computer science.

"I am left with two more modules to get my



BACK HOME: Mr John Nkosi (in spectacles) celebrating his release from prison yesterday. Since his release on Friday his Atteridgeville home has been a beehive of activity with friends and well-wishers coming to see him.

degree," said Mr Nkosi, who is writing his final examinations this week. He told the *Sowetan* that he has not yet decided about his political involvement as he still has domestic problems to attend to. Asked about his marriage plans, he smiled and said: "I have not yet thought about that. I presently do not have even a handkerchief or a blanket to sleep under."

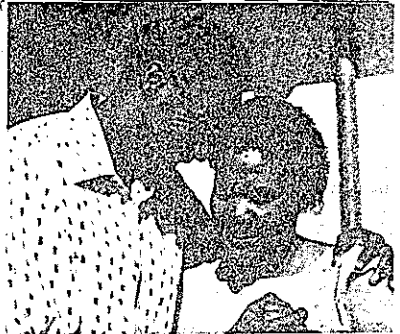
Motsobane still committed to Africanist, non-racial ideals

By ALI MPHAKI

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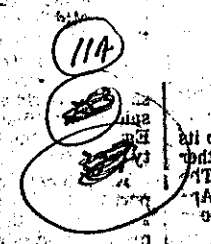
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MP

MP
9/11/87

More to be freed? Focus on PW

ARGUS
9/11/87



Mystery woman dies — bound to tree

The Argus Foreign Service
JOHANNESBURG. — Mystery surrounds the discovery of the decomposed body of a blonde woman tied to a tree near Witbank in the Eastern Transvaal.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Major A J Matthee said the body was discovered by a woman collecting firewood in a plantation near Witbank.

The body was tied to a tree with rope in a standing position and police said she could have been murdered.

When found she was clad in blue denim trousers and a red and white home-knitted jersey.

MURDER DOCKET

She was about 1,63 m tall and slender with blonde hair which could have been dyed. She was in her twenties.

Major Matthee said the condition of the body made it impossible to identify her at this stage.

"The advanced state of decomposition of the body proved to us she could have been dead for quite some time," he said.

Police have opened a murder docket and the possibility that she could have been killed somewhere else and then dumped in the plantation is being investigated.

A post-mortem examination will be held.

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent
THE release of political prisoners is expected to be one of the themes of President Botha's address when he opens the congress of the Cape National Party in the Goodwood Civic Centre tonight.

Senior Nationalist sources said today that Mr Botha was closely involved in moves to release political prisoners which started last week with the freeing of African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki and others.

The Government is watching black reaction to the release of Mr Mbeki before a decision will be taken on Nelson Mandela.

It is also expected that reform and the Government's determination to find solutions regardless of external pressures will be another theme.

Reform measures in constitutional and other areas will be the key issues.

"Pose a problem"

● Freeing other security prisoners, especially those serving life sentences, would be considered from time to time, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said today.

"These people in jail pose a problem. While we try our best to treat and handle them well, it would play into the hands of radicals if something happened to them while they are there."

The decision to release Mr Mbeki had been influenced by the fact that he was 77 and had developed age-related problems.

Mr Coetsee said the Government had acted from a position of strength and had not been under pressure.

The release of Mr Mbeki would have an influence on future decisions. If the release led to an "increase in temperature" in the country it would have an influence.

It was putting it too strongly to say that Mr Mbeki's release was a planned and deliberate "kite" and that it was an experiment with a view to freeing Mandela.

There were radical activists who did not want Mandela out of jail. It would not surprise him if they tried to stir up the situation around Mr Mbeki without his co-operation to complicate the release of others.

Mr Mbeki would have freedom of movement and speech and this would make it possible for him to take part in politics, subject to the emergency regulations. He remained a listed communist and could therefore not be quoted.

ARGUS 9/11/87

More die in Maritzburg

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The violence in Maritzburg continued this weekend, with five people killed in spite of urgent calls for a ceasefire by black leaders and pledges by the United Democratic Front and Inkatha to crack down on supporters instigating it.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, freed African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki, Kwa-zulu's Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and UDF president Mr Archie Gumede are all now involved in efforts to end the killing.

Mr Mbeki has offered to act as a mediator and he and Nelson Mandela have asked UDF and Inkatha supporters to "bury the hatchet". Both the UDF and Inkatha have welcomed the offer.

Five people were killed this weekend — including a 15-year-old Maritzburg youth who had his throat slit and was repeatedly stabbed — bringing the death toll in Natal unrest to 73 in six weeks.

Cape Town 18 9/4/87 (114)

Mbeki gets big welcome in townships

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Freed Robben Island prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki toured black townships here yesterday and was given a hero's welcome as he made his first visit in more than 20 years to his old home.

The tour lasted 90 minutes, attracting a growing number of spectators as the tour progressed.

At one stage Mr Mbeki's car headed a procession of about 100 vehicles.

During the tour, which included New Brighton, Kwazakele and Motherwell, Mr Mbeki got out of the car once to speak to a congregation at a church service.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday that Mr Nelson Mandela, or any other prisoner, could be released on the same terms as Mr Mbeki.

However, Mr Coetsee said the release of Mr Mbeki was not a specific kite-flying exercise to test public opinion. Nor was it a gesture of any kind towards the ANC.

The government had been under no pressure and Mr Mbeki had been released because of his age — 77 years — and because he was developing old-age problems, Mr Coetsee said in an interview.

Though he declined to link Mr Mbeki's release directly to Mr Mandela, significantly he said: "If Mr Mbeki's release goes smoothly and without unrest it is self-evident that it will be a factor in any further releases."

He emphasised that renouncing violence was not the sole criterion on which a prisoner's release was based.

While Mr Mbeki has not renounced violence, he has also not said that he intends committing any and has indicated that he wants to contribute to



Mr Govan Mbeki

peace."

He added that while Mr Mbeki had reiterated his belief in communism, he agreed to obey the laws of the country, "which he appears to be doing".

Mr Mbeki had abided by the law for years in prison which was one of the "objective" factors the authorities took into account when considering if a person could be re-integrated into society.

Mr Coetsee also pointed out that a prisoner had renounced violence to secure his release only to return to it shortly afterwards.

"This proviso was in danger of becoming just a piece of paper," he said.

There was speculation in political circles yesterday that the State President, Mr F. W. Botha, could have more to say about Mr Mbeki's release when he opens the Cape National Party congress in Cape Town tonight.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

HOPES have again been raised that South Africa's flagging political pace might be set for a cycle of rejuvenation.

● Natal's Joint Executive Authority was inaugurated amid the determination of some of its major participants to develop the body into a full-blown Indaba-style experiment.

● The Government freed a prominent ANC leader to rejoin the political maelstrom — and pointedly refrained from quelling reports that Govan Mbeki's release was a curtain-raiser to Nelson Mandela's.

● Foes Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu — despite some hard words — met in a bid to halt UDF-Inkatha violence in Natal.

The JEA does not have lawmaking powers, and does not constitute a breach of the Government's updated apartheid system of "own affairs" and "general affairs".

But it is a forum in which Natal's provincial authority and the KwaZulu government will plan joint administration in areas yet to be specified.

The JEA's newly elected chairman, KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo, has made it clear he will use the JEA to promote the non-racial legislative principles of the Indaba.

President P W Botha opened — rather than closed — doors for the JEA. He said it was an experiment that would have to determine its own outcome and success.

Chief Buthelezi, while giving no indication of softening his conditions for entering negotiations on a national dispensation, moved to thaw icy relations with Mr Botha.

The KwaZulu leader praised Mr Botha for reform moves.

Praise

Surrounding the JEA launch in Durban were strong signals that the Natal Provincial Executive had responded largely positively to the Indaba proposals.

The Government this week received the provincial authority's formal Indaba response — the final formal response before the Government makes known its own.

Politicians pointed out that with one coloured and two Indian members of the five-man executive, an outright dismissal of the Indaba proposals was politically unlikely.

A similar, eventual dismissal by the Government would be a profound moral blow to aspirations already resident in the JEA.

Although observers consider an unqualified "go" from Government unlikely, the Cabinet is expected to play for time by stalling on details rather than principle.

Meanwhile, the KwaNatal Indaba organisation is powering ahead with a top-level study of the implications of putting the Indaba proposals to work. A fund-raising drive overseas will finance the study.

It will be guided by a steering committee of experts, who will be named early next year.

The study aims to allay fears and head off any blocking moves that could arise in quibbling over details.

The Indaba is also stepping up its information drive.

This week Chief Buthelezi said the release of Mr Mbeki and other political prisoners could herald "a new dawn" in political conciliation.

The Government conceived its plan of "working its way up" to Nelson Mandela's release soon after the May 6 election for whites, when the Cabinet faced the political reality that his release had become a case of how, not whether.

Martyr

His continued incarceration blocks prospects of getting the proposed National Council negotiating forum going because no credible leaders will participate without Mandela having the option to do so.

Also, Mandela's imprisonment makes him a leading international symbol of political martyrdom.

The eventual death of Mandela in prison — in terms of his sentence — would lock the impasse in place.

Cabinet members admit privately that Mandela could not be more of a threat outside of prison than inside.

The risks of the release strategy are high, and the Government will be monitoring the consequences of the present amnesty carefully.

Other releases, notably that of Walter Sisulu, could follow before the case of Nelson Mandela is tackled.

● See Page 23

Now, a pep-up for poli

Government's
action sparks
renewed hope
for speedier
reform moves

tics?



Same terms for Mandela says Coetsee

Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, or any other prisoner could be released on the same terms as Mr Govan Mbeki, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

However, he said in an interview the release of the former ANC national chairman was not a specific "kite flying" exercise to test public opinion, nor was it a gesture of any kind towards the ANC.

The government had been under no pressure and Mr Mbeki had been released because of his age — 77 years — and because he was developing old-age problems.

Though he declined to link Mr Mbeki's release directly to Mr Mandela, he said: "If Mr Mbeki's release goes smoothly and without unrest it is self-evident that it will be a factor in any further releases."

He emphasised that renouncing violence was not the sole criterion on which a prisoner's release was based and said: "While Mr Mbeki has not renounced violence, he has also not said that he intends committing any and has indicated that he wants to contribute to peace."

Mr Coetsee added that while Mr Mbeki had reiterated his belief in communism, he was a free man and "an ordinary citizen who must abide by the laws of the country, which he appears to be doing".

Replying to queries about why Mr Mbeki and other blacks had been released only after many years in prison while two former AWB members had been released in a relatively short time, Mr Coetsee said: "We cannot turn back the clock. The new approach was announced only in August this year.

"Besides, the two whites who were released are on parole for three years while Mr Mbeki is free.

"All are banned from being quoted."

While Mr Coetsee repeatedly declined to link Mr Mandela's possible release to Mr Mbeki's he implied that the former ANC leader's release was partially in Mr Mbeki's hands and in those of other blacks.

There was speculation in political circles yesterday that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, would speak on Mr Mbeki's release when he opens the Cape National Party Congress in Cape Town tonight.

Mr Mbeki's release was welcomed yesterday by the Transkei Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr T. E. ka Tshunungwa.

He said that, as the Prime Minister, Miss Stella Sigcau, had indicated, anyone with Transkei roots who was in jail or exile was welcome to return.

Yesterday, Mr Mbeki toured Port Elizabeth's black townships and was accorded a hero's welcome as he made his first visit in over two decades to his former home.

The surprise tour, which lasted 90 minutes, attracted many spectators which grew as the tour progressed.

Driven by the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu, Mr Mbeki's car at one stage headed a procession of about 100 vehicles between Zwide and Soweto.

The hooting of the vehicles attracted the attention of other people and the streets were lined with cheering crowds.

During the tour Mr Mbeki only alighted from the car once — to speak to the congregation at a church service in Zwide.

Editorial opinion P8

Mbeki returns to PE after 23-year absence

(77)
SM
9/11/87

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Released African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki left Johannesburg yesterday morning for his home city of Port Elizabeth where he was to return to the township of New Brighton after 23 years.

Mr Mbeki's exit from Johannesburg was quiet in comparison to his arrival there two days earlier, when about 500 supporters and scores of journalists turned up.

A group of 60 politicians and trade unionists accompanied him to the airport yesterday, according to United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu at whose home he spent the weekend.

Mr Mbeki (77) gave a press conference on Saturday, when his intended role in South African politics was indicated.

It was announced that he was prepared to intervene to end violence between groups of opposing political views wherever it might occur.

The Minister of Justice has warned the media that Mr Mbeki may not be quoted, particularly after Mr Mbeki's announcement in Port Elizabeth that he was still a communist.

Immediately after Saturday's conference a crowd of about 200, who had been singing in the lobby outside the hall, crowded in to greet Mr Mbeki. There were tense moments outside Khotso House a short while later when the crowd left the building still singing loudly.

They came face to face with a contingent of riot and security police, but dispersed without incident.

● See Pages 3 and 4.

Mbeki - champion of the oppressed

GOVAN Archibald Mvuyelina Mbeki was born in 1910 in the Nqamakwe district of the Transkei, the son of a chief who was deposed by the Government.

After attending mission schools he received a bursary from the Transkeian Bunga to study at Fort Hare. He obtained his BA in 1937 and completed a diploma in education. During his university vacations he worked as a "messenger" and newsvendor.

He joined the African National Congress in 1935 while still a student, and was influenced by Edward Roux, an SA Community Party leader, and Max Yergan, a black American, who was at one time a communist.

Mbeki taught at various schools including Clarkebury Institute and Adams College, but was dismissed for political activity. He then ran a co-operative trading store in Idutywa and was editor of the *Territorial* magazine from 1938-44.

wing.

From Port Elizabeth he reported on news of the Transkei and maintained close ties with students at Fort Hare. He was a prominent figure among graduates of the university and served as the convocation representative of the university council from 1944-46. He became president of the Old Fort Harians Association in 1958.

In Port Elizabeth Mbeki became deeply involved in ANC activities, consolidating its support in the area to an extent that it became one of the few areas in the country where the M-Plan, a system of cell organisation devised by Nelson Mandela, was effectively implemented.

Mbeki at this stage voiced his opposition to bantu authorities and bantu education, and published articles on these subjects in a number of journals. He participated in the planning of the Congress of the People in 1955,

SAPA

went underground and joined Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, and served as secretary of its high command.

In July 1963 he was arrested during the police swoop on Lilyleaf farm, Rivonia, the head-

quarters of Umkhonto We Sizwe, and he was sent to Robben Island, serving a life sentence for sabotage.

In 1970, while in prison, Mbeki completed his BA Hons degree in economics, and in 1977 was awarded an honorary doctorate in Social Science by the University of Amsterdam for his

work *The Peasant Revolt* which had been published in the United Kingdom in 1964, and is banned in South Africa. In 1939 he had also written *The Transkei In The Making*.

Mbeki is married and has three sons and one daughter. His wife, Epainette, lives in Idutywa in the Transkei.



Govan Mbeki.

becoming leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape. He was elected national chairman of the ANC in 1956.

During the Sharpeville emergency in 1960, Mbeki spent five months in detention. On his release he took a leading role in the Orlando Conference which led up to the All-in Africa Conference at Pietermaritzburg and the call for a national convention.

In 1961 he joined the Communist Party of South Africa and in December of that year was arrested and charged under the Explosives Act, spending several months in solitary confinement before being brought to trial. He was subsequently acquitted on a technicality.

In 1963, ignoring a house arrest order, he

He obtained his BEcon in social studies in 1940 through Unisa.

In 1941 he served as secretary of the Transkei African Voters' Association and in 1943 was elected to a four year term in the Transkeian Bunga as representative for Idutywa. He was also one of the first to introduce insurance to the Transkei, and was a director of *The Guardian* newspaper.

Mbeki's Store was destroyed in a tornado in the 1950s and he went back to teaching.

He was again dismissed, from a post in Ladysmith, for attempting to organise coal miners.

He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1955 as local editor of *New Age* a leftist newspaper. He was not a communist at this time, though his views were left

Peace between Inkatha, UDF seen as vital

MBEKI'S PLEDGE

11F
9/11/87
signature

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

FORMER national chairman of the ANC and Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki (77), has pledged to work towards the resolution of the carnage in Maritzburg where more than 140 people have died in the current wave of violence.

This emerged at a Press conference held at Khotso House in Johannesburg on Saturday which was addressed by Mr Mbeki.

For this reason, Mr Mbeki was prepared to travel to the affected areas to try and seek peace.

The fighting, which started two months ago, is between members of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

Mr Mbeki, who arrived in Johannesburg on Friday, left yesterday morning after meeting Witwatersrand-based leaders of the UDF.

Listed person

The white-haired Mbeki was accompanied by his wife, Epainnet. His comments cannot be reported in terms of the law, because, as a listed person, he cannot be quoted in South African newspapers.

The Press conference was also addressed by Mrs Sisulu, Transvaal president of the UDF, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

In the evening, a reception was held for Mr Mbeki at the St Barnabas private school in Bosmont, near Johannesburg. It was hosted by the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Mbeki left for his hometown in Port Elizabeth yesterday morning.

Mr Mbeki has no immediate plans to hold rallies but he has indicated that as soon as he can get travel documents, he will travel to Lusaka to meet ANC leaders, including the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Shortly after his release last Thursday, Mr Mbeki told a Press conference held in Port Elizabeth that he was still a member of the banned ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Although he had no definite plans, he said his first aim was to get the "layout" of the South African situation.

● See Page 7



MBEKI: At Khotso House on Saturday.

all times 9/11/87

Boesak attacks press over prison party

DR ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, yesterday threatened reprisals against foreign pressmen for attending a party last week at Pretoria Central Prison.

He was addressing more than 800 people at the Hanover Park Civic Centre where the release of Mr Govan Mbeki was celebrated, and a campaign to "Unlock the Doors of Apartheid Jails" was launched.

Dr Boesak himself spent some weeks in solitary confinement at Pretoria Central two years ago.

"I want to ask what has happened to them (the pressmen), when they go to a cocktail party laid on by the state in a place where the walls of the prison have been stained with the blood of our people."

He warned that the time might come when the foreign press would be treated like the SABC and made unwelcome at "our meetings".

As part of the "unlock the jails" campaign, dozens of keys were collected on stage. Dr Boesak said he and the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, would dump the pile of keys in front of the house of State President P W Botha.

He concluded by asking those who had children in detention to stand up, then those who had parents, brothers and sisters, other family and friends in detention. Eventually everyone in the hall stood up.

Mbu 5 9/11/87

Malan rejects UDF's 'draw closer' proposal

Political Staff 114 ~~2024~~
NATIONAL Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan today distanced himself from the views of a prominent United Democratic Front member on relations between the two organisations.

Mr Malan was approached to comment on a recent article by UDF patron Mr Johnny Issel, who said the UDF had to ensure fundamentally that the position the NDM and similar groups adopted was in opposition to the Botha Government.

Mr Issel said that splinterings and breakaways in Parliament were a direct result of pressure exerted by extra-parliamentary forces.

"We are in a way responsible for the creation of the NDM and must therefore make sure

that its programme of action represents our line of thinking," he added.

He said the UDF's primary task should be to draw the movements closer.

Mr Malan, however, said the NDM's line of thinking was certainly not the line of thinking of Mr Issel or that of the UDF for that matter.

"Our approach is inclusive to all. It is indeed in opposition to the Botha Government, but it is inclusive to the National Party and the other parties of Parliament," he said.

Mr Malan said the formation of the NDM developed from the inability of both the Government and other existing groupings, in and out Parliament, to deal with the "reality of South Africa".

Boy's throat cut in Maritzburg violence

CRP- Trif 9/11/87

Own Correspondent

114

MARITZBURG. — A 15-year-old boy was found at Sobantu Village at the weekend with his throat cut, according to the police unrest report.

Two other people died in the Maritzburg district in incidents of unrest, one man was seriously injured and a private dwelling set alight by arsonists, according to the report.

Two people were also killed in the Pinetown area, bringing the total number of deaths to five.

A 25-year-old man was found stabbed to death at Sinateng near Maritzburg, and the body of a 20-year-old man was discovered at Caluza, also near the capital. He had also been stabbed to death.

A 19-year-old man was seriously injured at Edendale when he was attacked by a group of people armed with knives.

Arsonists are said to have set alight a private home at Ashdown.

Police arrested two men and a youth during an incident at Caluza where a group of people is reported to have gathered illegally. The group was dispersed by police after they had ignored warnings, the report said.

No further details of the incidents were given.

At KwaDangezi near Pinetown a 22-year-old man was shot dead when he was attacked by a group.

In another incident in the area a 20-year-old man was attacked by a group and stabbed to death.

Also at KwaDangezi three men were injured in a clash between two opposing groups, according to the unrest report.

The report states that shots were fired by one group, injuring the three men.

bl/009/10/11/87

"CRY FREEDOM" is a curate's eggish film, extraordinary in parts, stodgily didactic in others. Sir Richard Attenborough's cinematic view of the life and death of Steve Biko will almost certainly receive an Oscar or two — if for no other reason than the academy which awards the things will be accused of racism if it does not.

What its manichean vision of SA will not do is promote any original thought about solutions. Afrikanerdom does not emerge in a charitable light. In fact, it is safe to say that most audiences are likely to be converted, if they have not been already, to the cause of full-scope sanctions.

The scenes of Crossroads being bulldozed and Soweto demonstrators being gunned down are inexpressibly harrowing. Furthermore, they are so very nearly true that they will be nigh impossible to refute. Horror can rarely be diminished by footnotes.

Nor, having personally attended every day of Steve Biko's inquest, can I quarrel with the depiction of the security policemen who caused him to fail the Extensor Plantar reflex test.

It did not matter to me then that these people might, in the bosoms of their families, be human beings. Attenborough does not find it worth noticing now. They come across as embodiments of evil for whom there can be no mitigation.

Jimmy "dit laat my koud" Kruger gave no quarter as Minister of Justice. He merits, and gets, none in the film. In a theoretical Nuremberg trial of apartheid, he would be a star defendant. It didn't take Attenborough to stimulate such a conclusion, though he does, devastatingly.

In rebutting "Cry Freedom," it will probably be said that that was then, this is now. The day before the film opened, Govan Mbeki was released.

Yes, a lot has changed in 10 years. Exactly how much, it is impossible to tell. Unless you happen to be on the sharp end, atrocity in SA is now unknowable, to report it an offence.

Why SA will be a prisoner of its history



WOODS ... escape in tedious detail

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Kruger's successors are slicker and better protected from public exposure. Opponents do not die in such obviously attributable ways. Now they simply disappear. Intimidation and pacification have become more subtle.

But let us grant that things are better today. It still would not make "Cry Freedom" unfair, even though most who see it will not make the distinction between 1976-77 and 1987. There is no statute of limitations on barbarity. Nor does it make one whit of difference that others, to the north, behave equally, if less visibly, badly.

The fact is that as a nation white South Africans have done wrong, sickeningly wrong. They carry the guilt of Sergeant Wilken — who declared that even in death Biko was "shamming" — and that guilt will be the terrible birthright of every white baby born in SA for generations to come.

West Germany is a prisoner of its history and is forced to live with the endless literary and cinematic rehashing of the concentration

camps and two world wars.

While the parallels between Nazism and apartheid may be the stuff of loose, irresponsible rhetoric, so too white SA. That much "Cry Freedom" makes clear.

My chief quarrel with the film is that, like Donald Woods, whose book it is faithfully based on, it devotes so little time to Biko himself. Simply in the film's own terms, he is an infinitely more interesting character than the editor whose escape to Lesotho is recounted in tedious, hagiographic detail.

Of course, it was much more convenient for Attenborough to focus on an idealistic white with whom he (and Western audiences) could empathise. To get inside Biko's world would have been artistically (and commercially) risky because it was — and is — a place far beyond the director's and his audience's experience: a place for whose grim externals sympathy is

easy, but for whose interior realities empathy is not.

It is interesting that Attenborough chose an American actor to play Biko. Denzel Washington gives a deeply moving (and surely Oscar-worthy) performance, but a trick is being played.

For US audiences, the man lying comatose on the floor of a Port Elizabeth jail cell is not only a simulacrum of Biko. He is also the attractive young intern in "St Elsewhere," the television hospital series.

Unavoidably, perhaps, the result is that the founder of the black consciousness movement is embedded in the outside world's mind in frankly alien terms — a curious irony when you think about it.

It is even more curious when you consider that this version of Biko was scripted, edited and directed by whites and subjugated to a white man's adventure story.

The real Biko's central thesis was that black South Africans must escape the psychology of victimhood and become managers of

their own fates, not brutalised objects to whom and for whom things are done.

It is a pity Attenborough felt unable to use his medium to paint a fuller picture of the man and his philosophy. Instead, he kills him off less than half-way through the film when he has served his purpose as Woods's authenticator and tour guide to the obscenities of apartheid.

I do not know what Biko would be asking of the world if he were alive today, and it would be worse than condescending to ascribe any particular prescription to his memory.

But that, functionally if not in so many words, is precisely what "Cry Freedom" attempts. Its subtext is that Biko, like Woods, would be calling for the total economic and political ostracism of his country.

Perhaps, in desperation, he would. Yet reason — as opposed to the raw, xenophobic emotion provoked by the film — suggests that such a course will not fulfil his dream. Indeed, that it will deprive black South Africans of what tools they have to achieve what he preached.

The more vibrant the South African economy, the more it belongs to those without whose labour it would not exist; the more it is theirs to control. So long as there are legions of hungry and unemployed, those who command the economy will always be able to force the surplus to sell its dignity to feed its families.

With a strong economy and the help of access to capital which the sanctioners would deny, black South Africans can achieve a controlling interest in the companies that employ them, and thence, since mass individual ownership is the only real source of democratic power, in the state that presently dictates (and all too often destroys) their lives.

"Cry Freedom," even though it tells a large measure of descriptive truth, hopes to encourage policies that will promote the very kind of black subservience Biko died trying to combat.

It is that part of the curate's egg that is particularly loathsome.

Tumultuous welcome in PE for Mbeki

RETURN OF A HERO

IIA
S. Muthu
10/11/87



MR GOVAN Mbeki . . . served 23 years.

YOUTHS danced the emotional toyi-toyi, sang freedom songs, chanted slogans and gave the clenched fist salute when African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki, 77, returned to a hero's welcome in Port Elizabeth's black townships on Sunday — after a 25-year silence.

It was like a pilgrimage to the townships he first came to during 1955 as local editor of *New Age*.

Mr Mbeki, who was released on Thursday last week after serving 23 years of a life sentence for sabotage, appeared touched by the tumultuous welcome.

With him was his 71-

SAPA

year-old wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki, his attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana and members of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers Association of South Africa.

On his arrival at the HF Verwoerd Airport in Port Elizabeth he was met by a group of people. Among them was the former president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Dr J Moodliar, and a contingent of local and foreign television and media representatives.

Visit

On learning about Mr Mbeki's planned visit to the townships, people, young and old, including former Robben Island prisoners and members of community-based organisations, started

To Page 2

P.T.O.

77645 10/11/81
**Mbeki is
catching
up, taking
it easy**

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. Mr Govan Mbeki is taking it easy after his tumultuous welcome here and in Johannesburg after his release from Robben Island on Thursday.

A source close to Mr Mbeki said he was going to catch up on some reading, plan for the future and take things easy for the next few days.

Mr Mbeki did not want any publicity; he just wanted to relax and find his feet.

The source would not say where he was staying but confirmed he had not moved into a flat made available by the Dependants Conference of the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Mbeki was given a hero's welcome on Sunday when he first returned to his former home in New Brighton.

PROCESSION

His car, driven by the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, was at one stage leading a procession of about 100 cars as youths did the toyi-toyi in the streets, shouted and sang.

The Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Right Rev Bruce Evans, who spent more than two hours with Mr Mbeki on Friday, said he found the former African National Congress chairman to be a man of tremendous calibre, mature, well-balanced and magnanimous.

Questioned on why he met Mr Mbeki, who during the Rivonia trial refused to take the oath saying he did not believe in the existence of God, Bishop Evans replied that he did not know whether Mr Mbeki was a Christian, but his family were.

He said Mr Mbeki's family had asked the church "to take care" of him.

Mr Mbeki had been brought up an Anglican and had maintained contact with the church during his imprisonment, he said.

ANC's credibility shattered professor

MAA
10/11/82

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The curbing of unrest in South Africa has shattered the ANC's credibility, forcing it to negotiate or die.

This was said by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer at the National Clothing Federation convention yesterday.

Professor Schlemmer said the Soviet Union was persuading the organisation to adopt a more political approach.

The ANC, he said, had built a reputation internationally and internally as "heir apparent" to the South African Government through association with the "huge wave of internal unrest".

"Its status increased as un-

rest mounted and as people abroad anticipated some sort of major transformation.

"With the curbing of unrest and protest under the state of emergency the ANC has had to enter a new phase of strategy."

Professor Schlemmer said that according to a recent poll the ANC had the support of only 25 percent of blacks.

"As we get further into the negotiation process the ANC is faced with the severe challenge of deciding whether to come in and renounce, or at least suspend, violence and negotiate — or stay outside.

"If they stay outside, they will decline," he said.

5798 10/11/87

Witness tells of course in combat tactics

Terror trial accused 'trained by ANC at camps in Angola'

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

MESSINA — The two accused in the Messina terrorism trial attended African National Congress training camps in Angola, a state witness testified during the Supreme Court hearing yesterday.

The witness may not be identified.

He said he attended a camp where accused No 1, Mr Mthetheleli Mncube, was a firearm instructor. Other training offered at the camp included

combat tactics, map reading, the history of freedom struggles in other countries, and anti-aircraft weaponry.

He said Mr Mncube, with whom he had daily contact, was known as "Caesar" or "Scissor".

"I recognised him as soon as I entered this courtroom", the witness told the judge. He added that he had encountered the other accused, Mr Mzondeleli Nondula, at another training camp.

An explosives expert, Lieutenant J H Loubser, demonstrated to the court how various so-called terrorist devices are activated. These included a Czech-made land mine, a Russian anti-personnel mine and various handgrenades.

He said the weapons had been brought into South Africa from Zimbabwe and Botswana.

The accused have pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, attempted murder, terrorism, and illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

The case arose from a series of landmine blasts which killed eight people in the Messina area in 1985, and a shooting incident which claimed the lives of two policemen in 1986.

The State also alleges that the two men promoted the aims of the ANC, and that they were involved in attempts to overthrow the Government by violent means.

'It would be like talking to a ghost'

Northern Transvaal Bureau
MESSINA - The Supreme Court trial of two alleged terrorists took a dramatic turn yesterday when Mr Justice J P O de Villiers ordered that the evidence of a State witness be heard in camera.

Mr Frans Roets, for the State, wanted the witness to wear a balaclava and also wanted the press barred from court.

He said disclosure of the identity of the witness and the nature of his testimony could endanger his life.

Mr Rodney Black, appearing for the two accused, Mr Mthetheleli Mncube (27) and Mr Mzondeleli Nondula (24), objected, saying it was unheard of to have a disguised witness testifying in court.

"I do not want a disguised person in the witness stand — it would be like talking to a ghost," said the judge. He suggested that, if the press was barred, a joint statement concerning the evidence would have to be issued by the prosecutor and council for the defence.

After an adjournment Mr Roets told the judge that the State acceded to the defence's insistence that the press remain and the witness be undisguised.

Buthelezi welcomes talks with Mbeki

Cape Times 10/11/87
JOHANNESBURG. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would welcome talks with freed ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki on the unrest in the Maritzburg area, but said the ANC was responsible for political violence in the country.

"We are in this country faced with the harsh reality that it is Mr Mbeki's ANC and the ANC's UDF and Cosatu which have sworn to make South Africa ungovernable," the Zulu leader said.

The statement was referring to news reports that Mr Mbeki had offered to assist in bringing an end to black-on-black confrontations in the Maritzburg area.

Chief Buthelezi said he would welcome whatever anybody could do to de-escalate the violence.

Meanwhile the SAP public relations division reported that at Ash-down, Maritzburg, police yesterday used tear-smoke to disperse two opposing groups.

At Gazabuza a group of blacks stoned a dwelling and seriously injured an 18-year-old man when they attacked him with knives.

Also in the area police found the bodies of four blacks, all with multiple stab wounds. — Sapa

SB COP DENIES INSULTS

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A SECURITY policeman, Lieutenant Johannes Prinsloo, told a Pretoria magistrate yesterday that he told some of his colleagues that he was "not afraid of terrorists" when the accused in the Pan Africanist Congress trial were arrested last

year. He was being cross-examined by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, for the defence, in a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of a statement made by Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga before a magis-

trate. 11/11/87
Seven alleged members of the PAC and Qibla, a Muslim organisation, are appearing before Mr J H Bekker on charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.

insult any of the accused when their fingerprints were being taken at the Hammanskraal police station. He said he was trained not to use vulgar language.

The policeman said that Mr Zulu had his fingerprints taken in a garage-like room which was used as an office. Mr Zulu was taken into that room after he had refused to have his fingerprints taken while he was with another of the accused in an office.

Lt Prinsloo said that Mr Gcanga, Mr Mathunjwa and Mr Mohohlo did not cause the police any problems.

(Proceeding)

Insult

The accused, who have pleaded not guilty to all the charges, are Mr Gcanga, Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Mohohlo, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, Mr Achmand Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel.

Lt Prinsloo told the court that he did not

LP warns on Group Areas Act

DURBAN — Any Government decision to retain the Group Areas Act would not only put the clock back for South Africa, but would also lead to a build-up of frustration among blacks, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said this weekend.

Addressing more than 300 people at the party's Natal congress in Wentworth, Mr Hendrickse said frustration would in turn lead to a conflict situation which nobody could win.

He said his party rejected group areas completely and nothing but a repeal of the Group Areas Act would satisfy the Labour Party.

"We must be careful not to be used in terms of the Act for our own subjugation."

UPROOTING

Between 1960 and 1975, he said, the State had spent R261 million on housing but of this amount, R200 million had been spent on "re-housing".

He said more money was spent on uprooting people, with more than 100 000 coloureds having been uprooted in terms of group areas ideology.

Referring to "local option" which, in terms of the President's Council recommendation would give local authorities the choice of setting "open" and "closed" areas, he said historically local option had been a tool to entrench racism.

After the meeting, a group identifying themselves as UDF supporters surrounded Mr Hendrickse and other LP leaders, and said they had not been given opportunities to challenge statements made during congress as there had been no question time. — Sapa.

CRUC TIMES 11/11/87
**Two ex-ANC men
testify in court trial**

MESSINA. — A second, rehabilitated member of the ANC identified both the accused yesterday in the landmine trial here.

The witness, who cannot be identified, gave his testimony under an assumed name in camera in the Circuit Court before Mr Justice J P O de Villiers and two assessors.

The witness said he met one of the accused at an ANC camp while undergoing a crash course in military and political training. The accused, he said, were there on a refresher course in survival and landmines.

The witness identified the second accused as a lecturer in politics at another Angolan training camp.

The accused, Mr Mthetheleli Zephania Mncube, 27, of Diepkloof, Soweto, and Mr Zondeleli Euclid Nondula, 24, of Queens-

town, have pleaded not guilty to a total of 41 charges including eight of murder, 24 of attempted murder, treason and terrorism following a spate of landmine incidents in the Messina area in late 1985.

Neither of the accused looked at the witness when they were asked in turn to stand up for identification but Mr Mncube showed some nervousness by drumming a ballpoint pen against his fingers during parts of the testimony.

The witness said he had lived in the same building in Angola as Mr Mncube but in different rooms for about three months.

"What I cooked we ate and what he cooked we ate," he told the court.

Mr Justice De Villiers asked the witness if he knew anything of Mr Mncube's family or home life, to which he replied he did

not, adding that all they talked about at mealtimes was war.

He said the last time he saw Mr Mncube was in 1985 at a transit house in the Vaal Triangle.

The witness said he received lessons in politics from Mr Nondula between once and three times a week for a period of about three months at another ANC training camp in Angola.

He said that Mr Nondula's nom de guerre was Gaba.

The witness said he was to return to South Africa and to identify enemies such as the police and army and installations such as power stations.

He was also instructed to find members to form his own group and train them, but instead of carrying out the ANC orders he handed himself over to the police.

Earlier another former ANC member, who underwent rehabilitation and joined the security police, said under cross-examination by Mr Rodney Black, for both the accused, that he blamed the ANC for the death of his friend in a Mozambique prison when he and two others left South Africa to join the organization. — Sapa

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Nothing changed, says freed prisoner

S.P.A.
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By McKeed Kotlolo,
Pretoria Bureau

One of the seven prisoners released by the Government last week, Mr Thomas Masuku (38), who spent the past 10 years on Robben Island, says "not the slightest change has taken place in South Africa" during this time.

Mr Masuku said he was arrested in June 1977 for receiving military training outside South Africa, recruiting people to undergo military training and possessing foreign weapons.

He was charged with two other Mamelodi men, athlete Richard Chauke and Themba Maseko, who are still serving their sentences.

Mr Masuku was sentenced to a total of 26 years, with six years running concurrently.

Maseko was sentenced to a total of 21 years, with five years running concurrently, for receiving military training outside South Africa and possessing foreign weapons. Chauke was sentenced to 11 years for recruiting people to undergo military training outside South Africa.

Mr Masuku, who said he read much about reforms in the country while serving his sentence, added that the only things which had changed were "the structures in the townships and nothing else, because people are still suffering".

He said he believed in a democratic society and did not care who governed as long as they served the interests of all South Africans.

Will the Mbeki 'gamble' pay off for government?

WHEN ageing ANC leader Govan Mbeki stepped into freedom last week he assumed the role of "island envoy" for the organisation's imprisoned leadership.

Observers said Mbeki's statements and actions after release would not only reflect the philosophy but more importantly carry the stamp of approval of those originally interned with him on Robben Island.

As a close ally of the ANC's imprisoned leadership, Mbeki would be regarded as close confidant of fellow Rivonia trialist Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

Nothing emphasised Mbeki's strategic and high-profile position more than government's failure to lift the ban on his being quoted — thereby effectively limiting his ability to "spread the word," said political scientists.

Projection

Former Unisa political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said the Mbeki "gamble" was a clear projection of government's intent to pursue all ends to give legitimacy to its faltering National Council (NC) concept.

Participation in government's proposed forum for blacks had widely been turned down. "Government is desperate to implement its strategy of accommodating black political aspirations," said Kleynhans.

Several observers view Mbeki's release as a lure to draw KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi into participation in the NC.

And, Kleynhans said, judging by the

ELSABÉ WESSELS



□ HAPPY TIMES ... Mbeki at Jan Smuts Airport after his release

success of their trial run with Mbeki's release, government could be well on its way to the release of Mandela — listed by Buthelezi as a minimum demand for NC participation.

Viewed objectively, Mbeki's release was a major step for government and also an important psychological victory for the ANC. But the scoreboard showed very little real gain on either side, he said.

Government might not get anything in return for its move and still have to work out a more acceptable system of representing SA's black majority. "A peace offering such as

Mbeki's release will not have the desired results for participation," remarked Kleynhans.

On the other hand, as a listed person of a banned political organisation, Mbeki was hindered from becoming a totally effective and full participant in popular politics.

Wits political studies lecturer Mark Swilling said Mbeki's release was important — not only because of his role as an experienced activist but also because he would be seen as a go-between. He refuted speculation that Mbeki's commitment to communist principles would bring dissension in ANC ranks.

Swilling pointed out that there was a historical alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP), and the common belief still held that a national democratic struggle would precede a socialist revolution.

By pledging his support for the ANC, committing himself to remaining in SA and identifying the violence in Natal as his first priority, Mbeki had embraced the ANC's policy of a national democratic struggle, Swilling said. Mbeki's ideological commitment to the SACP, which he joined in 1961, would not stand in the way of his commitment to a national democratic liberation. "By choosing to stay in the country, Mbeki has made a choice to pursue political rather than military means," said Swilling.

Heartland

Mbeki, who served a life sentence for sabotage, was at the time of his arrest high command secretary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, military wing of the ANC. Although there was still minority support for an armed seizure of power "the majority view still upholds support for a negotiated settlement," said Swilling.

As a leader of national stature, Mbeki was personally responsible for turning the Eastern Cape into the heartland of ANC activity during the Fifties, especially during the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

Time would tell whether Mbeki would reassume his role as ideological progenitor of the national democratic struggle, a Cape Town academic said.

Boy hacked to death as gangs clash

PRETORIA. — Three people died violently on Thursday, including a youth who was hacked to death in a clash in one of Maritzburg's war-torn townships, police reported yesterday.

The 16-year-old youth was killed at Sinathing when a group attacked another group with pangas and knives. A 15-year-old was seriously injured in the attack. Four youths were arrested.

A man was injured in a similar attack, at Georgetown, Maritzburg.

At least 150 people have died this year in clashes between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha for control of townships in the Maritzburg area.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is scheduled to lead an inter-denominational church service tomorrow for peace in the townships.

Police reinforcements drafted into the area have arrested more than 360 people this month in an effort to halt the fighting.

Police routinely decline to name the factions involved in the regional warfare, but community leaders have identified the parties as the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's politically moderate Inkatha tribal movement.

The Rev Lizo Jafta, chairman of the Maritzburg Council of Churches, said Archbishop Tutu would join ministers

from a number of churches in prayers for an end to the fighting.

He said at least 138 people, and probably more than 150, had died this year in clashes between the UDF and Inkatha, with hundreds injured.

Mr Roy Ainslie, an official of the Progressive Federal Party, said after a visit to the area earlier this week that the fighting was part of a battle for political control of ghettos surrounding Maritzburg.

He said the UDF and Inkatha each controlled sections of the adjoining townships.

Both movements claim to support the ideals of the outlawed African National Congress and to oppose violence against apartheid. The UDF supports Western economic sanctions against Pretoria, while Inkatha advocates increased foreign investment.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said earlier this week that he will meet Inkatha leaders at a secret venue in Durban on Wednesday for a first round of peace talks.

He declined to give further details on the meeting, saying publicity had scuppered earlier attempts to bring leaders of the rival groups together.

Mr Ainslie said white opposition lawmakers toured the area and spoke to people on both sides of the conflict. He said their impression was that leaders of the two movements had lost control of gangs operating under their banners. — Sapa and UPI

Cop ^{Sowetan} quizzed in PAC trial ^{11/11/87}

AN alleged member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, was not told why he had to make a statement before a magistrate and was also not told that the statement would later be used against him in court, a security policeman said in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Sergeant K Schoonhaven of the Potchefstroom security police was giving evidence before Mr J H Bekker.

He was cross-examined by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, defence counsel, during a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of the statement Mr Gcanga made before a magistrate.

Mr Gcanga, Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Mohohlo, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.

Sgt Schoonhaven said Mr Gcanga had said he was willing to make a statement before a magistrate. He said that Mr Gcanga co-operated when he was asked to make the statement.

He said that the difference between statements made to the police and those made to magistrates was not explained because Mr Gcanga did not ask questions.

Sgt Schoonhaven told the court that he did not give a detailed explanation on the implications of making the statement as it was not his duty.

(Proceeding)

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FRELIMO LOCKED US UP SAYS WITNESS

A "rehabilitated" member of the African National Congress who is now with the Security Police told the Messina Circuit Court yesterday that he had spent nine months in a Mozambican jail after leaving South Africa.

The witness, who may not be named by order of the court, was testifying

By MATHATHA TSEDU

in camera in the trial of Mr Mthetheleli Mncube (27) and Mr Msondefeli Nondula (24).

Both men face charges of murder, attempted murder, terrorism and treason. They are appearing before Mr Acting Justice J P O de Villiers, sitting with two

assessors. They have pleaded not guilty.

The witness said he had joined the ANC because he had felt strongly about injustice and the oppression of black people in South Africa. He said he had left for Mozambique with other people.

"We were arrested by Frelimo and were held in jail for nine months. One of my friends died in jail. I do not know what caused his death," he said.

He said he had undergone military training in various ANC camps in Angola and even became drill and marching instructor. He said he had seen the accused in camps in Angola. Mr Mncube, who is facing two charges of murder for allegedly shooting two white men, had been a firearms instructor, he said.

One of the people shot and killed when Mr Mncube was captured last year had been a political commissar known as "Slow."

Mr Rodney Black SC, for the defence, put it to the witness that the four pictures that he had identified as being of one person, (Slow) were actually of two different people.

SADF township gifts greeted with suspicion



By Mckeed Kotlolo,
Pretoria Bureau

12/11/87

The Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo) and Mamelodi Civic Association (MCA) have criticised members of the South African Defence Force for delivering food parcels to the homes of three executive members of Mayo at the weekend.

The three leaders are the president, Mr Akila Mapheto, the publicity secretary, Mr Strike Sekuba and the general secretary, Mr Mike Seloane.

A spokesman for the SADF said: "From time to time troops on duty in the townships take some of their own rations and give them to needy people such as the underprivileged, and churches or creches."

With the exception of the president, the other recipients destroyed the parcels because they were suspicious about the gifts.

Mr Mapheto took the parcel to an MCA meeting the next day, where it was decided that the tins be referred to a doctor so that they could be checked.

Both MCA and Mayo warned the public against such "mysterious" hand-outs from the SADF.

CALL TRIP 12/11/87

Four more killed in Maritzburg violence

MARITZBURG. — Police yesterday reported four politically linked murders near here taking to 13 the number of killings in factional clashes since the weekend.

At least 65 people have died in continuing internecine fighting in the past six weeks in ghettos around Maritzburg.

Sporadic clashes in the past year between the UDF and Inkatha have claimed some 165 lives.

A police report said patrols found four bodies at Ashdown near Maritzburg on Tuesday.

"They appear to have been stabbed and hacked to death," the report said.

Police suspect the victims were abducted on Monday and murdered for refusing to join a rival faction.

On Sunday police reported five similar killings, including a 15-year-

old boy whose throat was cut, and four more bodies were found in Maritzburg townships on Monday.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders last week sought to intercede in the bloody clashes.

The archbishop met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, at an undisclosed venue last Friday.

Police have been unable to pinpoint causes of the fighting. Community leaders have said rival gangs perpetuate the violence beyond the control of political leaders. — Sapa

Teale's

FULLY ELASTICATED
PLEATED
POLYCOTTON AND

Bonteheuwel — a place of fear

W/E Argus
31/10/87

BY MARK STANSFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

BONTEHEUWEL. To most of us just a place-name on a map, a reference-point when explaining the Modderdam Road N2 turn-off which leads to the northern suburbs.

For others it is a fear-filled concrete jungle to be avoided at all costs. A place which has become synonymous with unrest, leftist activists and high crime.

But people do actually live there — 84 000 of them are crammed into an area designed for 47 000.

Bonteheuwel residents regard their suburb as a living monument to gross Government ineptitude — a modern-day beacon which points to the start of South Africa's Surplus People Age because Bonteheuwel, built in the early '60s, was the first coloured area to be used as a "dumping ground for people forced to move by the National Party Group Areas policy" (Bonteheuwel MP Patrick McKenzie, April 1986).

Forced to settle in dusty, sandy wasteland

Bonteheuwel teenagers are spoonfed on tales of how their parents were forced by the Government to move. They are told of the gay, bright and happy areas their folks were forced to leave behind and how they were forced to settle in a dusty, sandy wasteland of clone-built houses simply because the Government thought it best.

Since the early '60s the frustration and anger of their parents has been ingrained in the souls of the children. It formed a common bond which brought the community closer together. They were determined to regain what was rightfully their parents' and theirs.

These feelings forged a common bond between all who lived in Bonteheuwel. It was a closed community which acted and thought as one.

In the late 60's it was the first area where unrest flared in the Cape.

Solidarity against unjust system

When there was dissatisfaction, such as in 1975 over Afrikaans textbooks in the schools, Bonteheuwel's residents were the first in the Cape to show solidarity with those in Soweto.

The whole community, parents

**To some, just
a reference
point, for
others, a
jungle to be
avoided at
all costs**

and children, stood together and showed solidarity against an unjust system, according to residents.

The same happened in 1980. The Cape unrest began in Bonteheuwel and the majority of the residents were involved.

But something has gone horribly wrong since then among those living in Bonteheuwel who are committed to the "struggle".

A split appears to have formed in this once closely-knit community and they seem divided over the methods to use in bringing about a change in the South African system.

"Make no mistake, all of them are still committed to changing the Government — including myself," said Labour Party MP Mr Patrick McKenzie.

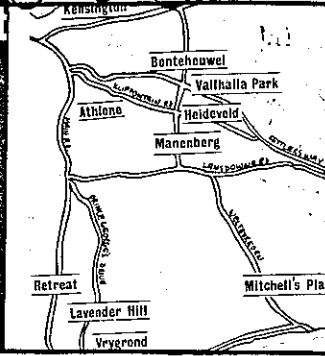
Bonteheuwel targeted by 'outside forces'

"The split happened in 1985 because it was then that 'outside forces' targeted Bonteheuwel as the ideal place to launch a major attack against the Government, and the children apparently were to be used as the tools," he said.

For months moderate coloured leaders have warned the Government of the activities in the area.

Apparently without heed, because it was not until last week that police announced the arrest of a gang of Bonteheuwel teenagers aged between 14 and 18 who allegedly "acted under the influence of the African National Congress and who are linked to more than 300 serious crimes such as arson, attempted arson, public violence and attacks on the homes of policemen." (The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, October 24 1987.)

More arrests are expected to follow, according to Pretoria police spokesmen.



Warning signs pointed out but ignored

It appears that this is more than just a bunch of "radical students" out to disrupt the community. The warning-signs were pointed out but, it seems, were ignored:

● In a parliamentary speech on Thursday, May 29 this year, Bonteheuwel MP Mr Patrick McKenzie said that urgent action was needed to stop Azapo, ANC, UDF, UWC, UCT and Cosas members from having daily meetings with schoolchildren in Bonteheuwel.

"They are being taught to disrupt our community," he told the House of Representatives.

"I want to ask, plead, that the high schools in Bonteheuwel be cleaned out to the very core. Senior members of the radical groups are addressing the children daily. If the vice-principal (of Arcadia High School) was not pulled away yesterday he would have been a corpse. He would have been stoned by those pupils," he said.

"Violence is only answer to our problems"

"I addressed a gathering of about 200 youths in Bonteheuwel three weeks ago. One of the youngest children there — he was about 13 or 14 — got up and said to me: 'Mr McKenzie, be honest ... violence is the only answer to our problems in South Africa.' This boy does not even know the difference between violence and non-violence but this is what they are taught in our schools."

● On September 4 this year he again urged the Government to pay close heed to what was taking place in Bonteheuwel and warned that the ANC was trying to make the suburb ungovernable.

Mr McKenzie said it was a "known fact that the ANC is trying to make Bonteheuwel highly politicised".

"Young people have been smuggled into neighbouring states for military training. It is not good to see a community such as Bonteheuwel being dragged down because of a minority of young people," he said.

On Saturday, October 24 youths allegedly belonging to the Bonteheuwel Military Wing were arrested.

This week Weekend Argus asked Mr McKenzie whether the split in the community was one which divided the older, more conservative residents who were looking for a non-violent means to bring about change from the younger generation who seem more prepared to wage an armed struggle in attaining their goals of a just and free society.

"It is not a case of the younger generation disagreeing with older residents. There is no real split in that sense. We are all still committed to establishing a system of government which will be just to all.

"There is, however, a clear distinction between the radical youth who believe in violence and those who seek a more peaceful method of bringing about change — which includes the majority of the youth.

"Radicals unable to pull whole community together"

"This is evidenced by the fact that since 1985 the radicals have not been able to pull the whole community together when it has been decided to riot. They just cannot get it off the ground.

"For the first time in years our schools are having a full educational day without the disruptions which were a part of school life since 1985. This is because the radical element has been removed.

"In proportion to the number of pupils who attend school in Bonteheuwel, the radical element is small.

"Since the early 1960s, when Bonteheuwel was established, there has always been dissatisfaction, but at least in those days the whole community was behind whatever form of action was decided on.

"It was in 1985 that we saw the first change because this was when outside elements came into the community to try to organise the boycotts and riots.

"I cannot blame the youth for their attitude. If you had grown up there (in Bonteheuwel) you would probably also look for any means to bring about a change to the system. But my heart bleeds that now some of our children are being taught to hate, to burn and to kill to bring about this change.

"The outside radical elements have split us ... divided us by the methods they have implemented.

"I took part in the 1975 riots and I also visited the ANC in that year but I do not believe in having to swim through a river of blood to attain my freedom," he said.

"In 1985 we saw outsiders come into Bonteheuwel during the riots and dump burning tyres on our roads.

"There was one school which did not want to boycott. The following day a lorry carrying tyres stopped outside the school. These were the days of the necklace killings. The implication was there, the children were threatened and the following day they joined the boycott.

"These things have been happening since then. I believe the majority of our children want to learn because education brings about freedom.

"Radicals destroy positive changes"

"At about that time, as well, the City Council decided to upgrade the area and moved heavy earth-moving machinery to Bonteheuwel. Three of these machines were burnt out with petrol bombs.

"Most of the community then realised that even when something positive was being done to change their lives the outside radicals would destroy it. This was the beginning of the split within the community and it continues today.

"You cannot blame kids for rioting if you were to see the conditions of their schools. I certainly do not blame them because I did the same things.

"My only concern is to stop people destroying the souls of our children with their indoctrination of hatred."

Mr McKenzie has been accused of being an elusive figure within the community, not easily approached and never available when needed.

"To those who say that sort of thing I tell to look in at my office in Bonteheuwel where I usually work from 7.30am until late and I see an average of about 50 people a day this way," he said.

PULL-OUT POSTER



— PAGES 8, 13

What Mandela told Mbeki

NELSON MANDELA does not believe he will be released before Christmas.

According to reliable sources, this is what the former African National Congress leader told Govan Mbeki after his helicopter trip from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison to speak to Mandela.

The former ANC chairperson was freed last week after serving 23 years of a life sentence.

Both Mandela and Mbeki cannot be quoted but reliable sources claimed this week the two had a wide-ranging talk in the hour they spent together.

- At the feet of Zizi — Page 9
- Homecoming — Page 12
- PAC man curbed- Page 2
- Breakfast for two — Page 2
- Lion of Africa — Pages 8, 13

Mbeki had gone to Pollsmoor Prison for his medical check-up before his release.

And from Mbeki's actions in the first week of his release, it is clear that he had discussed his political role with Mandela.

The two had spent most of their time in prison together but were separated in 1982 when Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada were transferred from the Island to Pollsmoor.

At his press conference in Port Elizabeth, Mbeki



Govan Mbeki greets former associates Phakama Makalipi (centre) and Joe Jikija at his 'homecoming' to New Brighton township, Port Elizabeth this week

Big Cape Town rally planned

A HUGE rally to be addressed by Govan Mbeki is being planned for Cape Town later this month.

The rally is being organised by the Mbeki Reception Committee (MRC), made up of progressive organisations, including United Democratic Front affiliates, trade unions, the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association, the Western Province Council of Churches and the Western Cape Traders Association.

The rally is expected to be the biggest in Cape

Town since the Mitchells Plain launch of the UDF four years ago.

UDF publicity secretary Hilda Ndude said the committee had been formed to welcome Mbeki to Cape Town.

"The committee is organising for his arrival soon as part of his tour to different regions. He is expected to visit all the major centres in the country," Ndude said.

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From page 1

confirmed he had discussions with Mandela who supported his release. He said Mandela appeared in good health and had sent "greetings to the comrades from Pollsmoor".

Mbeki had no doubt his release was a prelude to the release of Mandela and other political prisoners.

Mbeki's offer to mediate in the conflict-ridden Natal townships, also appears to have been discussed with Mandela. It is known that Mandela is concerned about the role of Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi.

The ANC would not take part in the government's planned National Statutory Council or advisory bodies. It appears Mandela also told Mbeki to keep a low profile until he had discussed his role with the ANC in Lusaka, it has been claimed.

Mbeki went into hiding this week after returning to his hometown, New Brighton, at the weekend.

An ANC spokesperson in Lusaka said no visit to Lusaka had been planned for Mbeki.

"We do not believe his release is a prelude to negotiations between the government and the ANC. There has never been any contact with the SA government.

"The ANC will continue its demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela, whether the rumours in South Africa are true or not."

Baby Thu

By AYESHA ISMAIL
LITTLE Thulani Sakaula lost his right eye when he was only five months old.

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his eye w

Thulani, who is now 13 months old, was admitted to Paarl East Hospital in January, for what appeared to be a stomach complaint. He was two months old at the time.

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It was discovered he suffered from severe malnutrition, or kwashiorkor.



A photograph of a man and a woman with a child, likely related to the article about Thulani Sakaula.

BC throws down gauntlet

THOSE who do not allow themselves to be criticised during their life will be criticised after their death, according to an old Chinese saying.

Therefore we welcome SOUTH FORUM and its attempt to encourage debate on community issues and on the ideologies which guide — unite and divide — our organisations in their bid to break the chains of oppression and exploitation.

But the criticisms of Black Consciousness (BC) made by Dr Mamphele Ramphele in SOUTH October 1, 1987 cannot go unchallenged.

After identifying the tenets of BC, she comments: "These tenets are still relevant today, and will remain relevant to-morrow". We must assume, therefore, that she experiences no difficulties with BC as such.

In the article Ramphele castigates BC adherents for purporting to own BC.

Remarkable

In the world of ideas it is quite possible for an ideology or a philosophy to wander about in space, unowned. In the rough-and-tumble of political life, however, that is unheard of. During historical epochs, there have always been people and organisations who have, for better or for worse, acted as custodians of ideologies or philosophies.

In Russia the Bolsheviks saw themselves as the custodians of socialism. In Ghana the CPP saw itself as the custodian of African Nationalism. Kaunda's UNIP occupied a similar position in Zambia. When the PAC broke away from the ANC in 1958, it declared that the ANC had abandoned both the 1949 Programme of Action and nationalism and constituted itself the custodian of both.

In other words, once it was felt by some people that nationalism no longer had a custodian in SA, it was felt that another should be raised, rather than allow the ideology to wander about loosely.

It may well be that we are wrong in acting as the custodians of BC; it would be helpful to hear the reasons. Until we hear them, we can only say that we are being urged to do something which seems to us unprecedented in history.

Ramphele was also critical of BC's failure to give white voters a direction in the 1983 referendum.

The remarkable thing about the criticism is the impression that previous BC organisations — Saso and BPC for example — might have approached the issue differently. Before the criticism, Ramphele writes: "They have so distorted the fundamental message of BC that few people want to be identified with it". In her view we have distorted it by holding: "We have nothing to say to whites".

Under similar circumstances, Steve Biko had written: "There are those whites who will completely disclaim responsibility for the country's inhumanity to the black man. These are the people who are governed by logic for four-and-a-half years, but by fear at election time."

It would seem, therefore, that if Saso or BPC were requested to direct whites on how to vote in 1983, their approach might be: "It is pointless, since they will in all event vote according to their fears". As I see it, this response would make perfect sense, since white people disregarded the directive the UDF and the PFP gave before the referendum.

The second remarkable thing about the criticism

MANDLA SELEOANE, head of Azapo's labour secretariat, responds to a recent SOUTH FORUM in which DR MAMPHELE RAMPHELE gave here views on Black Consciousness today. She accused the leadership of purporting to own BC, failing to give white voters a directive in the 1983 referendum, having a superficial economic analysis, and seeing all whites as "baddies" and all blacks as "goodies".

is the manner in which Ramphele misguided herself about the purpose of forming the National Forum (NF). She writes: "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?"

The NF was not formed for the purpose of fighting the referendum. It was formed to fight the tri-cameral dispensation, and from that task it has not shied away to this day.

Distorted

Seeing all whites as "baddies" and all blacks as "goodies", is another sweeping criticism Ramphele has of the BC movement.

Ramphele formulates this criticism in the following interesting words: "...all blacks are 'goodies' provided they do not grossly violate certain norms." She seems to be saying that if blacks violate the said norms, then we do not see them as 'goodies'. To me this seems to be so normal that I fail to see the point Ramphele is wanting to make. If we were saying that blacks are good regardless of how they violate principles, then she would in my view be justified in making a fuss about that position.

The criticism of our position on whites is also presented as an example



Mamphele Ramphele

of how much we have distorted the fundamental tenets of BC. Says Ramphele: "They have great difficulty in relating to people who have the misfortune of being born a shade too 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."

If people criticise us for not opening up membership of our organisations to whites, that is one thing and we are prepared to listen to their arguments. If certain of their arguments have

merit, they have in the past been put to the membership for approval. If the membership does not like those views, they throw them out. An example would be the question of co-operating with white people, discussed at the 1984 Congress at Lenasia, Johannesburg. Democracy then requires that everybody should follow the wishes of the majority. We are comfortable with that position for we do not think that the leadership should impose on the membership or bend policy at the face of criticism. Some BC leaders, known to Ramphele, have tried this in the past, but their wings were clipped without much decorum.

Skilful

If, however, people say we ascribe corporate guilt to whites, and that we thereby distort the fundamental tenets of BC, that becomes a completely different issue. The problem then becomes empirical, and we can verify the claim by taking a look at the documents of BC before it fell into our distorting hands.

In an article entitled *White Racism and Black Consciousness*, Biko argued: "White society collectively owes blacks so huge a debt that no one member should automatically expect to escape from the blanket condem-

that she could not see the developments which took place in BC after her departure.

We must assume, therefore, that her criticism refers to the BC she knew, and which she now accuses us of being fixated to. For our part, we are very much aware of the realities she is belatedly inviting our attention to. That is why we adopted the Azanian People's Manifesto. If we did not still regard her as a comrade, we might have occasion to remark, along with Lenin, that ignorance is no argument.

But Ramphele is very skilful in her presentation. She presents us with the dilemma that, if we try to disprove her claim that we are fixated in the past, we must make the sort of arguments which will enable her to say: I told you so. These people have distorted BC".

Dynamic

The position, however, is simply that BC, being an ideology — Ramphele might prefer the term philosophy — is dynamic. It was formulated in the 1960s by Biko and others. It should surprise us if, in formulating it in the terms they did, their intention was to make it a captive of those terms and us slaves of their words. That should surprise us because nothing in their words — spoken or written — gives us cause to think that they were such enemies of freedom and of development.

That is why we intend to stick to BC for as long as the material conditions of South African life remain as they stand today. If other people think that this is being fixated in the past, then so be it. We shall not subscribe to promethean solutions. We shall continue with our endeavour to articulate BC in terms which take cognisance of the historical events surrounding us. We challenge our detractors to show us, step-by-step, how our formulations depart from the BC we are accused of distorting.

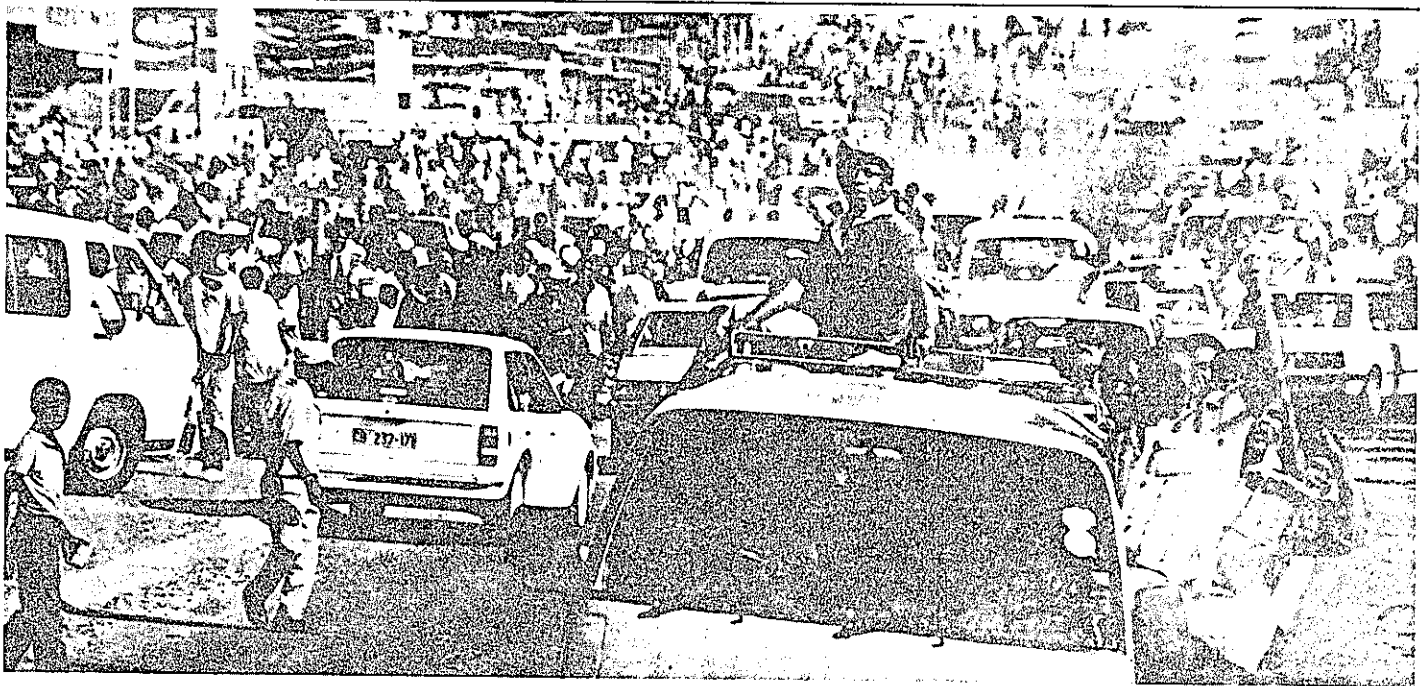
nation that must come from the black world." In *The Definition of Black Consciousness*, presented at a Saso leadership training seminar, Biko argued: "White power presents itself as a totality not only provoking us, but also controlling our response to that provocation. This is an important point to note because it is often missed by those who believe that there are a few good whites. Sure there are a few good whites, just as much as there are a few bad blacks."

That was BC as Steve Biko formulated it and before we distorted it. The resemblance between Steve's first statement and the one attributed to us by Ramphele is so striking, one is almost reminded of the manner in which Plato embraced justice to destroy it.

Ramphele also accuses us of having a superficial economic analysis in that we ignore the reality that there are black people who exploit others.

She comments: "This approach to politics in the eighties is naive in the extreme". After making a further accusation that we ignore the reorganisation of the forces against injustice, she comments: "Today's BC adherents are people who are fixated in the past and unable to move into the present and take up the challenge of the future".

I think that we should excuse Ramphele since, after we had distorted BC, she became one of those — in her view — many people who then did not want to be identified with it. In so distancing herself from BC, she shut the doors and drew the curtains in such a manner



Chaos reigns in New Brighton as crowds of jubilant supporters stream onto the streets at the news of Mr Govan Mbeki's arrival.

Picture By: CHRIS QWAZI (Pen)

Mbeki's homecoming

The Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu) backs the call for the release of



Oscar Mpetha

and all other political prisoners and detainees.

(Mpetha, aged 77, is a diabetic who has had one leg amputated. He has now served more than two years of a five-year sentence. The Supreme Court and the Appeal Court agreed it should have been suspended had it not been that the Terrorism Act laid down a minimum five-year sentence).

Welcome home
**GOVAN
'COM ZIZI'
MBEKI**

From
Ravensmead Uitsig
Civic Association
Ravensmead Workers
Advice Bureau
Ravensmead Youth

From MBULELO LINDA and EDYTH BULBRING
PORT ELIZABETH — Govan Mbeki's "homecoming" to Port Elizabeth's African townships caused an outburst of hope and joy.

Youths hung from the sides of fast moving taxis, children and old women danced in the streets and crowds of people toy-toyed as the cream-coloured car carrying Mbeki wound its way through the streets of Port Elizabeth's townships.

One enthusiastic onlooker described his arrival as an early visit from Father Christmas.

"He came from the cold in the north and brought so much warmth. His presence has brightened the lives of so many suffering people. They have hope again. It's like an early Christmas present."

Emotional

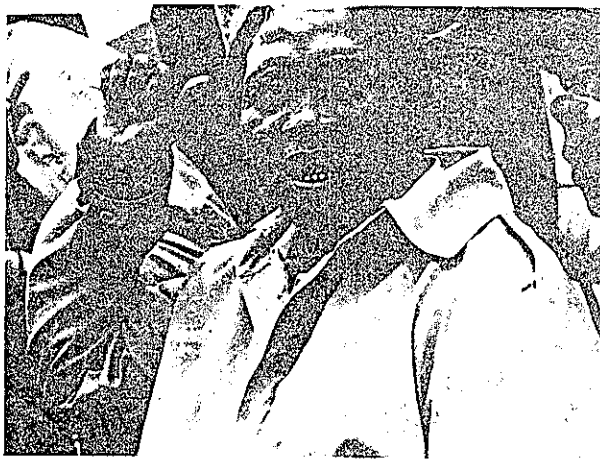
Mbeki returned to Port Elizabeth on Sunday afternoon after spending a day in Johannesburg. He was greeted at the Hendrik Verwoerd Airport by about 50 township residents. Wives of detainees and Robben Island prisoners, children and old men went up to the quiet man and hugged him joyfully.

Airport workers and cleaners abandoned their work to embrace him.

He was whisked from the airport to a private lunch by members of the Inter-denominational African Ministers Association of SA (Idamasa).

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Mr Mayford Mfawze, an old friend of Govan Mbeki sings the national anthem at a service to welcome him home. Picture By: EDYTH BULBRING (Pen)

reunion with a blind former treason trialist, Phakama Simon Mkalipi, who was Mbeki's former associate and is now a patron of the Eastern Cape branch of the UDF.

Before his car moved off, the group of people sang protest-songs, clenched their fists and danced.

Taxis, scooters and private vehicles joined the motorcade. Television crews perched on the bonnets of cars, filming the procession. As the car slowed down, hundreds of people rushed into the streets to catch a glimpse of their old leader.

The stream of cars grew as the procession continued. Oncoming traffic, pushed to the side of the road, turned around and joined in the cavalcade.

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open car windows "Mbeki is back, viva Mbeki, he is home". Traffic by-laws were ignored for the day.

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He was accompanied by his wife, Mamoeteki, his lawyer, Priscilla Jana, and Idamasa member The Rev Mcebisi Xundu.

Traffic jams

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dren as he started to speak. What Mbeki said cannot be quoted.

The crowd escorted him back to the car where he continued his tour. He entered little Soweto, a township which came into being after his imprisonment and which houses the poorest of Port Elizabeth's township residents.

Here his reception was even greater. Fruit sellers abandoned their wares to follow the cars and shack dwellers left their homes to line the streets calling their greetings. One woman jumped into the air so high that she lost her balance and fell on the sidewalk. She laughed and undeterred chased after the cars. Traffic jams ensued as youths crowded the streets and surrounded the car.

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Liberation

When the car stopped, residents crowded it and youths sang "ubaba uMbeki yinkokeli" (our father, Mbeki, is our leader).

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The procession wound its way back to the service station in New Brighton from where Mbeki was whisked away to a secret place to allow him to rest.

Residents gathered around discussing the day's events. "If this is the reception for Mbeki, can you imagine what it will be like on the day of liberation", a woman wearing the colours of the ANC said excitedly. — Pen

SPAC 2/11/87
11A

ANC man has his jail term cut

An African National Congress (ANC) member yesterday had his 5½-year jail term cut by three years in the Rand Supreme Court.

Vijaydave Naran Rama Patel (42) had been convicted of joining the ANC, possessing ANC literature and attempting to recruit members.

But the Appeal Court set aside the conviction and three-year sentence for recruitment.

JOHANNESBURG. — Last Sunday was the first in more than 24 years that John Nkosi, 46, spent free of the fear that at about 6 pm he would be locked up in his cell.

He was one of the three PAC men freed last Thursday with ANC stalwart and Rivonia trialist, Mr Govan Mbeki.

In July 1963 a judge sentenced him and five others to terms of imprisonment varying from five years to life. Nkosi, then 21, a Form One pupil, was sentenced to life.

Nkosi said: "We were students and what we had planned had not even materialised. We had not used the weapons we had."

Nkosi was one of three PAC leaders to reject PW Botha's offer of a conditional release two years ago.

One of the conditions of release, he said was to renounce violence. "We had already served 22 years in jail and a conditional release was unacceptable," he said.

Non-racial

Nkosi was arrested at a house in Lady Selborne at midnight on April 8, 1963.

Although he was happy to be released, Nkosi said he was disappointed that his "comrade" Mr Jeff Masemola who was sentenced with him to life imprisonment was still in jail.

"I have a strong hope that Jeff as well as other political prisoners will be freed," he said.

Nkosi, born at Riverside near Pretoria in September 1941, said he joined the PAC in 1960. He studied for his junior certificate in prison and is presently studying for a degree in computer science.

He said he had not yet decided about his political involvement as he still had domestic problems to attend to.

Asked about his marriage plans, he smiled and said: "I have not yet thought about that. I do not even have a handkerchief or a blanket to sleep under."

After 10 years in jail, Mr Mike Sello Matsobane, 46, still upholds Africanist and non-racial ideals.

Interviewed at his new home in Kagiso near Krugersdorp, Mr Matsobane, however, cast doubts about his newfound freedom following several parole restrictions.

Matsobane was convicted of furthering the aims of the banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in the marathon Bethal trial in 1979, and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment of which he served eight on Robben Island.

Curbs on PAC man

Matsobane cannot engage in any political activity until September 1990, failing which the Commissioner of Prisons may suspend his parole. If the Commissioner finds he has not observed his bail conditions, he can be de-

tained.

Other conditions are that he has to report to the Kagiso or Krugersdorp police station; he is under the control of the commanding officer of Krugersdorp prisons for the duration of the parole;

a warrant for his arrest can be issued and he can be detained at any time; he has to report within a month his residential address; and the Commissioner of Prisons may alter any of the parole conditions.



Govan Mbeki greets well-wishers in Port Elizabeth. Pic: GUY TILLIM (Afrapix)

Breakfast with Mbeki

By SAHM VENTER
I SERVED Govan Mbeki his first breakfast as a free man.

While journalists waited in the Port Elizabeth Holiday Inn's lobby last Friday for the released ANC leader to put in an appearance, I exploited the absence of room service because of a labour dispute.

Many hotel workers, members of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union, were striking for higher wages as their celebrated guest arrived.

I fetched his breakfast from the hotel's restau-

rant and took it to Suite 255A where Mbeki had spent the night — and was rewarded with a short interview.

Breakfast was fruit, scrambled eggs, sausages, boerewors, croquettes (chopped fried potato), tea and toast.

He was also brought a razor on request.

After taking in his meal, I spend a few minutes with the soft-spoken, 77-year-old, in a room adjoining that of his attorney, Ms Priscilla Jana.

previous night.

He confirmed that he would stay in South Africa, probably in New Brighton. The Inter-Denominational Ministers' Association of South Africa (Idamasa) has arranged a flat for him in the city's township.

He was concerned over disunity among people in the country and said that to resolve such problems, people had to talk.

Mbeki was surprisingly not bitter about his years in prison. While times had been hard, he acknowledged that there had been vast improvements.

The highlight of Mbeki's day last Friday was when his wife, Mamotseki, arrived at the hotel. A car had left Port Elizabeth at 1am to fetch her in the Transkei.

continued
— b

LO-METAL CONTAIN

SECTOR: MISCELLANEOUS PRODUCTS & SERVICES
 AREA: SOUTH AFRICA

1. Work Breaks

Minimum lunch break : 60 minutes
 Maximum lunch break : 75 minutes
 Total tea break time : 20 minutes
 Number of tea breaks : 2

2. Maximum length of week : 6 days / 46.0 hours

3. Spreadover

Spreadover hours per shift : --
 Hours of work consecutive : Yes
 Retrenchment provisions : 4
 Short time provisions : 6

4. Overtime

Usual weekday
 2nd weekday
 Saturday work
 Sunday work
 Public Holiday
 Maximum hours

Exiled son
 He had spent his first night of freedom in a single bed. But the white-haired man had got little sleep. Besides the excitement of the release the telephone had rung throughout the night. Mbeki, whom people had remarked looked "more like a priest than a man who had spent 23 years in prison", was warm and friendly. Mbeki cannot be quoted as he is a listed person. Special permission had been given for him to be quoted at a Bureau for Information organised press conference in the hotel the evening before. He spoke of his desire to see his exiled son's: Thabo (ANC national executive member) and Moeletsi — if given permission by the Government. He had spoken to Thabo for the first time in over two decades on the phone the

The beaming couple spent a few minutes alone in another larger hotel suite "The Lodge", where the Mbeki party had moved to later that morning. Earlier, he met his attorney, Priscilla Jana, who had not been informed of Mbeki's whereabouts. Her office had received official confirmation of his release while she was on her to Port Elizabeth in a chartered flight. At their reunion, Jana who had last seen her client on Robben Island on October 9, sat next to him on a couch, holding his hand. Looking slightly bewildered, he spoke softly to her of his helicopter ride from the Island to Pollsmoor Prison on Thursday morning. Unaware that he had been released, Jana had also visited Pollsmoor that morning.

5. Allowances

Shift allowance
 Inconvenience
 Clothing allowance
 Subsistence allowance
 Night shift allowance

vel Allowance : All
 g Service Allowance : -
 endance Bonus : -
 duction Bonus : -
 iday Bonus : -

6. Paid Leave

Leave days for
 Leave days for
 Annual sick leave
 Annual sick leave

le: 20 days per 24 months
 le: 24 days per 24 months

7. Paid Public Holiday

New Years Day
 Founders Day
 Family Day
 Republic Day
 Day of the Vow
 Day of Goodwill

January : No
 Good Friday : Yes
 Ascension Day : Yes
 Kruger Day : No
 Christmas Day : Yes
 Other : No

8. Piecework etc

Piecework : Allowed
 Skilled/unskilled ratio set : No
 Protective Clothing : Free

9. Notice

Notice period weekly paid : 1 week(s) / -- hour(s)
 Notice period monthly paid : - week(s) / -- day(s)

10. Trade Union Status

Closed shop : --
 Union member employment first : --
 Stop Order facilities for subs : --

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

'THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN'

(1A) 12-18-11/87
South

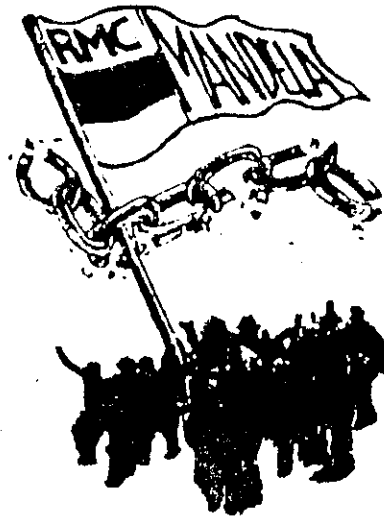
THE Release Mandela Campaign welcomes the unconditional release of our leader and comrade Govan Mbeki. However, we reject Pretoria's innuendo that comrade Mbeki's release should be treated as a "test case" before the release of other political prisoners.

Comrade Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and others have long called on the South African government to renounce violence before it called on others to do so.

This we view as a test case which will indicate Pretoria's willingness to begin a process of meaningful negotiations.

We believe that the continued imprisonment of our leaders, the continued banning of the ANC, and the exiling of the most important participants in the resolution of the current political logjam in our country - are the tests which Pretoria has to pass if it is sincerely committed to change.

The people of South Africa are aware of the biting effects of sanctions on the economy, and if the



release of Govan Mbeki is aimed at easing this pressure, then we want to state clearly that it is a self-inflicted fallacy on the part of Pretoria. And it is dangerous.

Furthermore, denying Mbeki the right to being heard, by declaring him a so-called listed person, is a gross violation of the right of South Africa's people to articulate their aspirations through their tried and tested leaders.

We are not at all convinced that Pretoria is genuinely walking the path of dismantling apartheid.

We would also like to remind PW Botha that his predecessor, B J Vorster, advised Ian Smith in 1973 to release Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo so that they could play their role as genuine leaders of the then Rhodesia in a negotiated settlement of that country's problems. Why now is the advice no longer suitable for the advisor? Circumstances are the same! What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. We challenge PW Botha and his cabal to apply that measure of sanity to themselves.

If the South African government desires a negotiated settlement, then, as they are the sole problem party that caused apartheid, the ball is in their court.

By delaying the release of all our leaders, Pretoria is in fact prolonging the ongoing violence and political instability that have become the order of the day in the whole country.

The people of South Africa say "Abandon all your fears and act now".



Chaos reigns in New Brighton as crowds of jubilant supporters stream onto the streets at the news of Mr Govan Mbeki's arrival.

Picture By: CHRIS QWAZI (Pen)

Mbeki's homecoming

From MBULELO LINDA and EDYTH BULBRING
PORT ELIZABETH — Govan Mbeki's "homecoming" to Port Elizabeth's African townships caused an outburst of hope and joy.

Youths hung from the sides of fast moving taxis, children and old women danced in the streets and crowds of people toyed as the cream-coloured car carrying Mbeki wound its way through the streets of Port Elizabeth's townships.

One enthusiastic onlooker described his arrival as an early visit from Father Christmas.

"He came from the cold in the north and brought so much warmth. His presence has brightened the lives of so many suffering people. They have hope again. It's like an early Christmas present."

Emotional

Mbeki returned to Port Elizabeth on Sunday afternoon after spending a day in Johannesburg. He was greeted at the Hendrik Verwoerd Airport by about 50 township residents. Wives of detainees and Robben Island prisoners, children and old men went up to the quiet man and hugged him joyfully.

Airport workers and cleaners abandoned their work to embrace him. He was whisked from the airport to a private lunch by members of the Inter-denominational African Ministers Association of SA (Idamasa).

Excited crowds waited patiently for his arrival at the Dan Qeqe Service Station in New Brighton. On his arrival, the women and youth sang songs of welcome and Mbeki embraced friends he had worked with before his imprisonment.

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Mr Mayford Mfazwe, an old friend of Govan Mbeki sings the national anthem at a service to welcome him home. Picture By: EDYTH BULBRING (Pen)

reunion with a blind former treason trialist, Phakama Simon Mkalipi, who was Mbeki's former associate and is now a patron of the Eastern Cape branch of the UDF.

Before his car moved off, the group of people sang protest songs, clenched their fists and danced.

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open car windows "Mbeki is back, viva Mbeki, he is home". Traffic by-laws were ignored for the day.

Mbeki sat in the front seat, clenching his fist and smiling delightedly at the jubilant reception.

He was accompanied by his wife, Mamotseki, his lawyer, Priscilla Jana, and Idamasa member The Rev Mcebisi Xundu.

Traffic jams

A traffic jam occurred at the circle of Njoli Square, a trading point for food vendors, taxis and hawkers. The car was mobbed as people abandoned their stalls and taxis and surrounded the car, shouting their greetings and clenching their fists.

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Smulder 12/11/87

PAC to meet US govt officials

HARARE — A meeting between the Pan Africanist Congress and the United States State Department is scheduled for today in Washington DC, according to a statement issued by the PAC.

The meeting was arranged by the US State Department. The PAC delegation to the meeting will be led by Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs, according to the chief PAC representative in Zimbabwe who issued the statement to the Africa News Organisation.

Ebrahim will be accompanied by Count Pietersen from the PAC observer mission to the United Nations.

Last year a similar meeting was held during which Mr Ebrahim briefed the US Government on PAC policy.

According to reliable sources, the delegation will raise the issue of mandatory sanctions against South Africa again. — Africa News Organisation.

ANC will have to negotiate — Prof

①/1A Sweet
12/11/87

THE curbing of unrest in South Africa has shattered ANC credibility, forcing the organisation to negotiate or die.

This was said by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer at the National Clothing Federation convention at the Wild Coast.

Professor Schlemmer said the Soviet Union was pressuring the banned organisation increasingly to adopt a more political approach.

The ANC, he said, had built a reputation internationally and internally as "heir apparent" to the

Government through association with the "huge wave of internal unrest and protest" which had swept the country during the past three to four years.

"Its status increased as unrest mounted in South Africa and as people abroad anticipated there

was going to be some sort of major transformation in the society they started looking to the ANC as the heir apparent."

"With curbing of unrest and protest under the state of emergency the ANC has had to enter, and will have to increasingly enter, into a new phase of strategy.

While the diplomatic wing of the ANC had expanded its international network considerably it still faced the testing task of competing with existing internal black formations.

The diplomatic wing, he said, was under increasing pressure from the Soviet Union, its main sponsor, to produce new initiatives — alternatives to insurgency and sabotage.

"In that route it is going to have to compete with internal black formations. As long as it was a purely military struggle it did not have to compete.

Support

It could present and maintain itself as heir apparent.

Professor Schlemmer said according to a recent poll the ANC only enjoyed the support of 25 percent of South Africa's blacks.

"As we get further into the process of negotiation the ANC is faced with the very severe challenge of deciding whether to come in and renounce violence or at least suspend violence and seek negotiation or stay outside.

"If they decide to stay outside and operate externally, they will decline. The role of the ANC is an important one but not an exclusive one. If they participate it will be as one of several potential black formations — significant but not the key to everything," he said.

Why we have a

THE practice of observing "Black Christmas" was initiated in December 1976 by the Black Consciousness Movement. This was during the upheaval which started on June 16 in the same year.

Until then various people had individually deprecated the idea of observing Christmas in the traditional manner for various reasons. These reasons ranged from religious, through to economic and political.

The advent of 1976 brought unprecedented solidarity within the community.

There was a strong feeling of togetherness in action among the people. Of the many issues that were targets for action "Black Christmas" was one of the most successful. The reasons for this campaign have not been time-bound and continue to be valid today, 11 years later.

The militants of 1976 and subsequent years have argued that traditionally Christmas is a time of goodwill among all persons, irrespective of their social, economic or political standing. However, in South Africa, this universal Christmas message has been turned into a vulgarity because blacks do not benefit in any way whatsoever. The only people who benefit are the owners and controllers of big business and their satellites. A few important factors can be cited in this regard:

Blacks are made to go on "holiday" simply because the bosses want to go on "vacation." The so-called "bonuses," "back-pays" or "thirteenth cheques" that blacks receive are re-absorbed by the owners of capital because blacks have no option but to spend the money at white enterprises. In this regard black-owned or controlled concerns can be viewed as agencies or extensions of the white concerns because of their smallness and their benefits accrue to an

Black Christmas

A period of reflection

FOCUS

insignificantly few blacks.

The revelry and festivity which traditionally accompanies the Christmas period is often aoused and exploited by the Government and its agencies. They say that blacks are happy because the Government treats them well.

Period

The period of Christmas is also exploited by the Government to say that those it has detained are rubble-rousers and do not represent the mass of people enjoying festivities.

South Africa professes to be a Christian country. Christmas is the most important event in Christianity. Christianity preaches the equality of people before God. It is therefore unChristian for the white Government of South Africa to deny the majority of the country's citizens the most basic of human rights.

The period usually extends from around

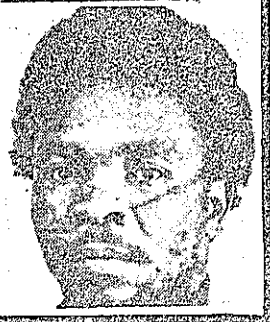
December 12 to January 2. "Black Christmas" is a protest by blacks aimed at challenging the morality of white South Africa at the time when they would rather forget the problems and misery of the black masses and go on vacation.

"Black Christmas" is a positive act of sacrifice. Blacks sacrifice the little joys of acquiring a few garments for themselves and their offsprings, or more food and drinks than usual or passing moments of revelry with some friends, family or acquaintances.

"Black Christmas" is an economic protest against exploitation. Most if not all the commodities are more expensive during this period. The market is glutted with useless ornaments which blacks are expected to buy. Almost all the products are intended for blacks during this period. In this context "Black Christmas" is a protest against being treated like a nation of mere consumers.

"Black Christmas" is a positive political act. It denies the fallacy that there can be a period of goodwill for two weeks in

IN this guest column the publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Muntu Myeza, explains his organisation's views on "Black Christmas. . ."



a year. This implies that the rest of the year — fifty weeks — is a period of ill-will. "Black Christmas" seeks to restore true humanity by protesting against a national lie. Goodwill is not a periodical event. It is woven into the fabric of society. Detentions, deaths in custody, the State of Emergency, discriminatory education, exploitation of the black worker, inadequate housing for blacks and a myriad of other factors do not make for a spirit of goodwill within our society.

Demands

The "black" in "Black Christmas" is a direct determination of the group burdened by a grievance and the group responsible for such grievance.

When the Government responds to demands by blacks and the situation of "us" and "them" or "blacks" and "whites" has been corrected, only

then shall Christmas be Christmas, neither black nor white.

Over the years confusion and uncertainty seems to have set in — not on what "Black Christmas" is, but on what people should do in observance of it. The exuberance of some groups and the attempts by the system and its agencies to sow confusion have occasioned this confusion.

"Black Christmas" means blacks must use the period as a time to reflect on how best to improve their contribution to the struggle for liberation.

The observance of "Black Christmas" is national and should consequently be respected by every person, every group, big or small. The guiding principle is restraint and sacrifice.

There is no struggle without sacrifice. Shared sacrifice is fulfilling. Knowledge that other people are making the same sacrifices as one is making creates a sense of accomplishment. The most encouraging thing is when one takes the decision voluntarily with coercion.

Libyan-trained men to testify on Qibla

SMA 13/11/87

Pretoria Correspondent

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Qibla trial will take an interesting turn today when the State calls several Libyan-trained terrorists to testify against the two alleged Qibla members.

The trial, in which five men are accused of belonging to the banned PAC and two of being members of the Muslim Qibla organisation, is set to run until December 11.

Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa (29), Mr Sestiba Paul Moholo (29), Mr Achmad Cassiem (41), Mr Yusuf Patel (27), Reverend Daniel Saul Nkopodi (27), Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu (52) and Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga (26, have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice. They also face about 23 charges under the Internal Security Act.

Defence counsel for Mr Gcanga, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, is challenging the admissibility of his client's statement. According to Mr Moseneke, his client was assaulted and threatened.

Magistrate J H Bekker will pass judgment on the admissibility of the statement today.

The hearing continues.

Return from the cold

11A

Govan Mbeki, who in a surprise move was released (with four other long-term political prisoners) by government last Thursday, demanded to speak to Nelson Mandela at Pollsmoor prison before being freed. In their hour-long meeting, it is understood from reliable sources, the ANC veterans discussed a number of issues including the implications of Mbeki's release (see page 58).

Mbeki (77) a former ANC national chairman and secretary of its high command was later flown in an army helicopter from Ysterplaat military base to Port Elizabeth, where he plans to live in New Brighton, one of SA's most militant townships.

Many would say that Port Elizabeth's (and the eastern Cape's) reputation as the cradle of radical black opposition is largely due to the young Mbeki's organisational skills.

In a press conference at Port Elizabeth, Mbeki made it clear that he is still a member of the (banned) ANC and SA Communist Party.

He also said he supports the ANC's military wing as well as the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The silver-haired, elegantly dressed Mbeki, who was imprisoned after the landmark Rivonia trial in 1963, exuded dignity and charisma and looked fit and healthy for a man of his age.

Mbeki was reunited with his wife, Epainet, with whom he last stayed in 1955. The couple wept for a few minutes before a contingent of journalists and photographers was allowed into the room.

The release of Mbeki, whose stature in the liberation movement almost equals Mandela's, has drawn favourable response from both overseas governments and extra-parliamentary politicians.

An executive member of the UDF the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu said: "We welcome the news of his release with tremendous pleasure.

"We hope that it is a start to a process that will see people like Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners released so that negotiations for a just and democratic SA can begin."

Mbeki flew to Johannesburg on Friday night to a tumultuous welcome by about 1 500 well-wishers at Jan Smuts airport. A reception committee of UDF president Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, National Union of Mineworkers leader Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu's Sydney Mafumadi, UDF's Samsom Ndou, and Release Mandela Committee's Irene Mkwazi, drew up Mbeki's itinerary.

Said Albertina Sisulu: "We welcome Mr Mbeki with open arms. We can only hope that his release presages the liberation of the oppressed masses. The government must now proceed and release other political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela."

Speculation is, of course, that Mandela could be released by Christmas. However, since government wants to "test the water" with Mbeki's release, freeing Mandela could

However Mbeki spelt out his political future to some extent. It is clear that as a patron of the UDF he will work within existing opposition structures and consult closely with other leaders.

He offered to mediate in the Maritzburg feud between the UDF and Inkatha which has claimed about 176 lives.

Inkatha deputy leader Oscar Dhlomo welcomed the offer. Mbeki's role as peacemaker will be keenly observed to see whether the revered leadership in prison is able to resolve practical political problems.

It will also have implications for future ANC-Inkatha relations. In Johannesburg Mbeki stayed with Sisulu. A reception was prepared for him at St Barnabas College in Bosmont.

He met the Rev Peter Storey and a number of high-ranking ministers from the Methodist World Conference who are due to see State President P W Botha this week.

Mbeki, a founder member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, is generally considered to have been the ANC's leading theoretician and strategist. It will be interesting to see whether he can regalanise the structures of the UDF which have been hard-hit by the emergency.

Recently released political prisoners describe him as a "living computer" because of his photographic memory.

Indeed many have been impressed by how fully in touch he is with the political scene.

While on Robben Island Mbeki wrote a book, *The Peasant Revolt in Transkei*, which earned a doctorate from Amsterdam University.

He has also written a number of articles some of which he intends to publish

— probably overseas. A big project will be his autobiography. Mbeki has applied for a "travel document" to visit Lusaka to meet the ANC leadership which includes his son Thabo Mbeki considered to be a future leader of the organisation.



Epainet Mbeki and Govan ... home at last

take a little longer.

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A grim picture of Maritzburg violence in court statements

CAPE TOWN 13/11/87

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CHILLING allegations about the violence in the black townships of Maritzburg were made in three applications to the Natal Supreme Court last week.

In one sworn affidavits by two children aged 12 and 13 described how their mother and sister were shot dead after a group of men came to their house looking for their two brothers but failed to find them.

The fiancé of a woman staying in the house was also found dead after the attack.

In a second it was alleged in affidavits that paraffin was poured on a woman after she had been abducted and she was told she would be set alight if she did not answer questions satisfactorily.

It was also alleged in the same application that a house was surrounded and set alight. The inhabitants were stoned as they fled. One was shot and wounded. Another was murdered.

In the third application it was alleged that houses were stoned, a woman abducted and interrogated and two men assaulted, one of whom, left for dead, was in hospital for a week.

In all three cases — all have a January 15 1988 return date — the applicants named and identified locally prominent members of Inkatha as being responsible for these incidents, and they asked for interdicts to restrain them.

(More than 130 people have now died during the violence in Maritzburg townships. Inkatha says more than 40 were Inkatha members. It is impossible to assess the

merits of these conflicting claims but the Supreme Court applications give an indication of the levels of violence involved.)

Two brothers, Mandla and Mangethe Mkhize, were granted an interim interdict restraining Mr David Ntombela, an induna and local chairman of Inkatha in Maswazini in the Mpumza area of Maritzburg, and seven other people from killing or assaulting, or attempting to do so, or intimidating seven members of their family and a friend.

Their mother Angelica and their sister Petronella were shot after a group of men arrived on October 9 at their house looking for the two applicants. A friend of the family, Sithembiso Khumalo, was also shot dead.

Their brother Khathula (13) described how the men entered his mother's hut and then the hut in which he was sleeping.

He identified some of the men, including Induna Ntombela.

After they said they were satisfied his two brothers were not there "I heard my mother saying she was going out to relieve herself".

"I then heard the first respondent say to my mother she should not move and should lean against the wall. I heard a gunshot and heard her groan. I think there was another shot.

"After they shot my mother I heard someone tell her to get up and open the door. I did not hear her answer as I hid under my bed.

"A short while later certain of the respondents entered the room. I saw sixth respondent

aim his gun at my sister Petronella and fire one shot. She fell to the floor and I heard more shots. I remember her crying out 'Awu weMa!'

"She lay bleeding on the floor. She was moaning. I closed my eyes and after a short while the men went outside and I heard first respondent say that they should burn the house.

"One of the men argued against this, saying they already had two of us.

"A few minutes later my sister Patricia came into the room. We fled from the hut and ran into the bush far from the house where we spent the night."

Patricia Mkhize submitted a similar affidavit.

Mandla Mkhize said he was a member of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, a Cosatu affiliate, while his brothers Mangethe and Mntu were members of an informal youth group which "aligns itself broadly with the UDF".

Another of the affidavits described how a house in Sinathing was surrounded, stoned and burned.

When Godfrey Madlala, who with his wife, daughter and friends opened the kitchen door, he saw four or five men with spears. He slammed the door and went to the dining room but that was then set alight.

"I again went to the kitchen door and opened it. I saw larger group of heavily armed men just outside. Despite their presence, I decided it was preferable to leave the house and face our attackers rather than be burnt inside."

After his wife, child, and niece followed him they were asked if they had any weapons.

"Suddenly a member of the group rushed towards me with a knife. He stabbed me on the right side. I tried to run but as I turned another person stabbed in the chest.

"Despite these wounds I carried on running and managed to get away. No one chased me but stones were thrown at me."

While he was in hospital, where he remained for three days, he was told that the body of his nephew Mduduzi Madlala, who was in the house, was found the day after the attack. "He had been stabbed and hacked to death."

The affidavits in all three applications list numerous incidents.

They only concern four of the more than 130 deaths in the townships.

Cape Times
13/11/87

Cosatu slams SA business

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu's general secretary Jay Naidoo told the FM investment conference yesterday the response of business to government attacks on democracy would help to shape its future relationship with the labour movement and the "broad democratic movement".

In turn, this relationship will determine the nature of SA's future, he said.

Naidoo criticized business's "silence" during government's "smear campaign" against Cosatu earlier this year and when Cosatu's living wage campaign was disrupted through the banning of meetings and seizure of literature.

He said Cosatu recognized economic growth was indispensable to creating a non-racial democracy in SA. However, it differed with business on how growth should take place.

He said Cosatu's controversial support for disinvestment and sanctions was an urgent message to employers to actively pressure the government to move towards non-racial democracy.

He attacked solutions such as deregulation and privatization.

17-23/12/8 South

Parents not aware of charges

THE launching of your newspaper, SOUTH, gave the people the impression that, at last, we would have an objective mouth piece "of the people for the people".

SOUTH would report matters in a fair and just manner without implicating unfortunate victims who find themselves in no position to defend any allegations or criticism against them by the poisoned fingers of the press, it was thought.

'Terrorism'

Your edition of December 10-16, under the bold headings "ANC's Cape Cells" on page 1 and "Forbes an ANC commander", refers. In sensationalising the plight of the 15 young people, who will appear in the Supreme

Court in March next year on charges of "terrorism", your newspaper went about tabulating the allegations against some of the young people in a manner which, apparently and undoubtedly, projects the impression that they (the accused) are already guilty of the charges, and/or that they were some kind of ruthless political radicals who planned to create havoc — in a bid to overthrow the State.

We realise your journalist was "only outlining the State's allegations" against them, but did he really do these young people any justice in the manner in which he reported the matter.

Was SOUTH aware that some or most of the parents of the accused

was not aware of the actual charges against their children until they read your newspaper.

Could your paper not have found the time to check with those parents and/or the representatives of those charged whether they were all aware of the charges against their kin.

Worst

It appeared as if SOUTH was just interested in collating whatever photographs could be mustered of the people concerned for use with the "scoop", without further thought of whatever adverse consequences caused, or how you may have prejudiced the support and defence of those concerned.

It should be a well-known fact

that quite a lot of people in our community like to believe only the worst of others, and, when the press rushes to stoke the fire by projecting what appears to be the "worst" in people, persecutors (of those who care and fight for their fellowman) normally have a ball.

So well done SOUTH for your damaging "scoop" and purported revelations of those who are not yet in a position to defend themselves. I can assure that we, the parents of the 15 people involved, their kinsman, and the community at large are not at all impressed, of the direction you have taken to try to "sell" your newspaper.

SIGNED BY SOME OF THE PARENTS

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13/11/87
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New body to mobilise white youth

Political Staff

YOUNG supporters of the United Democratic Front, backed by the township-based Cape Youth Congress, are launching a new organisation to mobilise white youth in the Mowbray and Observatory areas.

The Mowbray Youth Congress aims to organise white youth in support of the "democratic movement's vision of a non-racial, democratic South Africa".

A spokesman said the launch was in the form of a "jol" in the St Michael's Road Church in Observatory at 8 tonight with three live bands and stalls run by community organisations.

AREA-BASED

He said the new body was area-based and not exclusively white.

The group will be affiliated to the UDF through the Claremont and Observatory area committees but its main push will be to affiliate to the Cape Youth Congress and to operate as a branch of this broad-based youth organisation.

The Gardens UDF area committee hopes to launch a similar movement in the city area soon.

methods to force people to move. Many have gone to the equally squalid conditions at Sandkraal in the face of what community workers claim is official intimidation, but others are determined to fight to have Lawaakamp redeveloped.

The authorities claim that Lawaakamp is beyond saving and that redevelopment is not feasible.

The GCA, however, commissioned a study

which found that the upgrading was possible in a number of different ways at relatively low cost.

Further away

The Black Sash and the Surplus People Project (SPP), which are monitoring efforts to move the people, say the only apparent reason for the move is to have the community slightly further away from the town and

behind the "barrier" of the new national road between Sandkraal and George.

Other sources say there is also pressure from local coloured community leaders who want the Lawaakamp land to expand the adjacent coloured residential areas.

A recent meeting between the GCA executive, George's new mayor John Rogers, and Town Clerk Carel du Plessis, again failed to resolve the major problems. ■

Return from the cold

Govan Mbeki, who in a surprise move was released (with four other long-term political prisoners) by government last Thursday, demanded to speak to Nelson Mandela at Pollsmoor prison before being freed. In their hour-long meeting, it is understood from reliable sources, the ANC veterans discussed a number of issues including the implications of Mbeki's release (see page 58).

Mbeki (77) a former ANC national chairman and secretary of its high command was later flown in an army helicopter from Ysterplaat military base to Port Elizabeth, where he plans to live in New Brighton, one of SA's most militant townships.

Many would say that Port Elizabeth's (and the eastern Cape's) reputation as the cradle of radical black opposition is largely due to the young Mbeki's organisational skills.

In a press conference at Port Elizabeth, Mbeki made it clear that he is still a member of the (banned) ANC and SA Communist Party.

He also said he supports the ANC's military wing as well as the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The silver-haired, elegantly dressed Mbeki, who was imprisoned after the landmark Rivonia trial in 1963, exuded dignity and charisma and looked fit and healthy for a man of his age.

Mbeki was reunited with his wife, Epainet, with whom he last stayed in 1955. The couple wept for a few minutes before a contingent of journalists and photographers was allowed into the room.

The release of Mbeki, whose stature in the liberation movement almost equals Mandela's, has drawn favourable response from both overseas governments and extra-parliamentary politicians.

An executive member of the UDF the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu said: "We welcome the news of his release with tremendous pleasure.

"We hope that it is a start to a process that will see people like Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners released so that negotiations for a just and democratic SA can begin."

Mbeki flew to Johannesburg on Friday night to a tumultuous welcome by about 1 500 well-wishers at Jan Smuts airport. A reception committee of UDF president Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, National Union of Mineworkers leader Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu's Sydney Mafumadi, UDF's Samsom Ndou, and Release Mandela Committee's Irene Mkwai, drew up Mbeki's itinerary.

Said Albertina Sisulu: "We welcome Mr Mbeki with open arms. We can only hope that his release presages the liberation of the oppressed masses. The government must now proceed and release other political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela."

Speculation is, of course, that Mandela could be released by Christmas. However, since government wants to "test the water" with Mbeki's release, freeing Mandela could



However Mbeki spelt out his political future to some extent. It is clear that as a patron of the UDF he will work within existing opposition structures and consult closely with other leaders.

He offered to mediate in the Maritzburg feud between the UDF and Inkatha which has claimed about 176 lives.

Inkatha deputy leader Oscar Dhlomo welcomed the offer. Mbeki's role as peacemaker will be keenly observed to see whether the revered leadership in prison is able to resolve practical political problems.

It will also have implications for future ANC-Inkatha relations. In Johannesburg Mbeki stayed with Sisulu. A reception was prepared for him at St Barnabas College in Bosmont.

He met the Rev Peter Storey and a number of high-ranking ministers from the Methodist World Conference who are due to see State President P W Botha this week.

Mbeki, a founder member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, is generally considered to have been the ANC's

leading theoretician and strategist. It will be interesting to see whether he can regalanise the structures of the UDF which have been hard-hit by the emergency.

Recently released political prisoners describe him as a "living computer" because of his photographic memory.

Indeed many have been impressed by how fully in touch he is with the political scene.

While on Robben Island Mbeki wrote a book, *The Peasant Revolt in Transkei*, which earned a doctorate from Amsterdam University.

He has also written a number of articles some of which he intends to publish

— probably overseas. A big project will be his autobiography. Mbeki has applied for a "travel document" to visit Lusaka to meet the ANC leadership which includes his son Thabo Mbeki considered to be a future leader of the organisation. ■



Epainet Mbeki and Govan ... home at last

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UNRAVELLING THE MEANING OF THE SURPRISE MBEKI RELEASE

THE

Behind the scenes: global pre

CONSIDERABLE pressure on the main actors in the South African conflict to begin talking to each other lies behind the release of Govan Mbeki.

Both the government and the African National Congress will be hard-pressed to withstand the kind of arm-twisting apparently now being used to persuade them to go through at least the formalities of a verbal exchange — even if, in the short term, the content falls far short of any progress to a negotiated settlement.

If such an exchange does take place — as a number of usually well-informed diplomats serving in the Frontline states expect it will within the next 10 months or so — it will neither be the end of this world nor the herald of a brave new dawn.

There is a difference between an exchange of signals, talks about talks, exploratory talks and actual negotiations. And any or all of them can be spread out over a long period with few or no conclusive results.

Given the balance of forces in the

country and the region at the moment, the release of Mbeki et al — and the strong likelihood that others will follow sooner rather than later — is an ambiguous victory for the ANC.

No doubt the outlawed movement is correct in saying it was domestic and international anti-apartheid pressure which made the release necessary. Notably, it was the kind of pressure that came eventually to include Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

But, equally certainly, the South African government appears to believe the release is one of perhaps a number of tactical retreats it can afford to make.

It is not difficult to understand the Pretoria government's reasoning.

It clearly believes that over the past 17 months of Emergency rule it has

The talk among diplomats in the Frontline states is of enormous arm-twisting of both ANC and Pretoria by world leaders, pressuring both sides towards the negotiating table. The Mbeki release is considered a part of this. By HOWARD BARRELL in Harare

struck quite hard blows against some sections of the ANC's internal underground, seriously debilitated legal mass anti-apartheid organisations, plugged up many of Umkhonto we Sizwe's infiltration routes through neighbouring states, and made it nigh impossible, in the short term at least, for any neighbouring state to play a significant support role in the struggle against apartheid.

The more insightful of Pretoria's own analysts and friends in the West

have, according to diplomatic sources, been arguing with increasing force over the past five months that this relatively advantageous state of affairs is not something that can be relied upon to last indefinitely.

Rather, it must be exploited in the near future — and those in Pretoria unwilling to make the leap of faith into the (perhaps black) future might just have to be shoved into it.

If Pretoria does indeed engage in some form of talks with the ANC

over the next 10 months, this fact will not rule out attempts to cobble together some sort of "conservative consensus" whose black component would be the National Statutory Council or some more credible version of it.

On the contrary, talks with the ANC would make more compelling the need that the government build up an institution like the NSC. Ian Smith needed his Abel Muzorewa and Jeremiah Chirau. And President Botha might be said to have the same need.

Among other things, having a reasonably viable NSC would strengthen the government's hand in pushing for a round table design for any future talks or negotiations. The government could introduce to such a conference a number of supposedly

autonor would c most ent largesse. The rel elihood Walter S precisely an impo Mangos others li the NSC For thi lease of strengt the going fe which ir could res sion of th ment". The AN

FOR ALL PW'S CHIDING, THERE'S LITTLE DOUBT

THE freeing after nearly a quarter of a century of the veteran African National Congress prisoner, Govan Mbeki, has put the release of his world renowned comrade, Nelson Mandela, firmly back on the agenda. The question now is not so much whether but when the charismatic Mandela will be freed.

Only one factor can delay the emergence from jail of Mandela in the next few months: an upsurge in the now quiescent revolt in South Africa's black townships, triggered by the return to political life of Mbeki. So far, however, there is every evidence that Mbeki, 77, and the black leaders shepherding him into life outside prison, will not do anything to jeopardise the freedom of Mandela and the five ANC prisoners who were jailed for life with him at the Rivonia trial of 1964.

President PW Botha has chided the press for speculating on when the next wave of political prisoners will follow Mbeki, charging that premature conjecture is irresponsible. But his own cabinet ministers have confirmed, with a proviso or two, that the release of Mbeki is both a trial run for the release of further political prisoners and the first move in a wider game plan.

The first and immediate aim is to re-initiate the stalled move to establish a national council. Devised as a forum where leaders of all races can draft a new constitution for all South Africans, the council has so far failed to win endorsement from a single credible black leader. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the 1.5-million strong Zulu-based Inkatha movement, has set the liberation of Mandela and the leader of the rival Pan Africanist Congress, Zeph Mothopeng, as a pre-condition for his participation.

Anxious to persuade Buthelezi to serve on the council, the government has started to move toward fulfilling his condition. But it is doing so cautiously, testing the reaction of South Africa's black and white communities to the release of lesser known prison-

It is Govan Mbeki who got his freedom, but the real invitation is to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who made the release of political prisoners a pre-condition to joining the government's national council. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

ers before freeing Mandela.

The government has a second, associated motive: to "demythologise" the ANC and its leaders. The ANC has been outlawed since 1960. Many of its major leaders, including the original "high command" of its underground army, Umkhonto weSizwe, have been in jail or exile since 1964. The rest have been in exile.

Over the years, however, the public has not forgotten either the ANC or its imprisoned leaders. Instead, the ANC leadership has grown in stature and become shrouded in a status-enhancing mystique. The government now wants to reverse the process. In a revealing choice of phrase, the pro-government Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, said in an editorial on Mbeki's release: "The Mbeki myth has suddenly become a human who, like all citizens, must be law-abiding and thus peaceful."

De-mystification infers two developments: the re-emergence of the incarcerated ANC leaders into public life where they can make mistakes and, as a logical corollary, the unbanning of the ANC. The ban on the ANC seems to have been partially lifted, in practice if not in a strict legal sense, in Mbeki's case.

He has made no bones about his commitment to the ANC and to its "revolutionary ally", the South African Communist Party. But he has not been prevented from speaking on their behalf, although the restriction prohibiting the press from publishing his remarks is still in force. When Mbeki is joined by his colleagues —

Walter S' general o next ANC facto lift more app But ali voked, de of Emerg tact. Tha same pos verely na Front. T share a b approach. The na' declared year later attempt b ship revo scale po rection. T tive in t' wean the commitm. Converse ANC, or s tion in ap, the nation: Stoffel v tha has cr give impe with bla. there is no guerrilla

THE VIEWS FROM BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY

pressure on both sides



Ian Smith

— would sit across a "two-sided table" from the government and its allies. The ANC would resist attempts to introduce into the talks a multi-party or round-table design which would introduce a plethora of small and supposedly autonomous parties which it would regard as irrelevant to the central conflict.

And, of course, the ANC has undertaken on several occasions in the past not to enter into secret talks with the government. So consultations would be a requirement for the ANC.

A realisation of the difficulties which could lie ahead is probably the reason for the ANC's response to Mbeki's release: that the ANC will not in any way restrain itself following this release.

On the contrary, it has been sounding off in the Frontline states since Thursday last week that it believes it is necessary to escalate its offensive, primarily inside the country.

Why? Firstly, because it does not believe the South African government has had a change of heart and is yet ready to negotiate seriously over the key issue — the transfer of political power to the majority.

Secondly, because the ANC cannot, viewed from its perspective, allow foreign states to define the content or tactical compromises of its struggle.

And, thirdly, because inside the country is where it believes its stronger contingent lies.

Quite how acute the ANC's understanding is of the complications developing at this juncture is unclear.

But the more serious people in its ranks have ditched the unrealistic triumphalism which has lingered elsewhere for far longer than is justified by the really quite limited gains it made in the two years after September 1984.

These more serious ANC members appear to realise there is little in the way of immediate or significant ground that is likely to be won at the negotiating table beyond the trenches the ANC and its allies occupy on the political-military battlefield.

It is a thought which should sober up anybody in the ranks of the ANC. If it does not, the ANC could soon find itself in very serious trouble at a time when, for it, the stakes can never have been said to be higher.

autonomous black parties which would owe their presence there almost entirely to government political largesse.

The release of Mbeki — and the likelihood that Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu will follow — also has precisely the effect of clearing away an important obstacle between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (together with others like him) and participation in the NSC or some variant of it.

For this and related reasons, the release of political prisoners could strengthen the government's hand in going for conservative consensus which includes selected blacks. It could result in the South African version of the Rhodesian "internal settlement".

The ANC and its allies face a critical

challenge: to take full advantage of the situation that could soon arise.

For the ANC and its allies the future is complex and difficult. If not formally, then at least in a factual sense, the ANC could soon find itself unbanned.

There is nothing intrinsically dangerous in this for the ANC. Any outlawed revolutionary movement must always fight for an open mass presence. The point is regarded as almost universally applicable in revolutionary theory.

But this could place the ANC in some difficulties about whether or not it then gives up its armed struggle.

It will require extraordinary political will and organisational sophistication in the ANC and its allies to avoid what they would probably describe as

the "horror" of a reformist outcome.

If talks of some kind are indeed on the cards, it is sensible to anticipate that the ANC would seek consultations with a wide range of legal mass organisations it might regard as its allies. This would be logical in that, if the struggle against apartheid can be said to have one strength, then it is the diversity of both the methods and organisational forms this struggle has developed over time.

Compared to liberation struggles elsewhere in Africa and most other parts of the underdeveloped world, revolutionary forces in South Africa have had a more distinctly political character and have been less dependent on the reinforcement of their struggle from abroad.

In addition, it is well known that the

ANC's vision of negotiations with the government — if they come — is of the ANC heading a broad front of political, trade union and other anti-apartheid forces.

This front — the ANC would hope

LE DOUBT THAT THIS IS A TEST RUN BEFORE THE BIG ONE: FREEING MANDELA

Walter Sisulu, 75, a former secretary general of the ANC, is tipped as the next ANC man to be freed — the *de facto* lifting of the ban will become more apparent.

But although the ban may be revoked, *de facto* or *de jure*, the State of Emergency is likely to be left intact. That will place the ANC in the same position as the legal, though severely harassed, United Democratic Front. The two opposition forces share a broadly common ideological approach.

The national State of Emergency, declared in June 1986 and renewed a year later, was imposed to contain an attempt by the ANC to fan the township revolt of 1984-1986 into a full-scale people's war or popular insurrection. Thus one government objective in the present situation, is to wean the ANC of its long-standing commitment to "armed struggle". Conversely, it hopes to lure the ANC, or sections of it, into participation in approved structures, including the national council.

Stoffel van der Merwe, the man Botha has entrusted with a mandate to give impetus to internal negotiations with black leaders, has argued that there is no justification for the ANC's guerrilla war today. Whatever rea-



PW Botha

sions the ANC may have had originally for its decision to revert to guerrilla war, these no longer hold, Van der Merwe argued in parliament. His speech might be construed as a bid to persuade the ANC to abandon its hope of winning power through revolutionary war. Another, concomitant government aim might be to split the ANC into external and internal wings, a variant of Botha's earlier attempt to separate ANC nationalists from communists.

The unfolding situation will, of course, present the ANC with difficult decisions. To function as a semi-

legal movement in the minuscule areas of political freedom left by the Emergency restrictions is hardly an attractive proposition.

At the time of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons peace mission to South Africa in 1986, the ANC was prepared to suspend its guerrilla campaign while negotiating with Botha — on condition that troops and police were removed from the townships. Botha, however, is not offering to negotiate with the ANC now, still less to withdraw security forces from the townships. His lieutenants are merely hinting that he may be prepared to allow released ANC leaders a degree of freedom.

Botha has not extracted a formal renunciation of violence from Mbeki. But the ANC leader's release is clearly based on a tacit undertaking that he will not try to mobilise mass demonstrations against the system, let alone plan violent actions. Mbeki has indeed been restrained, cautious and conciliatory in his remarks.

But for the ANC *per se* armed struggle remains a major bargaining card even if, as some observers have argued, the government is stronger on the military terrain than it is in the political arena. The ANC is hardly likely to throw it away until it is in a

much stronger position.

Summing up the ANC's position on armed struggle, the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons said in their report: "For the ANC to renounce violence now would be to reduce itself to a state of helplessness. There must first be sufficient indications of the South African government's readiness to negotiate the transition to non-racial sovereignty." The ANC position has not changed.

After the Emergency was renewed in June the UDF Natal president, Archie Gumede, mooted the possibility of participation by the UDF in existing political institutions as a way of mounting pressure on the government and of breaking the logjam. He was promptly repudiated by UDF. There is no evidence that the ANC will react differently to a similar proposal from its ranks.

If the government further raises the cost of hosting ANC guerrillas for neighbouring states, then these states may try to coax the ANC into opting for a political solution. Short of that possibility, however, the ANC is unlikely to forgo its guerrilla war, although it may tread warily in the immediate future for fear of jeopardising the release of Mandela and his comrades.

Mkalipi was in attendance when the Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter in 1956.

That year he defied an order not to attend a prayer meeting in Grahamstown and was sentenced to eight months imprisonment.

One December afternoon, while serving his sentence, the security police arrived with a warrant for his arrest. He was taken to Port Elizabeth where he was told he was charged with high treason.

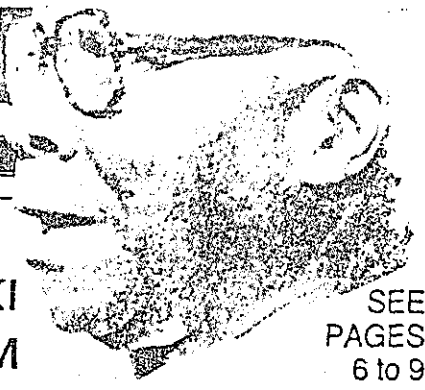
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WEEKLY MAIL

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 45. FRIDAY NOVEMBER 13 to THURSDAY NOVEMBER 19, 1987

THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

- * THE DIPLOMATIC ARMTWISTING BEHIND MBEKI'S RELEASE
- * THE AILING FRIEND WHO ROSE FROM BED TO GREET MBEKI
- * THE YOUNG INFLUENCES THAT TURNED MBEKI TO MARXISM



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THE BUILD-UP TO THE PRISONER RELEASES ...

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Mandela meets Coetsee

By THAMI MKHWANAZI and
Weekly Mail Reporters

FACE-TO-FACE: MINISTER AND JAILED ANC LEADER

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee have come face to face in at least two meetings in the last few weeks.

The meetings — between the world's most famous political prisoner and the government minister in charge of South Africa's jails — were a crucial part of the build-up to last week's release of life prisoner Govan Mbeki.

At least one meeting took place in the Pollsmoor Prison cell in which Mandela is

serving his life sentence. The other may have taken place outside the prison, though this has not been confirmed.

The main subject of their discussion was Mbeki's release, in particular a court application his lawyers had made to gain access to him.

The *Weekly Mail* learnt of the hush-hush meetings from a number of reliable sources.

Coetsee yesterday neither confirmed nor de-

nied that the meeting had occurred. "As Minister of Justice, prisons fall within the ambit of my responsibility. As such, communication with prisoners, and/or relatives and/or their representatives are not excluded, are prison-related and concern the private lives of people," he said in response to queries.

Coetsee did not respond to an enquiry about whether one of the meetings had taken place at his Cape Town home.

The South African Prisons Service declined to add to Coetsee's comment.

Mbeki's attorney, Priscilla Jana, had applied to the supreme court on October 7 to force the prison authorities to allow her to see him on Robben Island, where he was being held. She had been refused permission to consult with him for over two months.

This application came at a time of intense speculation about the imminent release of the 77-year-old Rivonia trialist who had served 24 years' imprisonment.

© To PAGE 2

Double blow |

continued
→

Mandela in talks with Coetsee

The next day Mbeki sent a telegram to Jana summoning her to see him.

The meetings between Coetsee and Mandela are believed to have taken place within the following few days.

Jana's application was withdrawn on October 15 and Mbeki was released on November 5.

Jana yesterday declined to comment on the reports.

Mandela's attorney, Ismail Ayob, said he had been denied permission since April 1987 to see his client and therefore knew nothing about the matter.

ANC sources in exile yesterday said they had no knowledge of meetings between Mandela and Coetsee.

At a press conference on the weekend, Mbeki said he had met Mandela on the morning of his release in Pollsmoor Prison. However, he declined to give further details.

At least one face-on meeting between Mandela and Coetsee has been recorded.

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group reported an encounter between the two during the group's visit in May 1987.

"The minister of justice, together with two senior officials, was present at the start of our second meeting and

●From PAGE 1

Mr Mandela pressed him to remain, saying he had nothing to hide and no objection to the minister hearing the discussion.

"It was his strongly stated view that if the circumstances could be created in which the government and the ANC could talk, some of the problems which arose solely through lack of contact could be eliminated," the EPG reported.

And a book published this month in London, *My Fight Against Apartheid* by Michael Dingake, has given the first eyewitness account of an encounter between Mandela and Jimmy Kruger, the former minister of justice, on Robben Island in 1978.

Mandela had a long interview with Kruger during which he raised prisoners' demands and discussed topical questions, according to Dingake.

"Madiba (Mandela's clan name) came back from meeting Kruger very much disappointed and shocked. The minister, according to Madiba, was completely blank on the history and policies of the ANC. He could not argue on the Freedom Charter of the ANC, he had not read it," Dingake writes.

How a schoolboy's rage turned Mbeki towards Marxism

WHEN Govan Mbeki spoke about how he came to embrace Marxist political thought, two themes emerged.

One was the memory of police brutality on the streets of Johannesburg, which had etched itself into his memory when he was still a high school student.

The other was what he perceived to be the failure of the church to intervene in the wake of attempts to remove the franchise from Africans.

Mbeki was born on July 8, 1910 at Mpukane location in the Nqamakwe district of Transkei. He was the youngest of five children. His father was a chief, Siklelwe Mbeki, and his mother, Johanna Mabola, was the daughter of a Methodist missionary.

He told me how, at the age of eight, he saw his family — along with many other black people in the Transkei — being "robbed of their land".

His father's forebears had moved to Nqamakwe when the Zulu king Shaka was still attempting to consolidate his rule in Natal in the face of widespread resistance.

Nqamakwe was one of seven districts in which areas were fixed for "white occupation". According to Mbeki, this meant there would be no further allocation of land for local black residents.

He first came into contact with the African National Congress at the age of 14, while in Std 4. A parish priest, Rev Mhlongo of the Independent Methodist Church, held fund-raising concerts for the ANC which were attended by local children. During the concerts, Mhlongo explained the aims and objects of the Congress.

As a high school pupil at Healdtown, Mbeki recalled, he was also

Govan Mbeki, quiet man of the Rivonia trialists, has given no interviews since his release. But he did give one interview earlier this year, to journalist THAMI MKHWANAZI — then a fellow Robben Island prisoner — in which he described his conversion to communism

touched by the poverty he saw among whites in the Transkei. There had been a breakdown in subsistence farming among Afrikaners, who had been hit by natural disasters, and many had resorted to roaming the country for work.

The Mbeki family — with their cattle, sheep, goats, poultry and horses — was relatively well-off by the standards of black South Africa. "Many whites came to our house asking for food and shelter," he told me. They stayed overnight.

These events — unusual in South Africa — took place against the background of the National Party's aggressive "ewart gevaar" propaganda campaign, a tactic used to remove the franchise from Africans.

Mbeki became increasingly disillusioned with Christianity. "Dis seemed to be no answer," he said. "I thought the church would stop (Prime Minister JB) Herzog. But it seemed to do nothing. This undermined my confidence in the church. My mind was in turmoil."

Mbeki's first experience of trade unionism came in the late 1920s, when he acted as an interpreter —



New Brighton women prepare a joyous celebration for Govan Mbeki's return.

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

from English to Xhosa — for his cousin Robert Mbeki, a prominent figure in the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.

Mbeki had got his own political career off the ground when he formed, with other students, the Transkei Students' Association: "With all the noble ideas of youth, the move was to improve the conditions of the oppressed and exploited people."

In 1929, in the year-end vacation, Zizi — his clan name — travelled to Johannesburg to visit his sister, who ran a shebeen near Doornfontein to augment the family income. It was on Johannesburg's streets that he had his first direct experience of brutality perpetrated against blacks in the urban areas. He recalled "regular police harassment for pass offences and illicit liquor." The raids, which were almost daily occurrences, were accompanied by beatings, he said. "I was helplessly angry at what I noticed, but had no answer for the state of affairs," he said.

An answer emerged for Mbeki in 1933, when as a matric student in the high school section of Fort Hare University he came into contact with left-wing political activist Dr Eddie Roux, a botanist.

Mbeki remembered Roux pitching a tent on the slopes of Sandile's Kop near the university. The young student was invited to the tent by a senior colleague, Ernest Mancoba, where they heard the botanist give lectures on communism.

Roux was a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, and had been a leading light in the Young Communist League. His "tent lectures" — which went on for two weeks — had a tremendous effect on Mbeki, providing an explanation for the plight of the "oppressed and exploited masses".

Then, in 1934, an "Afro-American" teacher named Max Yergan came to South Africa to establish a Christian Union at Fort Hare. After building a hall, he travelled back to the United States and also spent some time in the Soviet Union. When he returned to Fort Hare, said Mbeki, "he was no longer the Max Yergan we had known — concerned only with church work".

Yergan, who remained at Fort Hare for another year, was invited to deliver lectures on communism and fascism to the political science class. At the time, Mbeki was reading the subject as one of his majors for a Bachelor of Arts degree.

Mbeki became friendly with Yergan who, he said, invited him to his home and "fed him" with literature. One of the first books his friend gave him was Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

The friendship with Roux was also maintained, and in 1946 Mbeki contributed a volume on co-operatives to

Santa arrives early in PE

By EDYTH BÜLBRING and MBULELO LINDA

THE day Govan Mbeki entered the townships of Port Elizabeth, all traffic laws were liberated.

People hung out the sides of fast moving taxis, children and old women danced on the sidewalks and crowds of people *toy-toyed* after the cream-coloured car which carried Mbeki through the streets.

Govan Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki, the former chairman of the African National Congress, this week entered Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township for the first time in 23 years.

His arrival was described by one enthusiastic onlooker as an early visit from Father Christmas: "He came from the cold and brought so much warmth. His presence has brightened the lives of so many suffering people. They have hope again. It is like an early Christmas present."

Mbeki's car moved off and taxis, scooters and private vehicles joined the motorcade. Television crews perched on the bonnets of cars, filming the procession and photographers hung out of the windows.

The stream of cars grew into a river as oncoming traffic, pushed to the side of the road, turned around and joined in the procession. The noise of hooting cars could not drown the singing and shouts from the streets: "Mbeki is back, after 23 years on Robben Island, Viva Mbeki, he is home."

Mbeki sat with clenched fist, smiling at the jubilant reception.

Roux's Cape Town-based publishing concern, The African Bookman.

In his final year at university, he wrote an article for the college magazine criticising a book by Edgar Brooks, who referred to "coloureds" as "the sins of our forefathers".

Mbeki argued strongly for the integration of races as a solution to South Africa's problems. The university's principal, Alexander Kerr, took exception to his article, and ordered him to withdraw it. He refused, and the issue never appeared.

The years 1934-1935 saw the introduction of the "Native Bills" which were intended to remove Africans from the voters' common roll. Mbeki participated in the activities of the "All African Convention" established in Bloemfontein to fight the Bills.

It was during this time that he worked during school holidays for the CNA in Johannesburg. He said he learned about the problems of workers from this personal experience: poor wages earned by blacks as well as confrontation with the police in matters of labour relations.

He recalled how during the Depression whites were placed in supervisory positions even though they did not

Fruitsellers abandoned their wares to follow the cars and shack dwellers left their homes to line the streets and call their greetings. An excited woman jumped into the air, lost her balance and fell on the sidewalk. She laughed and, undeterred, chased after the cars. Traffic jams ensued as young people crowded streets and surrounded the car.

A man was knocked down by a car. But he picked himself up and limped off, waving his clenched fist, his injuries forgotten.

A passing Casspir went on its way, ignoring the procession. Fishermen and boaters on the Swartkops River raised their fists when they heard the name Mbeki.

When the car stopped, residents crowded around it and sang "Baba uMbeki Yinkokeli" (Our father, Mbeki, is our leader).

An old scooter weaved precariously in and out of the cars when the driver stood up, clenched his fist and shouted slogans. Three youths tobogganed on the top of a taxi roofrack and people spilled in and out of the cars which rode bumper to bumper.

"If this is the reception for Mbeki, can you imagine what it will be like on the day of liberation," said a woman dressed in the colours of the ANC. — Pen

know the job. Then an undergraduate, Mbeki was fired for organising the workers.

After completing his degree he asked the then treasurer of the ANC, Dr AB Xuma, to take him on as national organiser. "I asked him to pay me £8 a month," he said. Xuma refused, saying the ANC had no funds and that at 26, Mbeki was young enough to find a job elsewhere.

Mbeki turned to teaching, at the same time writing a book, *Transkei in the Making*. It was published by Verulam Press in 1939 and serialised in the magazine, *The New South African Outlook*.

After reading the series two men running a printing business offered Mbeki the editorship of a newspaper they were planning in exchange for rights to the series. He accepted. The paper was called *The Territorial Magazine* and later, *Inkundla ya Banu*, and he edited it until 1944.

The rest of Mbeki's history is well-known; and at the time of his arrest, he was a member of the High Command of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

22 Natal people have been in detention for more than one year!

We demand their immediate release.

When all the prisoners in a country are crushed and trampled underfoot, When human rights are overriden in defiance of the Most High, When people are deprived of justice, does the Lord not see it? Lamentations 3:34-36

Detainees who have been in for more than a year

Themba Zephania Dlamini SOE 11 June 1986	Mduduzi Masendo SOE 17 June 1986
Ace Conrad Shabangu SOE 12 June 1986	Siphiwe Khumalo SOE 17 June 1986
Jabulani Sithole SOE 12 June 1986	Thulani Zungu SOE 17 June 1986
Bheki P. Nene SOE 13 June 1986	Richard Mleka SOE 18 June 1986
Mpho Scott SOE 14 June 1986	Vuka Eric Mvelase SOE 18 June 1986
Paulose Nxumalo SOE 14 June 1986	Victor Mngumeli SOE June 1986
Themba Victor Mabaso SOE 15 June 1986	Prof Sibankulu SOE June 1986
Thamsanga Mbatia SOE 16 June 1986	Sakhonzi Seaborn Ngobese SOE July 1986
Ernest Thusi SOE 16 June 1986	Million Mevana Bulhefezi SOE 4 July 1986
Barnie Johnson Hadebe SOE 16 June 1986	Mandla Paul Cele SOE 22 July 1986
Eric Khumalo SOE 17 June 1986	Indabakayise Gwabaza SOE 11 August 1986

Detainees who have been in longer than 10 months

Sampson Nyayo ISA 11 November 1986	Mandla Msumango ISA November 1986
Simon Mtshali SOE 17 November 1986	Selby Mtshali SOE November 1986
Meshaack Ndlovu ISA 20 November 1986	Rajesh Maharaj ISA 21 December 1986
Sipho Makhubo ISA November 1986	Noliswa Shamase SOE 22 December 1986

Detainees who have been in longer than 6 months

Bafana Mahhobo SOE 20 January 1987	Happy Hlops ISA 15 April 1987
Nosiso Madlala ISA 20 January 1987	Gregory Mkhawanazi SOE 16 April 1987
Zithulele Hadebe ISA 23 January 1987	Bongini Gumede ISA 20 April 1987
Makhosazana Msoleku ISA 10 February 1987	Albert Madzikela SOE 21 April 1987
Knowledge Sifiso Kunene ISA February 1987	Bongani Sithole SOE 22 April 1987
Nhlantla Maphumoto ISA 24 March 1987	Bongani Nxumalo SOE 23 April 1987
Njengabantu Sithole SOE 26 March 1987	Mlanfikile Zondi SOE April 1987
Dumlsani Mleka ISA March 1987	Cyril Mtshali SOE April 1987
Jubulani Dladla SOE 14 April 1987	Sibusiso Chamane ISA 30 April 1987
Sipho Mthwethwa SOE 15 April '87	

SOE means the State of Emergency Regulations
ISA indicates the Internal Security Act, usually Section 29.

On appeal: Case of the one detainee to be freed

WMAH 13-19 NOV '87

THE court-ordered release of a senior member of the Azanian People's Organisation earlier this year goes before a full bench of the Natal courts today on appeal.

In February Judge John Didcott ordered the release of Patrick Moodly, resources director of Azapo's *Frank Talk* editorial collective, who was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on December 12 last year.

Moodly's case was the first in which police, having disclosed to the court some grounds for holding a detainee, were nevertheless ordered to release the prisoner. Giving reasons for holding Moodly police said they had it from an undisclosed source that Moodly was a member of an underground African National Congress cell. The cell was responsible for distributing propaganda and collecting information.

Moodly's father and Azapo challenged these grounds, saying anyone who had "even a nodding acquaintance with South African politics would realise it was incompatible with the detainee's position in the black consciousness organisation, Azapo, for him to be a member of the ANC".

Colonel Hendrick Buchner, for the police, denied this was necessarily so.

He told the court, "I know there is apparently a hostile relationship between Azapo and the ANC, but I

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

submit that it is not a necessary conclusion in law that he could therefore not be a member of the ANC."

Ordering Moodly's release the judge did not refer to the Azapo-ANC question. He ruled that the grounds given — which he had to accept because the police said there were no other reasons — did not provide a reasonable basis for Buchner to believe Moodly had committed any offence referred to in Section 29.

He said the evidence before the court was insufficient to satisfy him that it was reasonable for Buchner to rely on the information he had been given, and he therefore ruled Moodly's detention unlawful.

After the Appeal Court ruled in 1986 that police had to show the basis on which they had "reason to believe" that a detainee had committed Section 29 offences (including sabotage and subversion), police have advanced reasons in all applications for the release of detainees.

Although relatives of a number of detainees have brought court applications challenging their detention and the grounds on which they are held, Moodly's case is believed to be the only one which has been successful.

Leave was given to the state to appeal to a full bench of the Natal Supreme Court, rather than to the Bloemfontein Appellate Division.

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Death for 'simple'...

IF 77-year-old veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki was released on compassionate grounds, as President PW Botha implied this week, then several other political prisoners should also have been considered, according to the Release Mandela Campaign.

"Oscar Mpetha, although in good health and virile, has had one of his legs amputated (from the knee down) and Harry Gwala is partially paralysed," said RMC representative Aubrey Mokoena.

"Surely Botha's claimed compassion should have included the release of a one-legged man and a man who is paralysed."

Azapo agreed that prisoners like Mpetha, Gwala, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and PAC president Zeph

The other prisoners in poor health

By SEFAKO NYAKA

Mothopeng should have been considered for release, if Botha was sincere. "Mandela recently underwent an operation and according to reports Mothopeng had to be moved to Johannesburg because of his failing health," said Azapo representative Lybon Mabasa.

Mpetha, RMC president and veteran trade union leader, has served two years of a five-year sentence.

He was detained in August 1980 and nearly three years later, after a terrorism conviction, he was released on bail.

His appeal against sentence failed and he was jailed in 1985 with the

government ignoring national and international condemnation at confining a 78-year-old diabetic.

Gwala, 66, a former Communist Party member, has been suffering from a terminal motor neuron condition and is reported to be paralysed.

His transfer from Robben Island to the Pietermaritzburg prison two months ago led to speculation that he may be released on medical grounds.

Gwala was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977 for recruiting people

for military training. The 74-year-old Mothopeng is currently serving his third spell in prison, this time for 15 years.

He was found guilty on charges under the Terrorism Act at the marathon Bethal Trial in 1979.

Mothopeng, who is presently being held at Johannesburg Prison, is known to be suffering from a cancerous tumour.

Opening the Cape National Party congress this week Botha said the government would not hesitate to show compassion when this became the overriding factor in considering the release of security prisoners.

"If prisoners do not meet the conditions I laid down in parliament, they will not be released, but at the same time ... will not hesitate to show mercy if we feel mercy must be the determining factor," he said.

A few days earlier Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had told newsmen Mbeki had been selected for release because he was 77 and starting to show signs of his age.

He also conceded that if anything happened to one of the major security prisoners while still in jail it would play into the hands of radical activists.

But Mbeki, who was released last Friday, showed no obvious signs of ageing and has displayed remarkable stamina for a man his age.

The ailing man who rose from bed to greet his friend

By MONO BADELA

WHEN 74-year-old ailing Simon Phakama Mkalipi heard Govan Mbeki had been released, and that he was going through New Brighton, he got up and walked.

Blind for more than 28 years, he found it difficult at first. But the thought of being reunited with fellow treason trialist Mbeki, "gave him strength — it drove him on", said Mkalipi's wife, Maria Mkalipi.

Mkalipi may not be quoted — like Mbeki, he is a listed communist.

He met the man he regards as his leader on Sunday when Mbeki returned triumphantly to Port Elizabeth's townships after a short trip to Johannesburg.

It was, as Maria Mkalipi says, "a joyous reunion of comrades in arms. You see my husband has what is known as an inner vision. He said he could see Mbeki very clearly," said Maria Mkalipi.

"He now realises that freedom is just around the corner. He is now very hopeful that his other leader, Nelson Mandela, will soon be home."

Mkalipi's meeting with Mbeki was brief but, according to his wife, a much longer appointment has been fixed for the two ANC stalwarts.

But Mkalipi has not lost his power to enchant and inspire people with his vision of an undivided South Africa, free of racism and exploitation.

He was unbanned in 1968, after being confined to KwaZakhele for five years. Today he is a patron of the Port Elizabeth region of the United Democratic Front.

Mkalipi was born in 1913 in Grahamstown and came to Port Elizabeth in 1939 where he worked for a cigar



In a moving moment Simon Mkalipi (right) is reunited with former colleague Govan Mbeki. Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

ette company. He joined the ANC in 1943.

He was active in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and led several marches in Port Elizabeth in protests against Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act and increased rents and bus fares.

Mkalipi was in Kliptown when the Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter in 1956.

That year he defied an order not to attend a prayer meeting in Grahamstown and was sentenced to eight months imprisonment.

One December afternoon, while serving his sentence, the security police arrived with a warrant for his arrest. He was taken to Port Elizabeth where he was told he was charged with of high treason.

In the Northend Prison he joined many former ANC leaders like Professor ZK Mathews, Cannon James Calata, Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Vuyisile Mini, Caleb Mayekiso, Florence Mayekiso and Frances Baard.

He was flown to Johannesburg and locked in the Fort. Every day, during the preliminary period of the marathon treason trial, he would be handcuffed and escorted to the Drill Hall to join his colleagues. The state lost the case in 1961 and all 156 accused were acquitted.

It was in 1958 during the trial that Mkalipi became blind. Maria Mkalipi claimed her husband was pushed and fell on his forehead while serving his sentence in Grahamstown.

● Canzibe Ngxiki, another ex-Robben Island prisoner, was the first

former colleague to meet Mbeki on Friday morning. When charged with furthering the aims of the ANC, Ngxiki called on Mbeki and life prisoner Raymond Mhlaba to give evidence in his defence in the Cradock Regional Court.

Ngxiki forced his way through the crowded hotel lobby and entered Mbeki's suite. After seeing him he said he was convinced that Mbeki still had a major role to play in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Also making a pilgrimage to meet an old friend was Mayford Mfazwe, 59, a veteran ANC campaigner who has spent about 20 years in banishment after serving a five-year sentence on Robben Island.

"People are very excited about Mbeki's release," Mfazwe said.

Nkosi: Out of jail but back at his books

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

FORMER Pan Africanist Congress activist John Nkosi, who was released last week with Govan Mbeki and three other Robben Island prisoners, does not seem excited about his freedom after serving 24 years of a life sentence.

Nkosi spent the better part of Wednesday, the sixth day of his release, engrossed in books — a common scene in his Robben Island prison cell at this time of the year, with exams scheduled.

He has been reading for a BSc degree.

The *Weekly Mail* found Nkosi in a tiny room at the back of a house opposite his parents' Atteridgeville home. Between his own studies, he has been assisting a young university student to prepare for exams.

As he is left with exams in two modules to complete his degree — computer science and information systems — and the first of the two tests is scheduled for today, he was reluctant to leave his swotting to be interviewed. In any case, he said, he did not understand why he should be interviewed.

"Unlike Zizi" (as Mbeki was called by inmates close to him on the island) "who is a leader, I'm just an ordinary prisoner," he said. He added that he did not deserve the publicity that characterised Mbeki's release.

His plans for the future: "I have none," he said, moving towards the door so he could continue studying.

Nkosi was sentenced in the Pretoria Supreme Court to life imprisonment in 1963 with five co-accused, whose sentences ranged between five years and life imprisonment, found guilty of plotting to overthrow the state by violent means.

He is one of two PAC lifers who refused to sign the Botha "forswear violence" conditional release offer in 1985. The other one is Jeff Masemola who is still serving his life sentence in Johannesburg prison.

Mbeki is keeping a low profile

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Released ANC leader Mr Goyan Mbeki is keeping a low profile after his release from Robben Island last week.

His whereabouts have been shrouded in secrecy and members of the press have been barred from seeing him or his wife.

A source close to the family said he wanted to read, relax and plan for the future.

Journalists trying to contact the Mbekis were referred to the Reverend Patrick Pasha of the Ministers' Fraternal, but he could not be contacted and does not return calls.

It is believed that Mr Mbeki is staying in the coloured township of Salsoneville.

He has not yet moved into the flat in New Brighton which the Dependents Conference of the South Africa Council of Churches has made available to him.

Feud grave matter ^{17/11/87} PAC ^{SWP}

THE Pan Africanist Congress views the inter-organisational feud in Maritzburg, which has claimed more than 140 lives in the past two months, with grave concern.

In a statement released yesterday, the PAC expressed strong opposition to the feuding between members of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

"The feud is helping to cloud the real issues in South Africa. Feuds among the oppressed only benefit those in power in South Africa. The PAC calls on all those involved in the fights in Maritzburg to end these senseless killings," the statement said.

The PAC urged the feuding parties to pursue their political aims and objectives in spite of tactical differences without resorting to inter-organisational violence.

- This report has been censored in terms of security legislation.

Part of the process

In its search for a formula to release Nelson Mandela, government is testing the political temperature by releasing Govan Mbeki. It is a calculated risk: while Mbeki is 77, he remains a convinced communist and has been an active member of the African National Congress (ANC) — of which he was elected national chairman in 1956 — since 1935. He was a leading figure in the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and operated underground before his arrest at Lilyleaf farm in 1963. Not a man to quietly take his place in history.

Since the announcement in Rubicon 2 of President P W Botha's linkage of Mandela's release to that of Soviet dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov — and Wynand du Toit — hopes have risen as each part of the puzzle has fallen into place. The last formal obstacle — the renunciation of violence by political long-timers — was brushed away by Botha himself.

So there is actually nothing to preclude Mandela's release. However, it is apparent that Pretoria needs reassurance on two points:

- That the release of such an enormously symbolic and influential person as Mandela — with whom Mbeki conferred before his own release — will not trigger further unrest around, so to speak, the Mandela epicentre; and
- That there will be a point to the release: that even if, as is likely, Mandela (and the other Rivonia prisoners) refuse to participate in the National Council as it stands, their (unconditional) freedom will at least make it possible, in theory, to draw Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the negotiations.

The second point is of less significance than the first. At present white fears of the future, and their very real security concerns, need to be faced and answered. But for all the denials, government is aware of the need to negotiate with the ANC, and that means that Mandela must be freed. He cannot be allowed to die in jail, and so the significance of Mbeki's release — as a precursor to that of Mandela — cannot be underestimated. The concomitant freeing of AWB prisoners smacks of a sop to the Right.

The release is evidently a part of government's cautious game plan — its frequently denied "hidden agenda" on black participation in central government. On this it pro-

ceeds with inherent conservatism, aware of the Right, but also of its own and its constituents' sensitivities: the pace of the ox, ponderous but actually inflexible.

But Mbeki, too, has a game plan — and one which he has discussed with Mandela in Pollsmoor. Unfortunately, he is listed and may not be quoted, but at this stage his immediate priorities are to visit the external mission of the ANC in Lusaka for consultation, and to resolve the township war around Maritzburg between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (of which Mbeki is a patron).

The Natal conflict — in which the death toll is casually put at three a day — is of immeasurable significance for the future. It appears to be largely an ideological one — though local hostilities are being fed by Inkatha's administrative control of KwaZulu, and its methods of enforcement — between socialists and pre-capitalists. It's ultimately a clash of world views which, if not reconciled, could affect peace in post-apartheid SA for decades. It is of concern to the ANC as much as it should be to whites.



Mbeki ... not a man to quietly take his place in history

Mbeki's UDF link, coupled to his immense status — he, along with Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Zeth Mthopeng and Mandela, is a potent hero to the township comrades — should be an effective basis for negotiation with Inkatha. And on the broader front, now that it is evident to all that revolution is not as imminent as it seemed throughout 1985 and 1986 — though further fragmentation of government support could bring it very close,

which would precipitate civil war — the ANC needs to talk.

This does not mean that MK's incursions and bombings will cease; but they have waned of late, for the simple reason that the Lusaka cadres sense their futility and other strategies are being considered, for the moment.

Comrade organisation along the cell lines set out in the unwritten M (for Mandela) Plan, and the underground structures of MK and the ANC in SA itself, will not be compromised by Mbeki's release. They simply cannot be — Mbeki is being watched like a hawk. For this reason alone, he will be operating with, and be identified with, the legal UDF — which in turn needs him, since its best leaders are in jail.

At the same time, obviously, Mbeki will be a figurehead for the ANC, particularly if Pretoria has the sense to permit him to travel to Lusaka, and, as cogently, if it de-lists him. It is better to hear what the enemy has to say publicly — and if Pretoria balks at that argument it should consider the ANC's repudiation of Winnie Mandela for her lifestyle and advocacy of necklacing: she destroyed her own credibility because she was permitted to speak.

Theories that the ANC might split if the Rivonia generation of leaders is at liberty in SA are naive. In Pollsmoor Mandela remains the most powerful black nationalist in Africa, and his dedication and attention to the views prevalent in Lusaka are undeviating. But when the time comes for his release, it is likely that he will wish to enter negotiations on power-sharing (given his past statements on the issue) with a measure of pragmatism. As certainly, he will also do so only on the advice of the external mission. When Pretoria releases Mandela, it must be to negotiate with him — and the ANC.

It must be stressed: Mbeki's release will raise the political temperature — not necessarily violently — and if, or when, he is joined by Sisulu, Mthopeng and Mandela, they will not sit around like old MOTHS discussing the good old days of community organisation in the eastern Cape. The dynamic of events alone will see to that.

What would be Mandela's — and Lusaka's — preconditions for a beginning of negotiations on power-sharing? That is simple enough: release of *all* black political prisoners, a lifting of the State of Emergency, the troops out of the townships, and a wider means of testing internal black opinion. The last point relates to the status of the ANC; fortunately, the UDF does still exist as an internal movement enjoying credibility — the Natal war notwithstanding — with which the congress, and just possibly Pretoria, can co-operate.

It needs to be remembered that the ANC has been in existence for far longer than the National Party; it is almost as old as Union. Historical perspective is a stabilising force, and should serve to at least arrest — though it cannot reverse — the demonisation process which Pretoria has applied to its enemies over the years, and which the white public has accepted in torpor and ignorance.

Mbeki's release is, thus, more than a gesture of humanity from a stern-faced and shunned government. It is part of a process. The outcome cannot be known at this stage, but almost any form of negotiation with the real leaders of the black majority — including, of course, Buthelezi — is better than the stark militarisation of the South African psyche and economy, with all that implies of a siege mentality and flirtation with Götterdämmerung. (See page 66)

Foreign Office moves to re-assert control over SA policy

British govt meets with ANC

LONDON — The British Foreign Office (FO) has moved to re-assert its control over SA policy by agreeing to meet with ANC officials here today.

FO Southern African section chief Kieran Prendergast will meet with ANC's chief London representative Solly Smith and Frene Ginwala.

The meeting takes place in spite of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's recent strictures at the Commonwealth summit that the ANC is a "typical terrorist" organisation which "we will have no truck with".

MIKE ROBERTSON

In the Commons today Thatcher will again come under fire for her statements in Vancouver and a call will be made for government to take additional "measures" against SA. The attack will come from Ivor Stanbrook, a right-wing Conservative MP.

The FO has denied there is any difference of opinion on the ANC between it and Downing Street.

In private, however, officials have tried to present Thatcher's attack as an aberration which would not affect exist-

ing policy.

The meeting is confirmation the FO has succeeded in getting the policy back to what it was prior to Vancouver — opposition to sanctions, opposition to violence but a willingness to meet with all parties.

A FO spokesman said the meeting was requested by the ANC so it would be setting the agenda — but the FO would take the opportunity to again appeal to the ANC to abandon violence.

Pressed to explain how the FO could meet with a terrorist organisation which Thatcher said the British government

would have no truck with, the spokesman said: "That is happening and there you have it."

Asked if Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe or his deputy Lynda Chalker would meet with ANC representatives again, the spokesman said: "We are not ruling out anything, but there are no plans to do so at the moment."

Sparbrook, who on most issues stands to the right of the Conservative Party, said he would argue that when Thatcher said the ANC was just another terrorist organisation it was "not exactly the truth".

Thatcher's outburst doesn't halt ANC talks

LONDON — South Africa's black nationalists resumed diplomatic contact with the British government at a "fence-mending" meeting yesterday, the first since Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher lashed the ANC as a "typical terrorist organisation" at the Commonwealth leaders meeting in Vancouver last month.

The virulence of her attack bred speculation that Britain would end its politically significant contacts with ANC leaders.

But yesterday's meeting, described by both sides as "cordial", shows clearly that despite Mrs Thatcher's strong views, political expedience dictates that the diplomacy Britain favours in the pursuit of solutions in southern Africa must involve the ANC, one of the most important groups.

The meeting, though, was low-key. The head of the



MICHAEL MORRIS

14/1/81

Foreign Office's southern Africa department, Mr Kieran Rredergast, received the ANC's London representative, Mr Solly Smith, and colleague Mr Freni Gianwallah.

The meeting was requested by the ANC especially to discuss the alleged ANC kidnap trial dropped a few weeks ago.

Britain took the opportunity — as it always has in previous meetings with the ANC — to express its view that it would be desirable for the ANC to renounce violence, particularly as violence had a negative impact

on public opinion.

On the question of the ANC "kidnap trial", the Foreign Office said it had no hand in the matter, stressing the independence of the judiciary.

After the meeting, Mr Smith said he had received an assurance that ANC representatives in Britain would be protected against attack or kidnap.

He added: "This meeting took place within the context of continuing meetings with the British government.

"There will be more meetings at different levels. There are no specific plans right now for another meeting, but should the need arise, it will be arranged."

Mandela: Minister mur

Coetsee silent on 'meetings' with ANC chief

PETER FABRICIUS and SAPA

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee has refused to deny or confirm a report that he has spoken to jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela at least twice in the last few weeks.

The meetings were reported in *The Weekly Mail* yesterday by Mr Thami Mkhwanazi, a former fellow prisoner of Mandela on Robben Island.

A spokesman for Mr Coetsee said the Minister wished only to reiterate a previous statement — in which he said that prisons fell within the ambit of his job and that communication with prisoners and/relatives and/or their representatives are not excluded, are prison-related and concern the private lives of people.

The Weekly Mail reported that the meetings, at least one of which was in Pollsmoor Prison where Mandela is being held, concerned the possible release of former ANC chairman Mr Govan Mbeki from Robben Island, which subsequently took place.

The newspaper also suggested the second meeting may have taken place in Mr Coetsee's Cape Town home.

● Police have claimed that Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi were allegedly present when two people were robbed and assaulted at "a house in Soweto" yesterday.

CHARGES OF CULTIVATING DAGGA

The Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria also confirmed that 10 men were being held in connection with the incident.

A statement said police were investigating allegations by a man and a woman that they were forcibly taken to the house on October 20, assaulted and robbed.

"It was further alleged that Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, were present," the statement said.

It was suspected that the suspects and the stolen property might be at Mrs Mandela's home in Orlando West and policemen went to the house early yesterday.

Ten men were being held in connection with the incident.

"Police are also investigating charges of cultivating dagga and possession of suspected stolen property," the division said.

It was reported earlier that security forces surrounded Mrs Mandela's early yesterday morning and arrested five youths. Mrs Mandela said she believed another five youths were arrested at her new, uncompleted house.

It was believed most of them were members of the Mandela United football team.

w/t ARGUS 14/11/87

NEWS

ANC tries to bridge breach with Britain

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC has resumed diplomatic contact with the British government at a "fence-mending" meeting — the first since Mrs Thatcher lashed the ANC as a "typical terrorist organisation".

Her attack in Vancouver last month bred speculation that Britain would end its politically significant contacts with ANC leaders.

The low-key meeting was described by both sides as cordial. It was requested by the ANC to discuss the alleged ANC kidnap trial dropped by the British courts a few weeks ago. The Foreign Office, stressing the independence of the judiciary, said it had no hand in the matter.

Britain, as it has in previous meetings, expressed the view it would be desirable for the ANC to renounce violence, particularly as violence had a negative impact on public opinion.

TIA

CP — elite of the ANC elite



PATRICK LAURENCE

The release of Mr Govan Mbeki gave many South Africans their first glimpse, if only on television screens, of a self-declared member of the underground South African Communist Party (SACP). — The 77-year-old man who appeared before them within hours of leaving Robben Island was hardly a Fidel Castro or even a Nikita Khrushchev.

Far from resembling the bearded Cuban president with his contempt for bourgeois niceties or even the table-thumping former Soviet leader, Mr Mbeki was a model of middle-class gentility.

Dressed in a conservative grey suit and a discreet tie, the dignified, grey-haired and bespectacled Mr Mbeki looked for all the world like an African clergyman. His manner was appropriately grave as he weighed his words before answering questions from journalists. His tone was conciliatory, even when he was taking a hard line on, say, the proposed National Council.

Mr Mbeki reaffirmed his loyalty to the SACP within hours of his return to public life, causing a flurry of excitement in the process: the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, cited it to justify the ban on quoting him (the ban

ST: on his release from Robben Island, Mbeki appeared more like a dignified cleric than a dreaded communist.

... and a force to be reckoned with



THE MEN AT THE TOP: of the SACP — a secret organisation which does not disclose its membership: chairman Dan Thloome and general secretary Joe Slovo, and Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC — an estimated two-thirds of its 30-man executive are SACP members.

had been temporarily lifted for Mr Mbeki's first post-prison conference); the Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* pondered whether it was prompted by the fear that he would be assassinated if he did not do so.

While it may cause shivers of horror in the corridors of power, the SACP is a fact of life in South Africa. Its ability to win the allegiance of men of intelligence and perseverance like Mr Mbeki and, before him, Braam Fischer, who died in prison in May 1975, makes it a force to be reckoned with.

The SACP, one of South Africa's oldest political parties, was founded under the name of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) in 1921. It was a legal party until 1950, when it was banned by the National Party Government of Dr D F Malan.

It re-surfaced again as a secret party in 1953, re-forging its fraternal ties with the African National Congress after the outlawing of the ANC in 1960. The SACP helped form Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, in 1961.

It is a secret organisation which does not disclose its membership or even all its office bearers, and little is known about the SACP.

Its chairman is Mr Dan Thloome, a contemporary of Mr Mbeki's who took over from Dr Yusuf Dadoo. Its general secretary is Mr Joe Slovo, who recently resigned as chief-of-staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe to concentrate on his new role in the SACP.

The SACP is a small vanguard party. Its card-carrying member-

ship could vary from a few hundred to a few thousand members. What is certain is that its influence is much greater than its numbers suggest.

Its influence springs largely from its close alliance with the ANC. Government propagandists talk about the communist-dominated ANC, suggesting that the SACP is the real driving force behind that ANC. Whether that is so is open to debate.

But there is little doubt that the SACP is an important factor in the ANC. An official United States report put the proportion of "known or suspected" SACP members serving on the ANC's 30-man national executive committee at roughly half. Official South African estimates are in the order of two-thirds.

The SACP draws many of its recruits from the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe. As Umkhonto fighters generally represent the most dedicated and determined sector of ANC rank-and-file members, SACP members constitute an elite within an elite.

The ANC's "armed struggle" — or "terrorist war" — tends to enhance the SACP's position. The bulk of the ANC's weapons come from the Soviet Union and it is the SACP which provides the link.

According to the US State Department report, the SACP was very worried by South African Government attempts in 1984-85 to wear black nationalists in the ANC from their alliance with the SACP.

The SACP is dubbed "Stalinist" by its enemies, as many of whom are drawn from the liberal-capitalist camp as from the National Party. But, according to Dr Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, that is too stark a categorisation.

The SACP is strongly pro-Moscow, but that does not mean it is wedded to the ossified doctrine of Stalinism. Stalin died in 1953. Time has moved on. So has the SACP. It is in tune with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's new doctrine of "glasnost" (openness), with all that it may — or may not — entail in the long run.

Whatever its precise ideological outlook, the SACP has survived its banning in 1950 to become one of the actors on the South African stage.

Its strategic position within the ANC, its commitment to socialism and the tendency of township radicals to link capitalism with racism, means it will not necessarily be confined to a minor role in the dramatic years ahead.

The Mbeki Vacuum

THE launch of the Natal Joint Executive and release of jailed ANC chairman Mr Govan Mbeki are exciting events.

One would have expected the Government to see the Cape congress of the National Party as a superb opportunity to project its vision of a new South Africa or, at the very least, to share something of its plans for the future with a concerned South African population and with friends in the world.

But what did we get?

A leader of the country self-indulgently speculating about his health, petulantly asserting his determination to continue as leader and rebuking photographers for taking pictures of him while he was speaking. (Incidentally, it is inconceivable that any Western politician of any note would act like this.)

We are none the wiser about the Government's intentions. In fact, we are more in the dark — because before the congress, commentators assumed that the release of Mbeki had something to do with the release of Mandela, and that these were climate-creating steps intended to encourage the negotiation process.

The State President actually went out of his way to discourage such an interpretation. Heaven forbid that anybody should think along those lines. Mbeki is an old man and the Government, in releasing him, was really acting in the spirit of Christmas.

So we had another mini-Rubicon speech.

I accept that the State President genuinely wants to see black South Africans accommodated at central government level. I also accept that the President and his Government recognise that this is something that has to be negotiated.

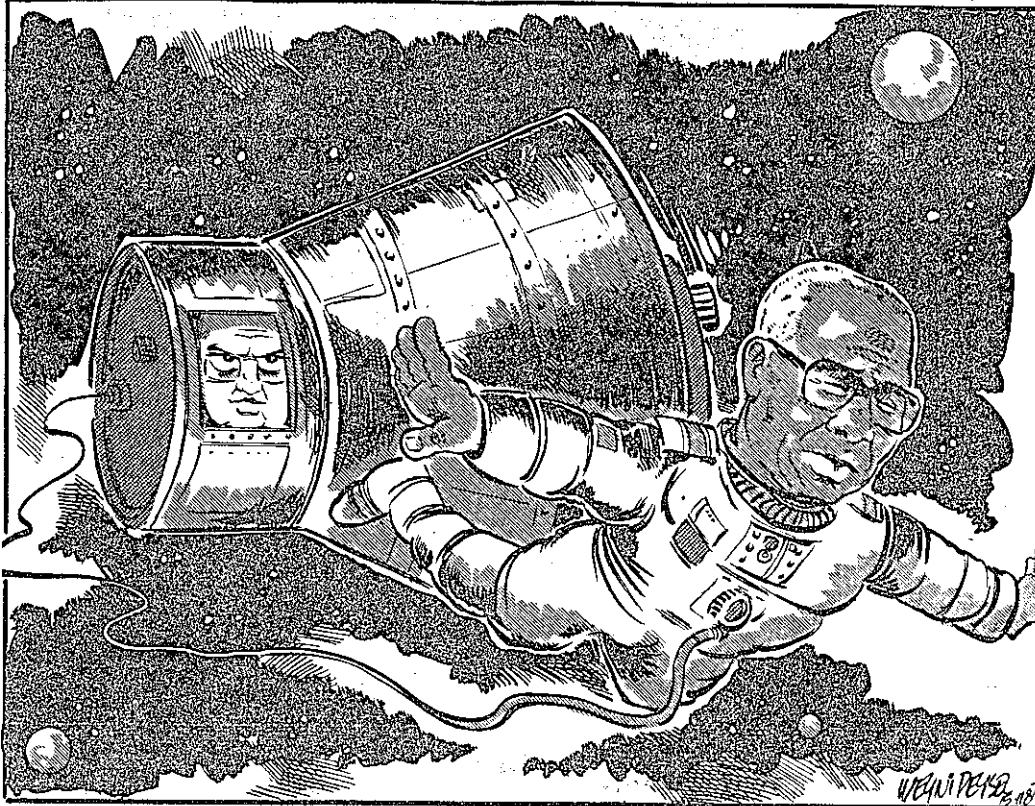
But there is a fundamental inability on the part of this Government to understand just what all this entails. What happened at the Cape congress says it all — because the Government does not understand the significance of the developments of the last 10 days.

Symbolism

Mbeki's release is important in several ways. It is important because of its sheer symbolism and because of his connections with the ANC, and his release is also important because it contributes to the removal of an obstacle to negotiations as far as Chief Minister Buthelezi and others are concerned.



Dr Denis Worrall, as former South African Ambassador in London, was closely involved in the Eminent Persons Group initiative of mid-1986 which had as one of its objectives the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Here he looks at what's wrong with Govan Mbeki's release.



His release generated joy and anxiety. But there is no process to absorb his energies

BY DENIS WORRALL

tions among blacks (unrealistically, as the State President indicated this week) and among upper-income Whites.

But it will also have generated a good deal of anxiety among many Whites, who will ask themselves: "What is this Government up to releasing a man who says he is a communist — a man who still identifies with the ANC's armed struggle?"

ANC. The ANC says that it must sit on one side of the table with the Government on the other. The Government wishes to sit on one side of the table with black organisations on the other.

That is a mistake. It is a mistake because the National Party (which is the Government), aside from its past, has an enormous credibility problem and, in any event, speaks for only a minority of South

servative Party.

The National Party does not speak for all white South Africans and the sensible thing, therefore, is to get all involved in the process of negotiation at this stage.

Mr Heunis has admitted that the National Council will not be ready until deep into next year's session. Even then, for administrative reasons, it will be 18

months or two years at the least before the council begins to function.

Mandate

What is needed now is a clear and neutral starting point for discussion. The Government should for once speak on behalf of the whole society by saying, firstly, that in the interests of a democratic govern-

ment all existing constitutional institutions may be reviewed; secondly, it should say that apartheid in all its forms has to go; and thirdly, it should declare that community interests defined in terms of religion, language, culture and history must be included (e.g. access to mother-tongue education will be a fundamental right) in any new constitution.

Having done this, the Government should give the Chief Justice (appropriately assisted) a mandate to begin the process by inviting all interested parties to submit their proposals, to formulate these (not to evaluate or grade them or make recommendations), and publish them.

In this way we would be creating a positive climate by increasing awareness of

the issues, raising the level of debate, and creating a neutral starting point for the negotiation process.

Were the Government to make commitments along these lines it will have created a climate in which a man like Mbeki has a role to play, and persons and organisations presently committed to violence would have to re-examine their strategies; and others, who are adept at simply making grand statements, would have to start being specific about their constitutional plans.

This is a course of action which would be hard for most ruling political parties to accept. It requires the recognition that, while the Government can initiate a process in which the aspirations, hopes, concerns and energies of all South Africans are involved, the process itself can only occur in a credible way outside of the executive branch of government.

Ignored

The consolation, as far as the National Party is concerned, is that it, too, would be released to play a role.

In its First Report (1982) the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council made two important suggestions — both of which were ignored.

The first was that the Government, when implementing the new constitution, should come with a declaration of intent as far as blacks were concerned.

Secondly, the committee urged the Government to come with a package — a package which would also involve black South Africans.

Neither of these happened. Instead the Government raised expectations enormously with very hopeful-sounding statements. And the result of its failure to deliver on these statements was frustration, anger and unrest.

We are in for another dose of this — unless the Government gets its act together smartly and fills the present vacuum.

Symbolism

Mbeki's release is important in several ways. It is important because of its sheer symbolism and because of his connections with the ANC; and his release is also important because it contributes to the removal of an obstacle to negotiations as far as Chief Minister Buthelezi and others are concerned.

His release also has important consequences. His presence in our politics — even though he cannot be quoted — reduces the stature of black leaders who might be tempted to come into the Government's negotiations; and I believe it makes it harder (not easier) for Chief Buthelezi to involve himself with the Government, particularly while Mbeki stays out.

There are other consequences of Mbeki's release. It will have raised expecta-

tions among blacks (unrealistically, as the State President indicated this week) and among upper-income Whites.

But it will also have generated a good deal of anxiety among many Whites, who will ask themselves: "What is this Government up to releasing a man who says he is a communist — a man who still identifies with the ANC's armed struggle?"

Justified

Mbeki's release is justified. But the big regret is that a leader of this stature has been released into a vacuum. There is no process to absorb his energies and his undoubted political influence. This is the pity. And it is here that I would plead with the Government to rethink its whole attitude towards negotiation.

The Government makes the same assumption as the

ANC. The ANC says that it must sit on one side of the table with the Government on the other. The Government wishes to sit on one side of the table with black organisations on the other.

That is a mistake. It is a mistake because the National Party (which is the Government), aside from its past, has an enormous credibility problem and, in any event, speaks for only a minority of South Africans.

The Government's main concern is to get blacks talking to it, and the major weapon which blacks have is to withhold their participation and, therefore, threaten the legitimacy of the outcome of any talks. But whites are equally important.

They have a veto over the outcome. And as important as getting black organisations into the process is the necessity to involve also, for example, the Con-

not speak for all white South Africans and the sensible thing, therefore, is to get all involved in the process of negotiation at this stage.

Mr Heunis has admitted that the National Council will not be ready until deep into next year's session. Even then, for administrative reasons, it will be 18

Mandate

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review should say all its for thirdly, i that cor defined in language, tory mus' access t' education mental ri constituti

PERHAPS the time has come to tell the emperors that they are not wearing any clothes.

In the Hans Christian Andersen fairytale, it was a brave little boy who had the audacity to confront his ruler with his own nakedness.

Where is that little boy when South Africa needs him?

Seldom has the country been in such a state of paralysis.

And there is no sign of any relief while the main protagonists remain in a state of permanent deadlock.

Perhaps the greatest danger we now face is that we may mistake motion for movement.

Sure, there is a lot of motion. Stoffel van der Merwe travels across the country making noble-sounding speeches on the Government's commitment to reform and power-sharing.

In Chris Heunis's department, able civil servants are constantly churning out position papers and ingenious constitutional proposals.

Meanwhile, back at the citadel, the emperor refuses to budge.

Pallbearers

Recent pronouncements that reform is to play third string behind law and order and development are but a symptom of a mind-set that, somehow, a plan should be devised to enable the Government to share power without relinquishing it.

It is now almost 10 years since the irrepressible Piet Koornhof stood up at Palm Springs in the United States and prematurely announced the demise of apartheid.

Today, it seems as if the scoundrel is indeed dead. Even the Broederbond hurried to act as pallbearers and the Dutch Reformed Church was at hand to perform the last rites.

But Hollywood has shown that any good melodrama deserves a sequel — so Son of Apartheid is now showing to

Who'll tell them they're naked?

By DRIES
VAN HEERDEN

packed audiences across the country.

The conventional political wisdom is no longer the ideology of separate development and ham-handed apartheid action.

The reigning ideology today is that of State security and law and order.

Everything that was previously done for the sake of the preservation of group identity is still being done, but in the name of stability and order.

There are growing similarities between the last years of the Botha Government and the Salazar and Franco regimes in Portugal and Spain.

There, authoritarian regimes also showed it is quite possible to create a personality cult without charisma.

All you need is to continually build up the spectre of a total onslaught — "the forces of darkness" — and to present yourself as the only alternative standing between the population and annihilation.

The style of management follows a tried and trusted recipe.

You surround yourself with a small group of men who are either too tired or too ambitious to fight you, and then you appoint a strong gatekeeper to prevent the

messengers bearing bad news from reaching you.

Behind the scenes, the battle for succession will be raging continuously, with contenders joining the fray or falling from grace. But even they realise that they may be in for the long haul because absolute rulers tend to hang onto power absolutely.

Opposition politics, especially those to the left of the rulers, are a shambles.

Those with the liberal idea of trying to devise a system where the lamb and the wolf can graze together have found they cannot even agree on strategy with those closest to them.

Analogous to the Holy Roman Empire, the UDF is neither united, nor democratic, nor a front.

Stagnation

And, in the ANC, those who stick to the foolhardy belief that the glorious day of liberation is nigh still hold sway.

Indeed, it is not only the emperor, but also the proconsuls and the centurions who are in dire need of clothing.

Ten years ago, the country was suffering from the same lack of direction, the same stagnation.

Then one man, P W Botha, took bold steps to force Vorster into retirement and to lead the country out of the doldrums. Whether there is now such a man planning such a move remains to be seen.

Soon after his retirement from the boxing ring, "Smokin'" Joe Frazier tried his hand at music and formed a rock and roll band, aptly named The Knockouts.

Within a few weeks, the first record appeared on the market and was met with general disapproval from critics and music lovers alike.

One review in a music magazine was short and to the point: "This is the worst music I have ever heard. But who's going to have the guts to tell Joe Frazier?"

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

“The People Shall Govern”



Handwritten notes:
C/P rep
15/11/87
11A

The Release Mandela Campaign welcomes the unconditional release of our leader and Comrade Govan Mbeki. However, we reject Pretoria's innuendo that comrade Mbeki's release should be treated as a "test case" before the release of other political prisoners.

Comrades Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and others have long called upon the South African government to renounce violence before it called upon others to do so. This we view as a test case which will indicate Pretoria's willingness to begin a process of meaningful negotiations.

We believe that the continued imprisonment of our leaders, the continued banning of the African National Congress, and putting into exile the most important participants in the resolution which the current political logjam in our country - are the tests which Pretoria has to pass if it is sincerely committed to change.

The people of South Africa are aware of the biting effects of sanctions on the economy, and if the release of Govan Mbeki is aimed at easing this pressure, then we want to state clearly that it is a self-inflicted fallacy on the part of Pretoria; and it is dangerous.

Furthermore, denying Mbeki the right to being heard, by declaring him a so-called listed person, is a gross violation of the right of South Africa's people to articulating their aspirations through their tried and tested leaders. We are not at all convinced that Pretoria is genuinely walking the path of dismantling apartheid.

We would also wish to remind P.W. Botha that his predecessor, B.J. Vorster advised Ian Smith in 1973 to release Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo so that they could play their role as genuine leaders of the then Rhodesia in a negotiated settlement of that country's problems. Why now is the advise no longer suitable to the advisor? Circumstances are the same! What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. We challenge P.W. Botha and his cabal to apply that measure of sanity to themselves.

If the South African government desires a negotiated settlement, then as they are the sole problem party that caused apartheid, the ball is in their court. By delaying the release of all our leaders, Pretoria is in fact prolonging the ongoing violence and political instability that have become the order of the day in the whole country.

The People of South Africa say:

"ABANDON ALL YOUR FEARS AND ACT NOW"

13/11/87

CP Rep

203

~~10/11/87~~

10/11/87

11/11/87

~~12/11/87~~

'Sorry PW, we have political prisoners'

CP Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front and the giant Congress of South African Trade Unions have reacted strongly to a statement on Monday night by President PW Botha that there were no political prisoners in South Africa.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee, an organisation monitoring the detention of people in South Africa, also took exception of the statement made by the President.

Opening the Cape Congress of the National Party in Cape Town on Monday night, Botha said there was not a single individual in South Africa who was in jail for holding a particular political viewpoint.

"What we do have in our prisons," Botha said, "are people who have been convicted of a criminal offence or who have threatened the security of the state."

Reacting to the statement, the national co-president of the UDF, Archie Gunede, said Botha's statement was "a very shallow observation".

Gunede said: "Those jailed for such long terms were convicted by the State for artificially created 'criminal offences' in order to uphold white supremacy in South Africa. "Whatever political offences they may have committed in their admirable struggle for the liberation of the oppressed masses were certainly not common law crimes."

Accordingly, added Gunede, jailed political leaders and many others were languishing in prison "for what they had stood for politically".

DPSA spokesman Dr David Webster pointed out that only 0.1 percent of the 25 000 people imprisoned under the state of emergency since 1985 had actually been found guilty in a court of law of any criminal offence, and only three percent of the 25 000 ended up in court.

"Our records show that 79 percent of those detainees identify themselves with or belong to the UDF. The question is: Why are so many UDF supporters being held if the state of emergency is not designed to crush the UDF?" asked Webster.

He also pointed out that the long-term detainees were UDF leaders who served a legal organisation. It was, therefore, clear, he said, that the reason for their imprisonment was political.

"It is clear to the DPSA that detainees are unquestionably being held for their political views. "The process of criminalisation is something Pretoria has been engaging in for a number of years now," said Webster.

Cosatu's information officer, Frank Meinjies, said 50 of the federation's members were presently in detention and no charges had, as yet, been laid against them.

"As far as we are concerned, they are being persecuted for their political views," he said.

"The government's propaganda organs have constantly been trying to give the impression that our detained members have been engaging in unlawful activities."

"Our contention is that they have been demonstrating their own humanity by refusing to remain in subjugation," added Meinjies.

The same case could be made for the imprisonment of people such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu who had been sentenced to life imprisonment because of their opposition to apartheid, said Meinjies. - Aro.



State President PW Botha ... there are no political prisoners in South Africa.

It's No to ANC!

11/18/87
5 Times

PRESIDENT PW BOTHA has ruled out the possibility of negotiations on South Africa's political future with the ANC.

"Some people think that by negotiating with terrorist leaders we will enter a new era of peace.

"But that is a far-fetched idea," Mr Botha said at the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria yesterday.

While all people of "balanced thinking" recognised the need to improve race relations, a stable future demanded political negotiations, he said.

But distinctions had to be made on whom would be negotiated with, what about, and with what in mind.

"There are some people with whom we can't negotiate," he said, and then quoted from the ANC mouthpiece, Secchaba, where a case was made out for the organisation to refuse to abandon its armed struggle and to use negotiations to promote ANC aims.

Mr Botha said organisations such as the ANC entered negotiations only to force others into capitulation. "I say that with such people we don't talk.

Opposed

"The Government will always remain alert not to surrender to communist demands."

Mr Botha said the Government was also opposed to extra-parliamentary organisations, such as some church groups, and Idasa, which tried to break down the group character of South African society.

PW rules out talks on SA's future as 'far-fetched idea'

Sunday Times Reporters

The President's tough stand on negotiations comes as SA's most celebrated freed political prisoner, Mr Govan Mbeki, has gone to ground in Port Elizabeth guarded by priests.

A spokesman for the Inter-denominational Ministers Association of Southern Africa (Idamasa), the Rev Patrick Pasha, said Mr Mbeki's isolation was important to give him a chance to orientate himself and plan for the future.

Emerged

He also made it clear that the 77-year-old former chairman of the ANC had been swamped with invitations, some of them from overseas.

"He has shown me the correspondence, but has not disclosed the contents," he said.

Mr Mbeki's immediate withdrawal from the public eye is seen by some as being partially motivated by a desire to convince the authorities that an amnesty for ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu is a safe option.

Meanwhile, another political figure gagged by security



GOVAN MBEKI ... gone to ground and guarded by priests



ROLEY ARENSTEIN ... South Africa's longest-banned person

laws has emerged into the public arena.

Avowed Marxist, listed communist and former lawyer Roley Arenstein was a key participant at an Inkatha Press conference on peace initiatives in Natal's troubled townships.

Mr Arenstein has played a major role behind the scenes for Inkatha in various "peace talks" in the past few months.

Should Mr Mbeki mediate in the Maritzburg township wars, Mr Arenstein could

find himself on the opposite side of the negotiating table to his old ANC colleague.

In the 1950s Mr Mbeki was an ANC organiser in the Eastern Cape, while Mr Arenstein fulfilled a similar role in Durban.

Lapsed

While their views now differ greatly, Mr Arenstein would clearly welcome the opportunity to confer once again with an old accomplice.

This week's Press conference was the first time Mr Arenstein, now 69, has been on a public platform since he was banned in 1952. He was South Africa's longest-banned person — his 28-year banning order lapsed last year.

But he remains a listed person — as does Mr Mbeki — and cannot be quoted without special permission from the Minister of Justice, which has been refused.

Snap in a flash says PW

PRESIDENT P W Botha has instituted a "two-minute rule" for photographers at meetings he addresses. When he appeared at the National Party's Transvaal congress yesterday, NP officials told photographers they were allowed to snap at Mr Botha for only the first two minutes of his address.

This follows Mr Botha's irate outburst at photographers at Monday's opening of the NP's Cape congress. He said then that he knew "what lay behind" photographers' constant focus on him.

A cameraman who transgressed the two-minute deadline in the Pretoria City Hall yesterday promptly had his shutter-bugging shut down by party officials. Mr Botha's new rule appeared not to apply to television cameras and lights.

Hendrickse challenges PW on 'political prisoner' issue

By Martin Challenor

Labour Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse was named "Newsmaker of the Year" on Friday night by the Johannesburg Press Club.

The third recipient of the award, he used the occasion to tell President Botha that there was no truth in what he said about South Africa having no political prisoners.

Mr Hendrickse welcomed the recent release of former ANC national chairman Mr Govan Mbeki and other political prisoners. Thanking Mr Botha for his courage in allowing this, he called on him to release other political prisoners, including Nelson Madela.

It was important for the future of South Africa that leaders like Mandela spell out their plans for the country's future.

"The State President's words this week at the NP Cape congress that there are no political prisoners is devoid of all truth," he said.

Mr Hendrickse recalled his own 60 days in



Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, receives the Johannesburg Press Club's Newsmaker of the Year award last night from the chairman, Mr Hans Lombard.

Picture by Karen Sandison.

solitary confinement and asked how Mr Botha could describe this except as a political detention, and why so many people today sat without trial in South African jails.

Referring to the President's Council report on Group Areas, he said the Government's stance on the issue "has done extreme harm to the politics of negotiation. It is

obvious that NP policy comes first and the welfare of the country and the majority of its citizens second".

The Act would "continue to destroy individual lives," he said. This Act, enforced racial separation "and the self-evident injustice of its application are firmly rejected by the vast majority of all South Africans".

The Labour Party

called "for the immediate repeal of this obnoxious and immoral Act. The Group Areas is the one major obstacle to the normalisation of South African society and we will remain strangers to each other until it is repealed."

Mr Hendrickse said the Government was not prepared to try draw up a constitution acceptable to all South Africans.

ARGWS 16/11/82 114

'UDF united on issue of participation'

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

DETRACTORS of the United Democratic Front are quick to read signs of a major split into any apparent dissension within the ranks of the body.

By the same token, UDF executives are quick to deny all rumours of tension in the interests of projecting just what the name says: a united front.

That both sides weigh self interest in matters effecting public image is the nature of politics and if there is any one truth it is probably somewhere in a complicated weave of these partisan claims.

Fuel for the detracting camp recently were the utterings of one of the eight UDF presidents, Natal's Mr Archie Gumede. The Press beamed Mr Gumede's comments prominently with speculation that in feeling out participation in the present parliamentary system, the Natal president could split the UDF on its strictly non-participation policy.

How much substance there was to the speculation was and is still not easily quantifiable but the reports fostered some public perception that a split was conceivable. The continuing tensions in Natal between Inkatha and the UDF and the twitching muscle of the Indaba

initiative serve to highlight unresolved antipathies and fuel the perception that something must give on the fault line.

The Press flurry over the question of parliamentary participation presented the confusing picture of Mr Gumede announcing personally that participation might be considered while, as president, he fully endorsed existing UDF policy in his next breath.

The UDF national executive reacted saying there had been no deviation from policy: changes could only be effected after debate at all levels.

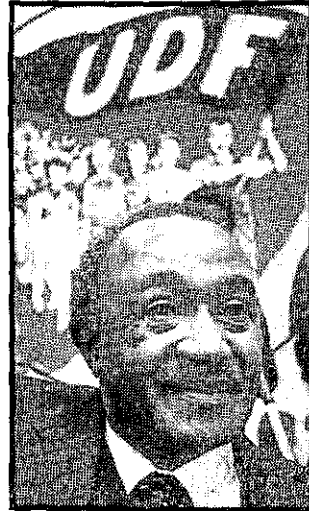
UDF executives stress that when the body was launched in 1983 and in anticipation of the differences which would inevitably crop up given the breadth of the umbrella body and the different political histories in each region, the constitution laid down the mechanisms for decision-making which were founded on input from grassroots membership.

As a result of this democratic working process any statement by the executive is claimed to be "of the people".

Provision is made in the constitution for emergency General Councils to be called when UDF policy is at issue. This mechanism was used to handle the Gumede participation debacle and because everyone appreciated the urgency of the issue, the National Executive was equipped with input from grassroots level in just two weeks, says Mr Joe Marks, vice-president of the Western Cape region.

So this is the political nature of the UDF and, says Mr Marks, a practical demonstration of its democratic boast. And those faithful to the process have developed a respect for organisational discipline quite foreign to white electoral politics where the concept of democratic accountability gets an airing for John and Jane voter at election time only.

But this is just part of the backcloth against which the Gumede rumble might be read. It might be well to consider the Press coverage this issue generated in the very specific context of the tried and tested relationship between establishment politicians and Press. It is a relationship of a particular nature and a game played according



Mr Archie Gumede

to certain rules and predictable consequences. Parliamentarians calculate Press reaction to their statements and, further, probably try to use it to their own ends.

Arguably then, reaction to Mr Gumede's statement as the sign of a shift in policy (and hence a portend of a split) was a reaction in the tradition of establishment politics where grassroots channels are not used as habitually. The white electorate is accustomed to statements made on its behalf; accustomed to accepting the signs of policy shifts in Press interpretations of these statements ... and unaccustomed to the notion that they might have been consulted.

Another important consideration which cannot be overlooked in trying to understand the background is that the UDF continues operating in the context of successive states of emergency.

With that given fact as departure point, Mr Mark Swilling, University of the Witwatersrand political scientist who studies UDF moves and travels the country broadly to update his perspective, sees the

tensions in the Natal region as indication of anything but a split in UDF ranks.

"They're not about to split on a strategy like that of non-participation because they're united on the issue of survival right now," he says.

Another popular misconception is that non-participation or boycott be seen as UDF principle rather than, rightly, as strategy.

"The boycott strategy in the Congress tradition (which espouses democratic non-racialism as opposed to any form of nationalism) is not a principle but a tactic and as recently as 1979 there were key movers in Congress politics who were treating boycott as a tactic inapplicable in certain circumstances," says Mr Swilling.

History provides examples of his claim: the SA Communist Party contested municipal seats in the '40s and '50s and, in the Transvaal in the '50s, the ANC participated in advisory boards.

"What's re-emerging in the UDF in people like Gumede is a not unprecedented questioning of the fact that the boycott tactic might not be applicable under certain circumstances. The Press and some popular perception has assumed that boycott is a principle which if challenged threatens a split. What's happening now is evidence of the beginning of a debate rather than a split: But it's a debate which needs to take place in conditions less troubled than those prevailing in Natal now. Hence Mr Govan Mbeki's targeting of a resolution to the tensions as a priority."

It's as simple — and as complex — as that, says Mr Swilling.

"I've seen absolutely no evidence of a split on this issue. And it is just one of many issues being debated and not the most important."

16 11/87 (11A) (12A) (13A)

Vision of a new SA

THE way in which the residents of Hillbrow — both black and white — had reacted to the eviction of 76 families from their Worcester Court flat in Hillbrow last Tuesday night, showed a vision of the “new South Africa we

are working for”, UDF leader Albertina Sisulu said recently.

Mrs Sisulu was addressing a 700-strong crowd who gathered to meet at the Catholic Cathedral in Doornfontein to protest against evictions.

The meeting, organised by Actstop — an organisation fighting the Group Areas Act — followed Tuesday’s Hillbrow eviction, when 74 families had their possessions dumped on the pavement because they had paid lower, “controlled” rentals for the first time last month.

Mrs Sisulu said the granting of the interim court order late on Tuesday night, allowing the tenants to return to their flats, was a victory for the people.

Various flat tenants,

including Mr Sandile Ngidlana and the chairman of the Worcester Court Residents Committee, Mr Snowy Rasebotsa, relayed their experiences of intimidation by landlords and exorbitant rentals which, some of them had been forced to pay to landlords, or “middlemen” and agents.

Some of the tenants of

Some of the
flats in the area had reported having to pay rentals of up to four or six times as much as they should have been paying.

Mr Rasebotsa also thanked the black and white residents in Hillbrow and town who rallied around and helped to put furniture and belongings back into Worcester Court after news of the court order.

MINORITIES WILL NOT BE PROTECTED

Sowetan
16/11/87

11A

BLACK South Africans flatly refuse to protect white rights in a post-apartheid society, Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, told the foreign press recently.

Power sharing was now accepted by most South Africans, Dr Motlana said, so it was important to persuade the "ruling elite" to move away from its "obsession" with group rights.

Dr Motlana was addressing the Foreign Correspondents' Association banquet at a Johannesburg hotel.

The Western media seemed ambivalent about the question of group rights and the signals from the West — as expressed by the conservative western media — appeared confusing.

Reading certain Western conservative publications "one comes away with the feeling that there is a great deal that the media and politicians in the West can do to reassure South African whites that power-sharing will not mean the end of the white presence in South Africa," Dr Motlana said.

Dr Motlana said he has been one of the few black nationalists who has agreed to meet South Africa's official guests — mainly extreme right-wing anti-communists.

These people were now debating safeguards for the white minority. The fears they expressed were that Africans had no democratic traditions, that the future might be entrusted to "tribal despots" like Idi Amin.

Dr Motlana argued that people learned democratic ideals and that blacks needed the "political apprenticeship" that was denied them to internalise such ideals.

Despite appearing to be "in complete control" of the country, the National Party was not, he said. The ruling Whites were scared and had lost confidence in themselves. Gone was "missionary zeal" with which Afrikaner nationalists had clung to "Verwoerdian concepts of separate development."

Dr Motlana mentioned an incident last weekend at the Avalon Cemetery in Soweto when 27 tombstones, for

people shot by police in White City, Jabavu, last year, were unveiled by the Soweto Civic Association. He said within 15 minutes of the unveiling police were on the scene, indicating the Government's fear.

Soweto residents had come prepared with buckets and towels, realising the possibility of being teargassed.

Government thinkers were "thrashing around for a new policy," Dr Motlana said.

The African National Congress — which would form part of any post-apartheid South Africa — was already non-racial and committed to "a progressive democratic administration," he said.

Dr Motlana was an active member of the African National Congress and was secretary of the ANC Youth League. He stood trial for his involvement in the ANC's defiance campaign and received a suspended sentence.

He played an important mediatory role in the Soweto student protests of 1976 and was detained for six months of that year and another five months in 1977.

He was elected chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten in 1977.

He is currently the president of the Soweto Civic Association, a United Democratic Front affiliate.

After his speech Dr Motlana was asked how young black activists and ordinary township residents had received the release of ANC leader Govan Mbeki from 23 years imprisonment. He replied the Rivonia trialists were "the acknowledged leaders of the people".

"When Mr Mbeki's release was mentioned we were happy that he would be released but felt they should all be released," he said. — Sapa.

CMT-7 (info)
16/11/87

Boy 'brutally murdered'

9/11/87

PRETORIA. — A man was killed when police fired birdshot into a crowd in Slangspruit in the early hours of Saturday morning, and a 15-year-old boy was murdered as unrest continued in the troubled Maritzburg townships at the weekend.

Police said birdshot was fired when a group refused to disperse after a gathering. Five men were arrested.

Also in Slangspruit, a 15-year-old boy was "brutally murdered by a group of black people". No other details were given.

In other incidents near Maritzburg at the weekend, two houses and three vehicles were set alight.

Meanwhile, political and social organizations have expressed fears that the detention on Friday of two UDF joint secretaries — Mr Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya and Mr Martin Wittenburg — could hinder talks between Inkatha and the UDF in the city's townships.

Police yesterday confirmed the detention of the two, under the emergency regulations.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said yesterday: "Police have removed the very people in whom the UDF members in the area have confidence. Who is going to represent them now?"
— Sapa and Own Correspondent

3: (114) (208) (208) (208)

Dismay over UDF detentions in Natal

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Violence erupted in Maritzburg townships again at the weekend and spokesmen for the United Democratic Front and Inkatha have expressed dismay at the detention of UDF leaders in the city.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede described the arrest of Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya as a "real disaster" for peace negotiations.

He alleged that 10 youth activists had also been arrested.

The UDF leaders were arrested while negotiating with township residents. The detention of Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenya has been confirmed by the police, but not the alleged arrest of the 10 youth activists.

Inkatha also condemned the detention.

The senior Inkatha member in Maritzburg, Mr Velapi Ndlovu, said he was sorry to hear of the detentions, which had dealt a bitter blow to impending peace negotiations.

The UDF and Cosatu estimate that 200 of their Midlands supporters have now been detained and say there has been no large-scale arrest of Inkatha members.

Two people were killed, including a 15-year-old boy who was attacked by a mob and a man who died of birdshot wounds, in nine incidents of unrest in the townships on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

Mr Gumede said peace negotiations had been interrupted by the UDF detentions and could not continue with the leaders of one of the sides in jail.

"The only men able to persuade people to participate in any peace agreement have been detained. They possess the necessary skills, knowledge and ability to make representations in both directions," he said.

Those detained were involved in negotiations with the Chamber of Commerce, the Maritzburg municipality, church leaders and all other parties concerned.

be spread out over the suburb rather sale, he said.

Third body found at squatter camp

Cape Times 17/4/87 111
By CLARE HAPPER

THE body of a third KTC man was found in the squatter camp yesterday morning — but police said they do not suspect any connection between his death and the two men shot dead at the weekend.

A police spokesman, Captain Jan Calitz, said Mr Mike Ndwalaza, 33, of M1161 A, KTC, had been found dead at 6.30am yesterday. He had been stabbed in the chest with a sharp object.

One of the men shot dead at KTC at the weekend has been identified as Mr Stanford Nkosana, aged about 45. He was a member of the KTC "steering committee" which is affiliated to the UDF.

Police have not yet identified another man in his early 20s, believed to be a Cape Youth Congress member, with a Rastafarian hairstyle.

Rape of girl, 9, alleged

Court Reporter

A PARKWOOD man pleaded not guilty in Wynberg Regional Court yesterday to raping a nine-year-old girl who he claimed was "willing". Mr Jacob Adams, 29, of Gull Road, initially pleaded guilty, but the magistrate, Mr J H Venter, changed his plea to not guilty. The hearing was adjourned to November 23. Mr N C Erasmus prosecuted.

The Facts

IN a report in the Cape Times yesterday about the launching at a banquet in Johannesburg of the official Dias Festival book, it was stated that the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, was the host. The host was Mr Barney Hurwitz, chairman of Clinic Holdings Ltd, which is sponsoring the book and the Clinic Dias yacht race from Lisbon to Cape Town. Mr Cruywagen, who launched the Dias book on Friday night on behalf of the Cape Administrator, Mr Gene Louw, was the guest of honour at the banquet.

UCT to test subsidy laws too

Cape Times 17/4/87
Education Reporter

THE University Council of UCT has decided in principle to test the validity of the De Klerk subsidy conditions in the Supreme Court, the registrar of UCT, Mr Hugh Amoore, said yesterday.

Mr Amoore said that senior counsel had been briefed to prepare papers for an application "which the administration hopes will be heard in the courts at the earliest opportunity".

The University Council of Natal took a similar decision earlier this month.

In a joint statement, Natal council chairman Mr Graham Cox and vice-chancellor Professor Peter Booyesen said their council was going to challenge the validity of the laws after taking legal advice and carefully considering the consequences of accepting the minister's right to exercise political control over its affairs.

area would be tackled first.

104

GDF 1000 17/11/84
Two die in PE violence

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two more men have died and a boxer is missing after a new outbreak of fighting between United Democratic Front affiliates and the Ama-Afrika movement in the Khayelitsha township at Uitenhage this week.

Yesterday the whereabouts of a missing boxer, Mr Vuyisile Ngalo, 18, were still not known.

Their deaths come after an Uitenhage boxer, Mr Mzonke Befile, 16, was shot dead by four gunmen during the disruption of a boxing tournament in Kwanobuhle. — Sapa

Crystal

ANN

You've sup
now we'll
on all stock



QIBLA - COURT

GIVES RULING

11P
13/1/82
Inquest

A PRETORIA magistrate ruled yesterday that the State should prove beyond reasonable doubt that the documents which were to be presented to a State witness in a terrorism trial were from Qibla, and that Qibla was an organisation as defined in the Internal Security Act.

Mr J H Bekker made the ruling after Mr Denis Delahunt, for the defence, submitted that it would be "a gross irregularity to present a witness with an inadmissible document."

This was after the prosecutor, Mr J P Pretorius, had presented a Qibla member who is giving evidence in camera with documents he alleged were from Qibla.

The witness was testifying in a case involving seven alleged members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Qibla, a Muslim organisation.

The accused are facing charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice. They have pleaded not guilty.

They are Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu and Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, both of Transkei, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa of Springs, Mr Setsiba Mohohlo of Johannesburg, the Reverend Daniel Nkopo-di of Bophuthatswana, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel, both of Cape Town.

In his evidence, the witness referred to Qibla as an Islamic movement based in the Western Cape.

He identified a number of items which he said he brought with him after undergoing PAC training in Libya. Among the documents which were submitted in court were *Azanian Combat*, the basic documents of the PAC, the political career of John Nyathi Pokela, leader of the PAC, Pokela on Sharpeville and the speeches of Mangaliso Sobukwe.

(Proceeding)

News in Brief

Cape Times 17/11/87
Priest had illegal gun

JOHANNESBURG. — SA Catholic Bishops' Conference general secretary Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, 48, was found guilty yesterday of illegally possessing a 0,38 special revolver and 50 bullets and sentenced in Pretoria Regional Court to a fine of R500 or 150 days' jail.

Cape Times 17/11/87 (119)
Four die at Maritzburg

PRETORIA. — Four people died violently overnight in continuing unrest in the Maritzburg area. The SAP yesterday said security forces shot dead two of the four, while the other two were stabbed to death by mobs.

11/18/77

New death raises township shootings toll to nine

Crime Reporter

A NINTH person has died in Peninsula townships, the latest in a series of apparently motiveless killings in the past three weeks.

A 25-year-old man was fatally shot in KTC squatter camp. He died yesterday.

He left his home in KTC with two other people about 10pm on Sunday. About midnight, his girlfriend was told he had been wounded. He died in hospital.

Earlier, police said another man was found murdered in KTC yesterday. He was Mr Michael Ndwalaza, 33.

WEAPONRY

Mr Ndwalaza was last seen alive about 10pm on Sunday night.

The deaths of the two men follow the shootings of Mr Standord Nkosana, an official of the UDF-affiliated Western Cape Civic Association, and another man on Friday night or early Saturday morning. The other man has not been identified.

Police see nothing sinister in the apparent increase in the number of township shootings. They say it reflects the use of more sophisticated weaponry.

Some of those who have died are community leaders.

The first death was that of Mr John "Boy" Mafunga, secretary of the Cape Town Committee, who was gunned down while sitting in his combi outside his butchery in Guguletu on October 30.

FIRED WILDLY

On November 6, a special constable and two women were shot dead in Khayelitsha. Another constable and a woman were wounded.

It is thought that this attack was directed at the constables and the women were wounded when the gunmen fired wildly.

Police reported finding a magazine from a 9mm pistol but it is understood an R4 rifle might also have been used.

Last week, a 24-year-old Guguletu man was gunned down at the intersection of NY50 and NY21 in Guguletu.

Police said no arrests had been made in connection with the killings.

IN THE COURTS

ANC men 'leaders'

SUSAN RUSSELL

NELSON Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu were generally regarded as leaders by residents of Alexandra township, a young Alexandra man told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Albert Ali Sebola and seven co-accused have pleaded not guilty to treason, alternatively sedition and subversion.

The charges against them arise from their alleged involvement in attempts to make Alexandra and/or other areas of SA ungovernable and involvement in the holding of "people's courts" last year.

Accused with Sebola are Vusi Andries Ngwenya, Andrew Mafutha, David Mafutha, Arthur Selby Vilakazi, Ashwell Mxolise Zwane, Piet Mogane and a 17-year-old youth.

Sebola said he had attended a funeral, held in the township's stadium on March

5 last year, of people killed in unrest.

Freedom songs — "songs honouring the leaders" — were sung and political poetry was read.

Sebola said one of the dead was a friend of his.

"I was very, very, very upset." He said the crowd was "very upset" too.

Sebola told the court he had become a member of the Alexandra Youth Congress on April 21. Before that, he had sympathised with Ayco's policy and principles.

"They envisaged a non-racial democratic society in SA. I was in favour of that."

"Ayco was a non-violent organisation."

The trial continues.

B/deny
17/11/87

11A

(Handwritten signature)

Govt quotes Sechaba to back up PW

11/18 *18/11/87* PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT yesterday gave permission to quote an excerpt from the banned African National Congress mouthpiece Sechaba to back President PW Botha's refusal — repeated at the NP Transvaal Congress — to speak to the ANC.

Permission was granted by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in terms of Section 56 (1) (c) of the Internal Security Act. He gave permission for legal possession of an editorial "On Negotiations" in the October issue of Sechaba.

In the editorial the ANC reaffirms its commitment to the armed struggle and to its alliance with the SA Communist Party.

Commenting on the editorial, Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday there was "no justification for the ANC policy of violence" and "the ANC's original reasons for its armed struggle have disappeared".

He said the ball was in the ANC's court "as government has already committed itself to peaceful development".

"It is clear that dialogue with the ANC will serve no aim," van der Merwe said.

He said the ANC viewed dialogue as a means to "make way for Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military flank of the ANC, so

● To Page 2 →

Govt uses Sechaba to back PW

that the struggle will be an easy one."

The editorial noted that the ANC was being pushed in two directions "which are in essence one direction namely anti-communism and renouncing armed struggle".

"We are not prepared to move in any of the two," the editorial said.

It noted the 1894 uprising had lent the ANC prestige. It said the "media over-kill" surrounding the Dakar talks may have given the impression the ANC

would be prepared to abandon the armed struggle.

"Nothing is further from the truth. The truth of the matter is that the whole question of 'talks' and 'talks about talks' started unfolding in 1985 two years ago when we met businessmen. Since then we have met many and diverse forces."

← ● From Page 1

CATC TOWNS 18/11/87

Political link in township slayings?

Crime Reporter

POLICE are looking into a possible political connection following a series of killings in KTC and Guguletu over the past three weeks.

An unidentified 25-year-old KTC resident, who was found shot near his home on Sunday night, died in Somerset Hospital on Monday, bringing to nine the total of known killings in KTC and Guguletu during the past three weeks.

Police liaison officer Captain Jan Calitz said yesterday the man had been fetched at his home by two men soon after 10pm on Sunday.

He left with the two men, and at midnight an unidentified man came to tell his girlfriend that he was lying about 50m from the house, bleeding from wounds in the chest.

After the man had been admitted to Somerset Hospital it was found that he had been shot and that the bullets had passed right through his body, Captain Calitz said.

He confirmed that police, aware of the other killings over the past few weeks, are looking into a possible political connection.

● On October 30 the secretary of the Cape Town Town Committee, Mr John "Boy" Mafunga, was shot while he and a friend were sitting outside a butchery in Guguletu.

● On November 6, a special constable was killed in a gun battle in KTC and his colleague wounded. Two teenage girls, Miss Nomvuyo Khasibe and Miss Cingelwa Tshoba, were killed in the crossfire and their older friend, Miss Xoliswa Matiwane, was injured. Police, who found a 9mm magazine at the scene, believe that an R4 rifle may have been used in the shooting incident.

● On November 12 an unidentified man was shot dead at the corner of NY50 and NY21 shortly before 10pm.

● On November 15 the bodies of Mr Mr Stanford Nkosana, in his mid-40s, and an unidentified man in his early 20s were found shot to death in KTC. Mr Nkosana was a member of the KTC "Steering Committee" which is affiliated to the UDF.

● On Monday, 33-year-old Mr Michael Ndwalaza, who was last seen alive on Sunday, was found stabbed to death in KTC.

Kidnap plot: ANC man to be deported

Cap. T. 18/11/67

11A *11B* *11C* Down Correspondent

LONDON — A High Court judge last night ordered the deportation of the key figure in the alleged ANC kidnap plot, Mr John Larsen.

Mr Justice McPhearson rejected the man's claim, which he supported with a birth certificate, that he was a British secret service agent named John William Parker, born in Essex in 1931 and thus immune from deportation.

The man continued to plead through his legal representatives that he was a former senior intelligence officer.

The Judge instead accepted police evidence that his true name was Johan Viggo Orebak, 53, a Norwegian swindler and former mercenary in Rhodesia who had served a prison term in Norway for five years from 1976.

PAC trial: Man won't testify

A CAPE Town man, Mr Abdul Aziz Kader, this week refused to testify against seven alleged PAC men in the Pretoria Regional Court.

Kader, 27, of Rylands Estate, was asked to testify against Mr Achmad Cassiem of Hanover Park, and seven others who have been charged with furthering the aims of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Kader refused to give evidence in camera and asked to testify in

an open court. When this was granted he refused and said it was against his Islamic principles to testify against his brothers.

He told the magistrate Mr J H Bekker, that for the last 18 months he was kept in solitary confinement and that he was under emotional stress. He also asked for legal representation.

"I am a practising Muslim and had chosen between what I am and testifying for the State," he said.

Asked by State prosecutor Mr J P Pretorius, if he was willing to take more stress by refusing to testify, Kader replied "I viewed what I was doing on a long-term basis. What I am presently undergoing is short-term.

His advocate, Mr Ben Ngoepe, asked the court to postpone Kader's matter until December 3 to enable the defence to call witnesses.

The trial continues.

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South

Nov 19-26 '87

ANC

11/12
Spoke for
Nov 19-26/87

snub!

Rebuff for Labour MPs

By CHRIS GUTUZA

LIFE-SERVING African National Congress member and Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada has snubbed members of the House of Representatives who tried to speak to him at Pollsmoor Prison, according to informed sources.

The coloured MPs apparently wanted his permission to intercede on his behalf to arrange his release from prison, sources say.

"Kathrada rejected the request after being approached by the head of the prison."

Several Labour Party members approached for comment would not confirm whether a request had been made to speak to Kathrada.

National chairman Mr Ismail "Miley" Richards said he was only aware of visits to political prisoners arranged some time ago as part of the parliamentary work of MPs.

Lodged court application

He referred SOUTH to party leader Allan Hendrickse, who could not be reached for comment.

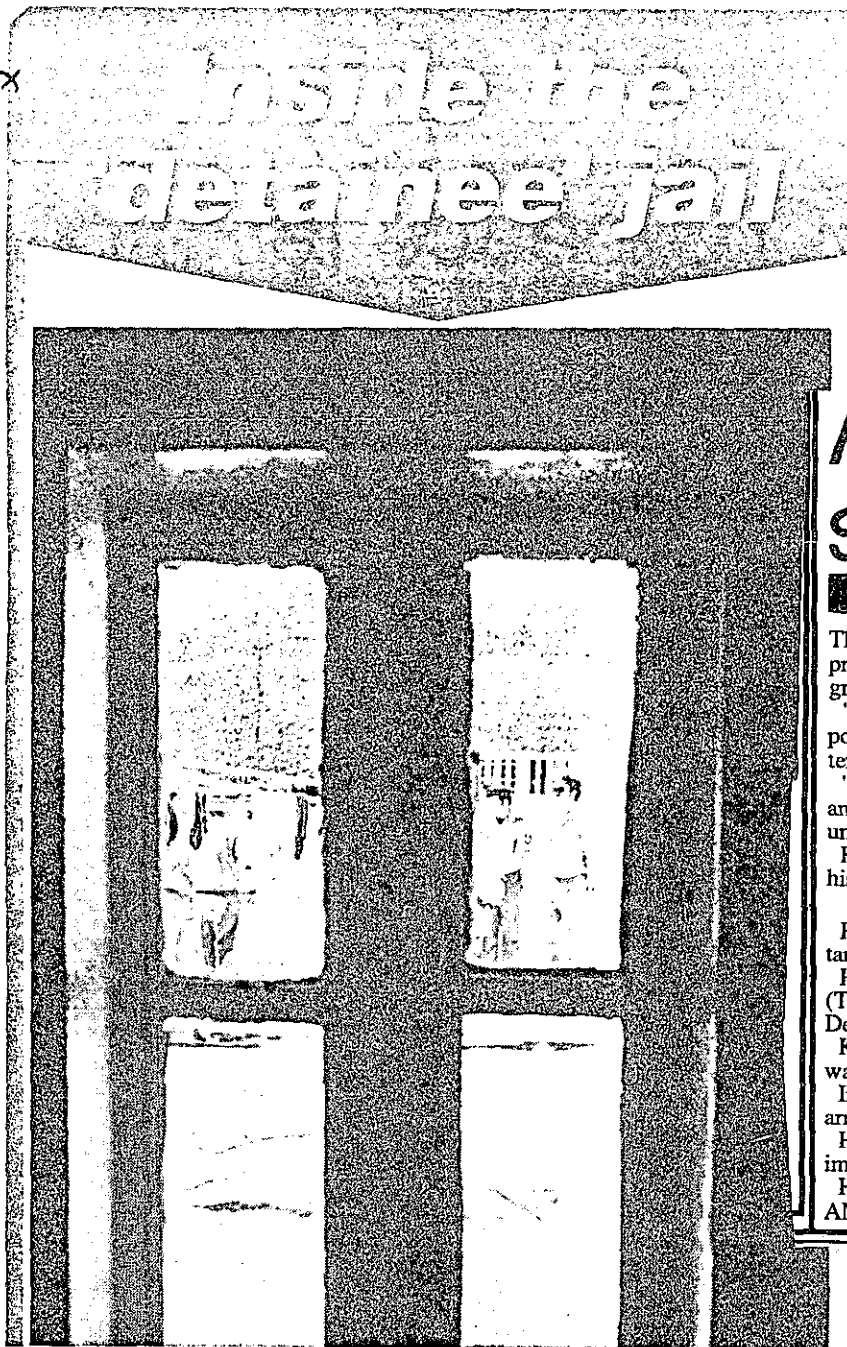
A spokesperson for the Prisons Service said it was not policy to provide details on visits or possible visits to prisoners as it was considered a private matter.

In another development, attorneys are expected to lodge a court application within the next few days for the authorities to allow Kathrada to study for a masters degree.

Kathrada already has two honours degrees. The application will also ask the authorities to allow a relative to see him, our sources say.

Kathrada's niece has for many years made many unsuccessful attempts to visit him.

Turn to page 2



ANC man snubs MPs

South 19-26/11/87

From page 1

The Prisons Service's spokesperson said it provided for prisoners to enrol for different courses, including post-graduate courses.

"In the past, prisoners were not allowed to enrol for post-graduate studies except at the end of their prison terms.

"Due to changing circumstances this policy was altered and prisoners are now allowed to enrol for such courses, under certain conditions."

Kathrada, born in the Transvaal in 1929, completed his schooling in Johannesburg in 1938.

Helped organise campaign

He became a full-time member of the Passive Resistance Council after he left school.

He was chairperson of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) at Wits University and helped organise the Defiance Campaign.

Kathrada was an accused in the 1956 treason trial but was acquitted in 1961.

In October 1962 he was placed under a 12-hour house arrest order. He disappeared several months later.

He was arrested in July 1962 and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 in the Rivonia trial.

He was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982 with ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

Blacy 19/11/87

Dakar talks an 'intense process'

DIANNA GAMES

DELEGATES to the Dakar meeting with the ANC debated the dynamics of a process of communication rather than a solution, Christo Nel, business consultant and a delegate, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Public Relations Institute of SA seminar on communication in conflict, Nel said he was surprised by the intensity of the debate in Dakar.

He said the Afrikaner delegation had had to try and break down the stereotypes which they carried there, and had had to battle past the rhetoric to build relationships.

It had been put forward in Dakar that if the ANC's rhetoric faltered, so might its following, he said.

The ANC had asked, on the question of renouncing violence, why blacks were consistently asked to forget the past when they were still living their past, Nel said.

With passion

SA's former ambassador to the UK, Denis Worrall, said while in London he had tried to sell SA as a country rather than to sell government policy. "It was my belief in what SA could become that I presented with passion," he said.

He said he had also set out to distinguish between justification and explanation. "If I was seen to be justifying the indefensible in terms of Western attitudes, I would have lost all credibility."

Dirk Kemp, KwaZulu-Natal Indaba's communications head, said one of the reasons the Indaba had achieved an 82% consensus among participants was because the agenda was open ended.

He said too often what was called negotiation was, in fact, consultation with one group laying their plans down and asking other groups for their response, rather than forging new plans together.

Freedom Charter is important

Sowetan 19/11/87

11A

SIR — The Freedom Charter is a very important document in South Africa. Many people believed that the demands in the charter can bring about a society free of oppression and exploitation.

Some people are of the opinion that the charter does not address issues such as class exploitation and is not an adequate programme for ending all oppression and exploitation.

The first problem I have with the freedom charter is its ambiguity. That is, it can be interpreted differently by different people for instance, the clause "The people shall govern" and the clause dealing with the nationalisation of banks, mines and the land has been taken to mean that the society envisaged by the charter is anti-capitalist. Nationalisation or state control of sections of the economy does not equal

socialism. So that is a denial that the charter implies the overthrow of capitalism. In fact, it is positively interpreted as a programme of reforming capitalism.

The second major problem with the Freedom Charter is that it accepts the government-imposed criteria of national groups and race.

The supporters of the charter agreed that there are four nations or races in South Africa: so-called coloureds, Africans, Indians and whites. We believe this is dangerous for many reasons.

Firstly, this kind of thinking plays into the hands of the Government and collaborators like Hendrickse, Buthelezi and Rajbansi. These people claim to represent different nations and we are giving them an opportunity to do this. It is true that many ordinary people see themselves as Indian, Zulus, etc., and it is easier

to organise people in this manner because of geographical groupings. But divisions have been forced onto our people for a reason. In order for the State to maintain easy control. It might be more difficult to organise across colour boundaries, but it is necessary. We must fight divisions in the process of the struggle and not wait for after the revolution. We have to build a single nation under the leadership of the working class.

Failure to realise this will result in a situation where opportunistic leaders manipulate ethnic symbols. Thirdly, there is no attempt in the charter to explain how working class leadership of the struggle is compatible with the idea of several nations each consisting of antagonistic classes. Among the so-called Indian national group for instance, there are different classes. A

majority are working people.

The interests of these working people are more in line with the interests of so-called African & coloured working people and not with the business in question. The Charter does not explain this.

Some people who support the Charter are themselves socialists but believe that we must first unite people against apartheid (the first stage) and then fight for socialism (the second stage).

A great deal has been written and said concerning the democratic way the Charter was adopted.

Yet none other than Chief Albert Luthuli, then president of the ANC, mentioned in his autobiography that the Charter was never circulated for amendments to affiliates of the Congress alliance.

We stand by a socialist programme which reflects the class struggle and will fight to end both class exploitation and national oppression.

J D MONTSHIWA
Randfontein

Big row over deportation

LONDON — Opposition lawmakers protested in the House of Commons on Tuesday night at the pending deportation of Norwegian, Frank Lyng Larsen, who had been detained with three others for allegedly conspiring to kidnap members of the African National Congress of South Africa.

19/11/87
Sawetaw



IIA

The charges were later dropped and the Labour Party legislators said Larsen was being deported to avoid government embarrassment over the British security services' possible involvement in the affair.

Lawmaker Gerald Bermingham called for Home Secretary Douglas Hurd to be summoned to the Commons to explain the "unseemly haste" of Larsen's deportation to Oslo, scheduled for 2pm yesterday at London's Heathrow Airport.

"Could it possibly be

that Mr Larsen has a number of matters in his knowledge and possession that are somewhat damning and somewhat damaging to be revealed?" Bermingham asked.

There was no immediate government response.

"This has the smell of Watergate and the whiff of a cover-up about it now," Robin Corbett, Labour's home affairs spokesman, told a reporter outside the Commons.

Corbett said his party feared that once Larsen got to Oslo, he will disappear back, we suspect, to South Africa.

CME-Temps 19/4/87 (114) ~~114~~ ~~114~~

Two more killed in Maritzburg violence

PRETORIA. — A 17-year-old youth and a 25-year-old man have been murdered in continuing political faction fighting in the Maritzburg area, where more than 150 people have died in recent months.

Police yesterday reported that a mob of blacks stabbed the youth to death and wounded a 20-year-old black woman at Taylor's Halt.

In the same suburb a 25-year-old black man was also attacked and murdered by a mob of blacks, police said.

Also at Maritzburg, in the township of Caluza, petrol bombs were hurled at a number of private houses, causing "fairly serious damage". The attackers were dispersed with birdshot.

Other petrol-bomb attacks were reported elsewhere.

At Azaadville, near Krugersdorp, two private houses were seriously damaged by petrol bombs. And at KwaMakutha, Durban, a private house was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. — Sapa

17/6/85 20/11/87
11A

Men freed to talk on Maritzburg violence

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Maritzburg townships peace talks appeared to be salvaged when representatives of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Inkatha and the United Democratic Front met behind closed doors.

The meeting took place minutes after detained UDF secretaries Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya were freed yesterday to take part in negotiations.

DETENTION

The peace talks broke down early this week after their detention and that of many other UDF and Cosatu supporters. It has been tentatively decided now to meet again in the city on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr Wittenberg said the release was a "major step" towards continued negotiations. However, "because of the restrictions placed on us it looks as if we won't be able to report back to our affiliates or supporters".

"The channel to Inkatha has been left open, but the channel

to our own people is blocked by obstacles. We will have to look at the situation fairly carefully."

UDF Midlands chairman Mr A S Chetty said he was given three hours' notice to attend the meeting at the offices of the head of the security branch in Maritzburg, Brigadier B J Beukes.

RESTRICTIONS

Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenya are not permitted to take part in the activities of more than a dozen organisations — including their own — unless in the form of meetings hosted by the Chamber of Commerce to end the Maritzburg violence.

They are not allowed to leave the city without security police permission and may not attend any gathering at which Government activity is discussed.

⊙ A 16-year-old youth was stabbed to death after a mob wielding assegais stormed a home in Sinateng last night, according to the police unrest report. Four men and three youths were arrested.

MSB

11A



Coffee and cake, tea and pastries, indoors or out.

PROTEA RD, NEWLANDS 64-4122



I was PAC victim, says State witness

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A former member of the Pan Africanist Congress told a magistrate here he was giving evidence against some of the accused because previously he was their victim. Now they were to be his victims.

State witness Mr Lungelo Donald Dlomo, 28, was giving evidence yesterday at the trial of five alleged PAC members and two alleged members of the outlawed Islamic Qibla movement.

Seven accused face 23 charges under the Internal Security Act, including terrorism, attempted murder and belonging to a banned organisation.

Mr Dlomo said he knew four of the accused, Mr Mabutu Enoch Zulu, 52, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, 26, Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa, 29, and Mr Sestiba Paul Moholo, 29.

SELECTED FOR TRAINING

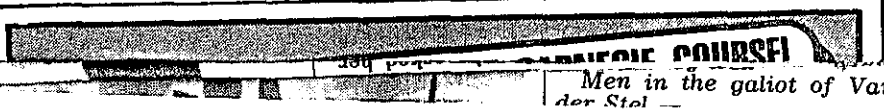
He said Mr Zulu was a high-ranking official in the PAC and a member of the central committee who selected him for training in the PAC armed forces.

Mr Dlomo said he was a member of the PAC stationed in Dar es Salaam, but decided to leave because he had "had enough of the PAC". He was a dancer.

The other accused are Mr Achmad Cassiem, 41, Mr Yusuf Patel, 27, and the Rev Daniel Saul Nkopodi, 27.

The hearing continues.

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Freed to talk to Inkatha. But not to UDF

TWO United Democratic Front negotiators in the Pietermaritzburg peace talks were yesterday released from prison into a meeting called by police to bring together the city's warring parties.

However, strict curbs were placed on the two leaders, and the meeting ended without significant progress having been made.

Skumbuza Ngwenya and Martin Wittenberg, joint secretaries of the Natal Midlands branch of the UDF, were detained under Emergency regulations on Friday.

They were detained during a meeting with UDF members in which they were trying to get a mandate to proceed with the talks.

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

Their detentions, and those of a number of other UDF and Cosatu members, led to the collapse of peace talks between the UDF/Cosatu and Inkatha. The talks, under the auspices of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, were due to start yesterday.

The UDF said police were detaining those involved in peace negotiations instead of those named in affidavits as participating in violence and against whom court interdicts had been granted.

The detention of an estimated 50 UDF/Cosatu members has prompted

protests and representations to the authorities by the Chamber and others involved in the negotiations. They said police action put the peace process — which had reached a promising stage — at risk.

Police denied they were deliberately jeopardising the talks, saying people were arrested only in connection with crimes and not because of their membership of any political organisation.

Then came the dramatic release of the two leaders.

A S Chetty, who chairs the UDF Midlands branch, said he was phoned by the police yesterday morning and told to attend a meeting at local police headquarters.

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(11A) WMAIL 20-26 NOV '87

20 to 26, 1987

Freed to talk to Inkatha, not UDF

● From PAGE 1

When he arrived he found two senior members of the Chamber of Commerce, Paul van Uytrecht and Rob Pater, and two senior Inkatha members, V V Mvelase and Velaphi Ndlovu, as well as top local police.

They were asked to wait for two others who would be joining the group, and Wittenberg and Ngwenya were brought in.

Head of the security police in Pietermaritzburg, Brigadier B J Beukes then read a restriction order to each of the two and informed them that if they did not accept the conditions they would go back to detention.

Among the conditions is a bar on either having anything to do with the UDF, Cosatu or its affiliates and a number of other organisations. They may not attend meetings of any of these organisations unless they are

held under the auspices of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and called for the purpose of bringing an end to the violence between supporters of Inkatha and of the UDF.

Speaking later, Wittenberg said Beukes then remarked that he did not want anyone to make wild allegations about the police preventing peace talks.

After strenuous efforts to get both sides together, this had now been achieved and negotiations should begin forthwith, the police had said.

"When he was asked about the other detainees, he said he had released the leaders and that the absence of lower ranking people should not be an obstacle to talks."

The meeting broke up soon afterwards when Chetty said no talks could start unless Cosatu and the churches had been consulted.

Wittenberg said later it was "fairly bizarre" that they had been released to participate in and push for peace talks, but that they could not report back to their members.

He said he had been brought straight from interrogation into the meeting and that neither he nor Ngwenya had had any idea of the police plan for their release.

Commenting on the new developments, Robin Pater, vice-president of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, said the releases were not a complete surprise.

He and PCC general manager Paul van Uytrecht had been pushing "up to ministerial level" for the two to be freed.

"We hoped they would be released, and we thought there might be some restrictions, but we did not expect the extent of the curbs," he said.

Van Uytrecht and Pater have been involved for the last nine weeks in delicate negotiations to get both sides of the conflict together.

On the future, Pater said, "We are more optimistic now than we were on Tuesday. Then we saw the door closing on talks and we were terribly depressed. Now there is an element of hope."

He acknowledged, however, that the restrictions made it "very difficult" for the two UDF leaders to get back to their members.

"However, we have offered our help in any way that is acceptable."

Meanwhile violence has continued in the townships around Pietermaritzburg with six deaths reported at the week-end and two since then. The death toll is now at least 89 since September 21.

EVER since African National Congress President Oliver Tambo shook the dust off the blanket of the cultural boycott, cultural circles inside South Africa have been swept up in a blur of activity.

On the face of it, Tambo's announcement indicating that targets would be picked off more selectively in future might have appeared to indicate a softening in ANC boycott policy, at least for those artists working in what might broadly be called a "progressive" way. But it was quickly pointed out that its intention was rather to execute the boycott more efficiently and less erratically.

The blanket boycott — which anyway was never as suffocating as official statements often made it seem — came to appear a crude solution, but at least it was simple. With few exceptions, everybody was discriminated against more or less equally. From state performing arts councils' productions to agitprop theatre and "people's" poetry, nearly every cultural product that discovered "overseas" quickly discovered the picket line too.

The contradictions and the ironies

UDF's culture desk prepares to emerge from the silence

The 'culture desk' of the UDF, formed in the wake of the international 'boycott' controversies earlier this year, has kept the media at bay as its members move towards a policy stand. But a public statement is expected shortly.
CHARLOTTE BAUER and IVOR POWELL report

could no longer be glossed over. What became increasingly clear was that the boycott movement was dealing with two radically opposed cultures — that of the oppressed and that of the oppressor — yet was applying the same set of rules to both. To distinguish between the two, thereby intensifying the boycott against the latter and actively promoting the culture of the other, came to be seen as a priority. So too did the creation of local structures to administer the campaign from within.

Four days after Tambo's statement in London the United Democratic Front went some way further in de-

fining the criteria according to which the new-look boycott would be pursued. In future, its spokespeople said, tours both to and from South Africa would only be exempt from the boycott if they were "supported by the democratic movement in South Africa, approved by overseas solidarity groups and contributed to the advancement of the national democratic struggle".

And so the Cultural Secretariat of the UDF came to be. Made up of cultural activists from all over the country, the secretariat has two broad goals: to rationalise the boycott and to promote the culture of the democratic



Oliver Tambo

movement in South Africa.

Although its members have for some time been engaged in the long and tortuous process of consulting with local artists at every level, the secretariat has so far kept the media at bay while it puts its own house in order. However, after a meeting of the secretariat scheduled to take place within the next few days, many of the issues will hopefully be put into context as it releases its first official statement of policy.

In so doing it will be taking a tiger by the tail; the issues at stake are both complex and controversial.

While the formation of the desk (as it is commonly known) has in general been greeted with something like relief, fears have been expressed in some quarters that it could become a cultural constabulary, something used primarily to further party-political aims.

How and where, for example, are they likely to draw the lines between what is and what is not "democratic" or "progressive"? How closely will the artist have to subscribe to the principles of the UDF for his or her work to be acceptable? What, for that matter, will be scrutinised — the politics of the product or the politics of the producer? Will the proper metaphor for the desk be that of the negotiating table or that of the courtroom bench?

What strategies will be adopted to deal with the SABC and other cultural surrogates of the state, like the National Orchestra, which has publicised its intention to defy the boycott openly wherever it can?

Early indications suggest hardliners may be disappointed and the desk will pursue a policy of consultation and concern with the dilemmas facing those involved in the development of South African culture. It is unlikely that the forthcoming meeting will produce any hard and fast rules governing artistic conduct. But it is almost certain to agree upon a set of initial guidelines that artists will be expected to heed, if not wholly adopt.

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Mbeki release: Winnie calls for 'caution and circumspection'

While the Govan Mbeki release is at least a tacit acknowledgement by the government that its 'real opposition' is the ANC, Winnie Mandela is wary of the flood of 'over-optimistic' expectations that the release of Nelson Mandela may follow. THAMI MKHWANAZI reports

WINNIE Mandela has cautioned against "over-optimistic expectations" following the release of African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki. The influential activist, wife of the ANC's best-known leader, believes the release reflects government weakness — but has called upon "the oppressed and exploited" people of South Africa to react with "restraint, caution and circumspection".

Mandela believes the government's gagging of Mbeki is an "admission that he has not lost his influence among the downtrodden".

The decision to release the veteran resistance figure, she claimed, reflected government recognition that "they had failed to defuse escalating resistance against apartheid".

It was also an acknowledgement that the "real opposition" in South Africa was the ANC, not the Conservative or Progressive Federal parties, she said.

The restrictions placed on Mbeki — he is "listed" and may not be quoted — were a safeguard against his words triggering off an irreversible wave of resistance.

But Mandela warned that it is customary for oppressed people to expect the release from prison of their authentic leaders to be followed by freedom. Mbeki thus had a "tremendous responsibility", as people could become demoralised if radical changes did not quickly follow his release.

Ill-thought-out actions could be used by the government to keep other political prisoners in jail, said Mandela. Violent action such as the police baton-charge on crowds waiting to greet Mbeki at Jan Smuts airport should be seen as a "mischievous tactic" which was intended to be provocative.

She said the release of Mbeki was a "gamble", a short-term plan to take the steam out of the sanctions and disinvestment debate, and give "ammunition" to potential allies like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

Mandela said the government should have heeded the warning given by the Rivonia trialists, including Mbeki, more than 20 years ago — they had predicted that apartheid would lead to escalating violence.



Winnie Mandela welcomes Govan Mbeki to Johannesburg
Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

Mbeki, Mandela said the demands of "the people" on the ANC leader would be heavy: they would expect him to bring freedom, not be seen as a "toothless bulldog".

Beeld had commented that "The myth has suddenly become a human being who must — like all other citizens — abide by the law."

"Mbeki must realise that he has played his role and that he now has the choice either to withdraw from politics or to exert a moderate influence on South Africa. Because he surely is the one person who must know that there is no hope of a successful revolution — having had 23 years to ponder."

Beeld believed Nelson Mandela's release could follow, as a "formula has finally been found to solve the problem of the ANC leadership still

linguishing in jail."

But for this to happen, said the newspaper, "Mbeki and the black community will have to show that they do not intend exploiting this opportunity for the purposes of political confrontation and chaos."

Beeld hoped Mbeki and the other released prisoners would not ruin a "praiseworthy" effort and "thereby harm the chances of others to be freed". Mbeki, they warned, "knows what the result will be" if he makes any attempt to put his "ANC or communist convictions" into practice.

At a press conference organised by the government immediately after his release last week, Mbeki was adamant he was still a member of the banned ANC and South African Communist Party.

She found it "strange that the government now gives us back — after more than two decades in jail — the very man who with the others predicted the present violence."

It was also odd, she said, that the South African government once advised Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to release imprisoned political leaders, and yet did not draw lessons from their own advice.

Mandela said Smith would have saved more than 45 000 lives had he done in the Tiger Talks in the Sixties what he was forced to do at Lancaster House more than a decade later.

In response to persistent reports in the Afrikaans press, which praised the government for "demystifying"

Death toll 170 this year in Maritzburg's townships

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Hostile words flow almost as freely as blood in the war that rages in the townships and villages around Maritzburg, claiming three lives on just an "average" day.

Verbal blows, aimed by kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other prominent Inkatha members, have rained down on the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions since these organisations made their major "attack" on Inkatha at a press conference in Maritzburg.

The region's death toll for the year now tops 170 — with the last 30 deaths occurring in just a fortnight and security force intervention beginning to produce its own occasional victims.

How is sense to be made of this violence, where the major protagonists match accusations with mirror-like counter-accusations of aggression by their opponents; and where the most common descriptions of the bloodshed — "faction fighting" and "black-on-black violence" — obscure the forces that drive it on relentlessly?

The key claims that raise the Maritzburg violence out of the mire of random, gratuitous bloodshed are those which describe it as part of a national pattern, as inextricably part of the struggle to destroy apartheid and to determine what form of political organisation will succeed the present order.

The notion of deep political roots to the conflict rather than petty territorialism is contained in both the Cosatu/UDF and the Inkatha views, though it is presented from widely divergent perspectives.

Cosatu and the UDF camp argue that Inkatha-supporting vigilantes have imposed a reign of terror in response to the rise of popular organisations which subscribe to universal franchise in a unitary state — and which therefore threaten Inkatha's

Buthelezi and UDF group trade accusations



Chief Buthelezi... denies 'warlord' allegations.

claim to political supremacy in the region.

"It is clear the violence in the townships of Maritzburg is not random. It represents a campaign of destabilisation of progressive organisations," the UDF/Cosatu memorandum on the matter reads.

Cosatu and the UDF point out that the first major conflict fitting the present pattern surfaced in Maritzburg in 1985, the International Year of the Youth, in which the UDF took off as a popular organisation in Natal's

Midlands. It was also the year of the city's consumer boycott, which gained wide support and was related to the dismissal of unionised strikers by Sarmcol at Howick.

UDF and Cosatu trace out, almost blow for blow, the developments within their movements and the violent response of their opponents. The list is detailed — with names, dates and the circumstances specified.

Their argument is that local Inkatha figures, whom they describe as "warlords", have responded to the threat posed by popular organisations not only by hitting out at the UDF and Cosatu with all their might, but by attempting to dragoon non-aligned residents into their own ranks.

"Once the vigilantes have claimed a territory as 'theirs' they do not tolerate the presence of any organisation or individual that is not part of them."

Chief Buthelezi has angrily rejected the idea that "warlords" of Inkatha are the main-spring in converting political rivalry into mayhem.

He sees the conflict as arising from the armed struggle of the African National Congress "mission in exile" and he claims that the UDF and Cosatu have colla-

borated to make the country un-governable.

The ANC — which was bent on thwarting any progress towards negotiation and destroying everything it hadn't authored itself — had declared war on Inkatha and repeatedly called for the murder of anyone it stigmatised as a collaborator, Chief Buthelezi told a business symposium.

He quoted from a document which he described as a transcript of an ANC broadcast on Radio Freedom: "The onus is on the people of South Africa to neutralise Gatsha, the snake which is poisoning the people of South Africa. It needs to be hit on the head."

The ANC, Cosatu and the UDF did not want a free enterprise system and Western-style, multi-party democracy, according to Chief Buthelezi. "The violence that has been perpetrated in Maritzburg against Inkatha is violence directed at the free enterprise system as such and at the politics of negotiation."

Perhaps the Maritzburg conflict has its closest parallel in the violence which ripped through kwaNdebele in the middle of last year, taking more than 150 lives. There residents who opposed homeland independence found themselves pitted against the kwaNdebele Government-linked vigilantes, the Imbokodo.

RADICAL YOUTHS

There were radical youths — some with ties to national anti-apartheid structures — involved in the bloody battle against the Imbokodo.

There was also fundamental rejection of homeland rule among the 120 000 people of Moutse, which was incorporated into kwaNdebele on January 1, 1986 and where people were sick of being treated as a political football in a contest between Lebowa and kwaNdebele.

The basic similarity in kwaNdebele and Maritzburg is the challenge by an emerging force — national and non-racial in character — to an established organisation, essentially regional in nature and drawing much of its authority from its participation in the homeland structures born of apartheid.

One has only to look to kwaNdebele, where order is being kept by mass detentions, to see the price that will have to be paid in Maritzburg if the parties concerned fail to bring about a peace pact.

Court order to protect children from Inkatha

MARITZBURG — Four Inkatha members were yesterday temporarily restrained from committing acts of violence against two Imballi minors by the Supreme Court in Maritzburg.

Mr Abdul Awetha, town councillor and leader of the Inkatha branch in Imballi, Mr Fani Zondi, Mr Weseni Awetha and Mr Feti Dlamini, were ordered by Mr Justice A J Milne to show by January 25 1988 why the order should not be made final.

The application was brought by Mr Alfred Zulu and Mrs Doreen Ngubane on behalf of their

minor children.

The order restrains the four men from assaulting or threatening the children, intimidating and/or unlawfully communicating with them.

● A man was killed and a house burned down by a group of people in Mpumalanga on Tuesday evening.

Police said today that Mr Tanga Wanda and a friend, Mr Mike Kunene, were in the house when it was set alight. Mr Kunene was stabbed and killed in the ensuing scuffle. The police said the incident was not unrest-related. — Sapa.

Cape Times 20/11/87

2 dead, child hurt in KTC clashes

110 *[Signature]* By CHRIS BATEMAN

FIGHTING between the Western Cape Civic Association and the Masincedane Committee at KTC yesterday left at least two people dead and several wounded, including a three-year-old girl who was shot in the arm.

The fighting began on Monday. Most of the youth are now sleeping outside KTC.

Unconfirmed reports said four men died yesterday. Police confirmed that two unidentified men, aged about 30, died of bullet wounds. Murder dockets have been opened.

Township sources said a standing committee of the Western Cape Civic Association was installed in KTC last month.

Bodies found in alleyway

Tension between the Masincedane Committee, which claims to represent the people of KTC, and the Civic Association has been growing for several months with occasional outbursts of violence.

Reliable sources at the Guguletu Day Hospital yesterday said an unidentified three-year-old girl had been treated for a bullet wound in the arm and discharged.

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz said the bodies of the two unidentified men were found in an alleyway and in the back of a bakkie at the KTC camp just before 1pm. Motives for the killings are unknown.

A Cape Times team visited the scene of one shooting just before 2pm and saw the bloodied body of a man lying in the back of a bakkie near the Masincedane headquarters. They were then ordered from the area by police.

Cape Times 20/11/87

Natal arrests 'not political', say police

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Police have rejected claims that the swoop on UDF and Cosatu members here was aimed at destroying talks to resolve the unrest in the townships.

Brigadier Jan Kotze, divisional commissioner of police for Natal Inland, confirmed that UDF and Cosatu supporters had been arrested, but said they had not been arrested because of their political affiliations.

Police spokesman Captain Pieter Kitching said 29 people had been arrested in the Plessislaer and Edendale areas since Tuesday in connection with unrest-related crimes.

In another development, a spokesman for the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa) said two part-time employees and eight youths had been arrested at the Pacsa office in Berg Street.

The spokesman said Mr Siphwe Khanyile, 20, a crisis field worker, and Mr T Mhlotshwa, an exams crisis committee field worker, and eight youths were taken away about 9.45am.

Cpt Kitching confirmed that nine people were later released. One per-

son had been detained in connection with certain criminal charges, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha youth leader, Mr Musa Zondi, yesterday invited the UDF for fresh talks aimed at restoring peace.

● Four Inkatha members were temporarily restrained from committing acts of violence against two Imbali residents following an urgent application in the Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

The application was brought by Mr Alfred Zulu and Mrs Doreen Ngubane on behalf of their minor children.

The order restrains Mr Abdul Awetha, Mr Weseni Awetha, Mr Zondi and Mr Dlamini from assaulting or threatening the children, intimidating and/or unlawfully communicating with them.

● Yesterday's unrest report from Pretoria said a man was stabbed to death in Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale, when several people stormed his home. The mob then set his home on fire, causing severe damage.

A petrol bomb was hurled at a private dwelling at Ashdown. A man and two youths were arrested.

AKG
20/10/87
Fire bomb
destroys top
runner's home

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Natal Marathon star Eric Ngcobo lost his most precious possessions, 29 medals for running and his running gear, when his house in Edendale was petrol-bombed and burned down.

He has sifted through the ashes in vain and hopes they were stolen before the arson. If they were, there is a chance he might recover them.

He said today that he particularly prized the medals he received for the 1983 Natal Marathon and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange Marathon.

He said police had arrested five of the people believed to have bombed his house. He was interested only in work and his running and could not understand the reason for the attack. All his possessions were burned.

11/11/87
**Two shot
dead in KTC
power struggle**

Crime Reporter

TWO men, thought to be members of the steering committee of the Western Cape Civic Association, have been shot dead in an apparent power struggle in KTC squatter camp.

Their death yesterday brought to six the number killed in KTC in less than a week.

They may have been killed for revenge.

One of the earlier victims was Mr Stanford Nkosana, also an official of the association.

Police said today they did not think all six deaths were related.

A spokesman said the names of the latest victims had not been established.

However, Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, who spent yesterday trying to establish what was happening in the camp, said he believed they were members of the UDF-affiliated steering committee.

Police said the men were found about 1pm, one in an alley and the other on a bakkie.

*Can Kohl
2/11/82
NA*

Kohl urges talks with ANC

NAIROBI. — West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday said the African National Congress should be brought into any talks aimed at achieving a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

But he added: "I am profoundly convinced that a violent solution would lead to absolute chaos."

Mr Kohl told a news conference here that West Germany was strongly opposed to sanctions "because we believe they are based fundamentally on hypocrisy".

The West German leader is visiting Kenya on an African tour which has taken him to Cameroon and Mozambique.

West German officials said Mr Kohl wanted Bonn to play a bigger role in promoting a peaceful settlement in South Africa and this was one of his main aims in visiting the continent.

Mr Kohl said he had also raised the issue of human rights in Kenya during talks here but declined to give details. — Sapa-Reuter



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INAUGURAL

Professor Merlyn C. Meehan
Director, Goldfields Resource Institute
will deliver his inaugural lecture
"From pariah to intellectual
home: the University of
the West Indies"

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

W/C ARGUE
2/11/87

COMMUNITY leader Johnny Issel, a patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), caused a ripple in extra-parliamentary circles recently when he gave a rather more hearty welcome to Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM) than the UDF leadership itself. ROBERT HOUWING reports.

Needed, white UDF support says dedicated Johnny Issel

JOHNNY Issel is fiercely dedicated to the downfall of apartheid and its administrators.

Like the majority of South Africans, he says, he dislikes bloodshed. So the sooner the goals of the majority are realised, the sooner this will come to a halt.

In the face of an extremely powerful force that is the government, broadest possible national unity will be indispensable in reaching that "urgent" end.

In attempting to isolate the government, therefore, it will be necessary to show whites that it is not in their or the country's interests to continue to support it.

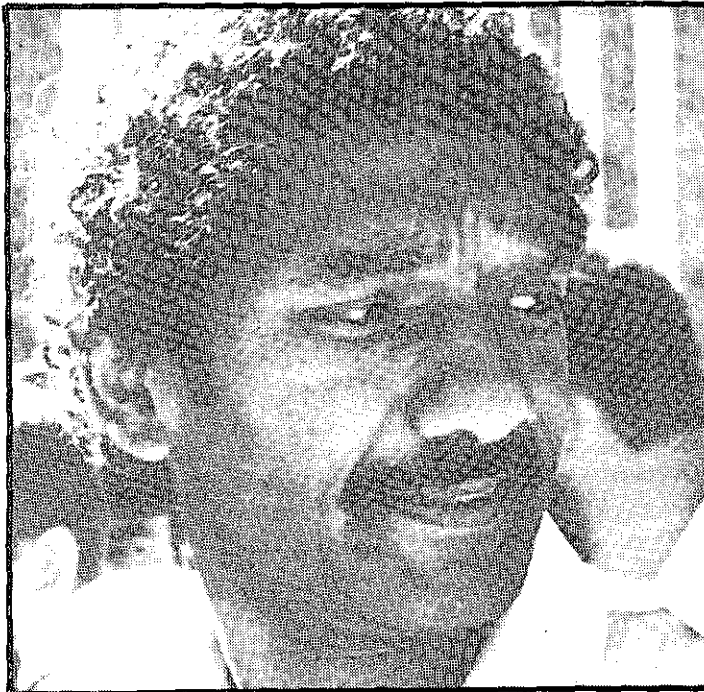
He says it must be acknowledged that the UDF has "definite shortcomings" in terms of organising among whites.

"It unfortunately has an image that frightens whites who are not part of the white progressive movement and it will never be able to make a really telling impact on the wider white constituency.

"The NDM, however, has the potential to reach substantially larger numbers of whites than the UDF can ever hope to lure."

He believes there is a better prospect of the NDM being drawn closer to the extra-parliamentary movement than the Progressive Federal Party at present. "Most of the individuals in the PFP who have traditionally allied themselves with blacks are leaving the party.

"The PFP has swung to the right and those who remain in



Johnny Issel

important positions appear to be becoming extensions of the government. They are using overseas platforms which would not be made available to the government to spread ideas not dissimilar to the ruling party's thinking.

"The NDM seems more committed to seeking ties with extra-parliamentary groupings."

IN spite of his criticism of the PFP's tactics in the post-election period, Mr Issel says he still finds it significant and encouraging that the party has openly discussed the Freedom Charter at congresses. "We cannot ignore signs like this."

He also sees a ray of light in

Afrikaner trends in the Cape, as demonstrated in this year's election.

"For so long, Afrikaners have been in a political, religious and cultural trap. If one is an Afrikaner it is much easier to break to the right of the Nationalists than the left; breaking to the left can have potentially difficult consequences.

"We cannot refuse to acknowledge reality."

THE Worcester-born activist, who has been banned four times, attributes splinterings and breakaways in Parliament directly to pressure exerted by extra-parliamentary forces.

"We are in a way responsible for the creation of the NDM and must therefore ensure that its actions represent our line of thinking. Admittedly very little information on the NDM has come forward since its inception, but it would be fruitless to adopt a wait-and-see attitude or insist that they clarify their position.

"There is no prospect at the moment of the NDM affiliating to the UDF, but the UDF is not prevented from forming alliances. These are forged when collaboration is considered beneficial to all concerned for the realisation of specific objectives.

"Joint campaigns calling for the lifting of the state of emergency, for instance, could be conducted with the NDM if they supported the idea."

He dismisses as "invalid" an argument that progressive organisations should not waste time with groups like the NDM but devote all their energy to the "workers' struggle" instead.

"Workers cannot bring about a new South Africa by themselves. How can forming an alliance that advances the broad democratic struggle be against the interests of the working class?"

He concedes that his views on alliances with white groupings are not shared by all in the UDF. "As with all debates, there are two sides. We have experienced that phenomenon in the UDF before, like the Edward Kennedy visit — whether to support or oppose it — and the question of immediate participation by Nusas following our launch."

CAPE TIMES 21/11/87

Assegaied youth joins 150 Maritzburg dead

MARITZBURG. — Fighting in the townships here claimed another life yesterday when a 16-year-old youth was assegaied to death.

More than 150 people have died in recent township violence between supporters of the UDF and Inkatha.

And the UDF and Cosatu again called for an end to the violence in a full-page advertisement in a local newspaper yesterday.

Two officials of the UDF, Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya, were released under severe restrictions and immediately taken into peace talks called by the UDF, Inkatha and the local Chamber of Commerce and attended by senior police officers.

Cosatu and the churches, however,

were not present and the negotiations have been postponed.

Police also confirmed yesterday that since the violence started a few weeks ago, more than 300 people have been arrested. They said 73 have been arrested in a crackdown that began yesterday and will continue at the weekend.

A huge arms haul was displayed to the press yesterday at the Plessislaer police station. Weapons included firearms, homemade guns and petrol bombs.

In another unrest incident, the house of Natal marathon runner Mr Eric Ngcobo was petrol-bombed. Five people have been arrested. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

ANC-case man deported

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The last ANC kidnap-case man still in custody in London was deported to Norway last night.

The man, who was using the name John Larsen when arrested in July, had withdrawn an appeal against deportation.

He was deported as Mr Hans Christian Dahl, 28, allegedly a former mercenary in Rhodesia, but was still claiming to be the son of Frank Larsen, 53, the key figure in the alleged kidnap plot who was deported to Oslo on Wednesday as Mr Johan Viggo Oerbak, a convicted Norwegian swindler and former mercenary.

Both men are opening legal actions to recover documents from Scotland Yard's Anti Terrorist Squad which they say will prove their claim that they were British agents who had been "left in the cold" by an embarrassed British government.

*Call to Francis
7/1/87*

11/11

[scribbles]

PEACE HOPES BLOWN

22/11/87

Buthelezi angered by letter to us

SINCE the upsurge of bloodshed between rival organisations in Natal three years ago, *City Press* has been inundated by letters from people in the embattled province highlighting their plight.

This week, we sent Inkatha president and Kwazulu Chief Minister MG Buthelezi one such letter from a resident of Kwamakhutha on the South Coast.

Although the author disclosed his name and address, we decided to withhold it to protect him.

The "Concerned resident" said he had been a resident of Kwamakhutha for over 10 years.

He wrote: "There has been a lot of finger-pointing as to who was responsible for this violence.

"I can with all sincerity point to Inkatha as the culprits. As a member of this movement I should know.

"I still believe in Dr

Buthelezi but not his so-called followers in this township. They are thugs and power-crazy.

"To say people are forced to join Inkatha is true. Herein I enclose a notice distributed very recently throughout the townships.

"We had not alternative but to go to this meeting.

"Those who were not members of Inkatha were told in the uncertain manner to clear out. Those who were neutral were told to pick sides, or else.

"After that meeting, two boys were shot dead in the township. Where will all this end?"

The circular referred to in the letter which,



Chief Buthelezi

By S'BU MNGADI

when translated from Zulu, reads: "Parent members of the Ward Four Community you are invited to attend a meeting this Saturday the 17th at 1pm.

"The meeting will be held at Habyinc School. To those who won't make it, we would like to know why."

The notice is signed by Pretty, Ward Four Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman and Buyisile, executive member, and bears the stamp of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe.

Buthelezi replied:

"If Inkatha supporters are 'culprits' as al-

leged, with regard to the violence in this township and elsewhere, how does the author explain the numerous murders and assaults of Inkatha members and their children?"

"Membership of Inkatha is voluntary. I doubt very much whether the author is a member of Inkatha.

"If he was an active member of Inkatha, he would know he has the right to approach the leadership structures of the organisation at the highest level on any matter of relevance.

"Why did he not write to me personally but to *City Press*, a paper renowned for its lack of objectivity

where Inkatha was concerned?"

"The terminology in this letter is further evidence that it is blatant pro-UDF propaganda. Its anti-Inkatha sentiments suit the political line of *City Press*."

On receiving Buthelezi's comment on Wednesday, *City Press* went to Kwamakhutha to establish the authenticity of the author.

We went to the house number given in the letter and were assured, by his family that he existed and was indeed a paid-up Inkatha member. They promised to bring his membership card to the office at the weekend.

By S'BU MNGADI

THIS week's swoop by police on the Natal Midlands leadership of the UDF and Cosatu aborted a crucial peace talks meeting between the two beleaguered organisations scheduled for yesterday.

The talks were a result of painstaking Terry Waite-style efforts by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which for the past three weeks, has been shunting between the warring factions.

The bloodletting hostilities between the UDF-Cosatu alliance in the Maritzburg region brought the death toll to almost 90 yesterday morning, following the deaths of two youths in the continuing political violence.

Thirty-nine UDF and Cosatu members, most of whom are leaders, have been detained since last Friday.

The meeting, which was to have been hosted by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, was stopped at the last moment yesterday as a result of the detentions.

In a joint statement, Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo and Natal Midlands UDF vice-chairman Colin Gardner described the latest wave of detentions as "a last straw".

"Any peace initiative becomes impossible and unworkable when many leading members of our organisations are detained for no apparent reason," said the statement.

Local UDF chairman AS Chetty added that even if the detainees were released the question of talks would still have to be reappraised as the climate for talks was definitely adversely affected.

Lamenting about the collapse of the talks, Rob Pater, vice-chairman of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, said the detentions had removed a link in one party's communication mechanism and had discouraged its membership from being involved in the peace process.

The chamber would, however, continue its attempts to set up peace talks.



TOUGH TEST FOR GIRLS

THE Miss NSL beauty contestant's nerves are a bit frayed with the final judging tomorrow night - and mounting anxiety about the Castle league clash between Chiefs and Buccaneers at Ellis Park Stadium on Sunday is not helping either.

The tension is so hot that Miss Kaizer Chiefs and Miss Orlando Pirates are busy fighting a verbal battle over who will win the title.

Miss Chiefs, Emelda Mosaka, of Mafikeng (left), is engaged in a tug-of-war battle for the coveted Miss NSL title with Miss Phoenix, Alpha Mphahlele, of extreme right.

Looking on are Miss Moroka Swallows, Grace Maika, of Meadowlands (second from left), and Miss Jomo Cosmos, Mary Mahlangu, who are trying to cool the rivals' tempers.

INSIDE

Sidestepping the unions

THE AFRICAN

UDF slams SA action

CP Reporter

THE UDF has condemned South Africa's intervention in Angola.

It said in a statement it was "high time some questions were asked about the role of the SADF in Angolan territory".

"The saying 'the first casualty of war is truth' has been highlighted in recent days by what the people of South Africa are being told about the war situation by the government, military spokespeople and

the 'jingoism' of the commercial Press.

"Firstly, has the SA government declared war on Angola?"

"Secondly, where would Unita be without SADF and American support?"

The statement also criticised President PW Botha's recent visit to Angola as "highly provocative display that underlines the government's contempt for the sovereignty of an independent neighbouring state".

Two years ago 13 protesters were killed ...

By SELLO SERIPE

MAMELODI Azanian Peoples' Organisation members and the residents of the area are to remember their 13

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The chamber would, however, continue its attempts to set up peace talks.

Inkatha, the National Democratic Movement, Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell and the Maritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness also condemned the detentions.

The latest to be detained under the state of emergency is Kam Chetty, secretary of the Maritzburg Combined Ratepayers and Residents' Association.

He was not involved in the peace negotiations, but was working in flood relief and housing campaigns at present, according to his colleagues.

He was detained on Wednesday morning.

Among those detained were joint-secretaries for the Natal Midlands UDF branch, Martin Wittenberg and S'khumbuzo Ngwenya - who had previously been detained for 11 months under the emergency regulations.

They, together with 13 others, were detained while holding a meeting to seek a mandate on negotiations with Inkatha.

Others who were detained include Edendale

idents'

wish to appeal again to the government to talk with the residents of Soweto, particularly the Metro Civic Association," said Chi-

huge rent blitz of residents in East who are not paying was conducted earlier this week by hundreds of council e.



TOUGH TEST FOR GIRLS

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Two years ago 13 protesters were killed...

By SELLO SERIPE

MAMELODI Azanian Peoples' Organisation members and the residents of the area are to remember their 13 colleagues who lost their lives on November 21, 1985 at the height of the rent boycotts.

The 13 people were shot dead on this day, when the residents marched to the local council offices to protest against rent hikes.

Speakers from various organisations such as the National Council of Trade Unions, Cosatu, Mamelodi Youth Organisation, Azanian Youth Organisation, Azanian Students' Movement and the Black Theological Project are lined up to speak at the commemoration service which will be held at the St Francis Church, Section R, Mamelodi.

The service, which will start at 10am, is expected to be attended by hundreds of people.

Youth Organisation executive members Kenneth Dladla and president Robbie Mkhize.

Both were key figures in the peace talks since their organisation commanded various structures in the region, including defence units.

The detentions followed the arrests of about 400 people in the region by a combined SAP and SADF operation, which saw a large quantity of weapons confiscated.

More than 70 people have already been charged in the past few days with crimes committed during the fighting in townships in and around Maritzburg.

Police this week further disclosed that the man who beheaded 10-year-old S'khumbuzo Shezi had been killed.

The boy's parents had been accused of being UDF members by the killers.

Pacsa spokesman Peter Kerchhof said he believed the detentions would have an extremely negative ef-

fect on the remaining leadership in the townships.

"The remaining leadership will be forced into hiding and communication will become impossible. One can only hazard a guess about the effect this will have on the grassroots membership of these organisations."

He said the authorities needed to be asked whether they were really concerned about peace in the Maritzburg area - certainly their actions seemed to indicate the opposite.

Meanwhile, Brig Leon Mellet, Press secretary to the Law and Order Minister, this week denied that police were detaining or arresting people "because of their political affiliation".

He was responding to Cosatu's allegations that the detentions were part of a "campaign by security police to harass and victimise Cosatu".

"The police do not take sides in any so-called political conflict, but remain neutral in their actions and investigations into criminal activities," he said.

Peace hope in turmoil of black politics

(11A)
22/11/87

By DENYSE ARMOUR

TWO top white businessmen who have been drawn into the turmoil of black township politics say there is hope of peace between the warring factions.

Rob Pater and Paul van Uytrecht are representatives of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

They have been trying to set up peace talks between the hostile Inkatha and United Democratic Front factions in the troubled townships.

Now, Mr Pater, a vice-president, and Mr van Uytrecht, general manager, may find themselves hosting what are essentially UDF report-back meetings in the townships.

They were instrumental in bringing about the release from detention of two UDF leaders this week.

Martin Wittenberg and Skumbuzo Ngwenya, joint-secretaries of the UDF's Midlands branch, were detained a week ago.

The chamber had been negotiating with Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenya in its attempts to bring Inkatha and the UDF to a peace-talks table.

Leadership

Mr Pater said the chamber's work in the townships over the past two months had been very interesting. He was impressed with the quality of leadership in the two warring organisations.

"Considering the atmosphere we're working in, we've even managed to forge friendships," he said.

He has found the informal chats after the peace meetings as fascinating as the negotiations themselves.

"But the main thing now is that there is hope ... a possibility that we will achieve peace," he said.

He said the chamber was mildly surprised it had achieved so much.

"We weren't sure the chamber would be acceptable to both parties as 'a purely honest broker'.

"But we have had nothing but co-operation from both sides," Mr Pater said.

The release this week of Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenya gave the peace talks an unexpected boost.

It led to the first round-the-table meeting between the UDF and Inkatha.

Stofile may be freed on technicality

23/11/87

11A



Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A court bungle might yet free United Democratic Front leader, the Rev Arnold Stofile, who was sentenced to 11 years' jail by the Ciskei Supreme Court in May.

Several months after Stofile's trial ended, it has emerged that the court interpreter was never sworn in — probably making the entire trial invalid.

Ciskei's Chief Justice, Benjamin de Villiers Pickard, found Stofile guilty of arms and terrorism charges. Three co-accused received sentences of between eight and 15 years.

Now the court interpreter has admitted he was never sworn in. The admission came during the perjury trial of one of the State witnesses when the interpreter, Mr S B Mathole, was being cross-examined by the defence.

Legal sources have said there is clear authority from the Appeal Court that evidence translated by an interpreter who has not been duly sworn in is regarded as unsworn evidence.

This means Stofile will have to be released, or proceedings reopened, though the latter option is unlikely. It is likely that a special entry into the record of appeal will be applied for. The question of the unsworn interpreter would then be raised.

23/11/87

The Argus, Monday

11A

Joe Slovo interview on top US TV feature

By ALAN DUNN

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — Mr Joe Slovo, the African National Congress white military commander, has been featured on America's most watched television news programme.

"60 Minutes", a news feature programme by CBS, last night highlighted Mr Slovo's commitment to communism and the ANC's Soviet ties. The programme was watched by at least 35-million people.

Mr Slovo was portrayed as white South Africa's "public enemy number one". Reporter Mike Wallace said during the 15-minute film that the South African Government would like to see him dead.

South African commandos had already made an attempt on his life, Wallace said, noting that 11 ANC officials had been assassinated in the last year.

LETTER BOMB

Mr Slovo is chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. Wallace said he led a precarious existence and asserted that a South African letter bomb had killed his wife, Ruth First.

Wallace, who is widely respected in the US, reported that Mr Slovo had turned communist when he was 16 and that he was now chairman of the SA Communist Party.

Several ANC officials were interviewed during the news feature. They praised Mr Slovo and said they were aware he was a communist. But they argued that he had been with them for many years and saw him only as Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff.

The feature contained footage of uniformed ANC members drilling and singing in an Angolan military training camp, carrying Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifles.

Mr Slovo was questioned about military strategy, claims that he was a member of the KGB and about the role of the Communist Party. He cannot be quoted in South Africa without Government permission.

Mbeki to address rally in Cape Town

CAPE TOWN 23/11/87

By CLARE HARPER

FREED Robben Island prisoner and African National Congress veteran Mr Govan Mbeki will address a rally in Cape Town next month.

Western Cape regional United Democratic Front executive chairman Mr Dullah Omar said Mr Mbeki, 77, would address a rally "sometime between the beginning and middle of December".

"There has been so much enthusiasm we expect a very big, but an orderly and disciplined meeting," he said.

Mr Mbeki, released on November 5 after 23 years' imprisonment, cannot be quoted. Because of this people would be eager to hear him speak, Mr Omar said.

No final decision has been made on the venue, but it would be open and an audience of no less than 50 000 would be prepared for.

Mr Mbeki will speak at a Port Elizabeth rally this week.

The rallies are being organized by reception committees comprised of members of the UDF, Congress of South African Trade Unions, National Education Crisis Committee, Release Mandela Campaign Committee and the Western Province Council of Churches.



Mr Govan Mbeki

CLAMOUR

Case Files 23/487 (M)
Hanekom freed, deported

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Patricia Hanekom, freed after more than three years in jail for dealings with the African National Congress, was deported to Zimbabwe on Friday night, the Saturday Star reported.

Mrs Hanekom, a Zimbabwean, was sentenced to 38 months jail in September 1984 for contravening the Internal Security and Publications Act. — Sapa

CAP TINGS 23/11/77

Second mine found after Soweto blast

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The explosion which extensively damaged administration offices in Zola, Soweto, on Saturday morning went off in the building's toilets and a second device was found and exploded by police experts, police said yesterday.

There were no injuries in the blast — which caused extensive damage.

The blast coincided with renewed efforts by authorities to break a 17-month-old rent strike.

According to an SAP spokesman, both explosive devices were limpet mines.

The second limpet was found by officers investigating the first blast, the spokesman added.

It was removed from the offices and "destroyed by experts under controlled conditions".

Two municipal police officers were guarding the building when the limpet exploded about 11.15am.

The explosion came in the wake of security force raids in areas of Soweto last week which police described as crime-prevention operations.

Also last week, officials swooped on

Orlando West and warned residents to pay rent arrears or face eviction.

The rent boycott has cost the council millions of rands.

Saturday's blast blew up windows and damaged walls of the municipal office.

Meanwhile in Maritzburg, a man was stabbed to death by a gang of men in the latest confrontation in the violence-racked region.

At the same time, two UDF leaders were released from detention in a bid to start peace talks between the UDF and Inkatha.

The UDF cancelled peace talks with Inkatha after police last week detained about 50 UDF supporters. The release of Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skumbuza Ngwenya, co-secretaries of the UDF Natal branch, set the stage for rescheduling the talks.

The talks to put an end to the internecine struggle that has seen men, women and children hacked, burnt and shot to death will begin tomorrow, UDF sources said in Maritzburg.

The talks would be held behind closed doors, said Mr Rob Pater, vice-chairman of the local chamber of commerce, which is chairing the talks.

ANC meet in Tanzania

DAR ES SALAAM. — The first international conference of the ANC, aimed at developing a world-wide sanctions strategy against SA, will open in Tanzania next month.

More than 600 delegates from governments and organizations worldwide will attend the four-day conference at Arusha from December 1.

Delegates will discuss a strategy to isolate SA through arms and oil embargoes, tougher economic sanctions and a cultural and academic boycott.

An ANC spokesman said the conference would target the US and Britain, which, he said, had not taken serious measures against SA.

Both countries have been invited to the opening of the conference.

Consideration of the sanctions issue would include moves to get more individuals to boycott South African goods and to refuse to handle South African cargoes. — Sapa-Reuter

Police wounded, ANC men killed in Natal shootout

DURBAN — Two suspected African National Congress (ANC) terrorists and an alleged collaborator were killed in a shoot-out with police in Umlazi.

Two members of the SAP reaction unit were wounded.

The Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, confirmed that the three were killed when police stormed a house just before midnight. The operation ended at 3am.

The wounded policemen

are Constable L J Kruger, who was shot in the nose, and Constable E de Witt, who was shot in the head.

He added that AKMs, the latest model in assault rifles, and ammunition were found inside the house.

It is believed that a large quantity of ANC literature was also found in the house.

● Police in Cape Town today found a primed limpet mine of Russian origin at the bus terminus on the Parade. It was dismantled and defused. — Sapa

24/11/83
Sawley
17A

'I spied on ANC' says SA woman

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

24/1/82

HARARE — Miss Odile Eone Harrington (27) of Johannesburg was sent to Zimbabwe to infiltrate the African National Congress.

She was accepted as a refugee after staying in a transit camp and moving after two months to a suburban house occupied by ANC officials.

Her instructions from the South African security service were to become a courier and pass information to them.

But on January 29 she blundered by asking a policeman to post some letters.

One was not stuck down properly and when she went to get some glue the policeman peeped inside and saw a photograph.

The upshot was her arrest and appearance in the High Court in Harare yesterday, charged with

breaking the Official Secrets Act by obtaining information that could be useful to an enemy.

Miss Harrington, slim and with brown, shoulder-length hair, looked composed when she stood in the dock before the Judge President, Mr Justice Sandura, and two assessors.

She was escorted into the courtroom by two prison warders who removed her handcuffs when she reached the dock.

In a firm voice she said: "I plead not guilty" when the charge was put to her.

But in the outline of her defence it was made clear Miss Harrington was not challenging the fact that she had been sent by agents of the South African security service to spy on the ANC.

She maintained that at no time had she tried to send anybody secret information relating to the Zimbabwean government or its agencies, and all information she obtained was about the ANC.

... found in

New attempt to end township violence

11A
Blacks
24/11/87

MARITZBURG — Local leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha will meet in Maritzburg today for preliminary talks to set up peace negotiations to end the bloody conflict in the city's townships.

Violence in the townships around Maritzburg claimed another four lives at the weekend, including a man who was decapitated.

A police unrest report said a 23-year-old man was stabbed to death by a group of blacks at Inadi, and then decapitated.

And at Ashdown, police discovered the body of a black man with multiple stab wounds. His neck had been nearly severed.

The report said a group of blacks stabbed a man to death at Mpumulanga. Police dispersed the mob with tear-smoke.

Own Correspondent

An 18-year-old black was killed by a group at Mpumuza. Police drove off the mob.

□ At Smero, a large group of blacks ignored police warnings to disperse. Police used tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse them and arrested 16 men and 13 youths.

□ At Slangspruit, police arrested two men and a youth at an illegal gathering.

□ At Imbali, police arrested two men and a youth after a private house was stoned.

□ At Ashdown, a group of blacks set alight a motor vehicle, causing serious damage. Police arrested four men.

□ And at Dambuza, a private house was damaged by arsonists.

Chairman

G S Taylor

Managing director

Sandton

23 November 1987

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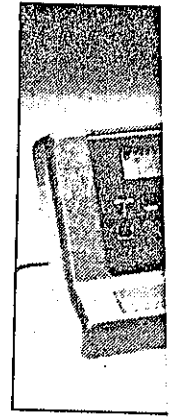
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UDF, Inkatha leaders to meet

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Local leaders of the UDF and Inkatha will meet here today for preliminary talks to set up peace negotiations to end the bloody conflict in the city's townships.

Mr Rob Pater, vice-president of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, is hosting today's meeting. Last week a similar meeting had to be called off after local UDF and Cosatu leaders were detained.

Mr Pater said the meeting would concentrate on setting up the actual peace talks.

Meanwhile violence in the townships claimed another four lives at the weekend, including a man who was decapitated.

Police said a 23-year-old man was stabbed to death at Inadi and then decapitated. And at Ash-down a man was stabbed to death and his neck slashed.

They said a mob who stabbed a man to death at Mpumulanga had to be dispersed with tearsmoke, and at Mpumuza police drove off the mob who killed an 18-year-old man.

Supreme Court Reporter

SOME of a group of witdoeke — two of whom had been firing handguns at KTC residents minutes earlier — waved cheerily at a police Casspir which drove past them on the day KTC began to burn, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of CBS cameraman Mr Chris Everson. He is the tenth witness to give evidence in a R312 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when KTC was destroyed.

The minister is being

Witdoek film
C.M.C. Travels 24/11/87
shown in court

sued on the basis of an allegation that police helped witdoeke destroy the camp.

Mr Everson, who was filming the start of the witdoek rampage on June 9 last year, said: "I remember seeing a yellow Casspir coming past the two armed witdoeke near the combi. Two or three men waved at the Casspir as it came past. There was no one else present that they could have waved at."

He saw two witdoeke firing handguns at KTC residents from behind a parked combi. Film of this was shown in court.

The trial continues.

Mr Justice M R de Kock presided. Mr P Pretorius and Mr A M Omar, 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.

11A

D/D
25/11/87

Attorney charged under (11A) Police Act

Daily Dispatch
Reporter

EAST LONDON — A former spokesman for the King William's Town Civic Association and King William's Town attorney, Mr J. Smith, has been charged in the regional court here under Section 27(b) of the Police Act.

The charge concerns the alleged publication of untruths against the police, and follows an incident at Breidbach last year when a patron of the United Democratic Front, Dr Allan Boesak, was to have addressed a mass service.

Mr Smith is being charged in connection with statements made by himself to the Daily Dispatch concerning the incident on Wednesday, March 19, 1986.

The report, containing Mr Smith's comments on the conduct of the police, was about police action involving a group of people waiting for the outcome of a court application challenging the banning of a service that was to have been conducted by Dr Boesak.

Earlier this year, the Attorney-General declined to prosecute the Daily Dispatch; its then editor, Mr George Farr; and two former members of its editorial staff on the same charges.

The case was postponed to February 1 next year.

ARGUS 25/11/87
3 die during peace talks

The Argus Correspondent

EMERGENCY UPDATE

MARITZBURG. — Violence continued in the townships around Maritzburg as leaders of the warring parties were trying to negotiate peace.

The talks between leaders of Inkatha, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) seem to have been successful.

Three people were killed and several injured in mob attacks and clashes with the police yesterday.

A team from Inkatha/Uwusa and another from the UDF/Cosatu and three observers attended the meeting, co-chaired by Mr Rob Pater and Mr Paul van Uytrecht of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

The police unrest report today said 32 people were arrested. Altogether 238 have been arrested since November 13.

According to the report violence yesterday was limited to the townships around Maritzburg.

FAR MORE PROGRESS

Mr van Uytrecht said far more progress had been made than expected.

● At Mpumulanga, a man was killed after police returned fire at three men who fired at them with homemade weapons. The other men were arrested.

In a statement issued after the meeting last night the delegates called for the release of members of their parties held in detention.

● A 58-year-old man was killed at Sweetwaters after being set upon by a mob.

The statement also called for the freedom to meet in their constituencies without interference from the police and security forces; the endorsement of the principles of freedom of expression; and disciplinary action against those who violated them.

● The body of a man aged about 30 was found with bullet and stab wounds at Dambuzi.

● Thirteen people who allegedly attacked a police section have been charged with public violence.

● At Dindi, two men were injured and a private home petrol-bombed. Police used firearms to disperse the mob. Three people were injured and arrested.

● At Esigodeni, police used teargas and and shotgun fire to disperse a large group of people who had refused to comply with police orders.

Meanwhile, five hours of talks between the feuding parties in Maritzburg's Imperial Hotel yesterday have created hope for a negotiated end to the killing.

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2 WHILE Statements:

(1) Write statements to assign to K the largest integer power of 2 that is not bigger than N. (Start with K equal to 1 and double it until it is greater than N, then half it once.)

(2) Write statements to calculate

$$X = 1 * 2 * 3 * 4 \dots$$

stopping as soon as X reaches (or exceeds) the value 'limit'. Then print X and the last number which was used to multiply by.

3 REPEAT Statements:

(1) Write statements to computer the sum of the sequence

$$x - x^3/3 + x^5/5 - x^7/7 + \dots \text{ for } x < 1.$$

to some specified accuracy (i.e. .0001). As soon as any term in the sequence is less than this accuracy the summation can be stopped.

(Note: This sequence is infact that for ten x^{-1} . If $x = \sqrt{3}$ then the value of this sequence is $\pi/6$.)

*Cape Times
25/11/87*

Buthlezi: Free Mandela, Mthopeng

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

11A

THE African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the Pan African Congress leader, Mr Zeph Mthopeng, had to be released before the politics of negotiation could really triumph, the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Cape Town last night.

He also said the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act were affronts to everything decent.

Addressing the Rapportryers in Welgemoed, he said history demanded that Afrikaner South Africans and Zulu South Africans put South Africa first.

"There is no separate destiny ... we will live together or die together.

"Let Mr Mandela deal with the ANC. Put him to the test."

There was nothing more the ANC could do with him out of jail than in jail, Chief Buthelezi said.

CONF. limits 28/11/87 (11A) (1)

Royals skip Biko première

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Prince Charles and Princess Diana joined top government figures in turning down invitations to attend the London première tomorrow night of the controversial film "Cry Freedom", based on the death of Steve Biko and the escape from South Africa of former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods.

The Daily Telegraph reported

that the couple "diplomatically" pleaded prior engagements when they declined to turn the première into a grand royal occasion.

Government figures including Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the moderate former foreign secretaries Lord Carington and Lord Pym also refused invitations.

But Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and his wife, church leaders

and other well-known human-rights crusaders will be in attendance.

Sir Richard Attenborough's film has been given massive laudatory television advance publicity in Britain, with predictions of major awards for its stars, and is expected to do well at the box office.

It is picking up in America after a slow start and mixed reception from critics there.

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Chibwe
25/11/82

SA claims

ANC

asked for Botswana 'conduit'

PRETORIA. — The African National Congress has asked Botswana to allow its territory to be used as conduit for infiltrating insurgents into South Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs claims in a diplomatic note sent to Botswana yesterday.

The note — the text of which was made available to Sapa last night — said South Africa's security forces had obtained information about a "large-scale" ANC infiltration into South Africa to take place this month and in December.

The note quoted "recently-captured terrorists and other sources".

Umkhonto

"According to the same sources, several members of the command structure of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, including a senior member, recently visited Botswana to arrange for the execution of their infiltration plan and to hold discussions with senior members of the Botswana government in this regard."

The note added that during public court hearings and interrogations, "terrorists awaiting trial" had referred to Botswana as their main infiltration route. — Sapa

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Journal

25/11/87

I STOOD GUARD, SAYS CONSTABLE

A POLICE constable told a Pretoria magistrate yesterday that he stood guard outside a room in which an accused in the Pan Africanist Congress trial, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, made a statement before a magistrate.

Constable P J van Niekerk was giving evidence before Mr J H Bekker during a trial within a trial to determine the validity of the statement Mr Mathunjwa made before a magistrate.

The constable said he was posted near the room's window to be on

the lookout "in case the accused tried to escape".

The policeman said he did not remember who had instructed him to stand outside the room. "I was a police cadet at the time and did not ask for reasons why I was supposed to stand there. The very person who gave me instructions also warned me against peeping through the window I was standing next to", he said.

Arrested

Mr Mathunjwa and his co-accused, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga were allegedly assaulted by the police after they were arrested at a house at Ngobi, Bophuthatswana, last year. They were also tied to a tree, trampled on and assaulted repeatedly with the butt of a firearm, according to evidence led earlier in court.

The two and others have pleaded not guilty to terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.

EMERGENCY UPDATE

Maritzburg violence ¹⁹⁷⁶⁻⁷⁷ — 40 killed this month ^{11/17}

The Argus Correspondent ^{11/17}

DURBAN. — Violence in Maritzburg's townships has escalated sharply, with the official death toll about 40 this month — double last month's figure.

Police said the number of political murders is near 200 this year and there have been more than 400 arrests in two months.

Police liaison officer Captain Reg Crewe said in Pretoria that more than 60 had been killed in Maritzburg since the beginning of last month. Nearly 40 had died this month.

Police had arrested more than 400 people in connection with unrest-related crimes in the past two months — 150 of them this month.

He did not know how many had since been released. Detainees were being held in cells at police stations in and around Maritzburg.

Extra police or troops had not been deployed since the Defence Force was called in to patrol the townships this month.

● See page 7.

CAP. TIMB 26/11/83

Churches look at Lusaka Document

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three mainstream churches affiliated to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) said yesterday they had received the controversial Lusaka Document, following the Anglican Church's acceptance of it on Monday.

The Methodist, United Congregational and Presbyterian churches have all received the document for "further study", and are looking at it as a "means to political change in South Africa".

The Rev Joseph Wing, general secretary of the United Congregational Church, said that the church was taking the document "very seriously".

Leaders of the Anglican church have met with severe criticism from other churches since they accepted the document at Modderpoort, in the Orange Free State, on Monday, because of the document's views on violence.

The document, which was issued earlier this year, recognizes that liberation movements are "compelled" to use force.

Bishop Duncan Buchanan, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, reacted to the criticism by saying that the church in no way condones violence, and severely criticized SABC TV news yesterday for implying in a news broadcast that it does.

"Although we do understand why people have met violence with violence in the past, we reject violence," he said.

The SABC said that the broadcast was a direct reflection of the statement issued by the Anglican Church, and that it would broadcast the new statement as soon as possible.

The Ned Geref Kerk was one of the churches which condemned the Anglican church for accepting the document, and Dr Pierre Roussouw said that it was not any church's place to "side with a violent attitude towards change".

11A

Mbeki permitted to hold PE rally

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Govan Mbeki, the veteran African National Congress member who was released from prison recently, was yesterday granted official permission to hold a rally in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

The rally will be Mr Mbeki's first public engagement since he was freed on November 5 after 24 years in prison.

Mr Mbeki, 77, was arrested in 1963. In 1964, he was sentenced along with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and six others to life imprisonment for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government.

The gathering in a Port Eliza-

beth township on Saturday will be only the second authorized ANC meeting in South Africa since the movement was outlawed in 1960.

The government allowed Miss Zindzi Mandela to address a rally in Soweto in 1985 to publicize her father's rejection of an offer of freedom in return for his repudiation of political violence.

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, said the chief magistrate in Port Elizabeth yesterday granted permission for a four-hour rally in the Zwide township's Dan QeQe Stadium.

She said Mrs Winnie Mandela would be among speakers at the gathering organized to "welcome back Mr Mbeki".

All outdoor political gatherings have been banned since the state of emergency was imposed on June 12 last year.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front and wife of jailed ANC chairman Mr Walter Sisulu, is also to share the platform at the service.

The rally is being organized by the Interdenominational Ministers Association of Southern Africa, the Reverend Patrick Pasha, secretary-general of Idamasa, confirmed last night.

Mr Pasha would not give more details beyond saying that the association had made an application to the chief magistrate for the service. — UPI

Neil Kinnock sinks R50 000 into ANC ad

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — ANC supporters here — including Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and his wife Glenys — have forked out the equivalent of R50 000 to pay for an advertisement expressing "wholehearted support" for the "justified struggle" against apartheid.

The full-page advertisement in the Guardian, at a cost of £14 000, contained the names of more than 1 000 people and organizations.

Under banner headlines "Will you put your name to the struggle for peace, freedom and democracy in South Africa?" the signatories called on British people to call for a new SA. "We wholeheartedly support the ANC's justified struggle for a unitary South Africa with freedom and justice for all."

In a separate section signed by the ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Solly Smith, an appeal was made for funds to enable the organization to continue its work with "schools, hospitals and publishing information about the horrors of apartheid".

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(signed by Grogan)
FOR VOLUME PURCHASES

Printing prices for all orders
January 1988.

Available to: "Maps & Charts
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CAPL - TOWNS 26/11/87 (11A)

3 die in Maritzburg violence

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Three people have been killed in the continuing violence in Maritzburg's townships.

A police report said one man was killed after

policemen returned fire at three people.

A 58-year-old man was stabbed to death at Sweetwaters, while at Dambuza, the body of a 30-old man was found with bullet and stab wounds in his body.

Two Dindi men were injured and a home petrol-bombed.

Police in Maritzburg have arrested a further 32 people since Tuesday.

Captain P Kitching, police press liaison officer, said 13 people had been arrested and charged with public violence at Edendale in connection with an incident on Monday when members of the SAP were attacked by a mob who had gathered illegally.

Six others were arrested and charged with the murder of Mr Nxhengu Shezi, also on Monday. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

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'Ruthless' attacks threat by the ANC

The Star's Foreign
News Service

WASHINGTON — A top member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the African National Congress, has threatened "sensational" and "ruthless" attacks in South Africa before the end of the year.

The threat was made by Mr Steven Tshwete, the military group's political commissar and third-in-command.

"This time we will be ruthless. We will have to take off the white gloves," he said.

Quoted in the *Baltimore Sun*, he said several ANC commanders had infiltrated South Africa in the last few months to reorganise the outlawed army and to start a "sustained military offensive".

Mr Tshwete told the *Sun* from Lusaka that Umkhonto would be emphasising engagements with security forces more than urban bombings in coming months. "We are going to do something sensational which will rock Botha and make the world sit up and take note," he said, adding that indications of the offensive would come within six weeks.

● The ANC threats have been referred to the South African Police but no response had been received at the time of going to press.

MAGAZ 28/11/87

11A

Blacks 'no longer afraid to speak out on politics'

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Blacks are no longer afraid to speak their minds on political issues — a development that socio-political researchers countrywide regard as particularly important.

Dr Nic Rhoodie, chief research specialist at the Human Sciences Research Council's institute for sociological research, was commenting today on findings of an earlier study which recently came under the spotlight.

The HSRC study was conducted in August among 550 educationally sophisticated adult blacks in the PWV area, and was unique in

the sense that a study on the black elite had never been done before on such a large scale.

The survey concentrated mainly on the attitude of blacks towards the talks between a group of Afrikaners and the ANC in Dakar.

Prerequisite

Sixty percent of the respondents said that, as a matter of principle, black parliamentary representation was a prerequisite for black participation in constitutional reform.

Another significant finding was that 75 percent of blacks said they would take part in an election to elect black leaders who would participate in the national council.

Dr Rhoodie said that five years ago researchers had experienced great difficulties in interviewing blacks on political issues.

"Now, however, they are enthusiastic because they realise that ordinary surveys are an instrument through which they can voice their opinion on pertinent political matters," he said.

Screen it challenge

LOS ANGELES — The Hollywood studio behind Cry Freedom has challenged South Africa to allow it to be screened without censorship.

The chairman of MCA Motion Picture Group, the parent company of Universal Pictures, said that if Pretoria complied, his company would donate all profits to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for southern Africa.

"The film will be submitted to the South African censors shortly and a quick response is hoped for," Mr Tom Pollock said.

The conditions listed in the statement were that "the film must be shown in its entirety and cannot be censored in any way; the film must be exhibited only in integrated theatres and in all areas of the country."

"If the film is submitted to the government without the spotlight of publicity on it, the government will ban it," Mr Pollock said.

"What we're trying to do is make the choice hard for them. With the spotlight of publicity on it, they just can't ban it outright."

He denied his offer was to gain publicity for the film. — Sapa-Reuter.

'S

State 'yes' for Mbeki

PORT ELIZABETH. - Govan Mbeki will address a rally here on Saturday.

The veteran ANC leader, released from 24 years imprisonment on Robben Island earlier this month, will speak at

the Dan Qeque Stadium in Zwide township.

According to his lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, official permission was granted by a magistrate on Wednesday.

The conditions placed on the rally are that it should end before at 4 pm and be confined to the stadium.

People attending the meeting should leave only by mechanised transport.

This will be the first official public meeting to be addressed by the 77-year-old Mbeki since his release on November 5.

Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, will also address the meeting.

This will be the second occasion since the banning of the ANC in 1960 where the views of its leadership will be espoused - with Government approval.

The first took place two years ago in Soweto where Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, responded on behalf of her father to President PW Botha's offer to release him from prison on condition he renounced violence.

Cape blitz for rally

ABOUT ten Western Cape areas have been blitzed with pamphlets and posters in the past two weeks in preparation for a big rally featuring recently-freed African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki.

The blitzes have involved dozens of volunteers from progressive organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Considered

The date and venue for the rally still had to be confirmed, but the Athlone Stadium was being considered, according to reliable sources.

The Mbeki Reception Committee, set up to organise the rally, has printed thousands of pamphlets, posters, badges and sweaters in preparation for Mbeki's visit to Cape Town.

Mbeki is expected to tour major centres throughout the country.

The politics of coping

BY RYLAND FISHER

WHEN Hilda Ndude was elected publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape in May, she was faced with a dilemma — should she go into hiding or not?

Most members of the previous executive committee had been detained, and being in the leadership of the UDF identified one as a target for the security police.

"I decided against going into hiding. I thought about it and realised that I am not involved in anything illegal. The UDF is still a legal organisation."

But, Ndude said, there was another reason.

"I am the mother of five children. How can I go into hiding? Who would look after my children?"

The problem of raising a family and being active in anti-apartheid politics became more of a problem when her husband, Alpheus, was detained two weeks ago.

Alpheus, 45, an organiser for the Adult Learning Project (ALP), was fetched from his office on Wednesday October 28 by four unidentified men. Police confirmed to lawyers two days later that he was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"I still have no idea where they are keeping him."

Ndude said she was allowed to take clean clothes for her husband to the security police offices in Cape Town last Monday.

It will not be the first time Ndude will have to look after her children without her husband.

"Alpheus was detained on August 11 1976, the first day of the upris-



Hilda Ndude

ings in the Western Cape. He was released the same day, but redetained from September to December that year.

"We had been married for two years and our eldest child Nolzwe was only one at the time."

Nolzwe is now 12. The other children are twins Kanyso and Kanyswa, 9, Vusumzi, 7, and Nolethu, 2.

"Nolethu cries a lot for her father. I told her that the police fetched him, but it is difficult for her to understand. She wants to know why he

was taken and when he will be home.

Ndude leaves Nolethu at a creche every morning, while the other children are at school.

"I have to fetch her in the afternoon. I have no-one to help me with the children now."

But she is confident she will cope.

"I believe God will not give one a burden one is not able to shoulder. As a person involved in the politics, and someone who is determined, I will cope."

"I will use all the means at my disposal to raise my children the way we planned, despite their father's detention."

Ndude was born in Cape Town — she declined to say when — but was raised in the Transkei.

She returned to Cape Town in 1973 and married Alpheus the next year. They have spent most of their married life in backyard shacks in Guguletu or KTC because of the housing crisis in the townships.

In 1979 she took part in talks to discuss the formation of a women's organisation in the Western Cape, the United Women's Association. When the organisation was formed later, it was known as the United Women's Organisation (UWO).

Ndude did not play an active role immediately, but was elected on to the KTC branch executive in 1982.

She was UWO secretary in 1985 until the organisation merged with the Women's Front Organisation to form the United Women's Congress in March 1986.

Ndude became UWCO's representative at UDF general council meetings until her election as publicity secretary.

~~5/11/87~~ (11A) B/day 26/11/87.

Maritzburg parley call: free detainees

3 more deaths as peace talks inconclusive

THERE were at least three more deaths and further violent incidents between warring groups in Maritzburg's townships as the first round of peace talks came to an inconclusive end on Tuesday night.

The talks were chaired jointly by Chamber of Commerce manager Paul van Uytrecht and vice-chairman Rob Pater. They were attended by members of Inkatha, the UDF, Cosatu and Uwusa.

A joint statement released after the five-hour session called for the immediate release of all detained members of organisations taking part in the talks and agreed on "certain points to be reflected on for a future meeting".

Van Uytrecht said the next round of talks was due in two weeks.

He said the progress of the talks "far exceeded our expectations".

According to yesterday's police unrest report, three people were killed, one of them in police action, and 23 arrested in incidents in the Maritzburg area.

"At Mpumalanga, three black males fired at a police foot patrol

ROGER SMITH
and Sapa

with home-made firearms. Police returned the fire and a black man was fatally wounded. A youth was wounded in the leg and arrested. The third man fled but was apprehended by the SAP."

At Sweetwaters, a 58-year-old man was stabbed to death. A 26-year-old man was attacked by a mob and stabbed. Police dispersed his attackers with birdshot and arrested two men and a youth.

At Dambuza, police found the body of a 30-year-old black man.

"At Dindi, two black men were injured and a private dwelling extensively damaged when a mob threw a number of petrol-bombs at the house. Police used firearms to disperse the attackers and, in the process, three men were wounded and arrested."

At Esigodeni, police used teargas and shotgun fire to disperse a large illegal gathering.

Two black women and one black man were wounded and arrested and 12 black men were arrested.

DID 26/11/87

Church stresses need for meetings with ANC, PAC

JOHANNESBURG — The Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) has accepted the "Lusaka Document" and "stresses the need" for further meetings with the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) "to discuss the nature of the South Africa beyond-apartheid to which we are committed," the Church said yesterday.

It said an earlier statement had been "widely misrepresented" by media and has asked that the full resolution be quoted in full.

It reads: "The matter arose when the provincial standing committee of the CPSA was considering resolutions of the 1987 annual conference of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), which had been referred to the member churches of the SACC."

The resolution of the Provincial Standing Committee (PSC) of the CPSA is as follows: "With regard to

SACC resolutions 6, 8 and 9, the PSC, understanding the pressures which have led the liberation movements to respond to violence with violence;

"Aware that there is at present insufficient factual evidence on the effects of disinvestment to make an informed resolution on this issue or to use this issue as grounds for rejecting the Lusaka document;

"Recognising the commitment to peaceful change laid out in the Lusaka document, and acknowledging the urgent need to correct the Church's failure to bring about meaningful change and an end to aggression;

"Implores its members to explore to its fullest, means by which it can show Jesus' 'third way' as a positive non-violent way to change, despite the high cost of this way."

Editorial opinion page 20

26/11/87 DID
**ANC and
Botswana
reject
SA's
claims**

JOHANNESBURG — Botswana and the ANC yesterday denied South African allegations that ANC insurgents planned a large scale infiltration into the Republic with the knowledge and assistance of the Botswanan Government.

The Department of Foreign Affairs called on the Botswanan Government to honour its commitment not to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on South Africa.

In a return note to South Africa, the Botswanan Government called the allegations "slanderous" and denied any knowledge of planned ANC activities.

The South African note "claimed Botswana had been approached by the ANC with a request that it allow its territory to be used for infiltration.

A spokesman for the ANC said they did not need to infiltrate any country in order to carry out its work.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs said: "Every reason exists to believe that the Botswanan Government was informed of the ANC's plans to commit acts of terror in South Africa via Botswana territory in coming weeks."
— Sapa

Botswana, ANC deny SA charges

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JOHANNESBURG. — Botswana and the ANC denied South African allegations yesterday that ANC insurgents planned to infiltrate South Africa with Botswana government connivance and claimed the warning was a "prelude to a cross-border raid".

South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs claimed in a diplomatic note on Tuesday that a large ANC infiltration had been planned and called on the Botswana government to honour its commitment not to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on South Africa.

The note claimed that recently-captured terrorists and other sources alleged the ANC had approached the Botswana government to allow its territory to be used as a conduit for infiltrating terrorists and to establish transit facilities.

In a return note to South Africa, the Botswana government responded by calling the allegations "slandorous" and categorically denying any knowledge of planned ANC activities.

Botswana referred to its "well-known policy not to allow its territory to be used by anyone as a transit route or base for attacks against any neighbouring countries, including South

Africa".

"The government of Botswana repeats the invitation which it has offered to the South African government before, in similar circumstances, to provide it with information indicating that the ANC was using or was planning to use Botswana territory as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa," says the note.

It adds that such information would enable Botswana to take steps to ensure that its territory was not so used.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka also rejected the South African claims yesterday.

The spokesman said the ANC denied plans for a large-scale infiltration of South Africa to take place this and next month.

He said the ANC did not need to infiltrate people through any country in order to carry out its work in South Africa.

It described as "unthinkable" South Africa's allegation that it had approached Botswana to allow its territory to be used as a conduit for infiltrating "terrorists" and to establish transit facilities.

● The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday reiterated its request to Botswana to prevent its territory from being used by terrorists entering SA. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

AM-7-15 26/11/87 (11A) (3)
Nigeria offers training to ANC

LAGOS. — Nigeria said on Tuesday it had offered military training facilities to black nationalists in South Africa.

An official statement said the offer was conveyed to Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), in Lusaka by Nigeria's high commissioner in Zambia.

Nigeria, black Africa's most economically-powerful and populous state, has made the abolition of apartheid a major objective of its foreign policy.

The statement said the decision to offer the ANC military training facilities was in keeping with Nigeria's commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle.

— Sapa-Reuter

cons. mar was once his home after Typhoon Nina
onesian islands at the weekend.

ANC infiltration claim slanderous — Botswana

Argus Africa (11/12/82)
News Service 26/11/82

GABORONE. — The Botswana Government has rejected as "slanderous" allegations by South Africa that its territory is set to be used as the springboard for a large infiltration into South Africa by African National Congress members over the Christmas period.

In a strongly worded note sent to the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, the Botswana Government reiterated "its well-known policy of not allowing its territory to be used by anyone as a transit route or base for attacks against any neighbouring country, including South Africa".

"The Botswana Government does not have any knowledge of planned ANC activities involving the use of this country," the note said, adding that it denied any discussions had been held between the Botswana Government and the ANC regarding any proposed infiltration.

Botswana challenged the South African Government to provide it with any information it might have indicating that the ANC was "using, or planning to use, its territory as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa".

It accused the South African Government of using the allegations against Botswana to whip up the emotions of white South Africans.

DID 26/11/87 (11A)
**Attenborough hurls
challenge to screen
Woods, Biko movie**

LONDON — The South African Government has been challenged to allow the film, *Cry Freedom*, based on the friendship of Steve Biko and the exiled former Daily Dispatch editor, Mr Donald Woods, to be shown uncensored in South Africa.

The film's director, Sir Richard Attenborough, and the Hollywood studio behind it, the MCA Motion Picture Group, are backing their challenge by submitting a copy to the South African censors.

The MCA's chairman, Mr Tom Pollock, said in a statement all profits would go to the UN children's fund if the film was put on screen in the Republic.

He and Sir Richard stipulated only that it should be uncensored and allowed to show anywhere before unsegregated audiences.

Sir Richard said on television here that he believed South African agents attempted to sabotage the making of the film in Zimbabwe last year.

He doubted, he said, that the South African Government would ever allow the film to be shown uncensored "because it gets to the truth of the horror that is apartheid."

The film includes scenes of a well known security police officer taking pot shots at children from a car during the 1976 Soweto uprising, said to be based on actual film of the incident.

It also depicts the late Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, as a weak and dishonest man who conducted a personal vendetta against Mr Woods.

Mr Woods, the main subject of the film, is still a banned person.

He has been extensively interviewed on national and international television networks in the past weeks giving his explanations of events surrounding Biko's death in detention ten years ago.

See also page 13

Witdoeke action in KTC-Crossroads seen on court video

Staff Reporter

A VIDEO screened in the Supreme Court of events near KTC showed "quite a few hundred" armed witdoeke moving unchallenged past police and Defence Force vehicles and through a police roadblock, the court was told.

The video, shot by NBC news cameraman Mr Anthony Wasserman on June 9 and 10 last year, was shown as evidence by counsel for 21 KTC families and the Methodist Church, who are claiming R312 000 damages from the Minister of Law and Order arising from the devastation of the township.

Mr Wasserman told the court he went to the Crossroads-KTC area because he had heard there was a possibility of trouble.

He shot film of a police roadblock on the corner of Klipfon-

tein Road and Borchards Quarry Road.

White armbands

"I saw a bunch of people walking down Klipfontein Road towards the cemetery (on the border of KTC) through the roadblock. There were quite a few hundred people all with white armbands ... carrying axes and pangas and various things," said Mr Wasserman.

He identified them as witdoeke.

Apart from policemen and police vehicles at the roadblock, he saw Buffels and Caspirs "going up Klipfontein Road and driving through the crowds of witdoeke who were going down the road".

He told the court he saw a white police van at the roadblock which he believed to be the vehicle of Warrant Officer Hendrick Barnard.

"I saw the van arrive and it

stopped at the roadblock and a couple of witdoeke went up and spoke to the policeman in the back of the van," Mr Wasserman said.

"The witdoeke pointed down the road towards the cemetery. The van drove off and the witdoeke carried on down the road."

Shacks burning

Mr P Pretorius, who is appearing for the KTC families, asked: "Did you see any action by the police, either at the roadblock or anywhere else, to stop this advance of witdoeke towards the cemetery?"

"No," Mr Wasserman replied.

Footage later in the video showed groups of men on a dune where shacks were burning. Mr Wasserman identified the area as the north-eastern corner of KTC and the men as witdoeke.

The hearing resumes on December 2.

11X

Trial run

Released ANC leader Govan Mbeki will return to political life this weekend, at a Cape Town rally. What happens will have a strong bearing on the future of Nelson Mandela.

Already there is nervousness in government circles about rightwing reaction to Mbeki's release. Crowd behaviour and Mbeki's conduct will be vital factors — assuming Pretoria allows the rally to go ahead. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has said public reaction to Mbeki's release will influence government attitudes.

Mbeki's appearance on Sunday is of major significance for South African opposition politics. It will be the first public appearance in 27 years, in SA, by a member of the ANC. The rally is being organised by the Cape

27/11/83 TM

Town Mbeki Reception Committee, representing 17 opposition organisations. A total of 16 000 people were at the launch of the UDF in Cape Town in 1983 — more are expected on Sunday.

Mbeki has kept a low profile since his release on November 6, appearing in public only twice — at Jan Smuts airport, and last week when he drove through his former New Brighton base. Although Mbeki is "listed" under the Internal Security Act and cannot be quoted locally, the listing does not prevent his speaking in public.

The Mbeki Reception Committee says his release is the start of a process which would culminate with Mandela standing in Johannesburg "to address the nation," after which there need be no further calls for the unbanning of the ANC.

"Now that P W Botha is finding it impossible to insist that our movement is banned, we need to ensure that all forces that support it must be drawn together and unleashed," the statement says.

Mbeki is expected to follow up his Cape Town appearance with rallies in other major centres. ■

Winnie won't speak at Mbeki's PE rally

CAPE TIMES 27/11/87 11A
Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — An order by the local chief magistrate, signed by Mr J Oosthuizen, has conditionally authorized an open-air rally to be addressed by Mr Govan Mbeki in this city tomorrow.

On the podium with Mr Mbeki at the Dan Qeqe Stadium in Zwide will be the Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the SACC, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the UDF, and the Rev De Villiers Soga, chairman of the local branch of the Inter-nominal Ministers' Association of Southern Africa (Idamasa).

Mrs Winnie Mandela, named earlier as one of those scheduled to address the gathering, will not be speaking.

The rally, a "Thanksgiving Celebration and Welcome Service" in honour of Mr Mbeki, has been organized by Idamasa and the SACC.

Permission to hold the rally was granted on condition that the service starts at noon tomorrow and ends at 4pm. All proceedings must be held strictly in the Dan Qeqe Stadium and all those attending are required to leave by means of motorized transport.

'Festive terror plans will fail'

(1/1)

DA

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

27/11/87

The ANC would not succeed with its avowed diabolical plans for the festive season, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer, said today.

At a passing-out parade of 1 706 students at the Police College in Pretoria, Mr Meyer referred to reports that a senior member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, had said the organisation would intensify its violent activities in South Africa.

Mr Meyer said: "This is in line with the Government's earlier warning that the ANC is a terror organisation relying on mindless violence to achieve its ends.

"Several ANC terrorists who have slipped into South Africa in recent days have already been arrested. Some of them have been shot dead in actions by the security forces. Many weapons have been seized, including land mines."

Mr Meyer said there had been 195 incidents of terror in South Africa in the first 10 months of this year.

Of these, 63 were attempted murders of members of the police or witnesses due to appear in trials, while another 70 were cases of attempted murder of civilians.

"There must, therefore, be no illusions that the ANC will indeed attempt to intensify its terror campaign, especially during the Christmas season," he said.

Govan Mbeki to speak at service

(IA) SM Political Staff 27/11/87

The Government will have its first opportunity to test the effect of freeing former African National Congress chairman Mr Govan Mbeki when he addresses a mass open-air "thanksgiving service" in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

The Chief Magistrate of Port Elizabeth has given permission for the organisers to hold the service in the Dan Qeqe Stadium in Zwide. It will be Mr Mbeki's first public appearance since he was freed on November 5.

The Chief Magistrate has imposed conditions to ensure that the meeting does not become a demonstration and the organisers have also promised that speakers will not incite law-breaking.

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, said yesterday that the organisers had stressed Mr Mbeki's return was "an occasion to promote reconciliation".

Biko film acclaimed by British critics

D/D 27/11/87
11A

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — Most British national press critics yesterday acclaimed Sir Richard Attenborough's film *Cry Freedom* as a devastatingly accurate portrayal of the South African tragedy — likely to win a string of Oscars.

The film, based on the friendship of Steve Biko and a former editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, would "deservedly influence opinion world wide", the Daily Telegraph critic said.

He described the film as Sir Richard Attenborough's "cri de coeur" against apartheid, concluding: "too many political films constitute pathetic whinges, so I applaud Attenborough's full-blooded yell."

Critics disagreed on Sir Richard's decision to base the film largely on the liberalising and devastating effects the friendship with black consciousness leader Biko meant for Mr Woods, his wife Wendy and their five children.

The film makes stark mention of Biko and his controversial death — which comes halfway through — with most time given to a heavily dramatised account of Mr Woods's escape from East London to Lesotho,

where his family joined him.

The London Standard's critic wrote: "Cry Freedom has been attacked for being more a story about the radicalising of a white liberal than the martyrdom of a black activist.

"To my mind this is more a matter of congratulation than reproach. This is exactly what it sets out to do — and achieves.

"The black cause in South Africa is already morally won: the white attitude to it often remains one of division, scepticism and latent apprehension. Cry Freedom is a popular polemic aimed at making whites join ranks by the power of illustration."

Mr Walker said the film portrayed with power the way Mr Woods's relationship with Biko led to his banning and becoming a "non-person in the midst of plenty... the film eases a white man into the black man's

shoes, if not his skin."

The Independent's critic said: "Something in the viewer rebels when the film devotes so much screen time to the escape of the Woods family by devious routes to England.

"To omit Biko's suffering, and then to milk drama out of the Woods's dog, which has to be left behind... seems somehow intolerable.

"Biko's story is a tragedy. Woods's is not — and a diluted tragedy is no tragedy at all.

"If Attenborough omits Biko's agony he at least makes real the minor awfulness of banning — one of the few experiences shared by Biko and Woods — which prohibits writing of any sort, and restricts those banned from being with more than one person at a time."

The Guardian's critic said that if nothing else, Cry Freedom was an "honourable liberal" film meant to inform the

world "just how vile apartheid and the regime that enshrined it is."

He said the film's main achievement was its "utter decency of spirit" and the way it gave "an effective sense of the South African regime's amazing mixture of blundering crudity and obtuseness and cold, calculating shrewdness."

Acclaiming Attenborough's decision to end the film with a list of deaths in detention, with the official cause such as "slipped in the bath" or "fell out of window" and "natural causes" alongside the names, he said this was "one last damning proof that Biko wasn't the only martyr and that the case against the government is unanswerable.

"Cry Freedom, for all its lack of compromise and internal passion, does not lie. The less you know about South Africa, the more you'll need to see it."

DD 27/11/87
Start talking Idasa

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The state identified the African National Congress as its major opponent but was not prepared to negotiate with the organisation, the director of planning and research for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, (Idasa), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said here yesterday.

He said at a lunch also attended by Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, that South Africa was in a tough situation, "but we have the option of talking — even if it is to people we don't like."

"Idasa is aiming to create circumstances in which we, as white South Africans, can talk to the opposition and fellow black South Africans." Dr Slabbert added that since its inception a

year ago, the organisation had held workshops and taken groups of whites to meet those living in the townships.

"Idasa was born out of the desire to promote this kind of discussion — we hope to contribute to the dynamic which will allow people of all races to come together and discuss a democratic alternative," he said. They now wanted to regionalise the Idasa dynamic.

Dr Boraine said that Idasa's main concern was the white market, "but we have discovered that most whites, if they want to move out of the entrapment of apartheid, have to meet their fellow black South Africans.

"Most white South Africans don't realise how 'hammered' Black South Africans are —

(11A)
those in the townships live with harassment, fear and insecurity with the police deciding on the whole complexity of life there," he said.

"If the collision course which the government has set continues, the awful spectre of a possible war in South African has to be considered."

Dr Boraine said that in Zimbabwe he had found there had been reconciliation between blacks and whites.

"I spoke to a Zimbabwean woman while I was there and she said that where her country had made a mistake 'was to prevent the future instead of anticipating it' — this philosophy I suppose forms the core of Idasa's work," he said.

Editorial Opinion P22

11A 27/11/87

Mbeki speaks at rally

FREED Robben Island prisoner and former national chairman of the ANC, Mr Govan Mbeki, will speak at an open-air service in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

The city's chief magistrate has placed certain restrictions on the certain restrictions on the service.

This will be the final rally to be addressed by Mr Mbeki since his recent release after spending 23 years in jail.

It will be held at the Dan Qeqe Stadium in Zwide township.

Other speakers will . . . be Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front and wife of jailed ANC chairman, Mr Walter Sisulu and UDF patron and president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak.

The rally has been organised by the South African Council of Churches and the Interdominational Ministers Association of Southern Africa.

Thousands of people are expected to attend the service.

11A 27/11/87

UDF bail plea judgment to be given later

By **MONK NKOMO**

THE Pretoria Supreme Court reserved judgment in the bail application of three men, two of them senior officials of the United Democratic Front.

Mr Popo Simon Molefe, national secretary of the UDF, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF and Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal UDF secretary brought a new application for bail before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, sitting with an assessor.

The three undertook to abide by any condition imposed by the court should they be released on bail.

They have been in custody since April 1985 and three previous attempts to obtain bail were unsuccessful.

Mr P Fick for the State

yesterday opposed the application and said "a revolutionary climate" still existed in the country. Captain Frederick Botha, a security branch policeman stationed at police headquarters in Pretoria, also said in evidence that the "revolutionary climate was still high." It was encouraged by the "alternative media," he said.

Defence counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, assisted by Mr Karel Tip and Mr Gilbert Marcus, argued that the court should not keep the three men in custody because of the State's vague generalisations and slogans that there was "a revolutionary climate"

throughout the country.

Mr Bizos also referred to an affidavit made by Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, in which he said that the security situation in the country had generally improved. The three accused also undertook not to involve themselves in any political activities while on bail should their application be successful.

Mr Bizos submitted that there were presently about nine leaders of the UDF who were free to continue with their activities and the release on bail of the three men would not endanger the security of the country.

"The State's case," said Mr Bizos, "does not make sense."

NO DEAL WITH ANC GOVT TOLD

Sowetan

(11A)

22/11/87

27/11/87

GABORONE — Botswana has described as slanderous allegations by the South African Government that it held discussions with members of the African National Congress (ANC) on infiltration plans into South Africa.

In a strongly worded note to the South African department of external affairs, The Botswana Government reiterated its "well known policy not to allow territory to be used by anyone as a transit route or base for attacks against any neighbouring countries, including South Africa."

Botswana was responding to Pretoria's note referring to stories by alleged arrested ANC operatives and other sources claiming that the Botswana Government has been approached by the ANC with a request that it allow its territory to be used as a conduit for infiltration into South Africa and that it assist the ANC establish transit facilities for the infiltrations.

In its note the Government categorically denies that it has any knowledge of planned ANC activities which involve the use of its territory.

"It has not held any discussions with any members of the ANC on infiltration plans and

considers allegations that it has done so as slanderous," says the note.

"The government of Botswana repeats the invitation which it has offered to the South African Government before in similar circumstances, to

provide it with information indicating that the ANC was using or was planning to use Botswana territory as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa," says the note.

It adds that such information would enable the government of Botswana to take steps to ensure that its territory was not so used.



QUETT Masire . . . Botswana's president.

Africa News Organisation

400-6045 27/11/81

Youth murdered in Maritzburg violence

PRETORIA. (114) A youth was murdered and two houses and two cars were set alight in continuing unrest in the Maritzburg area, police reported yesterday.

The youth was killed by "a group wielding sharp instruments" at Mpumalanga. No further details were given.

Two cars and one house were set alight and extensively damaged at Smero. The second house was set alight at Inada and fairly seriously damaged.

Meanwhile, at Greytown, a man and two youths were seriously injured when "two groups clashed".

At Shongweni, Hammarsdale, a private vehicle was extensively damaged when a petrol bomb was hurled at it.

● Two landmines — one on top of the other — were found on a farm road in the Piet Retief area on Wednesday night, police said — Sapa

APC Thurs 28/1/82

Woman stabbed to death

PRETORIA. — A 64-year-old woman was stabbed to death on Thursday and another woman seriously injured in the Maritzburg township of Edendale.

According to the police overnight unrest report a large group "murdered a 64-year-old woman by stabbing her to death and seriously injured a 54-year-old woman".

Meanwhile, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he was outraged by false accusations that Inkatha was the perpetrator of violence in the area.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at a passing-out parade at the Emandleni-Matleng Camp where young people are taught skills and learn to help the poor and uneducated.

He said people had accused Inkatha of developing the camp as a "para-military" project.

LRA (circled) C/P news 29/11/87

ANC denies SA

infiltration plan

CP Correspondent

THE ANC has strongly denied alleged plans to infiltrate South Africa through Botswana.

The denial came after the South African govern-

ment issued a stern warning, in the form of a communique to the Botswana government, telling it not to allow its territory to be used for the expected infiltration of ANC guerrillas between now and the end of the year.

that, after pressure from Pretoria, the Botswana government asked the ANC to close its office in their country.

"It makes no sense to us that we should go back to the Botswana government and ask to use its territory for the things Pretoria alleges we have in mind."

He said the ANC had given undertakings to the Botswana government. Any move by the ANC, as alleged by Pretoria, would only serve to jeopardise Botswana and its people.

He, however, accused South Africa of wanting to "find a pretext" for "another raid" on a neighbouring state.

It was "no secret" that the South African government had previously made such allegations before raids on neighbouring states.

"One cannot rule out the possibility that Pretoria is once again preparing the minds of whites in South Africa to expect what it did last year in Harare and Lusaka when both cities were attacked on the same day," he said.

The ANC knew "nothing" of alleged discussions, between members of Umkhonto's command and senior members of the Botswana government, to prepare for ANC members to infiltrate South Africa.

ANC wants to use Botswana - SA

THE African National Congress had asked Botswana to allow its territory to be used as conduit for infiltrating insurgents into South Africa, South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs said in a note sent to Botswana this week.

According to the note "South Africa's security forces had obtained information about a large-scale ANC infiltration into South Africa that would take place in December and January.

"Recently captured terrorists and other sources allege that the ANC has approached the Botswana government to allow its territory to be used as a conduit for infiltrating terrorists, and to establish transit facilities.

"According to the same sources, several members of the command structure of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, including a senior member, recently visited Botswana to

arrange for the execution of their infiltration plan, and to hold discussions with senior members of the Botswana government in this regard," added the note.

"Every reason exists to believe that the Botswana government is informed of the ANC's plans to commit acts of terror in South Africa via Botswana territory during the coming weeks.

"During public court hearings and interrogations of terrorists

awaiting trial, these terrorists have referred to Botswana as their main infiltration route.

"Evidence to be prepared in forthcoming court cases will further point to Botswana as the main route for terrorist infiltration into South Africa. This will also increase public concern in South Africa about the safety of travellers and businessmen in Botswana," the note concluded. Sapa.

MBEKI TO SPEAK

(178)
City Press
29/11/87



SPEAK

IN PE

By KHULU SIBIYA

IN an unprecedented move, especially in view of the current state of emergency in the country, the government has given permission for recently released ANC veteran Govan Mbeki to address an open-air rally in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

This is the first time that the government has sanctioned a rally of this nature - to be addressed by a self-confessed member of the ANC - since the state of emergency was declared two years ago.

Thousands of people are expected to attend the rally at Dan Oge Stadium, Port Elizabeth, to hear Mbeki, who is a listed person and cannot be quoted in South Africa, speak for the first time in public since his release.

The rally is also the second authorised public meeting where the ANC has been officially allowed a platform since it was forced into exile in 1960.

The first took place two years ago in the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, where Zinzi Mandela delivered a message on behalf of her father, Nelson, responding to President PW Botha's proposal that he was prepared to release him from Robben Island Prison on condition that he renounced violence.

The 77-year-old nationalist leader, who was sentenced to life imprisonment 23 years ago, will share a platform with the wives of his colleagues and former cell-mates. They are Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, wives of Nelson and Walter, respectively.

Also expected to address the rally is the patron of the United Democratic Front and president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak.

Permission to hold the rally was granted by the local police chief, Brigadier Ernest Schnetter, and the acting magistrate for Port Elizabeth, JM Oosthuizen, on Wednesday.

However, two restrictions have been placed and these are that the rally should take place between 12pm and 4pm and that it should take place within the grounds of the stadium. People attending must travel in cars and buses, and not on foot.

Meanwhile, there has been wide speculation that the government has released Mbeki as a test case for the possible release of other political prisoners and to test whether his utterances could lead to public disturbances.

So far Mbeki has been keeping a low profile in his new home in New Brighton.

The rally is organised by the Interdenominational Ministers' Association of Southern Africa.

The organisers said in view of the state of emergency, which was presently in force, they were making a special appeal to all those who would be attending the meeting to conduct themselves in "a peaceful and dignified manner appropriate to the occasion".

"This is all the more by reason of the respect with which Mbeki is regarded in the whole country," said Idamasa.



File: BP Setuke

Lovelies ponder on the big cup winner

Miss NSL finalist,

INSIDE

HANGED!

Two rapists go to the gallows

- Page 7

SAP's with

By SBU MNGADI

IN a bizarre twist in the current conflict in the embattled Maritzburg, members of the SA police involved in a fierce shootout with Zulu police.

The exchange of shots a forth confirmed by police spokesmen, the two police forces at Dindi Edendale, claimed two injuries from each side. A Constable Du SAP is recuperating at Edendale.

Maritzburg SAP PRO Capt Kitching confirmed that member SAP had gone to a hut at Dindi.

BC leaders for a weekend in

By SOL MORATHI

SIX black consciousness leaders who were taken away "for the weekend" by police on the eve of last week's commemoration service in Mamelodi, have been released.

They are Transvaal chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation, Thabo Selume; chairman of Azapo's Mamelodi branch, Denis Ndlovu; sec-

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FIA

C/Pren 29/11/87

Their fate known soon

By SOL MORATHI

THE State is expected to submit replying affidavits in the Pretoria Supreme Court today which will determine whether three high-ranking United Democratic Front officials will be released from police custody.

These statements will be replies to the affidavits made by Popo Molefe, Patrick Terror Lekota and Moses Chikane last week.

The three men, who, with 16 others, face charges ranging from

murder to high treason, have been in custody for more than two years, submitted strong-worded affidavits in court last Friday calling for their release.

All have pleaded not guilty before Judge Van Dijkhorst to charges of treason, terrorism, subversion and murder.

The affidavits made part of the bail application which was made on their behalf by the defence counsel, led by George Bizos SC.

State prosecutor PB Jacobs told the court last Friday that they were still going to study the affidavits and would submit replies today.

Whether or not the three men will be granted bail will depend solely on the reaction of the State, which has in the past refused them bail three times.

While 16 of their co-accused were granted R15 000 conditional bail each, the three were denied bail because, as the State puts it, they are a threat to national security and can possibly leave the country.

Judgment in the bail application is expected within a week.

Molefe is the secretary-general of the UDF, Lekota is the publicity secretary while Chikane is the secretary of the Transvaal region.

Meanwhile, Khelha Namane, 54, of Sebokeng, denied in court yesterday that speakers at the rent boycott meetings at Small Farms in Evaton had called for the killing of councillors and the destruction of their property.

Namane, who is testifying for the defence, said the speakers only condemned the councillors as "useless" and "powerless" and had at no stage said they should be killed.



ANC 'PLANNING TO MINE ROADS'

WALVIS BAY — Armed African National Congress members were planning to or had already infiltrated the Zeerust area of the Western Transvaal with instructions to place landmines on farm roads used by security forces, the Chief of the Security Police, Lt Gen Johannes van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Briefing journalists visiting a police camp in Walvis Bay, he warned of the ANC's intention to step up its armed struggle against South Africa during

the festive season. He said recently obtained information indicated that 13 ANC members intended infiltrating the Western Transvaal.

Botswana was being increasingly used as an infiltration route, with attempts being made to get that country's Government to sanction the use of its territory.

"They have already illicitly been using Botswana as an entry route for a number of years anyway, but are now pushing for co-operation from the authorities there."

Gen Van der Merwe said the ANC was now concentrating more on "local" training of its members, not in secret camps, but on a "face to face" basis by terrorists trained outside the country.

He said the advantages were that the trainees would not be noticeably absent from their homes for a long time, and the risks of entering and leaving the country illegally were eliminated.

Advantage

Also, frustration in far-away foreign camps was not present and the identity of the trainee insurgents was not known to other members of the ANC in the field.

"Another advantage for them is that they cannot be pointed out by rehabilitated terrorists who were trained outside the country."

An indication of the importance of local training for the ANC was that 77 of the 132 trained terrorists arrested so far this year were trained inside the country.

Taking the period starting after the 1976 Soweto riots, Gen van der Merwe said it was significant that most of the 631 terrorist acts up to the end of 1986 had taken place over the last two years.

On a percentage basis, it amounted to over 54%.

This year so far, there had been 195 terrorist actions.

On an average per month, incidents had risen from 2,45 in 1976, to 11,33 in 1985 and 19,08 last year. — Sapa

CAP TIPS 110
November 30, 1987

Closed meeting for Mbeki, diplomats

PORT ELIZABETH. — Freed ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki met foreign diplomats in a closed meeting at the weekend after the rally he was to have addressed was banned.

Mr Mbeki earlier spoke at a press conference where he read a speech he was to have delivered at the mass rally on Saturday.

The ANC leader is a listed person and cannot be quoted in SA.

Mr Frank Chikane, SACC secretary-general, said divisional police commissioner Brigadier Ernest Schnetler's decision to ban a service sanctioned by a magistrate was an indication that the police and army overruled the courts in South Africa.

A last-minute urgent application to set aside the banning order was dismissed with costs by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on Saturday afternoon.

Brig Schnetler argued that it was "pointless to prohibit him from being quoted while allowing him to address a gathering of 55 000 people".

Mr Justice Jones said the evidence was that the brigadier's "prime concern was that the rally would prejudice the termination of the state of emergency". — Sapa-

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Williamson admits link to London 'spy burglaries'

own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former South African spy Mr Craig Williamson has admitted he had dealings with two men convicted of breaking into the office of various anti-apartheid movements here.

In a letter to the Observer newspaper yesterday, the spy-turned-politician admitted that the men — Edward Aspinall and Peter Caselton — had sent him information gained in the burglaries.

Between 1978 and 1980, Mr Williamson, now a member of the President's Council, infiltrated the University Exchange Fund, a Geneva-based organi-

zation providing grants for black South African students.

Describing himself as a South African patriot who would not break the law, he does, however, admit in the letter that he had links with Aspinall and Caselton.

The two were tried and convicted at the Old Bailey in 1982 of conspiring to burgle the London offices of the ANC, Swapo and the PAC.

Mr Williamson denies he ordered the men to commit the burglaries or that he was involved in the

firebombing of some of the offices concerned.

He was, he said, only aware of the burglaries "after the fact".

"Within the intelligence world, professionals are sometimes forced to deal with and accept information from 'cowboys' or, as I prefer to call them, 'unguided missiles'.

"Nevertheless, to believe that either British or South African intelligence run actual operations using 'unguided missiles' is dangerously ignorant," he told the newspaper.

TEARS AS UDF 3 BAIL PLEA FAILS

FRIENDS and relatives of three treason trialists — two of whom are high-ranking officials of the UDF — broke down and wept immediately after the judge rejected their fourth bail application in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Friday.

Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor, dismissed the application ruling it "inopportune" to give reasons for his decision even after Mr George Bizos, SC, for the defence submitted that the security situation in the country had improved enough for the three to be released. The three political activists who brought a new application for bail are Mr Popo Simon Molefe, national general secretary of the UDF, Mr Patric "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF, and Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal UDF secretary.

The three, together with 16 others who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal



BIZOS . . . "national security improved"

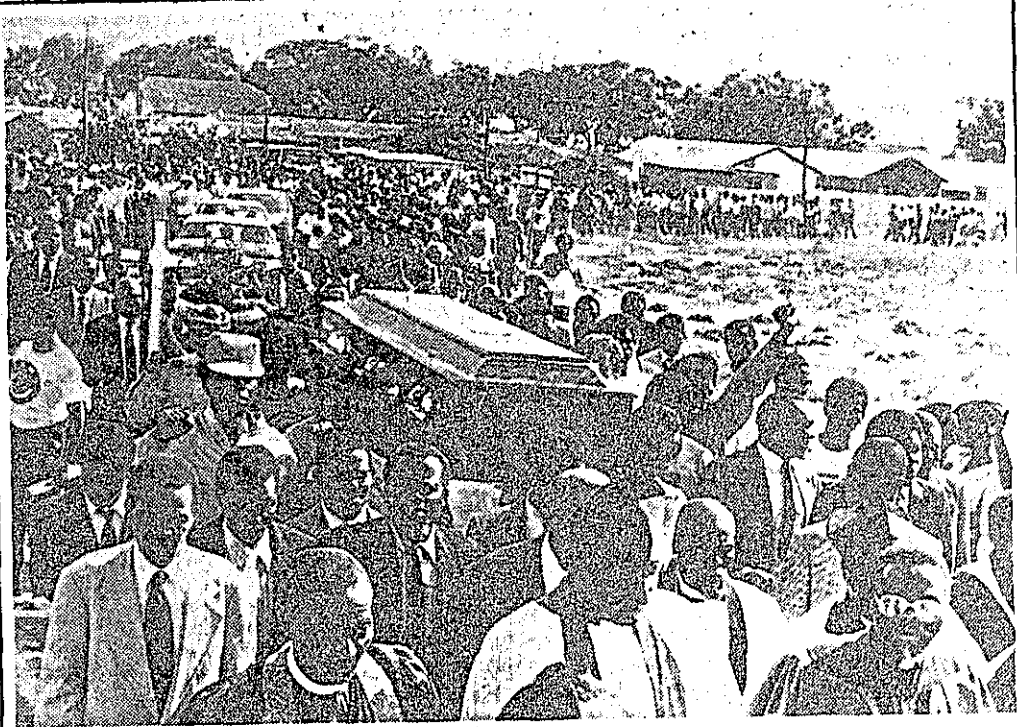
Civic Association have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

• Two witnesses for the defence in the same trial told the Pretoria Supreme Court that a peaceful protest march against rent increases was disrupted by police who fired shots and used tearsmoke to disperse them in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, in 1984.

Mr Mahase Mokamen and Mr Maletsane Dlamini, said they were part of the march to the Houtkop Administration Board offices on September 3, 1984, when their paths were blocked by the police who parked "hippos" across street.

UDF leader

member of the Eurocats, may have ^{bodies of two} right side.



LANGA FUNERAL ... About 3 500 people attended the funeral of veteran trade unionist and former ANC activist the Rev Howard Marawu in Langa on Saturday. Mr Marawu was born in Lady Frere in Transkei in 1922 and came to Cape Town in 1942. He was ordained a minister of the African Reformed Church in 1973. He was a Transport and General Workers' Union organizer and a member of the Release Mandela Campaign committee, the Ecumenical Action Movement executive and the Western Cape Civic Association. He was detained

*CM & TMIS
30/11/87*

under emergency regulations in 1985 and 1986.
Picture: FANIE JASON

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at the investigative team, comprising three people, expected to arrive in Mauritius.

Mbeki's moves 'at command of the ANC'

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30/11/87

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Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — Everything Mr Govan Mbeki had done since his release from jail last month was at the command of the ANC, the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, said at the weekend.

He also said at a press briefing here that although the police had banned the Port Elizabeth meeting, they would consider all future rallies "separately". "We are obliged to look at circumstances in each case," he said.

The police would have to consider the safety of both the public and the state in each case.

Asked if the government feared that a rally would lead to an outbreak of violence, he replied: "It may create or promote a revolutionary climate."

But he conceded in reply to another question that the banning of the rally could lead to frustration.

"There are certainly disadvantages but we have to decide which is the greatest disadvantage."

General Van der Merwe said: "Everything Mr Mbeki does is at the command of the ANC."

But he said there was nothing illegal about this. Mr Mbeki would only be breaking the law if he promoted the aims of the ANC and its image.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said Mr Mbeki had been released "but we can't control him".

Both Mr Vlok and General Van der Merwe declined to draw publicly on whether Mr Mbeki's actions since his release would affect the prospects of releasing other security prisoners.

Legal groups the main security challenge

Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — Legal rather than banned organizations posed the major security challenge in South Africa today, the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, said at the weekend.

"The activities of the legal radical organizations are the most important that we have to reckon with."

"Radical legal actions are more important than radical illegal activities at the moment," General Van der Merwe said.

Despite recent security force actions, the revolutionary climate was on the increase, he said.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the police were concerned about the revolutionary climate "which is still very high", despite the outward appearance of calm.

"The unrest is on a more subtle terrain and it is therefore more difficult to deal with."

General Van der Merwe said the problem the state faced in containing these "legal radical organizations" was that these bodies conducted their activities within the law.

He singled out the UDF, its affiliates, the Cosatu "and some other trade unions".

He added that if organizations went "too far" they would be banned in terms of the law.

'Hearts and minds of all in SA'

Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — The government must win the hearts and minds of all races in South Africa otherwise "we will never have a safe South Africa", the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said at the weekend.

"We will have to find a political solution acceptable to the majority — otherwise we will lose," Mr Vlok said.

He said he believed the government had to curb the revolutionary climate by security actions, "good government through the removal of grievances and efficient administration" and a constitutional solution which was acceptable to the majority.

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Increased support for terrorism predicted

Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — The banned ANC would come out in support of increased terrorism in South Africa at its conference at Arusha in Tanzania this week, the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, predicted at the weekend.

He also said that according to the police's information there was no serious division in the ANC leadership at present.

At a press briefing General Van der Merwe said three major themes were likely to dominate the conference:

- The ANC would again try to justify its increased military action.

- It would try to improve its status and image among black South Africans.

- It would promote the idea that it was the only legitimate representative of blacks in South Africa to gain increased international recognition.

The ANC would also try to get involved in internal organizations such as the UDF and Co-satu.

General Van der Merwe said the ANC was not interested in peace discussions if this meant changes to its policy on violence or threatened its relationship with the SA Communist Party.

SA warned to brace itself for increase in ANC terror

Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — South Africa has been warned by the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, to brace itself for increased ANC terrorism, including attacks on more "sensational targets".

Between January and October this year there had already been 195 "terrorist attacks", an average of 19,5 a month, compared to the average of 19,08 a month last year and 2,45 a month between 1976 and 1984, he told a press briefing here.

But the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the ANC would "never defeat South Africa by military means".

However, the ANC was resorting to mass-mobilization techniques to cre-

ate unrest and this was more difficult to curb, Mr Vlok said.

General Van der Merwe said the ANC had not only increased its violence in recent years but changed its training programmes.

The most significant feature of this was the training of "terrorists" locally inside South Africa. This held a number of advantages for the ANC.

Locally trained "terrorists" did not leave the country or their communities and were difficult to identify.

The frustration in ANC training camps, which created division, was avoided and it was more difficult for "rehabilitated terrorists" to break up cells by identifying its members.

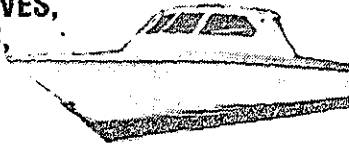
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MONTH END WAREHOUSE CLEARANCE

★ 85 SEDANS ★ 4 S/WAGONS ★

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AT THE REPOSSESSION STORE (THE BLUE AND WHITE BUILDING)

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Sea Point Auction Mart

AUCTIONEER: LENNY FINBERG, AVRON GREENBERG, JOHN MARCUS

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★ Finance to be arranged prior to bidding ★ Optional 24-month warranty ★ All cars sold under cover ★ Ample parking ★ All cars may be started and inspected during the viewing period ★ Audience seated while cars driven around ★ Refreshments available. Terms: ① 10% deposit at the fall of the hammer ② Balance by 5 pm on day after sale ③ No cars sold out of hand before auction (BQ1602500)

Political Staff

THE chances of an early release for jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are dwindling rapidly.

There was strong speculation after Mr Govan Mbeki's release recently that Mr Mandela would be next.

But security sources have disclosed that they are not entirely happy with the way in which Mr Mbeki is operating which could even lead to his being banned.

He is a listed communist but may address meetings without being quoted.

A senior source indicated that Mr Mbeki was now being "manipulated" by the ANC and that

Less hope for early release of Mandela

Cape Times 30/11/87

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everything he did was part of a deliberate campaign to improve the organization's image.

Government spokesmen indicated some time ago that the release of further security prisoners, such as Mr Mandela, would depend on what happened after the release of Mr Mbeki and other prisoners.

Indications now are that Mr Mbeki's active return to politics and his

attempt to address a massive rally at the weekend in particular has raised doubts about his release in security circles who believe the revolutionary climate is still too high.

It was hoped that Mr Mbeki would retire to a quiet life after his release but he is now working in close co-operation with the ANC.

He has been told not to do anything which could

harm the image of the ANC or the chances of other releases.

However, it is quite evident that while the authorities are unhappy about the outcome of Mr Mbeki's release the chances for Mr Mandela, whose release would be even more emotional and sensational, are slim.

● Mbeki's moves 'at ANC command', — Page 4

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No dancing after Mbeki rally

THERE will be no *toyi-toyi* for freed African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki when he addresses a huge rally in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

Restrictions on the rally include a requirement that those attending the meeting must leave in cars or buses, not on foot — ruling out a *toyi-toyi*. The martial-style dance and chant has been in evidence at political meetings and funerals since 1985.

Mbeki, a listed communist, has decided not to apply for permission for his speech to be quoted, civil rights lawyer Priscilla Jana said yesterday.

Also scheduled to speak are activist Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, co-president of the United Democratic Front.

The rally-cum-service has been organised by the South African Council of Churches and the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Association.

At least nine ambassadors have indicated to Jana they will be at Dan Qeqe Stadium to listen to the veteran ANC politician. They include representatives of the United States, Britain, Sweden, West Germany, Australia,

BY MONO BADELA

Finland, the Netherlands, France and Canada.

Authorisation for the event, scheduled to begin at 12 noon, has been obtained from the chief magistrate on Port Elizabeth, according to organisers, subject to the following conditions:

● that the service start at 12 noon and terminate at 4 pm;

● that all proceedings are held strictly within the precincts of the Dan Qeqe stadium; and

● that all those who attend leave the stadium by means of motor vehicles.

Mbeki's appearance tomorrow will be the first public appearance in 27 years in South Africa by a member of the outlawed African National Congress.

The 77-year-old former ANC chairman has kept a low profile since his release from Robben Island on November 6, appearing in public only twice.

● A rally planned for the weekend in Mbeki's honour in Cape Town has been postponed to December 16.

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W/Mbeki

27/11-3/12/87

EVEN when Odile Harrington — alone, inexperienced and with her paper-thin "cover" in tatters — was being held in Harare's Mabelreign police cells, she kept her faith with her God and her "commander".

To her God she prayed, apparently believing even then that He would bring her "safely back". To her "commander" she attempted to entrust the practical application of that return — asking a fellow-detainee about to be released to phone Jeff (her commander) or Grant at different telephone numbers in Johannesburg.

Whether her faith in her God

A phone-call to Jeff. 'I've never met her'

By DAVID NIDDRIE

was justified could be established today, when Zimbabwe Judge President, Mr Justice Sandura gives judgement in her trial. As the other major source of her faith and target of her trust, "commander" Jeff has already been judged.

Like her original attempt to smuggle a message to "commander" Jeff out of an ANC safe house in Harare, her message from Mabelreign, scribbled on a Pepsi advertising leaflet, was easily intercepted.

The number she gave for Grant

no longer exists. But the number she gave for Jeff belonged to a telephone in John Vorster Square and was answered, on Monday, by a Sergeant Geoffrey Price.

By Thursday, as Harrington's trial neared its end, Price's number had been cut off, and the Post Office said it had never existed. A John Vorster Square security police representative also denied any knowledge of a Sergeant Price — a denial contradicted by John Vorster Square

switchboard, which duly got Price on the line.

Price initially said he had never met Harrington. "It is totally impossible, I've never personally spoken to her," he said. But in a subsequent conversation he said: "You will have to get comment from press liaison, I can't say anything."

In addition to denying any knowledge of the woman who revered him as her "commander", Geoffrey Price denied any link with a Geoffrey Price who fled Zimbabwe in 1981 to avoid ar-

rest as a South African spy.

That Geoffrey Price is a former member of the Zimbabwe Central Intelligence Organisation, later declared "an enemy of the state" by the Zimbabwe government.

Zimbabwe officials accused him of recruiting, as South African spies, CIO officials Phillip Hartlebury and Colin Evans.

Hartlebury and Evans were detained in 1981, charged with spying for South Africa, and acquitted after their confessions were found in court to have been obtained under duress.

They were later redetained and held until early this year, when they were released to fly to Britain.

Another in the list of young, white, naive spies

THE case of self-confessed South African spy Odile Harrington appears to have blown the cover off a pattern of recruitment of young, white attractive women as penetration agents by Pretoria's security services.

Ill-trained and badly prepared for the mission and ordeal that faced her in Zimbabwe, 27-year-old Harrington cut a naive figure in Harare's High Court this week when she answered charges of spying on exiled members of the African National Congress.

The one-time Pretoria University Fine Arts student was captured when she gave an envelope to a Zimbabwean policeman who was guarding the house at which she was staying with other refugees wanting to join the ANC. The envelope contained a photograph of a man Harrington believed was the chief of ANC intelligence. She wanted the police sergeant to post the photograph to her South African controllers known as "Jeff" and "Grant".

The man she identified as "chief of intelligence" was, in fact, a junior member of the ANC who holds no position in the outlawed movement.

The information she attempted to provide her handlers with — about refugee and ANC residences in Harare, car registration numbers and ANC members' identities — was mainly of a kind which was fairly

widely known and could have been obtained without indulgence in the complicated ritual of espionage.

She is understood to have arrived in Zimbabwe in October last year and, initially, to have stayed at the Young Women's Christian Association hostel in Harare.

There, she put out word that she wanted to get in touch with ANC people because she wanted to help in the struggle against apartheid.

She is understood later to have moved to a general refugee transit centre in Harare, frequented mainly by potential Swapo and Pan Africanist Congress members.

But, at a public meeting in the Stardt Hall in the high density suburb of Mbare to celebrate the ANC's 75th anniversary on January 8 this year, she is understood to have met some members of the organisation. She offered her services as a courier as she was "low profile".

She was then allowed to move, it is understood, to the house accommodating aspirant ANC members and where she was caught.

Harrington's counsel has alleged she was mistreated in detention, but no evidence on this has yet been led. She claimed in court she had received no training for her task, she had turned down payment for the mission (which was to "become an

The self-confessed South African spy who appeared this week in a Harare court was one more in a list of young, white, naive women caught up in subterfuge. HOWARD BARRELL reports

ANC courier"), and that she had done it all for "Jeff" and the South African government.

A senior ANC source this week described Harrington's case as "pathetic, immoral — whether she received training or not".

"She is just one of a great many people we and others have recently uncovered — black and white — who have just not been prepared for what faces them if they get caught up in spying," the ANC official added.

Harrington's circumstances bear a close resemblance to two other recent cases, involving young white women, which have not yet received the same public disclosure.

Neither of these two women could be contacted to respond to the allegations made against them as both have disappeared from public view. The allegations are that they are or were undercover agents of the same subsection of the intelligence section of the South African security police.

One-time Rhodes University anti-apartheid activist Olivia Forsyth disappeared in the middle of last year after her behaviour had provoked the suspicions of journalists, as well as anti-apartheid activists inside South Africa and in exile.

She had made a number of visits to frontline states purportedly for a business research company which had no physical address and used a Swiss bank account, which took journalists (and, it is understood, activists as well) little effort to establish was bogus.

She had approached a number of journalists in the frontline states to write for the false firm, John Fitzgerald and Associates.

According to a *Business Day* report earlier this year, Forsyth is a relative by marriage of Derek Brune, a former Wits University student who was a penetration agent on the Students Representative Council and in Nusas at the same time as superspy Craig Williamson.

Brune is believed to be in the security police.

Officially, both the ANC and security police have disclaimed any knowledge of her whereabouts.

But rumours persist that Forsyth may have been held by a security service in one of the frontline states.

In recent months, another young

white female anti-apartheid activist — whose name is being withheld for legal reasons — was forced to resign from several organisations after reports circulated that she, too, was a security police agent. She disappeared a little while later.

She is now thought to be receiving state protection. Rumours that she may have been abducted or killed by anti-apartheid militants inside or outside of the ANC are, by all available accounts, untrue.

A common trait in all three women, according to one anti-apartheid activist now in exile, appeared to be an "irresistible tendency to racist arrogance".

Zimbabwe's Judge President, Mr Justice Sandura, is expected to deliver judgement today in Harrington's case.

Although Harrington admitted to her spying activities, she pleaded not guilty to charges under Zimbabwe's Official Secrets Act and Law and Order Maintenance Act. She did this on the grounds that her activities had not been directed as an act of hostility or war against the Zimbabwean state.

If she gets off, it will be through this legal loophole.

It has not been a merry dance for "Grant" and "Jeff's" little drummer girl.



Child refugees from the Pietermaritzburg violence find a place to sleep on the floor of a Durban church
 Picture: BILLY PADDOCK

No Natal peace until detainees freed, says UDF

UNITED Democratic Front leaders in Pietermaritzburg say they cannot hold out any promise of an end to the violence in the local townships until their detained members are released.

However, AS Chetty, who chairs the Natal Midlands branch of the UDF, said it was possible that "ripple effects" of this week's initial talks between Inkatha/United Workers' Union of South Africa and the UDF/Congress of South African Trade Unions could filter down and help calm tempers in the townships.

Chetty said their detained members were key figures in the townships.

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

"At the meeting we, jointly with Inkatha, made a very heavy demand that these members be released."

Chetty was one of a group of local leaders whose organisations are involved in the violence. Their first round of talks this week was chaired by officials of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

Following the meeting, an official statement was released by the chamber, as all parties had agreed not to make independent statements.

Chamber officials said the parties had agreed to a joint call for the release, from detention of members of the organisations which are party to the talks.

They also agreed with the principle that the groups should be able to meet their constituencies without interference from the security forces.

All involved endorsed the "principles of freedom of expression" and agreed to take disciplinary action against members who violated this.

While there were issues on which agreement was not reached, Chamber officials said they were optimistic

about the progress that was made and a date has been set for the next talks.

However, in spite of this optimism, the violence and killings have continued, with official reports of four deaths since Tuesday.

Youths are still living in church and community halls in and around Durban after fleeing their homes earlier this month to escape the violence.

At one stage there were over 120 youngsters — some of them only 11 — who fled their homes, saying they feared for their lives because of threats by Inkatha.

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27/11-3/12/87

ANC policy review at Arusha meeting

By GERALD L'ANGE
Argus Africa News Service
in Arusha, Tanzania

THROUGH a conference with international participation in this little town near Mount Kilimanjaro the African National Congress (ANC) is this week making one of its biggest efforts to widen support for its cause.

Several hundred delegates, including political, religious, trade union, show business and other personalities as well as ANC officials are gathering for the meeting in the large conference centre here.

ANC officials said the meeting would definitely be attended by singer Stevie Wonder and the widow of assassinated Swedish premier Olaf Palme, but there was less certainty about the participation of the American black politician Rev Jesse Jackson, singer Harry Bela-

fonte and American black activist Angela Davis.

They said PLO leader Yasser Arafat might still attend but if he did not his organisation would be represented by another official.

The conference is being opened today by former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. ANC leader Oliver Tambo, a keynote speaker, has arrived.

Redefined policies

ANC support groups from Holland, Sweden and other European countries are strongly in evidence. Prominent among them is Klaas de Jonge, the former political fugitive in the Dutch embassy in Pretoria who was freed in the recent prisoner swap.

Unlike the consultative conference at Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985, which redefined ANC policies and priorities and made major changes in the executive, the Arusha

meeting will not make a major review of policy.

Through public discussion of a number of position papers it will, however, reflect the latest thinking in the ANC on major issues.

The papers have been prepared by a working group over a period of several months. No resolutions will be passed but the conference will adopt a declaration and possibly also a programme of action.

The preparations and format of the meeting suggest that it is to a large extent a public relations exercise aimed at boosting the organisation's international image, which has taken some knocks from the South African Government's crackdown through the state of emergency.

The theme of the conference is "The world united against apartheid for a democratic South Africa."

Aiming for wider support

Argus Foreign Service
in London

THIS week's meeting of the ANC in Tanzania will focus on bolstering the faltering economic sanctions campaign against Pretoria and examine the policies the organisation hopes to pursue after apartheid.

A spokesman said this was the first time such a meeting had been organised. "This is our own initiative and we hope it's not just going to be another run of the mill meeting condemning apartheid."

ANC leaders hope to use the conference in Arusha to muster support for their policy of isolating Pretoria. A recent setback for the sanctions lobby has been the decision by the Ivory Coast to allow full landing rights to South African Airways.

ANC members are also trying to defuse criticism that they have no definite political or economic plans for a future South Africa, only a vague commitment to socialism. Both the ANC and the South African Communist Party have been agonising over the international shift away from central planning towards free enterprise.

An item in the SACP journal *The African Commu-*

nist says the SACP and the ANC will better be able to perform their leading role if they adopt the Russian concepts of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Another important topic on the agenda in Arusha will be the ANC's attempt to step up its guerilla war.

The organisation recently reshuffled the leadership of its military wing, but is confronting a white government which is increasingly confident that it can crush township opposition.

Israeli row

It is also known to be uneasy that the government took the initiative in releasing ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki without making any major concessions or agreeing to negotiate a handover of power. "The mere fact of the release of political prisoners in South Africa does not end the system of apartheid," says an ANC spokesman.

Peter Allen-Frost in Jerusalem reports that the Israeli foreign ministry has firmly denied that it offered to pay the expenses of an Israeli political activist invited by the ANC to the conference in Tanzania.

"The foreign ministry is in

no way involved in this affair," a spokesman said.

However a ministry official did say there would be an Israeli representative at the ANC conference "from the Communist party." Yet a spokesman for the Israeli communists denied that their representative would be in Tanzania although a spokesman admitted it did have a hand in the activities of the "Israel Anti-Apartheid Organization" which received the original invitation — the first time in 40 years of statehood any such invitation from the ANC has been received.

Initially the Israeli Anti-Apartheid Organization had chosen freelance journalist Rina Moss to attend the conference because, as she put it in a telephone interview "I speak English and have Israeli-American nationality and two passports."

Miss Moss however could not find the R4 000 needed to take part and her organization does not have sufficient money to help out. Appeals were made to several quarters, Miss Moss said, but there was little real response, until an appeal was made to the left wing Mapam political party here.

ANC has democratic aims, policeman agrees in court

MDANTSANE — The African National Congress had democratic objectives and was fighting apartheid in South Africa, a senior South African security policeman agreed under cross-examination in the Regional Court here yesterday.

Captain J. van Wyk was giving evidence in the trial of Mr Xolile Matebese, Mr Mzwandile Mampunye, Mr

Mlamli Faku and Mr Xolani Ngudle.

They have pleaded not guilty to charges under the Ciskei National Security Act.

Capt Van Wyk said he was aware that the ANC regarded defectors as traitors.

Mr M. Moerane, for the defence, said there had been no evidence that a state witness, Mrs or Miss X, as she is

called by the state, might be harmed.

He was asked by the state whether it would be wise to call upon the witness, who had requested anonymity.

After the state and the defence had addressed the regional magistrate,

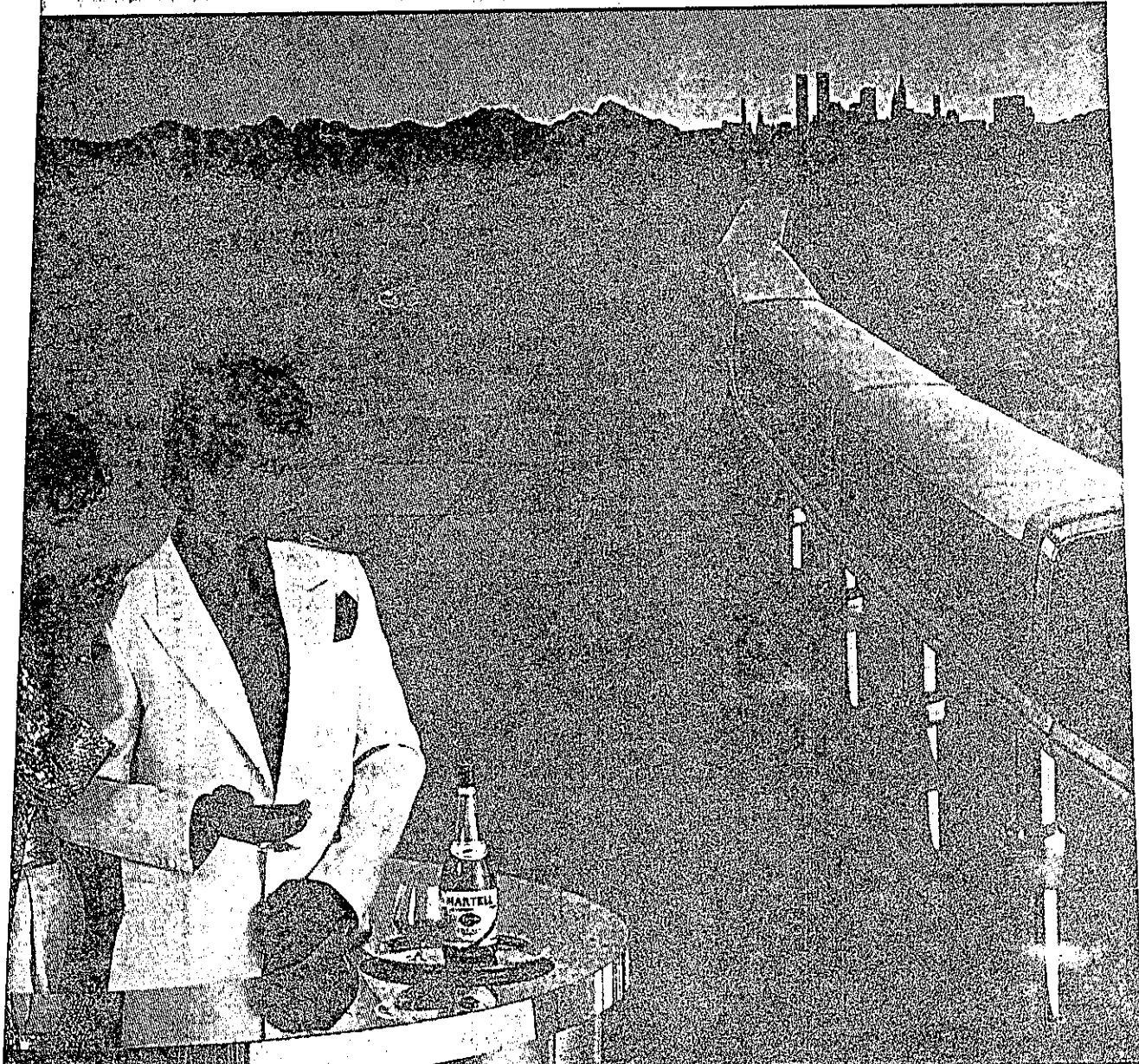
Mr J. Dracatos, on this subject, the court decided that she would testify in camera and that her identity would not be revealed. — DDR

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ANC 'SOLDIER' FOUND GUILTY OF TERRORISM

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress "soldier" Mxolisi Edward Petane, 29, who placed a car bomb at the Dion shopping centre in Parow last year, was convicted today of terrorism and attempted murder.

When Mr Justice Conradie concluded his judgment in the Supreme Court, Petane responded with three clenched-fist salutes and a piercing cry of "Victory or death. We shall win."

Petane, who wore a black zip-up jacket with bold green and bright golden yellow stripes at the shoulder today, described himself during the trial as a "soldier" of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the armed wing of the ANC.

He claimed the car bomb was intended as a psychological and propaganda weapon and that he had built it so that it could not explode.

The judge found that "by a stroke of the most marvellous good fortune", a "brave and cool headed" Mr Anton van der Berg had seen smoke in the car, removed a coffee tin containing TNT and a hand-grenade and closed the tin with the lid left on a seat in the car.

Mr Justice Conradie found that the bomb was a threat to property and life in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The judge said that even if the device had not been manufactured to explode as Petane claimed and had not been a direct threat to property and life, Petane would have been guilty of an act of terrorism.

This was because the "very real threat" of placing the bomb was intended to convey the message that *Umkhonto we Sizwe* had the skill, material and capability to plant bombs "of this diabolical kind" the judge said.

Petane told the court he left the tin lid beside the device so that whoever found it could easily put out the fire in the tin. The fire had been started by a flashlight filament embedded in a quantity of potassium chlorate, the judge said.

Petane was found guilty of the attempted murder of Constable Johan Kotze and of the attempted murder of policemen who pursued him in KTC the day he was arrested. Some of the policemen were wounded by a hand-grenade Petane threw in their direction. — Sapa

An ANC perspective of SA's future

From GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Argus Africa News Service, in Arusha, Tanzania

AKG 2/11/87
11A

NEW insights into policy thinking in the African National Congress have emerged from the papers presented at the organisation's international conference in Arusha, Tanzania. If anything, they appear to reinforce the strong socialist content of ANC policy.

And they emphasise the width of the gap that would have to be narrowed before there could be any serious talk of negotiation between the organisation and the South African Government.

The papers, prepared over a period of months by a special ANC committee, are regarded here as an authoritative expression of basic policy.

Rejection

They will, however, be discussed by the ANC and the international delegates in Arusha in open plenary session — discussions that are described as the main function of the conference.

In what is probably the most important paper, entitled "Perspectives of the South African Democratic

Movement," the ANC firmly reaffirms its rejection of ethnic group rights in a post-apartheid South Africa.

On economic policy it sketches what might be seen by some as a contradictory stance, proposing a "rapid increase in the production of wealth" but at the same time an equitable distribution of that wealth.

It also calls for the "deracialisation and democratisation of the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution."

Ownership

The extent of that control represents the extent of the ANC's vision of socialism and may emerge more precisely from the public discussions in Arusha.

Declaring its intention to abrogate existing legislation on the ownership and use of land, the paper says even this "would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger for land."

The land would have to be redistributed among those who work it — which would result in increased production, the paper maintains.

It says a sizable sector of the economy has been reserved to serve the whites and the economic policies of the present Government have resulted in "unmitigated disaster for millions of our people."

The "democratic state" envisaged by the ANC "will have to ensure that it has access to the necessary resources and the ownership and control of the economy, democratised to ensure that it serves the wellbeing of the people through increased production and fair distribution of the wealth that is created."

"We therefore visualise a mixed economy in which there will be a private sector as well as co-operative and state property."

The domination of the national culture, especially what is seen as the Afrikaner chauvinism manifested by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, is rejected in the paper.

Implicit support for a nationalised health service is given in the paper's call for "an alternative, people's health system." On foreign policy the paper says "a new

alternative system of relations is developing between democratic South Africa and the rest of the world."

Former Tanzanian president, Dr Julius Nyerere, opened the conference yesterday. The opening ceremony was addressed also by ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is banned and cannot be quoted, and by Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Celebrities

A message from President Rajiv Gandhi of India was read by a visiting member of his cabinet. Behind the speakers at the ceremony hung a giant portrait resembling Steve Biko. The ceremony ended with a song by uniformed members of the ANC youth movement, who released several pigeons in the auditorium.

None of the foreign celebrities who were rumoured to have planned to attend the meeting have turned up. Archbishop Tutu of South Africa and the Rev Alan Boesak are expected by ANC officials to arrive before the meeting ends on Friday.

Black SA man denies he spied

(114)

son
2/12/87

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — A black South African facing three charges of spying told the High Court here that the ANC had planted notebooks in his belongings.

Mr Isaiah Moyo (31) has pleaded not guilty to charges that between October 1982 and March last year he visited Zambia to gather data on military installations and homes of ANC members.

GENUINE FRIENDS

Yesterday he denied he had been trained at Phalabukwe military camp and that he had trained other truck drivers to spy for South Africa.

Mr Moyo said he had made genuine friends among ANC members without any ulterior motives.

He admitted visiting the homes of ANC members and buying them beers but denied spying on them or collecting information on Zambia's military installations.

The case was adjourned indefinitely for judgment. The prosecution must file submissions by December 14.

(11A)

Insight into ANC's policy

2/12/87 By Gerald Ange,
The Star's Africa
News Service

ARUSHA — New insights into policy thinking in the African National Congress have emerged from the papers presented at the organisation's international conference in Arusha, Tanzania.

If anything, the papers appear to reinforce the strong socialist content of ANC policy.

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In what is probably the most important paper, entitled "Perspectives of the South African Democratic Movement", the ANC reaffirms its rejection of ethnic group rights in a post-apartheid South Africa.

CONTRADICTIONARY

On economic policy, it sketches what might be seen by some as a contradictory stance, proposing a "rapid increase in the production of wealth" but, at the same time, an equitable distribution of that wealth.

It also calls for the "deracialisation and democratisation of the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution".

Declaring its intention of abrogating existing legislation on the ownership and use of land, the paper says even this "would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger for land".

The land would have to be redistributed among those who work it — which would result in increased production, the paper maintains.

The "democratic state" envisaged by the ANC "will have to ensure that it has access to the necessary resources and the ownership and control of the economy, democratised to ensure that it serves the wellbeing of the people through increased production and fair distribution of the wealth that is created".

"We therefore visualise a mixed economy in which there will be a private sector as well as co-operative and State property," the paper says.

SAIRR chief backs national convention

CHE T... 2/12/87 114
Political Staff

THE key to the national crisis was in the hands of South Africans, not in the hands of people in Washington or Moscow or London, the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and president-elect of the Methodist Church, the Reverend Stanley Mogoba, said yesterday.

He also said education should be depoliticised by government and all "the different types of political demagogues we have in our day".

Mr Mogoba, who wrote "a letter to the world" in the latest edition of Inside South Africa, said many people had come to pooh-poo the idea of a national convention.

People who despised a national convention were "the very people who have some preconceived ideas of how we can arrive at a solution to our problems.

"May I venture to say that I know of no other country that has built a secure future without coming to a round-table conference to work out a solution for their land.

"I despise people who want to delay the inevitable at the cost of human lives."

ANC in call for 'peace' at meeting

ARUSHA. — With children chanting peace songs, the African National Congress convened an international conference on apartheid in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

The one-day gathering drew about 400 delegates and guests, including Western diplomats, South African trade unionists and Mrs Anne Marie Palme, widow of slain Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme.

The conference was a windup to a year of events marking the 75th anniversary of the ANC.

Daughters of ANC fighters and chil-

dren who have fled South Africa chanted "yes to peace, no to war" as they released six doves at the Arusha International Conference Centre.

Mr Julius Nyerere, former Tanzanian president and leader of the country's ruling political party, said so-called reforms in South Africa were attempts to thwart the growing democratic movement within the country and to confuse anti-apartheid supporters.

He also lambasted President Reagan, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and other leaders who tried to pressure the ANC into negotiating with the Botha government. — Sapa-AP

Moving in Brief

Soccer etc

CMS Tavis 2/12/87
(111)

ANC trialist salutes as he is convicted

Supreme Court Reporter

DRESSED in ANC colours, Umkhonto we Sizwe "political commissar" Mxolisi Petane gave the ANC salute and shouted "victory or death!" after Mr Justice J H Conradie convicted him yesterday of terrorism as defined by the Internal Security Act.

The judge ruled that what Petane claimed was a propaganda exercise — a bomb built so that it could not explode, placed on the back seat of a car parked, with its windows open, in a disabled person's parking bay at the entrance to Dions supermarket in Parow — was a threat to property and life.

The judge said that even if the bomb had been unable to explode, as Petane said, placing it would remain "an act of terrorism" because placing it was "a very real threat", intended to convey that Umkhonto we Sizwe was capable of planting bombs "of this, diabolical kind".

Petane was also convicted of two

counts of attempted murder — for shooting a policeman who came to his shack looking for a previous resident he wanted to recruit as an informer, and for throwing a grenade which wounded four policemen pursuing him on the day he was arrested in KTC.

Petane's counsel, Mr Michael Donen, requested — and was refused — a postponement until the court's new term in 1988, to prepare evidence in mitigation.

He said this evidence would be in three categories — a history of the ANC's 49-year peaceful struggle and the eventual decision to resort to force of a limited kind, evidence on "morality and theology", and a history of the armed struggle.

"I shall be interested to hear about the morality of putting bombs outside toy shops, and the theology too," Mr Justice Conradie said.

The trial was postponed to Tuesday, December 8.

Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier were assessors. Mr Rothwell appeared with Mr M Stowe. Mr Donen was instructed by R Vassen and Co.

CADRE TROOPS 2/12/87 (11/11)

4 more deaths in PMB area

MARITZBURG. — Police reported that a woman and three men, one of whom was 80 years old, were killed in incidents of unrest in the Maritzburg area on Monday.

At Mnyandu, a group murdered an 80-year-old man "by stabbing him with sharp instruments", the unrest report stated.

In another incident in the area, a second man was stabbed to death.

At Willow Fountains, a group entered a home and stoned and stabbed a 45-year-old woman and a 50-year-old man to death. They then set the house alight, causing serious damage.

At Sweetwaters, police used teargas and birdshot to disperse attackers who injured a woman when they stoned a house.

Another house was seriously damaged by petrol bombs at Shongweni.

At Fredville, a man and two youths were arrested after an incident in

which a bus was damaged by stones.

A home was damaged by arsonists at Taylors Halt.

● In another incident this week, a northern-Natal mother and her three children were injured when a hand grenade detonator they were examining exploded. Police said the children found the detonator at Burford Kraal, about 20 km from Ladysmith. Police are investigating the incident.

● The second round of preliminary talks, which are intended to seek a solution to the escalating violence between the warring Inkatha and UDF factions in Maritzburg's black townships, will take place next week.

The meeting between the two groups will be held in the shadow of continued violence in the city's townships, which, according to the latest unrest report, has claimed another four lives. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

NYERERE WARNS ON STRUGGLE

ARUSHA — Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere opened the African National Congress' international conference here this week with a warning that the struggle for justice and democracy in South Africa would not end immediately their apartheid government had been replaced by a "government of the people."

Dr Nyerere dismissed the South African Government's reforms as "amelioration of the conditions in the prison house of apartheid."

"The people of South Africa remain prisoners."

In a scathing reference to British and American opposition to the ANC's violence, Dr Nyerere said the organisation had been left with no alternative but to resort to armed struggle after 50 years of non-violent means.

Gandhi

President Reagan of the United States was not likely to be aware of this, he said, but Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain had no reason not to be aware of it.

The opening ceremony was addressed also by ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is banned and cannot be quoted, and by Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Mr Nujoma claimed that "racist troops" in Namibia were guilty of atrocities against civilians suggesting, however, that Swapo was willing to enter into negotiations with South Africa over the territory, he said: "We talk with a rifle in one hand while with the other we offer the hand of peace."
white flower.

SOWETAN Africa News Service

A message from President Rajiv Gandhi of India was read by a visiting member of his cabinet.

Behind the speakers at the ceremony hung a giant portrait resembling Steve Biko.

None of the foreign celebrities who were rumoured to have planned to attend the meeting turned up.

Archbishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak were expected by ANC officials to arrive before the meeting ends tomorrow.



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78/11/87
Sowetan



SA clamp on
Botswana
border posts

CMC. Times 3/12/87

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa has imposed a security clamp on Botswana with the enforcement of strict control measures at all border posts to counteract an alleged ANC terror campaign against SA from Botswana.

The move follows repeated SA accusations that Botswana was allowing the ANC to use its territory as a springboard for infiltration into SA.

Goods and traffic are piling up on both sides of the main border post of Tlokweng near Gaborone as customs officials undertake minute searches of vehicles and passengers.

The customs action is similar to measures taken at the Lesotho border early last year. That clampdown caused severe food shortages and was followed by the military overthrow of Lesotho leader Chief Leabua Jonathan and the expulsion of the ANC from Lesotho.

A Botswana customs official said last night that more than 100 vehicles were waiting on both sides of the border post, some for over six hours, to be cleared by SA customs. It was taking an average of an hour instead of five minutes to clear a car, he said.

Botswana Press Association reported that luggage was strewn on the ground and occupants had to vacate cars. Two tents were pitched yesterday on the South African side for body searches.

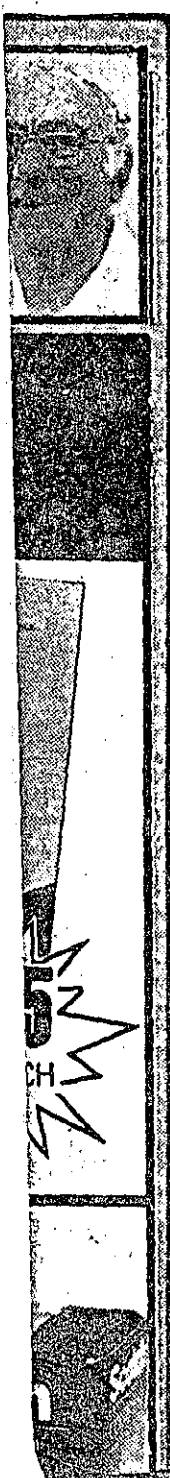
More

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Suits must go!



'On a mission from God'

From MBULELO LINDA
and RICHARD
BARTLETT



Rev Maqina

PORT ELIZABETH. —

The Rev Mzwandile Ebenezer Maqina, leader of the Ama-Afrika movement, has twice been saved by the grace of an African god from assassins with hand grenades.

But not only assassins are after this 50-year-old Eastern Cape figure.

"All types of forces, liberal and conservative, are up against me," says Maqina, who claims to be on a mission from God to liberate his people and create the nation of Azania.

By liberal he refers to the English-language press who "never portrayed him in a good light", and by conservative he means the United Democratic Front.

He sees the UDF as conservative because it strives for a nonracial future. Maqina sees whites as being part of the problem in SA and feels they cannot be part of the solution.

Useless

However, when it suits him, "Patch", as he is known by his New Brighton colleagues, flirts openly with the private sector and government departments such as Constitutional Development and Planning.

Maqina claimed he played a prominent role in the formation of the Black Peoples' Congress (BPC), the African Independent Churches Association (Ibandla Likantu), the Azanian Peoples Organisation in the Eastern Cape and more recently, the Ama-Afrika movement.

He is the self-appointed director of the Black Crisis Centre, an independent body obscurely related to Ama-Afrika.

Ama-Afrika was formed, according to Maqina, because of the positive results of the national "Save the Child" campaign aimed at stopping "black-on-black" violence as it affected children most.

He then saw it as useless not becoming involved in politics. Ama-Afrika came into being "because my people needed political direction", he says.

Ama-Afrika follows an Africanist ideology similar to that of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The Ama-Afrika defence wing is called Poqo, as is that of the PAC. He denied involvement in the controversial Department of Education and Training-controlled rehabilitation camps

Maqina is married with two wives, one of them by common law, and has nine children. One of his wives, Patricia, is president of the Port Elizabeth branch of Domestic Workers' Association of SA (Dwasa).

While at school, Maqina

was keen to study medicine. He trained as a teacher before becoming a spiritual healer.

He became a minister in the Independent African Churches after leaving an Anglican seminary. Some sources claim he was never accepted into the ministry. Maqina said he felt uncomfortable in the mission churches, and decided to leave.

He is also a playwright. His first play 'Give us this day', written in 1974, landed him in jail two years later when the police "found it to be too co-incidental to the happenings of 1976".

Vigilantes

Other plays by Maqina were 'The Tribe' and 'Crack'. "We are Africanists and our souls are restless. Until we are liberated spiritually we will be in bondage," was the underlying theme of both plays.

In 1977 Maqina was detained in terms of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act with Ngcobo Nguna and Barney Pityana.

In 1980 Maqina launched Roots, a cultural movement. He says it was started by the community. Members were seen as vigilantes because they "disciplined" people in the township.

Maqina claimed he was "invited" by the then district commander of police in the Eastern Province to bring an end to Roots. He claims the commander said Roots was doing the local police force out of a job.

Maqina claimed Roots was instrumental in launching Azapo.

His role in the church led to his involvement in politics. In the church he was faced with the psychological problems of "his people" and as a spiritual healer had to solve them.

Thus he became a traditionalist and rejected

helping anyone but blacks, the "people of Africa".

"If anyone is necklaced it should be those who support the Freedom Charter," he said of Ama-Afrika's attitude to the Charter.

"To support it is to collaborate with the enemy," says Maqina. He sees whites as the enemy.

Maqina did not initially join Azapo, the organisation he claimed he was instrumental in launching in the Eastern Cape in 1983. After joining the organisation, Maqina was banished by the local Azapo office following allegations of dishonesty surrounding the UDF/Azapo feud in 1985.

Maqina has been linked with the formation of a Joint Management Committee (JMC) in the Eastern Cape. He says he was recently, brought onto the JMC liaison committee under false pretences.

He was elected convener of the steering committee. Maqina said he resigned immediately and was disappointed the forum was controlled by a JMC.

Confident

If the JMCs were not controlled by the military, Ama-Afrika and the Black Crisis Centre (BBC) would work with, but not participate in it, he says.

An official launch of Ama-Afrika has been planned amid the recent violence in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township between the UDF, Ama-Afrika and the African Persons Concerned Committee, a splinter group of Ama-Afrika.

Despite what appears to be violent opposition to Ama-Afrika, Maqina seems confident the organisation was strong enough to be launched on December 16. He says it as the day when "the white settler will have to face the Africanists".—

Pen



3-9/12/87 Paying tribute to the Rev. Howard Marawu

4 000 bid farewell

MORE than 4 000 mourners attended the funeral of the Rev Howard Marawu, a veteran trade unionist and a former ANC member, in Langa at the weekend.

The African Reformed Church minister, better known as "Rev", died of a kidney infection and pneumonia at Somerset Hospital on November 13.

The seven-hour service began at 10 am at the Rev's house before mourners moved to St Francis Hall.

In the hall speakers from community organisations spoke of Marawu's contribution. Others spoke about his church activities.

In the hall six marshalls took turns to stand around the coffin draped with ANC

flag. Colourful banners of several organisations were hung on the wall.

Marawu was born on January 9 1922 in Lady Frere in the Transkei. He came to Cape Town in 1942 where he worked at several places. In 1973 he was ordained as a minister in Bloemfontein.

In 1978 Marawu joined General Workers Union and organised workers in Port Elizabeth and Durban docks.

He was a TGWU organiser, a Release Mandela Committee member, an executive member of The Ecumenical Action Movement and a member of the Langa branch of Western Cape Civic Association.

He leaves his wife, Maria, and ten children.

UJA

3-9/12/87

Sayco

Earn your place, whites told

THE publicity secretary of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), Simon Ntombela has called on whites to unite and "earn their place in the broad democratic movement".

Addressing the 65th Congress of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) at UCT this week, Ntombela said the organising of whites in democratic organisations was an "urgent and strategic task".

"It is going to shorten the suffering of millions of people, end apartheid and the destabilisation of neighbouring states".

Worried

He said all those opposed to the apartheid system were under attack and there was a need for a broad united front.

The white bloc was cracking and thousands of disillusioned whites realised apartheid could not exist forever.

"These are worried people who see no security under the apartheid system. Your task is to reach out to these people."

Ntombela said a negotiated settlement was not possible while a State of Emergency existed and people were banned or detained.

Negotiations

"With whom is Botha going to negotiate? Mandela is in Pollsmoor. The UDF has been driven underground. People are dying everyday.

"We don't believe Botha is serious about negotiations."

Sayco and the broad democratic movement were not "opposed" to negotiations but it was important not to over-emphasise negotiations.

"We must concentrate on bringing about a climate conducive to negotiations," Ntombela said.

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

ARUSHA — Seven South Africans, who apparently left the Republic secretly for the purpose, addressed the African National Congress's international conference in Arusha yesterday.

Their identities were not disclosed and the foreign press corps covering the meeting, including journalists from South Africa, were forbidden to take pictures of or tape-record the speakers.

The conference organisers obviously feared official action against the seven on their return to South Africa if they were identified.

According to ANC officials, some of those who had planned to come from South Africa to address the conference in Tanzania had to turn back because South African authorities found out about their plans.

The secret delegates who spoke included a youth representative, a representative of women, a representative of the workers, a representative of religious communities and a delegate who spoke about conditions in the independent homelands.

Two men, apparent-

SA group 11A applauded at ANC meeting

ly lawyers, spoke on the "illegitimacy" of the South African Government and the role of the judiciary in the Republic. All were given standing ovations by some 500 delegates, about half of whom were whites from anti-apartheid and other organisations in Europe, America and Canada.

SOCIALISM

The workers' delegate said workers in South Africa were in favour of trade, academic, transport and financial (loan) sanctions against South Africa — "in fact, the total isolation of South Africa".

He strongly supported the establishment of a socialist system in South Africa and said the Freedom Charter was a vehicle for attaining this aim.

The freedom struggle, he said, was interlinked with the class struggle.

The delegate said the workers opposed negotiations by the ANC

with the South African Government at the present time and supported the conditions set by the ANC for negotiations.

The Muslim priest, who was hugged by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo after his speech, said the struggle in South Africa was being conducted by a people deeply committed to their own religious ethos.

The delegate who spoke for the youth also rejected negotiation with the Government.

A black woman said members of her sex were being harassed in South Africa. She said they, too, supported sanctions.

Of the two lawyers, a black man challenged the legitimacy of the South African Government on historical, political and legal grounds. The other, a white man, challenged what he said was a myth that South Africa had an independent judiciary.

Mbeki banning backfires

From MARIMUTHU SUBRAMONEY

PORT ELIZABETH.— The banning of what was to have been ANC leader Govan Mbeki's first rally since his release from life imprisonment has back-fired on the Government.

Although the authorities banned the mass rally scheduled for Zwide's Dan QeQe Stadium at the weekend, they failed to dampen Mbeki's commitment to the struggle for a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

Mbeki, who was released from prison only three weeks ago, has scored a major psychological victory by delivering his rally speech at a press conference attended by a large contingent of foreign journalists and a few local reporters.

Statesman

Members of the Diplomatic Corps, who waited patiently on Saturday even though the banning of the rally was upheld by an urgent sitting of the Supreme Court in Port Elizabeth, were also at the press conference.

The diplomats were later given a private briefing by the ANC leader. Details of the discussions have not been disclosed.

Sharp-witted and looking extremely fit, Mbeki was calm as he read out his rally speech. The poise, charisma and dignity of his approach resembled all the hallmarks of not only a national leader, but also that of an



Govan Mbeki at the press conference in Port Elizabeth. On the left is his daughter, Linda, and on the right is his wife, Epainette.

international statesman.

The stature in which he is held was reflected by the messages of support the ANC leader received from more

than 50 governments and organisations around the world. Some of the messages were from the International Organisation of Journalists.(IOJ), the

All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation and from political parties from Europe, Canada and the United States.

Although disappointed at the banning of the rally, residents of Port Elizabeth's townships also made it clear that they held Mbeki and his fellow leaders in the "highest esteem" and that no amount of intimidation and harassment would deter them from such supporting their leaders. One young man, who said his name was Rava, had his own assessment of why the authorities banned the rally.

"As far as I am concerned the Government was afraid that if more than 100 000 people attended the rally it would have been a solid show of support for Mbeki and the ANC. The authorities had cold feet at the last moment," he said.

Support

Another young man, Jabu Ngwenya, said local residents had been looking forward to welcoming Mbeki home and listening to his viewpoints.

"Although we are disappointed we have been unable to listen to Mbeki we are certain that he will lead us in the future," he said.

There is speculation that Mbeki's first public rally was banned because the government had realised it would have clearly demonstrated to South Africans and the world the support leaders such as Mbeki and the ANC enjoy. According to some observers the government was afraid that the attendance at the rally would have been similar to those in Zimbabwe in 1980 when Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo drew thousands to their public meetings

— Press Trust News Agency



Govan Mbeki

Not deterred by Mbeki ban

South
3-9/12/87

GOVAN MBEKI is expected to speak in Cape Town on December 13.

The Mbeki Reception Committee has decided to go ahead with their plans for a big Cape Town rally to be addressed by the veteran African National Congress leader recently released from Robben Island after 23 years.

This follows the banning by police of a rally in Port Elizabeth last weekend, days after the meeting had been sanctioned by PE's Chief Magistrate.

The MRC this week asked the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg and the Western Cape Divisional Commissioner of Police for permission for Mbeki to address the rally.

Athlone offices raided

"We want to prevent a repeat of the situation in Port Elizabeth," said United Democratic Front publicity secretary Hilda Ndude.

The results of the application are expected within days. Mbeki is expected to thank the people for their support over all the years.

"We want to have an open-air rally so that as many people as possible can attend," Ndude said.

• The offices of the Mbeki Reception Committee in Athlone were raided by security police this week. Documents, posters and pamphlets were confiscated, according to a committee spokesperson.

At the time of going to press, the police had not responded to a request for comment.





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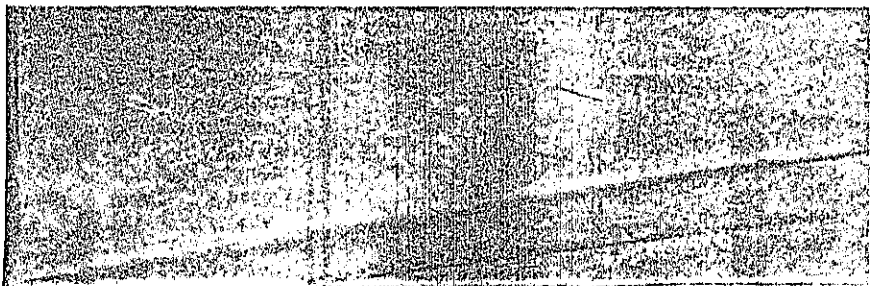
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'We know who our friends are'

JOHNNY Issel's article in SOUTH (November 5-11) urging the democratic movement to court the National Democratic Movement (NDM) is one of the most explicit statements on the immediate tasks of the liberation movement.

The article is written in the context of a flurry of activity aimed at "isolating the apartheid regime". This became pronounced at the beginning of the year with the inclusion of Idasa in the people's camp.

Then during the whites-only election UDF discovered it was unable to advise whether to vote or not. Later the Dakarites were given a heroes welcome. More recently organising whites was given prominence in the conference organised by the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF).

Ruptures

Many an activist is wondering why there was so much emphasis on enhancing the rifts in the ranks of the ruling-class, when the obvious task is to defend and rebuild the pole of the dominated classes which has been weakened by "apartheid violence".

Is it not urgent to redouble these efforts? But why is something that is so obvious not so clear to some people in the democratic movement?

Issel's article makes it easier for militants to spot the source of the strategic blunder. His starting point is the powerful nature of the government which is a correct, but not a new revelation.

The events in past few months have dispelled the illusion that the

IN SOUTH's Forum debate on the National Democratic Movement (November 5 to 11) it was argued that the NDM should be "drawn closer" to progressive organisations in the extra-parliamentary movement.

A "Concerned activist from Guguletu" responds.

government is on the verge of collapse. For people not to lapse into the defeatist position of saying that because of the might of the apartheid government, there is little that can be done, the potential might of the dominated classes must be acknowledged, harnessed and tapped.

It is the might of the people's camp that causes rifts and ruptures in ruling circles.

To talk about exploiting these divisions while being quiet on how the people's camp is to be strengthened is tantamount to defeatism.

Most politicians seem to be posing the question as Johnny Issel does. He, in answering the question of how to weaken apartheid, says: "We have to work for complete isolation."

According to this kind of thinking, isolating the government means winning the whites. In addition to having an incorrect position on organising whites, this position also entrenches another illusion — that the government will evaporate as a result of isolation. History has taught us that apartheid cannot be reformed or isolated, it must be smashed.

What is more dangerous about the position which Issel posits is the treatment of whites as a group with no class divisions.

For in terms of this position the immediate task is the winning over of whites, regardless of their class position, into the broad "apartheid front"

What is disturbing is the mournful silence among the protagonists of the "isolationist" position when it comes to a perspective on the white working class. Issel takes, politically, a suicidal position when he warns the NDM not to pursue those whites on the far right. Are most of the whites who have found their way into right-wing parties not the working and lower section of the middle classes who are starting to see that the National Party can in the present economic crisis no longer guarantee them the housing subsidies, job reservation and all the other privileges they have enjoyed for years?

That these sections of the white community — the working and lower middle classes — are moving to the right is a reflection of the weakness on the part of the democratic movement.

The weakness to consciously, in spite of the difficulties, demonstrate to the white workers and lower middle classes and their long-term interests, like job security and full employment can only be guaranteed in a socialist South Africa.

This weakness must be acknowledged and corrected by militants. We must not underestimate, as Issel does, the potential of the movement to gradually win over the white working class and the lower middle class. This, the movement can do only if it breaks with the gentlemanish diplomatic manoeuvring which can only attract the captains of industry like Tony Bloom, Gavin Relly and Chris Ball.

Gentlemanish

Winning over the white working and lower middle classes and not courting the NDM is the immediate task. This task can only be fulfilled by a strong pole in the ranks of the oppressed around the black working class. It cannot be done by NDM as Johnny Issel would like us to believe.

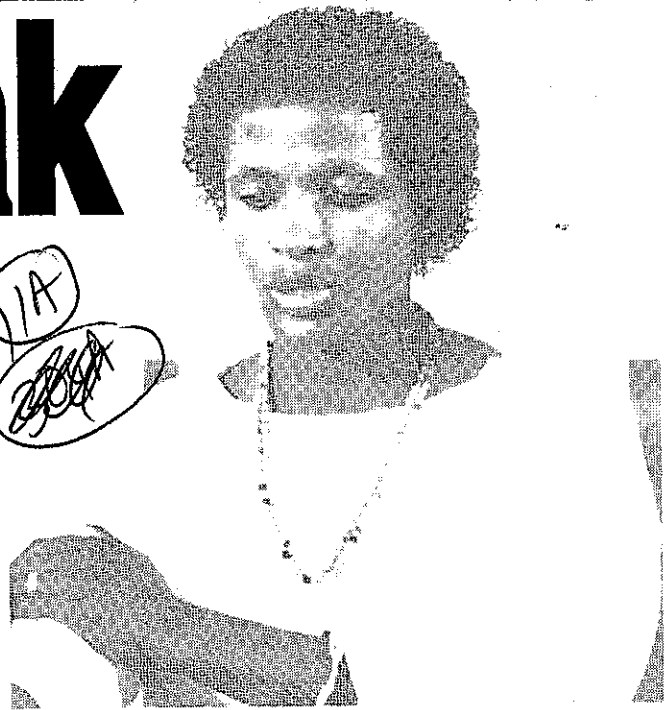
It is only when the democratic movement proves in struggle that it is capable of being a future government, that it can hope to win other strata of the society, particularly the white working class.

This is the only way to ensure the white workers and lower middle class do not become the base of the proto-fascists like the AWB. To fool ourselves by courting anti-democrats like NDM who are still ambivalent on basic demands like the scrapping of the Group Areas Act: The rejection of the detention without trial etc. will be disastrous.

'Break ties

3-9/28
1/A
Sachs

with



UDF's spokesperson Hilda Ndude

Parliament'

THE United Democratic Front in the Western Cape has called on the National Democratic Movement to "think about" forsaking Parliament.

The UDF responded to the NDM this week after a long silence on Randburg Independent MP Wynand Malan's new movement.

UDF publicity secretary Hilda Ndude said the UDF believed the NDM had a role to play, "but outside Parliament, not inside".

"We call on the NDM to think about this seriously, in the light of the mess our country is in."

Peace-loving

Ndude said the UDF was committed to its stand on non-participation in Parliament, and to extra-parliamentary organisation.

"We want to renew our call to all peace-loving South Africans to break their ties with the apartheid government and to join the forces of those committed to a peaceful solution.

"We reiterate our stand that talks should be held with the genuine leaders of the people.

"We have no problems with people who are against apartheid, but they have to play a role outside Parliament," she said.

ANC
rejects
'Marshall
Plan'

*ANC
Times
3/12/67
119*

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC last night rejected the plan by the British Industry Committee on South Africa (Bicsa) to plough millions of rands into black advancement schemes.

Bicsa has confirmed it hopes to launch a "Marshall Plan" for South Africa in February, the Scotsman newspaper reported yesterday.

The ANC denied an earlier claim by the powerful British industry group that it had been given the banned movement's tacit go-ahead for the scheme.

Instead, an ANC statement last night told Bicsa they were just trying to justify their presence in the Republic — but should get out.

The statement called for "comprehensive mandatory sanctions" against South Africa in place of the Bicsa plan.

CAPE TOWN 3/12/87
11K

Mbeki hopes to address city rally

By CLARE HARPER

FREED African National Congress leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, will address a rally in Cape Town on December 13 — if the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg and the police give the go-ahead.

A spokeswoman for the Mbeki Reception Committee (MRC), Ms Hilda Ndude, said yesterday that an attorney acting for the committee delivered an application for permission for Mr Mbeki to address the rally to Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron, and the Divisional Commissioner of Police.

Ms Ndude said it was decided to apply for permission from both a magistrate and police to prevent a repetition of the situation in Port Elizabeth, where the rally was initially allowed by a magistrate, but later banned by police.

Following Mr Mbeki's release from prison on November 6, the United Democratic Front called on its affiliates and other organizations to discuss a response to his release.

Extensive organisation was underway to ensure the rally took place in a disciplined and orderly way, she said.

SA cites ANC infiltration threat

Tight clamp at Botswana border posts

ELSABÉ WESSELS

SA HAS imposed a security clamp on Botswana with the enforcement of strict control measures at all border posts to counteract an alleged ANC terror campaign against SA from Botswana.

The move follows repeated SA accusations that Botswana is allowing the ANC to use its territory as a springboard for infiltration into SA.

Goods and traffic are piling up on both sides of the main border post of Tlokweng, near Gaborone, as customs officials undertake thorough searches of vehicles and passengers.

The customs action is similar to measures taken at the Lesotho border early last year. That clampdown caused severe food shortages and was followed by the military overthrow of Lesotho leader Chief Leabua Jonathan and the expulsion

of the ANC from Lesotho.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said yesterday the strict security measures began on Tuesday morning at all border posts between SA and Botswana.

"Increased control measures have become necessary following information received and intelligence gathered by the SA Police that the ANC is to step up its terror campaign against South Africans during December," he said.

"According to the information, terrorists will try to infiltrate SA mainly through Botswana. This is also to be the conduit for arms and explosives."

This week's measures against Bo-

● To Page 2



Searches at Botswana border

Botswana follow the exchange of diplomatic notes between SA and the Botswana government. Botswana denied SA allegations that it was allowing the ANC to use Botswana to infiltrate SA and challenged SA to provide details.

In a weekend statement, the Department of Foreign Affairs said it was prepared to do so, but accused Botswana of "bland denials without any constructive action".

By last night "a near traffic crisis"

was reported by Botswana customs officials at the Tlokweng border post. Tlokweng is one of 12 border posts between SA and Botswana.

The customs official said more than 100 vehicles were waiting on both sides of the border post — some for over six hours — to be cleared by South African customs officials.

← ● From Page 1

MBEKI RALLY

Think again on Mandela

It is difficult to work out exactly what government hoped to achieve by releasing Govan Mbeki. Whatever it was, the exercise seems to have failed.

By banning a rally he was to have addressed in Port Elizabeth at the weekend — after initially approving it — notice has effectively been given that the honeymoon is over for the 77-year-old former ANC secretary general. Indications are that steps will soon be taken to further restrict the use of Mbeki as a powerful propaganda tool by the UDF.

Mbeki's failure to live up to government expectations has also effectively sealed the fate of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and his other top lieutenants still in jail. The chances of them being released in the near

future are virtually nil. It seems that the State security establishment has decided that the implications of Mandela dying in prison are relatively less risky than freeing him.

Reaction from various quarters over Mbeki's release and proposed speech at the rally must have played a major part in Pretoria's thinking. Not only have there been representations from rightwing and Christian groups, but Mbeki himself has been criticised by government-supporting newspapers — who previously hailed his release as a sign of P W Botha's humanitarian side.

Beeld, Transvaal flagship of Nasionale Pers, says that "the poor Mr Mbeki" has been manipulated by the ANC. The newspaper says Mandela should not be blamed if he should think that Mbeki and those who "misuse" him have knifed him in the back.

The newspaper says Mbeki is still not a free man. The ANC uses him to promote a revolutionary climate, and this is why Mandela is still in jail.

In a newsletter sent out by Signposts Publications, a self-proclaimed Christian group in Pretoria, subscribers (said to be 12 000) are asked to appeal to Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and their local MPs to prevent the Marxist revolution by not releasing Mandela. Director of Signposts Edward Cain says his group consists of "Bible-believing Christians." As a missionary in Mozam-

AIR CRASH

The FM wishes to express its deepest sympathy to the families and friends of the passengers and crew of SAA flight 295.

bique, he says, he has seen what a Marxist takeover can do.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party caucus has urged government not to go ahead with "their plans to release Mandela." Deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has also called on Pretoria to fight the "revolutionary powers" which were set free when Mbeki was released.

Government acknowledged earlier that Mbeki's release was a "trial run" for the freeing of Mandela. Sources now say he has "failed the test."

Although it can be argued that Mbeki could hardly have been expected not to go back into politics — he was released unconditionally — it appears that an understanding of sorts was reached between Mbeki and the authorities before he left Robben Island. It is also significant that he had three meetings with Mandela in Pollsmoor prison before accepting freedom.

It seems government expected him to adopt a far lower profile, and possibly even retire from active politics. There was also strong hope that his release would encourage support from key black leaders for the proposed National Council. This didn't happen.

Security Police chief Johann van der Merwe says there is "no doubt" that Mbeki is being "manipulated" by the ANC, and used to promote the "revolutionary climate" and to delay the lifting of the State of Emergency.

To what extent the "manipulation" is voluntary is unclear, but there is little doubt that Mbeki is being "handled" by the UDF. At a reception for diplomats in Port Elizabeth on Saturday after the rally was banned, prominent UDF legal adviser Pricilla Jana asked the envoys not to talk politics to Mbeki because, she said, he is still orientating him-

self and is not yet ready for political debate.

But from the few politically orientated questions that did slip through, it appears that Mbeki is more than capable of handling himself.

The problem may just be that he hasn't yet learnt his new lines properly — in other words, he could be taking a more moderate line than the UDF would like.

It is understood that the plan is for Mbeki to travel abroad soon (if permitted by government) to further "orientate" himself, and then adopt an even higher political role early in 1988.

But right now it looks as if the return of Govan Mbeki will not make much difference.

RUGBY ROW

Scrum of worms

Transvaal rugby front ranker Deon Viljoen wanted to share in all the bonuses his team mates got paid. Now his complaints against the Transvaal Rugby Football Union (TRFU) could end up being responsible for the death of amateur rugby in SA — and not before time (see *Timeout*).

But South African rugby chief Danie Craven warns that he will see to it that world amateur rugby faces the same scrutiny. The row over the payment of bonuses and other perks to Transvaal players may lead to other steaming revelations about big payments, at home and abroad, in this supposedly amateur game.

Man in the middle is Louis Luyt, the tough-talking Transvaal rugby boss. He denies "categorically" that last year's Springbok and New Zealand Cavaliers teams — which he hosted — were paid for their on-the-field performances. Craven says that, if they were paid, he did not know about it. The SA Rugby Board (SARB) has announced an investigation into the matter of payments. "Let it all come out," says Craven.

He admits, however, that Luyt was not on the SARB's finance committee at the time of the Cavaliers' visit. The recent matches between the visiting South Sea Pacific team and the SA Barbarians, which were also repeatedly marred by allegations of payments, did not fall under the SARB's jurisdiction, says Craven.

Luyt says the bonuses which were paid to Transvaal players did not come from the union's coffers. "It was the money given to us by SA Breweries for winning the Lion Cup and qualifying for the Currie Cup final. Also, I didn't offer them (the players) the



Mbeki

(11A) W/Merwe - 10/12/8

We've only had pain from Mbeki release, says Vlok ...

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE chances of Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress, being released from Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town in the foreseeable future are negligible.

In spite of some speculation after the release of former ANC national chairman Govan Mbeki, 77, last month, that Mandela would be the next to be freed, possibly before Christmas, senior South African police officers have made it clear that this is not going to happen soon.

The security police are not happy with the way in which Mbeki has acted since his release — and this could even lead to him being banned. He is already listed as a communist and cannot be quoted in South Africa.

Mbeki's activities are being monitored closely by the police. Although neither the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, nor the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johannes van der Merwe, would be drawn on whether his behaviour would affect the chances of other political prisoners, it is clear his actions are influencing government decisions about whether to release more ANC leaders.

Van der Merwe said Mbeki's activities were being manipulated by the ANC and everything he had done was at the orders of the ANC.

And Vlok said the government had not got its pound of flesh, and had only received pain, with the release of Mbeki.

Vlok, who like Van der Merwe, was speaking at a briefing to South African political correspondents at Walvis Bay said: "We had hoped that Mr Mbeki, who is suffering from sugar diabetes, would quietly retire.



Govan Mbeki: under watch

But this has not happened. He is being misused by people around him for political purposes."

Van der Merwe said the rally, which was to have been addressed by Mbeki in Port Elizabeth last weekend, had been prohibited because it would contribute to the raising of the revolutionary climate in South Africa.

Asked if the government feared the Mbeki rally would lead to an outbreak of violence, he replied: "It may create or promote a revolutionary climate."

But he conceded in reply to another question that the banning of the rally could lead to frustration.

"There are certainly disadvantages but we have to decide which is the greatest disadvantage."

Van der Merwe added: "Everything

Mbeki does is at the command of the ANC."

Moreover, senior government representatives have said they are worried about the high profile Mbeki had received since his release and widespread negative reaction from whites, as had been reflected in mail received objecting to his release.

It is argued that Mbeki is being used as part of a subtle ANC strategy to give maximum publicity to the ANC while not overstepping the law.

Whatever the accuracy of the police view of events since Mbeki had been released, Vlok and Van der Merwe left no doubt that the release of Mandela was not on the cards.

They also argued that "legal, radical groups" such as the United Democratic Front, its affiliates, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and some trade unions were deliberately trying to increase the revolutionary climate in South Africa at present. Vlok said a thousand new organisations had been established for this purpose.

As they believe Mbeki is part of this strategy, under orders from the ANC.

The *Cape Times* commented in an editorial this week: "It seems plain that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela is not on the cards ... A decision to release Mr Mandela is a decision to talk to the ANC, allowing them to play an open role in politics."

And talking to the ANC has emphatically been ruled out by Vlok and Van der Merwe. Indeed, the police are still convinced they will be able to defeat the ANC militarily.

The possibility of Mandela being freed in these circumstances is very remote.

...but Mbeki himself hurt by restrictions

GOVAN MBEKI was released a month ago — but his public activities have been so restricted that he has spoken more freely to journalists than to people in South Africa's townships.

This is understood to be a source of great disappointment to the resistance veteran, qualifying his happiness at being released.

From the time of his initial press conference — tightly controlled by the Bureau for Information — Mbeki's political role has been severely curtailed. Of four public appearances, three have been press conferences, themselves restricted by his "listing" order.

Many believed the rally scheduled to take place in Port Elizabeth last weekend would see Mbeki setting out the parameters of his political role nationally, and in the Eastern Cape. The gathering was organised by the Inter-denominational African Minister's

By MBULELO LINDA and
RICHARD BARTLETT,
Port Elizabeth

Association of South Africa (Idamasa).

But an eleventh-hour banning ruled this out, once again forcing the ANC leader to address a small group of journalists.

Before he shared his thoughts with the media, more than 500 disappointed admirers had milled around Dan Qeqe stadium in the vain hope that the ban on the rally would be overturned.

Entry to the stadium was barred early on Saturday morning — people began gathering at 10am — as "greenflies" (municipal police), SA Defence Force troops and *kitskonstabels* kept a close watch. There was a security force presence at the entrances to all Port Elizabeth townships, and several busloads of people on their way to the rally were turned

back.

Some buses had come from as far afield as Ciskei.

A tense crowd waited until 4pm, watched by marshalls and traffic police lining Zwide's Johnson Road, parallel to the stadium.

Although the crowd was reprimanded by police after posing with clenched fists for photographers, there were no serious incidents.

Half an hour after the crowd finally dispersed, Mbeki addressed journalists at Port Elizabeth's Elizabeth Sun Hotel. In terms of his listing under the Internal Security Act, Mbeki may not be directly quoted.

However, he expressed regret that his colleagues were still imprisoned. Apartheid had to disappear before all the people of South Africa could be free.

The banning of the rally prevented whites and blacks from coming together in the search for freedom.

er 4 to December 10, 1987

11A (circled) (circled) w/Neil 4-10/1287 (circled)

STEVE TSHWETE this week won the right to live in South Africa ... two years after he fled to join the ANC.

Former Robben Islander Tshwete, now the political commissar of Umkhonto weSizwe, has fought a 1984 order declaring him a prohibited immigrant all the way to the Appeal Court. This week, he won.

The ruling in the Appeal Court ends a long legal battle and may have important implications for others fighting for the right to live in South Africa.

Tshwete's home town, Peelton, lies on the border of Ciskei and South Africa. The 1984 order aimed to restrict him to Peelton, preventing him from working in King William's Town in

Okay Tshwete, you can come back home

By LOUISE FLANAGAN,
East London

South Africa.

Tshwete contested the order in April 1985. The Grahamstown Supreme Court not only upheld it, but also stated that he should move his home across the border.

Tshwete, who was then Border president of the United Democratic Front, fled to Lusaka later that year.

This week the Appeal Court ruled

that Tshwete was entitled to permanent residence in South Africa without any permit or exemption because he was lawfully resident in South Africa when Ciskei gained "independence".

However, the court ruled that Tshwete still needed to apply for a visa to enter South Africa. When Ciskei gained "independence" Tshwete lost his status as a South African citizen by birth or descent and therefore needed a visa.

The judgement is likely to have a bearing on the application by residents of Potsdam, in Ciskei.

The South African government is being taken to court by three Potsdam residents in an attempt to force it to recognise their right to live in the country.

The applicants are part of a group of several thousand people who have tried to flee repressive conditions in Ciskei on two occasions. Each time they were forced to return to Ciskei by South African authorities.

The applicants were born in South Africa and lived at Blue Rock until they were forcibly removed to Ciskei in 1983. Since then South Africa has denied them permanent residence. — Elnews

Raids after Christmas against Emergency call

By MONO BADELA

HOURS after the United Democratic Front announced a "People's Christmas against the Emergency" campaign, police raided offices of several anti-apartheid organisations in Johannesburg looking for campaign pamphlets.

The action came after the Witwatersrand divisional commissioner of police ordered the seizure of all the yellow pamphlets, saying they "may have security implications".

The pamphlet announced a campaign from December 10 to 25 to "unlock the jails of apartheid".

Earlier yesterday South African Council of Churches' general secretary Frank Chikane telexed Sapa claiming police were raiding Khotso House in Johannesburg searching for the pamphlets.

Chikane's message was telexed by

Sapa to police headquarters in Pretoria. In a replying telex, the SA Police said: "The Divisional Commissioner of the Witwatersrand Division, Maj-Gen AB Conradie, after careful consideration and perusal of the pamphlet entitled 'People's Christmas Against the Emergency', and which was issued and distributed by the UDF, decided that the contents thereof may have security implications and is not conducive to ending the State of Emergency.

"As a result of the above-mentioned order, various places on the Witwatersrand were visited by the police. We are not prepared to identify these places."

A spokesperson for the National Education Crisis Committee told

Weekly Mail more than 10 policemen arrived at their offices with a search warrant and demanded to know the whereabouts of the NECC's national coordinator, Eric Molobi, then combed the office stating they were looking for the pamphlet.

Police then entered the offices of the Kagiso Trust Fund upstairs and said they were looking for Dan Montsisi.

Queens Court in central Johannesburg which houses several affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Unions was also raided by police looking for the yellow pamphlets.

It is believed that Cosatu offices at Zambezi House were raided as well by police looking for the pamphlets.

The pamphlet demands that the jails of South Africa be unlocked. It calls for an end to the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, and the unbanning of the African National Congress and other outlawed organisations. It also calls for an end to rent evictions and a living wage for workers and urges families to visit those in detention.

The campaign is scheduled to begin with the ringing of church bells on December 10, International Human Rights Day. There will be a day of fasting on December 12 as a protest against against 18 months of the State of Emergency. On December 16 South Africa's heroes past and present will be remembered.

4-701-540
W/Mail
11A

Conservative MPs want PM
to toughen stance on SA

Tory right backs ANC against Thatcher

By SHAUN JOHNSON

MARGARET Thatcher's policies on South Africa are facing potentially their greatest-ever challenge — and it is led by a rightwing Conservative Party MP.

Ivor Stanbrook, MP for Orpington and chairman of the newly-formed British-Southern Africa All-Party Parliamentary Group, believes the British prime minister's stance on South Africa is so out of step with British public opinion that a majority of Conservative MPs could soon force her to toughen up on Pretoria.

Stanbrook describes himself as being on the "rightwing" of the Conservative Party.

Thatcher's "conciliatory" attitude towards the South African government has long come under fire from opposition parliamentarians, and even from some so-called Tory "wets". But the revolt within the ranks of "her own" is a striking new development.

The new group was formed partly in response to Thatcher's virulent attack on the African National Congress at the recent Commonwealth summit in Vancouver (she dismissed it as a "terrorist organisation"), and because of her hostility to sanctions as a means of ending apartheid.

Stanbrook told the *Weekly Mail* the new group, which was launched last month and includes MPs from all parties, favours a "much firmer policy towards South Africa". He said the already-existing British-South Africa Group, led by John Carlisle, was firmly in the hands of the "extreme right" of the Conservative Party, did not represent parliamentary opinion, and had no growth potential.

Between 50 and 60 MPs — a sizeable proportion of them Conservatives — attended the inaugural meeting of the new group and "many, many more" had indicated they would join, said Stanbrook in a telephone interview from the House of Commons in London yesterday.

"There is such a sizeable body of opinion in the Conservative Party desiring firmer policies toward South Africa that it could soon be a majority," he said.

"It is safe to say that most members of this group would not be well disposed toward the South African government," he added.

"My view is that we should accelerate peaceful change so as to produce a properly democratic regime in

● To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of Emergency Regulations



Homeless of a period in: sists re: away st period II one day its existi ● See Pa

Thatcher faces revolt over SA

● From PAGE 1

South Africa as soon as possible. There are immense difficulties, but I don't think we should sit back, as some of my friends want to, and allow the detestable regime that now runs the government in South Africa to get away with it.

He said he had tabled a motion in parliament criticising Thatcher for "misdescribing the ANC". Asked about his attitude to sanctions, he said: "We already have many sanctions in force. So to say we are pro-sanctions is stating the obvious ... but what we want to do is to step up the sorts of sanctions which would induce the South African government to give way on the issue of democracy."

"Exactly how far we go on some forms of economic sanctions is a matter for judgement — we don't want to cause the South African economy to break down. That would affect everybody and be counterproductive."

The terms of reference of the British-Southern African Group are "to promote friendly relations and mutual understanding between Britain and all the countries of Southern Africa." Stanbrook's vice-chairmen are Conservative MP Peter Temple-Morris (who is also vice-chairman of the influential Conservative Foreign Affairs Committee), and Labour representative Robert Hughes. The treasurer is Simon Hughes of the Liberal Party.

Stanbrook is not new to African politics, having served 10 years in the British Colonial Service in Nigeria, and travelled in Southern Africa.

Meanwhile, the South African issue has been put on the House of Commons agenda for another reason: 19 women MPs have written to Thatcher asking her to "take steps" to secure the release before Christmas of children held in South African prisons.



Margaret Thatcher: First revolt among 'her own'



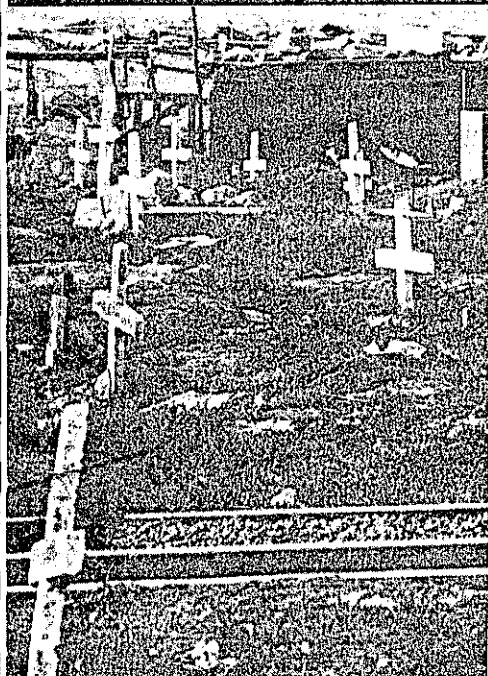
Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein that Botshabelo has been Pretoria has cushioned the citizenship — but this assurance Pretoria announced for a elo's civil service. But Mak a "homeland" which can bar
Mail 4 10/28
Picture: GUY III

COPS RAID OFFICES



Rev CHIKANE . . . telex.

Forced to live among the dead



WOULD you live among the dead? The housing shortage in Port Elizabeth's Zwide township has forced about 500 desperate families to seek shelter in Veeplaas Cemetery. See this heart-rending story on page 9.

POLICE have ordered the seizure of all United Democratic Front "People's Christmas Against the Emergency" pamphlets, saying the pamphlets "may have security implications".

Earlier yesterday, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, telexed Sapa claiming police were raiding Khotso House in Johannesburg searching for the pamphlets.

Khotso House houses offices of the SACC and several activist organisations, including the UDF.

Mr Chikane's message was telexed to SAP headquarters in Pretoria. Police, in a replying telex, said:

An order

"The Divisional Commissioner of the Witwatersrand division, Maj Gen A B Conradie, after careful consideration and perusal of the pamphlet entitled 'People's Christmas Against the Emergency', and which was issued and distributed by the UDF, decided that the contents thereof may have security implications and is not conducive to ending the state of emergency.

"In terms of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953) by Proclamation R97 of 11 June 1987, Regulation 6, Maj Gen Conradie issued an order for the seizure of all copies of the said pamphlet.

"As a result of the abovementioned order, various places on the Witwatersrand were visited by the police. We are not prepared to identify these places."

Mr Chikane's telex said a "large

To Page 2

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- SOE 'N EASY: 1000 1st STREET, BENONI. TEL. 54-7649

'They came to search'

← From Page 1
contingent of police" arrived at Khotso House about 9.45am.

... by the time the commanding officer ... came to my office to announce their presence, there were policemen on almost all the floors and offices ...

"The officer in charge told me that they had come to search under

some section of the state of emergency regulations to find and confiscate pamphlets purportedly produced by the United Democratic Front on the 'People's Christmas Against the Emergency to Unlock Apartheid Jails'.

"The officer accused the council of being party to the campaign. — Sapa.

Politics and sport make a double-booking

4-10/12/87
A "PEACE RALLY" given the go-ahead by Pietermaritzburg's chief magistrate ran into early difficulties when it was discovered the venue was double-booked and that the rally clashed with a soccer match.

However, the soccer game is to move to another stadium and the crucial rally — the first open-air meeting in a long time for the two hosting organisations — will go ahead as planned.

The meeting has been called by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to report back on the progress of peace talks between representatives of the two organisations and Inkatha.

Organisers, obviously surprised at being given permission for the rally, said they believed it would provide an opportunity for calling on their membership both to give the peace talks a chance and to play their part in ending the killings in the townships.

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

"Obviously the UDF and Cosatu hope that moves to hold similar meetings will be made on the other side," organisers said.

The meeting is to start at 9am and, in terms of the conditions set by Pietermaritzburg chief magistrate, Cecil Dicks, must be over by 2.30pm.

The programme, as submitted to the magistrate, begins with prayer, followed by reports on steps taken to achieve peace, including meetings with Inkatha representatives; and on Cosatu meetings with employers and employer bodies.

The churches are to issue a call for peace and then there is to be a "call for restraint and discipline by all members of our organisations" by UDF joint secretary Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, followed by the final prayer.

In his letter of permission, Dicks pointed out that one of the speakers on the list (Ngwenya) is restricted under the Emergency and he should be careful not to infringe these restrictions.

However UDF officials said their interpretation of the restrictions was that Ngwenya could speak at a meeting "called for the purpose of promoting peace which had the blessing of the Chamber of Commerce.

"The rally clearly has this purpose. It also has the blessing of the chamber and their officials will be attending."

It is expected that most people at the rally will come from the townships in and around Pietermaritzburg.

Officials of both Inkatha and the chamber have welcomed the rally go-ahead and Inkatha has announced it has applied for its members to hold a rally on December 16.

Makgabudi and Rabuli were convicted on seven charges of contravening the Internal Security Act, Protection of Information Act and the Official Secrets Act.

Makgabudi was sentenced to a total of 36 years and Rabuli to 34, but the magistrate, Mr A F Snyman, ruled that they run concurrently.

They were acquitted on three charges of taking part in terrorist activities, and under two sections of the Internal Security Act.

Supporters

The former constables were active supporters and members of the ANC from July 12, 1982, until last year, when they were arrested.

During this time they had access to security police files relating to the ANC as well as secret information about police action to combat ANC activity.

The court heard how the accused handed classified files to Piet Malaza, a police constable stationed at Nelspruit. Malaza subsequently made regular contact with the ANC in Swaziland.

Malaza, who left the country to join the ANC, handed the information to the ANC's head of intelligence in Swaziland, a man known as "M1".

The greater part of the trial was held in camera, as sensitive evidence was led and witnesses who may not be identified were called. Among them was the so-called "M1".

Money

Malaza apparently paid the accused "substantial amounts of money" for passing on the "top-secret" information.

Makgabudi and Rabuli joined the security police in 1979 and 1980 respectively, and were recruited to the ANC by Malaza.

They were known as Zero and Phatudi by the ANC.

Testifying for the State, Brigadier Jacobus Buchner, an expert on the aims and functions of the ANC, said the classified files and information passed on to the ANC by the accused could have "serious after-effects."

Brigadier Buchner said information passed on to the ANC by Malaza had led to the assassination of several police informers.

This could cause the security police a setback in their fight against the ANC, because, "primarily the police success lies in the data passed on by informers".

Brigadier Buchner said in the past 11 years there had been 633 acts of terrorism by the ANC against South Africa in which people of all races and colours had died.

Minority

Defence counsel Mr Dikgang Mosenke asked Brigadier Buchner whether the majority or minority of South Africans supported the banning of the ANC. The brigadier asked to be "excused from answering".

Mr Mosenke said the information obtained by the ANC from the accused was not placed before court. This meant the court could not determine whether the information was of any use to the ANC and whether it had any "serious after-effects".

Mr Mosenke felt that not all members of the community condemned membership of the ANC, and many people would not demand that Makgabudi and Rabuli be sent to jail.

(Turn to page 3, col 5)

Security police spied for ANC

(Continued from page 1)

"A greater measure of mercy must be exercised by the court when convicting people in political cases," he said.

Mr Mosenke told the court that the accused were both married and had children. He added that Makgabudi would turn 30 tomorrow.

State advocate Mr H Prinsloo of the attorney-general's office, said the court should show no mercy in sentencing the men.

He referred to Miss Odile Harington, the South African spy recently sentenced to 25 years in the Zimbabwean Supreme Court for spying on the ANC.

"The ANC seemed to approve of the sentence," he said.

The men will appeal against the conviction and sentence.

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Two former security policemen, found guilty of spying for the African National Congress, have been sentenced in the Regional Court to an effective 14 years' imprisonment.
The men, formerly attached to the Pretoria security branch of the South African Police, are Matswenyego Daniel Makgabudi, 29, of Atteridgeville, and Tshifhango Cedrick Rabuli, 35, of Soshanguve.

Police men spied for ANC, jailed

MSUS 4/12/87

114

A thirteenth Inkatha man told to stop violence

(11A)

(Handwritten initials)

W/maile
4-10/12/87

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban
A TOWN councillor accused of gunning down three youths "because their parents don't take care of them", yesterday became the 13th Inkatha member under court order to stop harming township residents.

Mbali town councillor Jerome Mncwabe was ordered by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court to cease harming township residents. He is one of 13 Inkatha members named in five cases — all related to the ongoing feud between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance — heard in the court since early November.

As far as is known, there have been no similar orders brought during this period against any UDF or Cosatu members.

In Mncwabe's case the temporary order was granted yesterday by consent, but he indicated he denied the claims and would be contesting the order being made final.

The application was brought by a group of Imbali residents who claim he was involved in killing three youths from the area last week.

Mduduzi Sililo and six other applicants claim that as they walked down the road, Mncwabe and three men with him emerged from a vehicle. Mncwabe was armed with a

© To PAGE 2

BY SHAUN JOHNSON

Court action on Inkatha man

"long gun" and the others with knives and knobkerries.

Some of the youths ran away and Sililo said that from the shack where he hid he saw Mncwabe "point his gun as Bongani Mseleku and shoot him in the back. Bongani fell down. I also saw that Mduduzi Dlamini and Sikumbuso Mthiyani had fallen to the ground. I concluded that (Mncwabe) had shot them."

Sililo and others claim the three with Mncwabe then beat and stabbed the shot youths lying on the ground and later placed knives "on or about them":

Sililo, his parents and others then drove back to the scene and found Mncwabe, his men and the three youths on the ground, still there.

When Sililo and his parents tried to put one of the three youths who was still alive into the car, Mncwabe allegedly pointed his gun at them, told them not to move the boy and to wait for the police.

While they waited, Mncwabe allegedly threatened Sililo and his group saying he would shoot the children and burn their houses down.

Sililo quotes Mncwabe as saying: "These people call me 'Theleweni'." Sililo said the word meant "killer"

© From PAGE 1

and was township slang for an Inkatha thug.

According to Sililo, Mncwabe went on: "If I am a 'Theleweni' I will 'Theleweni' all these people because you parents of these children are not looking after them... That's why I shoot them, because you parents aren't taking care of your children. If you don't take care of your children, I will shoot your children and burn your houses down."

Sililo comments that Mncwabe is already named in an earlier interdict restraining him and others from assaulting or interfering with another group of residents, and Sililo's father claims that he has previously seen Mncwabe shoot and kill other Imbali youths.

Sililo's statement concludes with the arrival of the police. He claims they examined Mncwabe's gun and then returned it to him. They questioned him and searched and disarmed his companions, taking a pistol from one of them.

At this point, Mncwabe allegedly told Sililo's father he could take Bongani to hospital, but he died on the way.

W/maile

(Handwritten initials)

(11A)

(Handwritten initials)

4-10/12/87

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At first congress in ten years, NIC hammers 'anti-Indianism'

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

AFTER its first conference in a decade, the Natal Indian Congress has emerged with new blood in its executive and new policy directions.

In the report of the organising committee, the road ahead for the NIC is seen as preparing the community for a future "under a democratic, non-racial majority government".

Top officials include Durban attorney George Sewpershad, who retains his position as president. The four vice-presidents are Mewa Ramgobin, Gerry Coovadia, Billy Nair and AS Chetty, a key figure in the peace talks in Pietermaritzburg where he chairs the United Democratic Front.

Farouk Meer and Alf Karrim, a former editor of the defunct grassroots newspaper *Ukusa*, are joint secretaries and treasurer is Hasim Seedat.

There is also a 15-member executive and a working committee representing all 19 branches of the NIC.

Responding to criticism by two NIC executive members who resigned shortly before the conference when they levelled accusations of secret meetings and cabals, Meer said the conference had been democratic and open to members even though there were strict security precautions.

Branches were consulted about is-

sues due to be raised at the conference and each branch sent three delegates and three observers. There were also observers from other organisations and messages of support came from groups including the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Meer said the conference marked a change in NIC operating style.

"For too long there has been a problem with some people who belong to the old school who believe leaders must be listened to. The new approach is that leadership comes from below and responds to what is happening at the grassroots, so that decisions are more of a consensus."

Meer said the NIC would respond "far more aggressively to anti-Indianism".

Gibes of NIC domination within the UDF had come from "the right and ultra left. We have no intention of dictating to anyone ... However, we have a long track record of involvement in the struggle for freedom and we will continue to make our contribution."

Among the resolutions passed at the conference was one which dealt with this issue.

The resolution noted that "Mangosuthu Buthelezi had accused Indians and the NIC of dividing the people and of inciting black on black confrontation" and that "certain isolated elements from within the democratic movement, which include petit-bourgeois chauvinists and ultra-leftists, have weakened the unity within organisations of the people, by encouraging the spread of anti-Indian sentiments".

The conference decided new links should be forged with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and resolved to encourage Indian workers to join Cosatu and to support the federation's living wage campaign.

The NIC has also set up a permanent labour commission to co-ordinate their plans for greater commitment to worker issues.

In terms of another resolution the NIC is pledged to "campaign for the social, political and international isolation of all members of the House of Delegates and all those who promote its existence", as well as to "expose the corruption, deception and evils perpetrated by the HOD".

Branches were consulted about is- (7.5 percent) and AK-47 rifles (17.5 percent) improved

Mayor attacked for remarks

11A
87/5
11/18

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, this week sharply criticised the mayor of Pietermaritzburg for remarks he made to *The Weekly Mail*.

the newspaper. "There was no written statement, we were just attending a report-back meeting."

Cornell had been quoted saying, "If Inkatha had wanted to make friends (during the floods), they should have gone and helped the people instead of going and saying to them at three o'clock in the morning — sign this card or I'll kill you if you don't."

"I said — I like to think I was responsible enough to have said — that anyone who had acted in this way should not have done so."

Inkatha secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said at the time that this was "just the old story repeated without substantiation".

"I hope I said that. I do not want to get into a dispute with the newspaper. "I do not want to take sides on the (Inkatha-UDF) issue, I do not know enough and am not involved enough to be able to do that. 4/10/12/87

Yesterday, Cornell told WM the challenge by Buthelezi "came like a thunderbolt" because he had not seen

"I just want the killings to stop. "I assured MGB that if this was what was attributed to me this was not what I meant," Cornell said.

FOR THE RECORD

What police figures tell: Most captured 'terrorists' are trained in SA

The head of the security police tells journalists that more and more 'terrorists' are trained inside the country, because they are more difficult to identify than those who must cross the border to re-enter

More than half the "terrorists" killed or arrested by the police in the first nine months of this year were trained inside South Africa, indicating a significant new development in the guerrilla war in South Africa.

Lieutenant-General Johannes van der Merwe, head of the security police, told a briefing of South African political journalists at Walvis Bay that 77 of the 132 "terrorists" arrested between January and September this year had been locally trained, as had three of the 32 "terrorists" killed by the police.

He also claimed "legal radical organisations" posed a far greater threat to security than the banned radical organisations. He cited the United Democratic Front, its affiliates, Cosatu and some trade unions in this regard, threatening that the police would give "close attention" to the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Johannes Veldt van der Merwe, 51, became head of the security branch on October 1 last year. Outwardly, this father of three sons and a daughter looks more like an academic than a policeman, but underneath he is tough, knows his subject and believes the police have the security situation under control.

Van der Merwe said the training of guerrillas inside South Africa held a number of advantages for the ANC.

Locally trained "terrorists" did not leave the country or their communities and were therefore difficult to identify.

"The frustration in ANC training camps, which created division, was avoided and it was more difficult for "rehabilitated terrorists" to break up cells by identifying its members.

He said 353 "terrorists" and helpers were either arrested or killed in the first nine months of 1987 — 63 were foreign-trained "terrorists," 10 trained in neighbouring states and 11 in undetermined areas.

A further 48 "trainee terrorists", seven recruiters, 11 couriers and 121 helpers were arrested. Two helpers were killed.

Van der Merwe also said the targets and weapons used by "terrorists" had "drastically changed".

The main targets between 1976 and 1984 were the railways (20,76 percent), state and public buildings (17,36 percent), and attacks on the police (15,85 percent).

"There was a total shift in emphasis in 1985 and 1986. During those years the ANC chiefly geared itself to murder attacks on civilians (41,64 percent) and on the police (25,58 percent).

Between January and October this year, there had already been 195 "terrorist attacks", an average of 19,5 a month compared to the average of 19,08 a month last year and 2,45 a month between 1976 and 1984.

At the same briefing the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said the ANC would "never defeat South Africa by military means".

However, the ANC was resorting to mass mobilisation techniques to "create unrest" and this was more difficult to curb, according to Vlok.

Van der Merwe also claimed legal rather than banned organisations posed the major security challenge in South Africa today.

"Radical legal actions are more important than radical illegal activities at the moment."

Despite recent security force actions, the revolutionary climate was on the increase, he said.

"We have passed the phase of stone-throwing and petrol bombs and we are now moving into a more difficult phase.

Vlok also claimed there were more than 1 000 new organisations "inciting" people and were using "terrorist methods" of mass mobilisation.

Asked if the goal of the police was to contain these organisations without banning them, he replied: "We are looking at the situation."

He added that if organisations went "too far" they would be banned.

~~114~~ 114 4/12/87

Former SP constables aided ANC

Police spy pair sent to jail for 14 years

Pretoria Correspondent

Two former security policemen, found guilty of spying for the ANC, were sentenced to 14 years' jail yesterday by the Pretoria Regional Court.

Matshwenyego Daniel Makgabudi (29) of Atteridgeville, and Tshifhango Cedrick Rabuli (35) of So-shanguve, were formerly attached to the Pretoria Security Branch of the SAP.

They were convicted on seven charges of contravening the Internal Security Act, Protection of Information Act, and the Official Secrets Act.

Magistrate Mr A F Snyman imposed sentences of 36 years and 34 years, respectively, for the offences, which are to run concurrently.

This brings the total sentence for each down to an effective 14 years.

The two men were acquitted on three charges of participation in terrorist activities, and under two sections of the Internal Security Act.

The two former constables were active supporters and members of the ANC from July 12 1982 till last year, when they were arrested.

During this period they had access to secret information and files of the Security Police relating to ANC activities and police action to combat these activities.

The court heard how the accused passed on information and classified files to Piet Malaza, an SAP constable stationed at Nelspruit. Malaza later made regular contact with the ANC in Swaziland.

Malaza, who left South Africa to join the ANC, handed the information received to the ANC's head of intelligence in Swaziland, a man known as "M1".

Most of the trial was held in camera because witnesses were called who may not be identified. Among them was the so-called M1.

Malaza apparently paid the accused "substantial amounts of money" for passing on information".

Makgabudi and Rabuli joined the Security Police in 1979 and 1980. They were recruited into the ANC by Malaza.

POLICE EXPERT

Giving evidence for the State, Brigadier Jacobus Buchner, an expert on the functions and aims of the ANC, said the classified files and information passed on to the organisation by the accused could have "serious after-effects".

He said information passed on by Malaza had led to the assassination of several police informers. This could lead to problems and set the Security Police back in their fight against the ANC.

Defence counsel Mr Dikgang Moseneke said: "A greater measure of mercy must be exercised by the court when convicting people in political cases."

Mr Moseneke told the court that the accused were both married and had children. He added that Makgabudi would be turning 30 tomorrow.

State advocate Mr H Prinsloo said the court should show no mercy in its sentencing.

Six mystery SA activists speak at huge ANC summit

(1A)

4-10/12/87

with Paul

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
in Arusha

SIX anonymous activists from inside South Africa addressed delegates at the ANC conference in Arusha, Tanzania, this week.

The six, speaking in front of several South African journalists, including representatives from *Beeld* and *Rapport*, received a standing ovation — the liveliest moment of the conference so far.

At the conference, the ANC launched a major new offensive to establish itself as the dominant voice on the South African issue as well as to completely isolate Pretoria.

The four-day conference in Arusha — the first of its kind organised by the ANC — won a significant initial gain when the legendary former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, threw his weight behind the organisation.

He declared that the armed struggle against the South African government had to continue, clearly throwing his support behind the ANC as opposed to the rival Pan Africanist Congress, which the Tanzanian government has long supported and which has its headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

More than 4 000 delegates from anti-apartheid movements and governments around the world are attending the conference to work out a new strategy to isolate Pretoria.

The conference proceedings are premised on the belief that negotiations with Pretoria are out of the question at the moment.

The ANC reiterated its position that they would not renounce or suspend the armed struggle until Pretoria had agreed to the principal of one-person, one-vote in a unitary country. Contrary to recent speculation of a softening of its stance, the Soviet Union expressed unwavering support for the ANC and doubt that negotiations could take place in the current political climate.

Addressing the conference, YY Vagris, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said the Soviet Union was in favour of a political so-

Mystery men at ANC summit

W. Thare
lution but "we do not see any measures to create favourable conditions to start the settlement process by the Botha government".

Nyerere said that in the end discussions and negotiations would have to take place with the apartheid authorities. In the meanwhile, he said, the task of the ANC was "to continue the armed struggle and the task of non-racists everywhere is to support it in its struggle".

4-10-18
Nyerere pointedly warned of the dangers in a post-apartheid society, saying political power would only be the beginning of a non-racial and democratic future.

"There will be many inside South Africa and even among those outside South Africa who do not like apartheid, who will complain when democracy and justice for all does not exist the day after a representative government takes over the reins of political power.

"And the people themselves, after all their years of suffering, will be impatient for radical change, even while their young government is still

● From PAGE 1
struggling to create and use new and democratic instruments of government," he said.

Meanwhile, many delegates were disconcerted at the failure of the Zimbabwe government to send messages of solidarity.

Although the local Zimbabwean high commissioner attended, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, also failed to send a message of support on behalf of that organisation.

An ANC spokesman said it was probably due to organisational problems, but it takes place against the background of historical antagonisms with Mugabe's party, Zanu, though it was believed these antagonisms had been papered over.

Amongst other issues, the conference debated the long-running cultural and academic boycott, but failed to come to a conclusion other than an urgent recommendation to the ANC to thrash out a consistent policy on the issue.

BOMBING: 'SPRUNG' MAN ON TRIAL

DURBAN — Mr Gordon Webster, 24, an alleged African National Congress commander, appeared in the Durban Magistrate's Court today in connection with the death of Colonel Bobby Welman in January, 1986, two allegations of attempted murder and 11 allegations of terrorism.

Mr Webster, who was wounded here by the police in April, 1986, was "sprung" from the Edendale Hospital near Maritzburg by his friend, Robert McBride, the Magoo's Bar bomber now awaiting execution, and others. A visitor was shot dead during the escape.

McBride said in his trial that Mr Webster was hidden in a caravan and he and his girlfriend, Greta Apelgren, smuggled him into Botswana.

The indictment alleges that Mr Webster murdered Col Welman of the SAP and committed attempted murder by placing two explosive devices on transformers in Jacobs on January 9 last year.

One of the devices exploded and Colonel Wel-

man, Mr M W Dunn and Mr R P G van der Merwe went to the scene. While they were there the second device exploded, severely burning Colonel Welman. He died in hospital 21 days later from multiple organ failure as a result of the burns.

In one count of terrorism it is alleged that between November, 1986, and September this year Mr Webster was to return to South Africa to seize hostages to be used for prisoner exchange. However, he was recaptured in Bophuthatswana on September 17.

Other allegations of bombings and establishing weapon and explosive caches are made against Mr Webster.

The hearing continues.

Continued

Govt plans new laws to deal with strikes

Political Staff
 PRETORIA. — The Government is planning to introduce new legislation to deal with labour strikes, according to Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

Reported on television news last night, Mr Schlebusch, Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services, said the new legislation would be introduced in the coming session of Parliament.

Neither Mr Schlebusch nor Minister of Manpower Mr Pietie du Plessis could be reached for further details today, but a spokesman for the Department of Manpower said the legislation had already been pub-

lished for comment.
 Entitled the Draft Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the proposed legislation would establish a special labour court, adjust the definition of an unfair labour practice and amend and simplify procedures to set up conciliation boards.

Wider powers to be given to the industrial court are among several other proposed adjustments to the Labour Relations Act.

It is understood amendments are being considered to legislation dealing with SA Transport Services to bring its labour practices in line with South Africa's other labour laws.

(Report by David Braun, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

.....	May 13	1812
.....	May 20	1716
.....	Apr 28	
.....	May 6	
TUES		
.....	11 deg C	
.....	16 deg C	
.....	14.5 deg C	
.....	16.5 deg C	
.....	yesterday	
Average for the month		
.....	18.5 (22.8) deg C	
.....	10.2 (11.3) deg C	
.....	14.4 (16.5) deg C	
.....	92 (97) %	
.....	50 (50) %	

dangerous dogs last year, he added.

DATE: 11/12/87

Police search for UDF pamphlets

UA

PRETORIA. — Police have ordered that the UDF's "People's Christmas Against the Emergency" pamphlets be seized on the grounds that they "may have security implications".

Earlier yesterday the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane, informed Sapa by telex that police were raiding Khotso House in Johannesburg searching for the pamphlets.

Khotso House houses offices of the SACC and several organizations, including the UDF.

Police headquarters in Pretoria told Sapa the pamphlet "may have security implications and is not conducive to ending the state of emergency".

Police said an order had been issued for seizure of all copies of the pamphlet "in terms of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953) by Proclamation R97 of 11 June 1987, Regulation 6". —Sapa

COPS JAILED FOR SPYING

REPORTS. dic-11

TWO former security branch policemen who spied for the banned African National Congress giving them information relating to State security, were each sentenced to 14 years effective imprisonment in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Matshwenyho Daniel Mokgabudi (30), of

Atteridgeville, and Tshifhango Cedric Rabuli (34) of Soshanguve, Pretoria, were found guilty by Mr A F Snyman on charges of terrorism and of being members of the ANC and furthering its aims. The two pleaded not guilty.

Both were convicted after Mr Frans Prinsloo,

for the State, submitted that the offences were of a serious nature and also told the court of Odile Harington, the self-confessed South African spy who was sentenced to 25 years in Zimbabwe recently for having spied on the ANC.

To Page 2

IIA ~~IIA~~ Snyman 4/12/87

Spies jailed

← From Page 1

Mr Prinsloo called for severe sentences to be imposed.

Mr Dikgang Moseneke, for the defence, argued that the charges against both former policemen had been duplicated and pleaded in mitigation that there should be "no duplication of punishment".

The two men were attached to the security branch in Pretoria at the time of their arrest in July last year.

Mr Snyman said both had no previous convictions but the offences committed were of a serious nature because both had misused their positions of trust when they gave the ANC confidential documents.

He also took into consideration that both had been in custody since July 12 last year he sentenced them to a total of 40 years on four counts, 14 years on two counts and Mr Mokgabudi two years on the other charge.

The magistrate ruled that the sentences run concurrently and that both serve an effective 14 years each.

IIA
Snyman

MBEKIS REFUSE TO LIVE IN T'KEI

'No way . . .'



MRS EPAINETTE MBEKI: We'll move to New Brighton.

Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

says Govan

11A
Sowetan
4/12/87

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

RECENTLY freed ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki may settle permanently in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township, sources close to the United Democratic Front have revealed.

His wife, Epainette, also confirmed that they were going to settle in Port Elizabeth, but refused to state where.

Giving her first Press interview since her husband was released from Robben Island on November 5 — after spending 23 years in jail — she said there was no way the family would go back to Transkei, where they had been staying for the past 20 years.

The Mbeki's own a shop in Transkei.

Mrs Mbeki said: "After my husband was sentenced to life imprisonment together with other ANC leaders including Mr Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu (in the famous Rivonia Trial in 1964) I left for Transkei with my family where I bought two shops."

Mr Mbeki said she sold one of the shops just before the release of her husband.

"I could no longer cope with running the two shops. We are now left with one. Since my husband had indicated that he is not prepared to live in Transkei, we are still to decide whether to continue running the shop, rent it or sell the whole business," she said.

Prisoners

Mrs Mbeki said she was happy that her husband had been released from prison, but said she would be much happier if all political prisoners were released . . .

A senior official of the Eastern Cape region of the UDF, who asked not to be named, told the *Sowetan* that plans were at an advanced stage to buy Mr Mbeki a new house in New Brighton.

However he could not say how much the house would cost and when would it be ready for occupation.

"All I can say is that the house will be ready in the near future," the source said.

In the meantime Mr Mbeki and his family are staying in a township in Port Elizabeth, the *Sowetan* has established.

(111) (12) (13)

Border clamp: Generals meet

Carl Toms 4/12/87

GABORONE. — The commander of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF), Lieutenant-General Mompoti Merafhe, met the chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, in Pretoria on Wednesday, the Botswana Press Agency reported yesterday.

In a statement to the news agency, the BDF said the meeting concerned developments resulting from an exchange of diplomatic notes.

South Africa alleged last week that arrested ANC members had claimed Botswana helped the ANC to establish facilities for infiltration.

Botswana's Department of Foreign Affairs denied the allegation.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that stringent security measures were still evident yesterday, with several police roadblocks set up on roads between the two countries.

South African Police were unpacking cars and lorries and using sniffer dogs. In many cases tail-lights, doorpanels and seats were taken out.

A South African truck driver said he had waited 14 hours on the South African side of the border post on Wednesday.

● The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday that talks at ministerial level between South Africa and Botswana should be initiated as soon as possible to resolve the tension.

Post Focus

By PATRICK CULL

FEW people could claim to have had such a marked influence on South African politics for as long as Nelson Mandela — for the last 23 years from a prison cell either on Robben Island or in Pollsmoor.

Today his presence is as strong as ever as the Government wrestles with the problem of whether to free the 69-year-old ANC leader — a problem not made any easier by the thought of what might happen should he die in jail.

Speculation about his release has been rife since State President Mr P W Botha first mooted the possibility in January 1985 when he opened Parliament.

Mr Botha referred to Mandela's release again a year later on this occasion

linking his freedom to that of others, including Captain Wynand du Toit and Russian dissidents Anatoly Scharansky and Andrei Sakharov.

Two events have happened since then which have raised the tempo of the speculation significantly.

Firstly, the Government dropped the prerequisite of the jailed ANC men having to renounce violence if they wished to be freed, and secondly a month ago it released Govan Mbeki, the 77-year-old former national chairman of the ANC and several other long-serving ANC and PAC prisoners.

Mbeki was clearly a test case although it is understood that the Cabinet was divided as to the wisdom of freeing him.

It was hoped that he would settle down "quietly into retirement" and if

Release of Mbeki was a test case for the State

this happened then the release of Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders looked a distinct possibility.

Things have not worked out that way and last weekend the police placed a ban on a rally scheduled to be held in Port Elizabeth at which Mbeki was to have been one of the speakers.

Concern has also been expressed at the way in which on his release he made it absolutely clear that he was still a communist and supported the aims of the ANC.

(The anomaly of freeing



Mr GOVAN MBEKI

a man who makes statements which conflict with the laws of the country and then taking no action against him is not lost on senior members of the police force.)

In addition, one Cabinet Minister stated recently that the mail which he had received on the subject had been totally negative, writers posing the question of how such a man could be released who supported the aims of people seeking to overthrow the Government.

That the release was followed shortly by the announcement of 23 deaths in SWA/Namibia

did not help.

In a sense Mbeki is the classic pawn.

From the perspective of the Government he was a test case and was released without conditions apart from the fact that he cannot be quoted.

In effect, however, there was a condition: that he had to retire quietly and not take an active part in politics, a harsh requirement when one considers that he had spent the past 23 years of his life in jail because of his political beliefs.

From the perspective of the ANC, as spelled out by a senior Government

source, Mbeki had to be used as part of a propaganda strategy to earn as much publicity for the ANC as possible.

At the same time, however, the source said, the ANC "does not want to endanger the release of further prisoners".

Mbeki has not managed to satisfy either side.

The Government, and particularly the police, are far from happy with the way he has behaved since his release, and the use which anti-Government forces have made of him.

And the corollary to that is quite simply that the chances of other ANC leaders being freed has become more remote despite the fact that the Government is keen to release a man whose continued detention is not only an embarrassment internationally but is now hold-

ing up the implementation of that much-vaunted National Council.

Essentially, Mandela's release now depends on which forces hold sway in the Cabinet.

The Ministry of Law and Order clearly wants Mandela to remain in jail.

Those, on the other hand, who recognise that without a free Mandela there can be no hope for constitutional progress involving any but the most tame of black leaders, will continue to press for his release.

Those were the forces which prevailed as far as Mbeki was concerned.

Whether in the light of that experience, the largely negative reaction from the white electorate and the ANC's avowed intention of going for more sensational targets, they will prevail again is another matter.

Mbeki release posing problems

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE release of Mr Govan Mbeki and its significance for the position of other security prisoners is becoming shrouded in political mystery and controversy.

If, as suggested initially, it was a "trial run" for the release of other security prisoners, the response from some Government quarters indicate that it is fast rebounding.

In Walvis Bay last week the chief of the security police, General J V van der Merwe, said that Mr Mbeki was being manipulated by the African National Congress and that ev-

erything he did was at the command of the ANC.

General van der Merwe also said that a mass meeting to have been addressed by Mr Mbeki in Port Elizabeth last Saturday had been prohibited under the emergency regulations because it would have helped to increase the "revolutionary climate" in the country.

Pound of flesh

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, added to the tough stand in these terms: "The Government did not receive its pound of flesh with the release of Mr Mbeki, but only pain..."

He said the Government had hoped that Mr Mbeki, who had diabetes, would retire restfully, but this had not happened. He was being "misused by people around him for political purposes."

In response to questions from Weekend Argus seeking clarification of the Government's stand this week, General van der Merwe said: "Mbeki was released because of humanitarian considerations."

"The Government had hoped that he would have realised this and that he would not have acted in a way that could harm public order or could delay the prospects for the termination of the state of emergency."

"Unfortunately, from the outset, Mbeki made it plain that the interests of the ANC and the SACP (South African Communist Party) ranked more importantly with him than public order."

"He has allowed himself to be manipulated by the ANC and radical organisations in a manner that could hamper the prospects for the termination of the state of emergency."

Behaviour

Asked what kind of behaviour the authorities expected from Mr Mbeki if any rise in the revolutionary climate was to be avoided, General van der Merwe said: "The Government expects Mbeki not to allow himself to be exploited by the ANC and radical organisations for political purposes."

"His activities are being

carefully monitored and the Government will not hesitate to act against him should it be required by law."

General van der Merwe was also asked what he had meant when he said that "radical legal actions" were more important at the moment than radical illegal activities, and whether any steps were contemplated against "radical legal actions".

He replied: "Radical legal activities comprise actions aimed at promoting animosity towards Government institutions and undertakings which would ultimately result in a revolutionary climate which will lead to unrest and violence."

"The Government is paying meticulous attention to all these incidents and will take the necessary steps to maintain law and order. At this stage more details cannot be given."

No mistake

A more low-key response has come from the Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who says that Mr Mbeki's release should not be seen as a mistake.

In a telephone interview he admitted that Mr Mbeki's release had caused certain problems for the authorities, but said that these could be solved by means of "normal" steps such as prohibiting meetings where Mr Mbeki's presence could be used to promote banned organisations.

"One would prefer not to have any need for such things."

Suggestions that Mr Mbeki's release had been a "trial run" for the release of Mr Mandela could be regarded as an exaggeration.

Dr van der Merwe said that although events surrounding Mr Mbeki's release would be taken into account in considering Mr Nelson Mandela's release, this was not likely to have a major influence as other factors were also involved.

There were three considerations in such matters: the question of punishment or retribution for what the prisoner had done, humanitarian consid-

erations, and the question of what would happen when the prisoner was released.

The prognosis would depend on the prisoner's intentions, status and surrounding circumstances. In considering Mr Mandela's case, the actions of Mr Mbeki since his release could form part of the "surrounding circumstances".

Dr van der Merwe said it was possible, therefore, that Mr Mbeki's actions since his release could have some bearing on considerations for Mr Mandela's release.

Asked what behaviour the authorities expected from Mr Mbeki, Dr van der Merwe said: "Nothing more is expected from him than from any other person. It is expected, therefore, that he should not promote banned organisations, nor encourage or stimulate violence."

At the time of Mr Mbeki's release, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, gave an assurance that he would have freedom of movement, freedom of speech and would be free to take part in politics, subject to the laws of the country and the emergency regulations. He remained a listed communist and could therefore not be quoted, the Minister said.

Judge seeks psycho tests in bush war

WINDHOEK. — Security force members serving in SWA/Namibia's bush war should be examined regularly by psychologists to monitor the effects of pressure and violence, a Supreme Court judge said here.

Mr Justice Johan Strydom made the suggestion when he sentenced a 28-year-old sergeant of the SWA Police Counterinsurgency Unit — known as Koevoel — to 10 years' jail for murder.

Dirk Johannes Calitz was convicted of killing Mr Wilhelm Haindongo in the Owambo war zone in August last year.

Peace bid

DHAKA. — Bangladesh President Hossain Mohammad Ershad may dissolve Parliament and call fresh elections in an attempt to make peace with the opposition. — Sapa-AP.

More jobs in US

WASHINGTON. — The nation's civilian jobless rate returned to a 10-year low of 5.9 percent in November. — Sapa-AP.

Unisa results

PRETORIA. — University of South Africa examination results will be released on Tuesday at 2pm. — Sapa.

set to soar

advice, medical aid patients would pay a whopping R12 extra for a single consultation — and they would have to pay the full fee directly to the doctor before claiming the medical aid portion.

Masa has printed a poster justifying the charging of Masa rates for doctors to put up in consulting rooms.

A letter from Dr Bernard Mandell, chairman of Masa's Federal Council, is printed on the back of the poster, inserted in the latest South African Medical Journal.

Alleged ANC commander faces murder charge

DURBAN — An alleged African National Congress commander, Mr Gordon Webster, 24, appeared in the Durban Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the death of Colonel Bobby Welman in January 1986.

Two allegations of attempted murder and 11 allegations of terrorism were also made against him.

Mr Webster, wounded by police in April 1986, was sprung from the Edendale Hospital near Pietermaritzburg by his friend Robert McBride, the Magoo's Bar bomber now awaiting execution, and others.

McBride said during his trial that Mr Webster hid in a caravan before McBride and his girlfriend, Greta Apelgren, could smuggle him to Botswana.

The indictment alleges that Mr Webster murdered Colonel Welman and committed attempted murder by placing two explosive

devices on two transformers in Jacobs on the night of January 9 last year.

One of the devices exploded, and while Col Welman was investigating the blast, the second device exploded causing his death three weeks later as a result of multiple organ failure.

In one count of terrorism it is alleged that between November 1986 and September this year, Mr Webster was to return to South Africa to seize hostages to be used for prisoner exchanges.

However, he was recaptured in Bophuthatswana on September 17,

before the hostage plan could be put into operation.

It is also alleged that on the night of March 21, 1986, Mr Webster, McBride and another person known only as "A", attached two limpet mines to each of two transformers in Jacobs.

They rejoined Mr Webster and all went to a spot at which Greta Apelgren was waiting to drive them away. All four limpet mines exploded, causing extensive damage.

(11A) 00
5/12/87

SAP won't hesitate to act against Mbeki

119 DD
5/12/87

PRETORIA — The government would not hesitate to act against the former national chairman of the ANC, Mr Govan Mbeki, "should it be required by law", the chief deputy commissioner of the SAP security branch, Lieutenant-General J. V. van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Lieut-Gen Van der Merwe said in a statement that the interests of the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were more important to Mr Mbeki than public order.

Mr Mbeki, who served 23 years behind bars for

plotting to overthrow the government by force, was released unconditionally this year.

Lieut-Gen Van der Merwe also said Mr Mbeki was released "because of humanitarian considerations", adding the government had hoped Mr Mbeki would have realised this and not acted in a way that could harm public order or delay the ending of the state of emergency.

"Unfortunately, from the outset, Mbeki had made it plain that the interests of the ANC and the SACP ranked more important with him than public order. He has allowed himself to be ma-

nipulated by the ANC and radical organisations in a manner that could hamper the prospects for the termination of the state of emergency."

Lieut-Gen Van der Merwe added that Mr Mbeki's activities were being "carefully monitored".

"Radical legal activities comprise actions aimed at promoting animosity towards government institutions and undertakings which would ultimately result in a revolutionary climate which will lead to unrest and violence.

"The government is

paying meticulous attention to all these incidents and will take the necessary steps to maintain law and order," he said.

● Meanwhile, bands and street theatre, organised by the Mbeki Reception Committee, will feature at the Mitchell's Plain town centre this evening, in the run-up to the rally to be addressed by Mr Mbeki, on December 13.

Although the organisers have not yet received permission for the rally from the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg and the Divisional Commissioner of Police, they said "we are going ahead as planned".

No decision has yet been taken on whether permission will be granted for the meeting in Cape Town next weekend. — Sapa-DDC

CPM- Times
5/12/82
(114)
(114)
Police officers' actions 'biased'

Supreme Court Reporter

MAJOR Dolf Odendaal and Warrant Officer Hendrik Barnard were among elements in the police force who "took decisions to act in a biased manner", independent MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Van Eck was giving evidence in the R312 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when KTC was burned down by witdoeke, allegedly with the aid of police.

Mr Van Eck said it was not the entire police force which acted in a biased way but there was no condemnation of biased action from "higher up" and certain policemen seemed to act with impunity.

Confronted

He said Major Odendaal and WO Barnard took a definite stand against "comrades" and in favour of witdoeke.

Major Odendaal had been unable, when confronted, to give a reasonable explanation for the lack of police action when Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement camps went up in smoke weeks before KTC, he said.

The conclusion he drew from this — and from watching police both fraternizing with witdoeke and preventing "comrades" from saving their possessions — was that police were actively supporting the witdoeke.

Mr Justice M R de Kock presided. Mr H P Viljoen 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.

11A) CP Press 6/2/87



Some of the hundreds of political activists who attended the funeral carry Howard Marawu's coffin to the graveyard.

'Comrade Rev', Langa's hero, is laid to rest

CP Reporter
ONE of the "heroes" of Langa township in Cape Town was laid to rest last weekend in a funeral which attracted more than 4 000 people.
Scores of political activists came to bury Rev Howard

Marawu, known to many as "Comrade Rev" in Langa township.
Marawu, who died at the age of 64 after a long illness, was a member of the Release Mandela Campaign.

He spent five months in detention during the first state of emergency in 1985.
Marawu was first detained in the 60s as a result of his involvement in the Freedom Charter campaign.

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CP1788

HUNDREDS of residents from the war-torn Maritzburg townships are expected to converge at Edendale's Wadley Stadium tomorrow morning after the UDF-Cosatu alliance was granted permission by the city's chief magistrate to hold a huge open-air rally.

Chief magistrate Cecil Dicks this week approved an application by the Southern Natal region of Cosatu and the Natal Midlands UDF branch to hold a rally tomorrow at 9am to report back to their constituency on the preliminary peace talks meeting with Inkatha last week.

Under the emergency regulations, open-air gatherings may not be held without a magistrate's permission.

Meanwhile, Inkatha has also applied to hold an open-air rally at Mpumuza on December 16.

The Maritzburg magistrate's decision has been welcomed by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which had been spearheading the peace talks.

The meeting has been called to report back on the preliminary agreement reached last Tuesday, in a meeting with Inkatha leaders, on steps to be taken in restoring peace in the area. One of the points agreed upon was directed at the police, to allow meetings in order to get a mandate and report back to their constituencies.

Maritzburg SA Police PRO Capt Pieter Kitching assured the organisers that the police would keep a low profile during the meeting and would only step in if there was interference or signs of trouble.

However, water in the city still remained of a repetition of last weekend's Port Elizabeth incident, where the government stepped in after the local chief magistrate and police chief had given the go-ahead for a rally planned to welcome back Govan Mbeki.

The UDF-Cosatu rally is to be opened by Dr Simon Gqubule, principal of the local John Wesley College, and will be the first major outdoor meeting to be held in Maritzburg since the May Day rally, also held at Wadley Stadium last year.

All Natal Midlands UDF chairman AS Chetty could say was "we welcome the news that we can hold the rally, and as far as we are concerned, we will see to it that the meeting is controlled".

The decision to give a green light for the rally comes against the background of the bloody chaos in Maritzburg.

The weekend saw the bloodiest violence in the Natal capital, according to the police unrest report.

Members of the SAP dispersed a rowdy mob at the Piet Retief bus terminus after fighting broke out and a man was fatally stabbed.

Also at the weekend, three Imbali youths, Bongani Mseleku, Mduzuzi Dlamini and Sikhumbuzo Mthiyane, were shot dead in broad daylight by two men who the residents identified as the notorious warlords.

By noon yesterday, the death toll since mid-September stood at 112, and 26 had been killed in political violence since the start of peace talks last Tuesday.

The death toll might increase dramatically as police continue to find more mutilated bodies.

In one of the most gruesome killings, 80-year-old Daniel Mncwabe was stoned and stabbed to death by a group of 100 people who attacked his home in Kwamnyandu this week.

Eleven people were arrested when police dispersed the crowd with tear-gas and shotguns.

The second round of talks intended to seek a solution to the escalating violence between supporters of the warring groups are due to take place next week, according to AS Chetty.

The co-chairman of the talks and manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Paul van Uytrecht, said that next week's meeting would raise items on which agreement could not be reached at the first meeting.

BY S'BU MNCADI

REPORT



6/12/87
C. Mncwabe

peace

(11A)

CP Correspondent

THE banning of last week's "home-coming" rally for Govan Mbeki was an effort to prevent the promotion of violence in the "unrest-plagued republic", according to Eastern Cape divisional police commissioner, Brigadier Ernest Schnetler.

In an affidavit presented during a Supreme Court hearing challenging the banning, he admitted the rally would probably have

Mbeki rally banned 'to prevent violence'

been peacefully conducted, but said the danger was in the message that would be given to the 55 000 people who would spread it throughout the country.

He said it was "pointless to prohibit Mbeki from being quoted while allowing him to address a gathering of 55 000 people".

Mbeki, a self-confessed communist, is a listed per-

son and may not be quoted.

The rally was originally permitted, under the Internal Security Act, by Port Elizabeth's acting chief magistrate, J Oosthuizen. However, Schnetler banned it under the Public Safety Act, the legislation under which the emergency regulations fall.

Schnetler said Mbeki had not renounced violence

and would not discourage support for the ANC and SACP.

He said there was a calculated campaign to make him "a people's hero". And the "so called" welcoming rally would be used by the ANC to gain a new momentum for its campaign.

As evidence of this campaign, Schnetler presented a pamphlet distributed in

the Cape.

It describes Mbeki as a life-long freedom fighter and says his release is a step towards the unbanning of the ANC. "His release will give joy, victory, hope and determination to the people of SA," the pamphlet says.

Commenting on the ban, head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johan

Van der Merwe, said the police had to consider the safety of both the public and the State. He said all future rallies would be considered separately.

At the hearing, held at the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on Saturday, Judge Wilshire-Jones upheld the banning order issued by Schnetler. He, however, did not withdraw

the permission granted by Oosthuizen for the rally to go ahead.

He said when Schnetler prohibited the meeting in terms of the emergency regulations, he was legally entitled to do so.

He said the evidence was that the Brigadier's prime concern was that the rally would prejudice the termi-

nation of the state of emergency and he "therefore exercised an entirely different discretion to that of the chief magistrate".

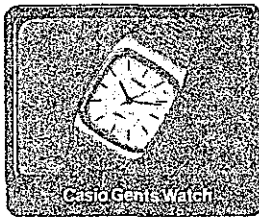
Schnetler said, with a few exceptions, the speakers did not come from Port Elizabeth and this does not make sense in what was referred to as a home-coming rally for the people of Port Elizabeth. - Ecna

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Govan Mbeki gets a joyful welcome from Sister Bernard Ncube of the Federation of SA Women.

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**Special report
from CP Correspondents**

that Schnetler had not overlooked permission given for the rally earlier this week by the acting chief magistrate for Port Elizabeth, J Oosthuizen, and so had acted within his jurisdiction.

The court heard that Schnetler had been told by the national intelligence service that 100 000 people would be present. This was not denied by SACC and Idamasa who admitted that it was possible the stadium could hold that number of people.

However, Idamasa said the rally was going to be a church service and not just a political meeting. One organiser of the rally, Rev Mcebisi Xundu, earlier in the week promised that the rally would be held in good order.

Spokesperson for Idamasa, Rev Patrick Pasha,

said there were people sanctioned to see that there was order during the service. It was promised that people would disperse peacefully immediately after the rally.

It was discussed and agreed among the organisers that there would be no toyi-toyi after the rally. A Port Elizabeth bus company agreed to provide 30 buses to take people home after the service.

"Idamasa believes that the decision by the divisional commissioner had not only damaged the spirit of good will nationally but internationally as well," said the Rev Patrick Pasha, general secretary of Idamasa.

At a Press conference addressed by Mbeki at Port Elizabeth's plush Elizabeth Sun Hotel, obvious anger and disappointment was expressed by the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, the vice-president of Idamasa

and East Cape UDF executive member.

A speech by Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, was read by Xundu.

Chikane said that the upholding of the banning of the rally by the Supreme Court showed that the police and the army overruled the courts of SA, that there was a concerted effort to continue silencing the voices of the oppressed people of SA and that the government was not honest about the conditions surrounding Mbeki's release.

"What concerns me most is that rally was planned as a religious thanksgiving service for the release of Mbeki and the banning of the service is a ban on the religious expression of the church," said Chikane.

"The state of emergency and other security regulations in SA militate against the expression of faith in a

country that claims to be Christian," said Chikane.

Mbeki then read out the speech he intended giving at the rally. However, as Mbeki is listed in terms of the Internal Security Act, he may not be quoted in SA.

The organisers of the rally said that it had been planned as the people wanted to hear what Mbeki had to say after 23 years in prison.

They said that Mbeki had also wanted to express his gratitude to people for not forgetting him while he was in prison.

The organisers said that, by asserting that he was still a communist and ANC supporter on his release, Mbeki was clearly not apologetic or regretful.

One of the foreign diplomats at the conference said that the banning of the rally had prevented blacks and whites from coming together in quest of freedom.

When Mbeki was first released, he was a little bewildered about how South Africa had changed in the 23 years while he was in prison.

The bulk of his knowledge of the country and its developments over the years could only have come through books and newspapers, giving him an incomplete picture of events.

While he was imprisoned, the huge United Democratic Front, bringing together hundreds of anti-apartheid organisations, was launched.

The labour field has also changed with the launching of two federations, Cosatu and Nactu, which have brought large numbers of workers together.

It will probably take some time before Mbeki will be able to catch up on events and formulate his own analysis of the current state of affairs in the country. — PEN

**Trendy
fashion prints
for the modern miss.**

CP Correspondent

THE UDF this week condemned the banning over the weekend of a rally in Port Elizabeth where the recently-released ANC leader Govan Mbeki was to have addressed an open-air rally.

In a statement released by the UDF in Johannesburg, the organisation said the banning of the rally "has yet again exposed the hollow and cynical nature of the Pretoria regime's so-called concession in releasing Mbeki".

The statement said the Pretoria authorities were afraid of one man and what he had to say.

The UDF pointed out that Mbeki, on his release, had made no bones about the fact that he still supported the outlawed ANC and the South African Communist Party.

"What the banning of the rally makes clear," said the front, "is that, despite its state of emergency claims, the government's hold on the situation is so shaky that it is not prepared to permit the outside world and the rest of South Africa to witness the massive support in the Eastern Cape for Mbeki and what he stands for."

"Thousands of Port Elizabeth residents arrived to hear him, and were

Ban on rally shows govt fears Mbeki - UDF

turned away bitterly disappointed."

The statement further described Mbeki as a leader of the people and an expression of what the people stood for, and what they wanted.

"In silencing Govan Mbeki, the government is silencing the people of South Africa. In refusing to listen to Govan Mbeki the government is closing its ears to the demands of the majority of South Africans. However, like Mbeki the people of South Africa are not going to retire, curl up and die or go away," said the organisation.

The UDF added that, by cutting Mbeki off from legal outlets of expression, the Pretoria government was trying to force him

into breaking its laws again.

"Then it can say, in its usual bullying fashion: 'We gave this man a chance and look what he does with it', and deal with the question of other political prisoners and detainees with renewed intransigence," it claimed.

It is widely believed in South Africa that the release of Mbeki is being used by Pretoria as a test case for the possible release of such high-profile ANC leaders as Nelson Mandela.

"The people of South Africa are becoming tired of the regime's posturing around reforms and concessions," the UDF said.

"The majority have had enough of grand public gestures that are still-born because of the regime's constant attempts to stifle the real leaders of the people. The UDF demands that the government unshackle Govan Mbeki and stop obstructing him from speaking to the people," the statement concluded.

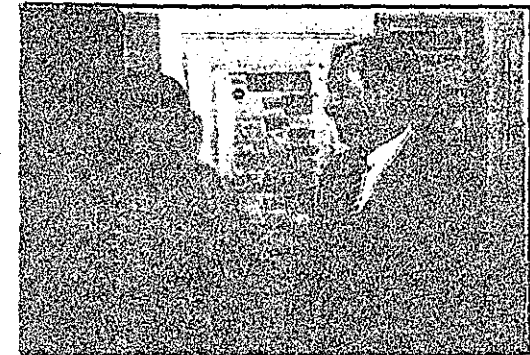
Mbeki was released on November 5 after spending 23 years in a South African jail for his ANC activities.

He is currently staying in the township of New Brighton just outside the Port Elizabeth. - ANO



Flashback: Govan Mbeki (centre) at a Press conference in Johannesburg. Despite his release, Mbeki is listed and may not be quoted.

LOOK WHAT REAL DAIRY HAS DONE FOR THE RAVN FAMILY



Mrs Ravn receiving one of the three R1 000 bonus prizes from Mr E Roux of the Dairy Board in the Dairy Month competition held recently.

THE BEST THINGS IN LIFE ARE REAL



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cube of the Federation of SA Women.

entry, that claims to be... When Mbeki was first

ANC declares 'blueprint for tough action' against SA

THE first international solidarity conference staged by the African National Congress this week in Arusha, Tanzania, pledged to intensify the military, economic and diplomatic campaign to isolate South Africa.

Conference delegates hailed the declaration as a breakthrough which would provide a blueprint for support groups in nearly 50 countries to urge their governments to take tougher action against South Africa.

The four-day conference, entitled "Peoples of the World Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa", marked the climax of the ANC's 71st Anniversary celebration. It was attended by ANC President Oliver Tambo and most members of the 30-person National Executive.

Negotiate

In his opening speech to the conference, Dr Nyerere made it clear that the ANC would have to negotiate with the Pretoria Government "in the end".

He agreed, however, with the ANC leaders that the time had not yet arrived for talks and that the military, political and diplomatic struggle against South Africa should continue until the Government was prepared to negotiate on fundamentals.

ANC leaders side-stepped commenting on recent reports of "spectacular and ruthless" attacks by the ANC military wing before Christmas. They appeared hesitant to prescribe a role for the 77-year-old freed ANC chairman, Govan Mbeki.

Solutions

Mr Jan Bagris, deputy chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, warned that the Soviets were "especially concerned" about NATO-backed South African attempts "to stop the progressive changes in Angola and Mozambique and to increase its economic and military pressure upon Zambia and Zimbabwe".

He said the Soviet Union was in favour of a political settlement to the problems of Southern Africa, but added that the "willingness of the

Special Correspondent Arusha

Botha Government to seek such solutions was quite doubtful".

"As far as we know, the ANC, despite the policy of repression against it, does not reject the possibility of a solution," he said.

The ANC circulated a recent statement by its National Executive regarding negotiations which rejected the government's present pre-conditions for talks.

The statement said any cessation of hostilities would have to be negotiated and entail agreed action by both sides as part of the process of the creation of a democratic South Africa.

Action

The statement also rejected out of hand any bid to pressure the ANC to cut its ties with the South African Communist Party.

A three-page declaration was accompanied by a nine-page programme of action. It pledged to intensify the armed struggle against South Africa until Pretoria was prepared to negotiate about the abolition of apartheid and the transfer of political power to a democratic and non-racial government.

The programme of action called on the international community to intensify existing economic sanctions, including the oil boycott and the ban on nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

It failed, however, to resolve internal differences about the academic and cultural boycotts.

Instead, the conference called on the ANC to initiate discussions with the United Democratic Front and international anti-apartheid movements to establish criteria for the implementation of the cultural boycott.

Security shake-up looms

S/T 6/12/87
11A

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA faces a renewed Government security crackdown, with the first moves likely in the New Year.

Signs of the impending step-up against political dissent have started to emerge from the security establishment and Government circles.

On the security front, presently legal organisations, such as the UDF and Cosatu, can expect increased detentions of leadership figures and a tighter control of their fields of operation.

On the political front, the crackdown will mean an end to already faded prospects for Nelson Mandela's release, as the Government girds itself against an onslaught from the right wing in nationwide elections towards the end of 1988.

Already tensions are rising in the Cabinet between Ministers who regard greater security as the national priority, and those who believe lessening of tension through political accommodation is the top national priority.

Clampdown on radicals is forecast

erating from outside the country, and that it can adequately deal with attempts to infiltrate and commit violent acts inside the country.

General van der Merwe named the UDF and Cosatu, and said tougher action would be taken against them.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has told six newspapers that he is considering gazetting warnings against them, which will allow him to move on to an outright banning of the publications.

They are Sowetan, New Nation, South, Work in Progress, Cosatu News and the rightwing publication, Die Stem.

The authoritative British newspaper, The Times, reported this week that "drastic" new security legislation was being prepared in Pretoria. If this is so, the legislation could come before Parliament in next year's session.

It is certain to cause a major outcry both inside and outside South Africa.

Mbeki 'extravaganza' begins to hot up

By HENRY LUDSKI

THE Govan Mbeki "roadshow" planned for Cape Town next weekend is being treated by enthusiasts of the formerly jailed ANC leader with all the hype of a political jamboree.

Already there has been an unprecedented wave of pre-publicity for the rally, which will be preceded by pop bands performing and the release of balloons painted in the colours of the African National Congress.

The rally in Cape Town is still in the balance and depends on whether police and Wynberg Chief Magistrate Mr W P Tberon, who has requested further particulars from the Mbeki reception committee, grant permission for the rally to go ahead.

As part of the pre-publicity, which has included door-to-door promotion in white areas, Cape Town and surrounding country districts have been flooded with Mbeki pamphlets.

Organisers expect about 50 000 to attend the rally, which is to be held on December 13 at an as yet undisclosed venue, more than likely a stadium.

Last week's Mbeki rally in Port Elizabeth was banned by police at the last minute after a magistrate had previously given the go-ahead.

In Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, this week-end balloons in the colours of the African National Congress were released to promote Mbeki's Cape Town visit.

The occasion, at the local town centre, was

accompanied by a fanfare of live pop bands, street theatre, children with faces painted in the colours of the ANC and the sale of T-shirts and postcards at Mbeki "stalls".

Similar publicity "extravaganzas" are planned for next week.

The rally is being organised on an unprecedented scale for Cape Town, with more than 100 people involved almost full-time in organising.

The Mbeki reception committee said it had decided to apply for permission to both the magistrates and police to allow the rally to go ahead to prevent a repeat of the situation in Port Elizabeth where the chief magistrate gave permission but the police banned the rally at the last moment.



GOVAN MBEKI

Release is backfiring
Security chiefs now hold the view that internal organisations, many of whom regard themselves as the internal political or labour arms of the ANC, have adapted to the state of emergency and have new strategies that are fanning revolution. They believe the struggle against insurgency has become hampered by the country's largely First World legal system, which according to them, is exploited by Third World elements who do not share the same value system.
There has been no indication so far what new security legislation could contain but political experts have specu-

lated it could involve restriction of the courts' ability to overturn Government regulations — as has happened with the state of emergency — and further reduction to the right to trial by detainees and of legal access to them.

The media's right to report on security action could also be further restricted.

This would allow police to conduct sweeping action against dissidents and insurgents.

The moves will intensify conflict between Government hawks and doves.

The recent release of Mr Mbeki was seen in many quarters as a triumph for the doves. The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, made it clear he was adopting a "political" line and was looking beyond the release — at its ramifications.

The split between security bosses and Cabinet doves over the issue came to a head when a magistrate gave permission for a Mbeki rally last weekend, where 50 000 people were expected.

Reports say President Botha became furious at the granting of permission the day before the meeting was to be held.

In political circles it is said Mr Coetsee was given a se-

vere dressing down by the President, and senior policemen were ordered to ban the meeting in terms of the emergency.

The plan to release Mr Mbeki was conceived by the Cabinet soon after the election in May this year, when it was realised Mr Mandela — as the No 1 international symbol of political martyrdom — had become as much trouble in jail as it was thought he could be outside.

Mr Mbeki's release was planned as a "testing of the water".

Unlikely

However, there has been a powerful rightwing backlash — and the Government is now faced with a major headache for next year's Parliamentary by-elections and national local council elections.

Mr Mbeki's high political profile, along with his self-proclaimed (and televised) support for communism and the ANC have made Mr Mandela's release most unlikely. Furthermore, there is strong speculation that the Government will move against Mr Mbeki probably by banning him.

Headache

The elements of the new security sweep are a shifting of focus from the external threat to internal insurrection; overseas reports that new security legislation is in the pipeline; and the experimental release of ANC veteran Govan Mbeki — an undertaking top Government officials believe is backfiring.

South Africa's security police chief, Lt-General Johan van der Merwe, said "legal radical organisations" were now the Government's major security headache. Their activities are increasing the revolutionary climate in the country.

The Government believes it now has the measure of the threat posed by the ANC OP.

Set the people free UDF

By KHULU SIBIYA

THE 18-month state of emergency will be put to the test next week when the UDF intensifies its campaign for it to be set aside.

The organisation has also called for the release of all political prisoners.

From December 10 to Christmas day, people throughout the country will be called upon to observe the "People's Christmas Against Emergency" - a period described by the UDF as the most challenging since the state of emergency was declared 18 months ago.

During this period the UDF will also call upon the government to "unlock apartheid's jails" and unban all political organisations.

The organisation also demanded an end to rent evictions and called for living wages for workers.

A UDF spokesman said: "This Christmas, let the people of South Africa come together in united action in the spirit of freedom and peace. Let us go forward to victory as families, communities, fellow-workers and democrats in unity, and with courage and resolution."

The period will be marked with the ringing of church bells, a one-day fast and a cultural day.

The organisers have called on people to visit the families of those in detention and exile and to send Christmas cards to political prisoners, detainees and their families.

A special appeal for discipline and restraint was also made.

● Meanwhile, over 800 Port Elizabeth residents were expected to attend a prayer service in support of detainees next Monday.

10 000 support rally for peace

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Undisciplined behaviour by members of the UDF and Cosatu would not be tolerated, and perpetrators would be punished, about 10 000 of the organization's supporters were told at a peace rally held in Edendale yesterday.

The chairman of the Midlands branch of the UDF, Mr A S Chetty, said supporters at the rally were warned that disciplinary action would be taken against any members who took part in violence or acted in an undisciplined manner, such as attempting to force other township members to join their organizations.

He said the turnout at the meeting had been "fantastic", and the rally had gone off smoothly.

"We are very confident that we have got the message across to our people on the question of township violence, and that it will be carried down to grass roots level," he said.

Supporters at the meeting endorsed the peace proposals outlined by their leaders in a bid to achieve peace in the city's troubled townships. So far, the violence has left at least 150 people dead. At the weekend the police reported that two more people had been killed in townships.

Police said a body of a man with stab wounds was found in a bus at Taylor's Halt on Saturday. A man was killed by

CAK Times 7/12/87 (114) ~~114~~
a mob and another seriously injured at Caluza.

In other incidents of unrest reported from Maritzburg at the weekend, a group armed with knives and assegais tried to abduct a man and a woman in a white residential area.

In addition, police fired tearsmoke and shotguns to disperse illegal gatherings at Taylor's Halt and Willow Fountain.

A man was wounded and 16 people were arrested in the incidents.

At Mpumuza a private home was extensively damaged after it was petrol-bombed.

Speakers from the UDF and Cosatu outlined discussions held recently by the organisations with Inkatha and the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce. Members of the Chamber of Commerce also attended the rally yesterday.

Another joint meeting between the various organizations is scheduled to take place later this week.

● Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that the violence in Maritzburg's townships epitomized the real intentions of the ANC.

Speaking at a meeting of Inkatha's Central Committee, he said his people were dying "hideous deaths" because the exiled organization wanted to make Maritzburg a "no-go area" for Inkatha.

PW's daughter in film furore

MISS Rozanne Botha, daughter of President Botha, who appeared in the controversial television programme Children Of Apartheid in the United States said yesterday she did so to try and put across how South Africa had progressed in promoting better living conditions.

A spokesman of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said that its consulate in New York had approached the Columbia Broadcasting System about the programme and had lodged a protest.

The programme is said to have harmed South Africa's image by the generalisations it contained. The film is also said to have been made illegally as the producers, among them one of the US's

TV programme also features Zinzi Mandela

top TV personalities Walter Cronkite, had not applied for work permits.

After Miss Botha had spoken scenes of police violence and slum conditions and violence by blacks were shown.

In Cape Town yesterday Miss Botha said that she had taken part in the TV documentary because she loved her country very much and wanted to make a contribution to try and show that South Africa had progressed far in promoting

better living conditions and relations.

In the programme Miss Botha's views were contrasted with those of Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

While Miss Mandela said that, with Mr Botha, there was no hope, Miss Botha said she believed in a "fast moderate approach."

Yesterday she said that she had not yet seen the programme but hoped to obtain a video of it soon.

She was not totally taken aback although she had had the impression that the programme would make a more positive than a negative impression.

Although everything in the country was not perfect she felt that there were nice things.



ZINZI Mandela ... "No hope".

(Tip)

SPM 8/12/87

'Motive is to protect British interests'

UDF condemns 'Marshall Plan' as a whitewash

The proposals of the British Industry Committee on South Africa for a "Marshall Plan" were "totally unacceptable" to the UDF.

In a statement yesterday, the UDF said: "The real motive is totally transparent: to protect the interests of British industrialists. This is part of a desperate attempt by South Africa and its Western allies to undermine the campaign of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the regime.

SUSPICIOUS IN ITS AIMS

"It is also an open secret that it is an attempt to divert funds away from support for organisations of the people into projects seen to be more in line with the interests of imperialism in South Africa. The objectives of this plan are calculated to undermine the entire liberation movement and the country's extra-parliamentary forces, in particular the UDF, Cosatu and the churches.

"We must point out that this scheme

was not discussed with the very people it claims to be helping, that it is suspicious in its aims, and in the end can only serve to prop up the South Africa regime. Further, we have no doubt that it is meant to help pave the way for a 'Muzorewa solution', where a group of black 'moderates' are to sell out the goal of democracy for a combination of dubious titles and fat bank balances.

This attempt to whitewash British investment in apartheid will do little to improve the daily lives of our people. Decent education, housing and jobs will only be realised in an apartheid-free South Africa.

APARTHEID-FREE SOUTH AFRICA

"The sooner British and other industrialists stop propping up apartheid, the sooner we will be able to achieve this goal. For these reasons Bisca must not expect any co-operation from the oppressed communities with schemes such as this." — Sapa.

ANC support seen as

yes to murder

Post Correspondent

LONDON — Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and several of his MPs were encouraging murder when they helped to fund an advertisement sending "warmest wishes" to the ANC on its 75th anniversary and pledging "wholehearted support for its future activities", the Sun newspaper said in a leading article yesterday.

The Sun, a right-wing, racy tabloid with the largest daily circulation of any newspaper in Britain, was commenting on the publication in the Observer of an advertisement signed by about 1 000 ANC supporters pledging support for the organisation and its "struggle for peace, freedom and democracy in SA".

Among those whose names were listed on the advertisement, first published in the Guardian at a cost of more than R50 000, were Kinnock, his deputy Mr Roy Hattersly and about 20 Labour and Scottish National Party MPs.



Mr NEIL KINNOCK

Conscience

In the article titled "Blood on their hands", the Sun said the ANC was a criminal conspiracy publicly committed to terrorism in SA.

Its bombs planted in city centres had killed or mutilated "scores of white men, women and children.

"Hundreds have been murdered, many of them by the necklace treatment — pinioned with a tyre doused in petrol and then set alight".

The logic of the actions of the MPs who put their names to the advertisements, the Sun said, was that "they want more killings, more innocent victims, blacks as well as

white, until the country is overthrown.

"Labour is supposed to be the party of tender conscience. Yet it not merely condones murder, it actually encourages it.

"If there are more deaths in South Africa, then some of the blood belongs on their hands.

"This is a disgraceful situation for the the leaders of a party that seeks to provide the government of Britain."

A spokesman for Mr Kinnock's office said the article was not worthy of comment.

continued

Proposal to allow picketing

New move to decriminalise strike action

CRIMINAL sanctions attached to strikes and lock-outs should be abolished, except possibly in regard to essential services, the National Manpower Commission (NMC) said in its report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

It also said the freedom to strike should be extended to include certain categories of workers in the public service.

The commission suggested that the law could be changed to allow a certain amount of picketing and related forms of action in industrial disputes.

But the NMC felt this proposal should be investigated further.

It recommended that no legislation be introduced to govern the non-statutory collective bargaining systems that have developed over the past decade.

A spokesman for Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis said legislation based on the report would probably be introduced next year.

The report recommended that the distinction between lawful and unlawful strikes (and lock-outs) be replaced by the concept of "acceptability".

Only strikes by workers in essential services would be considered unlawful under the proposals.

And the NMC proposed further study aimed at narrowing the area of essential

ALAN FINE

services and creating improved dispute-resolving procedures for them.

The Industrial Court, it said, should be given the power to determine the acceptability of a strike, based on guidelines such as the nature of the dispute and whether adequate attempts had been made at settlement.

These did not need to include the use of statutory conciliation boards or industrial councils — privately negotiated procedures would be sufficient.

Employers would be able to apply for interdicts against "unacceptable"

● More Parliament — Page 8

strikes. Should an interdict be ignored, they would be able to claim damages. The court could also declare such a strike an unfair labour practice.

However, the NMC recommended that workers participating in acceptable strikes be protected against prosecution in terms of security legislation and by-laws.

It also expressed support for decisions of the Industrial Court protecting strikers from dismissal in certain circumstances.

The NMC said it was in favour of

● To Page 2 →

Call to decriminalise strikes

legislation permitting "certain forms of picketing" and planned to investigate this further.

The report adopted a hands-off approach to the question of the relationship between industrial council and plant-level bargaining — a burning issue, particularly in the metal industry. It should be left to negotiation, the NMC said.

It laid down a series of guidelines for the Minister to follow when considering whether to extend industrial council agreements to non-parties.

The report recommended more advantageous channels for parties applying for exemptions from the provisions of agreements.

It also suggested the repeal of sections 21a and 31a of the Labour Relations Act.

The former gives existing members of industrial councils the right to veto any new application for membership. The re-

ported said conditions of admission should be contained in council constitutions.

The controversial section 31a, introduced in 1984, makes agreements with unregistered unions unenforceable in law. Its purpose was to encourage registration, but employers protested at the time that it would give these unions the right to contravene agreements at will.

Certain areas of the report, such as the speeding up of the process of establishing conciliation boards, have been overtaken by the publication late last year of the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, which is being re-drafted in the light of comments received.

The report is dated July 1986. A ministerial spokesman said the delay in its tabling was due to translation and printing problems.

dry

C.M.C. Toise 8/2/77

Man burnt, 3

shacks razed

(119)
Staff Reporter

A MAN was badly burnt and three squatter shacks were destroyed during an attack on Nyanga East residents early on Sunday.

The chairman of the 11 000 Portland Cement squatters, Mr Christopher Toise, said yesterday that three other plastic shelters had been partly burnt, while about 12 people had lost their possessions.

He criticized the government for "extreme tardiness" in providing housing.

Mr Louis Koch, of the Regional Services Council, said plans for development were "up in the air at present".

Azasm theme: Build socialism

Staff Reporter

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"BUILD and defend socialism" was the theme of the fourth national congress of the Azanian Students' Movement, held last weekend at the Retreat Civic Centre.

Outgoing president Mr Monde Ntwasa said the congress had been called the "Steve Biko congress" because it took place close to the tenth anniversary of Mr Biko's death in detention.

A huge Biko poster adorned the hall, with the words: "From amidst the ashes will arise a new nation."

At the congress emphasis had been placed on political education and political leadership, Mr Ntwasa said.

Delegates also decided to establish "worker support committees" this year, comprising students and workers.

17-23/12/8 South

Parents not aware of charges

THE launching of your newspaper, SOUTH, gave the people the impression that, at last, we would have an objective mouth piece "of the people for the people".

SOUTH would report matters in a fair and just manner without implicating unfortunate victims who find themselves in no position to defend any allegations or criticism against them by the poisoned fingers of the press, it was thought.

'Terrorism'

Your edition of December 10-16, under the bold headings "ANC's Cape Cells" on page 1 and "Forbes an ANC commander", refers. In sensationalising the plight of the 15 young people, who will appear in the Supreme

Court in March next year on charges of "terrorism", your newspaper went about tabulating the allegations against some of the young people in a manner which, apparently and undoubtedly, projects the impression that they (the accused) are already guilty of the charges, and/or that they were some kind of ruthless political radicals who planned to create havoc — in a bid to overthrow the State.

We realise your journalist was "only outlining the State's allegations" against them, but did he really do these young people any justice in the manner in which he reported the matter.

Was SOUTH aware that some or most of the parents of the accused

was not aware of the actual charges against their children until they read your newspaper.

Could your paper not have found the time to check with those parents and/or the representatives of those charged whether they were all aware of the charges against their kin.

Worst

It appeared as if SOUTH was just interested in collating whatever photographs could be mustered of the people concerned for use with the "scoop", without further thought of whatever adverse consequences caused, or how you may have prejudiced the support and defence of those concerned.

It should be a well-known fact

that quite a lot of people in our community like to believe only the worst of others, and, when the press rushes to stoke the fire by projecting what appears to be the "worst" in people, persecutors (of those who care and fight for their fellowman) normally have a ball.

So well done SOUTH for your damaging "scoop" and purported revelations of those who are not yet in a position to defend themselves. I can assure that we, the parents of the 15 people involved, their kinsman, and the community at large are not at all impressed, of the direction you have taken to try to "sell" your newspaper.

SIGNED BY SOME OF THE PARENTS

11A

CAP TIMES 8/12/87

CBS men not to blame, says PW's daughter

By ANDREW DONALDSON and BARRY STREEK

THE State President's daughter yesterday defended the cameramen and crew who spent "some time" with her during the making of the CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid".

It is understood CBS Television bureau chief in Johannesburg Mr Bill Mutschman has been summoned to the office of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The film, on young South Africans, screened in the US earlier this week, contrasted interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Miss Botha's involvement in the documentary has led to a considerable outcry from government-supporting newspapers. Among others, the Burger carried a front-page report yesterday headlined "Rozanne was misused to get at South Africa".

But the State President's daughter, who has not yet seen the documentary, defended the cameramen and production crew: "It's not their fault. It was probably made more anti-us overseas."

● Sapa-Reuter reports that CBS denied charges yesterday that it had violated local work rules or taken advantage of Miss Botha.

CBS spokesman Mr Tom Goodman said the network had not broken any law. "They (the crew) went in on valid visas.

"She was well aware of the programme's contents. She's an extremely intelligent woman and could have ended the interview at any time."

'ANC wants talks, peace', — terrorist

Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress wanted nothing more than "true negotiations" resulting in "genuine peace and lasting justice" but this was impossible while apartheid was intact, convicted terrorist Mxolisi Edward Petane told the Supreme Court.

Giving evidence yesterday in mitigation of sentence, Petane, 29, a member of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said his organisation's struggle was for justice and rejected the Government's definition of the ANC as a terrorist organisation.

He said: "The ANC accepted the invitation to participate in the deliberations that produced the 1977 Additional Protocols (to the 1949 Geneva Convention) and in 1980 became the signatory of this document, thus abiding itself to observe the law of war."

Petane said no terrorist organisation had been invited to take part in the talks, only legitimate liberation movements.

The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe "emphatically reject terrorism as a form of fighting".

In its early stages Umkhonto we Sizwe opted for a sabotage campaign emphasising that the loss of life should be avoided at all costs, said Petane.

Intransigence

"The motive behind this campaign was that the regime should come to its senses about the seriousness of the demand for self-determination by the oppressed majority before there is bloodshed."

Government intransigence had resulted in the guerrilla war gaining momentum and in the inevitability of bloodshed.

This realisation and its insistence on minimising bloodshed and humanising the war led the ANC to enter the Additional Protocol talks.

Petane began his address to the court by telling Mr Justice J H Conradie and his assessors: "Since this is my last opportunity to speak I would like to express my appreciation of the sensitivity of this court during the course of this trial to my position as a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe and to my lordship for your sensitivity and that of the members of the Bench."

Believing his prosecution to be a "grave breach of international law",

Petane refused to plead to the charges at the start of the trial.

He said they were "an attempt by the state to deprive MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) combatants and all struggling people of their legitimate right to fight and overthrow this crime against humanity, as apartheid is now recognised in international law".

He "denied the legitimacy of the ruling government" because the British Government had violated the 1919 League of Nations Covenant and granted independence to a white minority community.

As a result subsequent South African governments "became merely de facto", he said.

"I believe that such governments have no legitimacy because they are not based on the will of the people."

The de facto governments had gradually become "tyrannical regimes and enemies of the common good".

"Friend and foe"

Petane said he first experienced "the cruel and ruthless tyranny of this regime" during the 1976 riots with the "violent reaction to our initially peaceful demonstrations against inferior Bantu education".

He realised that the conflict was not simply between black and white but between oppressor and oppressed.

"Colour played very little role in distinguishing between friend and foe (during the riots).

"We were shot by black policemen and treated by white doctors who risked their lives by coming to the townships, and their jobs by not reporting those who had bullet wounds to the police."

Petane said he read the Freedom Charter at this time.

"It provided a sober and objective solution to this country's constitutionalised problems declaring 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white' and that 'no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people'.

"An organisation with this kind of approach to this country's future naturally became my political home after my experiences during the riots and I therefore joined the ANC.

"It was not because of my desire for violence but because I was left with only two choices ... submit to tyranny or fight apartheid."

(Proceeding)

MEGUS 9/12/82

11A ~~11A~~

Magistrate's ban on Mbeki rally shocks UDF

Staff Reporter

THE chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron, declined to give reasons today for his decision to ban the Govan Mbeki rally, to have been held in Athlone on Sunday.

United Democratic Front Western Cape secretary Mr Joe Marks said the ban was "a great shock to the UDF".

Mr Theron said: "We do not usually give reasons for a decision."

He said he gave members of the Mbeki reception committee a chance to reply to police affidavits before he made his decision.

His decision was conveyed to the committee yesterday.

Mr Theron said he was not prepared to disclose the contents of the police affidavits filed in opposition to the request for permission to hold the rally as they were "not for public consumption".

However, the committee's legal representative said Brigadier Eben Coetzee of the police security branch had said in an affidavit that police would find it difficult to do their duty at the rally.

THREAT TO PEACE

Brigadier Coetzee had said police expected 100 000 people to attend the rally, but the Athlone Stadium could hold only 20 000 and that the presence of a large number of police could lead to serious threats to public peace.

The UDF's Mr Marks said the ban was "a great shock to the UDF".

"Although the Government released Mr Mbeki and promised that he would be allowed to participate in legal political activities, it now seems determined to silence him."

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They come from different worlds

From ALAN DUNN
Argus Foreign Service
in Washington

AN American television programme contrasting the black and white worlds of South African youth featured a painful mismatch between the daughters of two South African leaders. State President P W Botha and the African National Congress's Nelson Mandela.

Rozanne Botha, 27, and Zinzi Mandela, 27, were shown as having very little in common, with Miss Botha stumbling through her political views, and an articulate Miss Mandela displaying practice and ease at fielding questions on her father and the country's future.

Miss Botha's world was shown as one of airing half-baked political views, sun-tans, hedonism, fetching fashions, careful grooming, folk singing, and trendy parties to loud music at the official residence in Cape Town.

Miss Mandela's was reflected as one of deprivation, survival, bitterness, anger, police harassment and life without a vote where poverty was the norm.

Whether or not the drubbing that Miss Botha took was engineered at a CBS television editor's desk is not

known. The hour-long report by CBS news legend Walter Cronkite was titled "Children of Apartheid".

In a note last month, South Africa's Bureau for Information apparently emphasised to CBS that Mr Cronkite had abused the terms of his visa. He had been granted admission to South Africa as a tourist only. *Children of Apartheid* was shown nationally in the US on Saturday night, amid some fear at the network that the screening may jeopardise the network's future in South Africa.

No deception

CBS said Miss Botha had been "well aware" of the programme's content. There had been no attempt to conceal it from her: "As you know, she is very intelligent and could have terminated the interviews at any time," said CBS spokesman Tom Goodman.

There had been no deception, he said, and CBS believed there was no reason for any repercussions involving the status of the network's bureau in Johannesburg.

The popular 'People' magazine judged Miss Botha after previewing the Cronkite report to be a 'SAP', a "South African Princess" — a commonly used American term to define a very sheltered, pampered and precious person.



Zinzi Mandela

Mr Cronkite said reports like *Children of Apartheid* were assembled "at some risk and with not infrequent questioning of reporters and camera crews. Some of the young people who spoke to us on camera did so with the know-

ledge that they might be subject to arrest," he said.

He indicated that the programme's producer, Mr Brian Ellis, had interviewed the children because of his visa restriction. Scenes of Miss Botha on a Cape Town beach



Rozanne Botha

opened the programme, with her saying she believed in a "fast, moderate" approach to South Africa's problems and extolling her father's virtues.

If Mr Botha was sitting across from her now, Miss Mandela said, she would kick

him where it hurt most: "I've got nothing more to say to P.W. Obviously he's turned a deaf ear, he's not prepared to hear what the black man wants; he's not interested in giving us what we want."

Miss Mandela said she always joked that she had been raised by the South Africa Police — "They've been part of my life ever since I can remember," she said when Mr Ellis noted their first interview had been interrupted by a police visit.

"In Rozanne's world," said Mr Cronkite, "it is still possible — for the moment — to postpone reality, to detach oneself from the possibility that white South Africa might be a borrowed place on borrowed time."

Miss Botha then asserted that if one was not happy with the government's policies and went against them unlawfully, one should expect to be detained: "If you're unhappy about something, you can always talk about it. I mean, I can go and see my father ... any young person in the country can go to the president and say, 'Sir, I disagree with this, that and the other thing'."

"And if he doesn't want to change it, then there are laws to vote him out. It's a democracy, it's supposed to be a democracy."

But Miss Mandela's world was not a democracy, said Mr Cronkite. Hers was life without a vote, where fear and uncertainty usually wore uniforms.

Said Miss Botha: "Freedom to me isn't shouting for liberty and shouting for individual freedom and things like that. You'll get it if you're adamant enough. You'll get freedom, you'll get people to listen to you."

Responsibility

"You don't have to shout and hold up banners and carry on like a madman ... unless you're in an oppressed situation, I suppose you need to do that occasionally, but in a responsible manner," she said. Freedom and responsibility went together, otherwise there would be chaos.

The Botha-Mandela comparison unfurled over about 15 minutes of the report. The report then expanded into bites of interviews with Xhosa youths undergoing a tribal circumcision ceremony, Voortrekker boys hiking, a young white girl saying the Bible dictated that war was inevitable, and black and white youths vociferously rejecting apartheid.

It also showed a gang of township youths, known as Comrades, meeting to hear a report from one member on the killing of a person, and planning the next murder.

11A

Molobi held

9/12/87
Smetru

ANTI-APARTHEID activist, Eric Molobi, was detained in Johannesburg under emergency regulations yesterday, as he was leaving a meeting to discuss a Mbeki Trust, attorney Mrs Priscilla Jana said yesterday.

National co-ordinator of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and executive member of the UDF, Mr Molobi, was meeting Mrs Jana and others to discuss the formation of the trust and a reception for the ANC leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, recently released after serving 23 years in prison.

Mrs Jana said police confirmed that Mr Molobi, a father of two children, was being held under Section 3 of the Emergency Regulations.

Members of the Security Police waited outside Mrs Jana's central Johannesburg office while the meeting was in progress, she said, and arrested Mr Molobi as he left.

In response the UDF National Executive Committee released a statement condemning the detention of Mr Molobi.

The statement reads: "We are shocked and angered at the detention of NECC national co-ordinator and UDF member Eric Molobi.

"This detention comes at a time when government security officials have announced that they will be taking action even against people who are acting within the law"

Cape Times

9/12/87
11A

ANC wants 'negotiations for peace'

By ANDREW DONALDSON

THERE was nothing the ANC wanted more than "true negotiations that will result in genuine peace and lasting justice for all", convicted Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member Mxolisi Petane told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Elegantly dressed in a grey suit, the well-spoken Petane — convicted of terrorism in terms of the Internal Security Act — was reading from a prepared statement as evidence in terms of mitigation of sentence.

Last week, the 29-year-old man was found guilty of placing a bomb in the back seat of a car in a parking lot, and of two counts of attempted murder — shooting a policeman who came looking for him at his shack and throwing a grenade which injured four others on the day he was arrested in KTC.

Beginning his address, he turned to the Bench: "Allow me to express my appreciation of the sensitivity of this court during the course of this trial to my position as a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe."

He had refused to plead because — as he told the court — his prosecution had been a grave breach of international law in terms of the 1977 Additional Protocols to the 1949 Geneva Convention to which the ANC was party.

The charges against him had been an attempt by the state to deprive MK

combatants and all struggling people of their right to fight and overthrow apartheid, described as a "crime against humanity".

"I first experienced the cruel and ruthless tyranny of this regime during the 1976-77 riots. With stones and dust-bin lids against Hippos, teargas and live ammunition we resisted and rejected Bantu Education and all unjust and discriminatory laws of apartheid's oppression."

He joined MK "not because of my desire for violence but because the time had come in my life where I was left with only two choices — to submit or to fight apartheid".

MK was not a terrorist organization, he said. From the outset, the organization had rejected terrorism as a "form of fighting".

Earlier, Mr D Rothwell, the Deputy Attorney-General, questioned the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Mr Frank Chikane, about Christianity and the Bible.

"Are you a Christian?" Mr Rothwell asked.

"Yes I am," Mr Chikane replied.

"Are you familiar with the Bible?" "I read it 9½ times when I was in prison," said Mr Chikane, a Pietermaritzburg Treason trialist.

The hearing continues today. Mr Justice H Conradie presided with two assessors, Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier. Mr D Rothwell, Deputy Attorney-General, appeared for the state with Mr Mike Stowe. Mr M Donen, instructed by R Vassen and Co, appeared for Petane.

Bid to free 2 UDF officials

9/12/82

JOHANNESBURG — An urgent application for the release of two United Democratic Front (UDF) officials began in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Mafeson Morobe, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, and Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa, the acting general secretary, are challenging their detention under the emergency regulations. The application is being opposed by the Minister of Law and Order.

The two were arrested in Port Elizabeth in July this year.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa

9/26. 11:05 9/26/77
7 die in
Maritzburg
fighting

PRETORIA. — Eight people died in clashes overnight — seven of them in the faction-torn Maritzburg area, police reported yesterday.

Six men were killed and many others injured after a group, who travelled by bus to the Deda area near Maritzburg, attacked residents and property. Police reported that a 67-year-old man was stabbed at least 129 times. Twenty-one men were arrested and firearms were seized.

Monday's violence follows a weekend UDF rally in Edendale, which allegedly aimed at seeking peace with rival Inkatha supporters.

At Taylor's Halt police fired shotguns and birdshot to disperse illegal gatherings. One such group had barricaded roads. At least 14 people were arrested, and the body of a 22-year-old man who had been stabbed and beaten to death was found.

At Tyokville, near Uitenhage, police found the body of a 17-year-old youth, who had also been stabbed and beaten to death. — Sapa

**UDF says
campaign
aimed at
promoting
discipline**

11A

DD

9/12/87

JOHANNESBURG

The United Democratic Front announced yesterday that it had not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during of its Christmas campaign running from tomorrow through to Christmas Day.

In a statement, the UDF outlined its plans for the period and appealed to people to conduct themselves with dignity during the campaign, to avoid "drunkenness in the streets" and to carry out the campaign "in a politically disciplined manner."

The plan outline calls for the participation of church, sports and cultural bodies, together with a period of silence for political prisoners.

"The UDF has not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during this time.

"All rumours to this effect are totally incorrect and can only serve to confuse the people," the statement said. — Sapa



Witness abandoned PAC as it was useless, court told

Daily Dispatch Reporter
UMTATA — A witness testifying in camera in a regional court trial here yesterday said that he had abandoned the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), because it had become "useless".

The witness, referred to in court only as Mr X, was testifying in the trial of seven accused facing charges in connection with the banned PAC.

He continued to give evidence yesterday with the public gallery cleared and only the press allowed to remain.

The seven accused are Mr Leo Rubusana Kantolo, Mr Salakaty Viliers Simuku, Mr Agreement Siggibo Mpendulo, Miss Nomthandazo Lusizi, Mr Vivien Mzimkulu Swaartbooi, Mr Victor Ntsokolo Zamela and Mr Synod Madlebe.

Mr Madlebe was not in court as he is recovering from a stroke after being admitted to the Umtata Hospital in October.

They have pleaded not guilty to the charges.

Mr X was being cross-examined by the council for the defence, Mr Justice Poswa, about how much he knew about the PAC, and whether his comments about the organisation were pure conjecture or not.

Mr X said he had never reached a level where he knew as much as the PAC's central committee, but from what he had gathered he was sufficiently knowledgeable.

He added that there were those in the central committee who could not write and he had had to prepare speeches for them and lecture them.

Mr X said the PAC's high command lacked manpower and that he was one of the first to show that the organisation had support back home.

He said the feeling of the cadres was that the central committee was

not doing anything about a home-going programme.

When Mr X was first cross-examined by Mr Poswa he said he had left South Africa because of his political beliefs at the time, and because he had realised that talking would not bring about change.

"I wanted every black man to have full political rights because I was unhappy about the position of the black man. The things that concerned me were the lack of political participation in South Africa and life below the poverty line.

"I still maintain these views because change is not complete, and it's my view that it is the South African Government which denies these political rights.

"I was influenced in my thinking by being able to obtain political literature in my vicinity, and I became politically enlightened. I do not regret being politically enlightened because I

would rather see the dignity of the black man attained."

He said he had gone for military training to achieve his ends, but admitted he could not have been able to join the South African Defence Force because this would not have suited his purposes as the South African army sought to enforce the situation.

He denied that he had gone for military training with a view to eliminating whites in South Africa. He said the situation in South Africa had not really moved him into a situation where he would want to exterminate the whites.

He admitted that since he had joined the South African Police he was against the fight against democracy, and "completely on the side of the enemy".

However, he said he would not like to make people believe the PAC was a democratic organisation as he had ex-

perienced a lot of rot in the PAC, but he had not given up on democracy ever being attained.

He said that after becoming disillusioned with the PAC he and others had tried to hand themselves to the Tanzanian Government, but the government would not listen as Potlako Leballo had been a close friend of Tanzanian President, Dr Julius Nyerere.

He said he had decided at the end of 1980 to abandon the PAC shortly after he had returned from a trip to Communist China. He had realised that the PAC was useless but he could not do anything as he knew he could be killed.

Asked about the assassination of David Sibeko, Mr X said the late PAC official was killed by PAC cadres after he had been kidnapped from his room and taken to Morogoro.

The case is proceeding.

**We did
not call
for a
boycott
- UDF**

THE United Democratic Front announced yesterday that it had not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during the term of its Christmas campaign from Thursday to Christmas day.

In a statement to Sapa, the UDF outlined plans for the period and appealed to people to conduct themselves with dignity during the campaign, to avoid "drunkenness in the streets" and to carry out the campaign "in a politically disciplined manner."

The plan outline calls for church, sports and cultural bodies participation, together with a period of silence for political prisoners.

"The UDF has not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during this time. All rumours to this effect are totally incorrect," the statement said. — Sapa.

9/2/82



Imetun

'Spy' to face new charges

A FORMER security branch policeman who was last week sentenced to 14 years imprisonment for spying for the banned African National Congress is expected to appear in court again on further charges of corruption and car theft.

Matshwenyego Daniel Mokgabudi of Atteridgeville is expected to appear in the Pretoria Regional Court tomorrow on charges of bribery, alternatively corruption, the *Sowetan* established yesterday.

A spokesman for his lawyers confirmed that their client had been told to appear tomorrow on a charge of bribery or

alternatively corruption. they also confirmed that he will only appear for a formal remand.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria yesterday said Mokgabudi was also facing charges of car theft. He is due to appear in the magistrate's court on January 4 next year, the police spokesman said.

Mokgabudi and another former security branch policeman Tshifhango Cedric Rabuli (34) of Soshanguve were each sentenced to 14 years imprisonment by Mr AF Snyman in the Pretoria Regional Court last Thursday on charges of spying for the ANC,



Snyman
9/12/87

'Mr X' raps PAC

"THE banned Pan Africanist Congress is riddled with corruption from top to bottom in its officialdom," said a State witness codenamed "Constable X" yesterday at the trial of seven Transkeians charged with PAC activities and appearing in the Umtata Regional Court.

The accused facing charges ranging from furthering the aims of PAC to harbouring terrorists, recruiting people to join PAC and possessing banned literature, are Mr Leo Kantolo, Mr Salakanya Simuku, Mr Sgqibo Mpendulo, Mr Synod Madlebe, Ms Nomthandazo Lusizi, Mr Vivian Swaartbooi and Mr Victor Zamela, all of Transkei.

7/8/76

11A

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Mbeki's city rally banned

By PETER DENNEHY
THE Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron, has refused permission for the Govan Mbeki rally which was to have been held on Sunday in the Athlone Stadium.

um. (111) (111)
The Mbeki Reception Committee which organized the rally had expected a crowd of 50 000 to attend the rally, Ms Zubeida Jaffer, one of the conveners, said last night.

According to a security police affidavit submitted to the magistrate, police expected a crowd of 100 000. Brigadier Eben Frederick Coetzee submitted that the stadium could only accommodate 20 000.

Mr E Mohamed, an attorney, said he and members of the Reception Committee had been called to Mr Theron's offices yesterday.

Mr Theron had given him access to the police affidavits and an opportunity to draw up replying affidavits, he said.

At 4.30pm, Mr Theron had called him to tell him he had decided not to grant permission for the rally, Mr Mohamed said.

111 (11) (11)

10/12/87

★ Cape Times, Thursday, Dec

ANC's Petane a leading figure 'in future SA'

Staff Reporter

CONVICTED Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) soldier Mxolisi Petane was capable of contributing to a future South Africa in the same manner as other soldier-statesmen — like Jan Smuts, Louis Botha and B J Vorster — his counsel, Mr Mike Donen, argued in the Supreme Court yesterday.

The judge, Mr Justice H Conradie, responded that it was "my own feeling that he is likely to do so".

Petane has been convicted of one count of terrorism, in terms of the Internal Security Act, and two counts of attempted murder. He placed a bomb in a car outside a Parow shopping centre in July last year and, in subsequent action, shot a policeman and threw a grenade at four others on the day he was arrested in KTC.

Petane had argued that he was entitled to prisoner-of-war (POW) status in terms of the Additional Protocols of the Geneva Convention.

The exchange between Mr Donen and the Bench

took place during argument by counsel after evidence in mitigation was led.

Mr Donen, submitting that Petane had been a "well-trained instrument" said that from being a youth "he was never out of an environment that said: 'we don't submit — we fight'".

"Those circumstances and the situation which he found himself in were mitigating factors," he said.

He also argued that Petane did not need rehabilitation — his motivation for committing violence would stop when the apartheid regime ended.

"As for the community... We have heard that 40% of the community support the ANC. They will say: 'He (Petane) did it for us' — no

matter how misguided he may have been."

Mr Donen suggested that Petane's character be "preserved" in the same way that other statesmen — "like Mugabe and other persons in this country who had become Prime Ministers" — had been preserved by their respective sentences for violence.

"My submission is that one day the accused will also — although not on the same scale — be able to do the same thing; like Smuts, Vorster and Louis Botha," Mr Donen said.

"It is my own feeling that he is likely to do so," the judge said.

Mr Donen replied that if he had known the "feeling" of the Bench he would have curtailed his arguments.

"Don't curtail them too much," the judge advised.

Earlier, Petane was cross-examined by the Deputy Attorney-General, Mr D Rothwell, who complimented him on the manner in which he presented his statement to the court on Tuesday.

"You entered this country as a political commissar; and that is a position of authority and presumably you have some authority over other soldiers in the field?" he asked.

"I was a deputy commander," Petane replied.

"If you'd been given a term of imprisonment you don't think you'd be rehabilitated?"

"In what way?" Petane asked.

"To give up the struggle."

"Still under apartheid?"

"Yes," Mr Rothwell said. "Under the present government."

"No sir."

Mr Justice Conradie presided with two assessors, Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier. Mr Rothwell appeared with Mr Mike Stowe. Mr Donen was instructed by R Vassen and Co.

Cantiva

Argus 16/12/87

111/377

'Community interests a factor' in ANC case

Staff Reporter

THE interests of the community had to be taken into account when a person was sentenced for a crime. In sentencing a member of the African National Congress convicted of terrorism, the court would have to decide which community it was serving.

This was said in the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday by Mr Michael Donen, appearing for Mxolisi Edward Petane, 29, the ANC member who has been convicted of terrorism and two counts of attempted

murder.

Mr Donen argued that it would be a very small community that would require Petane to be "destroyed by his sentence".

"The guidelines set down for sentencing suggest that a sentence must be in the interests of the community. Which community? If you asked the international community or most of the community of South Africa what they felt and what they thought of the accused's crime they would probably say 'He did it for us'."

Mr Donen referred to evidence given by Dr Tom Lodge,

a political scientist who is considered an expert on the ANC. Dr Lodge said the ANC had the support of 40 percent of the population.

If 40 percent of the country would say Petane did it for them, there were those in the Christian community and not necessarily ANC supporters who accepted violence and counter-violence and understood it as such, said Mr Donen.

Petane's character and intelligence were such that he might one day be able to make a contribution to the country.

"Yes, my own feelings are

that he is likely to," Mr Justice Conradie said.

Earlier Petane said he would forfeit his right to prisoner-of-war status if he attacked civilian targets.

He argued that his trial in a criminal court was a "grave breach of international law".

The judge asked Petane if he would expect to be treated as a PoW if he attacked civilian targets.

Petane: No sir. I would lose my status.

Under cross-examination by Mr D Rothwell, SC, for the State, Petane said he was a soldier in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

Mr Rothwell: If this court sent you to prison would you still hold that position of authority after your release?

Petane: I hope so.

Mr Rothwell: Would it still be your duty to continue the struggle?

Petane: If by then apartheid is not overthrown, yes.

Mr Rothwell: If you go to prison don't you think you'll become rehabilitated, that you'll leave the ANC and lead a normal life?

Petane: Still under apartheid?

Mr Rothwell: Yes.

Petane: No, sir.

Plea for the six

VIA
Smetan

10/12/87

COSATU, along with other "democratic" organisations, called on the Government not to go ahead with the execution of the "Sharpeville Six", the trade union federation said yesterday.

"We are aligning ourselves with other democratic organisations who have expressed concern about the impending hanging," the statement from the Congress of SA Trade Unions said.

The Six, five men and a woman, face the gallows after the Appellate Division's recent decision to dismiss their appeals against the death sentence.

Cosatu rejected the use of the death sentence for political activists, the statement said.

The "escalation of conflict" can be attributed directly to the political policies of the Government, Cosatu added.

"Successive governments have attempted to deny the majority of people any democratic means to redress grievances."

The "only solution" to the conflict was for the Government to allow "full and open democratic political participation, to end repression of political opponents, to lift the state of emergency," Cosatu said.

Mbeki's coming

10-12/12/87
Sawte

(1/A)

GOVAN MBEKI is coming to Cape Town this weekend "no matter what happens".

The veteran African National Congress leader, released recently after 23 years on Robben Island, was scheduled to speak at a open-air rally on Sunday.

Permission to hold the meeting was refused on Tuesday by the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron.

At the time of going to press, the Mbeki Reception Committee was preparing to challenge the banning of the rally in the Supreme Court, while looking at the possibility of holding an indoor meeting, possibility at the University of the Western Cape.

"No matter what happens, Govan Mbeki will be in Cape Town this weekend. Even if there is no rally. People just want to meet him.

Secret congress 'first in 10 years'

From MARIMUTHU
SUBRAMONEY

DURBAN.— The Natal Indian Congress, one of the oldest political organisations in South Africa, recently held its first national conference in a decade — in secret.

Although organised under the strains of the Emergency Regulations, the conference held somewhere in Durban last weekend — attracted more than 200 delegates from 19 branches.

That NIC organised a conference at a time when the Government is employing some of its most repressive measures against progressive forces, is a clear demonstration of the tenacity of South



George Sewpersadh

Africa's anti-apartheid Indian leaders.

The calibre of the leaders it has chosen to head the organisation and the content of its resolutions show that NIC is head and

shoulders above other organisations.

Several of those elected to official positions have been banned, detained, house-arrested, jailed or tried for high treason.

Allies

Mr George Sewpersadh, president, has been banned, detained and tried for high treason; Mr Mewa Ramgobin, vice-president, was banned for more than 17 years, detained and tried for high treason; Mr Billy Nair, vice-president, has served 22 years on Robben Island; Dr Hoosen Coovadia, vice-president, has been harassed and intimidated; Mr AS Chetty, vice-president, has been banned, detained and refused a passport; Dr Farook Meer, joint secretary,



Billy Nair

has been detained and denied a passport; Mr Alf Karrim, joint secretary, has been detained and refused a passport; and Mr Hassim Seedat, treasurer, has been refused a pass-

port. Nair and three other officials, Mr Yunus Mahomed, Mr Praveen Gordhan and Mr Roy Padyachee. All three activists have been previously detained and banned.

Opportunistic

One of the ANC's strongest allies when it was still a legal organisation, NIC has adopted some of the most far-reaching resolutions which will propel the Indian community into the front-line of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Delegates at the conference rejected apartheid structures, particularly the tri-cameral parliament which was being used by "opportunistic" Indians to "mislead" the community.



Mewa Ramgobin

NIC, which received messages of support from the Indian government and the ANC, also showed it was not only concerned about the situation in South Africa when it condemned

Pretoria's de-stabilising role in Southern Africa. It called for the immediate withdrawal of SADF troops from Angola and Namibia.

The Congress also condemned the United States, Britain, West Germany and Japan for its "collaboration with apartheid".

The "constructive engagement" policies of President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher were merely smoke-screens to buttress racial domination in South Africa, it said.

NIC's high-profile stance has its genesis in the writings, thoughts and leadership qualities of its founder, Mahatma Gandhi.— (PTSA)

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Sansco key to Nusas success

(11A)

South Africa

THE need to create stronger links between the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the South African National Students Congress (Sansco) was one of the main items on the agenda at the 65th congress of Nusas last weekend.

The importance attached by Nusas to their relationship with Sansco is clear from a resolution adopted at the congress in which Nusas resolved to reaffirm and strengthen its alliance with Sansco.

"The alliance between the two students' organisations was strengthened in 1987 through joint campaigns and increased co-ordination at national and local levels," said re-elected Nusas president, Steve Kromberg, a masters student in African literature at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The campaign against the De Klerk proposals and the "One Person, One Vote" campaign were joint ventures with Sansco. Nusas last week adopted "Students for a Democratic Future" as its theme for 1988.

In a wide-ranging interview Kromberg said Nusas had also reaffirmed its affiliation to the United Democratic Front.

"The UDF is the most significant and representative anti-apartheid force in South Africa," he said.

"It provides Nusas with invaluable access to information about the realities of South African life, and it allows our students to actively participate alongside the democratic movement in changing South Africa.

"Our link with the UDF was the key point of Nusas' success this year. For example, Afrikaans students have been drawn to Nusas because it is clearly and unambiguously linked to the nonracial movement."

Describing Nusas' growth in the past year, he said it won a referendum at Maritzburg after an attempt by a conservative students' organisation to disaffiliate. And at Rhodes, which was previously disaffiliated, Nusas won the SRC's re-affiliation. "We now represent all five English-language universities."

New groups have also emerged at the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of Pretoria, as well as at the Natal Technikon. "We don't move in, we wait until groups approach us. Our strength is that we are the only group which offers a link to the broad democratic movement."

There was a significant mobilisation around the "One Person, One Vote" campaign and against police brutality at the time of the white elections.

Kromberg listed a series of attacks against Nusas, including infiltration by spies, smear pamphlets, intimidation of activists, and a spate of attacks from sections of the liberal press.

"Most significantly, the De Klerk proposals themselves have had the potential effect of forcing university administrations to become law-enforcement agencies which could bar open-air meetings and disallow community organisations to use the university facilities."

Nusas reiterated its view that government negotiations with the ANC were desirable as a means to end conflict and as part of the process to establish a democratic political solution.

"However, we wish to note with concern the increased repression meted out to democratic organisations in 1987, and we believe negotiations cannot be possible until all political parties are free to participate without the threat of government repression," Kromberg said.

By GEORGE HILL

TWO University of the Western Cape students will be charged next year with being commanders of African National Congress structures in the Western Cape.

Ashley Forbes is alleged to have been an ANC commander, and one of his co-accused, Peter Jacobs, was allegedly an ANC "commissar" in the same unit.

Forbes, Jacobs and 13 others will appear in the Supreme Court, Cape Town in March next year on charges of terrorism relating to alleged ANC activities between January 1985 and October this year.

Those whom the state alleges are ANC members, it claims, continued their membership specifically to participate in Umkhonto weSizwe activities.

According to a preliminary indictment which has been given to the accused to prepare their defence, the state alleges that Forbes, 22, became a member of the ANC in 1985.

It is further alleged that after undergoing five months of military training in Angola last year, Forbes returned to the Peninsula where he became an ANC commander.

Wynberg

Forbes was allegedly involved in the planning and execution of a hand-grenade attack on Manenberg Police Station on November 17 1985.

From 1986 to 1987 Forbes allegedly secured an arms cache for the "safe storage" of arms (known as a "DLB") at 11 Park Road, Wynberg.

Among the other allegations are that on about February 12 this year Forbes assisted by Jacobs — who is also alleged to have undergone military training in Angola — planned and executed a limpet mine attack on an electrical power pylon near the Goodwood Showgrounds.

Forbes and Jacobs were detained in May this year and spent six months in solitary confinement.

It is alleged that on April 23 this year Forbes participated in the planning and execution of a hand-grenade attack on the house of a former policeman in Rangerslot, Mitchells Plain.

He allegedly drove a vehicle to and from the scene with Jacobs and Nicklo Pedro, another co-accused, as passengers. He also allegedly instructed that two other hand-grenade attacks (one in Bonteheuwel and the other in Uitsig) to take place on the same date.

Forbes is also alleged to have trained Pedro in the use of limpet mines, supplied him with one and instructed him to arrange an attack on a specific bus shelter in Rondebosch.

Heideveld

The state alleges that Forbes instructed Pedro to arrange limpet attacks on the railway lines near Parow and Heideveld.

In about June, Forbes allegedly possessed a hand-grenade and a pistol and trained fellow-accused, Yasmina Pandey, to use them.

According to the state, Jacobs who is alleged to have joined the ANC in 1985, controlled the "revolutionary propaganda" of the ANC unit and was involved in recruiting members in the Peninsula.

It is also alleged that in about February this year, Jacobs instructed another accused, Leon Scott, to publish and distribute a revolutionary pamphlet titled "The Call to form Mass Revolutionary Bases".

At his arrest on May 16 this year, Jacobs allegedly possessed a hand-grenade hidden in a pillow on his bed.

Leon Scott allegedly became a member of an ANC propaganda unit in the Peninsula on or about November 1984.

He allegedly recruited Walter Rhoades as a member of the propaganda unit in about January 1985.

Towards the end of that year, Scott is alleged to have secured a second person code-named "Allie" to be a member of the propaganda unit.

According to the charge sheet, Pandey, knowing Forbes was leaving the country for military training under the ANC, and "thus knowing that he was a person who intended to commit acts of terrorism or sabo-

Forbes an ANC

taged" forwarded him R850 on June 6 last year from Gatesville Post Office to Hillbrow Post Office and again R300 on June 26 last year from Gatesville Post Office to Mbabane Post Office (Swaziland).

Yasmina Pandey allegedly often saw Forbes in the Peninsula from January 19 this year until his arrest on May 16 without reporting his presence to the police.

She is alleged to have left for Lesotho on August 15 this year to receive military training under the ANC.

Pedro allegedly joined the ANC in 1985. The state alleges that last year during the absence of Forbes and Jacobs, he commanded an ANC structure in the Peninsula. He alleged recruited among others, Anwar Dramat, Clement Baadjies and Colin Petersen.



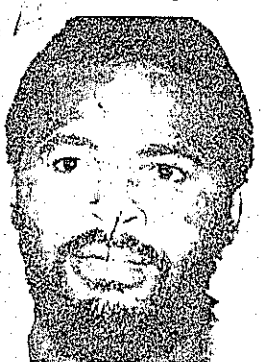
Yasmina Pandey

After the return of Forbes and Jacobs Pedro allegedly acted as contact person between them and the different cells or "detachments". As such he is alleged to have controlled different cells and relayed to them orders regarding recruitment of new members; the selection of possible targets and the attack of selected targets.

It is also alleged he was responsible for the supply and distribution of arms to be used in such attacks.

In about February he allegedly received a box containing several limpet mines and hand-grenades from Nazeem Lowe or Forbes which he handed over to Dramat instructing him to store it in a safe place.

Forbes allegedly trained Nicklo Pedro in about February or March this year in the handling of hand-grenades and limpet mines from Forbes. In return allegedly trained Dramat and Baadjies.



Leon Scott

Pedro allegedly punctured the tyre of a former policeman's car in Rangerslot, Mitchells Plain, on April 23 this year during an hand-grenade attack.

Pedro allegedly supplied Ashley Kriol with a hand-grenade and a .22 pistol in April this year.

About May 2 this year Pedro al-

legedly planned and instructed a limpet mine attack by Dramat and Baadjies on a bus shelter in Main Road, Rondebosch.

Anwa Dramat allegedly became a member of the ANC in August last year and an ANC cell commander from about January this year. From about May this year Dramat allegedly acted as the commander of the "Noordhoek Structure" which consisted of a cell in the townships of Elsie's River, Ravensmead and Uitsig.

From August 14 when Pedro left the area Dramat is alleged to have assumed command over the whole structure of the ANC in the Peninsula.

On the instruction of Colin Cairncross, Dramat and Baadjies allegedly painted the slogans "Viva ANC, Viva MK, Unban the ANC" on the wall of Kings Transport, Valhalla Drive, Epping on September 15 last year.

On the instruction of Cairncross, Dramat and Baadjies allegedly planned and executed a petrol bomb attack on a house of a policeman in Bonteheuwel on October 13 last year.

Bonteheuwel

He is alleged to have been trained in the handling of a limpet mine by Pedro and subsequently in the handling of hand-grenades and hand-guns.

About February 5 this year Dramat and Baadjies went to a busstop in front of Groote Schuur Estate in Main Road where Dramat allegedly placed a parcel and activated a limpet mine.

In February this year Dramat allegedly received several limpet mines, hand-grenades and detonators from Pedro which he stored in a cache (known as a "DLB") in his backyard in Bonteheuwel.

On the instruction of Pedro and Baadjies, Dramat allegedly planned a hand-grenade attack on the house of a policeman, Constable Jones. It is claimed that on April 23 this year Dramat threw a hand-grenade through a window of Jones' house in Bonteheuwel.

Dramat is said to have instructed Baadjies to do a hand-grenade attack on a mobile police station (paravan) in Jakkalsvlei Avenue, Bonteheuwel at the end of April this year and handed him a hand-grenade for that purpose.

It is alleged that after being instructed by Pedro, Dramat and Baadjies planned and executed a limpet mine attack on the railway line between Netreg and Heideveld Stations in May this year.

On August 17 this year and at 35B Melkhout Street, Bonteheuwel, Dramat possessed a limpet mine, two hand-grenades, five detonators, 12 rounds of ammunition and timing devices for limpet mines.

Nazeem Lowe is alleged to have been a member of the ANC since 1985 and to have formed a "cell" with Forbes and "one Adnan".

Manenberg

Lowe allegedly participated in the planning and execution of a hand-grenade attack on the Manenberg police station on November 17 1985.

Lowe is alleged to have been particularly involved in the storage of arms and explosives. In about April last year he allegedly received 13 hand-grenades and six limpet mines with detonators from Forbes. He also allegedly acquired three hand-guns which he stored.

Towards the end of last year, Lowe allegedly commanded a cell called "C detachment". He was also allegedly a contact person between another cell, known as "Q detachment" and Pedro who commanded their activities.

According to the charge sheet, he instructed the members of his cell and those of "Q detachment" to do

surveillance of police stations and policemen's homes.

This information he is alleged to have passed on to Pedro or one Anthony Fisher, who assisted Pedro.

Last year Lowe allegedly received a hand-grenade from Pedro which he handed to a member of another cell of the ANC (known as the "Q detachment") with the instruction to use it on a target yet to be selected.

Netreg

Walter Rhoades allegedly became a member of the propaganda unit of the ANC in the Peninsula in January 1985. At the request of David Fortuin, Rhoades allegedly became a member of a "military unit" known as "The Detachment" early this year.

On about May 2 this year, Rhoades allegedly participated in the execution of a limpet mine attack on the railway line between Parow and

Netreg stations by standing guard while Fortuin and Jeremy Veary placed the device on the tracks.

Clement Baadjies allegedly joined the ANC last year. On the instruction of Cairncross, Baadjies and Dramat allegedly planned and executed a petrol bomb attack on the house of a policeman in Bonteheuwel.

In October last year Baadjies is alleged to have received a trunk containing four hand-grenades, three limpet mines, detonators and other items from Pedro, which he stored at his house in Bonteheuwel.

Sometime thereafter he allegedly also received two hand-guns from Pedro which he stored with the other arms, after he had been shown how to use the hand-guns.

In about January this year Baadjies was allegedly trained in the handling of limpet mines by Pedro and subsequently received further training in the handling of limpet mines, hand-grenades and hand-guns.

Baadjies was also allegedly in-

involved in the limpet mine attack on a busstop shelter in Rondebosch in February this year.

Jeremy Veary allegedly joined the ANC in last year and early this year he was the "commissar" of a cell known as "The Detachment", the members of the cell being D (commander), Walter J (one) Richard Mawie,

Parow

Veary allegedly received a hand-grenade and a hand-gun in April this year which he stored in his room. He is also alleged to have supplied Wayne Mal (one) hand-grenade to use in an attack on a policeman's house.

On or about May 3 Veary participated with I Rhoades in the placing of a device (limpet mine) on the railway line between Parow and

Esau 'ANC commander'



Ashley Forbes

a surveillance of police stations and policemen's homes.

This information he is alleged to have passed on to Pedro or one Anthony Fisher, who assisted Pedro.

Last year Lowe allegedly received a handgrenade from Pedro which he handed to a member of another cell of the ANC (known as the "Q detachment") with the instruction to use it on a target yet to be selected.

Netreg

Walter Rhoode allegedly became a member of the propaganda unit of the ANC in the Peninsula in January 1985. At the request of David Fortuin, Rhoode allegedly became a member of a "military unit" known as "The Detachment" early this year.

On about May 2 this year, Rhoode allegedly participated in the execution of a limpet mine attack on the railway line between Parow and

Netreg stations by standing guard while Fortuin and Jeremy Veary placed the device on the tracks.

Clement Baadjies allegedly joined the ANC last year. On the instruction of Cairncross, Baadjies and Dramat allegedly planned and executed a petrol bomb attack on the house of a policeman in Bonteheuwel.

In October last year Baadjies is alleged to have received a trunk containing four handgrenades, three limpet mines, detonators and other items from Pedro, which he stored at his house in Bonteheuwel.

Sometime thereafter he allegedly also received two handguns from Pedro which he stored with the other arms, after he had been shown how to use the handguns.

In about January this year Baadjies was allegedly trained in the handling of limpet mines by Pedro and subsequently received further training in the handling of limpet mines, handgrenades and handguns.

Baadjies was also allegedly in-

voled in the limpet mine attack on a busstop shelter in Rondebosch in February this year.

Jeremy Veary allegedly became a member of the ANC in about July last year and early this year became the "commissar" of a cell called the "Che Detachment", the other members of the cell being David Fortuin (commander), Walter Rhoode and one Richard Mawie.

Parow

Veary allegedly received a limpet mine and a handgrenade from Pedro in April this year which he stored in his room. He is also alleged to have supplied Wayne Malgas with a handgrenade to use in an attack on a policeman's house.

On or about May 3 Veary allegedly participated with Fortuin and Rhoode in the placing of an explosive device (limpet mine and a handgrenade) on the railway line

between Parow and Elsie's River Stations.

He is alleged to have bought a handgun to be used by the organisation and stored it at his house.

David Fortuin was allegedly recruited in 1985 as a member of the ANC by Cecil Esau. Fortuin is said to have recruited Wayne Malgas as a member and the three formed an ANC cell to operate in the township Uitsig.

Fortuin allegedly recruited Veary last year and instructed him to recruit two more persons as members to form a cell. In December last year he allegedly received a trunk containing about eight handgrenades and two limpet mines from Pedro which he stored at his house.

He allegedly persuaded Rhoode to leave the propaganda unit and join his cell in about January this year. Subsequently a new cell, known as "Che Detachment" was formed with Fortuin as "commander", Veary as

"commissar" and other members being Rhoode and one Richard Mawie.

According to the State, their first duties were to acquire travel documents, to select possible targets for future attacks and to establish caches for the safe storage of arms.

Fortuin and Veary allegedly fabricated an explosive device with a handgrenade and limpet mine in May this year, which they, with the assistance of Rhoode who stood guard, placed on the railway line between Parow and Elsie's River Stations.

Ashraf Karlem allegedly became a member of the ANC in the beginning of last year. From early this year, he allegedly served as "commissar" in a cell known as "JB" or "Bush Detachment" under command of Collin Cairncross.

Karlem allegedly possessed a handgrenade, on August 27 this year which he stored in a drawer in his room at Elsie's River.

Wayne Malgas was allegedly recruited as an ANC member in 1985

by Fortuin and together with Cecil Esau they formed a cell in the township Uitsig. Early this year Malgas allegedly formed his own cell in Uitsig.

He is said to have assisted Scott and Rhoode with the production and distribution of a revolutionary pamphlet titled 'The Call to form Mass Revolutionary Bases' early this year.

Uitsig

Malgas allegedly threw a handgrenade at the house of a policeman in Lavental Street, Uitsig, on April 23 this year.

Colin Cairncross allegedly joined the ANC in 1985. The charge sheet says he became a commander of a cell consisting of Baadjies and Dramat last year. Cairncross, among others, instructed them to acquire travel documents and "safe houses".

In September last year he allegedly instructed Dramat and Baadjies to paint slogans on walls in Epping Industria.

It is claimed that shortly afterwards he instructed them to do a petrol bomb attack on a policeman's house in Bonteheuwel. He allegedly participated in the planning of the attack which occurred on October 13 last year.

He allegedly stored two handguns at the request of Pedro in December last year.

Last year he allegedly became the "commander" of a new cell in the ANC structure, known as "J.B." or "Bush Detachment". The other members of the cell being Kariem and Collin Petersen.

Petersen allegedly joined the ANC last year. He became a member of a cell of the ANC consisting of himself, Dramat, Baadjies and Cairncross who was their commander.

In September last year he allegedly participated in the planning of the October 13 petrol bomb attack on a policeman's house in Bonteheuwel.

Petersen is alleged to have joined the "JB" or "Bush Detachment" cell in about March this year. Some of their first duties was to establish

catches for the storage of arms on the UWC campus and to select targets to be attacked with handgrenades or limpet mines. Petersen participated in a decision to launch such an attack on either the Unibell Station or a car of a campus security officer.

ANC'S Cape 'cells'

1/A
Source
10-7-6/12/87

By GEORGE HILL

ASHLEY FORBES and several others were involved in ANC cells, known as "detachments", which carried out sabotage attacks in various parts of the Peninsula.

This is alleged by the State in a preliminary indictment made available to Forbes, a University of the Western Cape student, and 14 others accused of involvement in ANC activities in the Western Cape.

The State alleges that Forbes was a commander of an ANC structure.

"As commander, he also ordered the expansion of the structure by the recruitment of new members," according to the indictment.

Forbes an 'ANC commander' — See pages 10 and 11

The State alleges Forbes was involved in a handgrenade attack on the Manenberg police station.

Forbes, the State alleges, planned and executed a limpet mine attack on a pylon near the Goodwood Showgrounds.

He was also allegedly involved in a handgrenade attack on the house of a former policeman in Mitchells Plain.

The State alleges that the second accused, Peter Jacobs, left the country in June last year for military training in Angola.

He also allegedly served as a commander of an ANC structure in the West Cape.

10/12/87

~~SECRET~~

(1/A)

Sowetan

MAGISTRATE FIRM ON BAN

THE Chief Magistrate of Wynberg in Cape Town, Mr WP Theron, declined to give reasons yesterday for his decision to ban the Govan Mbeki rally which was due to be held in Athlone on Sunday.

"We do not usually give reasons for the decision," he said. Mr Theron confirmed he had given members of the Mbeki reception committee a chance to reply to police affidavits before he took his decision.

His decision was conveyed to the committee on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr Theron said he was not prepared to disclose the contents of the police affidavits filed in opposition to the request for permission to hold the rally as they were "not for public consumption".

He was also not prepared to confirm or deny a report that Brigadier Eben Coetzee of the police security branch had said in

an affidavit that the police would find it difficult to do their duty at the rally.

According to the report, Brigadier Coetzee, said police expected 100 000 to attend the rally at the Athlone Stadium but that the stadium could only hold 20 000 people.

Brigadier Coetzee is also reported to have said the presence of a large number of police would be required and this very presence could lead to "serious threats to public peace".



MR GOVAN Mbeki.

BEYOND THE BARRICADES



POPULAR RESISTENCE TO APARTHEID IN THE EIGHTIES

Edited by: Omar Badsha. Gideon Mendel. Paul Weinberg. Text by: André Odendaal.

Forward by: Albertina Sisulu.

11A Smeetsen 10/12/87

Pik tells of the 'ANC lie'

FOREIGN Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, says "the lie" flaunted by the African National

Congress during the past two years, that it should have governed South Africa by now, has been exposed, SABC radio news reports.

He said in Pretoria that it could be expected that the West would increasingly be disillusioned by the ANC, which would offer South Africa the opportunity of promoting its image abroad.

Referring to the guest programme of the Department of Foreign Affairs, whereby opinion makers and influential people are

brought to South Africa, Mr Botha said because of the success of this method of promoting South Africa's image, the guest programme should be expanded.

Policy

Meanwhile SABC radio news also reported deputy director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Glen Babb, as saying South Africa's external policy towards African countries is to maintain stability, to assist

economically and to ensure the development of southern Africa.

He said in an interview with SABC in Pretoria that there had been many positive changes in South Africa.

He pointed specifically to black political representation on a regional and municipal level.

He said the democratic process was irreversible. Stability in South Africa opened doors in Africa and to the rest of the world. — Sapa.

ONE Times 10/12/87

Govt must release Mandela — Sigcau

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE release of Mr Govan Mbeki should soon be followed by the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the Prime Minister of Transkei, Ms Stella Sigcau, said yesterday.

She also said that although the independence of Transkei was a fact, her government was prepared to consider a federal arrangement in which everyone had the equal democratic right to participate.

Ms Sigcau, who addressed a Cape Town Press Club luncheon, called for discussions and negotiations amongst all the people of Southern Africa as equals.

When everyone, including the independent states, came to the conference table as equals, the situation would be different.

"Then, there might even be a rainbow in the sky," she said.

She added there was nothing she hated more than people who thought "they have a God-given right to think for others."

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10/12/87

Sansco resolves to destroy apartheid

Education Reporter

THE South African National Students' Congress (Sansco) emerged from its 7th annual congress this week, "determined" to struggle "for the total destruction of apartheid", a spokesman said.

About 275 delegates from 62 branches attended the congress at the Peninsula Technikon, which ended on Tuesday.

Mr Bongani More (Rhodes) was elected as president, Mr Mzukisis Banzana of the (Natal/Durban) as vice-president, Mr Azhar Bham (Wits) as general-secretary, Mr Mcebisis Jonas (Rhodes) as national education and training officer, Mr Thandile Gubveu (UWC), Mr Mkhululi Nkohla (Natal) and Ms Thula Ngcobo (Medunsa) as women's organizer.

HOSTING and organising its own international congress is a bold step for a liberation movement, particularly when the guests include government representatives.

The African National Congress conference last week in Arusha, down the road from Mount Kilimanjaro, allowed the movement to show off its immense international prestige.

Solidarity groups from more than 50 countries, from Kampuchea to the United States, participated in the gathering, which an ANC official described as the "parliament of the world anti-apartheid movement".

Given all the fanfare, though, many observers did not really understand the purpose of the conference, the theme of which was the "world united against apartheid".

Predictably, it ended with a call to intensify efforts to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions and to work towards the total diplomatic isolation of Pretoria.

A programme of action was drawn up, containing specific goals such as the ending of all financial loans to Pretoria and the fostering of grass-roots "people's sanctions" against South African products.

There is little new in these calls and their impact is likely to be lessened by the fact that the conference at Arusha was a gathering of the already-converted party faithful aimed, in the words of an ANC representative, to "give a further boost to the international solidarity movement".

Their unanimity on the need for drastic action against Pretoria did not overcome the major hurdle in the ANC diplomatic offensive: how to break economic and other links which Western countries such as Britain, the United States, Japan and West Germany maintain with Pretoria — and which undermine the effectiveness of sanctions.

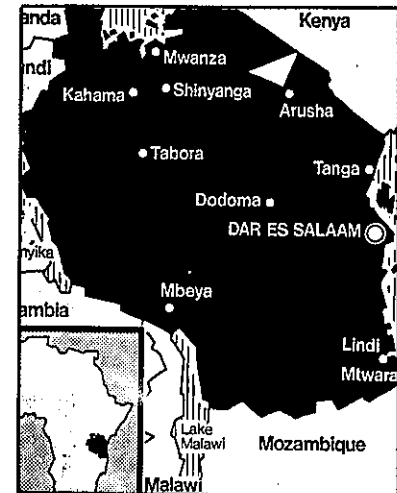
On several levels the conference was a disappointment. Many of the major invited celebrities failed — for a variety of reasons — to attend.

Entertainer Stevie Wonder and US presidential contender Jesse Jackson, along with many of America's black

In the shadows of Kilimanjaro, a fifty-nation summit on SA

W/mail 11-17/12/87 (11A)

Diplomats from fifty countries descended on a small Tanzanian town for an ANC-hosted conference on apartheid last week. The speeches were predictable; perhaps the conference's significance was that when the ANC called, the world was willing to arrive



anti-apartheid activists, stayed home to attend the funeral of Chicago's mayor, Harold Washington.

The top command of Umkhonto we Sizwe — commander Joe Modise, chief of staff Chris Hani and political commissar Steve Tshwete — was not there, nor was Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo. "Someone has to hold the fort," explained an ANC official.

"They are tired of endless international conferences," explained another.

Much of the conference time was spent on endless solidarity messages which, after a few hours, all seemed to sound the same and make exactly the same points.

Many ANC people who were there collectively resembled a diplomatic corps without a government — "ambassadors" posted to faraway places with memories of "home" fading with the long years in exile.

As a diplomatic initiative, the con-

ference at the very least allowed the ANC to spell out to the world solidarity movements, who emerged even more clearly under the wing of the organisation, its perspectives on the struggle ahead.

The ANC position on negotiations is that it recognised the need for talks at the end of the road — but only if they are about the transfer of power to majority rule. Before then the organisation will not renounce or suspend the armed struggle.

Negotiations in the near future with the National Party government are thus ruled out, subordinated to the international, political and — most im-

THREE VIEWS ON THE PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATION ...

THREE of the central participants in last week's ANC conference in Arusha expressed their views — and sometimes the differences between them — on the issue of negotiations with the South African government.

The following are edited versions of these views.

MWALIMU Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, in the opening address:

In the end we shall get to the position where discussions and negotiations can take place, and will have to take place, with the apartheid authorities. But these discussions and negotiations can only take place between the people's genuine leaders — as free men and women — on the one side, and the apartheid authorities on the other.

Negotiations between prisoners and prison authorities are not really about

fundamentals, and cannot be about fundamentals. Yet the negotiations have to be about fundamentals — that is, about the abolition of apartheid, and how the succeeding non-racial authorities will take over effective political power.

Anything else is a snare and delusion. Nothing else could bring a chance for democracy and freedom for the South African people.

Such negotiations are not possible yet. But there will come a time when the South African racist government, and its institutions of military power, have accepted that racial government is no longer possible. Then they will accept the necessity to have discussions with the free leaders of the free people's organisations about how the transfer of power takes place.

This we know, and in their heart of hearts the intelligent ones among

them also know, all these "reforms" are merely attempts to confuse the forces ranged against apartheid, and to avoid the inevitable.

Until these negotiations are held, and concluded, and a government of the people sits in Pretoria, the task of the ANC is to continue the struggle. And the task of non-racialists everywhere is to support them.

COMRADE Y Y Vagris, deputy chairman of the presidium of the supreme soviet of the USSR, addressing the conference:

The possibilities of a political settlement of the problems of Southern Africa have been widely discussed lately. We are in favour of such a settlement.

As far as we know, the ANC, despite the policy of repression against

4 months
4 months

P.T.O.

INDIAN CONGRESS

Palace revolt

Simmering hostilities in the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) have erupted into open conflict between an "old guard" accused of being undemocratic and complacent, and a youth wing impatient with the pace of reform.

The first casualties were NIC secretary Ramlal Ramesar and vice-president R B Chaudhary, who explained their resignations last week as a protest against the NIC's closed annual conference being held at a secret venue — the first time such drastic action has been taken in the NIC's history.

At the conference, the axe then fell on two other vice-presidents, M J Naidoo and Rabi Bugwadeen, both members of the "old guard," when they were replaced on the executive. Further resignations (and the washing of some largely irrelevant dirty linen) may be expected in the weeks ahead.

The resignations and the "secret" meeting have clouded perceptions of the NIC's political programme, and led to some speculation that a fundamental principle is at stake — whether or not the NIC should participate in

the next election for the House of Delegates (HoD).

Disaffected members of the old guard, who campaigned against such a move in 1979 (*Current affairs* June 12) believe they are under attack as a prelude to just such a radical switch in policy. They may have a point — Farook Meer, publicity spokesman for the revitalised executive of the NIC, emphasises that the NIC is not in "blanket opposition" to the HoD but will review its policy with changing circumstances.

But if resolutions taken at the NIC's closed conference last Sunday provide a reliable guide, such a change in policy is unlikely. Targets included the Group Areas Act (GAA), the State of Emergency, education, RSC, the HoD, and the Indaba.

Appeals to scrap the GAA were expressed in comparatively mild language. The resolution on the emergency, by contrast, referred to "the fascist Botha regime . . . death squads . . . and dummy institutions." It demanded an end to the emergency, the release of detainees; and the scrapping of Joint Management Centres, the National Security Council, and the tricameral parliament.

The new constitution came under fire again in resolutions calling for "people's democratic education" and the "isolation and dissolution" of HoD. The HoD was dismissed as comprising "apartheid collaborators and stooges" who had extended the life of apartheid and worsened the crisis in Indian education.

A resolution on "negotiations with the Nationalist government" committed the NIC to oppose "any attempt at collaboration with any government institution, be it the tricameral parliament, RSCs, etc." It listed six pre-conditions for reconsidering this position: the unbanning of the ANC; the free return of exiles; the release of all detainees and political prisoners; an end to violence by the State and the withdrawal of troops from townships; the repeal of repressive security laws, and the "dismantling of the tricameral parliament and the Bantustan administrations."

Under the circumstances, participation in the next round of elections for the HoD would require a massive and unlikely policy somersault.

FIM 11/12/87

GOVAN MBEKI'S WINGS CLIPPED

End RST 11/12/87
41A

By JIMMY MATYU

THE freed African National Congress leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, 77, was served today with an order restricting him to the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth.

The order was made under the Public Safety Act and was issued by the Commissioner of the South African Police, General Hendrick Gideon De Witt in Pretoria.

It was served on Mr Mbeki in the House of Resurrection in Salsoneville, Port Elizabeth, at 8am by Lieutenant-Colonel Hermanus Barend du Plessis, of the security police in Port Elizabeth.

The order stipulates that Mr Mbeki is prohibited for as long as the regulations under the Public Safety Act remain in force, without the previously obtained consent of the Commissioner of South African Police, from:

- Being outside the boundaries of the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth at any time.



- Taking part in any interview with any journalist, news reporter, news commentator or news correspondent within the PE magisterial district.
- Contributing, preparing, compiling or transmitting in any manner whatsoever any matter for publication in any publication as defined in the Internal Security Act.
- Assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation or transmission of any matter for publication in any publication as so defined, within the PE magisterial district.

Attached to the order was a confirmation document signed by Lt-Col Du Plessis saying that he had personally served the notice on Mr Mbeki after having explained to him its nature and contents.

Mr Mbeki was released from Robben Island last month after serving 23 years for ANC activities.

Earlier this week a rally due to have been addressed by Mr Mbeki in Cape Town this weekend was banned. One planned for Port Elizabeth on November 28 was also banned.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg Mr Mbeki's attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, said she was preparing an application to have the restrictions set aside. She said Mr Mbeki was

● To Page 3

IER 11, 1987

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3

Order restricts Govan Mbeki to PE's magisterial district

● From Page 1

"greatly disappointed and distressed", though he had accepted the restriction order and had taken the frustration in his stride.

Mr Mbeki had been informed that his release on November 5 was unconditional, she added.

Since his release Mr Mbeki had been followed and harassed by security police who maintained continuous vigilance outside hotels or homes where he stayed, Mrs Jana said.

In Pretoria, Gen De Witt said Mr Mbeki had been restricted to the PE magisterial district "because it be-

came necessary to prevent promotion of the revolutionary climate and interfere with prospects of ending the emergency situation".

"Mr Mbeki himself has stated that he is still a member of the ANC and the SA Communist Party and that he endorses Marxism," said a statement released by the SA Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria.

"He has also encouraged the youth to continue with the struggle."

"Mr Mbeki also indicated that the ANC was leading him in his conduct and it is clear that his presence at gatherings is being used to provide the ANC with a

platform.

"This state of affairs cannot be allowed under prevailing conditions and the commissioner has decided to restrict Mr Mbeki in terms of the emergency regulations.

"The commissioner has expressed his regret that Mr Mbeki, who was released because of his age and physically ill condition, allows himself to be misused by ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"The order to restrict him is necessary in the interest of the security of the public, public order and prospects of ending the emergency situation.

Restriction order on Mbeki



Mr Govan Mbeki

By STEPHEN WROTTSLEY
and PAT CANDIDO
Staff Reporters

FREED former African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki, 77, was today served with an order restricting him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and prohibiting him from giving interviews to the Press.

The restrictions, in terms of section 7(1) of the emergency regulations were ordered by the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt.

The South African Press has not been permitted to quote Mr Mbeki because he is a listed person but the new curbs also prevent foreign journalists from quoting him.

The order was served on Mr Mbeki in Salsoneville, Port Elizabeth, at 8am today by Lieutenant-Colonel Hermanus du Plessis of the security police.

Mr Mbeki, former national chairman of the ANC, was released from Robben Island prison on November 5 after serving 23 years of a life sentence for sabotage.

Unconditional

The Government said at the time his release was unconditional.

Mr Mbeki was preparing to travel to Cape Town tomorrow to attend a private meeting at the University of the Western Cape and to have medical tests at Groote Schuur Hospital.

The order stipulates that as long as the regulations under the Public Safety Act are in force, Mr Mbeki may not go beyond the boundaries of the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth without the consent of the Commissioner of Police.

He may not conduct interviews with any "journalist, news reporter, news commentator or news correspondent within the said magisterial district".

His attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, today condemned the restriction order, saying it had completely negated his release.

A police spokesman said General de Witt's decision was in the light of the fact that Mr Mbeki had stated he was a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party and that he supported Marxism.

Disappointed

Mr Mbeki had said he would be led by the ANC and it was clear that his presence at meetings would be used to give the ANC a platform, the spokesman said.

Mr Mbeki was to meet representatives of more than 100 organisations in Cape Town tomorrow.

The meeting was arranged after the chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr WP Theron, refused permission for him to speak at an outdoor rally at the Athlone Stadium on Sunday.

Mrs Jana said Mr Mbeki was "extremely disappointed and distressed particularly because he was expressly informed that his release was unconditional".

He had, however, "accepted the order in his stride with a totally rational and controlled state of mind".

Since his release Mr Mbeki has been in Port Elizabeth keeping a low profile. Neither he nor his wife have granted interviews.

Sources close to Mr Mbeki said he was relaxing and re-establishing contact with close friends and family.

MRG:CS
11/12/87
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FORMER security policeman presently serving a 14-year jail sentence for spying for banned African National Congress is facing further charges of allegedly receiving R3000 from an accused and confiscate docket sheets relating to the latter's charges two years ago. Mafatshwenyego Dan-Mokgabudi (30), of Meridgewille, Pretoria, is alleged to have received the amount in a corrupt and un-

Jailed cop faces charges

By MONK NKOMO

in an "unbecom- ing" manner while he served as a policeman in August 1985, according to the charge sheet read in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

According to the charge sheet Mokgabudi faces a charge of having interfered with

the administration of justice by allegedly removing and taking into his possession two docket sheets from the office of Warrant Officer Nkuna in August 1985.

The State also alleges that Mokgabudi, while still a member of the SAP, unlawfully and in a corrupt manner received an amount of

R3000 from a Mr J Malatji to confiscate the two docket sheets in which he (Malatji) was being accused of certain crimes.

While Mokgabudi was expected to appear in court yesterday morning, his lawyer, Mr Billy Mothle, instructed by Mr Sakkie Maboa, said Mokgabudi's investi-

gating officer, Warrant Officer Labuschagne, had not fetched him from prison.

The case was subsequently removed from the roll and indefinitely postponed. Mokgabudi was expected to plead before the magistrate, Mr W J van den Berg, for the case to be postponed to February 8 next year, according

to his lawyer who discussed the matter with prosecutor Mr JH van der Berg in the morning.

Mokgabudi and another former Security Branch policeman Tshifhango Cedric Rabuli (34) of Soshanguve were each sentenced to 14 years imprisonment by Mr A F Snyman in a Pretoria Regional Court last Thursday on charges of spying for the ANC.

Casspir flattens shack in shootout with ANC

THERE were screams of agony as a police Casspir rode over a shack in which four people, two of them suspected African National Congress guerrillas, were hiding.

The two ANC guerrillas, one believed to be highly trained and the other a woman, were killed by the police in a pre-dawn raid on the shack in Port Elizabeth's Soweto township.

Mlungu Sokupha, who skipped the country early this year, a 29-year-old only known as Mpumi, and Thozama

By **MBULELO LINDA** and
RICHARD BARTLETT,
Port Elizabeth

Fibi died when a police Casspir drove over the shack.

Whiwha Oliphant, owner of the dwelling, was injured in the incident and taken into custody.

Police said they approached the dwelling and drew immediate fire. Heavy fire was exchanged and police warned the occupants of the shack to

come out, which they refused to do. The police then drove over the shack.

According to witnesses, who do not wish to be named, many police cars and a Casspir were present and it appeared to be a planned operation to apprehend known guerrillas.

Shots were exchanged and police then rode over the shack. Witnesses said they heard screams coming from the people in the shack.

All three bodies had bullet wounds. Whiwha was badly wounded in the

stomach and leg and is in Livingstone Hospital in a critical condition.

South African Police press liaison officer, Captain Peet Grobler, said police removed a number of weapons and a quantity of ammunition from the shack. No members of the security force were injured, he said.

All that remains of the shack is a pile of bent corrugated iron and a few pieces of broken furniture. A mattress was smouldering on the street.

— Pen

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MAIL

R 11 to THURSDAY DECEMBER 17, 1987



Buthelezi in amazing swipe at UDF

IN the midst of peace talks in the violence-strewn Pietermaritzburg area, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, has delivered a major denunciation of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

In a speech released to the press, he told his central committee the UDF and Cosatu were "not worthy" of reconciliation.

"I am now coming closer to believing that the only reconciliation there will ever be in this country is the reconciliation of the most powerful with those who pay homage to the powerful," Buthelezi said.

"We are talking about a life

and death struggle. We are talking about all-or-nothing victories. We are talking about the final triumph by good over evil."

This speech was followed on Thursday by a breakdown in talks between the two groups.

The Thursday talks, part of a series being held under the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce, were attended by several additional Inkatha delegates, including central committee member Seigfried Bhengu.

During the meeting, the delegation produced the October issue of the journal of the Marxist Workers Tendency of

● TO PAGE 2

w/trace 11-17/12/87

P.T.O

Buthelezi takes a swipe at UDF, Cosatu

the African National Congress — *Inqaba Yabasebenzi* — circulated by Buthelezi at the weekend's Inkatha Central Committee meeting and demanded that the UDF/Cosatu delegates publicly repudiate the journal.

When they refused to do so, the talks deadlocked and were adjourned.

The UDF/Cosatu delegates said later this new development posed "serious difficulties" for the talks.

They had nothing to do with the document: it did not come from their structures, did not reflect the view of their organisations and as far as they knew had not been circulated in Pietermaritzburg, they said.

"Our approach has been to agree to concrete steps that will de-escalate violence and lead to peace. Attacks and recriminations against each other cannot take us forward.

● From PAGE 1

National chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Musa Zondi, said they demanded a public repudiation from the UDF/Cosatu.

Copies of *Inqaba ya Basenbenzi* were distributed at Buthelezi's request, by his personal assistant, to members of the central committee last weekend, but some days before he had read part of the contents in his speech to Pietermaritzburg's mayor, Mark Cornell, then on a goodwill visit to Ulundi.

The section read by Buthelezi to Cornell referred to vigilantes and continued, "Of these forces, Inkatha is the most formidable, because of the political base that vigilante-in-chief Gatsha Buthelezi has built in Zululand through fear and appeals to conservative tribal prejudice ...

"For activists especially it is a matter of life and death ... To work out and put forward a clear national strategy to defeat Inkatha, Uwuza and all vigilantes is an urgent task for the leadership of Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC."

The writer goes on to criticise Cosatu for "softness and hesitation" on Inkatha and Uwuza.

However, the article then complains sharply about UDF president Archie Gumede signing a truce with Inkatha.

However the Marxist Workers Tendency (alleged by Buthelezi to have been responsible for the journal) is a small group of mainly white academics, purged from the ANC in 1985 after years of disagreement.

Political scientist and acknowledged ANC expert, Dr Tom Lodge, said yesterday the basically Trotskyite tendency and its journal were "not very significant".

Lodge says the tendency is highly critical of the UDF as well as of Inkatha and, asked to comment on Buthelezi's remarks concerning the journal, added, "This is Buthelezi at his most paranoid and stupid."

During his address to the central committee, and with the next round of peace talks just four days away, Buthelezi referred to the continuing violence in Pietermaritzburg and to attempts at "reconciliation".

"I must say rather bluntly that the UDF and Cosatu are not worthy of the status of organisations to whom we need to be reconciled. It is their choice that death keeps us apart and death is keeping us apart. There is no reconciliation with a spear being thrust into your heart ..."



It's standing room only for police at the UDF/Cosatu rally in Pietermaritzburg, but they manage a look-in from their perch beyond the wall. Picture by BILLY PADDOCK

copy from 11/12/87

Mbeki for closed city meeting

11A
[Handwritten scribble]

Staff Reporter

MR GOVAN MBEKI is expected to arrive in Cape Town on Saturday for a three-day visit during which he is scheduled to attend a "closed function" at the University of the Western Cape on Saturday night, a spokesman for the Mbeki Reception Committee, Ms Zubeida Jaffer, said yesterday.

He will also undergo medical tests, it was disclosed at a press conference yesterday attended by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairman of the UDF, Moulana Faried Essack, national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam, and other

UDF officials.

Archbishop Tutu said it was "an extraordinary coincidence that we should be marking this particular day — 10 December — which is Human Rights Day, with the erosion of the fundamental rights of association and communication.

"The banning of the Cape Town rally is the latest in a long series of provocative acts in which the government is itself behaving as a serious threat to peace and stability."

Although the convenors of the rally had offered undertakings to the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron, limiting the size of the rally and ensuring proper discipline and control, the rally had been prohibited.

Political Correspondent

THE release of ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki from jail was a demonstration of the government's strength and not its weakness, according to an article in the latest edition of the National Party newspaper, Nasionalis.

The article dismisses "far-right" stories that "security forces have been stabbed in the back" and "Mbeki is going to take over the country as Mugabe did".

The Nasionalis argues that 77-year-old Mr Mbeki was released on purely humanitarian grounds. His release would create goodwill and could advance negotiations.

"The government is adequately equipped to handle any of the consequences flowing from this — if an old man of 77 years is responsible for a government collapsing, it would in any case not have remained in power, as happened in Iran."

Nasionalis said it could not be permitted that anyone be "unnecessarily" raised to the status of martyr because he died in jail.

"By frustrating peaceful political opposition, the government is encouraging people to abandon non-violent means of change," Archbishop Tutu said.

Archbishop Tutu said at the press conference in St George's Cathedral that he was to have met with Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Pretoria this week to discuss the Govan Mbeki reception rally, but had been forced to cancel the meeting following Wednesday's ban.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order yesterday confirmed that Archbishop Tutu had requested that his appointment be cancelled.

Sapa-Reuter reports that right-wingers, saying they fear the government might free jailed black nationalist Nelson Mandela by Christmas, have launched a campaign to keep him in prison.

Signposts, a newsletter devoted largely to attacking SA's black liberation theologians, is mailing leaflets urging readers to write to State President P W Botha and beg him to keep Mandela in Pollsmoor.

11/12/87
**3 terror suspects
die in PE shack**

PORT ELIZABETH—An alleged trained terrorist of the African National Congress (ANC) and two suspected collaborators—one a woman—were killed in a fierce battle with security policemen in Soweto here.

Their bodies, police said, were found in the rubble of a wood and iron shack which had been flattened by a Casspir when repeated calls by the police to those inside the shack to stop firing and come out were ignored.

Another woman, suffering from severe shock, escaped without injury, said the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Peet Grobler.

Capt Grobler said police seized an AK-M 47 assault rifle with five fully loaded magazines and several loose rounds of ammunition, a Star 9mm pistol with two loaded magazines, a Russian-made RGD offensive hand grenade and the strap used to carry a limpet mine. No

mine had been found.

"While the police were approaching the house, someone started firing with a fully automatic rifle.

"The fire was returned by the security policemen who had surrounded the house, but this had no effect, as the person inside the shack continued to fire," Capt Grobler said.

Using a loud hailer, the policemen repeatedly warned the inhabitants of the shack to cease fire and come out.

This, however, was ignored, and the firing continued "non-stop", Capt Grobler said.

To prevent innocent people from being injured or killed in the crossfire, a Casspir was brought to the scene. The shack fell like a pack of cards.

Capt Grobler said one of the men had been identified as a "trained ANC terrorist". The other three are suspected collaborators. The investigation is continuing.

11A

Smuckler 11/17/87

FREEDOM PLEA

FOR TWO FAILS

THE application for the release of two executive members of the United Democratic Front held under the state of emergency regulations was dismissed with costs in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF's acting publicity secretary, and Mr Mahomed Valli Moosa, acting general secretary, were arrested in Port Elizabeth on July 22 this year. According to papers before court, they had gone to Port Elizabeth for "ordinary routine UDF business."

Mr Morobe, of Orlando East, and Mr Moosa of Lenasia, were transferred to Johannesburg on July 29 and kept in the Diepkloof prison.

On September 22 they made an application for their release. The application said that the orders made by the respondent, the Minister of Law and Order, for their further detention in terms of regulation 3 (3) of the state of emergency promulgated by Government Notice R96 of June 11 1987 be reviewed and set aside, alternatively that the orders be declared void.

Mr Justice van der Merwe said in his judgment, he was satisfied in his own mind that the Minister was entitled to act in terms of sub-regulation 3.

Arrest

It was quite clear, he said, that the arresting officer was fully warranted to arrest and detain Mr Morobe and Mr Moosa in terms of the emergency regulations.

The judge said there was more than enough information to show that the police had to act in terms of the emergency regulations. He said he was satisfied that in the present case, there was no merit in the application.

New clampdown

There is increasing speculation that government is considering new measures to restrict the activities of a wide range of "extra-parliamentary" opponents.

The measures are likely to be justified by what is seen in the security establishment as a more sophisticated approach by opposition groups, and the inadequacy of existing laws to deal with activities which, while more subtle, are regarded as equally threatening to the State as violent unrest.

The speculation has been fuelled by Security Police chief Johann van der Merwe's frank acknowledgement to political journalists at a recent briefing in Walvis Bay that "legal radical" organisations, such as the UDF and its affiliates, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), are of more concern to the police than the "illegal radical" groups such as the ANC.

He says the police believe certain organisations are aiming mainly at "promoting a revolutionary climate" and bolstering the ANC, rather than at constitutional solutions.

Linked to this threat, says Van der Merwe, are indications that the ANC is ready to implement a strategy of even more daring and dramatic acts of violence. (Within days of his briefing, the ANC, at a strategy conference in Tanzania, recommitted itself to escalating the "armed struggle.")

Van der Merwe says recent warnings to Botswana to prevent ANC insurgents using the country as a springboard to attack SA are not a ploy — "We're not playing a game."

He says there is evidence that Botswana and the ANC have had talks concerning ANC activity in the country. Further evidence, he says, comes from three ANC men arrested recently: 14 trained operatives are moving through Botswana on a mission to plant landmines on farm roads in the western Transvaal.

Van der Merwe says since the signing of the Nkomati Accord the ANC has changed its strategy and is now relying more heavily on locally trained operatives. The training,

usually in the use of firearms, hand grenades and explosives, takes place in townships or in the bush.

In the first nine months of this year, police arrested 132 "trained terrorists" and killed another 32. Of the total, 73 were trained outside the country and 80 internally, says Van der Merwe. The origin of the training of 11 is unknown. There have also been significant changes in the patterns of targets of ANC attacks and the weapons used, he says.

Until the end of 1984 the main target was railway installations, followed by State and public buildings. These two targets accounted for 38% of all attacks or attempted attacks in the nine years up to the end of 1984. The main weapons used during the period were TNT or plastic explosives, limpet mines and timed explosive devices (70% of the weapons used in all attacks).

But since 1985 the main targets have been attacks on civilians (mainly local councillors and officials) and police (72% of total attacks) and the main weapons used have been hand grenades, limpet mines and AK-47 rifles (72%).

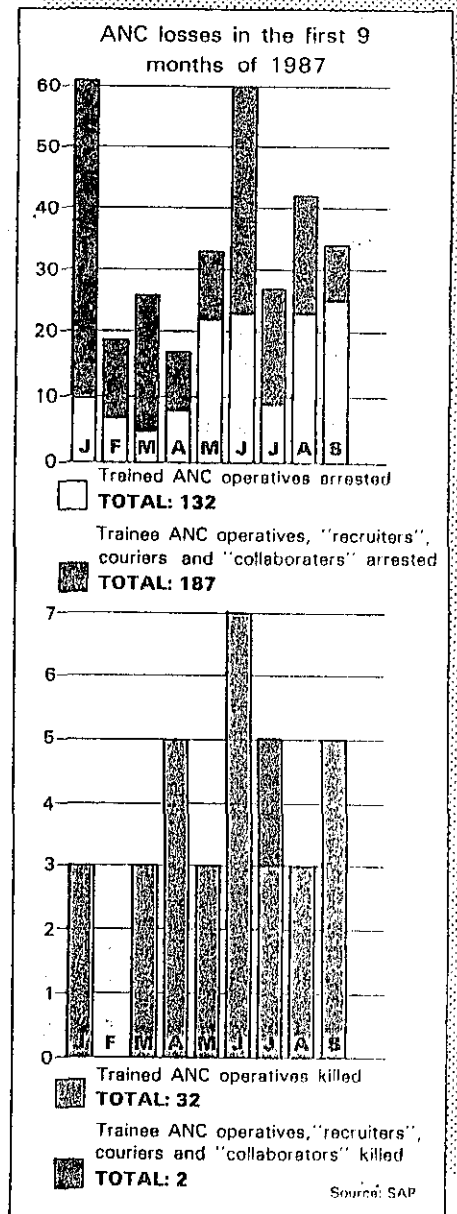
Van der Merwe lists the advantages to the ANC of using locally trained operatives:

- They don't have to leave the country for training and are therefore not away from their communities for long periods;
- They don't suffer frustrations in training camps abroad while waiting to re-enter SA; and
- They are less likely to be known by other operatives, which reduces the risk of them being identified to the security forces by "rehabilitated terrorists."

Van der Merwe says the "drastic" change in the pattern of attacks can be attributed to:

- General unrest which has hampered police action;
- Recruiting, training and deploying of locally trained operatives;
- Identification of local black officials as part of the State structure that must be destroyed; and
- Forced deployment of a large number of operatives inside the country.

The scoreboard



ANC man jailed for 17 years

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By ANDREW DONALDSON

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) member Mxolisi Petane was sentenced in the Supreme Court yesterday to a total of 17 years imprisonment after being convicted of one count of terrorism, in terms of the Internal Security Act, and two counts of attempted murder.

Petane had placed a bomb in a car outside a Parow shopping centre in July last year and had, in subsequent actions, shot at an unarmed policeman and injured four other policemen by throwing a grenade at them to escape arrest in KTC.

The 29-year-old MK deputy commander had refused to plead to the charges, claiming that as a prisoner of war and in terms of the Additional Protocols of the Geneva Convention he should not have been tried at all.

It was an argument that "opened up a (legal) can of worms" concerning future security trials, according to Mr Justice H Conradie.

Sentencing Petane, the judge said "there are deeds that are so morally detestable" and these included attacks by insurgents on civilian targets.

"I have been told that everyone — even the African National Congress — disapproves of them."

Petane had placed a bomb outside a crowded shopping centre which he claimed would not go off — it was intended to strike a psychological blow and to have drawn members of the security forces from the townships to white areas — and the judge found

he did not "fall into this category" of insurgents.

"He did not desire the detonation of the bomb," the judge said.

"His culpability does not lie in having desired the destruction of lives; it lies in having risked the death and destruction (had the bomb gone off)."

For the terrorism charge, he was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment and for each of the attempted murder charges, seven years imprisonment.

The two seven-year sentences are to run concurrently; two years of which will run concurrently with the 12-year sentence.

An application by Mr Mike Donen, Petane's counsel, for leave to appeal was refused.

Earlier, in his argument, the Deputy Attorney-General, Mr D Rothwell, called for a life sentence "or a very long term of imprisonment" for the terrorism conviction and 10 years for each of the attempted murder charges.

Mr Rothwell said that at the time the bomb was planted the shoppers would consist of people of all races and shades of political opinion.

"Forty percent of them may well have been supporters of the ANC ... the chances of it (the bomb) not going off were not that great."

When Petane was led away finally he shouted "Amandla!" to the gallery.

Mr Justice Conradie presided with two assessors, Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier. Mr Rothwell appeared with Mr Mike Stowe. Mr Donen was instructed by R Vassen and Co.

W/E AMB US
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Horror picture in anti-ANC adverts

LONDON. — The South African Embassy has placed advertisements in British newspapers, including the London Times, showing a picture of black and white "victims of an African National Congress car-bomb explosion" in Pretoria.

The embassy move follows a recent series of ANC newspaper advertisements calling for financial and moral support.

The embassy advertisements say: "How could you possibly support this organisation?" The Pretoria explosion picture is captioned "ANC acts".

The advertisements also list quotations under the headline "ANC speaks". The quotations include:

"Necklaces"

"Together, hand in hand, with our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country ..." — Winnie Mandela (Quoted by Agence France Presse, April 13 1986).

There are two more, by Johnny Makatini and Oliver Tambo, neither of whom may be quoted in South Africa.

The advertisements invite applications to the embassy for more information about "the true nature of the ANC" and "the real situation in South Africa". — Sapa.

w/1/12/87

NEWS

Mbeki

The thunderous silence . . .

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

GOVAN MBEKI is a rare phenomenon in South African politics. His enforced silence has become more thunderous than the most impassioned speeches of political leaders.

Five weeks have gone by since the 77-year-old former chairman of the African National Congress was released from prison.

Apart from his brief appearance at a news conference, he has not been allowed to speak in public. Two public meetings at which he was to have spoken have been banned. As a listed communist he may not be quoted.

For 23 years he has been silent.

And yet indications are that had he been allowed to appear at public meetings he would have drawn audiences ranging from 50 000 to 100 000 people.

His public appeal would have been the envy of many a politician from President P W Botha down the line. Even at the height of white election campaigns, star political performers such as President Botha and Foreign Minister Pik Botha rarely draw more than 5000 people at their biggest meetings — and that after considerable publicity over SABC-TV and other media.

An application for permission to hold a Govan Mbeki rally at Athlone Stadium, Cape Town, tomorrow (Sunday) was refused this week by the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron.

Police had expected a crowd of 100 000 to attend the rally, according to a security police affidavit submitted to the magistrate.

The Mbeki Reception Committee, which organised the rally, had expected a crowd of 50 000 to attend. A similar crowd was expected at a rally banned by police last week in Port Elizabeth after a local magistrate had given approval.

Since his release from Robben Island on November 5 Mr Mbeki was in the public limelight for only a few days.

At Port Elizabeth, where he appeared at a news conference, he was welcomed by a singing, dancing mass of people. His subsequent arrival at Jan Smuts Airport was marked by chaotic scenes, with hundreds of chanting supporters baton-charged by police and chased by police dogs.

After that Mr Mbeki seemed to disappear from the public scene and little became known of his movements.

Yet, in spite of his enforced silence and his retreat from the public gaze, he remained in the news in South Africa and abroad. His presence in South Africa — outside prison walls — has been a subject of constant speculation and controversy.

There were reports that he had left the Government in no doubt that he was back in political business — and that his views remained as determinedly communist as they were when he was jailed for plotting the downfall of the Government 23 years ago.

There was speculation that his release might be a "trial run" for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

In black newspapers there was general jubilation over his release and that of some of his co-prisoners. The Sowetan hailed it as evidence of "a vast sea of goodwill in this country."

The Leader proclaimed it as an act of statesmanship on the part of President Botha.

At the time of Mr Mbeki's release the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, gave an assurance that he would have freedom of movement and freedom of speech and that this would make it possible for him to take part in politics, subject to the laws of the country and the emergency regulations.

Subsequently, however, misgivings about events surrounding his release were expressed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the chief of the security police, General J V van der Merwe.

General Van der Merwe said Mr Mbeki was being manipulated by the banned ANC and that the planned Port Elizabeth rally had been banned because it would add to the "revolutionary climate".

In Cape Town this week, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and members of the Mbeki Reception Committee condemned the moves to ban public rallies for welcoming Mr Mbeki.

Speaking at a news conference, Archbishop Tutu said: "Our people are hurt — deeply hurt — that they are unable to welcome a leader who has made so many sacrifices for them."

Archbishop Tutu said organisers of the proposed Cape Town rally had gone to "extraordinary lengths" in attempts to meet the objections of the authorities.

He was to have flown to Pretoria for an interview with Minister Vlok on the matter, but Archbishop Tutu cancelled the appointment when it became known that the rally had been banned.

Statements expressing shock and dismay at the banning were issued at the news conference by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Education Crisis Committee, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), and others.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has described Mr Mbeki's release as an event that could have "vast implications for South African politics."



WEEKEND FOCUS

Portrait of conviction

SPECIAL REPORT by DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

THE conclusion this week of the trial of a trained member of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the armed wing of the African National Congress, provided a rare insight into the thinking of a young man who swears allegiance to Spear of the Nation.

A combination of court privilege and the uncompromising commitment of 29-year-old Mxolisi Edward Petane revealed the sort of detail about life with the Spear in hand to which most South African readers have precious little access.

Petane was sentenced to a total of 17 years' imprisonment on a conviction of terrorism and two counts of attempted murder. He admitted planting a bomb outside the Dions Shopping Centre in Parow in July last year. The device was not intended to explode, he said, but to be a psychological weapon. Its message to the security forces was get out of the townships and guard places like shopping centres where the ANC has the wherewithal to place this sort of bomb.

In the course of the trial Petane revealed his biography to the court, refusing, as the judge Mr Justice J H Conradie put it, to "take the cheap way out".

Petane claimed throughout that he was a soldier, a trained explosives expert, political commissar and deputy commander of an *Umkhonto we*

Sizwe unit. While the judge obviously did not accept this in the eyes of the law, he accepted Petane's self-perception saying that considering himself a soldier he appeared prepared to stand up for his convictions and take the consequences.

That seemed to set the tone of court proceedings during which Petane stood by his convictions in a proud but not belligerent manner. During judgement he sat attentively in the dock in a black zippered-jacket bearing the bright green and gold of the ANC colours. Only when the court adjourned did he leap to his feet with three clenched-fist salutes and a resonant shout of "Victory or Death! We shall win!"

The following week, in jacket and tie again, he was in the witness box to give evidence in mitigation of his sentence before addressing to the Bench:

"Since this is my last opportunity to speak I would like to express my appreciation of the sensitivity of this court during the course of this trial to my position as a soldier of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and to my Lordship for your sensitivity and that of the members of the Bench."

PETANE, born in Steenberg, but moved by forced removal to Guguletu, left South Africa to join the ANC in 1977.

The months before his decision to depart had been a politicising experience by his own account.

"I first experienced the cruel and ruthless tyranny of this regime during the 1976-'77 riots."

He described the violence which met the initially peaceful demonstrations against the "inferior Bantu Education" and the "unequal skirmishes" between "defenceless schoolchildren with stones and dustbin lids" against hippos, teargas and live ammunition.

He realised too that the conflict was not one of black versus white, but of oppressor versus oppressed and he paid tribute to the white doctors who risked their lives and their jobs in treating those wounded by the police.

"I was convinced beyond any reasonable doubt by the government's actions that it must be replaced by another government — one that has been elected by the majority of the people with an explicit mandate to rule in the interests of all people."

He was introduced to the Freedom Charter with its "sober and objective solution to the country's constitutionalised problems" and decided that "an organisation with this kind of approach to this country's future naturally became my political home".

Early in 1977 he left for Botswana where he joined the ANC. Via Zambia, he reached Angola where he received "general training in guerilla warfare" and political instruction. At the end of that year he and about 60 colleagues left for the Soviet Union for further training at Birivalna, a camp in the Ukraine.

"Here 20 of us specialised in military engineering — in other words explosives — until 1978."

During the trial and after some complicated evidence about the manufacture of home-made bombs using a combination of pedestrian materials and what military equipment was available, Petane was asked whether he considered himself an explosives expert.

"Yes, sir," he replied, smiling.

BACK in Southern Africa in 1978, Petane was deployed from Angola to Mozambique and back to Angola again where he worked in air defence. By mid-'83 he was in Zambia for training in trade unionism. He used these new skills with the SA Congress of Trade Unions in Gabarone, Botswana, until late 1984 when he was arrested and deported back to Zambia.



ABOVE: MR Charlton and Mrs Evelyn Petane: Their only son, African National Congress member Mxolisi Edward Petane, was sent to prison for 17 years this week.

"Seventeen years is seventeen days," was the cry from the women who gathered around Mrs Petane and

her daughter Cindy outside the court after sentence was passed.

Petane's 88-year-old grandmother pressed a handkerchief to her eyes. "Come, come," clucked the woman and Mrs Petane pressed a comforting hand against her mother's cheek.

Petane's advocate, Mr Mi-

chael Donen, argued in mitigation of sentence that Petane's character was such that he might well make a contribution to his country.

"Yes, my own feelings are that he is likely to," replied Mr Justice J H Conradie.

Petane's mother went further. Is she proud of him?

She laughed, shook her

head and was almost embarrassed by her response: "Too much."

Stooping to embrace the small woman and wish her goodbye, Mr Donen's tall figure dwarfed her. "Thank you, thank you," she said. "You've worked so hard ... you're number one."

Picture: WILLIE de Klerk, The Argus.

A wave of anger and disappointment has followed Government restrictions on Mr Govan Mbeki, with accusations that they would intensify tension and frustration.

Mr Mbeki, former national chairman of the African National Congress, has been restricted to Port Elizabeth and prohibited from giving interviews to the Press. He was to have met leaders of more than 100 organisations in Cape Town tonight.

Mr Dullah Omar, president of the Democratic Lawyers Organisation and Western Cape chairman of the United Democratic Front, said today Mr Mbeki had been given permission to travel to Cape Town for routine check-ups with his doctor and optician. He will arrive tomorrow evening and return to Port Elizabeth on Monday or Tuesday.

"Naive"

His visit is conditional that he does not attend gatherings of more than 10 people.

Mr Omar said the Government was naive if it believed it could release Mr Mbeki from jail and then expect him to renounce everything he stood for.

Mr Mbeki's attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, condemned the restriction order as a "culmination of the outrageous and unfounded allegations" against Mr Mbeki and said it had negated his release.

She said she was preparing an application to have the restriction set aside.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said the Government had to be condemned.

"We were under no illusion that Mr Mbeki's release signified any intention by the Government to enter into true negotiations with black leaders, but his release did, nevertheless, offer us hope.

"Now the Government stops Mr Mbeki from being seen and heard. It is choosing a path of violent confrontation by acting in this way," he said.

"Undo the good"

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, called on the Government to lift the restriction as it "would undo the good that has been achieved by the decision to release Mr Mbeki after 23 years in jail and will undoubtedly add to tension and frustration," he said.

A mass rally to protest against the restriction order is planned for the Good Hope Centre on Monday.

The ANC's external mission in Lusaka condemned the restrictions.

"The action illustrates that Govan Mbeki has merely changed his address from Robben Island to the vast prison of South Africa. The Government is not prepared to allow the chosen leaders of the people to speak, giving the lie to claims that it was prepared for dialogue or negotiations," the statement said.

● Cabinet Ministers have so far been silent. Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said he had nothing to add to yesterday's statement by the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, outlining the restrictions.

ANGER AT MBEKI CURB

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Outrage, despondency at Mbeki banning

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

WIDESPREAD outrage and despondency greeted the effective banning of Mr Govan Mbeki under the emergency regulations, just one month since his "unconditional" release from Robben Island.

The 77-year-old ANC leader, who was released on November 5 after 23 years in jail, had a restriction order slapped on him yesterday silencing him and confining him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, said that by imposing "these outrageous restrictions" on Mr Mbeki the government was in effect choosing a path of violent confrontation.

Describing the restrictions as a "total sham", he said they "simply turn him into a prisoner who is his own jailer".

"His release was the most hopeful sign since the disastrous white elections in May this year that we just might have a chance of resolving the South African crisis peacefully," Archbishop Tutu said. "But now with

the stroke of a police commissioner's pen, the government smashes our hope and makes our people more and more desperate," he said.

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the latest restrictions indicated that the government was "obviously embarrassed" that it could not continue its "usual stance" that Mr Mbeki and Mr Nelson Mandela do not have mass support.

She said he "is greatly disappointed and distressed, particularly because he was expressly informed that his release was unconditional."

Cosatu said imposing restrictions was like putting him "back in prison — it negates any good that may have been achieved by his release".

Issuing the order yesterday the Commissioner of Police, General Henrie de Witt, said Mr Mbeki had been restricted to Port Elizabeth without prior permission, and could not take part in any interview with a journalist or other representative of the media.

"This step became necessary to prevent promotion of the revolutionary climate," he said.

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Organisations call for fasting

By KHULU SIBIYA

TOMORROW the country's state of emergency will be 18 months old, and to mark the occasion, extra-parliamentary organisations have called on the nation to fast as a sign of protest.

The campaign by the United Democratic Front and other organisations opposed to apartheid started yesterday - coinciding with the International Human Rights Day - with the ringing of church bells and will continue until December 25.

According to a UDF spokesman, various meetings and gatherings of relatives of emergency detainees will be held in different centres throughout the country.

He said contrary to rumours that the UDF had called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during this period, the "People's Christmas

Against the Emergency" was, in fact, a campaign to "unlock apartheid's jails".

Governments and people throughout the world yesterday observed Human Rights Day, but South Africa stood conspicuously alone as it remained firmly entrenched by decree in the system of apartheid.

While almost everyone worldwide acknowledges that apartheid is a very grave violation of basic human rights, the National Party is still bogged down in its racial policies 39 years after it came to power.

In the meantime, most nations in the same period have been paying homage to the UN General Assembly's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The declaration, adopted on December 10, 1948, says: "All human beings are born free and equal in

dignity and rights."

However, DPSC spokesman Max Coleman observed: "With a state of emergency prevailing, having up to 1 500 people in detention and with the State President, PW Botha, saying there are no political prisoners when there are political prisoners by the thousands with no access to court, it can't be said that human rights are well established in South Africa.

"There is no freedom of speech; there are considerable restrictions imposed upon the Press as to what they may publish; no political gatherings may be held; and there can be no freedom of association and political expression when three-quarters of the population cannot vote."

Coleman also called on the government to release all political prisoners and withdraw its troops from the townships and neighbouring ter-

ritories and an end the state of emergency.

Apartheid, the world has been saying, not only denounces fundamental freedoms, but also poses a very serious threat to international peace and security.

The Five Freedoms Forum, a coalition of anti-apartheid bodies engaged in fighting for the basic freedoms of all South Africans, also observed that South Africa today stood second to no nation in the violation of human rights.

Notes FFF spokesman Dave Webster: "Everywhere the flickering flames of freedom are being snuffed out by detentions, censorship and intimidation."

UDF's Azhar Cachalia pleaded "desperately" to Pretoria "to cease its violation of human rights" and enter into negotiations with "the recognised leaders of our people".

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Azhar Cachalia

Maritzburg peace talks go to pieces

By S'BU MNGADI

THERE seem to be no end in sight in the raging war in Maritzburg following this week's collapse of the crucial peace talks between warring factions.

Intense three-and-half hour discussions reached stalemate on Wednesday night after the nine-man Inkatha-Uwusa delegation circulated copies of a banned journal and demanded that the Cosatu-UDF delegation publicly repudiate its contents.

The October edition of *Inqaba Yabasebenzi*, a journal of the London-based Marxist workerist tendency expelled from the ANC in the early 80s, devoted six pages to fighting Uwusa and declared no truce with Inkatha.

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Musa Zondi called on the UDF and Cosatu "to disown this article and to stand up as patriots to commit themselves to putting SA first".

"Repudiate the hideousness of the thinking that is published and broadcast by the ANC or count us out of peace initiatives in which you are involved," he said.

In reply, the UDF and Cosatu said the document had nothing to do with them and that it did not emanate from their structures and did not reflect their policies.

"Cosatu and the UDF remain firmly committed to discussing the items previously agreed upon.

"These are concrete and realistic and offer the prospects of success. We should avoid the introduction of extraneous factors to the Maritzburg situation if we are to solve it," they said.

A UDF official added that the latest "obstructionist stance" by Inkatha must be seen in the context of the weekend's indictment on the UDF-Cosatu alliance by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing the Inkatha central committee, Buthelezi said bluntly that the UDF and Cosatu were "not worthy the status of organisations to whom we are to be reconciled".

However, all the organisations agreed that further talks would still take place at a date to be arranged by the chamber.

Meanwhile, Maritzburg SAP PRO captain Pieter Kitching announced this week that 120 people had been arrested in the area under the state of emergency regulations since September this year. More than 140 unrest-related cases are due to come before the magistrates' court in January next year.

Organ

By KHULU SIBIYA

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S'BU MNGADI

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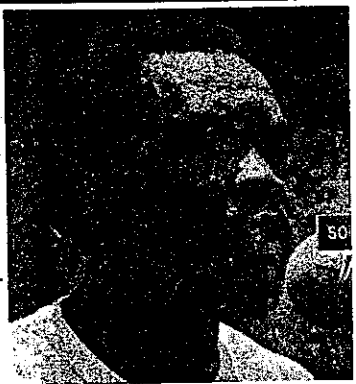
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Dumisani Mbanjwa

Inkatha rank and file not enemy - UDF

By S'BU MNGADI

THE UDF-Cosatu alliance needed to act in a way that made it easy for Inkatha members to join the people's organisations, joint UDF secretary S'khumbuzo Ngwenya told a 17 000-strong crowd at Edendale Wadley Stadium at the weekend.

He said that comrades needed to realise that even the ordinary Inkatha member was not the enemy and that the need to prove that the struggle included struggling for their liberation had to be made clear.

"We must prove also that we are the organisations that are most consistently working for peace and democracy in our country," said Ngwenya.

He pointed out that the 17 000-strong crowd was proof that the UDF and Cosatu had the grassroots support of the people and they were there because they were interested in peace.

"Let the government note this, for it is the government and other forces that have attacked us for not being interested in peace," he said.

He said that the Freedom Charter made the point that the people had always believed in peace with a clause saying that "there shall be peace and friendship".

"Our people want peace, but the apartheid system denies us peace. Our communities are continuously disrupted by the activities of the vigilantes and other supporters of apartheid.

"The peace in our communities is also disturbed by the effects of unemployment, poverty, starvation, inferior education, lack of housing and removals," he said.

The UDF and Cosatu's commitment to peace was the reason why the organisations were struggling for an end to apartheid, he said, and that the way to



These youths were caught lost in song and dance at the UDF-Cosatu peace rally on Sunday.

As the hillocks of Natal reverberated with the shouts of 'Viva Peace'...

THE SEARCH FOR THAT ELUSIVE PEACE GOES ON

By S'BU MNGADI

TO the echo of surrounding hillocks, a 17 000-strong crowd at the UDF-Cosatu peace rally roared "Viva peace" at the weekend.

However, the call was shortlived. A message came halfway through the rally informing the crowds that nearby Ashdown was under attack from Inkatha. And an hour later some of those returning on foot to Dambuzo

Previously, even indoor meetings to discuss the process of ending violence between supporters of the two allies and Inkatha had been illegal. It was during these meetings that joint UDF secretaries S'Khumbuzo Ngwenya and Martin Wittenberg were detained by police while consulting with grassroots structures on peace.

Hence, among UDF... Police filmed the meeting from outside Edendale's Wadley stadium. And a large banner reading "Viva Moscow, Viva UDF, Viva Mbeki" was unfurled by to-toing youths who tried to prevent the police from filming.

Speaking at the rally National Union of Metalworkers organiser Dumisani Mbanjwa said they had been labelled

conditions for talks - and clause by clause was met with shouts of "Viva".

- For the peace talks to work, the authorities must stop detentions.
- Organisations involved in peace talks must be freely allowed to organise openly.
- Perpetrators of violence, some of whom were identified in a month-long investigation by lawyers - must

cept the one relating to the details of the perpetrators of violence.

To date, 13 senior Inkatha members have been interdicted against acts of murder, attempted murder, threats, harassment and public violence.

The meeting mandated the six-man delegation to go back to talks this week and deliberate on those points where agreement could



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

UDF, Cosatu 'unworthy of Inkatha'

By S'BU MNGADI

THE UDF and Cosatu were not "worthy of the status" of organisations with whom Inkatha needed to be reconciled, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Inkatha's central committee at the weekend.

He said his people were dying "hideous deaths" because the ANC wanted to make Maritzburg a "no-go area" for Inkatha.

"How in God's name can I be forgiving and how can I be forgetful?" he asked.

"How can I sanction any further meetings between my lieutenants and senior ANC personnel? When the ANC begins to respect the opinions of millions of black South Africans, we can begin to respect the ANC," he said.

South Africa's black majority was against what both the National Party and the external mission of the ANC was doing, he said.

"This is borne out by the behaviour of ordinary people in everyday life. They want to fulfil their aspirations as human beings and are not intimidated.

"I must also say bluntly that the UDF and Cosatu are not worthy of the status to whom we need to be reconciled," he said.

"It is their choice that death keeps us apart - and death is keeping us apart. There is no reconciliation with a spear being struck into your heart or with a match setting the necklace ablaze. We will not fight evil with evil, just as we have never fought white racism with black racism.

"We will not become violent aggressors for political purposes, but how can we seek reconciliation with those who do what they do to our brothers, wives and children? We must eradicate violence without courting or wooing those who are hideously violent," Buthelezi concluded.

Why the organisations were struggling for an end to apartheid, he said, and that the day-to-day legitimate struggles waged in the factories, schools and townships were creating the basis for peace.

"We have been prepared to sacrifice a lot for this struggle for a non-racial, democratic and peaceful society.

"In the last few months we have made tremendous strides in building unity in our townships. We have seen young and old, activists and ordinary people from the community, unite to defend themselves against vigilante attacks.

"We have seen the alliance between Cosatu and the UDF becoming stronger," he said, while stressing that it was only through the behaviour of ambassadors of these organisations that people could be won over.

The distinguishing factor of the UDF and Cosatu was that they had "never forced anybody to join us", said Ngwenya.

The respect of the community was only earned through the painstaking work of activists in relating to the youth, workers, businessmen, taxi owners, and the unemployed, he added.

He said that organisations needed to address themselves to the everyday problems and concerns of the people in every section of life and that the organisations must be built according to these needs.

The need at the moment, he said, was to help the people defend themselves against unlawful attacks and the violence in the townships, at the same time acting with discipline and restraint.

"We need to show in practise that we are not like the warlords. We will have to act in a disciplined manner even though this might not always be easy. Sometimes we have to restrain some of our most deeply felt emotions," he said.

The parties concerned with achieving peace in the townships had reached agreement in the process needed to achieve a situation which would bring



SOUNDS IDEAL

Rob Pater ... addressed the gathering.



A section of the large crowd who attended the meeting.

about the end to violence.

They included calling on the Minister of Law and Order to release all the officials or office bearers of the organisations that had been detained.

Furthermore, it was made clear that police and security forces must allow meetings of the different organisations which were part of the peace process in order for them to get a mandate and report

back to their constituencies.

The parties publicly condemned and disassociated themselves from the current violence and called on all those involved in the peace process to publicly en-

and Martin Wittenberg were detained by police while consulting with grassroots structures on peace.

Hence, among UDF-Cosatu's preconditions for talks with Inkatha was that all organisations, not only Inkatha, must be allowed to freely consult with their members. "Peace talks at a leadership level mean nothing - we must take the community with us," they argued.

The rally, also attended by about 100 whites, was called to report back on the preliminary peace talks held with Inkatha a fortnight ago and to seek a fresh mandate for further talks which were held behind doors on Wednesday before a full-scale peace confer-

ence. Speaking at the rally National Union of Metalworkers organiser Dumisani Mbanjwa said they had been labelled ANC surrogates who were bent on making the country ungovernable when they defended their right of freedom of association.

"Strangely, we see our people being butchered daily with pangas, knobkerries, guns and daggers. Do they want us to sit back and allow brutal injustice because when we stand up against it we are branded ANC surrogates?" he asked.

To thunderous applause he said Inkatha's forced recruitment must come to an end. Mbanjwa then read UDF-Cosatu's precon-

ditions. "Peace talks must be freely allowed to organise openly.

● Perpetrators of violence, some of whom were identified in a month-long investigation by lawyers - must be arrested and charged.

● Inkatha's forced recruitment must stop and all organisations must be allowed equal freedom to organise.

● All organisations must discipline members guilty of aggression.

● The police must act against known culprits. Bringing more police and army will only increase tension.

He said after the first round of peace talks the UDF-Cosatu delegation emerged victorious for the meeting as it reached agreement on all preconditions, ex-

cept the six-man delegation to go back to talks this week and deliberate on those points where agreement could not be reached.

During the meeting two youths accused of having been seen with "Otheleweni" (vigilantes) were handed to marshals by the angry crowd.

Messages of support came from the Natal Indian Congress, Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell, Natal Midlands UDF president Dr Simon Gqubule, National Democratic Movement's Pierre Cronje and the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, whose vice-president Rob Pater also addressed the meeting.

...the 1982. We will not fight evil with evil, just as we have never fought white racism with black racism.

"We will not become violent aggressors for political purposes, but how can we seek reconciliation with those who do what they do to our brothers, wives and children? We must eradicate violence without courting or wooing those who are hideously violent," Buthezi concluded.

endorse and accept the principles of freedom of expression and association and to publicly condemn actions such as forced recruitment and to undertake disciplinary action against those individuals violating these principles.

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Protest and court move to overturn Mbeki ban

Sunday Times Reporters

A PROTEST rally against the banning of ANC leader Goyan Mbeki and an urgent court application for the overturning of his restriction order are on the cards.

Speakers at tomorrow evening's rally at the Good Hope Centre, Cape Town, are Anglican Archbishop

Desmond Tutu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Jay Naidoo, secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, (Cosatu) and Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Campaign.

Meanwhile, a mere 24 hours after being restricted, Mr Mbeki has been given permission to travel to Cape Town for medical examinations.

The Government this week scuttled plans for a mass Mbeki rally today at Cape Town's Athlone Stadium by slapping a restriction order on the former ANC chairman, released a month ago after 23 years in prison.

He has already been silenced by being a "listed person", and now 77-year-old Mr Mbeki is confined to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

Sickly

As the sickly Mr Mbeki was on his way to consult medical specialists, his attorney was preparing an urgent court application to have the restriction order set aside.

Mr Mbeki was muzzled shortly after agreeing that the Sunday Times could record aspects of his lifestyle after 23 years in prison.

The restriction order, signed by Police Commissioner General Hendrik de Witt, was served on Mr Mbeki by Lieutenant-Colonel Hermanus du Plessis, of the security police.

The House of Resurrection in the Port Elizabeth coloured suburb of Salsoneville is half-hidden behind vibracrete walls and faces a yard as stony as Gethsemane.

The view downhill — over a newish housing estate to the wind-blown water of a large lake squared off into salt pans — is obstructed by a wall and a highway.

This is where the tall, bespectacled former ANC chairman has been living for the past few weeks.

Invisible

When the Sunday Times called on him on Friday morning he could not even greet the reporter lest he be in breach of the restriction order.

The lace curtains guarding the lounge were drawn, and if there were watchers, they were invisible.

The Rev Mncebisi Xundu, spokesman for the Inter-nominal Ministers Association of SA and the man who has sheltered Mr Mbeki since his release, said Mr Mbeki would return to Port Elizabeth on Tuesday.

Commenting on Friday's restriction order, Mr Mbeki's attorney, Miss Priscilla Jana, said it was "clearly an invasion of his freedom".

AFTER reading the two volumes of this mammoth four-volume work, South Africans, particularly blacks, will tremble and weep when they digest the voices of their ancestors - voices which shaped black protest on the anvil of white domination since the last century.

The appearance of this work in present-day tense, divided and troubled South Africa will ensure that a large audience is able to hear and judge for itself the methods of those who came before them in the struggle for black liberation.

This is history all those who want to know what South Africa's black struggle is all about should read.

This is the history that will open many eyes. It will teach the young ones that the struggle never began in Soweto on June 16, 1976. It has been a long and bitter struggle, stretching over centuries.

This fine work of scholarship in documentary history also brings Englishman John Donne to mind. It was Donne who said knowledge by itself will not save us; but we shall not be saved without knowledge.

How *From Protest to Challenge* was put together is also a story in itself. It was between 1961 and 1962 when Peter Dugan, senior Fellow and Curator, Africa and Middle East Collection of the Hoover Institute, came to South Africa.

He established a network of collectors and suppliers, whose contributions form the core of this four-volume work. This project - "to rescue from obscurity the voices of protest in South Africa" - took 12 years to complete.

The first volume was published in hardcover in 1973. Since then it has become the standard work for scholars and commentators worldwide.

Editors Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, American scholars of note in their own right, do not take chances. From the onset they make their case clear: "these bulky volumes provided only a selection of the rich materials that should be used when a definitive political history of modern South Africa is eventually written."

This is the challenge facing South Africa. This is the promise.

Karis and Carter then point out that the current situation in South Africa must be evaluated from the perspective that Africans in that country founded and operated nationalist organisations.

These organisations were engaged in political protest, and participated in national political activity earlier than Africans organised such activities in other parts of the African continent.

LET US GET TO

THE TASTY LIFE

BUILDING A NATION

Invo newspaper of July 25, 1889.

There is the ANC which today is still in the forefront of the black liberation struggle.

The ANC was formed "at a conference in Bloemfontein in January 1912 and was not reported in any white South African newspaper..."

Part three, which examines the years 1921 to 1934, starts on a sad and painful note.

In October 1920 demonstrations by Africans in Port Elizabeth in support of an arrested African trade unionist sparked a reaction from white vigilantes and policemen and 23 Africans and one white were killed.

Volume one highlights the chief events of 1882-1934.

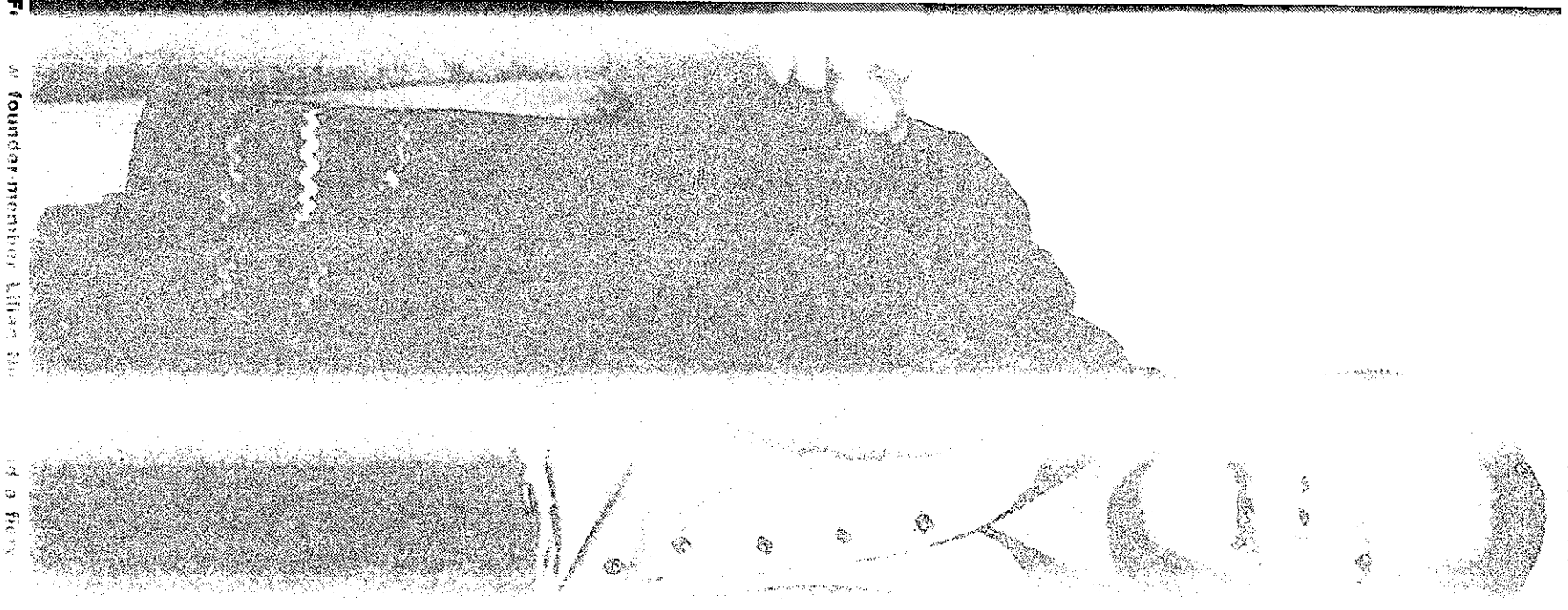
Volume two opens on a sombre note as dark clouds hang over Africans. Here we examine Africans united under the threat of disenfranchisement in the years 1935-1937.



Portrait of Dza Gabor of the 50s.



Portrait of Moroka in the 1930s.



Portrait of a founder-member.

Yet black South Africans are still not liberated.

We are then plunged into action. Take for instance, political journalism. This began in 1884 when John Tengo Jabavu, with white financial support, founded *Imvo Zabantsundu*.

"Thus," we are told, "at the very start of African political journalism, as throughout the history of subsequent African protests, questions of the franchise were central."

But it is the historical characters that people these two volumes that make us come to grips with the nature of black protest. Volume one spotlights these actors between 1882 to 1934.

In between we learn of the Bambatha rebellion in Natal up to black protest over education.

"It was in grave doubts they sent these children, and they had hearts to venture. It is in the hearts of these white people to make us slaves. See what education has done," says an article which appeared in the

A pamphlet written by Selby Msimang in 1936 catches the mood of the day: "Let us now admit, both publicly and in our conscience, that Parliament and the white people of South Africa have disowned us, flirted and trifled with our loyalty"

And then enter the ANC Youth League and its Programme of Action of 1943 to 1949.

Names like the late Dr William Nkomo, Manasseh Moerane, one-time editor of the *World* newspaper, journalist Jordan Ngubane and RV Selope-Thema, editor of the defunct *Bantu World* newspaper, leap across the pages as moving spirits behind the Youth League.

In October 1943 the Youth League changed direction. On February 21, 1944 we find a deputation of these Youth League members visiting Dr AB Xuma in his Sophiatown home to review the Youth League's draft constitution and manifesto.

Members of the deputation included Anton Lembede (the man who coined the term "Africanism"), medical student William Nkomo, the ANC's Walter Sisulu and Wits University law student Nelson Mandela.

"Lembede was the most outstanding personality in the early Youth League. He died in July 1947 at the age of 33 and was succeeded by Ashby Peter Mda.

They continue: "In the early months of the Youth League others stood out - in addition to Mda were Oliver Tambo (who later became secretary general), Victor Mboobo (vice-president) and David Bopape - all teachers although Tambo and Mboobo later became lawyers.

"Professional men or those preparing for professional careers predominated among those who became prominent in the next few years: Godfrey Pitje, a

teacher and later a lawyer, Joseph Matthews and Duma Nokwe, who were to become lawyers and Robert Sobukwe, a teacher - all of whom were active in founding the students' Youth League at Fort Hare in 1948 ..."

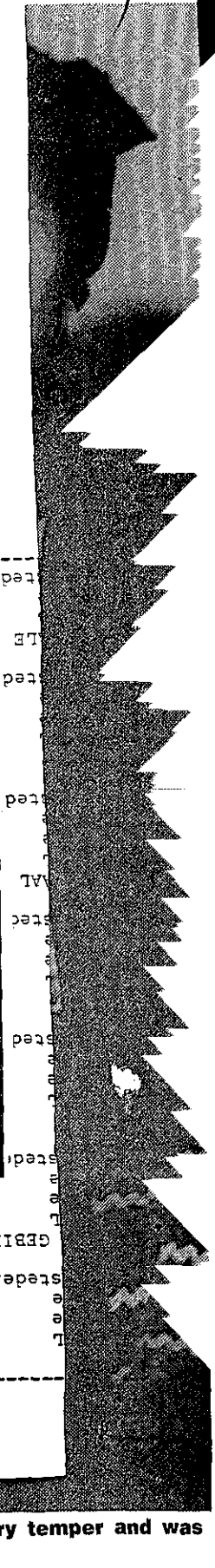
At the end of Volume Two there is the last line of Document 98, an "opening address" at the First Conference of the Society of Young Africa, by IB Tabata, on December 20, 1951 which says: "Let us get down to the task of building the Nation"

This is the message present day South Africa dare not ignore ...

FROM PROTEST TO CHALLENGE: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF AFRICAN POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1882-1964 VOLUMES ONE AND TWO Edited by THOMAS KARIS AND GWENDOLEN CARTER (DAVID PHILLIP) R29,85c per volume, exclusive.

Areas	Economically active population		Total		Total		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
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Cities	1 511	742	2 253	2 067	4 641	2 574	2 410	2 410
Towns	495	335	830	1 197	1 213	1 213	1 213	1 213
Non-Urban	2 187	1 045	3 232	5 827	11 686	5 859	5 859	5 859
WHITE AREAS	3 515	1 648	5 163	5 222	11 650	6 428	6 428	6 428
TOTAL	1 511	741	2 252	2 067	4 641	2 574	2 574	2 574
Cities	1 511	741	2 252	2 067	4 641	2 574	2 574	2 574
Towns	278	205	483	686	1 352	666	666	666
Non-Urban	1 726	702	2 428	2 469	6 428	2 469	2 469	2 469

stubborn. continued →



History will judge our work - Natal Indian

CP Correspondent

"HISTORY must judge us. It is important that we be judged by the nature of our work and not by our name."

This was said by Natal Indian Congress vice-president Mewa Ramgobin in an interview with *City Press* following a national conference of the NIC - the first in nine years - at in Durban last weekend.

While the mobilisation and organisation of the NIC takes place essentially in the Indian areas, there is no doubt about the fact that we relate to, and consult with other sections of the population in South Africa.

As an ally, in historical terms, of the ANC until 1976 and as an important component of the UDF present-

ly, it is easy to judge where we stand in relation to the broader democratic movement," said Ramgobin when asked about the "Indian" tag to his organisation's name.

The conference, Ramgobin noted, took place after nine years for a number of reasons. State repression until 1978 - after the NIC's last conference - was such that the organisation's leadership had constantly been subjected to bannings and other arbitrary restrictions.

Leaders like Ramgobin himself, the NIC's president, George Swepheersad, and others, were only freed of restrictions in 1983, but when the NIC consider holding a conference in that year and the next, a large percentage of its leadership was arrested and jailed.

The NIC's efforts towards a conference were again thwarted in 1985 when a state of emergency was declared in the Transvaal, and a year later, in Natal.

Finally, the conference did take place last weekend, in spite of reservations on the part of the NIC, which attracted over 200 delegates.

"The resolutions at this, as at all our conferences, mean that the NIC has committed itself to the democratic process. The fact that a conference was held was in itself one way of showing not only the NIC's accountability to the people for its involvement in this process, but also that the organisation was a force to reckon with," said Ramgobin.

"The resolutions we took at the conference declare, firstly, our his-

torical position that the destiny of the Indian community lies in the destiny of all the democratic forces of South Africa. Secondly, government created institutions like the House of Delegates and others have been designed not only to deflect the nature of our struggle, but also to desabilise the unified thrust of the liberation movement in the country."

The NIC was established by passive resistance campaigner Mahatma Gandhi.

Rather symbolically, too, the first executive meeting of the anti-apartheid and broader coalition, the UDF, was held at the Phoenix settlement in August 1983.

Alluding to the revival period of 1971, Ramgobin noted that since the banning of the ANC in 1961, the

sister organisations of the now-exiled movement, the NIC and the Transvaal Indian Congress, went into dormancy following stringent banning orders on the organisations' leaders.

"When the NIC was revived in 1971, it was, in fact, a revival of Freedom Charter politics which, until then, had been forgotten by a large section of the population," pointed out Ramgobin.

"We saw ourselves as an intergral part of the broad national democratic movement, declaring that the destiny of the Indian people in South Africa was inextricably linked to the destiny of all black people of this land.

"The Nic spearheaded with other organisations and the UDF leadership, especially in the 1983-1984 period, the thrust against the segregat-

ed government created tricameral parliamentary system," said Ramgobin.

Just as the NIC has emerged from its conference rededicated to the common black struggle, so has it become even more important in the democratic movement in South Africa in spite of it being related, at this stage in particular, to a section of the population - in this case, the so-called Indian community.

Ramgobin asserted: "The NIC has got to be the conscience of the Indian people for a future non-racial and democratic South Africa, especially in the light of the thrust and initiatives taken by the State against opposition forces and in co-opting sectors of the population into its own discriminatory system." - Ano.

CAPE TIMES 14/12/82

(S.A.) 119 (A)

Botswana is 'main ANC arms route'

PRETORIA. — Police said yesterday that vehicle searches at the border with Botswana were necessary because the ANC had threatened to intensify its "terror" campaign over Christmas.

They said an ANC spokesman, Mr Steve Tshwethe, had confirmed that the outlawed organization would step up its "terror campaign" over the Christmas period.

The police statement also said that the border was a known infiltration point for weapons, and that "ANC members had been arrested".

Following information that Botswana was the main infiltration route for ANC activists and arms into this country, the South African government had issued a number of warnings that it would not allow South Africans to be targets of "terror campaigns", the police statement said.

Stringent measures were necessary at the South Africa-Botswana border and all vehicles would continue to be searched, the police said.

Proof that Botswana was a major infiltration route for "terrorist" weaponry into the country was that in most cases of "terror" that had occurred in South Africa, car bombs, limpet mines and other "terror" weaponry had come in through Botswana. — Sapa

Local Xmas flights logjam

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CAPC THIS 14/12/87

Buthelezi warns followers against 'instant justice'

11A



Chief Buthelezi

MPUMALANGA, Natal. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned Inkatha members at the weekend that it could be suicidal for black politics if they took the organization's law into their own hands "to mete out instant justice as they see it".

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was opening an administration building.

Referring to violence in the greater Maritzburg and Mpumalanga areas, he said the Zulu people had a basic unity, created by history, which would in the end always triumph over "divisive forces which come like hyenas at night to sow misery and discord".

Inkatha had emerged, after more than a decade's involvement, as the most intact and unified organization in the black struggle. Others had disintegrated because their members had turned on each other, he said.

"When Inkatha members take Inkatha's law into their own hands to mete out instant justice as they see it, terrible dangers face us all.

"I have seen signs of these fratricidal developments in some of your local conflicts. As your elected leader, all I can do is to hang my head in shame, for these developments will be suicidal if we allow them to increase within the black body politic." — Sapa

Ed/1/1/1
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THE Pan Africanist Congress trial being heard in the Pretoria Regional Court was on Friday postponed to February 22.

Seven people, including a priest, are appearing on charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.

They are also alleged to be members of the

PAC trial adjourned

banned PAC and Qibla, a Muslim organisation. The accused are Mr Mabutu Enoch Zulu, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, both of Transkei, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa of Springs, Mr Setsiba Mohohlo of Johannesburg, the Reverend Daniel Nko-

podi of Bophuthatswana, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel.

They have pleaded not guilty and are defended by Mr Dikgang Moseke, Mr Gert van Tonder, Mr Denis de la Hunt and Mr Omar Adam.

Mbeki

Cape Town. 14/12 1977

arrives in city

By PETER DENNEHY

RELEASED African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki, who was restricted to Port Elizabeth on Friday, flew into Cape Town at 9.45pm last night.



Picture — Page 4

A massive rally in his honour and in protest against his restrictions is being planned from 7pm

at the Good Hope Centre tonight.

Mr Mbeki has been prevented by police order from attending the rally, according to Mr Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairman of the United Democratic Front.

Mr Mbeki is not breaking his restriction order by coming to Cape Town as permission for the trip was granted on Saturday by the Commissioner of Police, General H G de Witt — who issued the order on Friday restricting Mr Mbeki to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

To Page 4

AT YOUR SERVICE

P.T.O →

CAPE TIMES 14/12/87 11A



From Page 1

Mr Mbeki, who is 77 years old, looked healthy on his arrival last night, although he has come for a medical check-up at Groote Schuur Hospital, Mr Omar said.

Mr Mbeki was casually dressed in a loose-fitting beige lumber-jacket, and he wore a tweed hat. He was accompanied by his attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, and two other travelling companions.

It is understood that Mr Mbeki's eyes have been giving him trouble.

He may not be quoted, and is not allowed to speak to the press.

Nonetheless, a large press contingent and a hundred or more supporters were at the airport to greet him.

Security at the airport seemed exceptionally tight.

Excitement rose and cries rang out as the crowd caught sight of Mr Mbeki, and people behind the barrier rushed hither and thither as he fetched his luggage and then accompanied Mrs Jana to the car hire counter.

Mr Mbeki had been due to address an open-air rally in Athlone Stadium yesterday, but magisterial permission for it was refused after security police said they expected 100 000 people.

The Mbeki Reception Committee then planned an alternative indoor rally, but on Friday Mr Mbeki was served with the restricting order.

He may not address any rally.

The United Democratic Front's Western Cape Region said on Friday that the Good Hope Centre event would go ahead as a "protest rally" against the restrictions.

Speakers at the rally will include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, who is national co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Campaign and Mr Jay Naidoo, the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The Mbeki Reception Committee said it was not surprised at Mr Mbeki's restriction, which "emphasises Mr Mbeki's position in the broader community".

The UDF said that in the interests of public order and peace, "the police should stay away from our functions".

"We are quite capable of looking after the interests of our constituents in a disciplined fashion," the UDF said.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that the restrictions on Mr Mbeki reflected the government's desire to suppress the truth.

"When the government goes to such lengths to manipulate white public opinion with the aim of keeping itself in power, then the Church must say that evil is rampant in our land," he said.

SMILING ON ARRIVAL . . . Restricted ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki is met at the airport by the Western Cape chairman of the United Democratic Front, Mr Dullah Omar. On the right is Mr Mbeki's attorney, Ms Priscilla Jana.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

Protest rally over Mbeki

(11A)
Impeachment
14/12/87

A MASS rally to protest against the restriction order slapped on African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki is planned for Cape Town today.

In terms of the order Mr Mbeki has been restricted to Port Elizabeth and prohibited from giving interviews to the Press.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said the Government had to be condemned in the strongest terms for the restrictions.

Lift

In Cape Town the Mbeki Reception Committee has called a mass protest rally in the Good Hope Centre this evening "to give the people an opportunity to show their disgust at the State's decision to prevent Mr Mbeki from speaking."

Speakers will include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Campaign, and Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, called on the Government to lift the restriction.

11K 14/12/87

Azasm slams Govt over fares

THE Azanian Students Movement is to call on the international community to put pressure on the Government to subsidise transport for black scholars.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg last week, Mr Thami Hlekiso, Azasm's president, said the organisation's fourth annual congress in Cape Town on December 5-7 had strongly condemned the Government for not subsidising transport for black schoolchildren.

Puico was also criticised for withdrawing the subsidy of pupils on its buses from next year, he said. The company announced recently that from January 1, 1988 black scholars will have to pay the full fare on its buses.

The congress attended by about 2000 delegates and observers also condemned the decision by some liberal universities in not allowing Azasm to operate within their campuses for allegedly being a "racist" exclusive black student organisation.

Another resolution passed was that Azasm reiterate its call for students to return to school next year.

Questions

In answer to questions, Mr Hlekiso said although Azasm was an adherent of the black consciousness movement, it was not at loggerheads with other progressive student organisations.

He also slammed an article written by Mr Jaap Strydom, the DET deputy director-general, in the *Sowetan* last week. He said his agreement with Mr Fanyana Mazibuko on a number of points was opportunistic.

The newly-elected office bearers of Azasm are: Holly Kekana of Mamelodi (publicity secretary), Ofentse Mokgatle of Atteridgeville (deputy president), Brand Nthako of Welkom (secretary general), Katiso Lengane of Soweto (projects co-ordinator), Siphon Maseko of Cape Town (secretary for political education), Jackson Thamaga of Sekhukhune-land, Mxolisi Mswela of KwaThema (national organiser) and Thami Hlekiso of Soweto (president).

EXECUTIVE members of the Azanian Students Movement at the Press conference. From left, Ofentse Mokgatle (deputy president), Thami Hlekiso (president) and Holly Kekana (publicity secretary).



Mr. Tans 15/12/87
114
Police
colonel
pushed
me, says
city MP

By CLARE HARPER

THE independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, alleged he was manhandled by a police colonel at the Good Hope Centre, the venue of the banned Goven Mbeki rally, yesterday evening.

Mr Van Eck said that when he later went to lay a charge at the Caledon Square police station he was told he would be detained under the emergency regulations if he did not leave.

Mr Van Eck said he had tried to inform the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, about the incident but "he was not at home".

"That an MP can be chased out of the Caledon Square police station and threatened with detention is unreal."

"Now I know what people in the townships mean when they say they are chased out of police stations," he said.

He said he had been helping organize transport for people who had arrived unaware that the meeting had been banned.

A police colonel had told him he was "interfering" and had threatened to arrest him.

Mr Van Eck alleged he was "manhandled" and "pushed" by the police colonel.

He said he was then escorted to his car by two policemen in riot gear.

A police spokesman confirmed in Pretoria last night that Mr Van Eck had been in touch with Brigadier Van Der Westhuizen who had undertaken to see him "personally" today.

5/12/87 (1A) B. Day

Mbeki receptions banned in Cape areas

PRETORIA — Receptions for former Robben Island prisoner Govan Mbeki, who was recently restricted to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district, have been banned in certain districts in the Cape until December 31.

Police said in Pretoria last night an immediate order on this had been issued under the Public Safety Act (3 of 1953).

The order reads: "I, Ronald Norman van der Westhuizen, Divisional Commissioner of the Western Province Division,

hereby prohibit, for the purpose of public safety of the public, the maintenance of public order and the termination of the state of emergency, during the period ending December 31, 1987, any gathering in any building in the magisterial districts of Simonstown, Wynberg, the Cape, Goodwood, Bellville and Kulls River, which is or may be organised and advertised by the Mbeki reception committee. This order will become effective immediately upon announcement hereof." —

Appeal for lifting of restrictions on Mbeki

1 PORT ELIZABETH —
e The United Democratic
d Party called for the lifting
of the restrictions imposed
1 on the recently released
s African National Congress
- stalwart, Mr Govan Mbeki,
- by the state last week.

3 Mr Mbeki, who was released
- on November 5 after serving
3 23 years of a life sentence for
sabotage, was restricted to the
Port Elizabeth magisterial district
and prohibited from giving
interviews to the press in terms
of the emergency regulations
despite a state announcement
that his release was unconditional.

The secretary-general of the
UDP, Mr Cecil Kippen, MP, said nego-

15/11/87
tiation politics was dealt a
"fatal blow" by the imposition
of the restrictions which
exposed the government's lack
of commitment to its pur-
ported endeavours for recon-
ciliation.

Mr Kippen said the government
should be attempting to draw
Mr Mbeki — who represented
the highly respected black
leadership in South Africa,
which was so desperately
needed, particularly in the
national council debate —
to the negotiating table.

"Without Mr Mbeki and
Nelson Mandela the national
council project is doomed.

Consultation was not enough
and reaching

agreement after negotiation
was the only means of
achieving a solution.

Mr Mbeki could provide the
government with the opportunity
to return to meaningful reform
at a time when political
stagnation was making the
people in the townships
"restless".

"The government was not
expected to ignore Mr Mbeki
or place such restrictions on him.

"The government still has
time to correct the situation
before it worsens."

It was also crucial for the
state to seriously consider
releasing Mandela, Mr Kippen
said. — Sapa

Cape Times 15/12/87 11A

Mbeki receptions banned in W Cape

By CLARE HARPER and RONNIE MORRIS

ANY RECEPTIONS organized by the Mbeki Reception Committee for former Robben Island prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki were banned last night in six Western Cape magisterial districts until December 31.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier Ronald van der Westhuizen, prohibited "any gathering in any building" which was "organized or advertised" by the Mbeki Reception Committee in Simon's Town, Wynberg, the Cape, Good-

wood, Bellville and Kuils River, a police public relations directorate spokesman said.

The order, in terms of the Public Safety Act, came into effect "immediately upon announcement" last night.

Hundreds of people had arrived at the Good Hope Centre by then for the rally to protest against the restrictions placed upon Mr Mbeki — who is confined to the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth. They were turned back by marshals after a Supreme Court action, seeking to contest the banning,

was aborted at the last minute.

Mr Essa Moosa, an attorney for the Mbeki Reception Committee, said an advocate had been consulted, but a court application did not go ahead because it was unfair to "keep members of the public in the dark".

The committee decided to abort the Supreme Court action at about 5pm.

A UDF spokesman said that about 40 buses had already been on their way to the centre and about 7 000 people had been expected to turn up.

Most of the buses were turned back midway, but people arrived in cars and taxis.

Police were present at the centre and at a road block on Sir Lowry's Road.

Mr Mbeki arrived in Cape Town on Sunday night for a medical examination up at Grootte Schuur Hospital.

A spokesman for the hospital said yesterday Mr Mbeki's condition "does not give us cause for alarm at all".

Mbeki lawyer to challenge restriction

Staff Reporter

THE attorney of freed African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki is preparing papers to challenge the restriction order slapped on Mr Mbeki five days ago.

At a press conference yesterday Ms Priscilla Jana said Mr Mbeki would challenge in court the restriction order, which confined him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

Ms Jana said she was preparing papers which she planned to file next week.

She said that should Mr Mbeki have been allowed to address a rally in Cape Town he would have objected to the restrictions.

"If Comrade Mbeki had attended the rally and the rally had continued, he would have, in all probability, made the following speech," Ms Jana said.

Seated between the vice-president of the United Democratic Front for the Western Cape, Mr Joe Marks, and Mr Mbeki's lawyer in the Eastern Cape, Mr T Majodina, Ms Jana then read from a typed text.

The Cape Times is not publishing the words because Mr Mbeki is not allowed to speak to the press and may not be quoted.

He was granted permission on Saturday, by the Commissioner of Police, General H G de Witt, to travel to Cape Town for a routine medical check-up at Groote Schuur Hospital.

Mr Mbeki was however, not allowed to attend any rallies.

A rally, planned in Mr Mbeki's honour and in protest against his restriction, was to have taken place at the Good Hope Centre on Monday night at 7pm but was banned hours before it was due to start.

Other receptions organized by the Mbeki Reception Committee were also banned on Monday night in six Western Cape magisterial districts until December 31.

UDF spokesman Mr Dullah Omar criticized police for declaring a later gathering at Community House, Salt River, illegal, and ordering people to board buses or trains and return home.

Mr Omar said several buses and combis containing people from up country, who had been on their way to the rally, had been diverted to Community House where they were to be fed before returning home.

(11A) 5072 17/12/87

Azapo returns home — after 10 years

Congress to consolidate plan towards a socialist Azania

By Michael Tissing

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will hold its 10th anniversary congress in Soweto this weekend with the theme: "10 years of resistance — consolidate for a socialist Azania", publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said.

Since Azapo was founded in Soweto on April 28 1978, it has not held a national congress in the township.

"The congress at the DOCC hall in Orlando will be the first time the organisation has returned to Soweto for its most important decision-making gathering."

Mr Myeza said that besides discussing Azapo's programme next year, they would also clarify Azapo's relationship with the three exiled organisations — the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and the African National Congress (ANC).

Attention will also be focused on Azapo's relationship with local political organisa-

tions and the labour unions.

Mr Myeza said: "Based on the congress theme, Azapo would also reaffirm its commitment to socialism as an alternative to the South African system of racism and capitalism."

"We have brought the issue of socialism to the forefront of the political debate concerning an alternative future for this country"

Imperialist intentions

"We intend to keep it there because of imperialist intentions foreign powers have shown towards our country."

"Even internally we have faced an onslaught from the State and people who belong to organisations which are ideologically to the right of Azapo. We have our members enduring one of the longest treason trials in current legal history — the 'Delmas Trial' — and our people have suffered detention for many years since our entire first executive was detained and then banned release.

"Some of our members have faced attack from political thugs in the townships. The case of Teboho Martin Mohau was one of the most sad. He was a teenager when he was sentenced to Robben Island for five years and a few months after his release, he was stabbed and burned to death in Soweto for no reason other than that he was an Azapo member."

"Despite the onslaught from the State and these rightwingers, we have survived."

Mr Myeza said it was feared that police would position themselves in the hall in the same way they did during Azapo's commemoration of the banning of Black Consciousness organisations on October 19. Police said at the time that their presence anywhere in the township, was not unusual.

He said he expected the congress would attract a large number of delegates particularly because Azapo had grown in the rural areas and some of the outlying districts of the country including Namakgale, Lobethal, kwaNdebele, Qwa Qwa, Tzaneen and the area around Greytown in Natal.

● The themes of past Azapo congresses have been: "Courage is persistence — the demands of our times" (1980); "Forward with the people's struggle" (1982); "Mobilise and consolidate the liberatory efforts of the oppressed masses" (1983); "On the march — facing the challenges" (1984); "Resist defend and advance" (1985); "Forward to a socialist Azania" (1985) and "Black solidarity for a socialist Azania" (1986).

Plea for unity, reconciliation

GOVAN MBEKI believes unity and reconciliation are important in resolving the problems facing South Africa, his lawyer Priscilla Jana says. Mbeki, the African Nationalist Congress (ANC) leader recently freed after 23 years on Robben Island, had been approached to address a meeting at the Good Hope Centre on Monday night. The meeting was banned a few hours before it was scheduled to start.

At a press conference on Tuesday, Jana gave her impression on what she considered Mbeki might have said if he had spoken at the meeting.

SOUTH emphasises that the following is not Mbeki's speech but the perceptions of Jana, on what Mbeki would, in all probability, have told the meeting.

From what Jana said at the press conference, it appeared the 77-year-old ANC leader would have made a moderate speech without indicating any bit-

terness about his 23 years in prison.

Mbeki would have delivered "a message of hope and justice" and would have called for unity to "overcome hateful divisions," Jana said.

Jana said since Mbeki's release from Robben Island, he had been "overwhelmed by love and kindness from so many people".

"I think he would have paid tribute to the Cape Town Reception Committee for its most impressive and efficient organisation.

"He would have thanked those involved in the committee, in particular the UDF and Cosatu, and the various other organisations and individuals who have shown the strength and depth of their leadership in a most inspiring way.

"Mbeki's release after 23 years of incarceration has re-united him with his people, although he has left many friends behind.

"But while he has been released, he does not con-

sider himself free. He was told his release would be unconditional. He believed he would be free to speak, and his message could be carried through the media throughout the country.

"The government has stated it wants to talk to leaders and organisations who represent the people. And yet in reality they do nothing of the kind.

"Instead, they suppress expression of any view other than their own. This is absurdly short-sighted, for to prevent free expression and the participation of all leaders representative of the people simply compounds the problems that plague our country.

"Their paranoia has manifested itself, since Mbeki's release, in attempts to silence him, to prevent his message being conveyed at meetings or through the media.

"The message which Mbeki has is one of hope, a call for freedom and justice which cannot be silenced.

Friends on Robben Island

"Mbeki has left many close friends behind on Robben Island. He believes none of us can consider ourselves free while so many men and women - great men and women of Africa, and the finest of our youth - languish in prison or find themselves detained or exiled from the soil of our country, as a result of their devotion to the struggle for freedom and justice, for a government based on the will of the people.

"He would have asked people to remember those people, and to dedicate themselves to the attainment of the same noble goals for which they have made great sacrifices.

"Mbeki believes true freedom can come to all of us - black and white, oppressor and oppressed - only when all men are free, when the evil of apartheid is dead. Apartheid seeks to divide.

"It estranges citizens of this country from each other, and isolates us from the universal family of man. We must overcome these hateful divisions. It is only through unity of all our people that we will destroy this veil of apartheid and that the will of the people shall prevail.

"Mbeki would have called on all South Africans, black and white, to reject the divisions, the fragmentation and the disunity which apartheid and the forces which promote it, seek to bring about.

"He would have called on people to join in unity, and in the strength that unity gives, to devote themselves to building a nation and creating a new South Africa, a society imbued with freedom, love and justice.

More than slogans, words

"The goal for which Mbeki strives is a clear one. He will accept nothing less. He believes cosmetic changes which are called reforms are of no significance in the lives of the people of South Africa.

"Mbeki seeks meaningful change in our country - a change away from apartheid; a change that will destroy and bury apartheid; a change that has as its purpose the liberation of all the people of this country. It seeks to replace apartheid with a non-racial, unfragmented, democratic society.

"Mbeki believes this society will be modelled on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter, where everyone will be entitled to unqualified franchise, and government will be based on the will of the people. He believes we all belong to South Africa, and South Africa belongs to us all.

"Since his release, he has been moved by the tremendous spirit of dedication in striving for this ideal, which pervades every part of the country. It finds expression in the various organisations of the community, the labour movement and the UDF.

"He believes the attainment of this ideal requires far more than mere slogans and words, far more than attendance of rallies and meetings."

'Workers must lead!

17-23/20 South

DESMOND SAMPSON describes himself as a person who likes to do the work while others talk.

"I prefer a low profile. I don't believe in promoting individuals. In a union, the workers must be promoted," he said.

Sampson will find it difficult to keep a low profile as general secretary of the new Garment and Allied Workers Union (SA). Yet he remains modest about the influence he will have as leader of the country's third largest union.

"I don't think I am in a powerful position. I don't believe the general secretary is a powerful person. The most overworked, yes. But not the most powerful.

"The workers must wield the power. If an individual wields power in a union, something is wrong."

Sampson has been head of the Garment Workers Union's legal department for the past three years. He was one of the prime movers behind the merger and the application to join the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Poverty

His only experience of trade unions has been three years in the GWU. But he believes his experience of working in factories in the paint, printing and textile industries will help equip him for his new post.

"I come from a legal background, but I have experience of working in a factory. My father was a teacher, but he had a stroke when I was still at high school.

"My mother was forced to work in a garment factory as a machinist. My brother also worked in a garment factory and I had to work to pay my way through high school.

"I have always been influenced by poverty and oppression and the need for education.

"Because of this, my work has always been in that direction. I have been involved in education and in trying to uplift the community."

Sampson is chairperson of the Blouville Training Centre in Retreat, run under the auspices of the Cape Mental Health Society.

Legal aid

He has also been involved in the Boy Scout Movement as a parent and played a role in getting the Scout Centre in Athlone off the ground.

He was instrumental in forming the Uitsig Ratepayers' and Tenants' Association in 1975 and the Charlesville Ratepayers' Association in 1979. He still lives in Charlesville.

"He has also helped in the Woodstock Advice Office.

At South African Nylon Spinners, where he worked for five years, he helped form a recreational club for blacks when only white workers were allowed to use recreational facilities provided by management. Facilities were now open, he said.

Sampson was a legal aid officer in Athlone until he was approached to start the union's legal department three years ago.

"My experience in the legal department has been that workers are exploited to a large degree.

"In the position I was in I could do a lot to alleviate that exploitation, like taking up cases of unfair dismissal.

"During the past three years, we have started an education programme to inform workers of their rights in

FOR three years, Desmond Sampson has been working quietly in the Garment Workers Union (Western Province).

At its merger with the Natal-based Garment Workers Industrial Union last weekend, he was elected general secretary of the Garment and Allied Workers Union (SA).

With 102 000 members, Gawu is the third largest union in the country but, Sampson told RYLAND FISHER, he did not consider himself in a powerful position.



Desmond Sampson

terms of the Labour Relations Act and unfair labour practices."

Sampson was born in Goodwood and lived there until his family was forced by the Group Areas Act to move to Elsie's River in 1961.

He matriculated at St Columbus High in Athlone in 1963 and battled to further his education.

"I worked as a reporter for the Golden City Post and the Cape Herald for about three years until I was retrenched in 1967.

"I spent a few months at UWC before I went to work at a printing firm, and later at a paint factory.

"Later, I trained as a teacher at Hewat. I taught for a few months before giving it up.

"I then studied law at UWC and through Unisa.

Authority

"I had to have absolute determination to achieve my education. It was a terrible struggle. I would not like others to go through

this. This is why I was instrumental in our union forming an education trust which gives bursaries to our members' children.

"I believe it is absolutely essential that we educate our children to take up positions in a post-apartheid era.

"We have been given gutter education all these years and must do something to get out of it."

Sampson said he had clear objectives in his new position.

Holistic

"I believe the trade union movement in South Africa has become somewhat derailed. My first objective is to try to get it back on the right track.

"Worker participation and control have been lost. We have to give the authority and control back to workers.

"In many cases individuals are running trade unions. They use unions to build their self-esteem.

"I believe the whole work-force

should be developed. We should lift the workers' level of debate to allow them to think for themselves and make their own decisions.

"They must all go through this process together.

"My other main objective is for the union to look at workers' problems as a whole.

"Far too often we look at workers' problems on the factory floor and stop there. In South Africa, we need to look at workers' problems when they leave the factory and go back to the community. We must have a holistic approach.

"Workers have been deprived of economic and political power. We have to work hard at changing the situation.

"At the moment, economic power lies in the hands of a select few. Yet, workers generated that wealth and should share in it.

"It is incumbent on the leadership of any trade union to assist in the sharing of that wealth.

Desperation

"With this goes political power which our people have been denied. We have been prescribed to all these years. The apartheid system has effectively created this situation.

"It is up to the union leadership to work hard at restoring these basic human rights to workers.

"We also have to address the issue of a living wage for our members.

"Employers have denied workers decent living standards. They have created the poverty, misery and desperation in which workers find themselves.

Unity

Sampson was not too concerned about criticism of his union's conservative past.

"Our critics should realise that any union goes through a process of change. We have a history of 60 years. It is easy for a new union to criticise. They should not judge us on our history, but on our present position.

"We have heard that changes in the union are at the top only. That is not so. The changes have been made by the workers.

"I'm not really perturbed by the criticism. The workers have a clear vision of where they want to go. This is shown by the resolutions adopted at our inaugural congress. Our members' approach has been constructive and responsible."

He said he was committed to unity.

"We have no illusions about the damage the apartheid system has done to our people. There is only one way to undo this, and that is to unite all workers."

17-23/12/8 South

Parents not aware of charges

THE launching of your newspaper, SOUTH, gave the people the impression that, at last, we would have an objective mouth piece "of the people for the people".

SOUTH would report matters in a fair and just manner without implicating unfortunate victims who find themselves in no position to defend any allegations or criticism against them by the poisoned fingers of the press, it was thought.

'Terrorism'

Your edition of December 10-16, under the bold headings "ANC's Cape Cells" on page 1 and "Forbes an ANC commander", refers. In sensationalising the plight of the 15 young people, who will appear in the Supreme

Court in March next year on charges of "terrorism", your newspaper went about tabulating the allegations against some of the young people in a manner which, apparently and undoubtedly, projects the impression that they (the accused) are already guilty of the charges, and/or that they were some kind of ruthless political radicals who planned to create havoc — in a bid to overthrow the State.

We realise your journalist was "only outlining the State's allegations" against them, but did he really do these young people any justice in the manner in which he reported the matter.

Was SOUTH aware that some or most of the parents of the accused

was not aware of the actual charges against their children until they read your newspaper.

Could your paper not have found the time to check with those parents and/or the representatives of those charged whether they were all aware of the charges against their kin.

Worst

It appeared as if SOUTH was just interested in collating whatever photographs could be mustered of the people concerned for use with the "scoop", without further thought of whatever adverse consequences caused, or how you may have prejudiced the support and defence of those concerned.

It should be a well-known fact

that quite a lot of people in our community like to believe only the worst of others, and, when the press rushes to stoke the fire by projecting what appears to be the "worst" in people, persecutors (of those who care and fight for their fellowman) normally have a ball.

So well done SOUTH for your damaging "scoop" and purported revelations of those who are not yet in a position to defend themselves. I can assure that we, the parents of the 15 people involved, their kinsman, and the community at large are not at all impressed, of the direction you have taken to try to "sell" your newspaper.

SIGNED BY SOME OF THE PARENTS

11A

Peace talks off rails



17-23/12/89 South

MARITZBURG — Negotiations to bring peace to the trouble-torn townships of Maritzburg could break down following a demand by Inkatha that the UDF and Cosatu condemn a document drawn up by expelled ANC members in London.

The document, drawn up by the Marxist Workers Tendency, called for the smashing of Inkatha and its trade union offspring, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

Inkatha

However, the UDF Midlands regional chairman, Mr A.S. Chetty, said his delegation had made it clear to Inkatha they had nothing to do with the document.

"We have already rejected the sentiments expressed in the document and it is now up to Inkatha to come forward. We are waiting for the Chamber of Commerce to contact us for further talks," he said.

It was alleged Inkatha was using recruitment drives to stamp its political domination on Maritzburg and the rest of the Natal to counter the growing popularity of the UDF and Cosatu.

The apparent failure to bring Inkatha members to heel has been highlighted in a speech made by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at a gathering in the township of Mpumafanga, near Maritzburg, at the weekend.



Chief Buthelezi

Referring to the violence, he warned Inkatha members not to take the law into their own hands to mete out what he termed "instant justice".

- Press Trust News Agency



UDF, Inkatha agree to extend peace talks

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A major stumbling block to the continuation of peace talks between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha here was removed yesterday with the public repudiation of a banned journal calling for the destruction of Inkatha and its union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

Last week Inkatha and Uwusa had insisted that the UDF and Cosatu openly repudiate a document published by the Marxist Workers' Tendency — a small, ultra-leftist grouping expelled from the ANC — or face the possible failure of the peace talks.

In a newspaper advert yesterday the UDF and Cosatu did so, after having repudiated the document at the peace talks last week.

At an Inkatha rally at Taylor's Halt outside Maritzburg yesterday, the UDF and Cosatu's actions were praised by Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, the KwaZulu MP for Maritzburg, and Mr Vitus Mvelase, the KwaZulu urban representative for Maritzburg.

Mr Ndlovu said the repudiation of the document made Inkatha "very happy" and was a "step forward" in ending the violence which has plagued the city.

He said the "talks about talks" which have been hosted by the Maritzburg chamber of commerce would definitely continue next year, once the UDF and Cosatu had reported back to their membership on their decision.

APR 7415 (11A) 307
December 17, 1987 3

Mbeki: SA

**'has
blown it'**

LAGOS. — South Africa had "blown it" by clamping restrictions on Mr Govan Mbeki, the United States Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, said yesterday.

"If the South African government was seeking to create a political opening, they seem to have blown it," Mr Crocker said.

He said Mr Mbeki's release could have improved the dialogue between the government and its opponents and led to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela. — Sapa-Reuter

AZAPO CONGRESS

(11A) Somewhere
17/12/87

THE Azanian People's Organisation is to hold its 10th annual congress at the DOCC Hall, Soweto, at the weekend.

The conference, whose theme is "10 Years of Resistance — Consolidate for a Socialist Azania", will deal with various issues concerning the organisation since its

inception in 1978.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, yesterday said that besides discussing the organisation's programme next year, they would also clarify Azapo's relationship with the three exiled organisations — the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the African National Congress.

The congress, the first to be held in Soweto, will also discuss the organisation's relationship with other political organisations and the trade union movements within South Africa.

UDF spells out peace hopes

MA
17/12/87
Sometime

THE peace talks between warring groups in Pietermaritzburg are set to forge ahead again following a full-page advertisement published by the United Democratic Front yesterday morning, and hopes are high that the violence which has claimed hundreds of lives may finally end.

A representative of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which is hosting the Talks About Peace Talks, told a Durban daily newspaper yesterday that the organisation was "thrilled" about the breakthrough.

The full-page UDF advertisement calling for peace and publicly repudiating an anti-Inkatha document which caused the collapse of the talks last week, was published only hours before a massive Inkatha peace rally was due to be held in the city.

Inkatha's leader in Pietermaritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, said yesterday that all Inkatha members in the city — of whom there were many thousands — were expected to attend the rally.

Local leaders will address the all-day gathering at Taylor's Hall outside Pietermaritzburg — one of the townships' worst hit by the bitter "civil war" being waged between Inkatha and the UDF.

Mr Ndlovu said the leaders would report back on the peace talks and that Inkatha delegates would meet at a later stage to discuss their reaction to the UDF repudiation and the possibility of continuing talks.

The Inqaba Yabasebenzi Document which caused the talks to break down and calls for the destruction of Inkatha, was published by the Marxist Workers' Tendency, an African National Congress affiliate which was expelled from the organisation last year.

Yesterday's UDF advertisement is headed: "Lives are at stake — let us work for peace."

It says the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions had repeatedly repudiated the document at last week's talks and had stressed it did not reflect their policies, did not emanate from their organisations, had not been circulating in Pietermaritzburg and was not relevant to peace discussions.

"So in the interest of peace and the peace process we repeat: We repudiate this publication. It has nothing to do with us. It does not reflect our views."

The advertisement goes on to state: "Let us make this Christmas a time of peace."

MEGA
17/12/87

Man shot dead as unrest continues in Maritzburg

PRETORIA. — A man was shot dead and three men, including a 90-year-old, were attacked in incidents of unrest in the Maritzburg area yesterday, the police unrest report said today.

At Sobantu Village, a 25-year-old man was shot dead by unknown assailants, according to the report.

At Ashdown, a man was slightly wounded when police used teargas and birdshot to disperse an illegal gathering. The wounded man and another were arrested.

At Harewood, a group beat up two men, one aged 90 and the other 25. Neither was seriously injured.

Inkatha peace rally

● An Inkatha peace rally at Taylor's Halt yesterday has paved the way for peace talks between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in Maritzburg early next year.

Kwazulu urban representative Mr V V Mavelase thanked the UDF for publishing a full-page advertisement repudiating the anti-Inkatha document which caused the breakdown of the talks last week.

He said the organisation was committed to "real talks" and hoped the result would be peace in "our beloved Maritzburg".

The rally was attended by hundreds of Inkatha members and a large contingent of police kept a passive presence.

Inkatha's leader in Maritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, told the rally the organisation was "very happy" about the UDF repudiation of the anti-Inkatha document and suggested peace talks be resumed early next year.

However, Mr Ndlovu expressed grave reservations over the presence of non-Africans in the UDF delegation, in particular Midlands chairman Mr A S Chetty and organiser Mr Martin Wittenberg.

No Indians or whites had died in the Maritzburg violence, he said, and it was "fishy" that leaders of the organisation did not belong to the same group as those who were dying.

Mr Chetty welcomed the Inkatha reaction to the UDF repudiation and said his organisation was "equally resolved" to ending the violence in Maritzburg. — Sapa and The Argus Correspondent.

11A
 (circled)

IT took two Day of the Vow events to get the Pietermaritzburg peace talks between Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu back on the rails.

The first good news for Pietermaritzburg residents was waking up to a full-page advertisement by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of SA Trade Unions in the local newspaper, the *Natal Witness*, repudiating a document issued by the Marxist Workers' Tendency, a small, ultra-leftist group expelled from the African National Congress some years ago.

The second event was an Inkatha rally where Inkatha's urban representative in Pietermaritzburg, Vitus Mvelase, thanked the UDF and Cosatu for the reassurance that the document did not reflect their views. He spoke in conciliatory terms not heard from his organisation for some time.

Another key figure in the Pietermaritzburg conflict, Velaphi Ndlovu, delivered an aggressive speech, but afterwards said the peace talks were on the rails again as a result of the advertisement.

Before the speeches, a busload of stick-, sjambok- and knife-wielding youths in Inkatha uniforms danced and marched through the rally area, chanting that they wanted to fight. Their main refrain was: "Comrades, here are the vigilantes, you are in danger" to applause from the gathered crowd.

The UDF/Cosatu advertisement came in response to Inkatha demands that they repudiate the Marxist Workers Tendency document before the talks could continue. The advertisement said: "Lives are at stake — let us

The full-page advert which pieced the peace talks together

Weekly Mail Reporter,
 Durban

work for peace.

"We are committed to the talks and the peace process. We believe the talks should continue."

They went on to say the publication did not reflect their policies or views, it did not emanate from any of their structures and they were unaware of its circulation in the Pietermaritzburg area; and it was not relevant to the discussion about how peace could be brought to the townships.

"We made these points repeatedly during the meeting and again made them in a statement to the press afterwards, but Inkatha was not satisfied with these assurances.

"So, in the interests of peace and the peace process, we repeat: we repudiate this publication. It has nothing to do with us. It does not reflect our views.

"Let us make this Christmas a time of peace."

At the rally, which drew about 500 people and was held in the current hot-spot, the semi-rural area of Taylors Ralt about 40km outside Pietermaritzburg, expressed disappointment in the small crowd: "I expected

thousands of members. But I have been told that many of our members have been intimidated not to come here in fear of having their houses burnt down."

He said the UDF/Cosatu statement in the newspaper was especially reassuring in the light of rumours he had heard — that under orders from Lusaka, once Inkatha was destroyed in Pietermaritzburg by the UDF, the next place to be tackled was Lady-smith.

He made a concerted attack on the ANC, the Soviet Union, socialism and communism, saying: "Socialism and communism means the leaders get fat and drive big cars while the workers suffer and starve.

"Remember, the ANC are sponsored and supported financially by Moscow and this will have to be repaid at some time in the future," Mvelase said.

He said the problem in negotiating with the UDF/Cosatu was that these organisations did not like consultation and "just want to dictate to us like we are children".

He cited as examples the Pietermaritzburg consumer boycott, rent boycotts and stayaways.

However, his overriding message

was conciliatory: "Let us work for peace. We in Inkatha are committed to peace and the talks. Talking is the only way to peace.

"The hideousness of this violence is that it dishonours the struggle for liberation from apartheid.

"So, I appeal to you to assist the police in tracking down the perpetrators of violence. We call on the state president to speed up radical political change: release all political prisoners and let us all unite."

Other speakers were less conciliatory.

Velaphi Ndlovu said Inkatha could not be intimidated out of existence because it was a black organisation led by blacks for blacks. "We are not a pushover and we will die if necessary for our democratic rights."

He criticised the presence of Indians and whites in the UDF leadership.

"The UDF here is led by AS Chetty, an Indian, but no Indians have died in the violence. And Martin Wittenberg (UDF joint regional secretary) — why his involvement? He is white and none of his group are involved in the violence and are dying."

He accused non-African leaders of using black children to burn down their schools.

"This is not racism, but if leaders of an organisation are of a different race and none of their race group is being killed while their members are then there is something not right about it — there is no mutual interest and this makes peace difficult.

"We do not trust all the players at the moment, but maybe through these talks about talks we will learn to trust one another a little more."

18-23/12/87
Students to aim
at colleges in '88

By THAM MKHWANAZI

THE South African National Students Congress will concentrate next year on organising students in technikons and colleges.

This goal was set at Sansco's seventh annual congress in the Western Cape last week, where the organisation said the impression that the group catered only for university students was a regrettable one. In fact, the majority of students were in such tertiary institutions as technikons and colleges.

The conference, held in the Peninsula Technikon in the Western Cape, was attended by 276 delegates representing 62 campuses country-wide.

Delegates viewed the conference as "historic", taking place at the height of stepped-up state repression against "entire democratic forces".

Sansco announced a programme of action against government repression of educational institutions and the State of Emergency and condemned SA Defence Force forays into neighbouring states.

The congress criticised the De Klerk Bill threatening subsidy cuts at universities as being intended to force university councils to be an extension of the government's security machinery. The regulations were geared to frustrate "progressive development on campuses, particularly liberal campuses, in the field of research for labour movement and community organisations".

The conference also attacked the Education and Training Amendment Bill for its "attempt to crush opposition at educational institutions".

The Bill sought to amend seven Acts, four pertaining to the "tribal universities" of Zululand, Turfloop, Medunsa and Vista. The amendment relating to universities would limit the number of vice rectors who may serve on the university councils.

Sansco said the height of repression at institutions like the universities of Zululand, the North and Fort Hare and tertiary institutions was manifested in the closure of campuses, expulsion of students and the permanent occupation of some of the institutions by the security forces.

A mistaken identity

THE Weekly Mail, in its issue of December 4, mistakenly identified the chairman of a government committee on land ownership in Leliefontein as

(17)

Pretoria Correspondent

Judgment in an application for the release of the three South African Youth Congress (Sayco) members who were detained by kwaNdebele police in Johannesburg, has been reserved until December 22.

Mr Justice Spoelstra reserved judgment in the Pretoria Supreme Court in an application for the release of Sayco members Mr Fawcett Mathebe, Mr Andy Seftoleko and Mr Harold Nkuna.

The question to be decided is whether or not the kwaNde-

Sayco men's release: judgment reserved

bele police have the right to detain people in terms of the emergency regulations outside the borders of the self-governing territory.

The application for the release of the men, who were detained by the kwaNdebele police in a Johannesburg hotel on November 18, first came

before court on December 7.

The application was then postponed.

Mr J Unterhalter (SC) argued that the kwaNdebele police had no powers of arrest beyond the borders of the self-governing territory.

He asked whether "a man

sleeping peacefully in his bed in Yeoville, Johannesburg can be subject to arrest" without a warrant by people from Lebowa or Gazankulu.

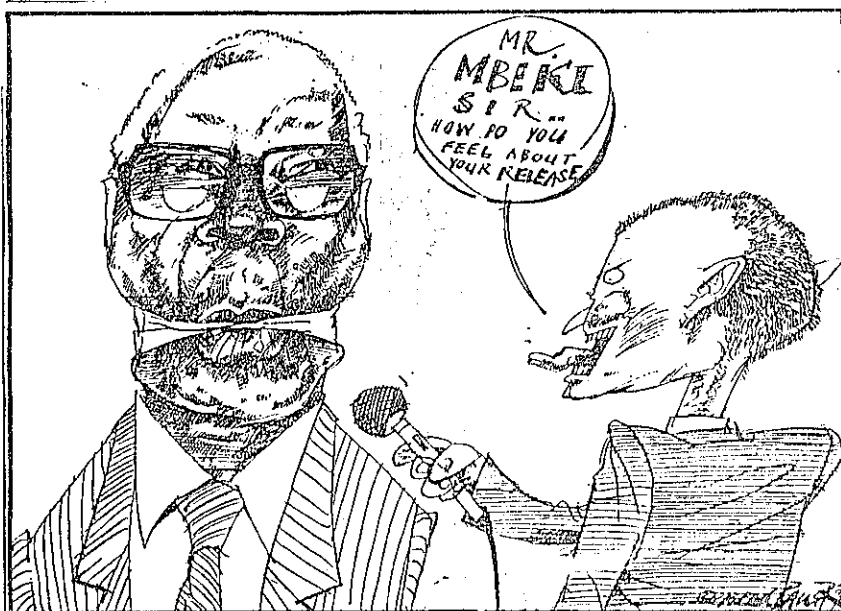
In reply, Mr L Visser, representing the South African Minister of Law and Order, the State President, kwaNdebele's Minister of Law and Order and Commissioner of Police, denied this, saying the South African police were allowed into the self-governing territory and therefore the reverse was true in the case of kwaNdebele police.

Mbeki 'abused' his freedom

Recent restrictions imposed on former African National Congress chairman Mr Govan Mbeki were a consequence of certain people using him for their own political purposes, Deputy Minister of Information and of Constitutional planning Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said on the television programme, Network, last

night.
18/12/87
Dr van der Merwe said Mr Mbeki was released unconditionally to give him as much freedom as possible, but Mr Mbeki and his friends had abused this freedom. He added that the state of emergency was inextricably linked to the reform process. — Sapa.

11A



W. M. M. 12/12/87
 11A
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LETTERS

If it's irrelevant, condemn it

I REFER to the issue of the *Weekly Mail* (December 11) in which you carry an article about the peace talks in Pietermaritzburg under the heading "Buthelezi in amazing swipe at UDF". I must record my total dismay that your newspaper has seen fit to report on the peace talks initiated by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce with such little understanding.

The import of your article gives the average reader the impression that I have thrown a spanner in the spokes of the peace talks by demanding that the UDF and Cosatu publicly repudiate an article in the October 1987 issue of *Inqaba ya Sebenzi*. In this issue Cosatu is accused of being soft on Uwusa and the UDF is castigated because it is involved in peace talks with Inkatha instead of pursuing the destruction of Inkatha through violence.

The basis of the critical bias in the article is that *Inqaba ya Sebenzi* reflects the opinions of a discredited group of white activists in the ANC who had been thrown out by the organisation some time ago. This is an entirely misleading slant to give to the facts of the matter.

You could have observed that I asked for a public repudiation of certain ANC thinking in a way which made that public repudiation most possible. If your emphasis on the irrelevancy of the "Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress" is correct, then why did the UDF and Cosatu have difficulty in publicly repudiating the hideous views it expresses? Surely it would have been very easy for UDF and Cosatu to repudiate somebody you claim the ANC had thrown out?

The harsh reality is that the tendency reflected in the article which was presented for repudiation, is a tendency which is alive and well among core ANC National Executive members and activists. It is alive and well in factions of the UDF and Cosatu. They want more killing. They want the annihilation of Inkatha and it is this desire for the annihilation of Inkatha which demands public repudiation.

I could have made the demand for public repudiation much tougher by quoting at length from the ANC's own journal, *Sechaba*, and from the *South African Communist* as well as from the actual texts of ANC radio broadcasts.

There is hideous violence in Pietermaritzburg because revolutionaries gain from it. This is the real issue and I am amazed that the South African press criticises me for de-

manding that the UDF and Cosatu disassociate themselves from efforts to fan the flames of violence while they discuss peace with Inkatha. — MG Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, Ulundi

Ⓞ We presume Chief Buthelezi is referring to *Inqaba yabaSebenzi*. We are satisfied that our description of this group was both accurate and relevant. — Editors

AS Amsterdam teemed with South African artists attending the Culture in Another South Africa (Casa) conference this week, the African National Congress used the platform to reiterate its position on the cultural boycott: it is being refined, not relaxed.

At a press conference on Wednesday, an ANC official also made it clear that no cultural exchange would be possible in future without "approval from the mass national democratic structures within South Africa" — namely the UDF and its affiliates.

Casa, jointly organised by the ANC, the Casa Foundation and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands, flew the colours of the ANC. It was attended by some of the outlawed organisation's top officials, including Thabo Mbeki, Barbara Masekela and Alfred Nzo.

The conference's value in bringing

ANC at Amsterdam festival: No easing of culture boycott

Weekly Mail Reporters,
Amsterdam

alternative South African culture into the world and allowing exiles and people from home to meet and mix ideas could not be overestimated.

But it has also highlighted the difficulties inherent in the cultural boycott and caused problems with the selection criteria that were used to bring people across to Amsterdam.

Said one of the organisers, Joost Divendal, "there were several criteria used. They included quality as an artist, areas of artistic endeavour (music, theatre, photography, literature etc) and a connection to or sympathy for the democratic mass move-

ment".

It excluded groups, Divendal said, like Inkatha and black consciousness oriented artists, while organisational difficulties resulted in a sparseness of representatives from around South Africa, including the Western and Eastern Cape.

But the selection criteria also gave room to several distortions. Within South Africa few appeared to know what was going on during prepara-

tions and selections for Casa attendance and "sympathies" with the broad democratic movement seemed not always to be good enough.

These factors cast some doubt on an ANC cultural department official claim that all the delegates were elected democratically from UDF affiliates around the country.

As to the festival itself, most of the culture displayed has had liberal airings in South Africa. Almost all the plays have been shown at The Market Theatre in Johannesburg. This includes Percy Mtwa's *Bopha*, Junction Avenue's *Sophiatown* and

Mbongeni Ngema, Percy Mtwa and Barney Simon's *Waza Albert!*

The music was noticeable for its exclusion of artists like Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Some of South Africa's best — inside and outside — were just not present. Said Divendal, "Masekela was invited, but did not come". Makeba's name, he said, had not come up at all, and Ladysmith Black Mambazo were not invited as they had very recently done an extensive tour in Holland with a lot of exposure.

The ANC's own group, Amandla, while better than many local offerings, was caught in a musical time warp of Fifties and Sixties township sounds, indicating the toll of decades of exile and cultural isolation.

For many Dutch residents (those few who were interested — there has been little coverage of Casa in the press) there was an erroneous belief that the art was "smuggled" out. The photographic exhibition bills itself as "smuggling out censored images" — which is only partly true. In addition, several of the films had been seen in Johannesburg at the *Weekly Mail's* film festival.

An evening of readings of poetry and prose at the famous Sixties "drug club" Paradiso, was marked by several hours of embarrassing poetry before the advertised big names like Breyten Breytenbach and Nadine Gordimer appeared. Among the long tracts of poetry were offerings by Patrick Fitzgerald and Marius Schoon both ANC activists, and songs by an ex-South African, Barry Gilder.

Breytenbach's appearance did not please everyone, but, as one organiser put it, could not be avoided at a cultural event of such stature. Several other notable contributors to "another culture", like Ray Phiri, Siphiso Sempama and Es'kia Mphahlele, seem to have been avoided.

The media section, consisting of a "colloquium" of selected South African journalists, was followed by an ANC policy statement on the media that left the waters as murky as ever. However an ANC representative did say he would have preferred some more diversity of thought in the meeting, and suggested that one or two Afrikaans journalists might have been included.

The policy statement left the impression among several journalists that the ANC itself had more respect for dissent and criticism than some of its more sympathetic journalists at home.

During the media conference, an award was given to detained *New Nation* editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, and it was announced that attempts are to be made to internationalise a "Hands-off the media" campaign.

Mbeki would have 'urged unity'

FREED African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki would have used last weekend's banned rally in Cape Town to urge unity among all South Africans so that apartheid could be destroyed, according to his lawyer, Priscilla Jana.

At a press conference on Tuesday, Jana said she would be filing papers next week challenging the restriction order served on him a day earlier, confining him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and barring him from talking to reporters.

Jana told the press conference the kinds of things she believed Mbeki would have said at the rally, had it not been banned.

He would have told the thousands expected at the rally that although released from jail he didn't consider himself free because of government attempts to silence him and prevent his message from being spread, she said.

And, she added, he would have attacked the government for compounding the problems plaguing

By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

South Africa through its "short-sightedness and paranoia" in preventing free expression and the participation of all leaders.

Jana's audience would have been wider if she had been able to speak as planned at a protest rally banned hours before it was to start on Monday night. Any receptions for Mbeki in six Western Cape magisterial districts were simultaneously banned.

People who travelled from distant towns arrived on Monday at the rally venue unaware of the ban and were re-directed by its organisers to Community House in Salt River for a meal before starting the journey back.

Police arrived at Community House at about 7.30pm and declared the gathering illegal, ordering everyone — including those still eating — to leave the premises and line up outside. There, all identity documents were checked and people were ordered to return home, witnesses said.

11A

w/maul

18-23/12/87

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Bremen prize for the Mandelas

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife, activist Winnie Mandela have been jointly awarded the Bremen Solidarity Prize in recognition of their fight for liberation. *W. Mail*

The announcement was made formally yesterday by West Germany's ambassador Dr Immo Stabreit when he presented a certificate of the award to Winnie Mandela at a small ceremony at the Mandela home.

By awarding the prize, the senate has honoured the couple's "joint dedicated engagement to overcome the consequences of colonialism and racism".

11A
Sawetru 18/12/87

POLITICAL FIGURES HONoured

THREE black political figures who made a lasting impression on South Africa's history were honoured at a function in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

Chief Albert Luthuli, Mr Robert Sobukwe and Mr Steve Biko were chosen by the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs (Ceapa) as the top three leaders who died in the struggle for the upliftment of the African people.

Ceapa aims to provide information on the historical and current socio-political and economic development of South Africa for the local community and for other African countries.

Prominent lawyer Mr G M Pitje and Mr Hlaku Rachidi, a Black Consciousness adherent, spoke on the lives of the three men.

The function, held at the National Recreation and Exhibition Centre near Soweto, was attended by blacks in various fields such as religion, politics, business and arts. Diplomatic staff from other countries also attended.

Mr Pitje said although Chief Luthuli could have lived comfortably as a chief he chose a path that led to confrontation with the authorities.

Chief Luthuli took a stand of non-collaboration with the authorities

which led to losing his Government salary.

Mr Sobukwe, who was a Wits lecturer when he was arrested during the anti-pass campaign of 1960, sought to make

By LANGA SKOSANA

Africa for the Africans as Europe was for the Europeans, said Mr Pitje.

Mr Rachidi said Steve Biko was a good organiser and a good listener.

He was intensely against discrimination of any kind and took no nonsense.

Report

Ms Thembi Mbobo, a co-ordinator of Ceapa, said her organisation has a comprehensive reference library with a wide range of books, journals, magazines, Government papers and newspapers

with information on South African, African, Asian, Latin American and Arab countries.

She said Ceapa's trustees consisted of Mr Mojalefa Ralekhethe, Mrs Joyce Siwani,



CHIEF Albert Luthuli.

Ms Thembi Mbobo, Mr Phil Mthimkulu, Mr Mothobi Mutloatse, Mr Lungile Makapela, Ms Mirriam Tladi and Mr Anthony Ngwenya.

THIS report has been shortened in terms of the emergency regulations.

Adg Times 18/12/87

Response to anti-ANC ad

RA 18/12/87
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The South African embassy says it has been overwhelmed by the response to its R230 000 campaign to discredit the ANC.

The embassy placed advertisements containing selected extracts of statements by the ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, external affairs director Mr Johnny Makatini and Mrs Winnie Mandela on violence.

It asked people to write in for more information on "the true nature of the ANC" and the "real situation in South Africa".

Press attache Mr Aubrey Dwyer said that between 1300 and 1500 people had written in so far.

Of these only nine were negative. Typical of comments attached to them were statements like "white boys go home". He said the majority of people had simply asked for more factual information, but about 500 letters.

Police see "nothing sinister" in the spiralling number of township shootings and deaths; Claremont independent MP Mr Jan van Eck says "sinister forces" are at work; community workers say the tensions in the KTC squatter camp are "very, very close" to exploding into a Crossroads June '86 scenario. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Political Staff reports.

Fears of KTC squatter eruption discounted

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THE violent deaths in recent weeks have occurred mostly in KTC, the sprawling camp (bounded by Guguletu, Nyanga and New Crossroads) that accommodates 25 000 people conservatively, alternatively about 80 000 according to community workers. About two-thirds of KTC was destroyed in June last year.

According to a recent report, the police attributed the violent deaths to the use of "more sophisticated weaponry in the townships". But, they said, there was "nothing sinister" in the increasing number of deaths.

In one week six people were killed in KTC and among them were members of the KTC steering committee affiliated to the Western Cape Civic Association.

Approached for comment on the concern being expressed a police spokesman said the KTC situation was being monitored but "we cannot support the view that KTC is about to explode". The shootings were being investigated as murders and were viewed "as we would view murders anywhere".

Mr Danile Landingwe, a Quaker Peace Committee community worker who represents his organisation in KTC isolated one important source of conflict as the differences between the Masincedane Committee which represents most of KTC and the smaller Western Cape Civic Association representation in the area in the form of a steering committee.

"The issue of the civic asso-

ciation was introduced to KTC at the beginning of the year by two United Democratic Front activists — a Mr Qubela and a Mr Sidina — who are both now in detention."

"There were meetings about this in March and the concern of the various squatter communities was that they did not want to be represented by anyone from outside their communities," said Mr Landingwe.

Tensions

Tensions grew even further when a steering committee meeting just over a month ago decided to evict a certain individual.

"Then everything started to explode and meetings to address the situation are now going on," said Mr Landingwe.

Mr van Eck makes the point that the Masincedane Committee is not necessarily politically incompatible with the democratic movement as represented by the civic association.

"But remember that their priority as squatters is somewhere to live," he said. "The pressure of that issue tends to outweigh other political considerations. You have squatter needs versus political needs with parents telling the youth not to do anything which might jeopardise their future as KTC is essentially phase two of the Crossroads upgrade scheme."

The Masincedane Committee was not against the formation of a civic association but were still discussing the

issue in the community when the steering committee went ahead and set itself up, he said.

"All I can say about alleged police involvement is that there are sinister forces at work exploiting the divisions in the manner of divide and rule and in the interests of creating another Crossroads '86 situation.

A community worker who asked to remain anonymous for reasons of security said the situation was not one of conservatives versus comrades.

"It's more like corruption versus sincerity," he said and here there are no clear sides but elements of both in all groupings.

Western Cape UDF chairperson Mr Dullah Omar said his organisation was "very, very" concerned about the implications for the democratic movement in the KTC dispute.

"In the turmoil, the tendency is to lose sight of the politics of the situation: and its the politics we continue to emphasise because it provides the basis for unifying people."

In an effort to find a resolution, the UDF has been and remains involved in ongoing meetings and discussions.

"The basic tensions remain the same," said Mr Omar. "But there has been a realisation in all groupings in the last few weeks of the inherent dangers of the situation, namely, the advantage which the state can take of the conflict and the mischief that can be made."

to operate largely in a clandestine way. Yet "our battle is still to try and broaden the legal space we can operate in."

Cachalia recalls some harrowing experiences as an anti-government activist. In 1978, he was detained for the first time, for a week, together with his brother Firoz, after they had been distributing pamphlets for the Benoni Students' Movement, urging Indian students to show solidarity with that year's crop of political detainees.

The experience obviously didn't deter Cachalia. During the "anti-republic" campaign at Wits in 1981, he was detained for three weeks, then issued with a five-year banning order which was lifted after two years. When the 1986 emergency was declared, he was held for nearly six weeks, and issued with a restriction order later in the year. The order lapsed when the 1986 emergency expired in June.

Soon after the appointment in February of the Munnik Commission of Inquiry into the UDF funding affair, he was arrested while leaving his office, questioned briefly, and released after informing the police that he'd be giving evidence to Munnik. In July, after the arrest of UDF spokesman Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli, Cachalia was taken in for questioning for a day.

So, compared to many other detainees, he says: "I haven't had a lengthy spell inside. But one feels vulnerable. It has made my political approach more cautious, but hasn't dampened my determination to see the end of apartheid."

Indeed, the struggle against apartheid is a Cachalia family tradition. His great uncle, a pioneer Indian in SA, was a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi. His uncle Yusuf Cachalia was, until his banning, a leading figure of the Congress movement. And his father Ismail is on the executive committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

"I was born on 26 June 1956 (the first anniversary of the Freedom Charter), so I have a vested interest in Freedom Day," says Cachalia, only slightly tongue-in-cheek.

In fact he was born in Scotland, and lived there for his first five years while his father was becoming a doctor. "But I am a child of 1976," he says, referring to the Soweto student uprisings of that year, "which had a great impression on me. One felt an overwhelming need to do something, and I felt



Cachalia ... broadening the space

isolated in a little Indian group area." As a result, he and others formed their students' movement on the East Rand a year later, which gave Cachalia his first experience in organised politics.

He was involved in the campaign against the elections to set up an Indian chamber in terms of the tricameral constitution in 1984. Soon after he joined the high-profile legal firm of Ismail Ayob and Partners (lawyers to the Mandelas), the Vaal townships erupted in political protest. Along with the rest of the firm, Cachalia was drawn into matters associated with the "unrest."

In the past few months, Cachalia has been busy as attorney for the defence in the Messina terror trial, one of the major ANC trials currently in progress.

He is also a consultant in the Delmas treason trial, in which his UDF colleagues Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe are charged.

While Cachalia is an ardent proponent of the Freedom Charter as a "starting point," with socialist leanings, he believes "debate should continue on the shape of a post-apartheid economy and society." Any new government, he maintains, will have to address the question of redistribution of wealth. However, this will have to be along "pragmatic, not doctrinaire, lines."

He says the debate in the UDF on what post-apartheid SA should look like is a vigorous one. And, although there's a "strong socialist orientation in the democratic movement, the extent of nationalisation, for example, is an open question. The role business plays is therefore important. At the moment we see business and government as two sides of the same coin."

AZHAR CACHALIA

Carrying a torch

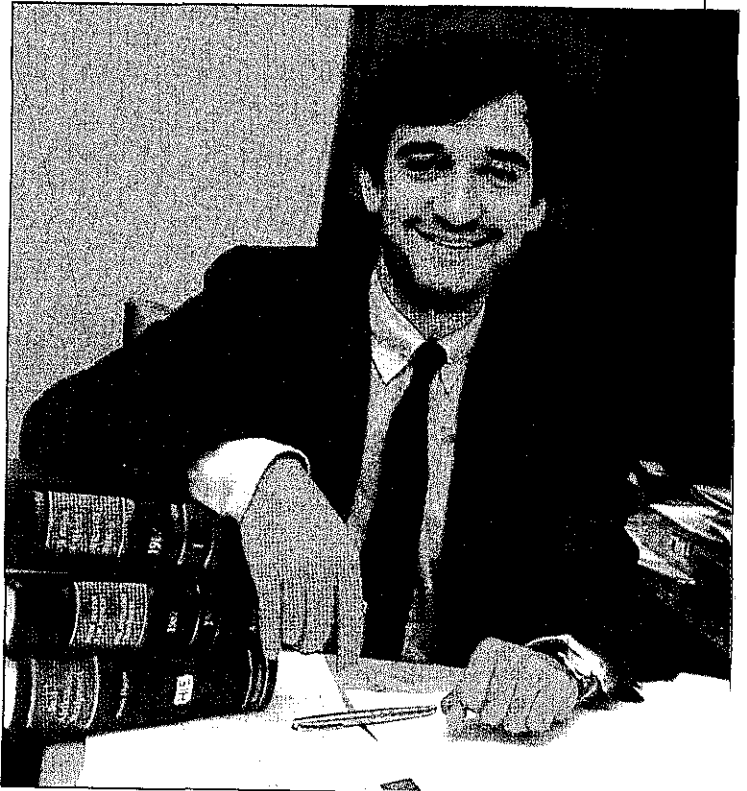
Azhar Cachalia is one of several dozen bright young lawyers in the ranks of the UDF. He was raised in the Indian Congress tradition of unswerving opposition to apartheid.

These days, about three layers of the UDF's leadership are either detained or lying low.

Cachalia (31), the organisation's national treasurer, together with co-presidents Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede, is one of the few people called on to make statements on UDF policy — which he does with charm and eloquence.

Since the government clampdown, which has undoubtedly affected UDF mobilisation, he explains, the organisation has been forced

11A



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COMMENT

(12)

All eyes on Samcor

THE fuss over the \$61m payment by Ford to Samcor to help the car company pay off its debts, as part of Ford's disinvestment package, has brought with it a number of insights.

On the lowest level, it has yet again illustrated the misdirection and often downright foolishness of the disinvestment lobby in the US. In particular, Congressmen Howard Wolpe and William Gray and Senator Paul Simon have emerged poorly from the event.

From their public statements during their campaign to block the transfer of the money to SA, it is perfectly clear they are completely out of touch with those in SA whose interests they claim to represent. In particular, they were obviously unaware that the transfer had been discussed with Numsa and that the union had sensibly decided not to oppose it.

Gray, Wolpe and Co have given notice that their first interest is garnering votes on the home front, rather than any real concern for the victims of apartheid. This was entirely consistent with the fact that had they succeeded in blocking the \$61m, thousands of jobs at Samcor would have been in jeopardy. In addition, the far-reaching trust schemes to benefit the wider worker community, set up as part of the Ford deal, would have been wrecked.

So long as they're making the headlines, the sanctions lobby couldn't care less. But enough about them, because far more

significant than the pipings of the spoilers has been the approach of the SA unions — and the question of what they will do in the future with the power the Ford deal has placed in their hands.

We have more faith in the free enterprise system than does Numsa. Nevertheless, in its own terms, Numsa has hardly put a foot wrong. It has hammered out an extremely creative agreement which has saved 4 600 workers from unemployment and could bring significant improvements to the quality of life in their communities. Dividends accruing to the employee trust which now controls a 24% equity interest in Samcor will be used for community welfare and development, on top of which Ford is to establish two additional community trusts.

With Anglo controlling the remaining 76% of the equity, the stage is set for the first working partnership between unions and management in running a major corporation. It is thus a key test of whether there is any possibility of productive co-existence between socialist-inclined unionism and enlightened capitalism in SA — without which the future is indeed bleak.

Many eyes will be watching — from other unions, from business and from government — because what has been started at Samcor could set a new course for business in a changing society for years to come.

What a pity this significance has passed by the Washington sanctioneers.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PEACE TALKS

Peace talks between Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha have ground to a halt after a bitter clash during their latest meeting in Maritzburg.

Delegates seeking an end to the violence in the city's black townships clashed over a magazine called *Inqaba ya Basebenzi* ("The Workers' Silo") which Inkatha brought to the meeting.

Published by the Marxist Workers' Tendency, a hard-Left faction recently expelled from the ANC, the magazine dealt with violence as a political strategy. Inkatha insisted that both the UDF and Cosatu should publicly repudiate the magazine.

UDF and Cosatu representatives evidently did so during the meeting, but

refused to do so publicly on the grounds that neither organisation had anything to do with the magazine. After about three hours of fruitless argument, the meeting broke up. No date was set for further talks.

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which is acting as peace broker, will now try to get things going again, according to manager Paul van Uytrecht. Both parties remained anxious to pursue talks, he said, but each appeared to be waiting for the other to make the first move.

On the eve of last week's talks, seven more murders were reported, including that of a 67-year-old man who was stabbed 129 times.

11A

LET MY PEOPLE GO

11B

Transkei's new Prime Minister, Stella Sigcau, went to Cape Town last week to call for the release from prison of fellow Transkeian Nelson Mandela.

In a way it was a pity that Sigcau had to waste her first public speaking engagement (at Cape Town's press club) outside Transkei since her election as PM, by appealing for something which is now probably further from government's collective mind than at any time since State President P W Botha last year offered to release Mandela.

Sigcau said she believed Govan Mbeki's release paved the way for Mandela's freedom. But only two days later Mbeki was effectively back behind bars; restricted to the Port Elizabeth district and banned from giving media interviews.

Action against Mbeki was not unexpected (*Current affairs* December 4), but effectively puts government back to

square one in the Mandela release game. (Ironically, there are still some foreign governments who believe sanctions have put such pressure on Pretoria that Mandela will be released by Christmas. This line was put with conviction by a senior Canadian official to a visiting PFP MP during recent talks in Ottawa.)

The chances of Mandela seeing the outside of Pollsmoor prison as a free man in the foreseeable future are now virtually nil. This is not to say that Sigcau's appeal on Mandela was invalid. She used the issue to illustrate the need for wide-ranging negotiations (including the "independent" homelands) to solve SA's problems. Only in this way has a democratic alternative any chance of survival.

She says Transkei is willing to become part of a federation if such a system is deemed most suitable for a future, non-racial SA.

PM 18/12/87

(11A)

Embassy stunned by response to ANC ad

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — The South African Embassy here said it has been overwhelmed by the response to its R230 000 campaign to discredit the ANC.

The embassy placed advertisements containing selected extracts of statements by the ANC President Oliver Tambo, external affairs director Johnny Makatini and Winnie Mandela on violence.

It asked people to write in for more information on "the true nature of the ANC" and the "real situation in South Africa".

The press attaché, Mr Aubrey Dwyer, said that between 1 300 and 1 500 people had written in so far.

Of these only nine

were negative. Typical of comments attached to these were statements like "white bastards go home".

Mr Dwyer said the majority of people had simply asked for additional information, but about 50 had written letters.

These included one from a member of a British parachute regiment who wrote asking if he could join the SADF to fight against the ANC.

Another correspondent, Mr Dwyer said, has written that he was "very pleased British people would have the opportunity, if they wished, to know the true facts instead of having to accept the biased in-

formation put out by the media".

Mr Dwyer said the response was "a lesson to us that people want to know about South Africa from sources other than the normal sources. I would certainly like to see us doing it again".

He said the advertising department of the Guardian newspaper, had contacted him asking if the embassy would place it in their paper. He had received permission from Pretoria, but the editor of the Guardian had refused to carry it.

Meanwhile the Independent newspaper yesterday carried an advertisement containing

the names of more than 1 000 people pledging support for the ANC.

Similar advertisements had previously been carried in the Guardian and the Observer newspapers.

The ANC advertisement asks people to add their names to the list of supporters. A spokesman said the response had been very good.

But since the list was first published only nine extra names — including Labour MP Paul Boateng; Liberal peer Lord Avebury; Labour peer Lord Gifford; and musicians Peter Gabriel and Pete Townsend — have been added.

5 killed

in Natal

weekend

stabblings

PRETORIA. — A spate of stabblings in the Maritzburg area were reported at the weekend by police.

About 200 people have been killed in the violence between Inkatha and the UDF in Maritzburg's townships in recent months.

At Sinateng at the weekend, a 40-year-old man was killed by a group who attacked him with a knife.

A 59-year-old man was stabbed to death and his wife seriously hurt when attacked by a group in Edenvale.

Another man was stabbed to death by a crowd at Henly Dam.

The body of a man with knife wounds was found at Willow Fountain.

An 18-year-old man was stabbed to death at Mpumalanga.

A policeman is in a serious condition after being stabbed in KwaDebeka.

Other incidents reported were the dispersal of an illegal gathering at Slangspruit, also in the Maritzburg area, at which three men were arrested, and the setting alight of a vehicle.

Meanwhile, the next round of the Maritzburg peace talks is expected to take place early in the New Year, according to the chairman of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Paul van Uytrecht. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Azapo fires salvos to the left and right

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, white liberal groups and Freedom Charter adherents came under fire yesterday when the eighth Azapo annual congress opened in Soweto at the weekend.

The attacks came in a hard-hitting address by Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala at the Orlando East YMCA hall before hundreds of delegates.

Groups that specifically came under attack were the National Democratic Movement and the Five Freedoms Forum.

"The NDM and the FFF are today the official organizational expression of white democratic liberalism," said Mr Molala. "Their role is to secure a place for liberalism in a future state and to agitate for the protection of minority rights."

He said this explained their close relationship with the Charterists as the Charter guarantees this protection.

"Any objective analysis of this protection of minority rights leads to the inescapable conclusion of defence of white people's standard of living, life style, and, most importantly, the protection of his property," said Mr Molala. "No revolutionary activist who has the interest of the oppressed masses languishing in abject poverty at heart, will ever agree with this arrangement."

The government was slated for assisting Unita in Angola and MNR in Mozambique.

Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, who led a group of leading Afrikaners to West Africa's Dakar for a meeting with the ANC earlier this year, also came in for criticism.

"All the Dakar conference has done is to sanction and endorse white liberalism, its rabid opposition to socialist forces notwithstanding," said Mr Molala.

— Sapa

FREEDOM CHARTER ACTS AGAINST UNITY SAYS NACTU PRESIDENT

1 000 told Charter is divisive

*Sanctions
21/12/87*

11A

THE introduction and adoption of the Freedom Charter by parts of the black labour movement was a divisive move planned by people who were against working class unity, the president of the National Council of Trade Unions, Mr James Mndaweni, said at the weekend.

Addressing over 1000 delegates attending the eighth annual congress of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) at the DOCC Hall in Soweto, Mr Mndaweni said the strife tearing at unions like the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa), vindicated the assertion that the forces behind the adoption of the charter by unions were "against our unity, our struggle and against our liberation."

Campaign

Mr Mndaweni lashed out at the SABC, saying the corporation was involved in a deculturation campaign of the black community through its radio and television programmes. "They want us to forget who we are and where we come from. They are trying to make us accept white values in order to protect capitalism from the socialist demands of the working class," he said.

He said the black community had to jealously guard against these influences in order to protect "the revolution". It was for this reason, Mr Mndaweni

By MATHATHA TSEDU

added, that Nactu believed that the black working class had to lead the labour movement and the overall struggle for freedom as they were the ones who experienced daily oppression and exploitation.

Mr Mndaweni said the federation's total support for the sanctions campaign against the South African government had resulted in people losing their jobs. "To make sure our people do not suffer, Nactu is engaged in setting up co-operatives in our communities so that those affected by the sanctions campaign can get work," he added.

Turning to Nactu's relations with externally based liberation movements, Mr Mndaweni said the federation maintained a non partisan political stand. He said a delegation had held formal and fruitful discussions with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), while an informal meeting had also been held with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). "Preparations for a formal meeting with the BCMA are under way", he added. He said no formal meeting had taken place with the African National Congress (ANC) since the formation of Nactu last year.

Azapo takes new direction

THE politics of resistance which were adopted by the Azanian Peoples Organisation for the past 10 years are to give way to major drive against the forces of oppression and exploitation, the organisation's president, Mr Nkosi Molala, said at the weekend.

Addressing over 1 000 delegates and observers at the close of the organisation's two-day annual national congress which ended at the Patidar Hall, Lenasia, Mr Molala said the resistance phase had to be "qualitatively changed into an offensive in which we will take a step forward to consolidate gains of the struggle so far".

Struggle

He said what had happened must be seen as a curtain-raiser for the true struggle for a socialist transformation of this country.

Mr Molala said his organisation stood on the threshold of an exciting and trying period when fatal blows against apartheid would be delivered.

Mr Molala spoke shortly after being re-elected as president. The

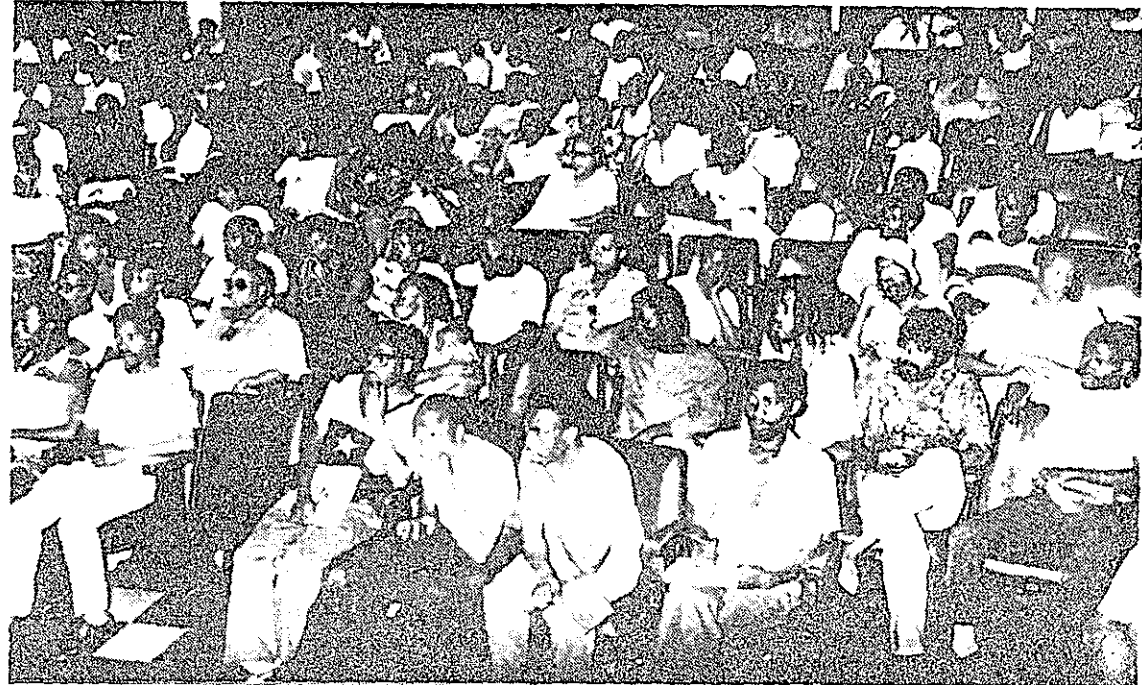
By
**MATHATHA
TSEDU**

national executive remained largely unchanged but new faces were added. The committee is: Lybon Mabasa, deputy president, Haroun Patel, general secretary; Mandla Montsweni, vice-president (Tvl); Molathegi Tlhale, Vice-president, political; Ms Nomonde Japhta, vice-president, financial; Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary; Charles Maditsela, national organiser; Makunte Hlapolosa, project co-ordinator; and Fundile Mafongosi, Cape vice-president.

Far-reaching resolutions were adopted at the lively congress where

freedom songs, slogans and praises for the leadership of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and other black consciousness formations were chanted. The theme of the congress was "10 years of resistance — consolidate for a socialist Azania".

On the internicine political violence in Natal, the congress was told that Press reports that only members of the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha were dying in the feud, were wrong. Delegates from the Pietermaritzburg area told of a concerted campaign by the other organisation against black consciousness activists. More than six Azapo members had already died, it was disclosed.



DELEGATES and observers at the Azapo congress.

The congress resolved to establish a solidarity

fund to offer relief and legal defence aid to

affected members. It was further decided that all

avenues to bring peace to the area be utilised.

SABC calls for open talks

AS the Catholic Church throughout the world prepares to celebrate the world day of peace on January 1, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference reiterates its deploring of all forms of violence, whether institutional or retaliatory.

Released yesterday the SACBC said it also continues to call for open, unconditional negotiations between the SA Government and major black leaders as the only way to avoid the escalation of violence and open revolution.

"Any Government call for negotiations must have credibility also with black South Africans. This cannot

be achieved if their organisations are banned and their leaders imprisoned.

"Therefore the release of Mr Govan Mbeki caused a cautious stirring of hope in the hearts of many South Africans.

"Unfortunately any slight hope there may have been has been dealt a shattering blow by the recent government restrictions imposed on Mr Mbeki. These restrictions are such that they appear as calculated to smother any public manifestation of support for Mr Mbeki as a major black leader, and to silence him lest he publicly proclaim the frustration and feelings of so many

black people.

"Does the Government wish to destroy totally its credibility with the black majority? We fear that the time will come when a sincere call to open and unconditional negotiations will fall on deaf and cynical ears.

"As ministers of the gospel, with confidence in Christ's power to heal all wounds and to calm all fears, we desperately appeal again for a creative, humane and Christian effort to conclude a just and peaceful settlement in our land," the SACBC statement said. — Sapa.

'Sharpeville Six': US adds voice to appeals

ARCUS 22/12 87 (114) DE

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A further appeal has been made to the government to commute the death sentences on the "Sharpeville Six", this time by the United States.

In a statement yesterday, the United States — through its embassy in Pretoria — joined several European leaders and other organisations in appealing for clemency for the six men who were sentenced to death on December 13, 1985.

The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein earlier this month turned down the appeals of Mofale Reginald Sefatsa, Reid Malebo Mokoena, Oupa Moses Diniso, Theresa Ramashamola, Duma Joshua Khumalo and Francis Don Mokgetsi against death sentences passed for the murder of Lekoa town councillor and deputy mayor, Mr Kuzwayo Jacob Dlamini.

Mr Dlamini was killed as he fled from his house after it had been set alight by a mob on September 3, 1984. The six accused were sentenced to death by Mr Acting Justice W J Human in the Transvaal Supreme Court.

The embassy said: "We believe that carrying out the sentences would further weaken efforts towards reconciliation and set back attempts to negotiate over the political future of the South Africa, a process which we support and encourage."

"Compassion"

"We consequently hope that the South African Government will respond to the clemency appeal with compassion."

Other people, governments and institutions which have urged the State President to commute the sentences include Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the European Community, the Israeli Government, and individual members of Amnesty International in the United States and West Germany.

The South African Government has so far not reacted to the clemency appeals.

11A

Interview
23/12/82

Xmas message

THE Government's imposition of restrictions on released ANC prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki was a clear message that there had been no intention to allow him or other recognised leaders to participate in the solution of the country's problems, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday.

In his Christmas message he said the only conclusion that could be drawn was that the Government wanted Mr Mbeki to "retire within an apartheid system without questioning it."

"It is a well known fact

that having incarcerated the people's leaders for life, the regime is thrown into a state of panic when it contemplates what would happen if the people's leaders were to die in their hands."

It was also clear that should Nelson Mandela be released, he would be expected to disappear into oblivion rather than become part of the solution to the problems of the country.

He said it was obvious that the intention of the Government was never to negotiate with the leaders of the "oppressed masses" but to "remove, eliminate, silence or isolate" the true leaders.

11A

Azapo: the years ahead

MOLALA SPEAKS

OF THE FUTURE

POLITICAL practice of the nature that South Africa had in the last two years has been driven more by an uninformed, uneducated confidence that originates from the belief that this country is just about to fall.

This emerged in an interview with the re-elected president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, on Tuesday. He was speaking on the struggle that his organisation was facing in the years ahead which, he said, cannot be divorced from the years past — because it is the experiences of the years past that shape the years ahead.

Mr Molala said most people believe that liberation is just about to come. "But that type of attitude of belief has been shattered by a concrete reality — a concret reality which has proven that liberation will not come because people say it has come. Liberation has to be worked for," he said.

He said liberation in Azapo's context is a protracted process. It is a process that is going to take a very long time.

Mr Molala said: "The struggle for change is a protracted struggle. Liberation is not just around the corner because the present regime and the security forces are all powerful and have not been dented. Those instruments are still able to move about in our townships. They are still protecting some of their minions in our townships. The time has not come for them to protect those areas that are crucial and those areas that are crucial are not in black townships.

So that it is against that background that one has to look at the years to come. The years to come therefore contain in them the potential for change of a qualitative nature in

other organisations have opted for the struggle and believes these were placed in this position by the régime. Mr Molala said in the 10 years since its re-emergence, the black consciousness movement



MR NKOSI Molala (right), re-elected president of the Azanian People's Organisation, with a senior member of the organisation and strong black consciousness adherent, Mr George Wauchope (left) listen attentively during congress. Mr Molala has a strong belief that the black people's struggle for liberation in this country will be a protracted one and can only be achieved by a disciplined form of approach.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

according to Mr Molala. He said most of the people to whom international bodies send money belong to a particular political tendency. These are the very people who have to decide how the money is distributed and

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the approach to the struggle. In the approach to the struggle basically as a result of the realisation on the part of our people.

"We believe the realisation will compel our people to reassess their strategies in the struggle and once that happens we believe a qualitative new approach will evolve. We need to move away from anarchy and into a more disciplined form of approach."

He said Azapo also believes that change cannot come in one single way or approach, but that there should be a multi-faceted approach. It believes that pressure must be mounted and brought to bear on the Government by forces of opposition in a variety of ways. Azapo also understands why

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has had to contend with fierce and rabid opposition.

The first was of verbal and theoretical nature and when this failed, it was physical extirpation. The present form has assumed the form of financial strangulation.

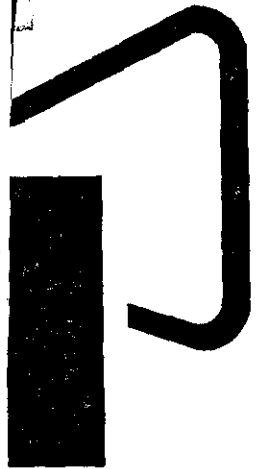
He said the whole spectrum of institutions that receive and distribute money for relief and for programmes to aid victims of apartheid has decided that the black consciousness adherents are not victims of the apartheid system and therefore do not qualify to benefit from such relief.

The organisation is presently surviving on subscriptions from members and donations from black business people,

it is under these conditions that requests from the black consciousness movement for relief and projects are considered.

He was, however, optimistic that in a very short spell of its existence, Azapo has succeeded in placing socialism on the agenda for national self-determination. The challenge for the future, he believed, remains in the consolidation of this achievement. The struggle will be long and arduous.

He said this success was the reason why the Azanian Manifesto was banned by the Government, because it brought socialism to the people. Azapo has not taken the banning lying down and has made legal representations in connection with the order.



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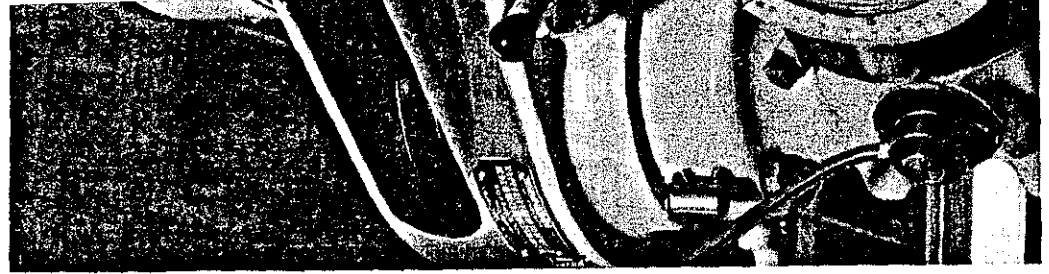
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THE Eastern Cape was the frontier of resistance last year but all that crumbled in 1987.

Over the past 12 months, resistance in the townships moved from the barricades in the streets into the courts. Small legal victories have been the only weapon against repression.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee in Johannesburg estimates that one third of all detentions under the State of Emergency have come from the Eastern Cape. This year 2 500 people from the region were detained and 500 are still being held, most of them from the United Democratic Front.

Vigilantes, municipal police and *kitskonstabels* (special constables) have replaced the South African Defence Force.

The state's new strategy has succeeded in dividing and confusing people, says Andile Sindelo, general secretary of the Eastern Cape Youth Congress, a branch of the South African Youth Congress.

This year's detentions, harassment and intimidation have crushed the youth movements, he said. The majority of Ecayco's regional executive was detained this year, including the president, Monde Mtanga, two weeks ago. Of the 57 youth congresses in the Eastern Cape, few are operating. An attempt has been made to revive these organisations but "people can't work effectively under the State of Emergency", Sindelo said.

In the arena of education, the effect of the Emergency has had similar results.

The frontier of resistance reels under the iron fist

No area of the country has been harder hit by detentions, the policing of *kitskonstabels* and by vigilante attacks. EDYTI BULBRING reports



Chris Heunis

Khaya Matiso, secretary of the Eastern Cape Education Crisis Committee, says most of the local branches of the committee have been crushed. And few SRCs or Parent Teacher Student Associations have survived.

"Any struggle must have a disciplined leadership to give direction. If they are detained then it presents problems and weaknesses," he said.

Alternative government structures like street and area committees have suffered the same fate as the education and youth organisations. In Uitenhage the committees are a thing of the past as the Emergency has made it impossible for people to meet. Vigilante action and municipal police harassment has divided the community.

At the beginning of 1986 only 18 of the 45 town councils under the then East Cape Development Board were still functioning. In all, 173 council-

lors quit in the wake of widespread and often violent opposition to participation in structures established under the Black Local Authorities Act.

But, up until November this year, only five councils in the region were still not functioning.

In three of these — KwaNobuhle in Uitenhage, Ilngelihle in Cradock and Umasizakhe in Graaf Reinet — administrators have been appointed to carry out the functions of the local authorities. In the Port Alfred and Queenstown townships there are no administrators.

There are 429 municipal policemen, or "greenflies", operating in 19 Eastern Cape towns, according to Minister of Constitution and Development Planning Chris Heunis.

According to repression monitoring groups in the Eastern Cape, the number of complaints received from

township residents concerning the SADF and the South African Police, so prevalent in 1985 and 1986, has dropped off considerably.

The monitoring groups have cited daily complaints of assault and intimidation by the municipal police, however, especially in Janseville, Patensic and Adelaide.

It appears that the army and police have been moved into a supervisory role and that much of the immediate responsibility for controlling the townships and crushing anti-government organisations has devolved onto the municipal police and local authorities.

The collusion between vigilante groups and the municipal police is evident in Uitenhage's township where clashes between the residents and the Ama-Afrika vigilante group and "greenflies" has led to the death of over 20 people.

The reasons given by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok for the majority of detentions in the Eastern Cape have been related to membership of street and area committees and UDF affiliation, according to the Human Rights Trust in Port Elizabeth.

The second largest category was related to alleged involvement in people's courts.

In spite of the destruction of organisations and structures in the Eastern Cape there is still a spirit of defiance.

The Eastern Cape Youth Congress is launching the "Isolate the Enemy Campaign" — the enemy being the municipal police and *kitskonstabels*.

The Education Crisis Committee is concentrating on reviving structures and disseminating educational papers among members.

And there is a mute opposition to and lack of recognition of local authorities by township residents.

Last month the rally to be addressed by released ANC leader Govan Mbeki was banned.

But his overwhelming reception in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township indicates that although the Eastern Cape organisations are largely crushed and leaderless, there is resistance to state repression. — Pen

POLITICS

YEAR IN REVIEW

FROM 1984 to 1986, no sector involved in resistance in South Africa received as much attention as the youth — variously dubbed the “comrades”, “young lions”, “shock troops of the rebellion” and “*abosiyayinyova*”.

The youth were the most visible, volatile and militant expression of the anti-apartheid struggle, striking hope and fear in the hearts of a variety of South Africans who recognised them as a new and irrepressible generation.

Now, at the end of 1987, people already speak of that period as “the time of the comrades”. By implication, it is a time that has passed.

On the most obvious level, this is true. A lengthy, grinding Emergency has seen to it that the “comrades” are no longer the force on the township streets they once were. But it would be a foolish observer indeed who concluded that this heralded the end of the contribution of the youth to the resistance movements.

This year has seen youth organisations — which embrace students, pupils, young workers, the unemployed and professionals — begin to dust themselves off after a severe beating. In the process, new structures and modes of operation have been experimented with, consolidated where possible, and discarded where proved unworkable. Expectations have also been adapted as the scale of the state offensive has become painfully clear.

Nonetheless, “the youth” are poised to play a critical role in the coming year.

The dominant network of youth organisations is firmly allied to the Freedom Charter and the United Democratic Front.

Three constituencies are identified, each addressed by a separate national structure.

By far the largest is the South African Youth Congress, launched earlier this year to provide a home for practically any young people choosing to take part in political activity. Sayco's base is in the townships: it has 10 regional affiliates and a claimed membership in excess of half a million.

It is the largest affiliate of the UDF, and the biggest youth group of its kind in South African history.

Students at tertiary institutions are

Where have all the Comrades gone? To congresses, (almost) every one

The comrades are no longer the force on the township streets they used to be. But it would be a foolish observer indeed who dismissed their importance. SHAUN JOHNSON and VUSI GUNENE report

served by the South African National Students Congress (formerly Azaso). Sansco, with 82 branches, works in close alliance with the National Union of South African Students, which caters for white students. As neither group keeps membership lists, it is difficult to estimate the extent of their support, but it is likely to run into many thousands.

Pupils who were represented by the banned Congress of South African Students now feed their localised structures into the National Students Co-ordinating Committee. Nascoc draws support from the majority of black schools in the country.

This organisational triumvirate ensures a specialised structure dedicated to the needs of all youngsters.

Sayco, Sansco and Nascoc share

similar frameworks. Each relies on a country-wide web of local affiliates. These can take the form, for example, of a township youth or student congress, a campus branch or a school's student representative council. Local affiliates elect representatives to regional levels, which in turn report to the national structure. In all cases, the annual congress of the national body is the supreme authority.

Despite a level of repression so intense it has driven the leaders of these national structures “semi-underground”, ruled out open mobilisation and organisation, and seen the detention of hundreds of key activists, the three bodies have succeeded in maintaining — and in many cases reviving — local branches, as well as participating in several high-profile resistance campaigns. Most have managed

to convene congresses-in-hiding to ensure national co-ordination.

Issues which received particular attention from the youth in 1987 included:

- The “Living Wage” campaign, spearheaded by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the “Hands off Cosatu” campaign

- An appeal for clemency for 32 youth activists facing execution

- The popularisation of the Freedom Charter and the call for the release of political prisoners

- The organisation of the unemployed into trade unions

- Resistance to “homeland” authorities, particularly in KwaNdebele and Bophuthatswana

- Support for striking workers

- Continuing efforts to have Cosas



Leading the youth movement ... Peter Mokaba and Ephraim Nkwe of the South African Youth Congress

unbanned, and the promotion of an Education Charter

- The fight against inferior education, security force presence at educational institutions, and opposition to the closure of schools

- A specific campaign against the “De Klerk Bills” which restrict political activity on campuses by tying state subsidies to “acceptable” student behaviour.

A notable feature of youth activism in 1987 was the increased level of co-operation and consultation with “adult” bodies — whether these were within the trade union movement, or localised affiliates of the UDF. At the height of “insurrectionary” activity in 1984-86, fears had been expressed that youth militancy was losing its direction. This was not considered a problem in the past year.

Unity between pupils and parents, for instance, was heightened in the face of state action which saw the executive of the National Education Crisis Committee suffering as much as youth leaders. For many, youth politics had matured, perhaps as a result of the state clampdown.

The exigencies of the Emergency forcibly enrolled youthful activists in a new and more serious school of politics, in which precipitous initiatives were few and far between.

While it is unlikely, in terms of raw numbers, that youth organisations were able to sustain the active participation of the millions of youngsters who had been drawn into their structures in 1984-86, those that did persist were of a qualitatively higher level of political sophistication. In terms of the acceptance within the popular movements that the “struggle” will be hard-fought and drawn-out these matured activists are certain to provide future political leadership.

In terms of numbers and visible action, the “charterist” youth are in a position of leadership within the resistance scenario. However, other structures espousing different forms of the black consciousness philosophy continue to operate.

Most important of these are the fledgling Azanian Youth Organisation and the longer-established Azanian Students Movement. Both endorsed the now-banned Azanian People's Manifesto of 1983, which they saw

YEAR IN REVIEW

YEAR OF THE LOST NERVE

HISTORIANS of the future may record 1987 as the year when the government took a few hesitant steps on a new path, only to lose its nerve and hastily stumble back into the laager.

The release from jail of the African National Congress stalwart, Govan Mbeki, in early November precipitated hopes that the government had embarked on an innovative policy which could lead to a lasting political settlement.

The rules for the freeing of political prisoners had been rewritten in August to facilitate the release of Mbeki — and, by implication, his co-political prisoners — without extracting a formal renunciation of violence or "armed struggle", a condition which most of the best-known prisoners refused to fulfil in the absence of a matching undertaking by President PW Botha.

The freeing of Mbeki, aged 77, was seen by diplomats and analysts as the first instalment in a phased programme which would culminate in emergence from jail of the almost legendary Nelson Mandela, provided that it did not reactivate the quiescent townships or cause too much disquiet in the white community.

Mbeki, who made no secret of his continued commitment to both the ANC and the South African Communist Party, was initially allowed to move from one locality to another and permitted to speak to whomever he liked. The logical inference was that the government was actually reconciled to the *de facto* lifting of the ban on the ANC, provided its newly-freed leaders did not abuse the position by inciting crowds to unlawful action.

One motive was to persuade the Inkatha president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to serve on the proposed National Council. Another may have been to draw the ANC into *de facto* negotiations and thus to open up a whole range of possibilities.

A third may have been to demythologise the jailed ANC leaders who, locked behind bars for more than two decades, had, in the minds of many blacks, assumed the proportions of supermen.

These interpretations were encouraged, in greater or smaller measure, directly or indirectly, by several government men: Stoffel van der Merwe, Botha's affable lieutenant who had been mandated to help achieve a political settlement with blacks; Kobie Coetsee, the minister of prisons, who is reluctant to have Mandela die in jail; and ambassador Piet Koornhof in Washington, anxious as ever to put the most positive glow possible on government policies.

But, of course, it all came to naught. In rapid succession, police banned a planned Mbeki rally in Port Elizabeth after magisterial permission to hold it had been granted; influenced a magistrate in Cape Town

There were rare moments when the government appeared to be taking reform seriously, but the lasting impression was of a floundering leadership which had lost its way and fallen back on that tried and tested weapon: the iron fist.

PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the year in politics



Hard men. The government's public image was best symbolised by the hawkish Magnus Malan and PW Botha

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

to refuse permission to hold a rally there; and, finally, served orders on Mbeki, restricting him to Port Elizabeth and prohibiting him from talking to journalists.

The official reason for the retreat into the laager was that Mbeki had allowed himself to be used by the ANC instead of fading quietly into obscurity. "We have only had pain," complained law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok. It is unclear, however, why anyone thought Mbeki would retire gracefully. His whole life has marked him as an improbable candidate for trading his political convictions for peaceful anonymity.

There are two more likely reasons for the government's reversion to the old policy of restriction and containment: fears that Mbeki, by attracting huge crowds — the police report to the Cape Town magistrate spoke of an anticipated crowd of 100 000 — would add to the reputation of the ANC as a political force; anxiety over a flood of letters from irate white *verkramptes* complaining about the release of Mbeki and kindling fears of Conservative Party advances in next year's municipal elections.

Government concern over the CP was not assuaged by the general election of May 6, another hallmark of 1987.

The election results have been debated vigorously, with the victory of the ruling NP, which won 123 seats, being portrayed by some analysts as a move to the right and by others as a shift to the left. But whatever the

subtleties of the argument over the NP, one conclusion was incontestable: the CP proved it was a viable and enduring force, winning 22 seats, virtually eliminating the rival Herstigte Nasionale Party and ousting the Progressive Federal Party as the official opposition.

More important than the CP's tally of seats was its percentage of the vote: 26,37 or more than half of the 52,45 recorded by the NP. As significant, it probably won as many African votes as did the NP.

It is against that background that the government's backtracking on the policy it started with the freeing of Mbeki should be seen. By inhibiting the NP, the CP cast a long shadow over the broader South African political arena in 1987.

The release of Mbeki apart, the year saw no major reform initiative. There was nothing to match the reforms of last year: the abolition of the major influx control laws and the partial restoration of South African citizenship to blacks deprived of it when the TBVC "states" (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) were granted independence.

Movement away from the Group Areas Act was minimal, with Botha re-affirming the government's commitment to the general principle of residential segregation. The bedrock of old-style apartheid, the Population Registration Act, remained inviolate.

The proposed National Council, the forum designed to serve as a crucible where a new constitutional deal for all

South Africans will be hammered out, was not established, largely because of the government's continued failure to persuade credible black leaders to serve on it. Mbeki's release was part of a gambit calculated to induce Buthelezi into the council. The abandonment of that strategy did not augur well for the National Council.

The year saw a further increase in the power of the South African Defence Force, with its political boss, Magnus Malan, emerging as a contender to succeed Botha as president. Malan made several tough-minded speeches, warning a quartet of Southern African leaders — Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Eduardo dos Santos of Angola — of the dire consequences of supporting the ANC.

Toward the end of the year Malan's warning took concrete form when South African soldiers crossed the border into Angola. Their objective was to help Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels repel an attack by Angolan government forces.

They succeeded in doing that. But they did not capture the important Angolan fortress and air base of Cuito Cuanavale, leaving Angolan Fapla troops, supported by their Cuban allies, free to launch another drive against Unita next year.

The war in Angola may hoist Malan to further prominence and thus strengthen his hopes of becoming South Africa's second president. But if there are too many casualties it may

damage Malan politically. The latest forays cost the lives of 25 young South Africans. The tally does not take account of reported losses by the largely black 32 Battalion. Further intervention may be even more costly.

Summing up the position, the London-based publication, *Africa Confidential*, and cited by "Malan's press" is that increasingly his boys are returning from conflict zones in Angola or plastic bag.

One development overlooked would be on the extra-parliamentary front in 1987: the bloody struggle for dominance in the township around Diepkloof between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha and their trade union allies, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Workers Union of South Africa. Two hundred people were killed in two months and the tally was rising as 1987 drew to a close.

The immediate cause of the fighting appears to have been an Inkatha recruitment campaign: the UDF claimed Inkatha youths were press-gangging people into joining. UDF officials asserted the UDF fired a warning its membership drive.

Its underlying cause, however, was the murderous feud which started with the killing of pro-UDF students at the University of Zululand in October 1983, a few months after the establishment of the UDF in Natal.

The UDF fight for survival in Natal against Inkatha coincided with continued action against it from the state. A hefty blow was struck when Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli, the UDF's acting publicity secretary and acting national secretary, were detained. The two men had eluded police for months and helped to keep the organisation alive.

The UDF's chief rival on the extra-parliamentary terrain, the Azanian People's Organisation, was unable to recapture the central position in the black community it had held in the 1970s.

Not even the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko enabled it to reassert its primacy. On the anniversary of Biko's death, its claim to being the legitimate heir of Biko's political philosophy was contested by UDF or pro-UDF elements.

The ANC was unable to fulfil its promise to intensify the armed struggle. Its guerrillas carried out a few attacks, notably a car bomb explosion outside the Johannesburg Magistrates Court which killed four policemen. But it suffered reverses in the underground, the capture of the daring Natal guerrilla, Gordon Webster, and the conviction of its Western Cape commissar, Mxolisi Petane, being two key examples.

The year ended with the government in command of the high ground militarily. But it was still as far from a political solution as ever, with its mainline opponents battered but not crushed.

Azapo expects tough state pressure in '88

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By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE Azanian People's Organisation believes the state will shift its attention to black consciousness groups in the coming year — but the organisation still thinks it is entering a period of growth.

Speaking after Azapo's annual congress, publicity secretary Muntu Myeza told *The Weekly Mail* the most significant outcome of 1987 was that the organisation had "proved it could survive and consolidate" under conditions of clampdown.

"But the system has seen that instead of going downhill, Azapo is in the ascendancy. This will lead to a greater concentration on us," he said.

Azapo's congress — held earlier this month in Soweto and Lenasia — pinpointed rent boycotts and violence in Natal as two major issues to be addressed in 1988.

"The congress urged that all organisations outside of government platforms should involve themselves in investigating the feasibility of continuing rent boycotts," said Myeza. "We have to assess cases where the system seems to be gaining ascendancy and the tactic is becoming counter-productive."

Myeza claimed the Natal violence had been "erroneously characterised as Inkatha-United Democratic Front conflict". He alleged that "the strife has been shouldered mostly by black consciousness organisations. We have lost more than 20 cadres in the Pietermaritzburg-Mpumalanga area."

He said peace talks "cannot succeed unless the black consciousness organisations are involved. This will be a priority for us next year."

Asked about relations between Azapo and the UDF, Myeza said his organisation had endorsed an "open-door policy" toward other anti-collaborationist organisations.

The Azapo congress was attended by some 1 000 delegates, representing a claimed membership of "25 000 at the very least". The theme for 1988 is "10 years of resistance — consolidate for a socialist Azania".

"What we mean by this," said Myeza, "is that over the past 10 years our people and organisations have been involved in actions. Now we need to give them content."

He said Azapo's infrastructure was being consolidated and its "ideological position was still undergoing growth".

Asked if he foresaw an end to the State of Emergency, Myeza said the Emergency was "irrelevant" to his organisation. "We have never regarded it as an issue, because black people contend that they have always operated under a State of Emergency."

Natal holiday violence: 19 dead, 15 hurt

CAPE TOWN 28/12/87
(114) (273)

FACTION-FIGHTING and unrest in Natal claimed 19 lives and 15 more were seriously injured over the three-day Christmas holiday weekend.

As the violence in the province — particularly in the Maritzburg area — continued, the head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday made his first public statement on the issue since meetings Inkatha and United Democratic Front leaders in Durban on November 6.

Criticizing the fact that fighting was continuing during peace talks and that "aggressive verbal political attacks continue to be directed at rivals", he called on political leaders to make "an explicit and unequivocal call on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith".

Archbishop Tutu said he was "deeply concerned that we are entering 1988 with no definite prospect of an end to the dreadful maiming and slaughter of people" in the Maritzburg area.

His statement came amid reports that 10 men were killed and another injured in fighting between members of the Thulini and Ngotshi factions in the Kranskop area near Greytown on Saturday afternoon.

Further details of the clash were not available.

Seven people were killed and seven others injured in unrest in the Maritzburg area, police reported.

At Molweni near Durban two men were killed and seven other people were injured in fighting between families and friends of a murder victim and those of the alleged killer. Twenty-two houses and a car were set alight in the fighting.

At least 250 people have died this year in political feuding in the region between the Zulu Inkatha movement and the United Democratic Front.

Both organizations are seeking political control in the area. — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa

AT YOUR SERVICE Photo 1/1/88

Tutu calls for 'ceasefire' in Maritzburg

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu of Cape Town has responded to continuing violence in the Maritzburg area by calling on political leaders to make "an explicit and unequivocal call on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith".

In his first public statement on the violence since meetings with Inkatha and United Democratic Front leaders in Durban on November 6, Archbishop Tutu criticised the fact that fighting was continuing during peace talks and that "aggressive verbal political attacks continue to be directed at rivals".

"Carnage must stop"

"The shocking carnage in Maritzburg has to stop. The absolute minimum condition necessary as we enter 1988 is an immediate 'ceasefire', a complete suspension of all violence while the peace talks are under way.

"The first step towards achieving this would be for all political leaders

to make an explicit and unequivocal call on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith and for all involved in the peace process to avoid saying or doing anything which could prejudice the talks."

Archbishop Tutu said he did not want to cut across peace efforts being made by others but remained willing to play whatever role might be necessary in searching for a solution to the violence.

"Revenge killings"

"Our church's Synod of Bishops has acknowledged that no lasting peace can be achieved unless the roots of the violence are first addressed.

"However, allowing fighting to continue during peace talks inflames passions and opens up the prospect of violence feeding on itself in a ghastly spiral of unending revenge killings.

"This will make a peace agreement much harder to reach and, if one is reached, very difficult to enforce among the warring parties on the streets." — Sapa.

Eight die in holiday violence

PRETORIA. — Eight people died in Christmas holiday violence in South African townships at the weekend — four of them in strife-torn Maritzburg, police reported.

Two men were killed and seven people were injured at Molweni, near Durban, in fighting between family and friends of a murder victim and those of the alleged killer.

Twenty-two houses were set alight in the incident.

Police said two men were killed during a clash between rival groups at Taylor's Halt, near Maritzburg.

In the same area the security forces found the body of a man with stab wounds.

A body with stab and bullet wounds was found at Mpumalanga, near Hammersdale.

Police said a man was burnt to death at Magwanyani, near Maritzburg, where more than 200 people have died in inter-group violence.

A member of the security forces shot and killed a man when he was attacked by a stone-throwing mob at his home in Kwamashu, near Durban. — Sapa.

CMB to us 28/12/87

Crucial congress for Labour starts today

Hendrickse faces dilemma

11A


Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The decision to go to the polls in 1989 or to quit tricameral politics altogether will be taken at the Labour Party's 22nd annual congress starting at Pretoria's Skilpadsaal today.

The three-day congress to be officially opened by LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse tonight is the embattled party's fourth since deciding at Eshowe in 1983 to participate in the tricameral system.

At present the LP is facing a crucial credibility crisis in the community. The party has come under increasing criticism for its image as "co-opted junior partners of the government", for being out of touch with "township politics" and for its lack of influence at grassroots level.

The party also suffered a setback with the defection of MP Mr Jack Rabie and seven others to form the United Democratic Party — an alliance of opposition



Mr Allan Hendrickse

parties in the Indian and coloured chambers of Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse yesterday declined to comment on the position of his party or major issues to be discussed at the congress. But the veteran politician is expected to announce party guidelines on critical issues such as the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act and proposed new government laws to further clarify and entrench

"own affairs" administration. The new law would come before Parliament in the new year.

Both Mr Hendrickse and the LP look back on a year of high drama. His defiant swim at the whites-only Kings Beach at Port Elizabeth in January was followed later in the year by his resignation from the cabinet, prompted by a showdown between him and President P W Botha after Mr Hendrickse intimated that his party would block National Party plans to postpone the 1989 elections to 1992.

Mr Hendrickse's dramatic resignation and his instruction to LP representatives on the President's Council not to sign the PC report on the Group Areas Act in protest against the failure of the PC to recommend the total repeal of the act have bolstered the image of the party in the community.

However, LP MPs themselves are divided, and all eyes are thus on Mr Hendrickse to see whether he holds firm on blocking the "white" House of Assembly elections.

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3 women burnt to death in attack

ORDEAL BY FIRE

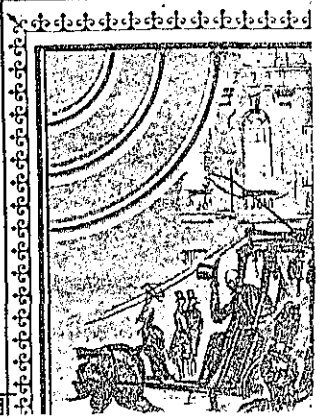
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**End of
a long,
long
road**

A CRITICALLY wounded woman who survived an attack in which three members of her family died claims that their assailants were supporters of the United Democratic Front.
The woman, who identified herself as Janet Dlamini on a video film shown by the South African Police in Pretoria yesterday, said they were attacked by more than 50 youths at their dwelling in

Henleydam, Maritzburg last Tuesday, December 22.
They were doused with petrol and set alight, she said.
A spokesman for the police public relations division yesterday said 16 people have been killed since last Thursday in the continuing violence between political organisations and Inkatha in the area.
Efforts are being made by leaders to secure an end to the confrontation that has now claimed more than 200 lives.

To Page 2



P.T.O.
→

Ordeal by fire for 3 women

← From Page 1

Writhing in pain and wearing blood-soaked clothing Mrs Dlamini was shown lying on the ground near her house.

Asked by the police who their attackers were, Mrs Dlamini replied: "The UDF."

Asked if she was a member of Inkatha, she replied: "No, but my brother is."

She continued: "They stabbed me and then poured petrol on us." The charred bodies of three of her family members who included two women were found inside the house by the police.

The film also showed the body of a 16-year-old youth who had 15 stab wounds on the body. He was identified as Zenzele Thabethe. His body was found in the bush — a few metres from the same house.

A spokesman for the police yesterday said those killed inside the house were Elsie Thabethe (37), a 16-year-old girl only known as Mabusi and a 46-year-old woman identified as Masondezi. No arrests have been made and investigations are continuing.

• No comment could be obtained from the UDF leadership yesterday as most of them are on holiday. And a spokesman for Cosatu said people responsible for such matters in their organisation were still on leave. Efforts to obtain comments from two of the presidents of the UDF also drew a blank.

The *Sowetan* was told that Mrs Albertina Sisulu was away in Cape Town.

Mr Archie Gumede was also not available for comment at the time of going to press.

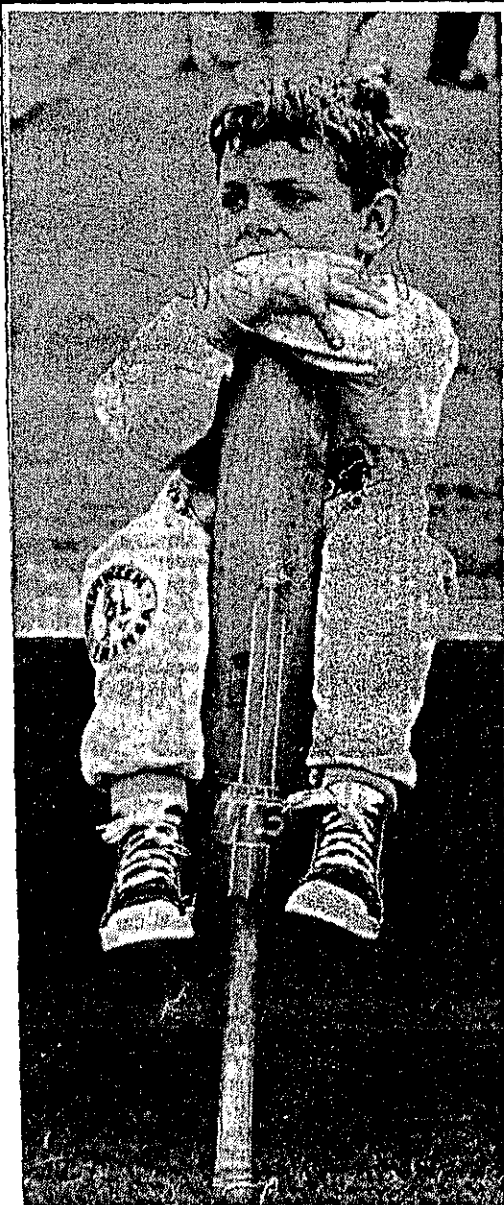
LP: ELECTION FOR WHITES IN '89 UNLESS

29/12/87
EVE POST
11A

By PATRICK CULL, Political Correspondent

PRETORIA — Whites will go to the polls in 1989 unless the Group Areas Act is repealed.

The Labour Party's 22nd annual congress today voted overwhelmingly not to support a constitutional amendment postponing white elections to 1992 unless the Group Areas Act was unconditionally repealed.



pondering over the prospect of offering his batting skills to the Eastern Province cricket team in St George's Park yesterday was SHAUN O'CONNOR, 7. See Page 3 and Back Page.

A motion proposed by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, calling for negotiations between the National Party and the Labour Party was soundly defeated. Mr Ebrahim found himself at the centre of a stormy debate when he supported the postponement of the 1989 white elections to 1992.

He was hotly repudiated by a number of other MPs.

Mr Ebrahim told the congress it was common cause that there was a deadlock not only between the National Party and the Labour Party but also their respective leaders.

He asked whether the Labour Party was going to arrive at a breaking point on the Group Areas Act when more than 16 discriminatory pieces of legislation had been removed by effective participation by the party in Parliament.

Not justified

Mr Ebrahim proposed that the leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, should take it upon himself to break the deadlock between the NP and the LP and its leaders and so advance negotiation.

The MP for Wentworth, Mr Tommy Abrahams, said there was no justification for postponing white elections unless the Group Areas Act was scrapped.

He said cool, level-headed debate had not brought an end to the Act but had instead met with more opposition from the State President, Mr P. W Botha.

The Minister of Health and Welfare Services, Mr Chris April, said he was 100% against the unconditional postponing of the elections.

"The National Party says delay the elections. We say: what will you do if we support you?"

Mr Llewellyn Landers said that "if Mr Botha wanted to postpone the elections "he must come to

us, not the other way around."

"It is not the Labour Party that has not learned the requisites of negotiation. It is rather the National Party that has as yet not learned the meaning and essence of negotiation.

"That is why we find South Africa in the situation it is today."

Council

Earlier in the congress the Labour Party gave a strong "thumbs down" to the proposed National Council unless it was expanded into what is effectively a national convention.

Mr Hendrickse said the council could not be considered as constitutional reform as long as the State President served on it, as the council would refer decisions to the Cabinet, which was also chaired by the State President.

"We must ask each other precisely what we hope to achieve from this and where it will lead," the LP leader said.

In an interview afterwards, Mr Hendrickse said the National Council concept had to be expanded and political leaders currently in jail had to be given the opportunity to participate.

At present the National Council Bill is locked in the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs with the Labour Party demanding that all political leaders, including jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, be allowed to give evidence.

Accidents keep PE's ambulances on the run

Umkhonto We Sizwe soldier Mxolisi Petane will still be in prison at the turn of the century following his conviction of terrorism and attempted murder earlier this month. But there are some who believe — including the Supreme Court judge who sentenced him — that the ANC political commissar will still play an important role in a future South Africa. ANTHONY JOHNSON reports.

Mxolisi Petane 'destined for future greatness in SA'

MR PETANE THIS 29/12/87

MXOLISI EDWARD PETANE is slated to spend the next 17 years of his life on Robben Island — but those that have got to know the ANC member remain convinced he is destined for greatness in a future South Africa.

After the Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) soldier was convicted of terrorism and attempted murder in the Supreme Court earlier this month, his counsel submitted, after evidence in mitigation was led, that the 29-year-old Capetonian was capable of contributing to a future South Africa in a manner similar to other soldier-statesmen like Jan Smuts, Louis Botha and B J Vorster.

The judge, Mr Justice H Conradie, concurred: "It is my own feeling that he is likely to do so."

68-year-old Mrs Evelyn Petane is doubtful whether she will live to see the release of her son, the youngest of six children, but nevertheless believes he "could become a great leader one day, if God spares him".

Mrs Petane remembers her son, who "disappeared from home without telling anyone" early in 1977, as a "gifted person" who was "so clever".

Because of the Guguletu schoolboy's flair for sketching and sculpture, she believed the young Mxolisi would forge a career for himself as an artist — rather than an ANC fighter and political commissar.

The 78-year-old Mr Charlton Petane, on the other hand, thought his son was headed for law school at UCT before he left the country, along with fellow matric pupils, in the wake of the 1976-77 nationwide riots.

Clearly still distraught by the turn of events, "too much went wrong when he left", Mr Petane insists that "I still love my son" and "Yes, yes... he will be a big leader when he comes out (of prison)".

Ms Sindiswa Mfobo, 30, a cousin of Mxolisi who went to school with him, at one time believed that the multi-talented youngster would end up as an engineer.

Early signs of leadership

However, now both she and her 38-year-old sister Margaret Mfofo (who shared a home with the young Mxolisi) believe that the MK deputy commander will make his mark in politics when he eventually emerges from prison after the turn of the century.

Mxolisi Petane was born in 1958 in Steenberg but his family was moved to Guguletu in terms of the Group Areas Act four years later.

He was especially bright, and his family and friends remember him during his school years as being an "ordinary", friendly child, an extrovert who loved cracking a joke.

However, he did show early signs of his leadership ability by becoming the squad leader of the Boy Scouts at the Ikhwezi Community Centre in Guguletu. He was chosen to represent his troop on a trip overseas in the early 1970s, but missed his flight.

His other passion at school — apart from schoolwork and art — was soccer.

According to his family, the convicted ANC soldier was an easy-going youth, not prone to aggression.

Mrs Petane recalls: "He was a peaceful child — not once did he fight in front of me with the others." Mr Petane: "I still remember him playing... No, he was not a fighter." A school friend: "He was not an angry person — he was always full of jokes."

Education crisis pivotal

Friends and family also insist that the young Mxolisi showed a limited or no interest in politics until 1976, when he could not sit for examinations because of countrywide protests. They were adamant that Mxolisi "never talked politics at home".

Why then does a budding intellectual, with a promising university career, leave the country to become an ANC fighter?

Mrs Petane: "I think it was Bantu Education. The education system was very bad and that made him angry."

Ms Sindiswa Mfobo also believes that the crisis in Bantu Education played a pivotal role in his decision to leave: "It was very hard for him to go further".

Petane's counsel, Mr Mike Donen, argued during evidence in mitigation that from his youth "He (Petane) was never out of an environment that said: 'We don't submit — we fight.'"

"Those circumstances and the situation in which he found himself were mitigating factors."

The reasons advanced by Petane himself for joining MK also related to

his circumstances in the conflict-ridden townships but were more complex. He told the court while giving evidence in terms of mitigation of sentence this month that he first experienced the "cruelty and tyranny of this regime" during the 1976-77 riots.

"The government exploited the concept of law and order to enforce and maintain the inferior Bantu Education. Our demands for a non-racial, free and compulsory education were depicted as lawlessness and disorder that deserved to be crushed and suppressed by hippos, teargas and live ammunition."

Saw only two choices

He said that during these "unequal skirmishes" with the police and anti-riot squads he came to realize that the conflict was not simply between black and white but between "oppressor and oppressed".

"Despite the great advantage of the regime's monopoly of military science, superior weapons and the nerve to use them against defenceless schoolchildren, the Nationalist government had proved to be the enemy of the people and incapable of governing the country in the interests of all the people."

It was during this time that Petane, a matric student at Nompulelo Secondary School in Guguletu, began reading ANC literature. He was particularly impressed by the programme contained in the Freedom Charter, which he described in court as a document which provided "a sober and objective" solution to the country's constitutional problems.

He singled out the preamble to the Charter which declares "... that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people ..."

Petane decided to join the ANC after his experiences during the riots and because of his belief that the government and its supporters were impervious to peaceful persuasion.

"I entertained no illusions about the Government committing suicide by abandoning its policies, because it's elected and put into power precisely because of its racially-biased policies. "The government must therefore be

forced by all means within our power to abandon apartheid ..."

"When I joined Umkhonto We Sizwe it was not because of my desire for violence but because the time had come in my life where I was left with only two choices — to submit or to fight apartheid."

Petane eventually left South Africa with a group of fellow students to join the ANC in Botswana early in 1977. He received general training in guerilla warfare in Angola and this was followed by specialist training in "military engineering", including the use of explosives, in Ukraine in the Soviet Union.

Between 1978 and 1983 he worked at various camps in Angola and Mozambique on "logistics" and anti-aircraft duties. During this period he read widely on world politics and economics and was an avid listener to international radio stations.

In mid-1983 he left for Lusaka, where he first underwent training in trade unionism under top economists and then worked for the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Hope for a free country

Petane re-entered South Africa in June last year as a political commissar to "defend our people against state terror and apartheid crimes".

He was arrested in KTC in November but when brought to trial refused to plead to charges of terrorism under the Internal Security Act.

In an unprecedented bid for prisoner-of-war status in terms of the Geneva Protocol of 1977, Petane contended that as a soldier fighting an enemy, and having committed no war crimes, he was entitled to protection in terms of rules regulating international armed conflict. (Judge Conradie ruled that South Africa was not bound by the Protocol since it had not become part of international customary law).

Petane told the court that he remained committed to soldiering and, despite being in custody, was determined to continue the struggle in any way he could.

Petane's friends last week expressed the hope that there would be no need for soldiering when he was eventually released from prison.

As one put it: "We hope he will come out not just as a free man but into a free country."

Four die in fight, more violence in Maritzburg

PRETORIA. — Four men were killed when two factions attacked each other with assegais and knobkerries at Sphahleni, near Kokstad, and 10 men were arrested, police said in their unrest report.

Violence also continued in the Maritzburg area where:

- The mutilated bodies of two men were found.
- Police used pistol fire, birdshot and teargas to disperse two illegal gatherings, wounding two men. Twenty-four people were arrested.
- Police dispersed a group stoning a house, arresting two.

Police yesterday showed a video of an interview with a seriously wounded woman after a faction fight near Henley Dam, Maritzburg, last Tuesday in which four people died.

It showed bodies inside a house and panned over a body lying outside to where Ms Janet Dlamini, 48, lay in blood about 30m away.

Those killed were Ms Elsie Thabethe, 37, Zenzile Thabethe, 16, a woman identified as Mazondese, 46, and Mabuse, 16.

About 50 youths claiming to be members of the United Democratic Front attacked them, the woman said.

The youths had hit and stabbed them before dousing them with petrol and setting them alight, she said.

Her brother was a member of Inkatha, she said.

DENIALS

UDF spokesman Mr Archie Gumede today dismissed claims that the attackers were members of the front.

He said they might have been members of UDF affiliates or members of Inkatha known as "warlords". He said the warlords went to areas such as Henley Dam to intimidate people into joining Inkatha. Those who did not join were attacked.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Mvelaphi Ndlovu denied that his organisation was involved in attacks on or intimidation of people who did not want to join Inkatha. He said burning people or using violence was against Inkatha policy. — Sapa.

CAPE TIMES 30/12/87



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Buthelezi: Tutu's call 'posturing'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has reacted angrily to the call by the Very Reverend Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, for leaders of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front to make an explicit call to their followers to cease acts of violence in the Maritzburg area.

Inkatha president Chief Buthelezi said the hideous deaths and political killings should cease forthwith as Archbishop Tutu had said.

But, Chief Buthelezi said, he found it perplexing that Archbishop Tutu had made the call for a cessation of violence as though he himself had not become "entangled in the labyrinth of intrigue which purposely sets out to perpetuate the violence that he now so decries.

"Archbishop Tutu's call for the cessation of violence is made as though he himself is whiter than snow and comes to his pedestal untainted with the forces that are doing their damnest to perpetuate violence," he said.

He said Archbishop Tutu had produced a statement calling for peace at the November 16 meeting between UDF and Inkatha in Durban which he (Chief Buthelezi) and Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, were prepared to support.

The statement was not issued because the archbishop had to refer it to the UDF first for approval, Chief Buthelezi said.

"He now issues a statement as though he has not failed to report back to me to inform me on the UDF's attitude to it. He has not even had the

courtesy to keep me informed on what he has done with that document."

The chief minister said too many people were dying now for South Africans to tolerate posturing for peace.

The archbishop had frequently stated his support for the African National Congress though he distanced himself from some of their methods. When he called on black leaders to make unequivocal demands for peace in Maritzburg area, he should first of all call on the ANC.

"Why does Archbishop Tutu praise the ANC's endeavours, call for clemency for those who kill for political purposes and side with those who see violence as justified?"

He said it was now the time for Christians nationwide to be intolerant of posturing and to demand of church leaders that they should abandon the kind of Kairos document justification for political violence.

Archbishop Tutu was not available last night to respond to Chief Buthelezi's remarks.

However, a spokesman for the archbishop, Mr John Allen, said: "I don't imagine he will want to give a detailed reply.

"Archbishop Tutu issued a simple and genuinely felt call for peace which tried to steer away from political agendas.

"In addition, his policy is to avoid becoming involved in public recriminations with Chief Buthelezi," Mr Allen said.

• Archbishop Tutu is no longer a patron of the UDF. He relinquished this position after a decision earlier this year by the Synod of Bishops that church officials should not hold political office.

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CAPE TOWN 30/12/87

Natal unrest toll rises

PRETORIA. — The body of a 20-year-old man with multiple stab wounds was found at Deda, near Maritzburg, police said in their overnight unrest report yesterday.

At Mpumalanga, also near Maritzburg, a large group gathered illegally. Police dispersed them with pistol fire. A man was wounded and arrested, the report said.

"At Slingspruit a group gathered illegally and refused to disperse. Police used tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse them. A man was slightly injured. Sixteen men and seven youths were arrested. In another incident in the area, police found the body of a 35-year-old man with several stab and

chop wounds".
The report said police at Mpande used tearsmoke and shotgun fire to disperse a group who stoned a dwelling. A man and a woman were arrested.

The report said four men were killed during a faction fight near Kokstad on Sunday. Police arrested 10 men in connection with the incident.

● From Durban it is reported that the death toll resulting from the faction fighting near Kranskop, Natal, at the weekend rose to 11.

A 65-year-old woman who had been seriously injured in the fighting died yesterday.

All the dead were members of the Thulini faction. — Sapa

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copy Times 30/12/87

Labour, Nats set to clash over GA Act

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An overwhelming Labour Party vote to hold the National Party government to ransom over the Group Areas Act in exchange for postponed elections has set the two biggest parties in Parliament on a collision course.

Yesterday's momentous decision, taken at the LP congress in Pretoria, handed LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse the mandate he sought to demand the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in exchange for postponing white House of Assembly elections.

IN A dramatic development that could alter the face of opposition parliamentary politics, plans are under way for the Progressive Federal Party and the Labour Party to form a joint caucus. SEE PAGE 7.

The resolution — to "demand the unconditional repeal of the Group Areas Act as a precondition for the possible postponement of an election in the House of Assembly and other houses of Parliament" — is the most crucial for the LP since its decision to enter tricameral politics in 1983.

With this, the LP can force the National Party to face the Conservative Party less than two years after embarrassing May 6 election results, which showed increasing support for the right wing.

A motion "not to terminate participation in the Tricameral Parliament" and to complete their five-year term of office and go to the polls in 1989 was accepted unanimously.

An increasing militancy was noted among LP delegates as rank and file members spoke in favour of blocking government's bid to postpone House of Assembly elections from 1989 to 1992 in order to give the House a five-year term after this year's general election.



KILLING CLAIM A LIE - UDF BOSS

MR ARCHIE Gumede, Natal president of the UDF, has described as "absolute nonsense" claims by a 48-year-old woman that four of her family members were murdered by members of the UDF in Maritzburg last Tuesday.

By MONK
NKOMO

Mrs Janet Dlamini of Henleydam, who was badly wounded during the attack, alleged in an interview with the police on a video film shown in Pretoria on Monday that four of her family members were killed and she was seriously injured after they were doused with petrol and then set alight by more than 50 youths.

She claimed the youths were members of the UDF.

In an interview with the *Sowetan* yesterday Mr Gumede dismissed Mrs Dlamini's claim and said there was no proof to back the allegation.

Mr Gumede said the attack was perpetrated by opponents of Inkatha who may not be members of the UDF. Mrs Dlamini admitted during the interview that her brother who was also killed during the attack was a member of Inkatha.

"Is anybody who attacks members of Inkatha a member of the UDF?" asked Mr Gumede.

"The showing of the video film to the Press by the police is an attempt by the South African Government to discredit the UDF in a shabby and unfortunate manner."

Mr Gumede also accused Inkatha of

violence in the area.

"They have been positively identified but they have not been arrested," said Mr Gumede.

He said that none of the UDF members had been restrained by courts from committing acts of violence "because none

of us is involved."

Mr Mvelaphi Ndllovu, a committee member of Inkatha in Maritzburg, yesterday said they would issue a statement next month "to clarify where we stand as far as the peace talks are concerned."

Passtoors in escape bid

Argus 30/12/87

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of Prisons says African National Congress activist Helene Passtoors has been caught trying to escape from the Kroonstad women's prison where she is serving a 10-year sentence for treason.

Passtoors is the former wife of Klaas de Jonge, who spent almost 26 months holed up in the Dutch Embassy buildings in Pretoria before being released from South Africa in a complex prisoner swap.

She was found in a stormwater drain in the courtyard of the prison by prison officials yesterday morning.

Passtoors, 45, who holds Dutch and Belgian passports, was found guilty of treason in May last year.

PRETORIA BOMB BLAST

She was alleged to have been involved in the 1983 Pretoria bomb blast which killed 19 people and injured more than 200.

However, it is now feared that Passtoors's escape attempt will jeopardise behind-the-scene moves to have her released and deported before her sentence is up.

The Belgian government and the Belgian Human Rights League said this year the decision to jail Passtoors on treason charges might ease her repatriation.

Government must enable ANC to renounce violence

Monday 31/12/87

11A
2/15/87

ELSABÉ WESSELS

THE LP yesterday called on government to create a climate for peaceful change to enable the ANC to renounce violence.

The resolution, passed at the LP congress in Pretoria, was amended from the initial resolution which simply called on the ANC to renounce violence.

The party's opposition to the "Own Affairs concept" was contained in a resolution which called on the State President to "broaden the base of General Affairs so as to include members from all population groups in the organisational and administrative hierarchy of those ministries, rather than retaining and further extending the parameters of Own Affairs."

This flowed from LP leader Allan Hendrickse's warning in his opening address that the expansion of the Own Affairs concept, which involves the duplicating of amenities, holds "costly and disastrous consequences" for SA.

Hendrickse stressed that Own Affairs would always be subordinate to the General Affairs concept, which should be expanded to serve all race groups.

The SABC came under heavy fire, and a resolution condemning the SABC for its "negative and poor reporting of news about the party," was passed unanimously.

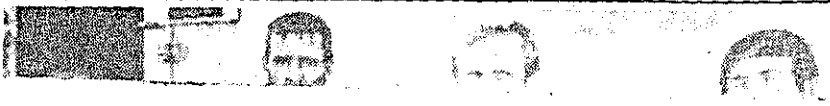
The resolution condemned the

"step-motherly and unfair treatment given to the so-called coloured population group" by radio and television in respect not only of news and events coverage but also in that of employment.

Expressing fear that double taxation of American companies operating in SA will give rise to unemployment, the congress passed a resolution expressing dissatisfaction over the American government's decision to impose punitive measures on American multi-nationals operating in SA.

"It will leave South Africa with the immediate hardship incumbent therein, particularly for the underprivileged people of SA," the resolution concluded.

rediction



UDF 'rededicates' to peace and justice

Staff Reporter

AKG 31/12/87 (114)

THE United Democratic Front says it will continue to strive towards building unity and co-operation between forces committed to a non-racial, democratic South Africa in 1988.

In a New Year's message Western Cape vice-president Mr Joe Marks said the UDF had made a consistent effort to engender co-operation and united action in the past and would continue to do so "as a fundamental prerequisite for the kind of change that the majority of the people long for".

"Let us remember at this time all those who are unemployed, all those who are in prison, all those who are sick in hospital and the many thousands of exiles driven out by the unjust system," he said.

"Our people have learned that freedom and democracy do not simply descend from the sky — they have to be struggled for.

"EVERY EFFORT"

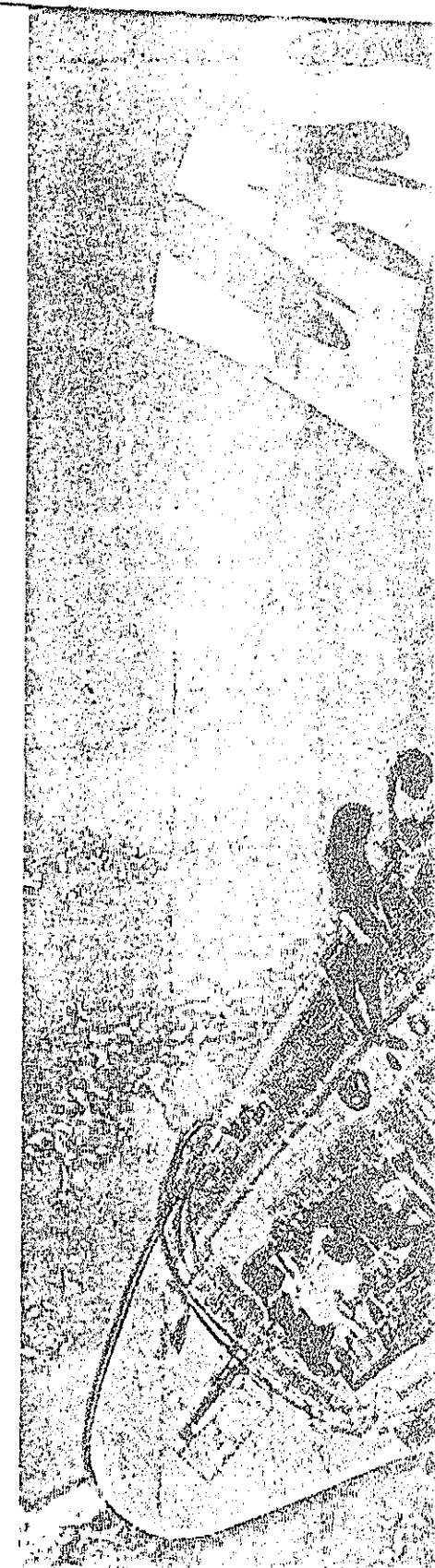
"We will overcome the jails and every effort made by the Government and its allies to disorganise and disrupt us in our search for unity among the oppressed and among our increasing number of allies in the white community," said Mr Marks.

"Let us rededicate ourselves to peace, justice and democracy.

"Best wishes and 'aluta continua'."

● Mr Cassiem Allie, general-secretary of the Western Cape Traders' Association, said his community-based organisation wished to see a better 1988 for all.

The resolution for 1988 should be for people to work together to dismantle apartheid, the root cause of conflict between white and black South Africans.



THE PROVINCIAL

30/12/87
STP
11A

LP urges ANC to renounce violence; slates US tax move

The Labour Party has called on the African National Congress to renounce violence and on the Government to create a climate for peaceful change that would make it possible for the outlawed organisation to heed its call.

A resolution to this effect was passed by the Labour congress in Pretoria this week.

- The congress also criticised the decision by the United States Congress to terminate the tax agreement with South Africa — a move that would result in American companies operating in South Africa having to pay tax in both countries. "Congress realises with regret that several companies will leave South Africa with the immediate hardship incumbent therein," a resolution said.
- The SABC came under fire from the congress for its "step-motherly and unfair attitude to the so-called coloured people both in news coverage and employment".

News coverage of the Labour Party was given in a watered-down manner and frequently out of context, a resolution said.

The congress asked the party leadership to appoint a committee to discuss the matter with the director-general of the SABC as a matter of urgency. — Political Correspondent.



Rev Allan Hendrickse ... scrap Group Areas Act or face an early election.

UDF accepts Tutu's call for truce

DURBAN — The United Democratic Front (UDF) has accepted Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call for an unconditional cessation of violence between it and Inkatha in Pietermaritzburg.

The announcement was made by the UDF's Natal President, Mr

Archie Gumede, yesterday in response to last week-end call by Archbishop Tutu for an end to the area's political violence which has claimed about 250 lives.

Archbishop Tutu called on political leaders in the strife-torn area to make "an explicit and unequivocal call

on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith."

Mr Gumede also issued a message to Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to respond positively to the archbishop's call, and warned the homeland leader that he had a responsibility not only to himself but to the saving of lives of scores of innocent people.

"The United Democratic Front have wholeheartedly accepted the Archbishop's call for an unconditional cessation of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area. We are ready for peace because it is through it that the killing of innocent

people could come to a stop," Mr Gumede said.

He said he would communicate to the Archbishop the UDF's acceptance of his truce call.

Chief Buthelezi's responded to Archbishop Tutu's call this week with a scathing attack in which he accused Archbishop Tutu of posturing in the name of peace, and said that the ANC which Archbishop Tutu supported wanted hostilities to continue while negotiations took place.

In a statement to SAPA, Archbishop Tutu said if the ANC was involved in the violence his peace call applied to

that organisation as much as to anybody else involved in the fighting.

"Chief Buthelezi appears to think that his leadership is enhanced by denigrating others. The cause of peace will not be advanced if I respond on the same level and get involved in mud-slinging.

"Even if his views about me are correct, it does not alter my appeal. I asked all political leaders to issue an unequivocal and categorical call for the immediate cessation of violence and I won't retract that call no matter how much I may be attacked," he said. — DDC

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31/12/87

Possible ANC aid for Pastoors

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Police are reported to be investigating whether jailed Belgian national Helene Pastoors had ANC members waiting to help her when she attempted to escape from Kroonstad Prison earlier this week.

Pastoors, 45, was last year sentenced in the Rand Supreme Court to 10 years imprisonment for treason arising out of activities she conducted in South Africa on behalf of the ANC.

After the escape of ANC activists Alex Moumbaris, Timothy Jenkins and Stephen Lee from Pretoria Central Prison in December, 1979, it was found that the trio had been helped by an ANC network to make their escape to Botswana.

A police spokesman said it was possible that similar ANC help might have been organised for Pastoors in her escape attempt. She was found hiding in a manhole in the courtyard of the women's prison at Kroonstad, in the Free State, on Tuesday.

being investigated

see report 31/12/87

Pastoors could face further charges and an additional sentence arising out of her escape bid.

The Prisons Service confirmed today that the SA Police were conducting he investigation into the escape attempt.

Pastoors, who holds Belgian and Dutch citizenship, was the first foreign woman to be convicted of treason against South Africa.

Pastoors's former husband, Klaas de Jonge, 50, a Netherlander, was accused of similar offences.

Mr De Jonge fled police custody and took refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, where he spent almost 26 months.

He was swopped in a complex international prisoner exchange in September.

VIA