



BLACK POLITICS - 1988

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UK shields SA

woman 'spy'

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WP win but lose key man



Freddie Ferreira out for 6 weeks

By LOUIS VAN WYK
THE Western Province rugby team has paid a heavy price for victory in the Lion Cup final Scrumhalf Freddie Ferreira will be out of action for about six weeks after an operation for a broken jaw suffered against Northern Transvaal at Loftus Versfeld on Saturday.

When the WP team arrived back in Cape Town yesterday, Ferreira was taken from the airport to a clinic. X rays showed his jaw was broken just below the right ear and an operation was performed immediately. He was back home last night.

The WP scrumhalf, who turned in one of his best performances for some time, took several hard knocks to the face during the match.

It is possible the worst damage was caused by his own halfback partner, Michael du Plessis.

By CHRIS STEYN, Own Correspondent and Sapa

THE South African woman who escaped from an ANC "hell camp" in Angola and took refuge in Britain's Angolan embassy could pose a huge diplomatic problem for Mrs Margaret Thatcher.



Ms Olivia Forsyth

Ms Olivia Forsyth 27 who disappeared more than two years ago turned up in the Luanda embassy early in May according to a British Foreign Office spokesman in London.

The spokesman said Mrs Thatcher, who is on visit to the Far East, was being kept informed of the incident.

British press reports say that the affair could jeopardize delicate relations with the frontline states. But the spokesman dismissed claims that Britain was on the brink of a major row over granting Ms Forsyth's sanctuary at the embassy.

'No diplomatic row'

He denied the incident had led to a diplomatic row which threatened to bring Britain into a major confrontation with the government of Angola.

He said that because Ms Forsyth held dual British South African nationality she was entitled to seek aid from the embassy.

The spokesman said he did not know how she escaped from a camp near the ANC's military headquarters at Lubango in southern Angola.

"We have, in accordance with usual procedure, applied for

an exit visa to enable her to return to Britain."

Meanwhile South African authorities last night disclaimed all knowledge of the activities of Ms Forsyth, a prominent student activist who disappeared mysteriously more than two years ago amid rumours that she had fallen foul of the ANC.

Ms Forsyth is a former member of the Rhodes University SRC and the local committee of the National Union of South African Students.

She now claims she was detained and severely tortured by the ANC for 22 months after she was accused of being a spy.

The Cape Times has established that Ms Forsyth is the sister in law of security police Major Derek Brune — who was an associate of former super-spy Major Craig Williamson, now of the President's Council.

Major Brune was exposed as a police spy in left-wing circles while he was active in student politics on Wits campus in the 1970s.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday that Ms Forsyth had not been recruited by — or worked for — the security branch of the SA police.

New twist to murder of Dulcie September

Star The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — There is a major and wholly unexpected development over the assassination of ANC representative Dulcie September, with France now ready to believe it was not the work of South African agents

The real culprits appear to be rebellious French mercenaries, quarrelling among themselves over spoils in South Africa and the Comoros

The well informed *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, says that French mercenary leader Colonel Bob Denard "has been working with an extreme right-wing South African group to put a stop to the minor reforms being undertaken by President Botha"

According to one of his former officers, Major Charles, ex-chief of the Comoros presidential guard, Colonel Denard embezzled about R12 million provided by Pretoria for the upkeep of the guard

The *Newsletter* commented "This misuse of funds has reportedly led to problems for Denard with the South African authorities, which might explain his increasing closeness to the extreme right"

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We did not do it

- Azapo

THE Azanian People's Organisation has denied authorship of a pamphlet bearing its name that commented on the burning of Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home last week.

"The Black Consciousness movement is on record as being opposed to black-to-black violence and hereby dissociates itself from the attack on Mrs Winnie Mandela's house," a statement from Azapo said.

"The pamphlets that were surreptitiously distributed in Soweto purportedly from Azapo should be condemned with the contempt they deserve"

The Azanian Co-ordinating Committee said in a statement that it is also opposed to black-on-black violence. He condemned the distribution of the pamphlets.

A spokesman for the Biko Foundation said it was ludicrous to claim that an organisation of Azapo's stature would stoop so low as to initiate and mount an attack on the house of Mrs Mandela

The Pan Africanist Congress has also denied responsibility for the attack on Mrs Mandela's home. The organisation said the attack was aimed at creating dissention between the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress

The Reverend Frank Chikane,

general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, held discussions with school and student representatives to diffuse the situation following the burning of the Mandela home.

Mr Chikane accompanied by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary of Cosatu, Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women and Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee, held discussions last Thursday with youth associated with the Mandela family and student leaders, in which they appealed to them to avoid any action that could lead to escalation of violence.

Appealing for restraint, Mr Chikane and the delegation called upon all concerned to leave the problem in the hands of the community leadership, according to a statement issued by the SACC

The burning has been blamed on an attack on a Soweto schoolgirl last Friday

Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, told a Press conference in Johannesburg that he had an idea of what might have happened, but he wished to honour Nelson Mandela's request, whom he visited at Polismoor Prison on Thursday, that no statement be made on the matter

Paul Annegarn may be dead father

By CHRIS STEYN

THE FATHER of missing SADF defector and ANC activist Paul Annegarn — the alleged fifth member of the white Broederstroom cell — believes that his son may be dead

A distraught Mr Joseph Annegarn said yesterday that he was "at the end of his tether" after a week of fruitless negotiations with the ANC in Lusaka

Despite repeated assurances by high-ranking ANC members that Paul would contact his family, they have had no word from him

"The only reason he has not contacted us, is because he is totally unable to do so," said Mr Annegarn

When he first contacted the ANC he was "assured" that Paul had been instructed to communicate with his family

"When we did not hear from him, I went to see the ANC London. They did not appear to know what was going on, but they kept saying he will contact us

"Last week I was in contact with the ANC in Lusaka again. On Friday, Tom Sebina (ANC executive) told me Paul was on another secret mission and could not be

contacted. I said to him 'He is dead', but he asked facetiously 'Who killed him?'

"Previously they said that he was working as the head of ANC's logistics department in Angola

"On other occasions they said he was in a place where he could not be easily contacted

"We just have to face the possibility that they have killed him," said Mr Annegarn

Mr Annegarn said the last Paul time had contact with his family was in May 1986

The ANC was not available for comment yesterday

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Angola stalls as woman waits in UK embassy

Storm brews over SA 'spy' fugitive

18/88
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SPJ

London

Britain has become embroiled in a diplomatic war with Angola over the woman who fled from the African National Congress to the sanctuary of the British embassy in Luanda.

Miss Olivia Forsyth (27), who has dual South African-British nationality, arrived on the doorstep of the embassy in May and told officials she had been imprisoned and tortured by the ANC, who accused her of spying for South Africa.

She has been inside the embassy waiting for an exit visa to allow her to come to Britain. She is said to be terrified of leaving the building for fear of being arrested by the Angolan government and handed back to the ANC.

It is understood she may have escaped from either Quatro camp, the ANC's feared punishment centre near Luanda, or from another of the organisation's detention centres in Angola.

Quatro is where police said earlier that Mr Paul Annegarn, an alleged member of the ANC's Broederström cell, was being held after he made his opposition to the ANC's "armed struggle" known in Lusaka.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, demed today that Miss Forsyth was a security branch agent or was in any way involved with the South African Police.



Olivia Forsyth

A spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said last night that his department was prepared to help, but had not yet been officially informed.

He said it was in the hands of the British Foreign Office, which has accepted Miss Forsyth's story and is pressing Angola for a visa.

Miss Forsyth is being protected by the British ambassador and his staff.

She was brought up in South Africa and was prominent in left-wing student circles some years before her disappearance in June 1986.

She worked as a journalist in Harare in 1985 and 1986, purporting to be starting an anti-apartheid news agency on behalf of a British company.

One journalist who worked for her said he never received his fee. Another said he was paid by cheque from a numbered Swiss bank account. It was believed that Miss Forsyth had joined the ANC after disappearing.

She is a British subject and has a British passport. British MPs, angry at the delay in granting her an exit visa, urged the Government last night to step up pressure on Angola.

Mr John Carlisle, Conservative MP and chairman of the British South Africa parliamentary group, criticised the British government for allowing the stalemate to drag on for so long.

"Why haven't we been told about this before now?" he asked.

Miss Forsyth's mother, Mrs Joan Brune of Pietersburg, said today she was grateful to the British government for protecting her daughter.

"It was a great relief to find out she was at the embassy. All I want is that Olivia gets back to us safely," she said. The Star's Foreign News Service and Staff Reporter.

(11A) Star 1/8/80

Black freedom the key to Indian liberation

TIC congress ejects 'police functionaries'

Staff Reporters

Three members of the audience hastily left a general meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) at the weekend to jeers of a crowd of several hundred who branded them police functionaries

Although the chairman, Dr Essop Jassat, appealed to people to ignore their presence, the audience pressed for their ejection after it was announced that one of them was armed. There were no incidents of violence.

The general meeting was the second to be held by the TIC since its revival in May 1983.

The failure to hold the meeting at an earlier date was due to the detention of the leadership and the subsequent trial of several executive committee members on charges of treason. All were acquitted.

In his secretarial report, Mr Fuad Cassim said that although Indian South Africans had shown clearly that they stood on the side of justice and non-racialism, since 1985 the TIC, which is a UDF affiliate, had experienced a "relative decline and isolation from the masses".

He said that since the introduction of the trica-

meral system four years ago, "the House of Delegates has become more viciously locked into the politics of apartheid".

Members of the inferior Houses had failed to win any significant reforms and in many respects standards of living in sections of the community which they administered had declined.

Refusal to participate in the Government's statutory bodies had been a key factor in forcing it to consider constitutional changes.

The central question in the liberation of the oppressed was the freedom of blacks, he said.

The liberation of Indian South Africans was dependent on this and it was vital that the TIC equip itself to beat State attempts to co-opt its supporters.

The TIC constitution was to be amended to enable it to mobilise mass support on an ongoing basis, he said.

Mr Cassim Saloojee, chairman of Actstop and director of the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association, was elected president of the TIC. The outgoing president, Dr Essop Jassat, became first vice-president and Mr Ismail Momoniat retained his position as secretary.

I won't support Nats again, ¹⁹⁶⁴⁻⁵ says Hendrickse

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff
LABOUR Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse has vowed that he will not support any more National Party legislation until the Group Areas Act is scrapped entirely

He made his strongest statement to date on the Act as Parliament's standing committee on constitutional development prepared today to deliberate on three new Bills which will provide for some mixed residential areas while drastically clamping down on offenders in those areas which remain exclusive

Mr Hendrickse said that the LP's attitude had "hardened" and it would support no more NP Bills because the Government was refusing to take account of its strong views on the Group Areas Act.

The constitutional development committee, chaired by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, is due to discuss the three Bills in Pretoria for most of this week and next week but it is likely that the Labour Party will simply state its objection to the principle of the Bills and then withdraw from the deliberations

ONLY ONE HOUSE NEEDED

Mr Hendrickse said that the majority in the House of Delegates was also opposed to the principle of the Bills. He believed that if both the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates rejected the Bills, the Government would be unable to force them through the deadlock-breaking President's Council.

However, a close examination of the Constitution shows that this is not so. If only one House of Parliament accepts a Bill it can be passed by the President's Council.

But it is clear that the Bills — which even the Government itself has described as "drastic" — will seriously damage relations among the three Houses of Parliament and threaten the legislative process.

Last week the Labour Party rejected a variety of constitutional and environmental Bills, including Bills to retrospectively validate the actions of the Kwandebele Government (declared invalid by the Supreme Court) and a Bill to counteract squatting by imposing heavy fines on the owners of property who allow squatting.

Inkatha in clashes with churches on ANC support

SIBU MNGADI

INKATHA Youth Brigade is on a collision course with the Anglican Church following the church's recent conference in London where it declared its support for the ANC and sanctions against South Africa.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned the international community that a civil war situation might develop in South Africa if reconciliation between Inkatha and ANC was not achieved.

In a statement, the 600 000-member Inkatha Youth Brigade resolved at its 10th anniversary last weekend that unless church leaders took a firm stand on sanctions, the youth organisation would ensure that its financial support was withdrawn. The brigade would start a campaign against

churches of all denominations which evaded the issue of sanctions, it said. A youth brigade statement said

"We are... appalled at Anglican bishops at the Lambeth conference in London who rode roughshod over our feelings and announced their political support for the ANC and for sanctions against SA, despite the fact that the majority of blacks in the country reject the armed struggle and sanctions."

The youth conference, addressed by Buthelezi, resolved to inform the Archbishop of Canterbury that the youth wing of Inkatha rejected the stand taken by bishops at Lambeth.

If church leaders failed to take a stand on the Lambeth conference and on sanctions, Inkatha youth would launch a country-wide campaign with the slogan, "No jobs, no mon-

ey, no offerings".

Buthelezi earlier this year, in an attack on the South African Council of Churches, suggested that parishioners withhold financial support from churches.

Addressing the conference, Buthelezi warned that the international community might see a terrible situation developing in South Africa between rival groups.

"I want to tell you that I was very recently in Portugal where I attended a meeting also attended by the Nigerian leader Gen Olusegun Obasanjo.

"The general said it was now high time the ANC and Inkatha started to talk to each other about reconciliation," he said.

Buthelezi said he had raised the question as a matter of concern in separate talks with British Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe and Lynda Chalker.

"I pointed out that the international community is today concerned with the Frelimo/Renamo war in Mozambique and with the Unita/MPLA war in Angola, and that if they do not help to nip in the bud the conflict that is building between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and Inkatha, they might find themselves in a worse situation than the Angola/Mozambique conflict situation, here in SA

"This will be bad news for the whole of Southern Africa because of the extent which the economy of South Africa serves, the economic interest of all these countries."

He said the ANC had said loud and clear at international forums that it would ban Inkatha as an unlawful organisation if it had the chance



Chief M Buthelezi... ANC would ban Inkatha.

PERSONALITY

Some love him while others hate the man who is the voice of the voiceless

A fier little more than a year as Archbishop of Cape Town it is too soon to assess Desmond Tutu's contribution to that high office

There are, however, clear indications as to the direction in which he seeks to steer the province

His first wish, as always, is for reconciliation

"I would think that I had been used effectively if the Anglican Church in South Africa were to recognise ourselves as family. If we were to recognise ourselves not as black, white, coloured, Indian and so forth, but that we were family"

So he starts in his immediate domain, remembering the clergy in every dimension of their lives

He and Leah both want Bishop's Court to be to be a home for the diocese and one of the things they did was to encourage the township children to come and swim and picnic in the extensive grounds

It is a microcosm of his

hundreds of things to come, as hundreds of black children enjoy the benefits of what had hitherto been an exclusively white suburb, and where even the Tutus live illegally, if officially

1987 has seen little change for the better in South Africa. A glimmering of hope might be seen in the Dutch Reformed Church's admission that its theology over apartheid was in error. But the admission soon led to a split in the DRC and the formation of the Afrikaanse Protestantiekerk, an exclusive right-wing church for white Afrikaners

But overall Tutu sees the situation as "infinitely

worse". After the white elections in May, which saw the National Party strengthened and the PFP ousted by the right-wing Conservative Party as the official opposition Tutu's reaction was unequivocal

He warned that South Africa was entering "the dark ages of the history of this country" and that the stage was now set for further polarisation

As Archbishop, Tutu continues to speak out, enraging some, delighting others

On the eve of the Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver he renewed his calls for sanctions

In December 1986, with an estimated 1 300 to 1 800 children held in detention, he called for their release, asking "What country detains eleven-year-olds because they are a threat to the security of the state?"

With that informal directness which infuriates critics, he said that the state of emergency had

Desmond Tutu's first wish is reconciliation and his belief that South Africans are one big family, starts right in his offices. This is the last instalment of extracts from SHIRLEY DU BOULAY'S book Tutu: Voice of the Voiceless

achieved nothing

Though, like all South Africans, he is muzzled by Press restrictions and though what has become known as "sanctions fatigue" results in statements receiving less coverage than in the first half of the decade, he continues to defy Pretoria

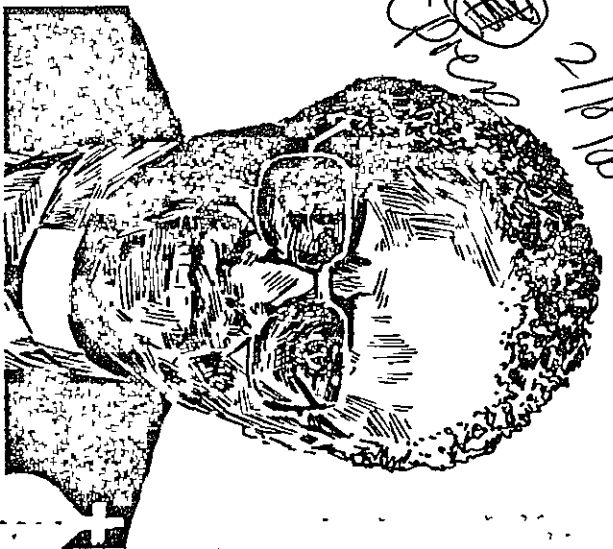
By refusing to attend the State Opening of Parliament, by leading a group of religious leaders in talks with the ANC, by urging the government to return District Six to the coloured community and once again criticising them "for moving people around like sacks of potatoes", by attacking the international banks for extending credit to South

Africa without guarantees that apartheid would be eliminated

Approval of these actions was shown in ways varying from the American jazz trumpeter Miles Davis naming his new album "TuTu", to readers of *The Sovietian* newspaper placing him after Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in their own poll for the leader of a post-apartheid government

Criticism came, as usual, from all quarters, perhaps most dramatically from an Australian who referred to him as a "modern-day witchdoctor dressed up in the garb of a clergyman"

As businessmen and academics go to Lusaka



Tutu... the SA situation is infinitely worse!

to talk to the ANC, as the British and American governments swallow their prejudices and talk to Oliver Tambo, regent political leaders like Archbishop Tutu may return to the centre stage and leave the centre stage to the politicians

In a sermon in September 1987 Tutu, said, "When we make the so-called preferential option for the poor, when we become the voice of the voiceless ones,

when we stand in solidarity with the hungry and the homeless, the uprooted ones, the down-trodden, those that are marginalised, we must not be surprised that the world will hate us, and yet, another part of the world will love us"

He was speaking at a service to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of Phakama Mabija in detention. He could have been speaking of himself

UK denies deal with Angola over Forsyth ^{2/18/88}

LONDON — Britain is supporting the story of suspected SA spy Olivia Forsyth, who says she escaped from an ANC camp in Angola 10 weeks ago

The British Foreign Office yesterday emphatically denied rumours that she had actually been handed over to British custody by the Angolans

An unofficial claim circulating in London was that the Angolans arranged Forsyth's release from ANC custody

A Foreign Office spokesman yesterday denied that there had been a deal

10/04 IAN HOBBS *(7/8)* *(1/A)*
with the Angolans He said the first Britain was aware of Forsyth's presence in Angola was when she arrived at the British embassy some 10 weeks ago

Forsyth claimed she was held prisoner by the ANC in Luanda She said she jumped a wall and made her way to the British embassy, where she told embassy officials she had been held prisoner by the ANC for some 22 months and had

been beaten during interrogations The ANC's London and Lusaka offices have been asked repeatedly since Forsyth's disappearance to confirm or deny that they were holding her prisoner on suspicion that she was an SA spy, but have consistently refused to comment At least one South African, who is respected by the ANC, is reported to have appealed for her freedom

Britain is sensitive to her plight and will say or do nothing that could prejudice her getting an exit visa

US notes ANC's silence on bombing

From NEIL LURSSSEN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government has condemned the recent spate of bombings in South Africa, describing them as senseless violence against innocent people.

And, in a barely disguised swipe at the African National Congress, a senior official said that while the US did not know who was responsible for the attacks, it noted that the ANC had not specifically dissociated itself from them.

Analysts in Washington believe that if the ANC did plant the bombs as the South African Government has charged, it could lose the support it stands to gain should the Democratic Party win the US presidential election in November.

A Democratic administration that attempts to strengthen US ties to the ANC could run into serious problems in the Senate where conservatives can be expected to block key appointments — especially among ambassadors to African countries.

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The experts are puzzled by the timing of the attacks since it comes at a time when ANC sources in Lusaka have leaked a draft copy of a blueprint for South Africa's future which purports to promote the idea of a system in which the rights of all races will be protected.

The blueprint is likely to appeal to many congressmen who will see it as a moderate solution to South Africa's dilemma — but indiscriminate civil violence also attracts attention in the Congress.

A senior US official said yesterday that the bombings in South Africa appear to have been aimed deliberately at civilians.

"This senseless violence affects the lives of thousands, intensifies the polarisation so evident in that troubled society and contributes to a downward spiral of violent repression and violent resistance.

"We renew our call to the parties responsible to stop the violence and devote their energies instead to peaceful dialogue and the search for realistic political alternatives to the present untenable solution."

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SOCIALISM ADOPTED

A MEETING of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa members in Tzaneen at the weekend unanimously adopted socialism as a cornerstone of the union's policy.

The meeting, held at the Nkowankowa Cinema, also rejected a Freedom Charter as a "divisive" influence in the struggle of the black workers. The workers resolved that socialism was the only policy that could ensure a bright future for the black working class in South Africa.

The organiser of the Tzaneen region, Mr Thabang Motlhodisi, said the meeting was part of the preparation for the branch annual general meeting to be held in Pietersburg on a date still to be announced.

BY CLARE HARPER

The way in which former Rhodes student Miss Olivia Forsyth left the country in 1986 sparked rumours that she was a South African spy, say friends

Rumours that former Rhodes University student Miss Olivia Forsyth had fallen foul of the African National Congress began circulating in left-wing student circles soon after she left the country in June 1986

Miss Forsyth (27) from Pietersburg is the daughter of a former Roman Catholic nun, Mrs Joan Brune, and is fluent in English and Afrikaans

A former friend said Miss Forsyth found a job in Johannesburg very soon after leaving university at the end of 1985 with John Fitzgerald and Associates, a Third World research service

Another friend, who knew her well, said "suspicious and rumours" about Miss Forsyth being a spy started after the "mysterious way in which she left Grahamstown towards the end of 1985".

Mrs Brune and Miss Forsyth's sister, Miss Tina Forsyth, said it was "impossible" that Olivia was a spy.

Mrs Brune said her daughter's left-wing politics frequently caused family upsets, and said she was "devoted to her friends".

Miss Forsyth's business card gives her job description as a researcher for the southern Africa division of the company, operating in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland

She told friends she was assigned to open offices in Zimbabwe and Zambia

Carried reports

"I was surprised when Olivia took the research job, because she said she wanted, and was offered, a job on a Johannesburg newspaper," a former friend said.

After newspapers carried reports of her disappearance, the listed telephone number of the research company was found to be permanently out of order and friends suspected it was bogus

When The Star contacted the research company today, an answering machine requested callers to leave their name and number

Mrs Brune said that after her daughter "disappeared", she contacted the research company but was told her daughter was well and "having a wonderful time" attending congresses in Zambia, and was "probably too busy to contact home"



Miss Olivia Forsyth, as part of the Rhodes Nusas Local Committee, takes part in a national Nusas conference. On the far right is self-confessed security police informant and ex-SRC member, Mr Darryl McClean, whose activities Miss Forsyth was instrumental in exposing

Rumours were rife about Olivia

Subsequently, she could not get hold of anyone at the research company.

Mrs Brune confirmed her daughter was a cousin of Mr Derek Brune, a former Nusas member-turned-security policeman

At university, Miss Forsyth studied journalism and African politics, and joined the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

She became editor of a local community newspaper, *The Grahamstown Voice*, which was distributed in Grahamstown's townships in 1983

At Rhodes "she went from biker to hippie to a respectable SRC candidate and then to a high-liver in Johannesburg", a Grahamstown source said

In 1984 she was elected to the SRC and was editor of the student newspaper, *Rhodeo*. She was re-elected to the SRC the following year on a left-wing card and became even more deeply involved in left-wing politics that year.

In August 1985 she was detained for 14 days under the emergency regulations

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Rhodes journalism department, described Miss Forsyth as a particularly bright student who had been deeply involved in student politics

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Ms Olivia Forsyth

Forsyth 'escaped twice' from ANC

LUSAKA — Ms Olivia Forsyth, the suspected spy who has taken refuge in Britain's embassy in Angola, twice escaped from the African National Congress, sources close to the ANC said yesterday

Ms Forsyth, who has both British and South African nationality, has been holed up in the embassy in Luanda since May while British officials try to get a visa for her to go to Britain. She was first captured in Lusaka and kept in custody by the ANC pending

investigations into her alleged spying activities," one source, who declined to be named, said. "She escaped from Lusaka and resurfaced in Zimbabwe where she was spotted by Zimbabwean security forces and handed back to the ANC. She was flown to Angola from Zimbabwe."

Ms Forsyth claimed she was being held prisoner by the ANC in Luanda. She said she jumped a wall and made her way through the Angolan capital to the British Embassy.

She then told embassy officials she had been held prisoner by the ANC for some 22 months and had been beaten during interrogations.

Zimbabwean authorities in Harare could not be reached for comment on the report that the Zimbabwe police had a role in Ms Forsyth's capture.

The British Foreign Office yesterday denied that Ms Forsyth had been handed over to the British by the Angolans.

From page 1

'Spy' escapes

An unofficial claim circulating in London was that after extensive diplomatic contacts the Angolans themselves arranged Ms Forsyth's release from ANC custody.

The suggestion was that it was embarrassing for the Angolans, amid increasing goodwill and diplomatic contact with London, to have a British citizen held in an ANC prison camp in their country.

Despite claims by her that she was "severely tortured" by the ANC during 22 months' detention at the Lubango camp, Ms Forsyth did not need medical treatment on her arrival at the embassy, according to the First Secretary at the British Embassy in Luanda, Mr Glynn R H Davies.

"Her health is fine," said Mr Davies. — Sapa-Reuters, Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

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2/8/88 (11A) Sowetan

Row over ANC

LONDON — Britain has become embroiled in a diplomatic war with Angola over the woman who fled from the African National Congress to the sanctuary of the British Embassy in Luanda

Miss Olivia Forsyth (27), who has dual South African-British nationality, arrived on the doorstep of the Embassy in May and told officials she had been imprisoned and tortured by the ANC, who accused her of spying for South Africa

For 10 weeks she has been inside the Embassy waiting for an exit visa to allow her to go to Britain. She is said to be terrified of leaving the building for fear of being arrested by the Angolan Government and handed back to the ANC

Anti-apartheid

British Foreign Office officials have accepted her story and are pressing Angola for a visa

Meanwhile, she is being protected by Michael Glaze, the British Ambassador, and his staff. Miss Forsyth was brought up in South Africa and was prominent in left-wing student circles some years before her disappearance in June, 1986

She worked as a journalist in Harare in 1985 and 1986, purporting to be starting an anti-apartheid news agency on behalf of a British company

One journalist who worked for her said he never received his fee. Another said he was paid, by cheque from a numbered Swiss bank account. It was believed that Miss Forsyth had joined the ANC after disappearing.

Sowetan Foreign Service

However, she has claimed she was held at an ANC prison at Lubango, Southern Angola

"She turned up at the British Embassy in Luanda and said she had been held by the ANC against her will for 22 months and was therefore seeking refuge in the Embassy," said a Foreign Office spokesman in London

"She wants to come to Britain, she is a British subject and she has a British passport. She is therefore getting the protection entitled to a British citizen abroad"

British MPs, angry at the delay in granting Forsyth an exit visa, urged the Government to step up pressure on Angola

Mr John Carlisle, Conservative MP, criticised the British Government for allowing the stalemate to drag on for so long

Miss Forsyth's mother, Mrs Joan Brune of Petersburg, said she was "grateful to the British Government" for protecting her daughter

"It was a great relief to find out she was at the Embassy. All I want is that Olivia gets back to us safely

"My daughter comes first and foremost," she said. Mrs Brune confirmed she had not heard from her daughter for over a year. "The newspapers know more than I do"

CNF Tink

Group Areas Act — PW to meet MC

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha and the Labour Party-controlled Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives are to meet in Pretoria this morning, amid reports that the party is to oppose all proposed legislation until the Group Areas Act is scrapped

Relations between the Labour Party and the government have been tense since the party and the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Allan Hendrickse, resigned from the cabinet last year

These tensions increased after the Labour Party said it would not support proposed amendments to the constitution to delay the elections, which are scheduled next year, unless the Group Areas was repealed and it opposed a number of bills during the last parliamentary session

But after some Labour Party MPs, including the party's chairman, Mr Miley Richards, and the Deputy Minister of Population Development, Mr Luwelyn Landers, criticized the Progressive Federal Party during the first joint debate of all three Houses in June and supported the legislation for the proposed National Council, relations seem to have eased

Today's meeting will be the latest of a number of meetings between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse

Totally opposed to changes in the Act

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday that the meeting was at the President's request

"I have had no indication whatsoever of what is to be discussed I do not know whether it will be tonadering or confrontation and I will probably have to prepare for both," he said

However, over the past three weeks he had met Mr Botha at the President's request to discuss the situation in Angola and at his request to discuss appointments and a possible restructuring of the Ministers' Council

It was possible that the restructuring of the Ministers' Council would be discussed today

In some National Party circles there was "a strong trend that we need each other" but other NP circles were furious that the Labour Party had blocked various pieces of legislation

However, Mr Hendrickse stressed that the Labour Party was totally opposed to the proposed changes to the Slums Act and the Group Areas Act

The House of Delegates was also opposed to the proposed amendments to the Group Areas Act

He is also reported to have said that the Labour Party's attitude had "hardened" and it would support no more more NP bills because the government refused to take into account its views on the Group Areas Act.

CAF 7/2/88 (11A)

Wednesday, August 3, 1988 3

Rajbansi probe: Rumours of murder

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Rumours that Mr Amichand Rajbansi had "done away" with a political opponent 10 years ago were raised before the James Commission of Inquiry here yesterday.

The rumour is mentioned in the transcription of a tape-recorded meeting early this year between the advocate-general, James Commission witness Mr Dave Pillay and Mr Ismail Omar, national chairman of the Solidarity Party — a copy of which was formally submitted to the commission yesterday.

Mr Omar made it clear he did not know whether the rumour was true.

The transcription also contains allegations by Mr Omar that an unnamed MP in the House of Delegates was paid R12 500 to cross the floor; that Indian teachers abandoned Solidarity to avoid jeopardizing their promotion prospects, and that a "child-molesting" teacher was brought back into the teaching profession because of his support for Mr Rajbansi's National Peoples Party.

It also contains an allegation that Mr Pillay used Mr Rajbansi's supposed influence with Liquor Board chairman Mr T Vorster to obtain a liquor licence transfer.

The commission had been told earlier that Mr Pillay and Mr Omar travelled to Pretoria under assumed names to brief the advocate-general on allegations of corruption involving Mr Rajbansi.

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Winnie not moving house

WINNIE Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, would not move into her mansion in Orlando West, Soweto, despite the burning down of the family's old house last week, lawyer Ismail Ayob said yesterday.

Ayob said she would stay with friends until the old house, the only one in which she had lived with her husband, was repaired.

Ayob could not explain why Mandela had chosen to live with friends instead of moving into her

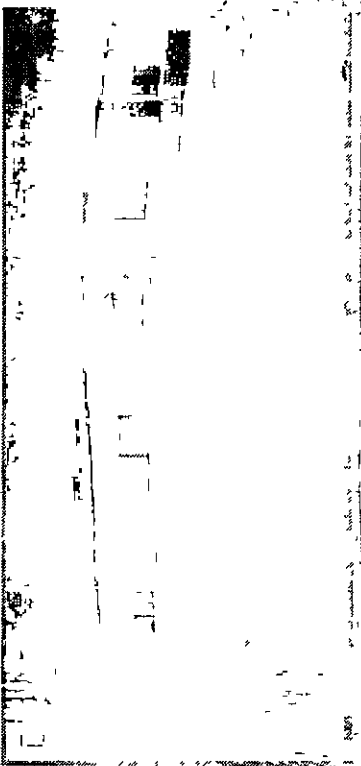
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new house

"That question can only be answered by Mrs Mandela herself."

Mandela could not be reached for comment yesterday. Ayob said she was on her way back from Cape Town

Mandela's old house was extensively damaged last week when a group of schoolchildren stoned and gutted it



Winnie Mandela's unoccupied mansion in Orlando West

Picture: Philip Linton

CAP TALKS 4/8/88 1A

Lebowa rejects govt council

THE government's attempts to involve the non-independent homelands in the proposed national council suffered another blow with the refusal of Lebowa to take part in this week's talks about the new body with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis

The governor of Lebowa, Mr Noko Ramodike, said his government had not attended the discussions on Tuesday because it rejected the proposed council

The council has also been rejected by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also boycotted this week's talks, and by the Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza.

The government of the QwaQwa homeland has also dismissed the proposed council

AGUS
Thursday August 4 1988 3

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'Comrades' murder plot denied by wife

JOHANNESBURG. — The wife of a Soweto businessman who approached Mrs Winnie Mandela for help in her marital problems denied in papers before the Rand Supreme Court that she and her son organised "comrades" in an attempt to kill her husband.

Mrs Joyce Leballo also denied that she used the common home to accommodate "ANC-trained terrorists".

She made the denials in her answering affidavit to allegations made by her husband, Mr John Billy Leballo. He obtained an urgent interdict restraining his wife and Mrs Mandela from threatening, abusing, harassing or injuring him.

The order also restrained Mrs Leballo and Mrs Mandela from removing or damaging property belonging to the joint estate of Mr and Mrs Leballo.

The hearing was postponed to August 23.

Mrs Leballo said she was introduced to Mrs Mandela in June 1986 by a neighbour, Mrs Tshabalala. She said Mrs Tshabalala was previously helped in her own troubles by Mrs Mandela, "a respected social worker".

She said Mrs Tshabalala was a relative of Mrs Mandela.

NOT POLITICAL
She said Mrs Mandela later told her it seemed there was no hope of saving the marriage and suggested that she discuss the matter with lawyers.

Mrs Leballo said it was not true that she became "politically active or got involved with Mrs Mandela".

"I have never been involved in any radical or political movement," she said. Mrs Leballo said she was an active member of the Seventh Day Evangelist Church in Dube, Soweto. She never kept company or associated with "gangs, comrades or political activists", she said.

On a few occasions Mrs Mandela had asked her to accommodate for a night "young members of soccer teams who were from out of town to play the Mandela United Football Club, which Mrs Mandela established".

Mrs Leballo said she was happy to oblige. Sapa.



The aftermath of the blaze at the Mandela home in Soweto

New matchbox for Mandelas

I-11/8/88
 (VIA)
 South

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG:- The Soweto home of Winnie Mandela that was destroyed by fire last week is to be rebuilt and should be ready for occupation soon.

The Mandela family attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, made it clear that the reconstructed home would not be a "parliament" or mansion, but a simple matchbox home.

Break news

A group of angry students from Daliwonga Secondary School, in nearby Dube Village, are alleged to have set fire to the Mandela home while looking for members of the Mandela United Football Club who reside on the premises.

Ayob was visiting Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison at the time of the fire last Thursday. He was

able to break the news to Mandela.

Ayob said the jailed ANC leader was mutually shocked at the news and that his first concern was whether anyone had been hurt.

"Mandela does not want any witchhunts or prosecutions following the fire at his family's home and has expressly asked that the matter be left to the Soweto community to investigate and resolve through discussion and conciliation," Ayob said.

Plea for calm

The plea for calm from Mandela came at a time when police announced in an unrest report that a group of pupils from a Soweto school attacked four blacks last Friday. One was stabbed to death and the other three sustained serious injuries.

Ayob made it clear that the Mandela family had

not been the target of the fire. But there is speculation that the fire was started after an argument between Mandela United Football Club and pupils of Daliwonga Secondary School.

Complaints

There have been several complaints about the behaviour of Mandela United, and a journalist said team members had threatened to burn a photographer's car if he did not leave the area after Thursday's fire.

The situation appears now to have been resolved following discussions between leaders such as SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chukane and NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

Winnie Mandela is now residing with friends in Soweto. She had postponed indefinitely her move to a new bigger

house nearby because at this stage it "is uninhabitable". She said the new house

was built for her husband; the family would only move in when he was released from prison.

Angry crowd evicts three from meeting

JOHANNESBURG. - The Transvaal Indian Congress has called for an end to conscription, the unbanning of the African National Congress and an immediate end to the three-year-old State of Emergency.

These were among several far-reaching resolutions adopted by several hundred members at a general TIC meeting here at the weekend

Three people hastily left the meeting to jeers of a crowd who branded them police functionaries

They were forced to leave the hall despite appeals by chairman Jassat to ignore their presence

Angry members of the audience pressed for their ejection after it was discovered that one of them was armed.

Other resolutions at the meeting also called for the rejection of apartheid-type local authority structures. These should be replaced by non-racial municipalities in a non-racial South Africa

The TIC noted that there could be no just and peaceful solution to South Africa's political problems without the participation of the

ANC.

Other resolutions adopted covered the Group Areas Act and three bills relating to the maintenance of the Group Areas Act and forced military conscription

The TIC committed itself actively to addressing the importance of establishing a TIC women's league and to supporting non-racial and democratic sporting and cultural organisations

It objected strongly to big business subsidising multinational sport to the exclusion of non-racial and democratic sport. It called on whites to commit themselves to

dismantling apartheid and to link up with the democratic movement in the struggle for a non-racial South Africa.

The meeting was also attended by the eminent sociologist and writer, Fatuma Meer

Natal Indian Congress chief George Sewpersadh said the meeting was the second to be held by the TIC since its revival in May 1983.

Outgoing president Dr Essop Jassat, in his presidential address, explained that the failure to hold the meeting at an earlier date was the

defection of the leadership and the subsequent trial of several executive members on charges of treason. All were acquitted.

The congress also decided to send 70th birthday greetings to jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A former treason trialist and chairman of Actstop and director of the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association, Cassim Saloojee, was elected president of the TIC

The outgoing president, Dr Essop Jassat, became the first vice-president and former emergency detainee Ismail Momoniat retained his position as general secretary.

'Fight for legal space'

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Fight for the right to exist — and to create "legal space", UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel urged the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) at the weekend.

In his keynote address at the general meeting of TIC here, Gerwel said this should be the main task of the democratic movement.

He said the principal objective of the TIC had been and continued to be to build non-racial unity. In this endeavour it had consistently tried to mobilise the Indian people.

Professor Gerwel emphasised that the chief content of this struggle was the African people and they consequently led this struggle

Win support

He urged TIC to win the support of the Indian people for a non-racial democracy led by the African majority.

He warned that the State was constantly pulling out new dirty tricks to alienate popular organisations and leaders from the people

"We must at all times have contact with our people. We must not lose their confidence. This means we have to devise campaigns that connect our organisations with the people; that we remain sensitive to their problems and work out ways to address their grievances."

TRANSWAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Pep talk

(11A)
The duty of the "democratic movement" at a time of repression and darkness is not to be cowed, but to consolidate and fight for "legal space" in which to operate. So advised Jakes Gerwel, principal of the University of the Western Cape, in his keynote address to the second AGM of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) held at Wits last Sunday.

Alluding to government's banning of the film *Cry Freedom*, its prevention of the Nelson Mandela birthday celebrations, and other symbols of opposition, Gerwel said "A state that depends on such naked repression and coercion increasingly demonstrates its own illegitimacy."

He observed that while there was a tendency to strike a note of realism after the "springtime of resistance" in the mid-Eighties, defeatism should be guarded against. It was a highly successful period of resistance and national mobilisation, which saw the State's crises deepen, and while nobody was expecting government's imminent collapse, its crises should not be underestimated.

In spite of body blows to its organisations, Gerwel maintained that "the spirit and will of popular resistance has not been eradicated." This was demonstrated by the June stayaway and events planned to mark Mandela's birthday despite the emergency.

The challenge facing the "democratic

movement" now is to recover and adapt, to find new space and defend its gains, said Gerwel. The advantages were that the movement has significantly widened, with the churches and labour joining in. Broadly speaking, he underscored the TIC leadership's own view that the task facing it is to help build non-racial unity in a struggle led by the African majority. Gerwel advised "conceptual and strategic caution over the question of minorities." Rather, energies should be directed at "the national question and the priority of majority liberation."

The ethnic issue was important enough to form part of the congress resolutions, under the heading "Unity Of the Oppressed" (originally set down as "Indian/African Unity"), evidently because not enough of the Indian community appreciate that their "liberation" depends on that of the African masses who are "the most oppressed."

While Gerwel only touched on "the dynamics of alliance politics," suggesting that "principled alliances are now important," the TIC's Fuad Cassim maintained that the tactical decision not to participate in government's constitutional structures, or reform from above, has been vindicated. The boycott was forcing government into continual reassessment of its constitutional plans, he pointed out. Further, very little had been achieved by the House of Delegates, which has "proved to be compliant when it counts." He said the situation is dynamic and "we have entered a period of transition to a new order that is being born."

About 200 people attended Sunday's congress, which elected former publicity secretary Cassim Saloojee as the new TIC president. The former incumbent and a veteran of

(11A)
S. P. Saloojee

Mandelas: 'No power of attorney'

Can't
5/8/88
ALM

JOHANNESBURG. — The family of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, yesterday flatly denied ever giving power of attorney to controversial American millionaire Mr Robert Brown to represent the family's interests

This emerged at a press conference addressed by the SACC's general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane in Johannesburg yesterday and an accompanying press statement issued by six community leaders including Mr Chikane.

The statement released by Mr Chikane, National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM's) general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu's assistant general secretary Mr Sidney Mafumadi, Sister Bernard Mncube, Mr Aubrey Mokoena and Dr Beyers Naude said when approached by Mr Brown at Pollsmoor Prison on July 23, Nelson Mandela advised Mr Brown to put his concerns about the use of the Mandela name to the ANC president Oliver Tambo

Mr Brown had discussed the need to protect the interests of the Mandela family in the United States with Mr Mandela's daughter Zenani, in Boston

According to the statement, Mr Mandela told Mr Brown he would consider

any decision made by the ANC to be in the best interest of the family as it was only the ANC that was empowered to act on his (Mandela's) behalf

The statement further said

"Mrs Winnie Mandela, Zinzi Mandela, Robert Brown and Mr Ismail Ayob agree that Mr Mandela did not give Mr Brown the power of attorney to represent the Mandela family's interests

"Whatever impression may have been created whether Mr Brown was given the power of attorney or not has been satisfactorily settled with all parties concerned

The Mandela family is "united" on the matter and the only person who can take it further is Mr Tambo, the statement said "

● Last night, before leaving South Africa, Mr Brown told reporters at Johannesburg's airport "I will be going back to my home with a clear conscience

"I will be supporting the (Mandela) family and other people in this country as I have in the past," said Mr Brown He said his aim, supported by Mrs Mandela, was to channel revenue generated through the use of Mandela's name to programmes that would aid the underprivileged in South Africa.

I could not have recruited Forsyth, says Williamson

PAT DEVEREAUX

SUPERSPY Craig Williamson has denied he recruited suspected woman spy Olivia Forsyth (27) who has taken refuge in the British Embassy in Luanda and claims she was kept prisoner by the ANC for nearly two years.

Refuting claims made by her former associates that he was Miss Forsyth's "control", the former security police major now a National Party member of the president's Council said:

"The first I heard of Olivia Forsyth was through Cape Town newspapers.

"I could not have recruited her in 1978 as I was at that time working for the ANC and was not in South Africa."

Miss Forsyth, who has dual South African-British nationality, has been in the embassy since May and is said to be terrified of leaving the building in case she is arrested by the Angolan government and handed back to the ANC.



SUPERSPY Craig Williamson denied being Olivia's "controller"

Former BOSS major denies link to suspected SA agent

A Nusas member and former friends and acquaintances gave details of why Miss Forsyth was suspected during her student days.

Self-confessed

One member of her family, Mr Derek Brune, a Nusas member who served on the Wits SRC in 1972, 1973 was said to be a self-confessed security policeman.

At Rhodes Olivia "pushed her way" into student communes and political groupings but she kept her family background a mystery.

A two-week detention in August 1985 was seen as a move to give her political credibility.

"Unlike Odile Harrington she could never be described as naive. She was an excellent spy, a tough cookie and played agent provocateur by prolonging conflicts in student politics," said one woman acquaintance.

A source in Harare said "She was an avid fan of the novelist John Le Carré."

He believed Miss Forsyth had attempted to play the role of double

Rumours

Although Brigadier Leen Mellet this week denied Miss Forsyth was linked to the South African Security police, rumours and speculation that Miss Forsyth was a spy have surrounded her since 1982 when she "threw herself in the deep-end" of left-wing politics.

The National Union of Students (Nusas) this week confirmed that Olivia's activities had been under scrutiny by them long before she left the country in July 1986.

"Leadership believed that Forsyth left the

country because she realised she had been isolated as a spy and anticipated being exposed publicly," the statement said.

Miss Forsyth's schooling achievements indicate she was a bright pupil.

She matriculated at Capricorn High school in Pietersburg in 1977 and was awarded honours for academic distinction. A school prefect and House captain, she was also a member of the Pietersburg junior town council.

She then went on to university at RAU, Wits and later Grahamstown, where she was involved in student politics.

agent which led to her falling foul of the ANC.

"Of course the South African Government is going to deny that she is a spy because they want her to be able to return to this country to be a witness in future trials, said one student activist, who said he believed she was ranked "captain" in the security police force.

Overweight

Another source said the often overweight Olivia "tended to be interested in male students who wielded any sort of power in campus politics."

She changed her image like a chameleon, sources said, mixing with Christian groups one week and bikers the next.

Leaving Grahamstown in 1985 Olivia got a job as a reporter with a Johannesburg morning paper (*Business Day*). Then she landed a job with "John Fitzgerald and Associates", a mysterious third world research service - which later proved to be a "front with empty offices near the Carlton centre," said a former friend.

This just added to suspicions, said her former Grahamstown colleagues, who said they also believed Olivia's parents were in the dark about her spying activities.

Her mother, Mrs Joan Brune, said all the publicity about her daughter had created a furore in Pietersburg.

"She never told us about her personal life and we respected her privacy," she said.

The ANC was asked in a telex from Saturday Star to confirm or deny if it had ever held Miss Forsyth as a South African spy, but has not responded.

Forsyth, now seeking refuge in the British Embassy in Luanda.

11A

6/19/88

Cape Times, Saturday,

'Poison pen' letters 'dictated by Rajbansi'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The "poison pen" letters "smearing" Mr Baldeo Dookie, former Minister of Housing in the House of Delegates, were dictated to businessman Mr Dave Pillay by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the James Commission of Inquiry was told here yesterday.

Mr Roy Imrith, an accountant and former partner of Mr Rajbansi's one-time "confidant", Mr Pillay, told the Commission Mr Rajbansi had phoned several times asking to speak to Mr Pillay during 1986.

Referring to one such call received at their Chatsworth building society

agency, Mr Imrith said: "He (Mr Pillay) had a lengthy conversation and took down notes as he was listening. Afterwards I helped him to prepare a draft for typing."

Some of the letters were typed by Mr Pillay's attorney's secretary, he said, and others by the agency's teller on a borrowed typewriter.

The teller told the commission she had hand-addressed them from a list of "MPs."

The attorney's secretary said she refused to type any more letters after reading an article in the Sunday Tribune about Mr Dookie.

"I realized the intentions of the guys

was to publish it and I became very afraid," she said

At the request of both women, Commission chairman Mr Justice Neville James ruled that their names not be published.

Cross-examining Mr Imrith, Mr Rajbansi asked him if he was "absolutely sure" Mr Pillay had received his information over the phone.

Mr Pillay could have been speaking about something else whilst writing his own letters," he suggested, which prompted Mr Justice James to ponder whether such "flexibility of mind and hand" was possible.

Mr Rajbansi claimed Mr Imrith was

fabricating the story because he bore a grudge against him

"I put it to you that you are not speaking the truth because you are dissatisfied that your service station site has not been allocated (by the House of Delegates)."

Mr Rajbansi requested that two other "serious" allegations against him contained in Mr Pillay's affidavit — which was sent to the Attorney-General in January this year — be thoroughly investigated by the Commission.

Mr Rajbansi also requested that all copies of Mr Pillay's affidavit be seized.

PERSONALITY

MONTON: Das name anywhere in South Africa and the odds are that the response will be a story - for instance, how President Tutu's name anywhere in South Africa and the odds are that the response will be a story -

when the Bishop and the President come together for talks, in search of privacy meeting in a small boat on the Zoo Lake in northern Johannesburg. However, the ever vigilant Press heard of it and assembled round the lake armed with binoculars

telephone lenses and radio microphones to record the historic event. As the two men talked the wind blew the President's hat into the water, so with a confident "Don't worry", the Bishop got out of the boat and walked across the water retrieved the hat and returned it to the President.

The next day the headlines read "Tutu kan nie swem nie" (Tutu can't swim).

His avowed, nature conceals a private, introverted side that needs space and regular periods of quiet, his jocularity runs alongside a deep seriousness his occasional bursts of apparent arrogance mask a genuine humility before God and his fellow men.

He is a true son of Africa who can move easily in European and American circles, a man of the people who enjoys ritual and episcopal splendour, a member of an established Church, in some ways a traditionalist, who takes a radical, provocative and fearless stand against authority if he sees it to be unjust.

The sustained vilification and abuse by the South African media, the organised campaigns against him often originating in the government itself, have ensured that the public image has no relation to the reality.

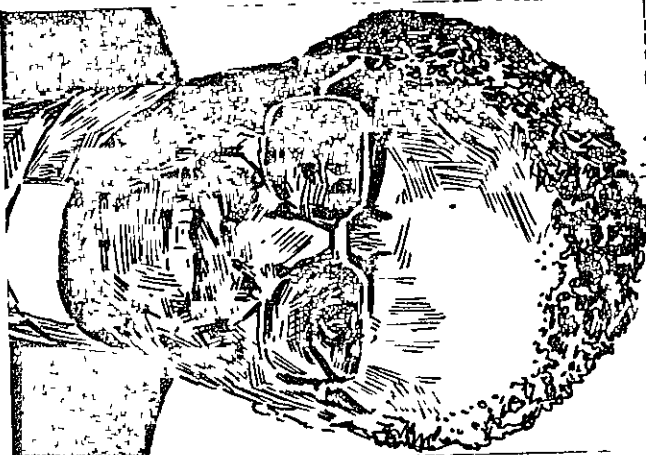
When the Press and people indulge in "Tutu-bashing" (one of South Africa's favourite sports) it is that public image they are abusing. It is an impressive fact that, apart from the conditioned and prejudiced, those who attack Tutu are invariably those who have not met him.

In intriguing dialogue with the government in measuring that 'Batha is my brother' and in refusing to believe that God's grace cannot operate on the President, by pleading with the Dinko Reformed Churches to join the SACCC and to help find a solution to the country's problems in his public speeches at universities and schools in his contacts with the African National Congress, in his refusal to accept violence from any one black or white, he continually places himself in the firing line.

Tutu's vision for South Africa was concisely expressed in 1979: 'Basically I long and work for a South Africa that is more open and more just where people count and where

the following is the second of four extracts from SHIRLEY DU BOULAY'S biography, *Tutu: Voice of the Voiceless*, in which the author depicts the charisma and complexity of one of the world's most famous prelates. His combination of deadliness and humour and seriousness is exposed, and the Bishop is shown to be a master of the tight-rope walk.

Watch this page the next two Fridays for more on the controversial character



11888 CWA

What some people are impressed at his skill in surviving at all in such a political minefield even many of his admirers consider that he is a bad politician that he is too good a Christian too ready to believe in people's inherent goodness' too politically naïve to indulge in the necessary tactical manoeuvring.

It is in his position between the militant blacks who criticize him for being too moderate and most of the whites, who consider him a supporter of radical black nationalists even referring to him as a terrorist, that Tutu's position is at its most perilous.

Though he has no political ambition and steadfastly refuses to align himself exclusively with any particular political grouping, Tutu seems most at home with the United Democratic Front, an umbrella grouping of 600-700 grassroots organizations which while not an explicit political party embraces the broad demand of over 1 million people

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Tutu's vision for South Africa was concisely expressed in 1979: 'Basically I long and work for a South Africa that is more open and more just where people count and where

they will have equal access to the good things of life with equal opportunity to live work and learn.

I long for a South Africa where there will be equal access to the courts of the land where detention without trial will be a thing of the heavy past, where bannings and such arbitrary acts will no longer be even so much as mentioned and where the rule of law will hold sway in the fullest sense.

In addition, all adults will participate fully in po-

litical decision making, and in other decisions which affect their lives. Consequently they will have the vote and be eligible for election to all public offices.

"This South Africa will have integrity of territory with a common citizenship and all the rights and privileges that go with such a citizenship belonging to all its inhabitants.

Tutu has sometimes caught glimpses of this vision and loves to recall them. For instance at a potentially explosive funeral to which a young white couple came with their two-year-old child the black people made way for the little family putting the child on the head and smiling delightedly.

Most widely most movingly, was the funeral of Molly Blackburn that Democratic Front, an umbrella grouping of 600-700 grassroots organizations which while not an explicit political party embraces the broad demand of over 1 million people

What some people are impressed at his skill in surviving at all in such a political minefield even many of his admirers consider that he is a bad politician that he is too good a Christian too ready to believe in people's inherent goodness' too politically naïve to indulge in the necessary tactical manoeuvring.

Argus 8/8/88 (1114)

'Prima donna' Mrs Mandela is criticised

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — Impatience is growing within the anti-apartheid leadership in South Africa with what they regard as the "increasingly erratic behaviour" of Mrs Winnie Mandela, it is reported here

Peter Godwin of the London Sunday Times, reporting from Cape Town, says that since her banning order ended two years ago, her image has been transformed from "Mother of the Nation" to an increasingly imperious prima donna.

"BLACK EVITA"

"Her opponents have started calling her 'the black Evita,'" he adds

"From being an heroic symbol who was gagged, imprisoned and banished by the authorities for more than a decade, many believe she has become a liability to her community and an embarrassment to the African National Congress"

Godwin quotes an unnamed senior activist as saying. "She hasn't the foggiest idea of what organisational discipline is all about"

Another said "She's been a holy cow for too long."

The latest fiasco, says Godwin, was over Mrs Mandela's claim that black American businessman Mr Robert Brown had been given power-of-attorney for the Mandela name

Winnie 'slipping'

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Peter Godwin of the London *Sunday Times*, reporting from Cape Town, says that since her banning order ended two years ago, her image has been transformed from "mother of the nation" to an increasingly imperious prima donna "Her opponents have started calling her "the Black Evita," he added Godwin quotes an unnamed senior activist as saying: "she hasn't the foggiest idea of what

Says London paper

organisational discipline is all about" Another said. "She's been a holy cow for too long"

The "latest fiasco", says Godwin was over Mrs Mandela's claim that black American



MRS WINNIE Mandela

businessman Robert Brown had been given power of attorney for the Mandela name

He quotes a leading activist as saying of Mrs Mandela's behaviour

"It has reached a very

dangerous stage We can't deny we've had really serious problems, but this one is the limit The movement in exile should be disciplining her to bring her to her senses She still has the potential to play a very important role"

Godwin says Mrs Mandela's most serious blunder was made in April, 1986 with her apparent endorsement of the necklace method of murder with burning tyres It proved a big embarrassment to the

To Page 2

11A Swetun 8/8/88

Winnie

From page 1

ANC which said her remarks were "unfortunate" Her new "palace" in Soweto was another example of bad political judgment.

There are signs, he says, that Nelson Mandela has tried hard to keep her on the political rails The senior source said "Nelson has nominated advisers for her She'd accept them for a month or two, then go back to her bad old ways"

Two previous meet-

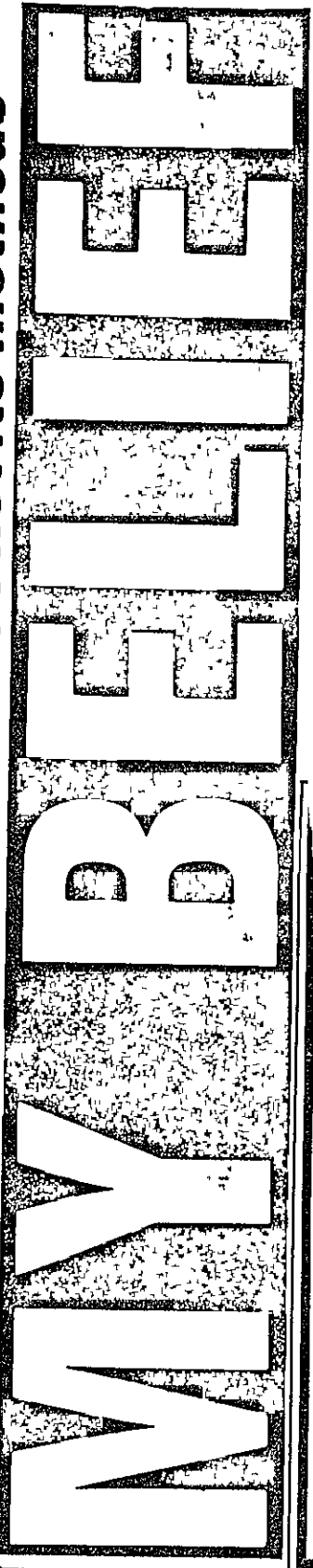
13-year-old boys allegedly involved in
Cape Times 8/8/88 (A) (B) (C) (D) (E) (F) (G) (H) (I) (J) (K) (L) (M) (N) (O) (P) (Q) (R) (S) (T) (U) (V) (W) (X) (Y) (Z)



MPETHA TURNS 79 ... Mr Oscar Mpetha, believed to be South Africa's oldest political prisoner, marked his 79th birthday under police guard in Groote Schuur Hospital on Saturday. His children, grandchildren and more than 100 friends celebrated the occasion at a party in Nyanga. One of Mr Mpetha's feet was amputated recently because of diabetes. He was jailed for five years in 1985 for inciting crowds during the 1980 unrest.

Picture REUTER

Archbishop Tutu backs ANC but not its methods



LONDON — The leaders of the Anglican churches of South Africa and Ireland appeared together on British television at the weekend to condemn the use of violence.

The appearance of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Robin Eames of Armagh followed controversy in the British Press about a resolution on "war, violence and justice" passed by the world's Anglican bishops at the Lambeth Conference.

The Lambeth Conference said it "understood" the feelings of those who, "after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice."

It was charged by some newspapers with "blessing terror." When it passed a second resolution condemning all violence in Northern Ireland, the conference was accused of inconsistency.

In numerous interviews in the past three days, Archbishop Tutu has made clear that he has not changed his personal belief, which is that he condemns all violence, whether employed by those who want to overthrow an unjust system or those who defend it.

But he has repeatedly stated that he understands the motivations of those who, as a last resort, have turned to violence against an unjust government.

The conference resolution said war was "incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ."

"It added 'there is no true peace without justice' and that reforming unjust systems was 'an essential element of our biblical hope.'"

The bishops gave explicit support for "the way of non-violence", including direct non-violent action, civil disobedience and conscientious objection.

'I condemn all violence'



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

In a joint interview with Archbishop Eames for broadcast on a Channel Four television programme, Archbishop Tutu said that condemnation of violence "is the basis of everything we say."

"I say times without number until I have driven people to distraction that I am opposed to all forms of violence."

That is why I have said I support the ANC insofar as it aims to bring about a new kind of society in South Africa, but I do not support its methods.

"Yet I would say again without any sense of contradiction that I understand them when they say they have exhausted all options and that is why they have chosen the way of the armed struggle."

In an apparent reference to the term "armed struggle", Archbishop Eames disagreed with Archbishop Tutu's wording but emphasised "There's no argument between Desmond and myself on this he was gracious enough to second the emergency resolution which applied to Northern Ireland."

ANC draws up 'post-apartheid constitution'

LONDON — A post-apartheid constitution drawn up by the African National Congress proposes a multi-party system, a mixed economy and a workers' charter with the right to strike. It commits a future ANC government to universal suffrage based on one person one vote, and to a single national identity. But it also says the state "shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development".

The 25-point draft constitution is described as "basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa". It is being secretly circulated in South Africa among organisations loyal, or sympathetic, to the ANC.

The document has been published in this month's London-based newsletter "Front File".

Until now the basic document of the ANC has been the Freedom Charter drawn up in 1955, which reflected the socialist thinking and commitment to nationalisation prevalent at the time.

The charter stated "The national wealth of our country shall be restored to the people. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole".

Less strident

The new document is more sober but less clear on state ownership than the charter.

The private sector shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.

The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector. Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

On land ownership, the document says racial restrictions on its use will be abolished but reform shall be implemented "in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals".

The Freedom Charter made racism a punishable crime. The new document says "The advocacy or practice of racism, Fascism, Nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed."

The state and social institutions shall have a constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination and take active steps to eradicate the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.

The document updates and clarifies the ANC's political plans. This is a necessary and delicate chore since, while, on the one hand, the organisation is anxious to woo Western businessmen, at the same time it has to maintain its support among radicals in South Africa — The Independent News Service

88/018
11A

BIG MARCH IS RECALLED

A FESTIVAL to commemorate a protest against pass laws by 20 000 women at the Union Buildings in August, 1956 was hosted by the Federation of Transvaal Women yesterday

Message from Russia

WOMEN from Russia have sent a message of solidarity to South African women to mark Women's Day.

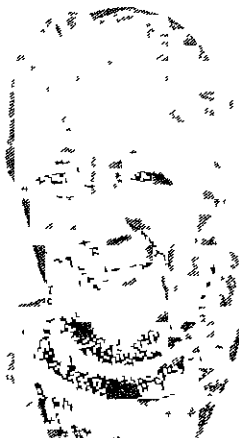
In the message the committee says: "The Soviet women are sending you cordial congratulations and best wishes in your just struggle."

Organisers set up craft and food vending tables and prepared a stage in the former flower hall of the showgrounds in Johannesburg

The first of the buses arrived at ten am, bringing a singing women's group from Soweto

On that Thursday in 1956, civil rights leaders Mrs Helen Joseph and Mrs Lilian Ngoyi led 20 000 women to Pretoria to protest against the extension of the pass laws to women

Mrs Albertina Sisulu,



HELEN Joseph

who is now one of the three national presidents of the United Democratic Front, was also involved



LILIAN Ngoyi

Mrs Joseph was instrumental in forming Fedsaw (Federation of South African Women), which organised the

protest

In October of the year before, Mrs Joseph and Mrs Ngoyi led 2000 women to the capital for a similar demonstration

The pass laws have since been abolished.

Today, Mrs Joseph (83), is honorary national secretary of Fedsaw

She is listed under the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted

Mrs Sisulu is restricted under the emergency regulations

Mrs Ngoyi died in March, 1980

Roman Catholic nun, Sister Bernard Noubé, was elected president of Fedtraw in 1984.

8/8/88

(11A)

Sowetan

'No charge' call by Mandelas

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE Mandela Crisis Committee has called on the police to withdraw charges against the children accused of burning down Nelson Mandela's Soweto home. (IA)

The accused are due to appear in court on Monday.

The committee, which has been handling the affairs of the Mandela family since the burning of the house, issued a statement yesterday disassociating themselves with the prosecution.

"We would like to put it on record that the Mandela family is not bringing a case against the students," it said.

"We believe this action against the children will not make the resolution of the broader problems allegedly related to the burning of the house easier. 9-15/988 W. Kaul

"We wish to express our concern about the way the police are handling this matter and the continued detention of some of the children," it said.

The committee has been conducting its own investigation into the incident.

ANC 'updates' Charter

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — Details of the ANC's new constitutional proposals have been disclosed here. They are phrased in vague terms and call for a non-racial, multi-party democracy with an entrenched bill of rights and a mixed economy in South Africa.

The proposals, which are intended to update the Freedom Charter, have been agreed on by the organization's executive committee. The ANC says it is circulating the document for discussion among members and supporters both inside South Africa and externally.

Copies of the documents began circulating here two weeks ago and the full text is published in the journal *Bront File*.

The document gives a clear indication of ANC thinking on social policy, but the section dealing with the economy, except for a statement saying the private sector shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realizing the objectives of the Freedom Charter, is so vague that aspects of it could cover virtually the entire range of ideological options. The guidelines consist of 26 principles under the subheadings of the State, Franchise, National Identity, Bill of Rights and Affirmative Action, Economy, Land, Workers, Women, the Family and International.

The state in a new South Africa, the document says, should be independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial. It calls for the institutions of hereditary rulers and chiefs to be transformed to serve "the interests of the people as a whole" and for central government to delegate powers to ensure more efficient administration.

'Vague' call for non-racial democracy

The franchise should be based on the principle of one person-one vote with all voters having the right to stand for election to all legislative bodies.

The state, the document adds, should recognize the "linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development."

A bill of rights based on the Freedom Charter and "guaranteeing fundamental human rights" should be contained in the constitution with appropriate mechanisms for protection and enforcement.

The state and all social institutions should be under a constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination and economic and social inequalities, the document says.

Subject to the clauses outlawing racial discrimination, the state, it says, "shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press. The state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and

guarantee the right to education and social security."

The section on the economy opens with the vague principle that "the state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population."

It adds that the state should have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and to define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity.

The private sector should be obliged to co-operate with the state in realizing the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting the social well-being of the economy.

What this means is open to interpretation, but the section of the Freedom Charter which deals with the economy reads: "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people: The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole. All other industry shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people. All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions."

The guidelines are not as specific as this section of the Freedom Charter, saying instead "The economy should be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector." To what extent the large-scale nationalization implied in the Freedom Charter is still accepted by the ANC is not spelt out.

Property for personal use and consumption should be protected by the constitution, the guidelines say.

17665 9/8/88

Two more ANC insurgents with Aids captured — police

11A
Political Staff

THE number of African National Congress terrorists known to have Aids has risen to seven with the capture of two more insurgents, police said today.

The Department of Prisons announced at the weekend that five convicted ANC terrorists had Aids

Police today confirmed the two new cases and warned that people who helped the ANC could catch Aids

Brigadier Leon Mellet,

spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, claimed to have firm information today that Aids was rife in ANC training and detention camps in Angola and Zambia.

He said "We have information that there have been a number of suicides as a result of people catching Aids.

"We also have information that the position is so bad that people selected for further specialised training in Russia have to be declared free of Aids before Russia will admit them"

Giant step for 20 000 women

Today — August 9 — is the 32nd anniversary of the day that 20 000 women marched on Pretoria to protest against the extension of pass laws to women

The Star of August 9 1956 described that event as follows "The leaders of the women stood out in green blouses and there were gay splashes of colour from a few in traditional dress notably from the Eastern Province

"Later in the afternoon the leaders tried to present their protest to the Prime Minister, Mr J G Strijdom, who had twice refused to see them"

The reporter covering the event said that although the concourse was visible from the Prime Minister's window he did not go out to see the women. He remained working at his desk

PICNIC ATMOSPHERE

"The gathering had a picnic air as women opened flasks of tea and ate sandwiches and biscuits. There were many children and here and there a baby was being fed under the shade of the pine trees"

As each woman entered the turnstile to the grounds of the Union Buildings, she was handed a copy of the protest which she signed and handed back to one of the leaders of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), who organised the march

The Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) has seen to it that the women's struggle has not waned

"It is only now that women are beginning to take their rightful place at the forefront of the national democratic struggle," says Fedtraw member Ms Firoza Adam

Women's organisations have had a history of bringing women together since 1956

"We have had situations where mothers of soldiers in the townships meet mothers whose children have been shot and harassed by the soldiers. Many of our women's eyes have been opened by these historic meetings," said Ms Adam

Women from all over the country gathered on Sunday to commemorate National Women's Day. (The officially recognised day is August 9) This day marks the march to the Union Buildings in 1956

Ms Adam said Fedtraw was



Thirty-two years ago today 20 000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest to the then Prime Minister, Mr J G Strijdom, against the extension of pass laws to black women.

By SALLY SEALEY

Women have had to struggle hard to gain their rightful place in South African society. Today marks the anniversary of a march by thousands of women on the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1956. That was a protest against the pass laws. Today there are other battles, but apartheid — and its manifestations — is still the principal foe

launched to organise women so that they could become independent and assert themselves not only in the workplace and at home, but also in South African society

"Women are socially discriminated against. Thus there is a need to develop their confidence, which in turn enables women to make their own decisions," she said

Fedtraw does not organise around women's issues exclusively

Ms Adam said "Women are always good organisers in the home but what Fedtraw tries to do is extend the sphere of influence of women generally

"Women are also oppressed within their home. There are men who perceive that a woman's place is in the kitchen or with the children and often women are socialised to accept this position"

After the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in the 1960s there was a definite lull in political activity even within Fedsaw

The 1980s saw a resurgence of women's organisations. In December 1984 the Federation of Transvaal Women was launched

Ms Adam said "We were involved in a number of success-

ful campaigns, particularly those relating to the cost of living"

The uprisings and school boycotts in the Vaal Triangle in 1984 severely weakened the organisation when much of the leadership was detained

"The rest of us struggled on," Ms Adam said

Despite the emergency, Fedtraw managed to hold a conference in 1986. Last year the women organised a very successful cultural day and managed to reunite with many of the groups with whom they had lost contact during the state of emergency in 1986

Star (11A) 9/8/88

111 (10/24) (20/21) (13)

SA business alliance

CAPT TIMES 9/8/88
JOHANNESBURG. — A consultative business alliance, which allows concerned business people "to play a more effective role in opposition to apartheid", has been formed after top-level talks between business, Cosatu and the United Democratic Front at the weekend.

The meeting took place over two days at an undisclosed venue outside Johannesburg. An alliance of businessmen, the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), was formed.

Mr Christo Nel, the workshop co-ordinator, said it had been encouraging to see businessmen getting to grips with political issues. He said that for many the meeting had been an eye-opener on the nature of grievances felt by these organizations — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Inkatha intimidation?

MARITZBURG — Supporters of three Inkatha men at the centre of an interdict application to restrain them from killing members of the Mthembu family have allegedly threatened and intimidated lawyers acting for the applicants.

At yesterday's hearing, advocate Mr Alistair Dickson, for the Mthembu family, said he had received reports of "subtle and unsubtle" threats.

"I have myself experienced subtle intimidation and my attorney, Peter Harp, not so subtle threats," Mr Dickson added.

A number of Inkatha supporters were coming to court with weapons every day. The guns are handed into security personnel and collected each time they leave the court, he said.

He said that if he got first-hand knowledge of any more threats or in-

timidation he would immediately bring a contempt of court application.

Two of the respondents are alleged to have shot two members of the Mthembu family after the family had sought the court's protection.

Advocate Mr Willem von Willich, for the respondents, said he had told the respondents that should such behaviour be brought to his attention again, he would drop their case.

However, he said "his side" had also been threatened in the townships.

Mr Justice Alexander told the gallery — which consisted entirely of Inkatha officials and supporters — that such conduct represented an interference in the administration of justice, and "should those responsible persist with such behaviour, severe action will be taken against them" — Sapa.

Hearing to be moved to November

MARITZBURG — The interdict application is to be adjourned until November 28.

However, it is believed there will be an application for the hearing to continue.

Only one witness, the head of the Mthembu family, has finished testifying. Other members of the family are still due to testify, as well as the respondents, Mr Jerome Mncwabe, Mr Thulani Ngcobo and Mr Sichizo Zuma and their witnesses.

Mr Ernest Mthembu, 35, was gunned down at the front door of the family home on July 4, allegedly by Mr Ngcobo. His brother, Mr Smalridge Mthembu, was shot and wounded, allegedly by Mr Zuma, a few days after the family sought the court's protection —

Sapa

September 9
CAPE TIMES 9/8/88 11A
ANC men in Swazi court

MBABANE — Three members of the ANC have appeared in the Magistrate's Court here after their arrest two weeks ago following a shootout with Swazi police. One of the three men was wounded. The other men escaped after commandeering a taxi, but were arrested on their way to Mbabane. The case was adjourned to August 15.

Burning of huts traditional, court told

AR 10/1/88
By REHANA ROSSOUW
Supreme Court
Reporter

THE second-in-command of the unrest unit operating in KTC in June 1986 would not have taken action against "witdoeke" standing near burning shacks, the Supreme Court has been told

This was said yesterday under cross-examination by Major Christiaan Loedolff, former head of a railway police regional task force, during the R200 000 damages suit by 21 KTC residents and the Methodist Church against the Minister of Law and Order

Major Loedolff was shown photographs and video film of Casspirs passing burning shacks while witdoeke stood nearby

He agreed with Mr H P Viljoen SC, for the residents, that the witdoeke were intent on burning KTC

Involved in fight

"The way I saw it the witdoeke were involved in a fight with the comrades," Major Loedolff said

"It is part of the black people's campaign to conquer other blacks. When they attack another group it is traditional to burn down their kraals or houses

"I have no doubt about the fact that the witdoeke went to KTC to fight with the comrades and burn down the area on June 9, 10 and 11"

Major Loedolff said that police action against the witdoeke to prevent the burning of the KTC included various warnings and patrols

It was difficult to disperse witdoeke by firing warning shots because they would break up into smaller groups and move through the bushes into KTC

Not justified

He said the leaders of the witdoeke whom he warned not to enter KTC were polite and responded to his warnings

Even though policemen working in the area knew the witdoeke were on their way to burn KTC and were easily identifiable because they were armed and wore white scarves, the police were not justified in firing warning shots to disperse them, Major Loedolff said

The maximum force used against the witdoeke during the burning of KTC was teargas

In reply to a question by Mr Viljoen, he agreed that the majority of KTC residents were not comrades, but decent people who went to work and sent their children to school

"Difficult"

When witdoeke were seen among burning huts it was difficult for the police to warn or arrest them, because it would have meant getting out of their Casspirs

After being shown photographs of witdoeke standing near burning huts and a police Casspir parked nearby, Major Loedolff said that had he been in the Casspir he would not have taken action

"At that stage there was nothing happening in KTC," he said

(Proceeding)

S. Mefu

Nactu and BCMA are criticised

(11A)

1/18/88

SIR — I would like to add my voice among those who have received the Nactu/BCMA statement with amazement and disappointment

These Black Consciousness oriented organisations, in their joint communique after their Harare get-together, regarded the school boycotts organised by Soweto students under the unwavering banner of the student congress, Sosco as "needless disruption of learning"

These two organisations seem to have completely ignored or have failed to consider

the reasons behind such a boycott I wish to volunteer to them the information that the major demands behind the boycott was the fact that the State has detained more than a hundred students and the students are demanding the release of their fellow students

The statement by Nactu and BCMA only goes to show that these two organisations are not in touch with the education crisis facing our country today

Let these two organisations be reminded that the education of the black child was disrupted when Dr Verwoerd introduced bantu education in this country. If, all of a sudden, Mr James Mndaweni and his BCMA friend think that the struggles we are waging against apartheid education are a disruption of education, as he puts it, then one will begin to wonder whether he is aware of the education crisis or not

In fact, I want to ask Mr Mndaweni and his BCMA friend the following questions

Were those your personal views or were you representing the views of your respective organisations?

Does Mr Mndaweni have any reason to believe that the organised working class of this country which he claims to represent regard the education struggles as "needless disruptions of learning"?

Did he consult with the student representatives and the relevant parent structures back at home before going to the Press to make the needless and uncalled for statements?

I want to believe that these two organisations will have the decency to answer these very simple but important questions

I also wish to inform these organisations that the community of Soweto is already attempting to address the crisis in a very disciplined manner. The Ministers United for Christian Co-Responsibility (MUC-COR) has convened a series of meetings in Soweto to try and discuss

not only the boycotts but the cause of these school boycotts with both the students and their parents as well

I believe that any attempt to undermine this important initiative by the priests and the community can only be viewed with suspicion and concern, hence, the understandable anger of our untiring brothers and sisters at schools over the above-mentioned statement by the honourable Mr Mndaweni and his friend

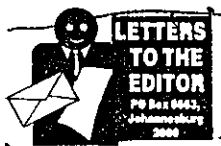
At this stage I deem it necessary to suggest to Mr Mndaweni, on behalf of himself and his friend, to withdraw the statement they made and to afford a well deserved apology to those concerned

While I agree with the Mndaweni-BCMA statement that education is important I, however, think that no individual, no matter how black he may think he is, or organisation for that matter, should lose sight of the unending problems faced by the black child each and every day of his or her life

We must always respect the views of these students and their organisations and if possible, we should lend our unwavering support to student struggles and assist with advice and not with endless Press criticisms, as if our struggle will be won through press releases

Please come down to the masses so that you can start to understand the dynamics involved in the education struggles

JAMES T MASEKO
Wits University
c/o Black Students' Society



WORD of GOD

Jesus said repent!
And he said, Nay,
father, Abraham

ring
ther
each
case
aric
lein

ONLY 199

BEDROOM SUITE

Hostel ^{ACUS}
dwellers ^{11/18/88}
meeting ^{HR}

Labour Reporter

A SPECIAL general meeting of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association this weekend will discuss the rebuilding of the centre in Nyanga which was petrol-bombed on Saturday night.

Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, the association's publicity secretary said all records and office equipment and sewing machines were destroyed in the fire

A delegation from the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which held its regional congress in Cape Town at the weekend, had visited the scene

Mr Mpukumpa said the venue for the meeting had not yet been decided

The regional congress of Cosatu condemned the attack on the office.

Dompoas marches marches lives in song

IN SPITE of restrictive action taken by government officials, hundreds of women throughout South Africa attended celebrations last Sunday to mark the 32nd anniversary of the 1956 march by 20 000 women

The march, to the Union Buildings, Pretoria, was to protest against the extension of the pass laws to African women

More than 600 people lit candles in symbolic memory of political prisoners and exiles at a women's day service at St Francis in Langa on Tuesday night

Speakers at the service, which was organised by the United Women's Congress, included Mama Tsono and Amma Cachalia, patron of the Transvaal Federation of Women

About 900 people attended a cultural event held on Tuesday afternoon at the University of the Western Cape, Catchalia, who also spoke at this event, shared her memories of the August 9, 1956, march to Pretoria.

A Women's Day rally will be held at UCT on Sunday at 2pm. Speakers will include representatives from women, youth and trade union organisations

In Durban, several government officials descended on the black Alan Taylor Residence of the University of Natal — a venue for the National Women's Day celebrations — and told the organisers, the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), that the day's events were being restricted.

The action followed hot on the heels of a visit to the NOW offices by 13 government officials last Friday re-



Women throughout the country lit candles in memory of political prisoners

questing information about Sunday's events

According to the organisers, a warrant produced by the officials said they were acting in terms of section 25 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977

The police ordered that four items on the agenda — including a panel discussion on how violence affects women in Natal townships and plays, discussions and speeches on the coming municipal elections — could not take place

In addition, the singing of freedom songs, chanting slogans, "toy-totyping" — a form of war dance" and the displaying of banners were also

prohibited.

The officials maintained a heavy presence in the hall throughout the day and videotaped the entire proceedings

In spite of this, the spirit of the women remained high.

"We will not be stopped from observing our day," Nozwe Madala, chairperson of NOW, told the more than 500 people present.

The audience, which included women of all ages and races, children and men, showed their determination by singing religious hymns, and reading from the Bible

The NOW cultural group performed a historical play in which the 1956

march depicts the dilemma facing black women when they were forced to carry reference books

The play recalled the historic cry to the then prime minister J G Strydom on that day "Strydom, you have tampered with the women — you have struck a rock."

A veteran of the 1956 march, Ma Florence Mkhize, who has been regularly banned and restricted until recently, said "We must show our children that this land belongs to us as we did back on that day in 1956

"Nothing has changed for us although we have now been struggling for 32 years. We are still being oppressed in a number of ways. The only time we will be free is when

all of us — black and white — rule this country together

"Women — especially African women — will always be oppressed if we continue to have the Bothas and Malans ruling this country by themselves"

Another 1956 veteran, Ma Tjokweni, who has only just been released from a year in detention, was also there

In Maritzburg the day was celebrated with plays, songs and dance

Ms Beauty Mkhize, of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) asked where were the women like those who marched on the Union Buildings in 1956. She appealed for united action against apartheid.

Similar events were held in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, East London, Port Elizabeth and other centres

MORRA LEVY reports from London that people who packed a local town hall to celebrate South Africa's Women's Day burst into applause at a greeting from Albertina Sisulu, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Walter Sisulu

They were entertained by Jonas Gwangwa, the exiled South African musician whose music for the movie City Freedom won international acclaim

Gemma Payne, formerly of Cape Town and now working in London for the South African Congress of Trade Unions, told of the courage and strength of the women of Nyananga Bush.

8 pupils in court over Mandela fire

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight school pupils appeared in Protea Regional Court yesterday in connection with the arson attack on the Orlando West home of Mrs Winnie Mandela following arrests during a joint SAP-SADF operation at a Soweto school.

Daliwonga High School principal Mr Michael Mkhize said police and soldiers surrounded the school last Wednesday for three hours, holding staff and pupils at gunpoint. They arrested 22 pupils.

He said security force members entered his office and demanded he point out members of the SRC and Soweto Students' Congress.

'Treated roughly'

He said he was treated roughly and when he refused to identify the pupils he was arrested. Mr Mkhize said members of the security force refused to let him phone the school inspector regarding the incident at the school.

"We have taken control of your school, we are the bosses now," he was allegedly told.

Mr Mkhize said the pupils were forced out of the classrooms at gunpoint and separated into their respective sexes. The boys were made to lie

down in the quadrangle while the girls were held in the classrooms.

The teachers who also refused to identify pupils were made to stand against the wall with him, Mr Mkhize said.

When the assistant director of the DET, Mr Ishmael Kutoane, arrived he was also treated roughly and made to join the staff against the wall.

He said 22 pupils were arrested and left in the custody of the security forces. Fourteen were later released without being charged. The eight pupils appeared in court last Friday in connection with the arson attack on Mrs Mandela's home which gutted the house on July 28.

Bail application

The bail application yesterday in the Protea Court was heard in camera as four of the pupils are under age.

The other four accused are Mr Joseph Mogotsi, 21, Mr Eric Kgopotso, 18, Mr Bafana Mkhathshwa, 21, and Mr Khumbulani Khumalo, 19.

Magistrate Mr A J du Toit set bail at R300 each on condition they report to the Jabulani police station on Mondays and Sundays.

The case was postponed to September 12 for further investigation and the decision of the Attorney-General. No charges were put to the accused

Annegarn alive, dad told

PAUL Annegarn, the 22-year-old South African security police believe was the fifth member of the alleged African National Congress "white" cell in Broederstroom near Pretoria, is alive and still a "loyal member" of the outlawed movement.

African News Agency reports that the ANC apparently assured his father, Mr Joe Annegarn, that he would be contacted by his son after he had completed an assignment.

Alleged South African spy Olivia Forsyth has also apparently told Annegarn snr through British embassy officials in Luanda that she had not seen Paul at the alleged ANC Quatra punishment camp for the movement's deserters.

Annegarn snr was reported this week to have been in contact with an ANC representative who "swore blind on our Christian God that Paul is alive".

"I was told the reason why Paul hadn't been in

contact with us was because he was on an assignment. The person who spoke to me seemed pretty genuine and I have to believe him."

He was given an assurance that, on completion of his "mission", Paul would contact him or his former wife, Joy, said to be living in London.

Forsyth - said to be a South African with British citizenship - who allegedly escaped from Quatra and has presently sought refuge at the British embassy in Luanda, Angola, has reportedly spoken to Annegarn snr through officials there

In May the South African authorities alleged that Annegarn jnr, said to be a South African Defence Force (SADF) deserter, was being held in so-called ANC detention barracks at Quatra after he had separated from the other four alleged ANC members at Broederstroom, and was tracked down by the exiled movement after he fled South Africa.

~~8/11~~

11A

South 11-17/88

I burnt friend, youth tells court

CAPE TOWN'S 11/8/88
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A Tembisa youth was told by a group of youths to set his friend alight or be burnt himself, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday

In evidence, the youth said he and his friend were abducted by a group of youths, who handed him a box of matches and said that if he did not set his friend alight he would be burnt.

He said he took the matches and "started burning" his friend

He was giving evidence at the trial of six teenagers charged with the necklace murder of Mr Laurence Si-

pho Thibi in Tembisa on May 11 last year.

The six are also charged with attempting to murder the 20-year-old youth

Mr Zebulon Paulus Ndlovu, 19, Mr Jeremiah Menzi Shongwe, 18, Mr Alfred Bongani Nzama, 20, two 17-year-olds and a 16-year-old have all pleaded not guilty

It is alleged that he and Mr Thibi were abducted from his house by a group which included the accused and taken to a place where Mr Thibi was struck with bottles, stones, sjamboks and pieces of wire

UDF birthday celebrated

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Cape Democrats held a cultural party on the fifth birthday on Saturday of the United Democratic Front, which was formed at a mass rally in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, on August 20, five years ago.

The event, which was held at the University of Cape Town's student union on Saturday, passed with the UDF still under heavy restriction. There is little chance of those restrictions, imposed in terms of the emergency regulations, being lifted soon.

Security sources indicated that the suspension of those restrictions on the UDF were not under consideration at present and that the ending of the emergency was unlikely in the foreseeable future.

But the national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said that the remarkable growth of the UDF was "concrete evidence of the level of frustration and anger at the system in South Africa."

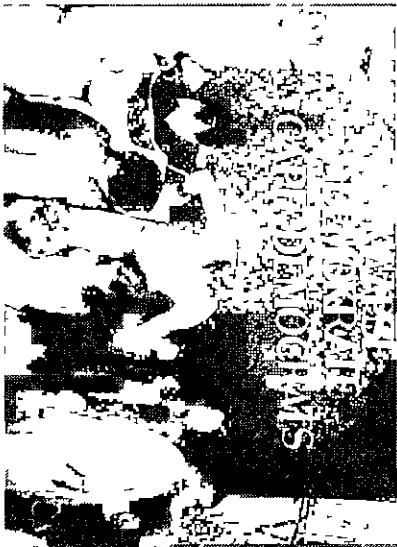
"However, even before the restrictions, what the UDF was not able to do was to translate that

understandable negative frustration into a positive new force," Mr Eglin said.

The chairperson of the Cape Democrats, Ms Amy Thornton, said the formation of the UDF had been a "very significant — it brought together all the threads of opposition in South Africa."

"It grew into an enormous organization and into the biggest opposition grouping in South Africa."

"Whatever the restrictions, the spirit of UDF and the spirit of opposition to apartheid has not been destroyed and is strong as ever."



FIFTH BIRTHDAY . . . Musicians performing at the fifth birthday party of the now-restricted UDF, held at UCT on Saturday
Picture: FANNIE JASON

Mr. Trap #108

Black group to 'confront' PW

Own Correspondent

SUN CITY. — Black business has directed Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane to select and lead a group of eminent people to confront President P W Botha immediately on the release of political prisoners.

Accepting this conference resolution at Sun City yesterday, Mr Motsuenyane said the mission would make it clear it could not negotiate a constitutional future for South Africa with Mr Botha until political prisoners were freed.

"We will make it clear that talks on the future can only begin when the leaders are free," he said.

Charges against five withdrawn

Southern 11-17/88

FIVE former trade unionists arrested on charges under the Internal Security Act have had their charges withdrawn.

Mr Stephen Melrowich, 22, Ms June Esau, 35, Mr Mike Norton, 48, Ms Aziza Charles, 31, and Ms Dawn Adams, 37, appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court last week on charges of furthering the aims of the ANC.

The five, of the Clothing Workers' Union, now work for the Education Advice Health Resource Unit in Woodstock.

The five, detained from July 6 until July 20, were picked up at the time of the Mandela birthday celebrations.

Pietermaritzburg peace talks are possible, says Mellet

THE banning and detention of key UDF leaders and the restrictions on Cosatu were not preventing peace talks between the UDF/Cosatu and Inkatha to end the on-going Maritzburg "war", Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday.

"There is no ban on Cosatu and nothing that prevents either of them from

12/8/88
CHRISTOPHER TUCHER
talking with Inkatha," he said. He said restrictions which prohibited UDF and Cosatu leaders from taking part in political activity did not keep them from seeking peace. The emergency restrictions, however, prohibit Cosatu from engaging in any-

12/8/88
H.A.
thing other than trade union activities. Peter Kerchoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness said the emergency was preventing negotiations. Inkatha Youth Brigade president Musa Zondi said Inkatha feared violence would worsen until UDF and Cosatu leaders were free to negotiate.

Meetings over aborted talks

GERALD REILLY
PRETORIA — The Federation of Sats Trade Unions yesterday decided to hold a series of meetings nationwide to explain to railway workers why they aborted arbitration on the claim for a 17% pay increase. Federation secretary Abe Koekemoer said he had asked Sats to appoint a new conciliation board.

12/8/88 B Day

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ARG 45
12/8/88

Tutu grafitti 'amusing' major tells court

Supreme Court
Reporter

A MAJOR in the police unrest unit told the Supreme Court that he found grafitti smearing Archbishop Desmond Tutu "amusing"

Major Christiaan Loedolff, second-in-command of the unrest team operating in KTC when the area was burnt in June 1986, was giving evidence in the KTC damages trial where residents and the Methodist Church are claiming R200 000 from the Minister of Law and Order.

Major Loedolff was being cross-examined yesterday by Mr H P Viljoen SC about his disposition

Mr Viljoen read an extract from Major Loedolff's pocket-book which read "Tutu will break apartheid ... a kaffir will break anything"

Major Loedolff agreed that the entry was in his handwriting and said it had been copied off a wall in Elsie's River

"At that time, grafitti was written all over," he said

"We would write it down and report it so that it could be erased"

He said he found the grafitti amusing.

"I still find it amusing today."

Asked whether police officers would use terms such as "ek sal jou donner kaffir", Major Loedolff said it was a normal expression used by police officers

"It is generally not used anymore," he said.

"Police officers are also people, you know."

'DISTURBING EVENT'

The major also gave evidence about a "disturbing" event which occurred on May 21.

A group of witdoeke had assaulted a comrade whom they alleged had wanted to shoot them

The police arrived and managed to rescue the man from the witdoeke

"The man was already seriously injured when the police arrived," Major Loedolff said

"The witdoeke were in a difficult mood and we had to force them to hand the man over to us"

Major Loedolff said the police had had to stick their heads out of their Casspir and point firearms at the crowd before the witdoeke agreed to hand over the comrade

The injured man was taken to the Manenberg police station and later to hospital where he was treated

Asked why none of the witdoeke had been arrested in connection with the assault, Major Loedolff replied that the police did not know who was responsible for the assault.

(Proceeding).

Elections: Khayelitsha strongman 'favoured'

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Special Correspondent

A GROUP of Khayelitsha residents who are "desperately keen" to stand in the municipal elections allege that the authorities are giving preferential treatment to the township's "strongman", Mr Mali Hoza

The Cape Provincial Administration has denied the allegation, however.

The complainants are a group known as the Joint Action Committee, comprising seven men and one woman, who claim they have considerable support in parts of Khayelitsha, principally areas in Site C and Site B

Speaking through their chairman, Mr Thomas Ngwane, 35, they said they were concerned at the treatment they had had from officials of the CPA since they arrived in Khayelitsha.

They allege that

● Officials regard Mr Mali Hoza of the Lingeletu Committee as the only black leader in the shack settlements

● When Site B was established in 1986 they initially negotiated with the authorities, but subsequently Mr Graham Lawrence of the CPA told them that if they had problems they should negotiate through Mr Hoza

● Last year Mr Lawrence submitted a letter to the Demarcation Board, claiming that Mr Hoza had an 80 percent following in the community. This, they allege, is an overstatement

● All their inquiries about the election, the voters' roll and how they should go about putting up candidates have been ignored.

The Joint Action Committee, like other committees in Khayelitsha, was formed by vigilantes during the unrest of 1985 and 1986 in Crossroads

Its members are Mr Ngwane, 35, (chairman), Mr R Fulane, 32, Mr S Nyandem, 37,

Mr S Nyuthu, 37, Miss N Damon, 35, Mr I Ngwilisa, 55, Mr A Gobingca, 39, and Mr J Tutu, 40.

In reply to the complaints, Mr Lawrence said it was common knowledge that the Joint Action Committee had been "at odds" with Mr Hoza and his followers for some time. Numerous meetings had been organised by the CPA to try to resolve their differences.

It was not correct to assume that one group was favoured at the expense of the other

This type of allegation was, however, not uncommon when meetings and negotiations of a delicate nature were conducted, very often in an emotionally-charged atmosphere

The Demarcation Board to which Mr Ngwane referred sat twice and representations from all interested parties were received and heard, including those of Mr Ngwane's group. The proceedings were a matter of public record

Allegations that the Joint Action Committee had been ignored in preparations for the October municipal elections were untrue

An open meeting was held on August 5 in Site B Khayelitsha. Mr Ngwane's committee was well represented. The electoral officer for Khayelitsha explained the process in detail to about 200 representatives of the various community groups of Khayelitsha.

Mr Lawrence said it was the "sincere desire" of the CPA that Mr Ngwane and his group would contest the elections "whereafter a proper and democratically obtained mandate can be obtained to serve as a basis to address the various community matters he alleges are being subjectively administered by others

"I invite all 'community and 'action groups', including Mr Ngwane and his followers, to ensure that their names appear on the voters' roll for Khayelitsha to enable them to vote on October 26," said Mr Lawrence

Langa councillor Njoli is mystery candidate

By VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

LANGA councillor and mayor of the Ikapa town council, Mr Roland Njoli, 68, remains something of a mystery candidate in the October elections after turning down repeated requests for a face-to-face discussion about his plans.

The mayor's response to initial approaches for an interview did not vary: "I'm too busy," he replied.

Finally, after repeated telephone calls, he agreed to meet us in his office on Friday, July 22.

The Argus team arrived promptly, but the mayor was "busy in a meeting". When he emerged he said he had been misinformed about the purpose of the visit.

"I don't have time for such elaborate issues," he said. Eventually he proposed a "20 questions" by correspondence

interview. Some of these are re-printed below.

Because there was no opportunity for dialogue, the written questions and answers provide little insight into the personality, aims and philosophy of this former bank clerk, who could be a key figure in the "black" community elections in a little more than two months' time.

Mr Njoli was born in Lady Frere in Transkei and was educated at the Langa High School

Q: When did you become involved in politics?

A: I joined the then local advisory Board (Langa) in 1970.

Q: What motivated you?

A: I love to promote the status of the black man in this country.

Q: What are the activities of the Ikapa Town Council? How are its members elected?

A: To look after the interests of the community and promote

its image in general. Members are democratically-elected by means of ballot votes.

Q: How much support does your committee enjoy in the townships?

A: Our support in the townships is low.

Q: What is the difference between the council and original town committee?

A: The town committee has no executive powers but the council does have such status.

Q: How does the council raise funds?

A: By collecting rent and service charges.

Q: How will the October elections be run?

A: Nominations will come from all interested candidates and they will contest 21 wards.

Q: What will your manifesto be in the elections?

A: My manifesto will be based on housing and an effort to seek land for development

and industry in order to provide job opportunities.

Q: In 1983 you reportedly said you were "not perturbed by the low percentage" poll in the elections. (You received 347 votes to opponents 207).

A: To maintain percentage is not important at the moment. What is required is progress, that is the system must produce goods.

Q: Some people perceive structures such as the council as "government puppets". What are your views on the issue?

A: As long as the government persists with structures peculiar to certain sections of the community and not to others, such governments may be termed anything — may be derogatory or even puppets, as you say.

Q: Some organisations in the black community, such as the UDF and Azapo, are restricted. They are not allowed to operate freely, so to speak. Any

comment on this matter?

A: All legitimate organisations should be allowed to take part.

Mr Roland Njoli

Argus
11/8
12/8/88

Plea to save 'arsonists'

12/8/88
Soweto 11A

SOWETO community leaders are trying to halt the prosecution of eight black students accused of burning jailed black nationalist, Nelson Mandela's home, a spokesman said yesterday.

The house, in Johannesburg's Soweto town-

ship, was gutted by flames on July 28. Neighbours said it was torched by pupils from a nearby school after an argument with members of a youth club that operates from the Mandela home.

Eight pupils appeared in court in Soweto on

Wednesday, charged with arson and public violence.

The Reverend Frank Chikane, spokesman for a committee of six community leaders handling the rebuilding of the house, said that Mandela has asked that no one should be

prosecuted for starting the fire.

"I am concerned that the prosecution of these children will not help us to resolve the problems we face. In this instance it will not help to punish the children if they were involved," Mr Chikane said — Sapa-Reuter.

CALL TIME 12/8/85 11A (11A) (11A)

De Beer: Caution over ANC's aims

Political Staff

THE ANC's reported constitutional proposals, providing for a non-racial, multi-party democracy, an entrenched bill of rights and a mixed economy, were cautiously welcomed in opposition circles this week.

The Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said everyone was a bit uncertain about the status of the ANC document, "but if the ANC is talking about a mixed economy instead of widespread nationalization and if the ANC is talking about a multi-party democracy, this seems to represent an advance in their thinking".

The leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said the principles of a multi-party democratic system in South Africa were "clearly principles we support", but he cautioned that if the ANC supported a centralized system of government this would be negative.

The leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said the fact that the ANC was looking at updating the Freedom Charter was "to be welcomed".

The adoption of the Charter at Kliptown took place many years ago and it was now outdated as

the situation had changed radically since then

"The drawing up of any new Charter must be done in consultation with the people inside South Africa.

"I don't think the ANC in exile can reflect the feelings of people inside the country," Mr Hendrickse said

Participation

The vice-president of the Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo), Mr Lybon Mabasa, said he welcomed any move that did not regard the Freedom Charter, over which many people had died, as the final document for a constitution for a future South Africa.

Azapo believed that all people in South Africa, including whites, should "at the day of reckoning have a right to participate in the drawing up of a document that pertained to how the country would be run".

It welcomed the fact that the Freedom Charter would not be the final document for a free South Africa because no organization could impose its solution, Mr Mabasa said

In his reaction, Mr Malan, who was involved in discussions with the ANC in Frankfurt earlier this year, said the new document seemed to be a restatement of the Charter principles

"We believe it very important

to create the scope for the individual to participate in the economic processes over the board."

The state had a duty to assist impoverished people, who could not keep up with the system and could not find access.

"The mixed economy proposal is a good one, but I get the impression that the ANC still believes in a centrally-controlled economy, which may be dangerous since we need the engine of growth to produce general wealth"

The secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Frank Meintjes, commented yesterday that the proposals seemed to reflect a keen understanding of the needs of nation-building

In effect, the document recognized that the future constitution would only be workable to the degree it draws in the active involvement of various sectors of institutional life of the country, he said.

"At the same time, it represents a very progressive interpretation of the various clauses of the Charter."

The proposals for a multi-party democracy were similar to what the NDM was told in Frankfurt, but obviously it should be stated clearly whether this allowed for regionalized decision-making.

Mandela home arson:

Move to halt case

24/6-7ms 12/8/88

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JOHANNESBURG — Soweto community leaders are trying to halt the prosecution of eight black pupils accused of burning jailed black nationalist Mr Nelson Mandela's home.

The Soweto house was gutted by flames on July 28. Neighbours said it was torched by pupils of a nearby school after an argument with members of a youth club that operates from the home.

Eight pupils appeared in court in Soweto on Wednesday, charged with arson and public violence. They were released on bail of R300 each.

The Rev Frank Chikane, spokesman for a committee of six community leaders, said Mr Mandela had asked that no one should be prosecuted.

He said he had asked Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, to pursue the matter with police.

Mr Ayob said he wrote to police last week telling them that Mr Mandela did not want anyone prosecuted.

"Mr Mandela told me that he did not want anyone to be punished or prosecuted for the destruction of his home," he said. "I have told the police this again. I am still talking to them." — Sapa-Reuter

Charting a new course for the Charter

In full: What the latest version says

THE full text of the 'Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa':

THE STATE

- (A) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state
- (B) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation
- (C) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution
- (D) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution

FRANCHISE

- (E) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote
- (F) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and to be elected to all legislative bodies.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

- (G) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development

BILL OF RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

- (H) The Constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement
- (I) The state and all social institutions shall be under constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms
- (J) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination
- (K) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.
- (L) Subject to clauses (I) and (K) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press



Flashback to Kliptown, 1955: crowds celebrate the signing of the Freedom Charter

Picture. ELI WEINBERG

Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and guarantee the right to education and social security

- (M) All parties which conform to the provision of (I) to (K) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

ECONOMY

- (N) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population
- (O) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity
- (P) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to cooperate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being
- (Q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector
- (R) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small-scale family activities shall be supported by the state.
- (S) The state shall promote the ac-

quisition of management, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks

- (T) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected

LAND

- (U) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues
- Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land
 - Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals

WORKERS

- (V) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution

WOMEN

- (W) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes.

THE FAMILY

- (X) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

INTERNATIONAL

- (Y) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the OAU and the Charter of the UN and to the achievement of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.

THIRTY-FIVE years after the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the African National Congress has released a further document setting out its vision of a future dispensation

Entitled "Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa", the document is the product of two years of intensive debate within the organisation. It is intended that it should be widely discussed within and outside South Africa and, if necessary, revised

According to the London journal *FrontFile*, the draft guidelines constitute a "revision" of the Freedom Charter, but are still couched in relatively general terms, "partly because the ANC wants to secure the widest possible support among South Africans of all races, and partly because it takes the position that it cannot define its policies finally until it has had an opportunity to campaign freely in South Africa and submit its views to the entire population"

The guidelines are in no way a refutation of their progenitor: indeed, the preamble is at pains to point out that updating is not the same as rethinking "The Freedom Charter," according to the document "was the first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa (It remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles

The stage is now approaching, where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision of the future into a constitutional reality"

The guidelines are intended as the first step in this process, outlining the principles upon which a future constitution should be based

The guidelines clarify, amplify, modernise, or simply endorse the broad sentiments of the charter. Where elements are excised, this is because they are clearly outdated — as, for instance, in references to the "protectorates" of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. On occasion, the charter is referred to directly, as in the section dealing with a Bill of Rights

There are 10 clauses in both the Charter and the guidelines, although the latter includes many sub-clauses

Unsurprisingly, the 1988 document reflects the concerns — and terminology — of its times

The charter's clauses dealt with the

The Freedom Charter, often criticised for 'woolly' romanticism, has been updated in a revised version issued this week by the ANC. But even the new version is likely to prompt new controversy — and new revisions.

SHAUN JOHNSON reports

franchise, racial equality, wealth distribution, land distribution, equality before the law, human rights, the right to work, equality in education and culture, housing and social security, and race relations

Some of its lyricism ("These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty"), is lacking in the new document. But the latter is clearly the product of a close analysis of contemporary political dynamics in South Africa

The guidelines commit the ANC, to a democratic, unitary, non-racial, multi-party, non-aligned South Africa, with a mixed economy and an independent judiciary. All of these principles could be found in the charter, but here they are baldly stated

For example, there are clear indications that the "reform" policies of the National Party have been engaged. The principle of "group" politics is flatly rejected, replaced by assurances about the protection of cultural identities

The ascendancy of the union movement is acknowledged in a clause dealing with workers' rights, and whereas the charter speaks of South Africa merely as a "fully independent" state, the guidelines cite non-alignment (presumably within the ambit of the Non-Aligned Movement), and proclaim allegiance to the charters of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations

The guidelines also extrapolate, in modern parlance, on the widely framed economic provisions of the charter

In all, the guidelines can be viewed as a modernisation of the charter, and in some areas a significant development upon it. Like the charter, it is as it stands — likely to be acceptable and even desirable to a broad range of South Africans. Inevitably, though, this breadth of appeal will leave many unsatisfied and there is likely to be an avalanche of suggested revisions

Barnard TV film runs into trouble

13/8/88
Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — A video film made by Professor Chris Barnard, Shaka Zulu director Bill Faure and a Cape Town millionaire to promote political moderation has run into its first snag it is unlikely to be seen locally.

US citizen and co-financier of the film, Dr Robert Hall, said the film was shown to top Foreign Affairs officials who gave it the thumbs down

"They have not ordered a single copy," he said

The three well known figures are worried that their film will get them into trouble with at least three power groupings the African National Congress and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which are heavily criticised, and the Government because of the emergency regulations

Almost an hour long, the film is highly critical of the ANC, shows several necklacings and indicates ANC approval of this method of executing "informers"

It also analyses speeches by ANC President Oliver Tambo, accusing him of lying and the ANC of hypocrisy for allegedly saying contradictory things to different audiences

Also slammed for a "pro sanctions stand" are Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Alan Boesak

Their central message is that the vast majority is in favour of moderate solutions to the country's problems and that these can be worked out if the international community stops sanctions pressure

They are convinced that major overseas television networks will not screen the video and plan to distribute it through friends and contacts, mainly in the US

They are trying to get the video cleared for viewing in South Africa but believe the emergency Press restrictions will prevent this

Desperate bid to free TV bomb suspect

Sunday Times Reporter

THE family of a black South African murder suspect being held in Zimbabwe is desperately trying to raise cash to obtain legal assistance for him

Mr Leslie Johannes Lesia, 51, of Bloemfontein, is being held in the maximum security Chikurubi Prison, outside Harare

He's awaiting trial charged with murdering the wife of an ANC official with a bomb placed in a TV at her home on May 11 1987

Sources said Mr Lesia claimed he was abducted, detained illegally, tortured and framed

His impoverished family in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, have heard no word from him since he left his home on May 5 1987

Before leaving his family Mr Lesia told his wife, Leah, and children Gordon, Joseph, Hugh and Maud that he was going to Johannesburg to find a sponsor for his dream — a school for black children where they could learn ballet, gymnastics, body building and dancing

"We never saw him again," said Hugh, 25, who, along with his brother Joseph and sister Maud are jobless. His mother and eldest brother support the family

"The first we heard were Press reports that he was in jail

"But we haven't the money to obtain proper legal assistance," said Hugh

The family now lives in terror, with members fearing they will become victims of a political vendetta

To protect her family, Mrs Lesia refused to comment

"We don't know why our father is in prison," said Hugh

"He was never interested in politics and has never been in trouble before

Loved

"He is a good man, a man who loved his family very much"

They have received no letters and heard no word from their father who, prior to his capture, ran an arts and crafts shop in Botshabelo

"The problem is that we don't know who to contact for help," Hugh said

"We go to people, follow up leads, but we have heard nothing. We are preparing for the worst"

There is little food and no coal at the Lesia's humble home, where they live with their grandmother, Maude, and Hugh's children

"It broke our hearts when we heard that our father had been tortured. Why are black people doing this to him?" asked Hugh

James
19/8/87

Kitson supporters slam ANC's London snub

LONDON — A group of African National Congress supporters say they were rebuffed by the ANC office in London despite having been given a time and date for their visit.

"We were not seen," they said in a letter to the *Guardian*

The letter was signed by Mr George Hope, a divisional organiser of the trade union Tass, Ms Mary Barnett, a member of the Haringey anti-apartheid group, Ms Pam Elliott of the Marxist Party, Ms Janet Tresman of the Finchley Labour Party and Mr Dan Rez and Mr Hugh MacGrillen, who described themselves as MSF members

They said "We had hoped to see Men'i Msimang, the chief representative of the ANC in the UK, to make representation on behalf of David and Norma Kitson who were suspended 'from activity' by the London Committee of the ANC in November 1984. No satisfactory reason has ever been given for the suspensions

"David Kitson served 20 years in South African prisons for his activities as a member of the four-man high command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC in South Africa. Only five months after his release, the London Committee of the ANC suspended him from activity.

"This suspension was used as an excuse by Tass (Kitson's trade union) to withdraw their funding of what was promised as a 'job for life' at Ruskin College while he was in jail

"The 'Justice for Kitsons' committee has now decided that a delegation from the committee will visit Lusaka to seek their reinstatement into activity in the ANC to enable them to play a full and active role in the anti-apartheid struggle" — Sapa.

and his wife Mrs Susana

New call for release of ill Mandela

Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties yesterday renewed calls for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela who was admitted to Tygerberg Hospital at the weekend

The PFP, the Independent Party (IP) and the National Democratic Movement (NDM) called on the government to release the ageing ANC leader on humanitarian and political grounds

PFP civil rights spokesman Mrs Helen Suzman, who has visited Mr Mandela in jail on a number of occasions, said that Mr Mandela's medical condition "certainly adds urgency to the situation and I hope very much that the government will use this obvious humanitarian reason to release him"

Mrs Suzman said she had been calling for the ANC leader to be freed for a long time "but now more than ever the government should be prepared to release him".

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall said: "I definitely support the release of Mandela on humanitarian and political grounds"

He said the continued incarceration of Mr Mandela was serving as a "major obstacle" to black participation in negotiation, even to leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"But were he to be released I have the deep regret that he would not be released into any established negotiating process," Dr Worrall added.

Political developments

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said it had "long been time" for Mr Mandela's release

Mr Malan said the NDM hoped the ANC leader's illness was not too serious, that he would recover quickly and be given the opportunity to make "a healthy contribution to political developments"

"The government always protests when Mandela is referred to as a political prisoner. If he is not a political prisoner, then he has served more than a life sentence

"There is no parallel in South Africa for life sentences having exceeded Mandela's (25-year) prison term

"In any event Mandela's release can only enhance the political process provided, again, the government does not release him into a banning order

"The NDM calls for his unconditional release and on the government to allow political organizations the opportunity for their leaders to seek mandates in order to participate in the process of political negotiation," Mr Malan said

11/1/88
119

Nelson Mandela responds to hospital treatment

Staff Reporter and Political Staff

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's admission to hospital has led to renewed calls for his unconditional release

Meanwhile, doctors have ruled out the possibility that he has cancer

Surgeons at Tygerberg Hospital, where Mr Mandela was admitted on Friday, announced yesterday that a biopsy revealed no evidence of malignancy but only a "severe inflammation of the membrane which surrounds the lung"

Mr Mandela was still responding well to treatment and his condition was described as "no change and very satisfactory" by a hospital spokesman

Medical superintendent Dr J G L Strauss said no further bulletins would be issued unless there was a change in his condition

VISIT

Mrs Winnie Mandela visited her husband at the hospital on Saturday

Mr Mandela's hospitalisation has strengthened the hands of those in the government who favour his early release

According to sources, Mr Mandela's illness, although not as serious as earlier believed, nonetheless is a sharp reminder of the 70-year-old life prisoner's mortality

His admission to hospital does not mean the government is about to release him. However, it is pointed out that health is one of several criteria the Prisons' advisory release board takes into account when reviewing cases

A spokesman for President Botha said last night the government's position on Mr Mandela's release had not changed

BOLD CAPS

Woord en Daad, an Afrikaans Reform Church newsletter, has called for Mr Mandela's unconditional release

An article in the newsletter says the government did not take advantage of the ANC leader's 70th birthday to release him.

National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday his continued imprisonment should be seen as an opportunity lost rather than as a risk.

PPP leader Dr Zac de Beer said the PPP had believed for many years it would be just and politically advantageous to release Mr Mandela.

**'500 000
black voters
registered'**

Municipal Reporter

ROUGHLY half a million black people in the Cape Province had registered as voters for the October municipal elections

Mr Joppa le Roux, deputy director of local government in the provincial administration, added that the figure was 472 000 a month ago

Mr Le Roux said yesterday he was unable to provide an overall registration percentage for the Cape Province.

But he did have figures for some local townships

He said in Crossroads, 15 045 people had registered out of a potential 21 000

In the Cape Town (or Ikapa) Town Council areas, which include Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and New Crossroads, 46 722 had registered out of 120 000 potential voters

At Mfuleni and Kaya Mandi, registrations stood at 2 787 and 2 635 respectively out of a possible 3 000 in both cases, he said.

Mr Le Roux said the registration figure for the Cape was 499 880, but would soon pass the half-million mark as the Khayelitsha roll would remain open until August 26

Other black voter registration figures he provided were Lwandle 1 926, Zwelotemba (Worcester) 5 746, Nduli (Ceres) 1 480, Hermanus 944, Robertson 972, Ashton 1 447, Paarl 5 574, Beaufort West 1 803, Victoria West 411, George 3 358, Mossel Bay 2 156, Oudtshoorn 1 650, and Walvis Bay 5 694.

ANC sideline top 'hardline' commissar

9965 Tink's 16/8/88 MIA

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The ANC yesterday confirmed that that new national executive committee member Mr Steve Tshwete had been removed from his position as political commissar of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

But it was denied that this was linked to a split in the organization over taking the military struggle into white areas and attacking soft targets.

The political commissar is meant to ensure that military policy remains subservient to the political line and it is being suggested that Mr Tshwete, in aligning himself closely with the militant line favoured by MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hanu, had failed to do this

Mr Tshwete, regarded as a hardliner, was one of four MK members recently appointed to the executive committee

The appointments were seen as strengthening the hands of militants

There have been suggestions that not only is there a deep split in the organization, but that the old guard had lost control

In its latest issue, the journal Africa Confidential says that following the executive committee appointments, Mr Hanu is "now arguably the most powerful person in the ANC"

Africa Confidential said Mr Hanu's aim in publicly challenging the leadership was not only to force a change of military policy

but to stake a claim for the eventual presidency of the movement.

Stating that there are both regional and tribal factors involved in this struggle, Africa Confidential says. "The balance of power has gradually tipped in Hanu's favour since the influx during the mid-1980s of young militants from the Xhosa-speaking townships of the the Cape"

While Mr Hanu's position on the executive committee has been strengthened, Africa Confidential says, steps have also been taken to curb the influence of the younger militants

These include the sacking of Mr Tshwete

● Catholic bishops condemn bombings — Page 9

Mandela house fire timing 'unfortunate'

THE Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) said yesterday it was "most unfortunate" Winnie Mandela's house was set alight "at a time when the enemy was desperately trying to discredit our organisation and leadership".

Sosco said in a statement it was "strongly opposed to the long, sustained confrontation between students and the Mandela Football Club". It denied reports it had been responsible for pamphlets blaming Azapo for the burning down of the house.

"It is not the first time that Sosco has become a victim of malicious propaganda whose intent is to destabilise it," it said.

The students' action "did not symbolise the lack of faith or rejection by the student community in Soweto in the leadership of Comrade N R Mandela as some have agreed," Sosco said. — Sapa.

Staff Reporters
and Sapa

AFRICAN National
Congress leader Mr
Nelson Mandela, 70,
stopped traffic outside
Tygerberg Hospital yes-
terday — in an indirect
way

At the hospital, where he is still
recovering from his pleural inflam-
mation, security at the entrance has
been so intensified that it has caused
early morning traffic jams

Every car was stopped by hospital
security or a policeman at the main
gate, and questioned before being al-
lowed to proceed

The Cape Times car had to pull off
the road because security staff
noticed a camera bag on the back
seat. A security official accompanied

Traffic stops for Mandela

Cape Times

16/8/88

11A

~~25~~

the team into the hospital grounds

Mrs C Goussard, a public relations
officer for the hospital, declined to
say whether Mr Mandela, admitted
on Friday, is being kept in the white
or black section of the hospital

Meanwhile, doctors said there
were three major conditions often
associated with pleural inflamma-
tion in the elderly — heart problems,
kidney dysfunctions and gall bladder
infections.

CAT
Times
12/19/88
HA

and conduct an independent examination "in order to remove any doubts which the family may feel regarding the nature, cause and cure of Mr Mandela's illness".

Meanwhile, the ANC issued a statement in London expressing serious concern at Mandela's health.

The ANC said it had been "reliably informed" that, before his hospitalization on Friday night, Mr Mandela was lying in bed, unable to eat and exercise and had difficulties of speech for a whole week.

"Although the prison authorities were obviously aware that he was ill, nothing was done until his condition had deteriorated to the critical point where he had to be rushed to hospital."

The ANC said the international community was entitled to know the purpose behind this "callous neglect".

The prison service, asked for comment, said that during the period preceding Mr Mandela's admission to Tygerberg, he had received frequent visits from family, friends and others.

"Old friends who visited him as recently as July 23 were reported in the press to have remarked on how well he was and how well he appeared. Mr Ayob last saw him on July 27.

"He was attended and treated by general practitioners (and specialists of his choice when appropriate) whenever he had any complaints about his about his health.

"His complaint and condition since July 28 was dealt with promptly. It was in this process that the medical practitioners decided to recommend his admission to hospital on August 13."

● Foreign embassy spokesmen last night expressed concern over Mr Mandela's condition and said statements would follow today.

The disclosure of the apparent nature of Mr Mandela's illness is expected to spark new calls for his release.

● President Botha's office last night declined to comment on any aspect of Mr Mandela's hospitalisation and calls for his release — Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent with Sapa-Reuter and UPI

ANC leader's ill health worries Pretoria

New pressure on Govt to free Mandela

By David Braun and Dawn Barkhuizen

The release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is suddenly being forced on the Government for reconsideration as a priority issue following his treatment in hospital this week for what his lawyer has said is tuberculosis.



Mrs Winnie Mandela and her lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday

Picture by Alf Kumalo

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee was today reported as saying he was giving personal attention to Mandela's circumstances. Mr Coetsee could not be contacted early today for further comment.

The lapse in Mandela's health weighs in his favour on humanitarian grounds — according to the State President Mr P W Botha's own criteria for deciding whether he should be released.

Government sources today confirmed that the circumstances of each prisoner are reviewed from time to time, and recent developments in Mandela's health and his prognosis would most certainly be taken into fresh consideration.

Mandela, who turned 70 last month, has been in jail for 26 years. He was transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to the Tygerberg Hospital on Friday for treatment of fluid on the lung.

In a statement last night, Mr Coetsee said he had taken note of reports on Mandela's state of health and was deeply concerned by them.

His statement followed an announcement by the Mandela family lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, that Mandela was suffering from tuberculosis and that three litres of fluid had been extracted from his lung.

Following a visit to Mandela, Mr Ayob said his client's condition had been deteriorating for some time.

A statement was issued last night from the hospital "to counteract any misinformation on the state of health of Mr Mandela."

The medical superintendent, Dr JG Strauss, said Mandela was up and about and had been improving steadily after his admission to the hospital last week.

A hospital spokesman this morning refused to confirm or deny claims that he was suffering from tuberculosis and said the diagnosis of Mandela's condition was being withheld at his request.

A Prison Services liaison officer, Brigadier Erica van Zyl, said in Pretoria that Mandela had been treated by practitioners, as well as specialists of his choice, whenever he had had any health complaints or appeared not to be in normal health, which was not often.

are returned, interviewed last week

Calls for a family doctor diagnosis

Mandela has TB, says his lawyer

B/Dey
7/8/88
11A

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela had tuberculosis and was coughing up blood, his lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said yesterday.

Ayob said at Jan Smuts Airport, after returning from visiting Mandela in Cape Town's Tygerberg Hospital, that Mandela had been admitted to hospital on Friday and looked "very thin".

Doctors had drained three litres of fluid from Mandela's left lung at the weekend and his family had requested Mandela be seen by a family doctor. No reply to the request had been received from the prison authorities.

A hospital spokesman said Mandela was being treated by Professor Attie de Kock of Stellenbosch. Ayob said De Kock had confirmed Mandela's condition but had not answered more questions from Mandela's wife, Winnie.

Ayob said he could not tell whether Mandela's life was in danger. He returned from Cape Town with Mandela's

BRUCE ANDERSON

wife and daughter, Zinzi, who had both visited Mandela in hospital.

Sapa reports the hospital's medical superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss, said Mandela had requested the diagnosis of the condition for which he was being treated be withheld.

He also said Mandela had, up till now, refused the offer for an independent doctor to examine him for a second opinion.

In order to counteract "any misinformation" on the state of Mandela's health, the hospital had decided to announce he had been steadily improving since his admission.

Strauss said: "He is up and about. His pleural drain has been removed and the lung has expanded fully."

SA Council of Churches leader Frank Chikane, on behalf of the Mandela Crisis

● To Page 2 →

11A (203) B/Dey 17/8/88

Mandela has tuberculosis, says lawyer

ting

Committee, said an urgent letter had been sent to President P W Botha, with copies to other relevant Ministers

The letter requested permission for a team of medical specialists of Mandela family's choice to visit Mandela in hospital and conduct an independent examination "in order to remove any doubts which the family may feel regarding the nature, cause and cure of Mr Mandela's illness"

The ANC has issued a statement in London expressing serious concern at Mandela's health

□ Sapa-Reuter reports Winnie Mandela was mobbed by hundreds of nurses and patients after visiting her husband in hospital

Plainclothes and uniformed police-

men stood guard outside the hospital, and the fourth floor, where Mandela is being treated, was sealed off

□ DIANNA GAMES reports a Johannesburg spokesman for Santa, the TB centre, said if the condition was diagnosed early it could be cured and there would be no permanent damage to the lung

If it was in an advanced stage, however, the disease could be arrested but there would be permanent damage to the lung. Any treatment would have to be administered regularly over a minimum period of six months

□ Foreign embassy spokesmen expressed concern at Mandela's condition and said statements would follow today

← ● From Page 1

Minister holds Mandela talks

ARCAS 17/888

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Kobie Coetsee asks prisons chief about conditions for TB-stricken ANC leader

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE jail conditions of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela have been discussed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Commissioner of Prisons, Lieutenant General W H Willense, and more talks are expected in Pretoria today

It is now generally accepted in government circles that Mr Mandela has tuberculosis, as announced yesterday by the Mandela family attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob

Mr Coetsee said today he knew about the various reports and medical bulletins about Mr Mandela's condition

He was "deeply perturbed" and steps to ensure a speedy recovery were receiving his personal attention

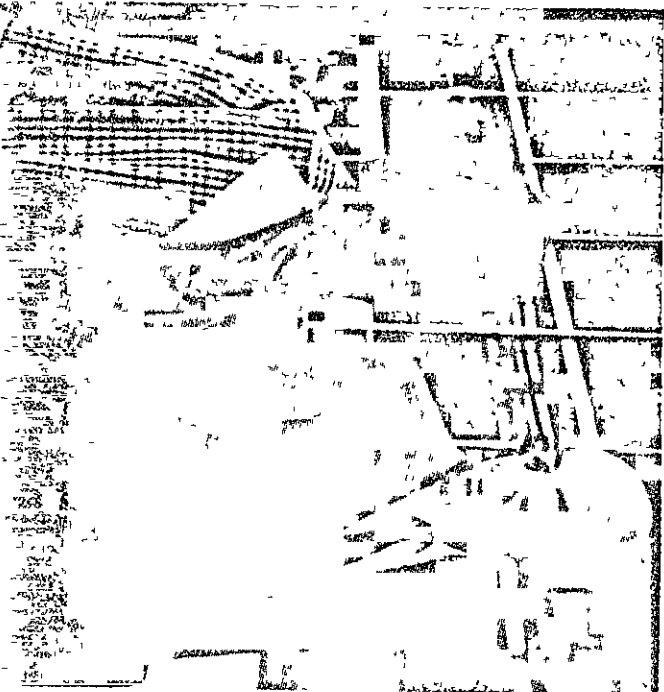
The latest bulletin from Tygerberg Hospital said Mr Mandela was "up and about" and improving

Mr Ayob's announcement that Mr Mandela had tuberculosis was made after he accompanied Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi to see the patient in Tygerberg

"On his feet"

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela was thin but "on his feet" after fluid was drained from an inflamed lung on Saturday

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela's condition had been deteriorat-





Mrs Winnie Mandela and lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob after visiting the ANC leader in Tygerberg Hospital

Acute form of tuberculosis but can be cured — expert

Medical Reporter

AN expert on tuberculosis said today that from reports of Nelson Mandela's symptoms, he obviously had a very active and acute form of TB, but it could be treated.

A pleural effusion — a collection of fluid between the pleural membranes between the lungs and the chest wall — was an unusual presentation of TB in a person of Mr Mandela's age, he said.

Mr Mandela turned 70 last month.

The condition was more common in younger patients. He said the fluid constricted

the lungs and made breathing difficult.

A tube was normally inserted to drain this fluid, enabling the lungs to expand.

"In a patient of his age it is very important to search for other contributing and debilitating factors, especially diabetes."

"Assuming that these factors are found and controlled, and there aren't any complications, with modern drugs he should be cured in six months."

He said it was unlikely that Mr Mandela was in much discomfort now that the fluid had been drained.

In hospital 4 times in 25 years

Political Staff

MR Mandela has been "officially" hospitalised outside prison four times since his incarceration 25 years ago, but a private specialist said today he had treated him in city rooms "at least three times".

The doctor, who may not be named for professional reasons, said minor procedures had been performed on Mr Mandela on at least three occasions since 1986.

The treatment was not linked to Mr Mandela's lungs.

Mr Mandela's first officially-confirmed hospitalisation was in November 1979 when he had a "minor operation on his right heel" at Woodstock Hospital. In February 1983 he was admitted to the same hospital for a "minor operation".

In September 1985 it was reported that Mr Mandela had prostate problems. He was treated by a state urologist and later his family appointed three specialists to see him.

Mr Madela's prostate gland was removed at the Volks Hospital in the Gardens.

gerberg Hospital said Mr Mandela was "up and about" and improving.

Mr Ayob's announcement that Mr Mandela had tuberculosis was made after he accompanied Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi to see the patient in Tygerberg.

"On his feet"

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela was thin but 'on his feet' after fluid was drained from an inflamed lung on Saturday.

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela's condition had been deteriorating for some time.

He had been in bed since August 3 with a persistent, and at times bloody, cough and was transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to Tygerberg Hospital on Friday.

He had been short of breath and his speech had been impaired.

By Friday he had lost his voice completely. Three litres of fluid had been removed from his left lung.

"He is very thin. Suddenly he looks very old."

Mr Ayob would not comment on whether Mr Mandela's life was in danger.

He said the diagnosis had been confirmed by a Dr de Kock in Cape Town yesterday. Dr de Kock had evaded questions from Mrs Mandela, saying further tests were being made.

Mrs Mandela and her daughter, both looking drawn and tired, would not comment and were whisked away from Jan Smuts Airport in a mini-bus.

Mobbed

At Tygerberg earlier Mrs Mandela was mobbed by hundreds of nurses and patients after visiting her husband. She raised her fist in a black power salute as patients shouted "Viva Mandela!"

Mrs Mandela and her family have made an urgent appeal to President Botha to allow a team of specialists of their choice to examine Mr Mandela "in order to remove any doubts which the family may feel regarding the nature, cause and cure" of his illness.

The Rev Frank Chikane, on behalf of the Mandela Crisis Committee, said "Mrs Mandela and family are anxiously awaiting the reply of the State President and hospital authorities."

But according to Tygerberg Hospital Mr Mandela has refused an offer that an independent doctor to examine him for a second opinion.

(Turn to page 3, col 7)

Renewed calls for ANC leader's release come in from all quarters

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent
and KAREN STANDER
Staff Reporter

CONCERN over the seriousness of Mr Nelson Mandela's illness has led to renewed calls for his release.

A wide range of groupings, from Afrikaner churchmen to opposition political parties, has called on the government to release the ageing ANC leader.

Health and age are among the various factors taken into consideration by the government when considering the release of prisoners.

And Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on civil rights said today that whatever the medical prognosis Mr Mandela was a man of 70 and his health was obviously not as good as it used to be.

The moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns, said to

day "It is a serious condition and the government should pay immediate attention to it."

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zac de Beer, said yesterday it would be just and politically advantageous to release Mr Mandela.

The general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, called on President Botha to release Mr Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party said this week that the continued incarceration of the ANC leader was a major obstacle to black participation in negotiation.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, said it had long been time for Mr Mandela's release.

Woord en Daad, a Gereformeerde Kerk newsletter, this week also called for Mr Mandela's unconditional release.

A spokesman for President Botha's office in Pretoria said today there had been no change in the policy for the release of security prisoners since this was set out by Mr Botha in August last year.

This was that renunciation of violence was only one factor in a prognosis for release, and that the Government would be guided by statutory release bodies and what it deemed to be in the interests of the country.

17/8/88

Sosco strongly opposes 'war'

Soweto
1/A

THE Soweto Students' Congress said yesterday it was "most unfortunate" Mrs Winnie Mandela's house was set alight "at a time when the enemy was desperately trying to scandalise and discredit our organisations and leadership"

Sosco said in a statement released in Johannesburg it was "strongly opposed to the long sustained confrontation between students and the Mandela Football Club"

It denied reports it had been responsible for pamphlets blaming Azapo for the burning down of the house

"We vehemently condemn such futile propaganda that is intended to divide the community on ideological grounds. It is not the first time that Sosco and other progressive organisations have become a victim of malicious propaganda whose intent is to destabilise it," the statement said



Mrs WINNIE Mandela
... house burnt down.

The students' action did "not symbolise the lack of faith or rejection by the student community in Soweto in the leadership of comrade N R Mandela as some have agreed," it said

The conflict which led to the arson "had no political content whatsoever," Sosco said

"We call on all the students to be united in their support for the efforts of the community leaders who have already achieved much through their efforts to resolve this matter

"With the system trying so much to sow division and confusion we call upon the students to leave the matter in the hands of community leaders" — Sapa

CME Times 17/8/88 **ANC men deny shootout**

MBABANE — Two ANC members have denied, in the Magistrate's Court here that they exchanged fire with Swazi police who confronted them at Figg's Peak on July 14.

11A

Doctors diagnose Nelson

Two days after Nelson Mandela's admission to hospital, doctors released a statement saying that "histological examinations had revealed a chronic inflammatory condition of the pleura."

In layman's terms, this means that the membrane covering the lung was inflamed and a fluid build-up had accumulated between the membrane's double layers. This build-up puts pressure on the lung and makes breathing difficult.

DOCTORS RULE OUT CANCER

Called pleurisy, this condition is common and may be either acute or chronic. In the case of chronic pleurisy, tuberculosis is usually responsible, medical experts have said.

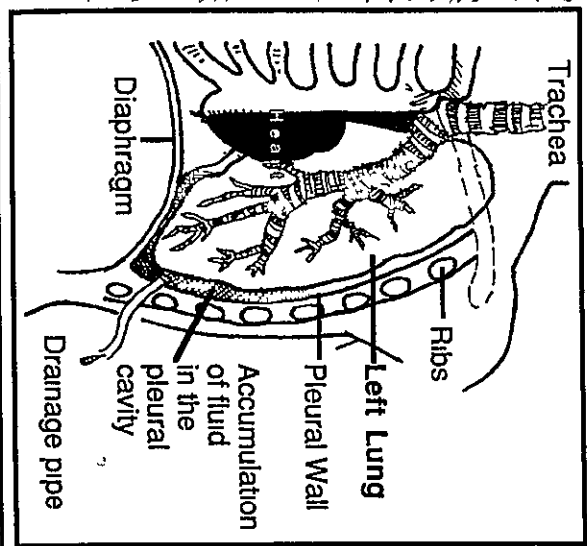
But there are many other causes including heart or kidney failure, cancer or a variety of viral and bacterial infections such as pneumonia. Doctors at Tygerberg immediately ruled out can-

Nelson Mandela was admitted to the Tygerberg Hospital in Cape Town last Friday with chronic inflammation of the left lung. **TONI YOUNGHUSBAND, The Star's Medical Reporter**, spoke to independent doctors about the possible causes

cer, saying tests had revealed no malignancies, but they have refused to elaborate any further.

The accumulated fluid has now been drained from the lung and, according to a hospital spokesman, the lung has expanded.

In the case of tuberculosis, treatment will involve either chemotherapy or a course of drugs, or both. While TB is a highly infectious disease, once treatment begins it is immediately rendered harmless. This treatment usually lasts six months and can be administered either in hospital or at home.



According to Dr Theo Collins of the South African National Tuberculosis Association, prisoners suffering from a chronic case of TB are often treated in tuberculosis hospitals, but those who are not too ill are sent back to the prisons. This poses no danger for the other prisoners as, once treatment has begun, the disease is no longer infectious. The South African Prison's Service was reluctant to comment until doctors had made a positive diagnosis.

Tuberculosis is curable provided treatment is started early and is given on a regular basis. The duration of the illness is largely dependent upon four factors. The acuteness of the infection, the age of the patient, the stage at which efficient treatment is started and the natural resistance of the patient to the disease. Obviously the older the patient, the weaker his resistance.

According to Black's Medical Dictionary, in re-

cent years there has been an increasing incidence of respiratory or pulmonary tuberculosis in older people. Notification rates in England have been highest in elderly men and in South Africa the highest number of sufferers are blacks.

TB EPIDEMIC IN SOUTH AFRICA

Last year, there were more than 46 000 new TB notifications among black people.

Tuberculosis is most commonly contracted through the inhalation of the sputum and other discharges of others suffering from the illness. Overcrowded, insanitary and poorly-ventilated conditions facilitate the spread of this disease. The TB virus can, however, be dormant for many years before being activated.

It is an illness which has reached epidemic proportions in South Africa, the highest incidence being recorded in the Cape.

Mandela's illness

Pain of Argentina's return to civil rights

Star
2/18/88

BUENOS AIRES — It is a tribute to the remarkable change that has taken place in Argentina under President Raul Alfonsín that the only visible references to human rights in Buenos Aires now are a few posters protesting about troubles in Transylvania

Opinion polls indicate that human rights are no longer an issue. People mention inflation, crime and drugs — the concerns of citizens of democratic countries throughout the world.

Yet only six years ago, Argentina emerged shattered and traumatised from nearly a decade of unimaginable brutality, as the armed forces and the extreme right waged an indiscriminate war against subversion. At least 20 000 and perhaps as many as 30 000 people disappeared in this orgy of torture, murder and imprisonment.

Freedom

Now the white silhouettes of a faceless head adorned with a scarf, the symbol of the grandmothers who held their lonely and brave vigil for the missing in the Plaza de Mayo, fade on the paving stones. Outside the presidential palace, demonstrators bang large drums in a protest against rising transport costs. Argentines are enjoying their freedom.

But if Mr Alfonsín expected his achievements in establishing the rule of law and nurturing the fledgling democracy to put his Radical Party in a position to win the presidential elections in May, he has been disappointed.

His standing in the polls has slumped and the man chosen to succeed him, Mr Eduardo Angeloz, is in the Alfonsín mould and has suffered by association. Democracy, Argentines have realised, is not a panacea, but a means to achieve ends. The failure to achieve many of those ends has cost Mr Alfonsín dearly at home, even while his standing abroad remains high.

One element of this disillusionment is his perceived failure to pun-

BY JOHN EISENHAMMER

A sour economy turns Argentina Peronist again just six years after a decade of brutality, as the armed forces waged war against subversion

ish the army sufficiently for its appalling abuses. Nine former military rulers were prosecuted in 1985 on human rights charges. But it is widely felt that the president, following the abortive Easter rebellion last year led by a junior officer, did a deal with the military.

A more serious deficiency has been Mr Alfonsín's inability to use his early popularity to embark on a radical economic shake-up. The result has been drift and uncertainty and a now badly faltering economy. Per capita GNP is what it was in the mid-1970s. There will be no growth this year and inflation, which was 25 percent last month, has ravaged purchasing power, which is expected to drop by 11 percent in 1988 compared with last year.

Independent economists, without exception, find little ground for optimism. "Today, finally, the government and the people have realised the gravity of the crisis," said Mr Eduardo de la Fuente, president of Argentina's equivalent of the CBI. "There is only one way forward: Effort and sacrifice." These are hardly words that win elections.

The problem for Mr Angeloz is that he can do little more than promise more of the same. Like Mr Alfonsín, he has an impressive record of having stood up to the military before 1982 — he was a defence lawyer in human rights cases — and he opposed the Falklands war.

Governor of Argentina's second most important province, Córdoba, he is a capable administrator. He favours privatisation, opening up the economy and deregulation — all the things President Alfonsín has talked about and barely done.

While Mr Angeloz struggles to find a distinctive and attractive identity, his main rival is enthusiastically riding the wave of frustra-

Mr Carlos Menem, presidential candidate of the opposition Peronist party, is a natural populist who warms to the role of defender of the little man. Born of Syrian parents, a Muslim converted to Catholicism, he is governor of the poor province of La Rioja at the foothills of the Andes, in the west of the country.

His irreverence is a slap in the face of the wealthy establishment of Buenos Aires. On it rides not just working class disenchantment, but the provincial elites' resentment of domination by the capital.

With the unions the mainstay of his organised support, Mr Menem is unlikely, if elected, to tackle the ills of the economy. He would be expected to begin in office by substantially raising wages. He has talked vaguely about a "grace period" on external debt payments.

Bankrupt

In La Rioja he has increased employment in the public sector by 80 percent since 1983. He has built schools, hospitals and hired more policemen.

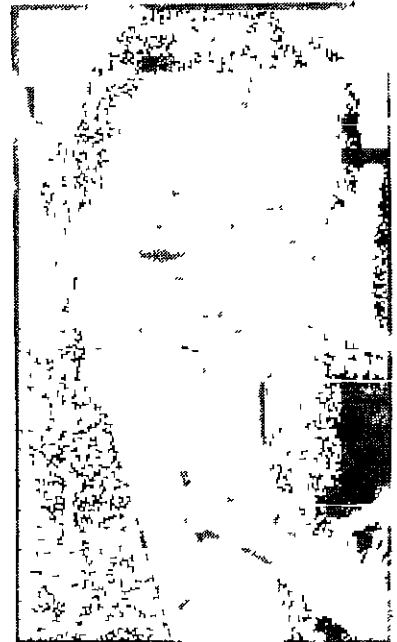
He has also bankrupted his province.

If Mr Menem wins, he will assume office in a country that is overwhelmingly Peronist. In national elections last year, the first confirmation of the collapse of Mr Alfonsín's support, the Peronists captured most of the country's provinces.

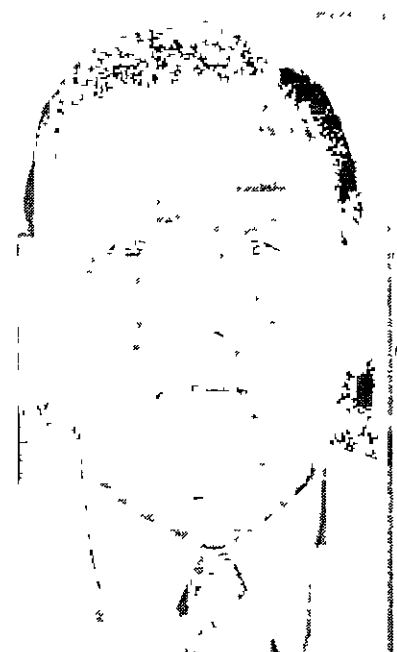
If Mr Angeloz wins the presidency, he will face a dauntingly hostile political landscape.

But for many Argentines, that is already looking too far ahead. Who wins is in a sense less important than the fact of the elections themselves and an orderly, democratic transition.

It is then, however, that the real test of Argentine democracy will come.



President Raul Alfonsín ... popularity has slumped



The late Juan Perón ... inspires present mood in Argentina.

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Mandela's Special, says Botha

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, last night said Mr Nelson Mandela was a "special prisoner" and that he was "even more concerned" with Mr Mandela's health than was the SA Council of Churches.

And it was disclosed last night that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday visited the ailing ANC leader in Tygerberg Hospital.

Later, Mr Coetsee said Mr Mandela was on the road to "recovery", and almost "his old self".

The minister spent several minutes with Mr Mandela — said to have TB — before flying to Durban for the Natal National Party Congress.

In the wake of the visit, Mr Botha responded to a letter — sent to him and other government ministers by SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane — in which the President was asked if a team of specialists chosen by the Mandela family could be allowed to take over his treatment.

He said Mr Mandela received special and individual attention from prisons and health authorities, and both Mr Coetsee and the Commissioner of Prisons had made it "their personal business" to ensure that he was properly cared for.

He thanked Mr Chikane for the concern he had expressed and assured him that "we are

even more concerned and do wish Mr Mandela a speedy recovery.

"About your statement that the family want to introduce a team of medical experts to remove doubts in their (the family's) minds, I am of the opinion that it is rather the needs and interests of the patient that are of primary concern," Mr Botha said.

His reaction came as Mr Mandela's Tygerberg Hospital physician said the ANC leader stood a good chance of a complete recovery.

The hospital's chief medical superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss, last night maintained his silence over a claim by Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, that Mr Mandela had TB.

But, said Dr Strauss, he had a "good prognosis", was "up and about" and was responding well to treatment.

"A definite diagnosis of his illness was made on August 13 Mr Mandela was fully informed thereof and was placed on the appropriate treatment."

The hospital would not object to a request by Mr Mandela for a second, independent, opinion. He had made no such request.

Last night Mr Coetsee said he too believed Mr Mandela was satisfied with his treatment.

"He looks as though he is almost his old self and is already enjoying jokes." — Political Staff



'GREATLY CONCERNED'
 Botha speaks on Mr Mandela

choose to go back to prison'

From DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

DURBAN. — President Botha today opened the way for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

A top government official confirmed today that Mr Mandela, now in Tygerberg Hospital, had tuberculosis, but that it was not infectious.

Mr Botha told the Natal National Party congress in Durban he did not think it wise for Mr Mandela, at his age and in his condition, to choose to go back to jail.

"I hope he will make it possible for me to act in a humane way and in such a way that we can have peace in South Africa instead of violence," he said.

Mr Botha added "But I am not going to be told by individual pressmen what I should do. And I am not going to be told by communists what I should do.

"This government will, in a responsible way, consider the whole position on its merits.

Co-operation

"If we get the co-operation we have so far got from Mr Mandela, I believe we will have positive results," Mr Botha said to loud applause.

Earlier in his opening speech at the congress Mr Botha reminded the delegates that Mr Mandela was found guilty many years ago by a court of law. He was jailed for life.

"I am prepared to release Mr Mandela if he would say he rejects violence as a means to achieve a political end and if he would not start campaigning for a process of violence in South Africa.

"I said this in Parliament and to various leaders of the Western world and I have letters in my possession from Western leaders who agree with me that one cannot talk to people who stand for violence," he said.

Best of care

On the care Mr Mandela is receiving, Mr Botha said "He is well cared for and under the supervision of some of the best experts in that specialist field of medical care.

"I still maintain the attitude that it is a matter for Mr Mandela and his medical advisers to decide whether independent medical opinion will be called.

"It is not a matter for me or his attorney or the ANC, but for Mr Mandela and his medical advisers, and that is how it is going to be."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, confirmed that he visited Mr Mandela yesterday afternoon.

"Satisfied"

He said Mr Mandela appeared to be comfortable and seemed to have taken the first steps towards recovery.

"He appears to be satisfied with his treatment and surroundings.

"He looks as if he is almost his old self and is already enjoying jokes.

Mr Coetsee arrived at Tygerberg before 3pm, entering the hospital by a side door, four floors beneath Mr Mandela's ward.

After about an hour three men, apparently bodguards, drove off in the Minister's car and a white sedan.

It is understood that the Minister left through a different entrance in another vehicle.

Journalists and television crews staked out the hospital most of the day but were not allowed in.

● See page 7.

Not wise
1/8/80
11/9
11/9

DAVID BRUN

DAVID BRUN

B Day 18/8/88

11A

The ANC's guidelines for a democratic SA

FOR ALMOST two years, the African National Congress has been discussing a revision of the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955.

It has now produced a draft document on "Constitutional Guidelines for a democratic SA," based on the charter

The document has appeared in Front File, a brief on Southern Africa published in London and edited by Richard Hopgood and Stanley Uys. Front File says the ANC has thrown the guidelines open for discussion, and when opinions have been collated the document could be revised.

The document says a democratic SA requires a constitution based on the following principles:

THE STATE

A. — SA shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state,

B. — Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration.

Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation,

C. — The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution,

D. — All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

FRANCHISE

E. — In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote;

F. — Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and to be elected to all legislative bodies

NATIONAL IDENTITY

G. — It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development

BILL OF RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

H. — The constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement,

I. — The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms,

J. — The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination,

K. — The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed,

L. — Subject to clauses (I) and (K) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the Press

Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and guarantee the right to education and social security;

M. — All parties which conform to the provision of (I) to (K) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country

ECONOMY

N. — The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population,

O. — The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity;

P. — The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being;

Q. — The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector;

R. — Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small-scale family activities shall be supported by the state,

S. — The state shall promote the acquisition of managerial, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks,

T. — Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

LAND

U. — The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues:

Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land,

Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals

WORKERS

V. — A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution

WOMEN

W. — Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes

THE FAMILY

X. — The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected

INTERNATIONAL

Y. — SA shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of Organisation of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations and to the achievement of national liberation, world peace and disarmament

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Commission sparks Rajbansi, Dookie row

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Durban's James commission became a slanging match yesterday with the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and former minister Mr Baldeo Dookie having to be constantly kept in check by the commission chairman

"I don't want this to become a general attempt at character assassinations — I am only concerned with the alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates," Mr Justice James said

Cross-examining Mr Dookie, Mr Rajbansi charged that he (Mr Dookie) did not adequately fulfil his duties in the three years he was Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture

He accused him of "failing to respond timeously" to municipalities' requests for meetings, failing to return telephone calls, speaking to people in an offhand manner and

"getting upset" when he was not referred to as "Minister Dookie"

He also alleged that, because of Mr Dookie, 500 serviced sites remained vacant for three years while 40 000 people wanted accommodation

"These are some of the many reasons which resulted in your removal (from the House of Delegates)," Mr Rajbansi said

Mr Dookie responded by saying he had not received complaints about not meeting people He added that he was a "lovable" person and did not speak badly to anyone "Everyone likes me," he said

Referring to the sites, he said his department was unable to get the relevant municipalities to reduce the prices of the sites

Interrupting the crossfire, the commission chairman commented "I doubt if it wasn't for the action (Mr Dookie's defamation suit against Mr Rajbansi in the Supreme Court, Durban) whether much of this would be emerging"

The hearing continues today

absorbing them
He said it was in the context of plan
● To Page 2 →

base as a profitable route to future growth, while others argue Unisys is too large a company for Mercedes Datakor to absorb profitably

Mandela gets the best: PW

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela was getting the very best medical care from doctors of international repute, President P W Botha said last night.

He was responding to a letter from SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane expressing concern about Mandela's condition.

Botha said the Justice Minister and Commissioner of Prisons made it their personal business to see Mandela was properly cared for. He was satisfied prison authorities acted promptly when Mandela showed symptoms of being unwell.

**GERALD REILLY
and BRUCE ANDERSON**

He thanked Chikane for his concern and assured him "we are even more concerned and wish Mr Mandela a speedy recovery" Mandela was a prisoner in a special category and for obvious reasons, he received even more special care and individual attention

Meanwhile, hospital and government spokesmen were yesterday still refusing to confirm or deny whether Mandela had tuberculosis.

● To Page 2 → B/Day

'Best medical treatment for Mandela'

Late yesterday Tygerberg Hospital medical superintendent J G Strauss said Mandela's physician considered he had a "good prognosis" for complete recovery. He was "up and about" and responding well to treatment.

PFP MP for Houghton Hejen Suzman said yesterday Mandela "should be released, because the government now has a humanitarian reason which should allow them to release him without pressure from the right wing, or, without the international community attributing his release to pressure from the outside"

SAPA reports the SA embassy in London yesterday rejected an offer by Brit-

an's Trades Union Congress to pay for Mandela to go to Britain for medical treatment if SA released him.

DIANA GAMES reports that Dr Theo Collins of the SA National Tuberculosis Association said yesterday fluid around the lung, which had been diagnosed in Mandela's case, could have caused rapid deterioration.

He said it was one of the dramatic complications of the disease, as it would cause the lung to collapse, causing extreme breathlessness and discomfort.

18/8/88 (11A)

From Page 1 (11A)

B/Day

Mandela arson *CAE*

'unfortunate' *Trust*

JOHANNESBURG — *10/18/88*

The Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) said yesterday it was "most unfortunate" that Mrs Winnie Mandela's house was set alight "at a time when the enemy was desperately trying to scandalize and discredit our organizations and leadership" *11/9*

Sosco said in a statement it was "strongly opposed to the long sustained confrontation between students and the Mandela Football Club" — Sapa

Mandela receiving 'best treatment'

PRETORIA — President Botha says he is satisfied that Mr Nelson Mandela is receiving the best medical care

Mr Botha says this in a reply to a letter from Rev Frank Chikane

Mr Botha had not received Mr Chikane's letter directly, his office said in Pretoria, but other Ministers who received copies provided Mr Botha with a copy

The contents of Mr Botha's letter were released by his office

Mr Botha said in his reply he wished to thank Rev Chikane for the concern he had expressed and wished to assure him that "we are even more concerned and do wish Mr Mandela a speedy recovery".

Mr Mandela was a prisoner "in a special category of his own" and received even more special and individual attention than the normal high standard of medical care provided by the prisons and health authorities

"I know that the Minister of Justice and the Commissioner of Prisons make it their personal business to ensure that Mr Mandela is properly

1988 (114) (114) (114)
cared for," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha had been kept informed of events by the Minister of Health and the Minister of Justice since Mr Mandela was admitted to Tygerberg Hospital

"About your statement that the family want to introduce a team of medical experts to remove doubts in their (the family's) minds, I am of the opinion that it is rather the needs and interests of the patient that are of primary concern. He is being treated by doctors that are internationally recognised as experts in their fields," Mr Botha said

"I am therefore of the opinion that the medical team presently in charge of his treatment and Mr Mandela be allowed jointly to decide on whether other medical assistance should be called in. I have nevertheless arranged for a copy of your letter and of my reply to be handed to Mr Mandela

"I wish to thank you for the concern you have expressed and wish to assure you that we are even more concerned and do wish Mr Mandela a speedy recovery"

The letter was signed by Mr Botha, carried a Union Buildings letterhead and was addressed to the Rev Chikane's post office box in Johannesburg — Sapa

ANC: Soft-target blasts unintended

CAPL Tim's 18/8/88
Staff Reporter

(11A) (11A)

THE African National Congress said yesterday that casualties resulting from a spate of recent bomb attacks on "soft" targets were "unintended", as it was not the organization's policy to attack civilian targets

In a statement issued in Lusaka, the organization was reported by AP to say that its leaders were concerned over the recent spate of bomb attacks on civilian targets in SA

Some of the attacks which were not ordered by the ANC, but were carried out by ANC guerillas "inspired by anger" at the government's military actions and its "campaign of terror" against blacks

Expressing concern over the recent attacks, the ANC executive committee said "In certain instances, operational circumstances resulted in unintended casualties"

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said last night that any indication that the ANC was trying to avoid civilian targets must be welcomed

● Targets of ANC mines — Page 2

Justice Minister pays visit to a 'joking' Mandela

Staff Reporters

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday visited ANC leader Nelson Mandela (70) at Tygerberg Hospital

After his visit, Mr Coetsee said "Mr Mandela appears to be comfortable and seems to have taken the first steps towards recovery

"He appears to be satisfied with his treatment and surroundings and looks as though he is almost his old self. He is already enjoying jokes"

Mr Coetsee said he thought it would be in Mandela's own interest to remain in the medical care of the specialists attending him at present and until he had recovered satisfactorily

A justice ministry spokesman said this morning he could not confirm or deny claims that Mandela was suffering from tuberculosis

There has also been no confirmation from doctors at Tygerberg Hospital — where Mandela has been since last week — of his condition, despite a statement by his lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, on Tuesday that he had tuberculosis

RESPONDING WELL

A hospital spokesman today said Mandela was responding well to treatment and had a good chance of recovery. The hospital refused to release any details of Mandela to The Star today. A spokesman said all information was being distributed through Sapa

Sapa's latest report said Mandela was "up and about" and responding well to treatment

It said Mandela was fully aware of his condition and "completely satisfied" with the treatment and care he was receiving

The hospital would have no objections to any request by Mandela for a second, independent, medical opinion, but so far he has made no such request

The diagnosis of his ailment has been withheld at the request of Mandela himself, a hospital spokesman has said

day August 18 1988

Disagreement in ANC on issue of civilian targets

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

The ANC's admission that its members had carried out attacks on "soft targets" was the closest one could get to a criticism by the organisation of its own cadres, an expert, Professor Tom Lodge of Wits University, said yesterday.

The issuing of the statement with an announcement that the organisation's political commissar, Mr Steve Tshwete, had been transferred seemed to underscore the ANC's disapproval of his and other members' opinions, said Professor Lodge.

He was responding to a statement issued by the ANC in Lusaka on Tuesday in which it said it reaffirmed that its policy was not to attack civilian targets. This, it said, would "play into the

hands of the ANC's enemies"

"It's clearly the case that the statement represents the consensus view of their national executive council, probably reached after heated discussion."

He said there were disagreements in the ANC over the extent to which civilians should be targets.

"I don't think the simultaneous producing of their statement along with the announcement of Steve Tshwete's transfer are entirely coincidental.

"His removal would seem to underscore the ANC's disapproval of some of the opinions which he and others seem to have," said Professor Lodge.

Approached for comment, Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, said recent

bomb attacks had shown that the ANC had by no means distanced itself from planned violence.

He said the fact that the ANC's national executive council now contained four members of the organisation's military wing — up from two — was clear proof that it condoned violence.

"It is clear the ANC has lost feeling with the people of South Africa"

11A
SM 18/88

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A TIMES

ANC distances itself from civilian targets

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) yesterday said casualties resulting from a spate of recent bomb attacks on "soft" targets were "unintended" as it was not the organisation's policy to attack civilian targets.

In a statement issued in Lusaka, the National Executive Committee (NEC) said some of the attacks were not ordered by the ANC — but were carried out by ANC guerillas "inspired by anger" at the government's military actions and its "campaign of terror".

"The ANC underscores that it is con-

trary to our policy to select targets whose sole object is to strike at civilians," the statement said.

Permission to quote the ANC was obtained from Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet.

Expressing concern over the recent attacks, the NEC said: "In certain instances, operational circumstances resulted in unintended casualties

"Our morality as revolutionaries dictates that we respect the value underpinning the humane conduct of war. Any other course of action would play into

the hands of the enemy".
The ANC also blamed South African government agents for carrying out bomb attacks to discredit the ANC

Our Cape Town correspondent reports Tom Lodge, an academic expert on the ANC, as saying the ANC had recently called a NEC meeting specifically to discuss attacks on civilian targets.

"There has been a shift towards soft targets — but this does not indicate a policy change. It just means the units on the ground are more willing to attack soft targets," said Lodge — Sapa-AP

Pressure on government mounts

ANC is to blame for terror acts

SIR — The *Comment* of August 2, 1988 in the *Sowetan* raises certain crucial issues. Firstly, the *Comment* expresses concern with the manner in which the Government and several organisations "blame the African National Congress for bomb blasts, and expresses the opinion that while all other organisations and individuals are first proven guilty, the ANC is immediately blamed for any act of terrorism."

Secondly, the *Comment* makes the emotional claim that it is "terrifying" when a senior Cabinet minister blames the ANC for bomb blasts "even before the police start their investigations" and implies that the subsequent investigations are merely to confirm the ministerial statement.

Thirdly, claims are made that the ANC is linked to a specific community and that accusations harm race relations and finally it is speculated that "right wing elements" are responsible for the bomb blasts and not organisations "outside the Republic." It is necessary to deal with these speculations one by one.

Firstly the *Sowetan's* concern about the placing of blame on the ANC must be seen against the historical

realities of the South African situation. Umkhonto We Sizwe the military wing of the ANC/SACP Alliance has carried out many terror attacks in the past three decades.

Police investigations the subsequent trial of terrorists and more importantly in acts of terror.

Furthermore the African National Congress and Umkhonto We Sizwe have a stated commitment to terrorism which was recently reinforced by the statements of ANC president O R Tambo MK Chief of Staff, Chris Ham and recent UDF Border Region chairman and now Chief Political Commissar of MK Steve Tshwete as reported in the *Times* of London, June 7 1988.

In this interview the ANC committed itself to an escalated terror war in the urban areas of the Republic and specifically targeted "white areas for attack. This reinforced the statement made by O R Tambo in *The New York and Herald Tribune* of January 20, 1987, in which he said that the killing of civilians "gives hope" and would play an increasing role in the ANC actions.

Surely it is therefore reasonable to expect that in incidents of urban

terrorism in which Soviet weaponry which has been used time and time again by the ANC is used, that this organisation is responsible for the act of terror.

Despite this the Minister of Law and Order qualifies communications with the statement that indications suggest that the ANC is responsible. In the light of the facts at hand this is surely a reasonable deduction on the part of the Minister.

Secondly the insinuation in *Comment* that the function of police investigations is merely to confirm Ministerial communications is at variance with the facts. The record of the South African Police in the investigation of acts of terror and the arrest and trial of suspects is unsurpassed in the field of urban counter insurgency a fact reinforced by the high rate of cases successfully solved by the SAP in the course of their duties and the convictions resulting from this.

It would appear that it is the *Comment* of the *Sowetan* which has lost faith in the integrity of the courts in their conviction of terrorists and not the Minister as implied in the article.

The fact that the pre-investigation information given to the Minister



by the SAP is almost always confirmed by the subsequent investigation and trial is a reflection of the accuracy and the intelligence capabilities of the police rather than some sinister relationship which supersedes the law.

Thirdly the claim that the actions of the ANC are linked to a specific community and harm race relations is farcical. Recent trends and ANC recruitment patterns indicate that Umkhonto We Sizwe draws heavily from the white Indian and coloured communities and that terrorism affects all South Africans equally. Furthermore the ANC has killed far more members of the black community in its terror war than whites and therefore many of

the victims of terrorism are from the very community that the *Comment* claims is affected by the Ministerial statements.

It is superficial to shift the blame for these acts of terror from the ANC to right wing extremists. This claim ignores the many convictions resulting from previous terror attacks the ANC's commitment to escalating the very acts of terror which the *Comment* attempts to distance it from and finally the realities of the South African situation.

The South African Police are committed to the apprehension and successful conviction of any individual irrespective of their political orientation a fact borne out by the conviction of

various right wing terrorists in the 1970s. The insinuations and allegations made in the *Comment* are inaccurate and ignore the terror history of the African National Congress as well as bringing the integrity of the SAP into question.

Surely the journalistic integrity of the *Sowetan* is undermined by this kind of speculation. The motives of the *Sowetan* in what appears to be an attempt to dissociate the ANC from the harsh reality of its terror war when the organisation itself has on numerous occasions proudly taken responsibility for these terror attacks are unclear but the fact remains that the ANC is with a few exceptions

solely responsible for the death and maiming of people in terror attacks.

The South African Police who have to care for all South Africans that it is committed to the prevention of terrorism and to the conviction of terrorists whatever the political convictions of perpetrators of violence are no distinction is made in investigations by the police.

Indiscriminate acts of terrorism as experienced in South Africa pose a threat to all South Africans irrespective of race colour or political convictions and can never be justified.

J V VAN DER MERWE
Commanding Officer
Security Branch
Head Office
Pretoria

Points from Letters

SIR — One just wonders who pays the fares for Gatscha Buthelezi's overseas tours. Every time he comes from abroad, he has something to say about our Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Way back in 1975, when I was doing Std 9, I had great expectations about the man. These were countered by my principal who said Gatscha would never make a good politician. His reason was, that Chief Buthelezi

answers everything that is said against him.

Gatscha Buthelezi you are the leader of the Zulus, some of whom are ignorant enough to believe in bantustans. I must stress the point that not all the Zulus, but those I have mentioned. Leave our fathers alone. I leave the man of peace alone.

Bishop Tutu is no coward. Bishop Tutu doesn't and won't forsake the truth for the sake of the Reagan and Thatcher's of this world. You are talking about a man you know won't stoop as low and render credence to your utterings by replying to you.

You are starting a whirlwind. Brother stay at Ulundi. You have chosen a path to lead your folk. I leave us alone. Try to alleviate the sores that appear at KwaZulu. In short we are sick and tired of trying to get it from your big brother. President Botha DISGRUNTLED.

Daveyton

SIR — I am writing this letter to you because I'm concerned about what is happening in our local soccer (Southern Zone Impila League).

There is a team called Republic Promoters which gives soccer referees nightmares because of their behaviour and that of their officials. All their games do not end in good spirit but in riots, but our local association doesn't take any drastic steps against them.

Even referees are afraid to handle their games. It seems our officials are waiting for someone to be killed before they act. Let the mother body SZA take drastic steps about this Republic Promoters because our local association is afraid of them. Let them be expelled before we have a corpse on our playing fields. They are not good for the game but bad elements.

JOHN MOKOINA
Sebokeng



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JAMES BROWN — MESSAGE FROM THE GODFATHER	R13 95	S J STITT — BLOWS THE BLUES	R9 95
LETTA MBULU — NATURALLY MANKUNU — YAKHAL INKOMO	R12 95	DUKE ELLINGTON — SIDE BY SIDE	R11 95
CHAMPION JACK DUPREE — I'M HAPPY TO BE FREE	R12 95	JOHNNY HODGES & DUKE ELLINGTON — BACK TO BACK	R11 95
CHAMPION JACK DUPREE — THANK YOU GOD FOR FREEDOM	R12 95	DUKE ELLINGTON — PERSON TO PERSON	R11 95
STAPLE SINGERS — RESPECT YOURSELF I'M JUST ANOTHER SOLDIER	R12 95	JIMMY SMITH — RESPECT	R11 95
JIMMY SMITH — THE BEST OF JIMMY SMITH — BASHIN	R12 95	WILLIS JACKSON — GREASE & GRAYV STOMPIN AT SAVOY	R8 95
BROOK BENTON — LIE TO ME LOOKING BACK	R11 95	RUSTY BRYANT — FREE AT LAST	R8 95
JIMMY THOMAS — WHY CAN'T WE LIVE TOGETHER	R11 95	HODDIE MCCOY — THE BEST OF BEANS & GREENS	R11 95
HANK CRAWFORD — TICO RICO	R12 95	JOHNNY HODGES — THE BLUES	R11 95
GROOVER WASHINGTON — MR MAGIC	R12 95	JOHNNY WHITE — POWER OF LOVE	R21 95
JOHNNY HAMMOND — BREAKOUT IT'S TOO LATE	R12 95	THE STYLISTICS — THE BEST OF	R16 95
ESTHER PHILLIPS — ALONE AGAIN	R12 95	JOYCE SIMS — COME INTO MY LIFE	R19 95
NATURALLY	R12 95	SHAKATAK — MANIC & COOL	R21 95
ERIC GALE — KILLING ME SOFTLY	R12 95	NEVER STOP YOUR LOVE	R21 95
BETTY WRIGHT — LIVE — TONIGHT IS THE NIGHT	R12 95	BOUL GREYS — SHIRLEY BROWN	R10 95
HOUSTON PEARSON — HOUSTON EXPRESS	R12 95	CURTIN HAYFIELD ISAAC HAYES	R10 95
STANLEY TURRENTINE — PIECES OF DREAMS	R12 95		

PRIORITENCI will be given to short signed letters. Readers are reminded to provide their names and addresses even if they want pseudonyms used.
Write to Letters to the Editor PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000





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Mandela's 'still' future

AKAS 19/09/8

still riotous

By TOS WENZEL, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha has left his Nationalist MPs mystified about what he intends doing about jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela

Some are convinced his release is getting closer, but the matter has not been discussed with them. It may be raised at a caucus meeting during the short session of Parliament which starts on Monday.

Blaze kills four-year-old left alone in bedroom

Staff Reporter

A FOUR-YEAR-OLD girl died when flames trapped her in a bedroom on the upper floor of a mansionette in Epping Forest, Essex River.

Police said the child, Elaine Standard, was alone in the building in Gilling Close when the fire started yesterday afternoon. A woman looking after her had gone briefly to a cafe nearby.

Units of the Goodwood fire brigade found the room burning fiercely.

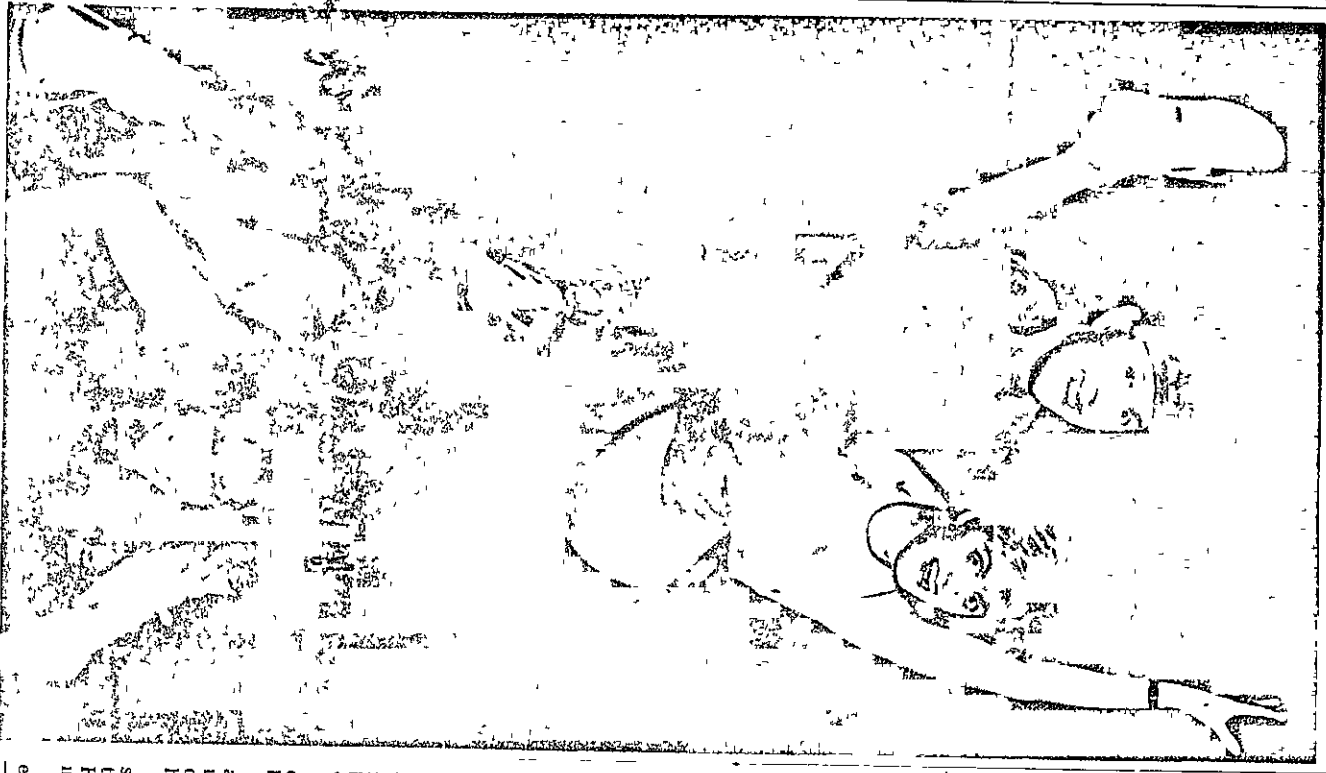
A brigade spokesman said two firemen wearing breathing masks entered the smoke-filled building after being told a child was trapped there.

They found her charred body on the burnt-out remains of a bed.

"The child probably died of asphyxiation after inhaling toxic fumes from the burning bedding before the flames reached her."

Firemen put out the blaze soon after flames burst through the room's ceiling and roof. Heat and smoke damaged the interior of the house.

The cause has not yet been established.



Speed limit could be increased — AA chief

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — The speed limit on some roads could be increased to more than 120km/h, the Automobile Association chief executive, Mr Peter Elliott, has said.

He said an AA survey was being undertaken and could be a strong factor in urging for an increase.

There was strong opposition to a change from certain areas but it was furious to travel at 120km/h along one of the new superways, which were of a standard as good as any in the world, then to leave it to find that a secondary road also had a 120km/h limit.

In favour of an increased speed limit on the new toll roads was the factor that because of the high standard of roads, the accident rate had fallen to the point where accidents to date had been virtually eliminated.

Mr Elliott said South Africans were becoming "a nation of scoffers" as far as road regulation enforcement was concerned due to the shortage of staff, and it might even be necessary to privatise a force to control traffic on toll roads.

Undoubtedly a level of law enforcement was vital while an education process was also required.

Mr Elliott was addressing a Press conference to counter criticism of AA toll road policy.

He said the AA was not instrumental in introducing the concept of tolls, had initially opposed the scheme, and because it was apolitical, criticism should be addressed to one's member of Parliament.

Mr Botha has declined to elaborate on his statement yesterday that "if we get the cooperation we have so far got from Mr Mandela, I believe we will have positive results."

MPs said this statement was significant and it showed that if the President could find only a "small opening" for the release of Mr Mandela, this would happen.

"Football"

They said Mr Mandela had become a "political football" and they were hopeful his release could have a positive effect on the efforts to get black leaders involved in consultations in a proposed national council.

Leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have set Mr Mandela's release as one of their pre-conditions for such participation.

Mr Botha also said he did not think it wise for Mr Mandela at his age and in his condition to choose to return to jail.

In political circles there is speculation that some alternative form of detention, possibly in a clinic or a more open jail, could be considered.

The government is seen to be sensitive to international pres-

The issue has arisen again as a result of Mr Mandela's illness.

Some Nationalist MPs today felt there was now more "openness" about Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Botha has declined to elaborate on his statement yesterday that "if we get the cooperation we have so far got from Mr Mandela, I believe we will have positive results."

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In political circles there is speculation that some alternative form of detention, possibly in a clinic or a more open jail, could be considered

The government is seen to be sensitive to international pressures on the issue, but wary of the internal consequences of his release

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe reacted today to a rash of rumours that the government was about to free the 70-year-old ANC leader, now being treated for tuberculosis in hospital.

No indication

Dr van der Merwe would not indicate if the release was imminent or not

He said the government no longer had reason to hold Mr Mandela for retribution or punishment

He was being held only because of the "prevailing circumstances"

The circumstances centred on a prognosis of what would happen to the security situation if he were released

Part of this depended on Mr Mandela's own attitude. This was an important part of the equation and could change from day to day

He indicated that the next step could be for Mr Mandela to respond to the "conciliatory" statement made by President Botha yesterday when he said he personally did not think it was a good idea for Mr Mandela to return to prison from hospital

"Co-operate"

Mr Botha said that if Mr Mandela continued to "co-operate" with the government as he had recently, "we might get positive results"

Dr van der Merwe said that this did not mean that Mr Mandela had to renounce violence. But he did not make clear what Mr Mandela was expected to do or say to ensure his freedom

"What Mr Mandela needs to do now is respond to President Botha's statement and the government will evaluate that response," he said

"The absence of a statement renouncing violence would not necessarily prohibit the release of a prisoner — it depends on the circumstances"

● Plea to PW, page 3.

outside the Mount Nelson, the hotel
of an international tourism drive.

Picture GLENN SHERRATT

"three respected
sons from 'outsid
university to en
into the present
pute".

Mandela: Botha silent

CAPE Times
19/88
11A

DURBAN. — President P W Botha yesterday de-
clined to expand on a statement which has in-
creased speculation about the possible release of
ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela

Addressing the Natal National Party congress
here, Mr Botha told delegates that if the government
continued to get the co-operation it had got from Mr
Mandela up to now, "I believe we will have positive
results"

However, he declined to expand on what sort of
co-operation he was referring to

"I have made my statement and I am not prepared
to go any further at this stage."

Earlier, Mr Botha repeated his often-stated will-
ingness to release Mr Mandela, now in Tygerberg

- PW ready for poll, PAGE 3
- 'Games' over Mandela's
release, PAGE 5

Hospital apparently with TB, if the ANC leader was
prepared to reject violence.

He raised expectations about a possible release
for Mr Mandela when he said: "I am prepared to
release him

"Personally I do not think at his age and in his
condition it would be wise to choose to go back to
jail

"I hope he will make it possible for me to act in a
humane way so that we can have peace."

● Sapa last night claimed that according to
government sources, the release of Mr Mandela was
"imminent".

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Mandela

THE release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela is imminent, according to Government sources.

This is echoed in a recent heightening of his family's and legal advisor's concern over Mr Mandela's ability to control his personal affairs and direct himself politically.

Should he decide to abandon violence which would comply with the prescription of the State President, Mr P W Botha, for his release, it would be a major defeat for the ANC and those who have held him to be the champion of ANC's cause. See page 5.

~~Handwritten scribble~~
Sowefan
11A
19/2/88

ELSABE WESSELS

B/Daw

19/8/88

ANC to punish errant bombers

LUSAKA — An ANC spokesman said last night Umkhonto we Sizwe members ignoring a top-level directive, not to attack soft targets, could face punishment.

He added the first step in preventing attacks on civilians would be to ensure Umkhonto activists received proper instruction.

The spokesman condemned actions by ANC military wing members after the recent spate of attacks on civilian targets.

He added some attacks had been carried out by Umkhonto cadres inspired by what he termed anger at an SA campaign of terror against the oppressed.

Asked about dissension in ANC ranks over the issue, ANC sources said it had always been an area of conflict within the movement

"The conflict has never been resolved and some of these attacks were executed without approval," he said

He said in several attacks civilians were not the initial targets. He added.

□ The Pretoria cinema bomb was in-

● To Page 2

11A

ANC to punish soft-target bombers

tended to explode at a nearby government building but went off before it could be placed,

□ The Roodepoort bomb exploded not far from the police station at which it was aimed, and

□ Circumstances surrounding the Ellis Park bomb were still being investigated but the leadership would not have approved the attack.

B/Daw

11A

● From Page 1

"We are not trying to justify these attacks but we can explain the circumstances," the spokesman said

The ANC accepted responsibility for about 14 bomb attacks, between January and June, aimed at government, security, police and railway targets, the spokesman said

17/8/88

FM 1/8/88

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

In a new mould

While government labours to get its reform programme off the ground, the ANC recently updated its own charter. Its "constitutional guidelines for a democratic SA" is currently circulating within the country for consideration by those who hold dear the tenets of the charter.

The document submits "to the people of SA and all those throughout the world who wish to see an end to apartheid, basic guidelines for the foundation of government in post-apartheid SA." It avers that the time has come for the Freedom Charter to be converted from a vision into a constitutional reality.

The guidelines do not represent a departure from the Freedom Charter, but an elaboration on original principles, observes Natal University political scientist Ian Phillips, adding that they are intended for scrutiny inside SA and possible redrafting in the future.

The preamble to the guidelines states that the removal of apartheid's discriminatory laws is not enough, existing structures and institutions must be dismantled and replaced with democratic ones. It is stated that the constitution must be such as to promote the habits of nonracial thinking and the acquisition of a genuinely shared patriotic consciousness.

Furthermore, it is proposed that the new constitution provide for corrective action which guarantees rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth. However, the crucial question of how this is to be achieved is not broached so that one doesn't know whether privatisation, for example, is countenanced by the charterists who, incidentally, nowhere mention the term socialism in this broad outline of their beliefs.

That fundamental of National Party ideology — the protection of group rights — is rejected mainly because this would perpetuate the status quo. Instead, "the constitution must give firm protection to the fundamental human rights of all citizens." This aspect is expanded upon under guidelines for "national identity," which recognise linguistic and cultural diversity in SA, and place the onus on the State to provide for develop-

ment in these areas.

The main body of proposals incorporates many of the basic tenets of the Freedom Charter: one person, one vote in an independent, unitary, democratic and nonracial State, abolition of discrimination in all its forms, and the duty of all organs of State to serve the interests of the people as a whole.

It is suggested that the constitution include a Bill of Rights — a fine idea except for the proviso that it be "based" not on the individual, but on the charter. It would "guarantee fundamental human rights irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed." In terms of the Bill of Rights, all parties which conform to these provisions will have the right to take part in the political life of the country.

Excluded would be those who advocate racism, fascism or who incite ethnic or regional exclusiveness (And what of those who do not subscribe to the charter?)

The economic proposals do not go beyond the vague terms of the original declaration. Thus "the State shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of all sectors of the population." However, a stronger tendency towards State corporatism emerges: "The State shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and *define and limit* the rights attaching to the ownership and use of private productive capacity." This is balanced by a clause pledging constitutional protection of property for private use or consumption.

While it is coy about any forthright declaration of belief in socialism, or indeed any other "ism," let alone free enterprise capitalism, it goes on to say, "The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, private sector, a co-operative sector (supported by the State), and a small-scale family sector."

Reflecting the need to update the charter in view of the higher political profile trade unions have assumed, worker rights are to receive special attention. Specifically, the right to strike is now incorporated in the charter, along with collective bargaining. SA is seen as becoming a non-aligned State committed to the principles of the OAU and the United Nations, thus bringing the country into the fold of the Non-Aligned Movement which, as it happens, was formed in the same year as the signing of the Freedom Charter. ■

Botha criticized for 'games' over Mandela release



By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE PFP and the NDM last night castigated President P W Botha for "playing political games" over the possible release of the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela

It was difficult to take Mr Botha's professed concern for Mr Mandela's health seriously while he was "playing political games and trying to score political points", said PFP law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan called on the NP caucus to ask Mr Botha to resign. He said the President's remarks about Mr Mandela's release were "disturbing and regrettable"

Because of Mr Mandela's illness, his age and his continued imprisonment, the international spotlight was again focussed on SA

"Mr Botha again wants to force Mr Mandela into a position where he must first renounce violence before he can be released from prison

"Now it appears that the President first wants to strip an ill and ageing man of his credibility with his own people, before he was freed," Mr Malan said

Mr Van der Merwe said that what should be of great concern to Mr Botha was that Mr Mandela had contracted TB, a disease commonly associated with inadequate medical care, accommodation and diet

● The Prisons Services yesterday declined all further comment on Mr Mandela "in view of the content the President's letter to Rev Chikane" and Mr Botha's recent public comments

SA shows its contempt, says the AAM

LONDON. — By allowing Mr Nelson Mandela to become seriously ill, the South African authorities had demonstrated the "contempt" with which they regarded him and all South Africa's black population, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) claimed yesterday.

In a highly critical statement, the AAM said: "That the leader of South Africa's black majority can develop advanced TB while in prison is a massive indictment of apartheid's prison system"

As a chest X-ray would have shown signs of active or latent TB when Mr Mandela underwent an operation on an enlarged prostate gland in 1985, the indications were that either an X-ray was not taken or it was wrongly interpreted.

US concerned at reports

WASHINGTON — The United States said yesterday that it was deeply concerned about the health of Mr Nelson Mandela and called on Pretoria to release him from prison "We are deeply concerned about reports that Mr Mandela's health is deteriorating," said State Department spokeswoman Ms Phyllis Oakley, who added that the US was in contact with the South African government on the issue

Noting that TB was a infectious disease directly relating to poor living conditions, malnutrition and overcrowding, it quoted estimates from the University of South Africa that at least 10 million South Africans are presently infected. Only 1% of these are whites.

The AAM also said that a "drug of choice as part of the triple therapy treatment" for TB, Rifampicin, was not available to blacks as the South African authorities claimed it was too expensive.

But a Cape Town medical expert on community health said last night: "To my knowledge this drug is available to all TB patients under skilled medical care in SA and for that reason the AAM allegation is a gross over-simplification

"The drug is costly but these days it is not as expensive as it was and is readily available throughout the country." — Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

Botha 'ready' for GAA referendum

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — President P W Botha yesterday made it patently clear in the face of rising agitation for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act that it is here to stay.

In a tough opening speech to the Natal National Party congress, Mr Botha also

- Increased speculation about the possible release of Mr Nelson Mandela,
- Bluntly said black majority rule would not happen under his leadership;
- Said it was time the word "traitor" was reintroduced in respect of South Africans who pleaded for economic action against the country,
- Congratulated South Africa's negotiating teams in the Namibia-Angola peace initiative,
- Criticized black leaders for refusing to participate in negotiations for a new constitution, and
- Appealed for less "negativism" towards government steps to bring about constitutional reform which could not succeed without socio-economic reforms

On the Group Areas Act, Mr Botha said he was prepared to

hold a referendum to test white opinion about scrapping the legislation

But, he said, he believed 70% would vote to retain it

This would also apply to coloured people and Indians

"I invite them to prove the opposite," he said hitting out at

what he described as "hypocrisy".

Mr Botha also strongly criticized the Afrikaans-language newspaper Beeld for calling on the government to scrap the act

He also hit out at growing radicalism in the country and said the ANC had embarked on a subtle campaign to improve its image and there were even attempts to give the Freedom Charter a more acceptable face

"It remains what it is, a communist attempt to overthrow good order in South Africa," he said

The government knew what the ANC was up to because it had entries to its inner circles "That is why so many of them are in jail"

Arrangements could be made, if the ANC laid down its arms, for them to come back to the country to discuss a future constitution in a sensible manner.

In an indirect reference to the Dellums sanctions legislation in America, Mr Botha warned against outside interference in South Africa's affairs

"If South Africa does not resist interference in its internal affairs, it will become a vassal state of the US," he said "I am not prepared in my time to allow this"

Judge urges Rajbansi to 'get to the point'

Case Trials 19/8/88 11A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Amichand Rajbansi's lengthy cross-examination of a witness at the James Commission of Inquiry yesterday had the chairman thumping the bench and urging Mr Rajbansi to "get to the point".

The outburst by Mr Justice Neville James, the former Judge-President of Natal, came during Mr Rajbansi's cross-examination of the former House of Delegates housing minister Mr Baldeo Dookie's evidence to the commission

During the morning session, Mr Jus-

tice James said he was concerned only with matters that fell within the terms of reference of the commission.

"This is a very wide-ranging cross-examination," he told Mr Rajbansi, "and we must not lose sight of the fact that this commission will have to come to an end."

Earlier, Mr Dookie had conceded he had no firm evidence to prove that Mr Rajbansi or any other person received a "kickback" following the sale of the R1 200 000 Odeon cinema complex in Chatsworth, to the House of Delegates.

ANC shows lack of control —

(71A) 19/8/88

By BARRY STREEK and CHRIS STEYN

THE ANC statement that its fighters had caused unintended casualties in recent bomb attacks showed its leadership did not have full control over its people, the director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Pretoria University, Professor Mike Hough, said yesterday.

There was also no evidence that the ANC disciplined their people when they transgressed policy.

In at least three cases — the bombing of a supermarket in Amanzimtoti, the McBride bombings in the centre of Durban and the Silverton bank siege — the ANC indirectly claimed responsibility for attacks on "soft" targets.

"This tends to give the impression that there is pressure in the ANC for and against this type of targeting," Professor Hough said.

The tendency was for the ANC not to claim responsibility for attacks when there were civilian casualties, though they apparently contradicted policy decisions.

"The ANC themselves laid the foundation for this trend at the Kabwe conference when they stated that the distinction between hard and soft targets would disappear.

"This type of terrorism is also a reflection of the future to some extent.

"The ANC decided some time ago to launch a higher phase and attack the enemy directly, but instead they attack 'unintended' targets.

"This seems to be a retrogression and they are falling back in general on to soft type of

targets, with 'unintended casualties'.

"The statement implies that the ANC top structure did not give authorization for these actions. Have they totally, or to some extent, lost control over their people?"

"Is this not an attempt to get the best of both worlds?" Professor Hough asked.

Dr Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the ANC had recently called a national executive meeting specifically to discuss the question of attacks on civilian targets.

"It is safe to presume that it was at this meeting that ANC 'hardliner' Mr Steve Tshwete was removed from his post as political commissar of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said.

While it remained unclear exactly for

which blasts the ANC had been responsible, it was clear that attacks like the one at Hyde Park Corner were "definitely not acceptable to the leadership of the ANC".

"There has been a shift towards soft targets — but this does not indicate a policy change. It just means that the units on the ground are more willing to attack soft targets," said Dr Lodge.

Brigadier Leon Mallet, liaison officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said the ANC's statement illustrated the incapability of the ANC-SACP alliance to disguise its real character and aims.

"On the one hand this callous alliance claims that it is not their policy to attack civilian targets, but admits in the same breath that Umkhonto we Sizwe was indeed responsi-

Control — expert

ANC discord on soft targets

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ble for the deaths of defenceless people in South Africa.

"If the reason for Umkhonto we Sizwe's bloodthirsty deeds is anger at the govern- ment's effective curbing of the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa, why then does it avenge its anger on defenceless civilians?"

The PFP spokesman on law and order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said that once the path of violence has been chosen, the consequences soon become difficult to foresee and more difficult to control

"This is a lesson that applies equally to the Nationalist government and to the ANC be- cause the government under Mr PW Botha has clearly chosen to maintain power by repression and by violent means, rather than to negotiate towards a real sharing of power"

Own Correspondent
LUSAKA — Umkhonto we Sizwe members ig- noring a top-level direc- tive not to hit at soft tar- gets could face punishment under the organization's disciplin- ary code, an ANC spokes- man said here last night

Echoing Wednesday's ANC statement, he con- demned the actions of members of the ANC's military wing following the recent spate of at- tacks on civilian targets

Dissension

Though the circum- stances surrounding the Ellis Park bomb were still being investigated, the spokesman claimed the leadership would not have approved the attack.

Asked about dissen- sion in ANC ranks over the issue, ANC sources said it had always been an area of conflict within the movement

The spokesman denied that the removal of for- mer Umkhonto political commissar Mr Steve Tshwete had anything to do with yesterday's state- ment and said that he had been promoted to the National Executive Com- mittee in charge of "mass mobilization".

British unions offer to foot medical bills

BRITISH trade unions offered on Wednesday to cover the medical fees of Nelson Mandela if he were freed and allowed to come to Britain for treatment.

Norman Willis, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), made the offer in a letter to Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe in which he asked Mr Howe to use his influence to put the proposal to the South African authorities. A copy of the proposal was also sent to the Mandela family.

The TUC will honour Mandela at its annual congress next month by using his picture on the congress badge, the first time an individual has made such an appearance.

A special gold version of the badge will be presented at the congress to a representative of the Mandela family.

Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, has appealed for Mandela's release.



FATHER Huddleston

"I am greatly alarmed at the news that Nelson Mandela is suffering from tuberculosis," Father Huddleston said in a statement. "This demonstrates that prison is no place for any sick person aged 70, least of all for a leader of international stature."

Urging all people of

goodwill to call for Mandela's immediate release, Father Huddleston said he intended to write to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher asking her to intervene personally to secure his freedom.

Former US President Gerald Ford told an international news conference that the Reagan Administration was doing all it could to persuade Pretoria to release Mandela. "The United States Government I'm sure is deeply concerned about the health of Mandela. It's tragic that that great leader has been imprisoned and his health is failing," Mr Ford said during a Worldnet conference organised by the United States Information Service and linking London, Tokyo, Cairo and Monrovia.

"But it's our obligation to do what we can diplomatically. We can't do it otherwise, we can't force them to do it, and I'm sure that the White House under President Reagan is doing all it can on his health," Mr Ford said — Sapa-Reuter

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The condition: reject violence

PW might free Mandela

19/8/88
Sawyer
11A

PRESIDENT P W Botha spoke yesterday of freeing the ailing Nelson Mandela but vowed that he would never contemplate black majority rule in South Africa.

In a major speech, Botha said he was trying to reach agreement with Mandela, who is 70, for the release of the black nationalist leader, who has been in hospital with tuberculosis since Friday.

Mr Botha also renewed an offer to negotiate with the African National Congress (ANC) if it abandoned armed resistance.

The President, however, totally rejected the ANC's goal of black majority rule, declaring "We don't want to repeat the mistakes of Africa."

"I am not even considering the possibility to discuss black majority government in South Africa," he told his all-white audience

Mr Botha, under heavy domestic and foreign pressure to release Mandela after 26 years in prison, said the Government was considering the matter

"This Government will decide in its own way and, if we get the co-operation we have so far got from Mr Mandela I believe we will have positive results," he said without elaborating

The President recalled that in the past he had offered to release Mandela if he renounced violence. The tone of his

speech implied that this might no longer be a firm condition for Mandela's freedom

Mandela, a lawyer, rejected an offer three years ago of freedom in exchange for a repudiation of violence, telling Mr Botha, "prisoners cannot enter into contracts"

Apparently stung by South African newspapers' demands for Mandela's release, Mr Botha said he was not going to be told what to do by the Press or communists

On Thursday, the pro-Government Afrikaans daily, *Beeld*, joined liberal politicians, businessmen and foreign governments pressing for

Mandela's freedom.

Justice Minister, Kobie Coetsee, visited Mandela in Cape Town's Tygerberg Hospital on Wednesday. His office said it was not known whether they discussed an agreement for his release

Mandela, jailed for life for plotting to overthrow white minority rule, was "comfortable, he seems to have taken the first steps towards recovery," Mr Coetsee told reporters

Switching between Afrikaans and English, Mr Botha attacked the ANC for its recent bombing campaign in cities but offered to negotiate if the organisation halted war.

"The ANC must get one message — lay down your arms, come back like decent people and let's talk about a constitutional future for South Africa," the President said

• Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, has in a statement replied to remarks by Mr Botha on the release of Mandela

"Remarks by the State President this morning about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, are disturbing and regrettable," the statement read

"Because of Mr Mandela's illness, his age and his continued imprisonment, the international spotlight is again sharply focussed on South Africa. In these circumstances, Mr Botha again wants to force Mr Mandela into a position where he must first renounce violence before he can be released from prison" — Sapa.



WIFE ... Winne Mandela.

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THE SALE CONTINUES

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Hot debate on Mandela's fate

Staff Reporters

19/8/88

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Speculation about the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela is continuing unabated

The State President, Mr P W Botha, told a meeting of the National Party in Durban yesterday "Personally I don't think that at his age and condition it would be wise for him to choose to go back to prison and I hope he will make it possible for me to act in a humane way so that we can have peace in South Africa"

He said he had earlier told Parliament he was "prepared to release Mr Mandela if he would say that he rejects violence as a means to reach and achieve political ends, and if he would not start campaigning for a process of violence"

He said if the Government "gets the co-operation we have so far from Mandela I believe we will have positive results"

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, said the Government did not get any satis-

faction from keeping Mandela in prison

But he said his statement of earlier yesterday, that there was no reason why the Government should keep Mandela in prison, was "in introduction" and should be seen in context to his comment that Government policy regarding the release of Mandela remained flexible and was subject to changing circumstances

"The circumstances of his release have to be seen in the wider political context," said Dr van der Merwe "What is now keeping Mr Mandela in prison is the prognosis which would result from his release"

In Washington, State Department spokesman Ms Phyllis Oakley said the United States called on Pretoria to release Mandela soon

"His release would facilitate the opening of negotiations between the South African Government and legitimate representatives of the black community," she said

(11A) B/Daw 1988

Mandela release now seems imminent

DURBAN — ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release seems imminent, say government sources.

If he decides to abandon violence, which would comply with President P W Botha's terms for release, it would be a major setback for the ANC.

Informed observers say the campaign to discredit Mandela's ability to think for himself is aimed at negating any possible move by him which might undermine his image of revolutionary leader.

Observers point out Botha referred

gated Mandela's legal advisers and family for trying to dictate the terms of his medical treatment

He also underlined that their wishes were in direct contrast to the prisoner's expressed desires

Botha gave the clearest indication yet that Mandela might be released when he surprised the NP Natal congress this week by saying that, if government continued to get the co-operation it had had with Mandela up to now, "I believe we will have positive results".

directly to this situation when he casti-

He said "I do not think that a man of his age, and in his condition, will choose to return to prison"

Yesterday he declined to expand on the statement which increased

"I have made my statement and I am not prepared to go any further at this stage," he said

Botha had repeated to the congress his often-stated willingness to release Mandela if the ANC leader was prepared to reject violence



● To Page 2 →

Mandela's release speculation mounts

He also said "I am prepared to release him I do not think at his age and in his condition it would be wise to choose to go back to jail"

"I hope he will make it possible for me to act in a humane way so that we can have peace."

To loud applause Botha said he was not prepared to be told what to do by a newspaper The matter would be properly considered

Botha then said "But, if we continue to have the co-operation we have had with Mandela, I believe we will have positive results," he said

□ A top government source yesterday confirmed Mandela had tuberculosis Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yes-



← ● From Page 1

(11A)

terday that he visited Mandela in Tygerberg Hospital on Wednesday afternoon, reports Sapa

"He looks as if he is almost his old self and is already enjoying jokes," he added

1988 B/Daw
□ MERVYN HARRIS reports the financial rand firmed 1,5% to R3,58/\$ on Botha's indications that Mandela might be released

Gold's move back above \$430 in a dollar-generated market enabled the rand to finish well above its day's lows The rand closed slightly weaker on the day at R2,4592 to the dollar after weakening earlier to R2,47

UDF notches up birthday number five

by DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

LAST year, the Western Cape United Democratic Front celebrated its fourth birthday in a mass rally of over 5 000 people and in the spirit of being a bit bloodied but not bowed

It was some two months after the imposition of the third state of emergency on June 12 and notably the Western Cape rally was the only really big public UDF birthday celebration in the country.

Was it a last gasp?

Today is the fifth birthday of the UDF, and whatever gatherings are planned the guest of honour will be publically absent following the state's restriction of the front, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and some 16 other organisations in February this year

UDF activists may not give an account of how successful they have been in maintaining some organisation in the face of the state's banning but a number of academics have been studying the scene

The various observers provide differing scenarios. Some see the ban on the UDF as long-term state strategy while others expect it to be lifted after the October elections, some see the inevitability of the UDF going underground while others see this as a move at odds with the very character of the Front

WHATEVER view is taken of the game-plan — both the state's and that of the UDF — the academics predicate their view on a very similar foundation: the level of

political awareness and articulation that the UDF has achieved countrywide in various forms through some 700 to 800 affiliated organisations cannot be erased.

As Wits political scientist and UDF watcher Mark Swilling says, "The serpent's head might have been eliminated by the state, but the body is alive and well and many heads are growing."

All agree, too, that the five years of experience gained by opposing state apartheid and by feeling the power of state repression has wrought a more hard-nosed pragmatism, a practicality which could well see tactical alliances and associations form with white liberals, black business, even white business, groupings which themselves have shifted terrain and are more open now to seeking alliances themselves and to responding to any moves made by the UDF

(The recent talks between UDF and business figures is a measure of this, another interesting tactical move is the co-operation between Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions in opposition to the state's labour law amendments.)

Furthering this view, Swilling expects the UDF to "broaden and deepen" over the next few years. He points out that evidence of the Front's survival is uneven and differs regionally breaking down into three scenarios.

IN the Eastern Cape the state has effectively smashed UDF structures. By mid-'86, UDF activity had rendered 31 out of 52 state-created community councils ineffective but by the end of '87 all but four had been reinstated. In areas like Maritzburg and parts of the Vaal, the second scenario is that of a stalemate with neither side able to regain the initiative.

Then Soweto provides a powerful example of a third scenario where the rent boycott which began in June '86 continues still, where a vast network of street committees and local leadership has survived — and strengthened.

Even in the Western Cape, traditionally weak and divided on organisation and crippled by events rooted in the Crossroads community, what Swilling calls "a network of energetic groups of activists" survives.

Swilling sees the ongoing state of emergency and the banning of the UDF having the effect of forcing activists to be "much more disciplined"

"They will deepen their roots in the community and establish structures undergound which will be much more impenetrable and durable in the long run. In a couple of years this could result in the emergence of a movement much more effective in its ability to mobilise power than the relatively loose formations of the UDF"

Whether this emergent movement — built right from below, from grassroots — still falls under a UDF banner or not, Swilling says it will be built on the "united front" framework

"The cornerstone of this deepening strategy is and will be in the formalisation of the alliance between Cosatu and the UDF at local level where the concerns of the workplace marry those of the community through concrete working alliances"

THE broadening strategy which Swilling sees will probably take the shape of tactical associations with business and with political groupings like the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement, the Independent Party. In this respect, bridging

bodies like the Five Freedoms Forum and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa are crucial, says Swilling

Andrew Merrifield, political science doctoral candidate registered at Syracuse University in New York, agrees that the five years of the UDF lifespan might have lessened ideological rigidity, that a new pragmatism might create a willingness to work together where old divisions previously held sway.

He sees the UDF banning as long-term and intended to erase the memory of the Front. All recent indications have been that the State sees the UDF itself having dangerous revolutionary potential which of course calls for state counter-revolutionary strategy. Ailing the political vacuum created by erasing the UDF will state structures and people in the state's thrall. The municipal elections are but one wall of this state building, says Merrifield, not anticipating a UDF unbanning after the election

But just as the state has made its different strategic moves over five years, so has the UDF benefited from its hard life in the field, says Merrifield.

"This fifth birthday will be a time of reflection, of looking for new approaches and looking back at what was done when the UDF was launched in '83. Then the question was how does one organise. Now, even if many activists are feeling weary, they are still around, the organisational building blocks in the shape of some 700 to 800 UDF affiliates are still there and the activists are realising that it's not Square One that five years of struggle have been five years of schooling.

"The state is better organised . . . but so is the struggle."

MANDELA SUSPENSE

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by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,
Weekend Argus Reporter, and Correspondents

THE question of Mr Nelson Mandela's release has suddenly become more acute than ever — and it seems the answer to what happens next depends on the ageing ANC leader and his family.

The government is still awaiting a response from him to its latest release overtures

But today the Mandela family were still keeping all in suspense Mrs Winnie Mandela and their daughter, Zinzi, expected to visit the ageing leader at Tygerberg Hospital where he is being treated for tuberculosis, failed to arrive in the city by noon

A battery of reporters and television crews were at DF Malan airport to record their arrival and find out whether there was any news from the family side about his possible release

Contrary to expectation, the Mandela family members were not aboard flight SA303, which was delayed by 25 minutes and arrived at 11.25am, and had not appeared by lunchtime

Also waiting at the airport, although standing well apart from the Press, were members of the police video unit.

There was a strong police presence at the airport and also at the hospital, especially in the section where Mr Mandela is being treated. Reporters hoping to sneak through the security cordon were turned back.

Latest proposals

It was thought that Mrs Mandela and their daughter would visit Mr Mandela to discuss latest government proposals for his release. In the past, he has responded through his family

Once, he rejected a conditional offer of freedom in a statement read by Zinzi Mandela

Government sources last night indicated that all that stood between Mr Mandela and freedom was some conciliatory response from him to President PW Botha.

They were speaking to Weekend Argus at the National Party's Natal congress in Durban.

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said that as far as the government was concerned the retribution aspect of Mr Mandela's sentence was over

Mr van der Merwe said "There is no reason to punish him further for the crimes of the 1960s. That bit is over with

"The government is now concerned with the prognosis aspect of Mr Mandela's imprisonment — what the implications would be for the country if he is released

"The basic principle here is that Mr Mandela must be treated exactly the same as any prisoner with regard to consideration for possible release"

Top-level National Party thinking is that President Botha was most conciliatory in his statement to the congress this week concerning Mr Mandela's possible release

Mr Botha said he did not think it would be wise for Mr Mandela, at his age and in his condition, to choose to remain in jail.

Hopes of his release were raised this week when President Botha told the National Party congress in Durban "If we get the co-operation

we have so far got from Mr Mandela, I believe we will have positive results "

Yesterday Dr van der Merwe said "What Mr Mandela needs to do now is respond to President Botha's statement, and the government will evaluate that response "

The Mandela family's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, who accompanied Mrs Mandela on a visit to Tygerberg last week, was in Cape Town yesterday — but not to see Mr Mandela

He said from Johannesburg last night he had had consultations with another Rivonia treason trialist, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, at Pollsmoor on an "independent" matter

This consultation was arranged "a while ago, but had to be postponed because of Mr Mandela's illness", Mr Ayob said

Today's expected visit by Mrs Mandela pointed to the start of negotiations which might decide whether Mr Mandela will leave Tygerberg Hospital a free man or return to Pollsmoor to continue serving his life sentence

Government concern about Mr Mandela's health was shown by the visit of the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee, to him in hospital this week and his assurance afterwards that Mr Mandela was responding to treatment and was "almost his old self"

Punishment over — now security situation is key to his release

Mandela one step from freedom, say top Nats

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20/8/86

DAVID BRAUN and PAT DEVEREAUX

ALL THAT stands between Nelson Mandela and freedom is a conciliatory response from the jailed ANC leader to President Botha.

This is according to Government sources who spoke to the Saturday Star at the National Party's Natal Congress in Durban yesterday.

One source was Information Minister Dr Stofel van der Merwe. He told The Saturday Star that as far as the Government was concerned the retribution aspect of Mr Mandela's sentence was over.

He said: "There is no reason to punish him further for the crimes of the 1960s. That bit is over with. The Government is now concerned with the prognosis aspect of Mr Mandela's imprisonment, what the implications would be for the country if he were released."

"The basic principle here is that Mr Mandela must be treated exactly the same as any prisoner with regard to consideration for possible release."

Top-level National Party thinking on the issue appears to be that President Botha was most conciliatory in his statement to the congress earlier this week concerning Mr Mandela's possible release.

Mr Botha said he personally did not think it would be wise for Mr Mandela, at his age and in his condition, to choose to remain in jail.

The State President said he hoped Mr Mandela would make it possible for him to act in a humane way.

Although Mr Botha reiterated his earlier position that Mr Mandela should renounce violence as a condition for his release, Government sources have pointed out that the renouncing of violence was but one of several factors which the Government would have to take into account when considering Mr Mandela's release.

If he renounced violence, that would obviously count in favour of release.

But if he continued to refuse to do so, this would not necessarily slam the door on his chance of freedom.

Meanwhile, confirmation by a top government official this week that Mr Mandela has tuberculosis has raised queries by his family about the prison conditions in which he was being kept.

Although the State President indicated this week that he was satisfied that Mr Mandela was receiving the best possible care, there is speculation about how the disease occurred in a privileged status prisoner, who was regularly reported to be in excellent health for a man of his age.

A statement issued by Dr Beyers Naude on behalf of the Mandela Crisis Committee yesterday said "The concern of the Mandela family is not related to his medical care in Tygerberg Hospital but to the circumstances and conditions in Pollsmoor Prison which could have contributed to Mr Mandela contracting the disease."

Experts on the disease claimed this week that from reports of Mr Mandela's symptoms, he obviously had a very active and acute form of TB.

Dr Theo Collins of the SA National Tuberculosis Association said

"The disease is prevalent in overcrowded poverty conditions and can attack young or old. But a well-nourished, robust individual's chances of contracting TB are almost nil."

"Good nutrition is es-

● TO PAGE 2

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Mandela TB puzzle

● FROM PAGE 1

essential in the fight against the disease which kills more than five people a day in South Africa.

TB is generally contracted through cough sputum, but half the people in the South African population have contracted the primary infection which can pass unnoticed for as long as 20 years.

Fears have been expressed that overcrowded prisons can become breeding grounds for disease, and figures from Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee in March confirm that Pollsmoor was 95 per cent overcrowded at the end of last year.

Two months ago 11 hunger-striking Pollsmoor prisoners awaiting trial announced they were refusing food because of prison conditions and alleged discrimination against black prisoners in their group.

In a telex reply the Prisons Department said yesterday "The South African Prisons Department had repeatedly demonstrated its commitment to high standards of physical treatment and is satisfied that all people entrusted to its care are treated humanely and in a responsible manner in accordance with internationally accepted standards.

"The prison diet is scientifically prepared and complies with international standards. Should the district surgeon or specialist to whom a prisoner is referred prescribe a special diet, it is provided.

"As has been stated previously, Mr Mandela was attended to and treated by general practitioners (and specialists of his choice when appropriate) whenever he had any complaints about his health or whenever he appeared not to be in normal health, which was not often."

● In Brussels the European Community has urged South Africa to release Mr Mandela. "The 12 (EC member states) are deeply concerned about the state of health of Nelson Mandela. They reiterate their appeal to the South African Government for his immediate and unconditional release," a joint EC statement said, reports Sapa-AP.

● President Botha would be wise not to drive too hard a bargain over the release of Nelson Mandela, *The Times* among several British newspapers warned in leading articles yesterday.

Saturday Star's Foreign News Service quotes *The Times* as saying "Mr Mandela could refuse his offer and, in Mr Botha's own words, 'choose' to return to Pollsmoor. But the world will believe the decision was not his to take."

Bid to save husband

● FROM PAGE 1

van der Merwe — and she wants answers. She asked "Is there some kind of cover-up?"

"Robert told me that, according to La Grange, Brigadier Basie Smit of the Security Police gave orders for the shooting. He honestly believed that."

Then on November 22, La Grange told Robert they had to "get rid of" Basie Smit. That's when Robert told his superiors what had happened.

Mrs van der Merwe said La Grange had told her husband one victim was an ANC terrorist.

She visits her 30-year-old husband on death row every weekend. Their son, Robbie, believes his father is working out of town. "He often asks when he is returning. He often asks, 'Couldn't that be his car pulling up outside?'"

Amanda said: "I have to tell him Robert is on a secret mission and children aren't allowed."

They also have a daughter, Leizel (8). Jack la Grange was desperately depressed this week when told his application for leave to appeal had been turned down.

And in the home of Jack la Grange on Elizabeth

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ical Correspondent

Rupert, president of the Urban Council of Governors, said acted would damage relations and fuel the further punitive measures South Africa.

"We urge the Government to postpone action or that further and evasive consideration of the advisability of the Government's statement," said their statement.

In spite of this Government has sent the Council on s



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Defector 'fit and happy' — and back with ANC

By HAMISH McINDOE

PAUL ANNEGARN is alive and apparently well, and is still an active supporter of the ANC

An international human rights' organisation has interviewed the missing activist — suspected of being the fifth member of the all-white Broederstroom terror cell — at the movement's Lusaka headquarters

This provided the first proof to his parents that he is alive after weeks of speculation that the ANC may have executed him

The Sunday Times has undertaken not to name the organisation that recently visited Paul on two occasions — once without ANC supervision

The organisation told East Rand businessman Mr Joe Annegarn that Paul, 23, was physically fit and seemed "quite happy" to be working for the ANC

They also forwarded a letter from his father "But he didn't care to respond," said Mr Annegarn

Secret

Confirmation that he is alive came this week

It is not clear what job Paul is doing for the ANC, whose stock response so far has been that he is on a "secret assignment" somewhere in southern Africa

Paul's family originally feared he had been executed for "desertion" after breaking away from the ANC's Broederstroom cell last September

He apparently went to Lusaka to explain his defection and it was widely believed that he was immediately interned in an ANC penal camp in Angola

Over the past five months, the ANC has repeatedly denied reports that Paul was either dead or languishing in detention

Slated

International pressure forced the ANC to allow the human rights' organisation to visit Paul to staunch a flood of bad publicity

In a British newspaper this month, the International Freedom Foundation (IFF) — a US pressure group — slated the ANC for its "continuing gross violations of human rights" in an advertisement calling for Paul's release

Said Mr Annegarn "It's clear to me now that Paul is still following the ANC and it's a shame kids feel they have to go this route

"But I'm just happy he is alive and hope he'll snap out of it the whole saga has been a very frightening experience for the family"

Family wants Mandela's medical records

(11A)

THE Mandela family has urgently requested that Pollsmoor Prison provide medical records relating to the ANC leader's health

The Mandela Crisis Committee said the concern of the family was not related to the medical care in Tygerberg Hospital but to the conditions in Pollsmoor Prison.

"Agonising questions continue to occupy the minds of Mrs. Mandela and

Business Day

family. To what degree could the environment of the prison have been a contributory cause of his illness? Was it not possible for doctors in Pollsmoor to discover earlier that he was suffering from tuberculosis?"

Medical personnel at Tygerberg Hospital were yesterday waiting for Mande-

his personal physician to give the go-ahead for his discharge.

□ Britain's opposition Labour Party yesterday called on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to demand the unconditional release of Mandela

Labour's shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman said "When will Mrs Thatcher speak out about the growing horror of the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela?"

22/8/88 B/Day

Mandela discharge soon?

By CHRIS STEYN

AS medical personnel at Tygerberg Hospital were yesterday waiting for Mr Nelson Mandela's personal physician to give the go-ahead for his discharge, calls mounted for his "immediate" release from prison.

The Tygerberg Hospital superintendent on duty, Dr Robbie Truter, said he did not know exactly when Mr Mandela would be discharged.

"It depends on his personal physician. He not has given us any indication. We won't know until it happens," Dr Truter said.

He told the Cape Times Mr Mandela was "doing fine". "He is up and about,

CAPE TOWN 22/8/88

and there is actually no change in his condition," Dr Truter said. PFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday that she would reapply to Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee to visit Mr Mandela.

She called President P W Botha's demand that Mr Mandela renounce violence a "ridiculous" prerequisite, and vowed to press for his earliest release.

"If upon his release, he is responsible for acts of violence, he will have broken common law and be sent right back to prison. It is an absurd condition for the President to make."

At the weekend, Tygerberg Hospital's superintendent Dr J G L Strauss

disclosed details of Mr Mandela's "tuberculous pleural effusion" for the first time.

"Following on a medical consultation Mr Mandela had with Professor Heinrich Hertzog of Switzerland, Pneumology, yesterday and Mr Mandela's subsequent discussions with Professor M A de Kock, I am now in a position to report fully on Mr Mandela's condition."

"He was diagnosed on August 13 as suffering from a tuberculous pleural effusion and immediate pleural draining and pleural biopsy was performed and the appropriate medical treatment commenced. I am now pleased to report that the

effusion has cleared up, the drain was removed on August 15, and that his lung is now fully expanded."

"Professor De Kock is of the opinion that Mr Mandela's prognosis for complete recovery is excellent. There is no lung involvement and he is not infectious. I also wish to quote Prof Hertzog. 'In summary I could totally confirm the diagnoses made by Professor De Kock and I fully agree with the treatment of the malady.'"

Meanwhile, the Mandela family has "urgently requested" that the authorities of Pollsmoor Prison provide the family with the medical records relating to the ANC leader's health to enable them to dispel "nagging doubts"

Mandela 'making good progress'

Staff Reporter

NELSON MANDELA is making good progress in Tygerberg Hospital, the superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss, said today

However, he said he did not know when the African National Congress leader would be discharged

The Mandela family attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, who is to consult Mrs Winnie Mandela later today, said he was "certain Mrs Mandela would want to visit her husband some time this week"

It is reported from London that family and friends of Mr Mandela believe President Botha is trying to divide the jailed ANC leader's support by selective releases of information

John Matisonn reports in the Observer that this is the interpretation of the apparently inexplicable snippets of information since Mr Mandela's transfer to hospital became known

They say the only new thing in the speech by Mr Botha last week to the National Party's Natal congress was the statement that if Mr Mandela "continues to co-operate, I believe we will get positive results"

In fact, says the report, neither Mr Mandela's lawyers, his family nor his political allies are aware of any co-operation by him except over his illness
— Staff Reporter and The Argus Foreign Service

THE tricameral system today faced its greatest crisis yet following decisions by the Houses of Representatives and Delegates not to deal with legislation, including group areas measures, in the short session of Parliament

The future participation of the Labour Party in the system is in the balance

President Botha will have to use the President's Council to push through group areas legislation now supported only by the National Party

Not even the Conservative Party supports the legislation, although its objections are different to those of other parties

The House of Representatives will adjourn until the last day of the session, September 2, and the House of Delegates has decided to suspend discussion of all legislation until February

The two Houses will take part only in tomorrow's joint session on peace plans for SWA/Namibia

Rejected

Meanwhile, the Delegates will remain in session to consider reports of a House committee into allegations of maladministration which was appointed earlier this session

President Botha will not have to decide on further moves

In terms of the Constitution he can serve notice on any of the Houses to consider a part of legislation in not less than a fortnight

If this is not done he can deem the matter to have been rejected by the House. It can then be referred to the President's Council for confirmation, after which it is forwarded to the President for his signature and becomes law

There has not yet been any reaction from the President, but the government is said to be keen to get the group areas legislation on to the statute book as soon as possible

Squatting

There was especially sharp criticism from the Labour Party yesterday about the role of the President's Council, whose nominated Nationalist members can override the wishes of elected members of Parliament

The council might now have to pass a number of Bills apart from the trilogy on group areas

In addition, there are Bills dealing with slum clearance, squatting, roads, local government and liquor on the order paper

The Labour Party has also been sharply critical of the government's refusal to discuss constitutional reform with it.

Smokescreen

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said yesterday that the party had expected a *quid pro quo* from the government after it had supported the National Council Bill

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said today that this was a smokescreen

There had never been any talk of a *quid pro quo*

The Labour Party had supported the Bill because it was convinced that it was the right step

After that it was sharply criticised by certain quarters and it had said that it would not support further legislation until he (Mr Heunis) spelled out the future constitutional road

● See pages 4, 6 and 13

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

Row over group areas puts Labour Party's future participation in the balance

TRICAMERAL CRISIS

M&S
23/9/88
11/11

Rajbansi denies charge of 'doctoring' govt file

App. Times 23/8/88

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Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mr Amichand Rajbansi yesterday denied he tried to "doctor" the contents of a government file or that he set up a secret committee to interfere with the allocation of trading sites

Mr Rajbansi's denial came before the James Commission of Inquiry during a day marked by a series of increasingly hostile exchanges between Mr Rajbansi and Mr Victor George Hunt, a senior official of the House of Delegates, who gave evidence against Mr Rajbansi

At one point, responding to Mr Rajbansi's assertion that he personally told Mr Hunt that he would in no way interfere with the decisions of the Housing Development Board, Mr Hunt began to laugh derisively

"You have made my day that must be the joke of the year," Mr Hunt said, remarking that several officials had complained about Mr Rajbansi's "threats and intimidation"

Mr Hunt added that since he began giving evidence to the commission he had learnt that Mr Rajbansi had been inquiring among his staff, "fishing for evidence that I am anti-Indian"

Mr Hunt said he rejected any suggestion to the this effect, and it was a mark of their respect for him that staff had reported Mr Rajbansi's "fishing" to him

Mr Rajbansi said he would prove that Mr Hunt's "attitude towards Indian Ministers" had been discussed long before the appointment of the James Commission

Mandela 'feeling much better' after treatment

NELSON Mandela's tuberculous lung infection had improved, his lung was fully expanded and he had told Swiss specialist Prof Heinrich Hertzog he was feeling better.

The Johannesburg newspaper Beeld quoted Hertzog — who examined Mandela on Friday — as

saying Mandela felt his health had improved considerably since the treatment. He was diagnosed on August 13 as having a tuberculous pleural effusion.

Hertzog said had Mandela been his patient in Switzerland, he would have been given him precisely the same treatment.

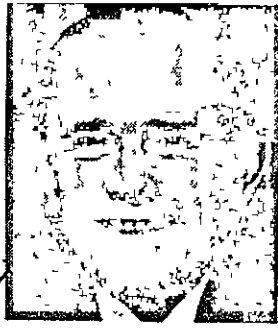
He said the 70-year-old prisoner's health was remarkably good for someone his age.

Mandela would be able to be discharged from hospital soon. Tygerberg Hospital medical superintendent Dr J G L Strauss said Mandela's lung was now fully expanded — Sapa.

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11A

Bl Day 23/8/88



Gen Magnus Malan



Rev Hendrickse



Mr Jan van Eck

Malan's call for apology rejected by Hendrickse

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CAPE TIMES 24/1/83

THE Reverend Allan Hendrickse said last night he "rejected with contempt" the assertion by General Magnus Malan that the Labour Party leader owed ex-servicemen an apology for his stand opposing conscription.

General Malan accused Mr Hendrickse of playing right into the hands of "terrorists", by taking sides with national service evaders and of dealing with security and SADF matters in "a reckless and irresponsible manner".

Mr Hendrickse responded that General Malan had behaved like "a bull let loose in a China shop" in

attacking him after the LP condemned the government's effective banning of the ECC.

Last night he added that it was the state's duty "to eradicate this impression rather than creating a second impression, in which I am the villain supporting terrorist organisations."

"Like his fellow travellers in the government, General Malan puts on the blinkers to the real cause of the problem in South Africa and fails to see where the solution lies."

"All I am looking for, is a democracy in which all people can freely participate," Mr Hendrickse said.

can't say 2/1/83 RA
**'ANC didn't
create UDF'**

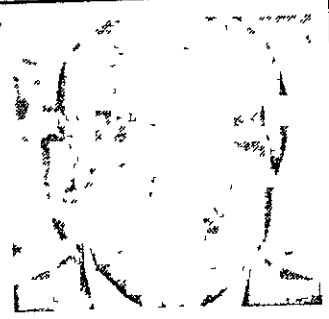
Political Correspondent
THE UDF was not created by the ANC, the chief of the security police, General Johan van der Merwe, acknowledged yesterday.

Speaking at a press briefing at Koeberg, the general said while certain former ANC members and sympathizers had been involved in setting up the UDF in 1983, there was no evidence that the organization had been established by the ANC.

While it was wrong to say the UDF had been created by the ANC, there had been co-operation between the two organizations, he said.

Inquiry finds Rajbansi guilty

DR Nair
24/8/88
11A



Political Staff
MR AMICHAND RAJBANSI, Chairman of the House of Delegates, has been found guilty by a Parliamentary inquiry of "glaring" maladministration and of attempting to deceive it.

A Select Committee into allegations of maladministration said in its report that Mr Rajbansi had pressurised two other ministers and officials of the House of Delegates, into the over-hasty purchase of Durban's Odeon Cinema complex as a cultural center for R1,1 million and that it was now a "white elephant".

Evidence was that it was unsuitable as a cultural center, that the owners had been trying to sell it for years, and, that only Mr Rajbansi and Dr G K Nair, the Chief Director responsible for planning in the Department of Education and Culture, favoured the deal which the committee said was a "serious misuse of public funds"

The purchase price had been

about R400 000 higher than the evaluations.

Dr Nair had confessed to "professional incompetence and gross negligence" He was found to have been "quite dishonest in his evidence" and was a "seriously unreliable witness"

Mr Rajbansi had at first denied initiating the purchase of the cinema complex under the guise of expropriation.

However, when confronted with a letter, dated March 2 1987 and signed by him, instructing that the property be bought before March 31, he changed his evidence and admitted the letter had constituted a directive

"Your committee is satisfied that in this pretended attitude Mr Rajbansi was being deceitful," said the report

It also found that Mr Rajbansi had organised two letters to be written to the department, both congratulating him on the acquisition of the complex and offering R400 000 more for it than had

been paid

Other evidence was that if more time had been available, more suitable premises for a cultural center could have been found.

It was also reported that at least 20 additional rooms would have had to have been built-on to make it suitable as a cultural center at a cost of about R45 million

"The clearly set and predetermined objective by Mr Rajbansi that the Odeon Cinema complex be purchased as well as the direct support given to that by Dr Nair, who it appears from the evidence, acted as if he were an agent of Mr Rajbansi, if not the sellers concerned, does indeed give rise to grave disquiet," said the report

It described the acquisition by the House of Delegates of the property as a "godsend" for the sellers who had also benefitted by not having had to pay R160 500 in agents' fees ● See page 5

Slovo film can be screened once in SA

The film *World Apart*, written and directed by Shawn Slovo, daughter of SACP leader and the ANC military wing's former chief of staff Joe Slovo, has been allowed one showing in SA under the auspices of the Weekly Mail Film Festival in Johannesburg.

The Publications Appeal Board yesterday granted *World Apart* exemption for one showing and it will be screened at the Market Theatre Warehouse on Thursday night.

ELSABE WESSELS

World Apart, which won the Jury Special Award and joint Best Actress award for its three stars at the Cannes Film Festival, is set in SA in 1963.

The film is said to be an autobiographical account of the relationship between Slovo and her mother, Ruth First, who was killed in a parcel bomb explosion in Maputo in 1982.

Whites face trial over bomb raids on ANC offices

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Three white Zimbabweans are to stand trial in November for the bombing of two ANC properties in Harare in May 1986.

The High Court yesterday committed Mr Kevin Woods (35), Mr Michael Anthony Smith (34) and Mr Barry Bawden (30) to trial.

They were arrested after the bombing of an ANC house in Bulawayo in January. Mr Woods and Mr Smith have already been indicted for trial in October on a murder charge in connection with the blast.

The State claims that, in the Harare incidents, the three men acted in concert with South African saboteurs. The charge they face carries the death penalty.

At the time of one attack on an ANC office in Harare, Mr Woods was a serving officer in Zimbabwe's Central Intelligence Organisation.

The venues for the trials have not been announced yet because of the abortive attempt to get the men out of prison. Prosecutor Mr Yunus Omerjee said no chances would be taken with security arrangements.

KEPT IN CUSTODY

Four other people who face charges connected with alleged South African sabotage incidents, or the abortive rescue bid, were remanded in custody yesterday.

They were Mr Guy Bawden, Mr Terence Downey and his wife Kathleen, who are accused of failing to report the presence of South African agents, and Mr Denis (Sammy) Behan, who is claimed by the prosecution to have been the commander of a South African commando squad in the abortive prison break.

Mr Behan (40) has been in custody since June. He was arrested in Botswana after fleeing from a Zimbabwean border post.

Last week he was visited by his fiancée, Ms Barbel Fabianek, who flew up from Johannesburg.

Mr Behan's lawyer has complained that she was allowed to visit him only once and that requests for a second visit were ignored.

The court heard that remand prisoners are allowed one visit a week — and if Ms Fabianek returns to Harare, she can see him again.

ANC is getting political and moral support

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress has clandestine military and political structures in Botswana as well as facilities to make the country increasingly its most important infiltration route to South Africa.

This was stated by Security Police chief General Johan van der Merwe yesterday at a briefing for the parliamentary press, held at the Koeberg special police constabulary training centre.

He provided statistics which showed that 49 percent of all ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) insurgents who had been arrested and killed in South Africa during the past 18 months had been infiltrated through Botswana.

A further 13 percent came through Swaziland, nine percent through Lesotho, five percent through Zimbabwe and less than half a percent through Mozambique. It was not known how the remaining 23 percent got through.

Of the 99 insurgents who had been arrested or killed in South Africa in the first six months of this year, 47 had come through Botswana.

He said target areas of such infiltrators were mainly the western and northern Transvaal and the northern Cape.

ANC elements in Botswana had also attempted to politically influence citizens of Bophuthatswana, with the aim of creating a

Terror trail to SA leads through Botswana — SAP

new base area for political and military activities against South Africa.

He said the Sedibelo and Mogo motels in and near Gaborone were used by traveling members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, to stay overnight and to receive their final orders before departing for South Africa.

Meetings between ANC management members and radicals from South Africa were usually arranged at these motels.

General van der Merwe said official Botswana policy provided for political and moral support of the ANC, but stipulated that Botswana territory could not be used for armed action against South Africa.

He said "The ANC use of Botswana as the main infiltration route must be seen against the backdrop of problems the ANC experiences in other neighbouring states.

"Infiltration through Lesotho and Swaziland was largely disrupted when General

Lehanya came to power in Lesotho and by governmental action against the ANC in Swaziland.

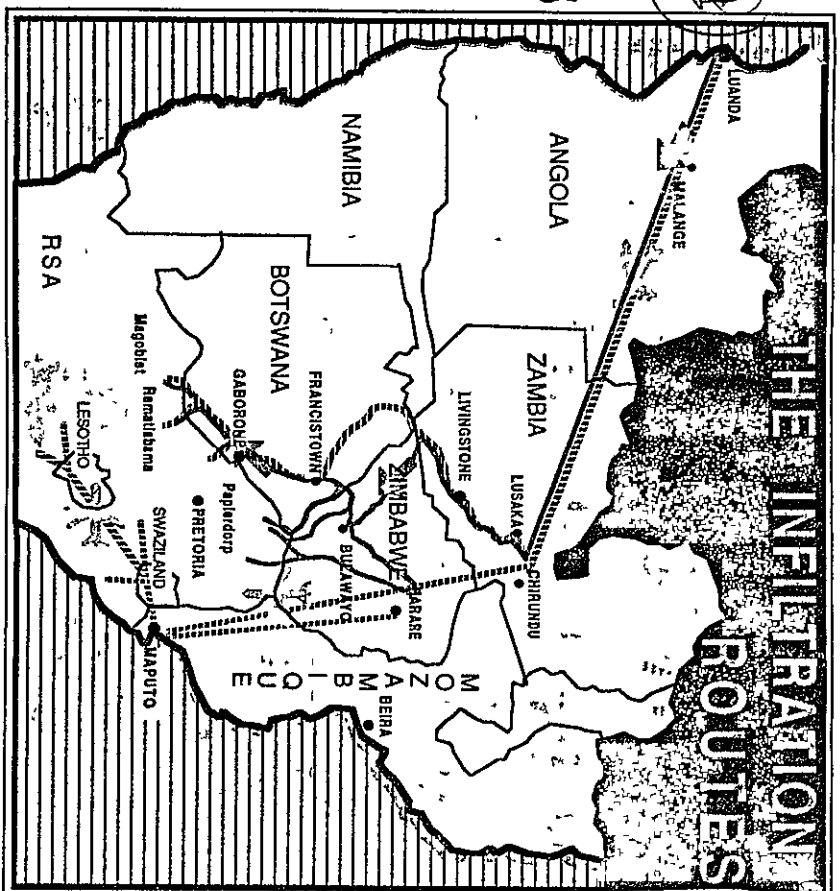
"Although this did not halt the ANC's terror efforts, it forced the ANC to seek alternative infiltration routes."

General van der Merwe said the Botswana government was cautious not to give the ANC so much free reign that it drew action from the South African security forces.

Yet information gained indicated officials or members of the Botswana security forces were either lax in the execution of their duties or allowed the ANC to openly use Botswana as a transit route as well as to establish arms caches there.

Increased infiltration of South Africa by insurgents and the serious warning issued by South Africa in this regard had prompted Botswana to implement a stricter security policy in 1987.

See Page 11



'ANC wants Mandela jailed'

CONF. Trevis 24/8/88

Political Staff

THE African National Congress would prefer to keep its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, in jail, according to a highly-trained former Umkhonto we Sizwe regional commander.

Introduced to the media at a police camp near Cape Town yesterday only as "Mr X", after 10 years on the run, said disillusionment in ANC cadres was rife. Trained in Angola, East Germany and Moscow, "Mr X" said that Mr Mandela's release would cause "chaos" in ANC ranks and that its current leader in exile, Mr Oliver Tambo, "would not like Mr Mandela to take his job". "The ANC is pleased with Mr Mandela in

jail," he said.

"He is a mobilizing factor for the ANC outside the country while in jail." "Mr X" said he had left the organization after becoming disillusioned with the movement's lack of successes, time-wasting, the exploitation by its leaders of young women in Umkhonto we Sizwe and the embezzlement of money.

He believed that many of the dissidents now in punishment camps in Angola would return to South Africa if they could. Morale was also low because of changes taking place in South Africa. "The ANC did not like the advent of the tricameral Parliament and would love the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to take over because it would oppress blacks and unite

them," he said.

He confirmed that more whites were joining the ANC and that "95% of the executive" are members of the South African Communist Party.

In his time with the ANC he had been involved in one direct armed contact with the police and had participated in three bomb attacks.

He said the ANC had been taken by surprise by the 1976 uprising but had used it to further its own aims and had later infiltrated the United Democratic Front (UDF) and organizations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). He said that after mass mobilization of the people the ultimate aim was armed insurrection.

"After this it would be the end of the Freedom Charter and a socialist revolution in its place," he said.

"Mr X" said recent ANC attacks on "soft" targets such as shopping centres was not a change of direction by the organization. They had been approved in 1983, largely as a retaliatory measure in reply to cross-border raids by South African security forces.

He believed the latest statement by the ANC that it was opposed to attacking "soft" targets had been made for diplomatic reasons. The ANC did not have total control over its men on "long-term" missions in South Africa, in which they set up their own support structures and took their own decisions on what to attack.

CA 76 Twp # 24/8/88

'ANC has missile arsenal'

Political Staff

THE ANC is using increasingly sophisticated weapons, including ground-to-ground and ground-to-air missiles — and crossbows

This was disclosed yesterday at a press briefing by the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, when he provided statistics of armaments brought into South Africa from neighbouring states, particularly Botswana.

He said three RPG-7 rocket-propelling loads, three RPG-7 rockets, one portable ground-to-air Soviet SAM-7 rocket with one launcher and three rockets, and a crossbow with an optical sight and two arrows had been captured.

Angola is 'main base' for the ANC

CA 12/24/88
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NA (20/1/2000)

Political Staff

ANGOLA is the main training ground for ANC terrorists and Botswana is their main infiltration route into South Africa, General Johan van der Merwe, head of the security police, said yesterday.

Briefing political journalists on the current security situation, he said South Africa is having a "reasonable degree of success" against infiltration

Botswana is the main conduit because the ANC has difficulties in operating from other neighbouring states, but is nevertheless still using them to varying degrees as staging posts to reach SA

The ANC's involvement in Angola is an important aspect of the current peace negotiations concerning Cuban withdrawal and independence for Namibia. However, General Van der

Merwe said it is a sensitive situation and he could not say what the outcome of the peace talks would be

He said Botswana had been given warnings of the activities of ANC members in its country and is attempting to take firmer action

"However, we understand that President Kenneth Kaunda has asked Botswana not to be too tough on the ANC, which has established underground structures in that country," he said

Botswana was careful not to give the ANC such a degree of free rein that it would entice action by the SA security forces

"In light of the increased infiltration by terrorists, and the serious warnings issued by SA, Botswana decided in 1987 on a stricter security policy regarding revolutionary movements," he said, adding that South Africa has the impression there is a great deal of laxity or inefficiency on the part of Botswana

negotiation had to

2 BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, August 24 1988

EX-ANC MAN DISMISSES SOFT-TARGET EXCUSES

CAPE TOWN — A former ANC field commander who is now a policeman said yesterday attacks on soft targets had been ANC policy since 1983. He added that members planned attacks independently.

His comments were made to political correspondents at a Ministry of Law and Order briefing.

The man, introduced only as Glory, dismissed as a diplomatic tactic a recent ANC statement regretting

attacks on soft targets.

He said the ANC wanted Nelson Mandela to stay in jail because he was the single major mobilisation-of-the-masses factor and a key component of the revolutionary campaign.

The former ANC commander, trained in Angola, East Germany and the Soviet Union, handed himself over to the SAP in 1986.

He is now a police constable in what was described by the chief of the security police, Lt-Gen Johann van der Merwe, as a vital role in counter-revolutionary operations.

Van der Merwe said details of Glory's activities, which might lead to his identity, could not be published.

The man was described as the most highly-trained ANC terrorist to have joined the SAP. — Sapa.



'We're ready to sign nact with SA'

NACTU was in-

Nact

'Nactu and BCMA command support throughout Azania'

24/8/80 (11A) Saveru

SIR — I would like to air my views through your respectable newspaper on the criticism levelled against the National Council of Trade Unions and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania by James T Maseko of Wits University Black Students Society

First of all I would like my learned Mr Maseko to know that Nactu and BCMA command support of the people throughout occupied Azania for their positions on black education

It was these two organisations who last year fully endorsed the "back to school" campaign. That did not mean the abandonment of the struggle against bantu education nor did it mean that students at South African gallows were now forgotten

The Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) re-evaluated its campaign and realised that the strategy of using school

boycotts in forcing a concession by the State to students' demands was no longer viable and thus had to be shelved at least for a while

It is to our disadvantage as blacks to push things that do not benefit us

Mr Maseko's logic — and that of Sosco — it seems, is that "Verwoerd disrupted our education by introducing bantu education, so why not do it also"

It is surely a twisted logic

A word of praise to Ministers United for Christian Co-Responsibility for having convened a student-parent meeting and I hope that the merits and demerits of class boycotts will be thoroughly looked into

Mr Maseko alleges that Nactu and BCMA are out of touch with the education crisis. How can one really be out of touch when it is a concern of every Azanian — no matter how far away he is — that black

education is going down the drain?

What Mr Maseko and his ilk should realise is that we do not want to be a nation of illiterates

Right now there is no doubt that whites are happy or pleased by the chaotic situation at black schools because that guarantees them servants over a prolonged period of time

It is very sad for Mr Maseko, a university student, to urge high school students to boycott classes. How did Mr Maseko and his friends reach university level?

Or are they among those who attended privileged private schools?

Such questions, coupled with the ignorance by Sosco of white, "Indian and coloured" schools while at the same time proclaiming to be multiracial, bring people closer to the conclusion that people of Mr Maseko's ilk are the fish of the South African dirty tricks department or else they enjoy rouble-rousing

The Bothas will not change their racist education policy even if they wished to because the exploitative system of capitalism in SA demands that it stays racist

Blacks are the labour force in SA. This means that the only way to effect a change in the education policy is by changing the whole system

So don't play around
We must be prepared

educationally, political-ly, economically, physical-ly and otherwise for the new system we want to usher in

Viva the BCMA and Nactu "back to school" campaign
LEBOGANG MOT-LHASEDI

Thabane

Sawetan
11A
24/8/88

Charting new course

In full — the latest version of the Freedom Charter . . .

FOCUS

So what is really new about the revised Charter?

BENNY ALEXANDER, a unionist, takes a close look at the pitfalls in the revised version of the Freedom Charter.

THE full text of the "Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa":

The State

(A) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state

(B) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation

(C) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution

(D) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution

Franchise

(E) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote

(F) Every voter shall

have the right to stand for election and to be elected to legislative bodies

National Identity

(G) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development

Bill of Rights and Affirmative Action

(H) The Constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement

(I) The state and all social institutions shall be under constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms

(J) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination

(K) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed

(L) Subject to clauses (I) and (K) above, the democratic state shall



Scene from a 1956 Freedom Charter launch

guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the Press

Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and guarantee the right to education and social security

(M) All parties which conform to the provision of (I) to (K) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country

Economy

(N) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population

(O) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity

(P) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being

(Q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector, and a small-scale, family sector

(R) Co-operate forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small scale family activities shall be supported by the state

(S) The state shall promote the acquisition of management, tech-

nical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks

(T) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected

Land

(U) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues

— Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land

— Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals

Workers

(V) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution

Women

(W) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes

The Family

(X) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected

International

(Y) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the OAU and the Charter of the UN and to the achievement of national liberation, world peace and disarmament

THE ANC has produced a new political document which purports to update the Freedom Charter and surpass it as far as clear guidelines for post-apartheid South Africa is concerned. It would seem that the new guidelines arise from questions about the vagueness and relevance of the charter.

Rather than analysing all the clauses one could save time by concentrating on what is new. Better still one can start by looking at the economic infrastructure which must necessarily influence the ethical, political and cultural aspects of the superstructure of the proposed post-apartheid South Africa

Economic Infrastructure

If there was any confusion as to whether the Freedom Charter advocated socialism or capitalism, the new guidelines are decidedly capitalistic. Arch-capitalist proponent Dr Zach de Beer commenting on the guidelines said "If the ANC is talking about a mixed economy instead of widespread nationalisation this seems to represent an advance in their thinking"

Clause (P) obliges the capitalists to co-operate with the state, but the question arises as to which capitalists do not? As the abolishment of the private sector is not a goal, not even in the long term, it stands to reason that the laws will have to protect the man of property. This raises questions about the role of the army and the police in, say, industrial unrest, as the role of the unions imply and confirm the capitalist mode of production

The state will assist co-operatives and small-scale family business, but with what objective? To become part of the private sector or what? This is not clear. Taken as a whole it would seem that the economic plans reflect no improvement

• To facing page

(11A) ~~11A~~ Swept up 2/18/83

So what is new?

• From facing page

on the Freedom Charter which is very bold on the question of nationalisation of certain industries and which created uneasiness in the minds of big business in South Africa and optimism in many workers in Cosatu

Others

The guidelines deal with the state which will be democratic, non-racial, unitary and multi-party. It further states that the institutions of hereditary rulers and chiefs will be transformed (not scrapped) to serve democratic principles. How does the maintenance of tribal chiefs tally with clause 2 which guarantees any voter the right to stand for elections?

Taking the political principles from the overall context of the guidelines it would seem that the tribal chiefs and hereditary rulers will be obliged to exercise their

terms of Western democracy while clause 3 guarantees protection of cultural expression and development. How does this tally?

It can be argued that the mention of a multi-party democracy is an improvement, but the Freedom Charter never advocated a one-party state. It advocated racial representation which seems to have been flatly rejected depending on how one would understand the lines of the multi-party democracy, bearing in mind the retention of tribal chiefs

Franchise

The franchise is guaranteed for all but this has always been enshrined in the preamble of the Freedom Charter

The recognition of chiefs could pave the way to co-operation between the UDF and Inkatha and it can be a tool in the resolution of the Maritzburg feuding

The question arises as to what is new? Firstly an openness in evaluating the Freedom Charter is new. This is to be welcomed. The commitment to non-alignment is to be welcomed. The new document will certainly spark a lot of debate within the Congress Movement especially workers, as it is supposed to

One thing is certain. We are by-and-large talking about the same 'old' ANC which is still as far cry from the ideological clarity of its "rival" the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) which is the only liberatory group currently on the ascendency with a clear commitment to socialism, proletarian leadership, non-racism, non-collaboration and the priority of Africa's material interests. The guidelines' inability to address the political class interests of the workers could prove to further strengthen the hand of the PAC.

Rajbansi hits back after accusation

Political Staff



Mr Rajbansi with wife Ashadevi

MR Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the House of Delegates, yesterday hit back at the select committee report accusing him of "glaring maladministration over the purchase of the Odeon Cinema complex".

"What is needed is an independent investigation into how the committee conducted its duties," he said, adding later that it was "one of the few shameful acts we have had".

There should also be an investigation into how much the committee had cost the state, having ignored a suggestion by the Speaker that it should consider disbanding, considering that the James Commis-

sion had been appointed.

He accused the committee of conducting a vendetta against him, of disregarding important evidence and of not allowing him to put his case about the R1.1-million deal.

From May this year the opposition alliance had a majority in the House of Delegates but did not vote for a commission of inquiry into their allegations of maladministration and corruption.

Instead, they had opted for a "house" committee because "it could be politically manipulated".

The report, which he said had been written by PFP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam, had

not disclosed that independent evaluators had set the property's value at R1.5m and R1.5m and had only referred to estimates of about R700 000. The municipal valuation at the time was R1.5m

"At R1.1m it was a bargain. I would have bought it myself if I was a man of means," he said.

Mr Rajbansi said the proceedings had been dominated by Mr Poovalingam, who had "shouted" at witnesses in cross-examination.

He said he had listed all the allegations made against him under parliamentary privilege and had submitted them to the James Commission for investigation.

NELSON MANDELA

No time like now

With the National Party appearing to rely increasingly on crisis management, it becomes harder to predict what it will do. But reports that the release of Nelson Mandela is imminent seem premature.

In the end the decision lies with President P W Botha — and will be made on the basis of information fed to him on the security situation.

A senior government source says the possible release of Mandela must be seen against the background of the prevailing security and political situation in SA. The political implications of his release are being carefully considered, says the source.

Of particular concern is the effect Mandela's release may have on mass mobilisation in the country, and whether the security forces would be able to deal satisfactorily with such a situation should it arise. In this regard the government has a considerable responsibility, notes the source.

But pressure to release the ANC leader who is being treated for TB at Tygerberg hospital continues to mount — both from abroad and within the country. Even the pro-Nationalist newspaper *Beeld* has called for

24/8 PM

his release

If nothing else his unexpected illness must have brought home to government the danger of Mandela dying in prison. KaNgwane, Chief Minister Enos Mabuza reckons that in that eventuality the resulting violence would probably be worse than if Mandela were released now.

United Municipalities of SA president Tom Boya points out that if Mandela died in prison it would probably make it impossible for black moderates to negotiate with government.

The whole question hinges on what will happen when he is released — especially as it is not known whether he will be released unconditionally; or restricted like Govan Mbeki, or (least likely in the short term) into a process of negotiation to which the ANC would be a party.

In his recent study, *Reform Revisited*, Race Relations policy research director Steven Friedman quotes a senior government decision-maker (who favours the release of Mandela) as saying that his release would only be of value if it persuaded moderates to negotiate. The purpose would not be to draw Mandela or other militants into negotiations but, because it is a precondition to participation, to be a step to encourage the black rivals of the ANC — and of the extra-parliamentary movement — to negotiate.

If Mandela is released and restricted it would be the same as if he was in prison — government would be left searching for blacks willing to participate in their reform policies.

Who can say what would happen if he was released unconditionally? Government is nowhere near the point where it is willing to negotiate. The purpose would not be to draw Mandela or other militants into negotiations.

A former ANC regional commander currently working with the police told journalists at a briefing in Cape Town this week that he believes the ANC does not want Mandela released. While he is in jail he is a mobilising force; but if released he could cause serious divisions within the organisation.

But time is running out. As *Beeld* argued "If a more opportune time is being awaited to release Mandela, we can say now it will never dawn."

24/8 PM

Focus on SA culture boycott

NEW YORK — Prominent artists, performers and film and theatre directors from around the world will meet in Athens next month to look at the effectiveness of the cultural boycott of South Africa.

They will attend a symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, called partly because of increasing friction over the application of the boycott and the "blacklist" of artists who have performed in South Africa.

The symposium has been organised by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid and the Ministry of Culture in Greece. Culture Minister Merlina Mercouri will host the gathering.

Harry Belafonte, Yves Montand, theatre impresario Joseph Papp, film makers Franco Zeffirelli and Costa Gavras, actress Glenda Jackson and Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka are among those who have said they will attend.

According to people involved in the anti-apartheid movement here, one of the purposes of the symposium is to place initiatives for the cultural boycott "in the hands of artists, instead of ideologues."

It will also listen to the views of South African artists and performers — some of whom have criticised the way the cultural boycott has been implemented. Prominent South African artists, writers and performers have been invited.

Disputes over the lengths to which "cultural isolation" of South Africa should extend, what actions violate the boycott and who it should apply to have caused bitter debates in the anti-apartheid movement in the US and in the UK.

Even within anti-apartheid groups and the black nationalist movements there are differences of opinion. "Purists" want hardline implementation of the UN resolution calling for complete cultural isolation, without exception.

Both the leadership of the African

National Congress and the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid have, however, softened their stands to allow cultural exposure of anti-apartheid art.

A controversial issue is the register of those who have performed in South Africa. This "blacklist" is kept by the UN's Centre Against Apartheid and has served as "punishment" for those who have performed in South Africa.

However, growing dissatisfaction with the punitive, negative focus of the register — specially during the debate over musician Paul Simon's collaboration with black South African musicians — has led to calls for a more positive, constructive approach that is fired by ideas and initiatives from artists themselves.

The special committee's review of the cultural boycott — issued for the symposium — notes that some artists' activities in South Africa violated "the letter, if not the spirit, of the cultural boycott, although the artists appear to have acted in good faith."

The committee refused to put such artists on the blacklist.

In the new policy guidelines it says it "recognises that a culture of the oppressed people exists in South Africa. Thus, activities and contacts which have the intent and effect of expressing opposition to apartheid, enriching this culture and furthering the liberation struggle, do not come within the scope of the cultural boycott."

As the body responsible for monitoring and implementing the cultural boycott, the special committee says it plans to keep contacts with artists inside and outside South Africa and with various non-government groups to "ensure the most appropriate and effective implementation" of this policy.

Artists at Athens will be asked to propose ways that the world artistic community can help to further isolate South Africa — without hurting those artists struggling to fight apartheid inside South Africa. — Sapa

3 000 pupils protest against IBR director

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Sept 1985 26/10/88
DURBAN — More than 3 000 pupils at the United States-sponsored Phambili High School here yesterday demonstrated against Professor Fatima Meer, the director of the Institute for Black Research (IBR), which runs the school

Pupils demonstrated outside the school, carrying placards which read "Fatima — we want our money back", "Fatima — please get out of our school" and "Fatima, we want peace"

Tension has been building up at the school since the beginning of the year. Teachers and pupils claimed that the principal, Mr Roy Sham, had been hired and fired three times in two months.

Pupils said they had paid R60 in school fees at the beginning of the year, which also entitled them to textbooks and stationery, neither of which they had received.

Teachers said there had been great dissatisfaction at the school and on Monday pupils vented their anger by breaking windows and damaging furniture.

On Wednesday, several women teachers were manhandled and held at knifepoint — Sapa



MANDELA SUPPORT . . . A group of women with "get well" placards for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela outside Tygerberg Hospital yesterday afternoon Picture ADIL BRADLOW

Women take ^{11/2} Mandela flowers ^{27/1/88}

Staff Reporter

A GROUP of about 50 wellwishers yesterday visited Tygerberg Hospital to deliver flowers to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela who is recuperating after being treated for TB.

The women, who arrived about noon, were stopped in the ground-floor corridor by security personnel and police.

After explaining the purpose of the visit, one of the women was allowed to hand the flowers to a guard.

They left the hospital bearing placards which read "Speedy Recovery Nelson", "The Nation is waiting for you" and "Botha we are not disturbing".

Outside the building they sang songs dedicated to the jailed ANC leader before getting into mini-busses for their return to the townships.

A spokesman for the SA Prisons Service said it was policy to provide for expressions of sentiment to be received by the authorities and to be handed to a prisoner in hospital with due regard to personal safety and security.

SA spies in ANC general

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11/6/5
27/8/05

by JOHN McLENNAN, Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The SA Security Police has planted spies within the top executive of the ANC

This was disclosed this week by Lt General Johan van der Merwe, head of the Security Police, and follows the assertion by President Botha that the Government is well informed on what happens in the "inner circles" of the banned organisation.

General van der Merwe also said that the Security Police had in the past "turned" captured ANC guerillas and sent them back on missions against the organisation in order to test them

He made the disclosures at a briefing near Cape Town this week where the Press was allowed to interview a former ANC terrorist who came in from the cold to become a constable in the SAP and hunt his old comrades

As a former operational commander in the Transvaal he was able to provide fascinating insights into the workings of the ANC Among them

■ THE ANC long ago committed itself privately to attacking so-called soft targets. Publically, however, it will not admit to these atrocities

■ IT has little control over its "cadres" in the field Some are sent in on short term missions after which they return to base Others have long term objectives and stay in the country indefinitely The organisation has little communication with them and this is

why the ANC cannot immediately stop the series of restaurant blasts, even if publicity is damaging

■ THE ANC has set up reasonably sophisticated infiltration routes and groups of support personnel right in the cities Their "border reconnaissance" lead guerillas in and out of the country on previously scouted and safe routes The support groups, known as "machinery", provide accommodation, security and communication

■ ARMS and ordinance is brought in mainly through motor cars which have been equipped with special compartments

The official story of the man, known as Mr X, is that developments such as the introduction of the tricameral system gave him hope and he then gave himself up to the police

He is now used on anti-ANC operations and is most useful to the police because he knows how they operate

Many of those captured — and his defection apparently enabled the authorities to net many ANC cadres — were his previous comrades

He claims many other ANC members would like to return, but are prevented from doing so by the physical difficulties involved and not only the ANC

Those who change their minds about supporting the organisation, he said, are kept in punishment camps

Govt in a fix on Mandela issue

Afraid of rightwing backlash, nervous about October municipal elections

To be (a prisoner) or not to be (a prisoner), that is the question

GP Correspondent

Shakespeare surely won't mind that we borrowed his famous quotation to summarise the dilemma of the South African government which has battled for the past two weeks with the question of whether or not to release Nelson Mandela.

Following Mandela's hospitalisation on August 12, State President PW Botha must have had sleepless nights weighing up the pros and cons of his release.

But what has become clear is that Botha himself has become a prisoner - the prisoner of Mandela. If he sets Mandela free, he and his National Party lose. And if he does not release Mandela, they still lose.

Botha cannot keep Mandela in prison until he dies. On the other hand, Botha fears the results of releasing him, particularly with the crucial October municipal elections around the corner.

Speculation about Mandela's release after 26 years in prison has been rampant following Botha's address to the National Party Congress in Durban on August 18, where he "hinted" at possible release.

But held hostage by the Conservative Party, it was again made clear that Botha was as much a prisoner as Mandela.

Newspaper headlines after Botha's Durban address showed that even the Press was in the dark.

The Citizen, carried a front-page story headlined "Mandela won't be freed soon". The paper quoted the Minister of Information, Dr Stofel van der Merwe, saying Mandela's release "cannot be considered under prevailing circumstances".

Business Day, on the other hand, expressed a different view. Nelson Mandela's release seems to be imminent.

Speculation increased that Mandela was suffering from a more serious illness than tuberculosis.

The seriousness of his situation and Pretoria's concern about his well-being were also illustrated by the fact that both Botha and the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, took a "personal" interest in the case.

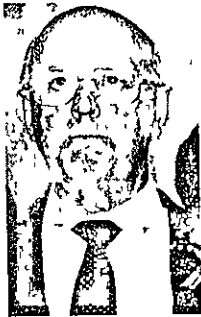
Mandela's illness created an opportune situation for the government to release him without too much damage to its stature.

But the government did not use the opportunity.

Even the pro-National Party *Beeld* newspaper called on Botha to release Mandela.

Another factor Botha should take into account is that Mandela's freedom holds the key to opening the door to real black participation in the government's reform process.

His release is on the list of demands of virtually every black political organisation in South Africa.



PW Botha... a prisoner of Mandela.



Kobie Coetsee... a personal interest.

11A

CITY PRESS, August 28, 1988

PAGE 7

TWO staunch South Africans, giants in the eyes of their followers, stand at the crossroads of peace and chaos in southern Africa

Between the two most powerful men ever in the history of our sub-continent lies the destiny of millions. Yet President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela remain painted political images to one another

They both live in the shadow of Table Mountain, yet they have not met one another. They both live behind solid security walls, one in palatial presidential surroundings, the other in a small cell that has been his "home" for the past 24 years.

Both men, in their 70s, represent the climax not only of their own political careers but that of a struggle for control of land and power that began over 300 years ago

Courage

Both men have displayed the courage to do what they believe in with a sense of determination and strength of conviction that have paled many lesser men into insignificance. One is determined to maintain white rule, the other unrepentant in the challenge of that rule.

Between these men revolves the most burning issue in the world in the second half of this century — segregation of human beings on the grounds of their race. It has certainly become the most important moral issue of the day — an issue that has not escaped the attention of world leaders.

Despite the presidential status of the one and the prisoner status of the other, when the history of this country is written the man who became a myth in his own lifetime and who wasted the best

Mandela and PW — time to bridge gulf

by Ismail Omar

member of the President's Council

years of that life doing nothing could well go down as the father of the nation

And the man who first began to chip at the granite mountain of three centuries of domination and prejudice could well merit no more attention than as one who first declared this to be a united nation, dividing his own tribe in the process, and thereby setting into motion the inevitable thrust towards a society where the worth of man is judged by his ability rather than the colour of his skin

Each man, by his actions, has the ability today to change unrecognisably the direction of the future historian's pen

There is no greater single issue today in South Africa than the continued incarceration of the man who has given his life for what he believes. (For that he earns the grudging admiration of many in Government as well)

The obstacle between Mr Mandela and his freedom is the Government's fear of the yearning of the black man for freedom in his own country

Fear, which needs no justification, can be the only reason for his continued imprisonment — fear of the man's potential to unleash forces that would then be beyond the control of those refusing to take the risk

And yet, if we are to move out of the present stalemate, risks must be taken. Mr Mandela and Mr Botha have the potential to save thousands of South African lives. They both have the power to halt our descent into violence

They both have the power and the ability to change the perceptions of future historians by mutual gestures of goodwill that will ensure they are remembered as men who stopped the rut of degeneration and destruction and started the task of nation building

Mr Mandela is the only person who can assuage white fears and control black anger — he has no other option if he has the interests of his country at heart — for he is larger than the ANC, as Gandhi was larger than the Indian National Congress

He has the power to differ with the harshness of bitter ANC lead-

ership in exile, as did Gandhi with the democratic decisions of the Indian National Congress.

In 1985, Mr Mandela advised visiting American Professor Samuel Dash that the central issue in South Africa was political equality. Reacting to white fears that such equality would mean subjugation under an embittered black majority, he said whites belonged in South Africa, that this was their home, and that they should live here and share power

In 1986, Mr Botha told Parliament "The peoples of the Republic of South Africa form one nation. But our nation is a nation of minorities. Given the multi-cultural nature of South African society, this of necessity implies participation by all communities, the sharing of power between these communities"

Gulf

He also said "We believe that human dignity, life, liberty and property of all must be protected, regardless of colour, race, creed or religion"

Is the gulf between the two sides as wide as that between Hussain of Iraq and Khomeini of Iran? Do we need to maim our youth, destroy cities and down civilians from the sky before we too come to our senses?

In 1986, Mr Botha said of Mr Mandela "If I were to release him on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Du Toit, Sakharov and Scharansky not be released on humanitarian grounds? A positive response to this question could certainly form the basis of negotiations with interested governments"

Sakharov and Scharansky are free. Wynand du Toit walked from prison to Tuynhuys. Is it asking too much?

CAT & TIMES 29/10/88
Candidate gunned down (18)

JOHANNESBURG — Mr David Nkomo, 45, a candidate in the October 26 municipal elections, was gunned down outside at his Soweto home yesterday, the City Press reported

Mr David Nkomo

Groups left out 'in the cold'

29/8/87

Sowetan
11A

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions is to convene a three-day congress in which it seeks to establish a broad anti-apartheid front — but black consciousness and Africanist groups said to have been invited yesterday said they had not been approached.

According to weekend reports the "Congress of the People" — similar to the historical historic non-racial congress held in Kliptown in 1956 — is scheduled to convene in Johannesburg on September 16

Details of the congress have been kept under wraps by the planning committee led by Cosatu assistant general secretary, Mr Sydney Mafumadi.

Organisations invited to attend subscribe to diverse political ideologies. They include the National Council of Trade Unions, the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Cape Action League

However, spokesmen for Nactu, Azanyu and black consciousness groups, just two weeks before the start of the congress, yesterday said they were not invited, but would consider participating subject to certain considerations and criteria.

One of these considerations which might create a stumbling block for the "front" would be Cosatu's insistence that

• Its drive to build a broad anti-apartheid front should be based on the principles of the

Cosatu says they were invited

Freedom Charter which it adopted as a guiding policy last year,

• Cosatu's central executive committee and the federation's allies should form the planning committee

Not adopt

Nactu's stand is that it will not adopt political documents but that a move towards drafting a worker manifesto should be established

Supporters of the black consciousness philosophy believe strongly in the Azanian Manifesto as opposed to the Freedom Charter

Political observers, who welcomed the move



MR SYDNEY Madumadi ... Cosatu.

to establish a united front against apartheid, regardless of ideology, noted that for true unity to exist certain principles would have to be followed

• Cosatu should plan the creation of the forum together with all organisations and not call the congress with an already prepared agenda,

• The planning committee should be careful in ensuring that the diverse political ideologies — Charterism, Africanism

and black consciousness — do not stall progress by rearing their heads if a "front" is to be formed

Care should be taken to prevent the talks from being marred by the domination or manipulation of one organisation by the other.

Observers also said it should be noted that Nactu and Cosatu had for once buried ideological differences recently when they jointly protested against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

It is acknowledged the target ban without a...

'People's Congress'

CLIP 1/11/88
29/8/88

A "Congress of the People" — similar to the historic non-racial congress which drafted the Freedom Charter at Kliptown in 1956 — is scheduled to convene in Johannesburg next month, City Press says in a front page report.

It says the congress, involving Cosatu and its allies, could overshadow the massive launch of the UDF in Cape Town in August, 1983.

Thousands of delegates are expected to attend the three-day conference, opening on September 16.

Organisations invited to at-

tend subscribe to diverse political ideologies. They include Nactu, Azapo, the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Cape Action League, the Black Management Forum, Nafcoc, Sabta, and the New Unity Movement.

Also invited are representatives of labour, sports, cultural, religious, educational, youth, civic, women's, student, professional, legal, rural and human rights organisations.

In a statement, Cosatu said the conference would "work on the basis of disciplined mandates, democracy and free and open debates". — Sapa.

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Contribution of 5.5 cents per share be
part million of the

PW slated for not curbing Rajbansi

Capit Turks 30/11/81 11A

MR J N REDDY, leader of the Solidarity opposition alliance in the House of Delegates, yesterday criticized President P W Botha for allowing Mr Amichand Rajbansi to continue as chairman of the House and as a minister

Supporters of Mr Rajbansi's National Peoples' Party walked out of the House of Delegates which was considering yet another report into allegations of maladministration when Mr Reddy said it showed the NPP no longer had control of the House

It was "unfortunate", he said, that the president allowed him to continue to dominate certain portfolios

Under consideration was a House committee report which said it has been put in possession of "extremely alarming evidence" that Mr Rajbansi had directed the allocation of "extremely valuable petrol service station sites" to six people against expert evidence

The report said that the sites were sold at what was felt to be a considerably lower market value than was possible

Once again the Parliamentary Committee exposed strong differences of opinion between Mr Rajbansi and his former Housing Minister, Mr Baldeo Dookie, who was not prepared to approve the deals

In a previous report to the House, Mr Dookie was named as

one of two ministers who had assented to the House's purchase of the Odeon Cinema complex in Durban, because he feared losing his job if he did not agree with Mr Rajbansi

Mr Rajbansi yesterday rejected the findings of the committee which said he had committed fraud in the allocation of service sites as "one-sided, biased and prejudiced"

The allegation was made that a site had been sold to a Mr Jivan Seebran for R400 000 when it could have realized R1 million

Mr Rajbansi was also accused of being "deceitful and devious" in dealing with officials and of arranging for "friends and associates" to be assigned business sites in Chastworth — Sapa

AK47

31/8/88

Soweto

(11A)

Murder weapon was kept at Mandela home court is told

General election?

PARLIAMENT is buzzing with rumours that the Government will call a general parliamentary election to coincide with the October 26 general municipal elections

The chaotic state of parliamentary politics at the moment with the tricameral parliament firing on only one cylinder, has prompted speculation that Pres-

• To page 4

THE AK-47 rifle that was used to blow out a man's brains was found by the police at the Orlando West home of Mrs Winnie Mandela, a Rand Supreme Court judge was told yesterday.

The rifle was kept in a backyard room the court heard. Also found there at a later stage was a Scorpion machine pistol and rounds of ammunition Mrs Mandela's car was pointed out to the police as one of the cars that were used in the alleged killings of Mr Xola Ashley Makhaula and Mr Mlando Michael

BY MANDLA NDLAZI

Ngubeni on January 24 last year in Zola, Soweto.

This was said by Lieutenant A Kritzinger of the Soweto security branch. He was testifying at the trial of Mr Oupa Alex Seheri (33), of Emdeni South, Miss Priscilla Lindwe Mkhonza (29) of Zola Three, Mr Ben Jabulani Dhlamini (27) also of Zola Three, Mr Sithembiso Buthelezi (25) of Alexandra and Mr Charles Bongani Zwane (18) of Orlando East.

They have pleaded not guilty to murder.

To page 4

AK47 claim

• From page 1

They have also pleaded not guilty to attempting to murder Mr Collin Dlamini and Mr Jeremiah Nkosi on the same day and place of the alleged killings. They have pleaded not guilty, too, to unlawful possession of an AK47 rifle, a Scorpion machine pistol and ammunition.

They are appearing before Mr Justice W R O'Donovan and two assessors. Lt Kritzinger told the court that one of the accused, Mr Seheri was brought to him. He noticed that Mr Seheri had a swollen right eye, bloodshot eyes, a swelling on the right temple and a cut on the lips.

He said Mr Seheri told him that he was assaulted at a shebeen, and volunteered to point out certain places to him. He said Mr Seheri was not drunk.

Mr Seheri directed the police to a house in Orlando West where he showed them a suitcase in the wardrobe. They found rounds of ammunition and the AK47 rifle in the suitcase. Mr Seheri told him that the rifle was kept at Mrs Mandela's home before it was taken to the other house.

From there Mr Seheri took them to Mrs Mandela's Orlando West home. Mr Seheri directed the police to a backyard room where an AK47 and three rounds of ammunition were found on an ornament placed on a TV set.

Lt Kritzinger said when the rifle and bullets were found Mrs Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, were not at home. He was told that this was Zinzi's bedroom.

(Proceeding)

CAPE TOWN'S 3/1/88

111A

Rajbansi in wrangle over R16m

Cape

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A senior official of the House of Delegates resigned five years early because he did not like the way Mr Amichand Rajbansi repeatedly interfered in the affairs of his department, the James Commission of Inquiry was told yesterday.

The official, Mr Roy Noel Blumrick, former chief director of the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, also told the commission that Mr Rajbansi personally ordered the acquisition of the R16 million Malgate House, headquarters of the House of Delegates in Smith Street, Durban.

Shortly before the start of the morning hearing, Mr Blumrick and Mr Rajbansi shook hands and greeted each other politely.

But as the hearing drew to a close in the afternoon, Mr Rajbansi angrily accused Mr Blumrick of "fabricating" his evidence — an allegation Mr Blumrick strongly rejected.

Mr Blumrick said that during his term as chief director Mr Baldeo Dookie was the responsible minister of the department.

Asked to explain why he decided to resign in December 1986, Mr Blumrick said he was "not very happy" in the department.

"I did not like the way the chairman of the Ministers' Council (Mr Rajbansi) was, to my mind, interfering in the affairs of the department."

He said Mr Rajbansi had on several occasions by-passed both him and Mr Dookie by dealing directly with officials of the department.

On one occasion he had instructed Mr Vic Hunt, director of local government and development, to buy a building — without first referring the matter to Mr Blumrick or Mr Dookie.

"It was the same with the allocation of petrol service station sites ... and the same with Malgate"

Cross-examined by Mr Rajbansi, Mr Blumrick rejected a suggestion that he was fabricating his evidence about the acquisition of Malgate House.

Mr Rajbansi put it to him that he (Mr Rajbansi) was against the acquisition of the building and was only acting on an urgent request by Dr Lapa Munnik (the former Minister of Public Works).

Mr Blumrick said it was the first time he had heard of any request by Dr Munnik, adding: "I would never have misunderstood you on a question of R16 million"

● Rajbansi suspension rescinded — Page 5

Hendrickse to seek solution

11/1/88 31/8/88

THE Labour Party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, will try to reach a compromise today to break the deadlock between the House of Representatives and the government

They spent nearly three hours yesterday trying to settle a misunderstanding which had arisen over whether Mr Hendrickse had offered to negotiate a deal over a "list" of areas to be declared "open" in exchange for the party's support for the government's legislation on group areas amendments and the establishment of free settlement areas

After issuing a joint statement saying they had settled the matter of semantics of whether a "list" existed, Mr Hendrickse said he and Mr Heunis would tackle the "broader issues" around the conflict between them

He said he was "cautiously optimistic"

The Labour Party, which as majority party had adjourned business in the House of Representatives until Friday, considered any previous offers of a compromise, including that of a list of areas, as having been rejected by the government and which would have no further part in these negotiations He said he had made an offer to Mr Heunis "in the interests of progress" during June, in spite of the Labour Party congress decision not to accept less than the total scrapping of the Group Areas Act

Heunis 'apology'

Political Staff

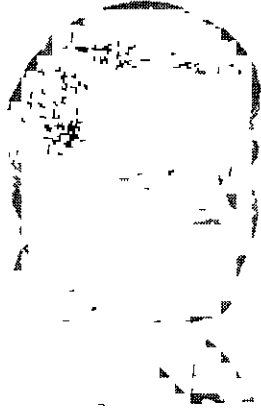
THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday effectively apologized to the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, for remarks he made on discussions between the two

Mr Heunis had denied that a discussion took place during which Mr Hendrickse submitted a list of residential areas which he wanted open as a condition for negotiation on the legislation

"After discussions between Ministers Heunis and Hendrickse, Minister Heunis confirmed that a discussion on the Group Areas legislation between Ministers Heunis and Hendrickse took place on June 15 and that Minister Hendrickse had made certain proposals

"In view of today's discussions, Minister Heunis accepts that his initial information as conveyed to him was incorrect and his comments on this information accordingly fall away."

Mandela: CP quiz for PW, Coetsee



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Rajbansi suspension rescinded

cap t. 1015
31/8/88

11A

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party believes Mr Nelson Mandela was released from prison periodically and it wants an inquiry into the accuracy of parliamentary replies given by President P W Botha and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee on the matter

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, a CP nominated MP, yesterday gave notice of a motion calling for the appointment of a House Committee to investigate "the correctness or otherwise of replies furnished in the House of Assembly" by Mr Botha and Mr Coetsee

He declined to expand on his call for an inquiry beyond saying that the CP believed the ANC leader had been out of prison on several occasions and that he had held talks with senior government officials

Mr Derby-Lewis referred specifically to questions he had put earlier this year in the House of Assembly

Political Staff

A MAJOR crisis in the House of Delegates was averted yesterday after a surprise motion — amounting to a vote of no confidence in the Speaker — was withdrawn and the suspension from Parliament of Mr Amichand Rajbansi was rescinded

Mr Rajbansi was suspended from the House of Delegates in June by resolution of the majority Solidarity-Peoples' Party alliance but, while relieved of his cabinet responsibilities by President P W Botha pending the outcome of the James Inquiry, he is still chairman of the Ministers' Council

His suspension from Parliament was at the centre of the crisis yesterday

Solidarity members believed that the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, was not going to allow the House to debate a report on mal-

administration, which contains serious allegations against Mr Rajbansi, without Mr Rajbansi being present

According to parliamentary tradition, MPs normally advise another member they are about to attack him in the House and invite him to be present. Because of his suspension Mr Rajbansi is unable to attend debates or to defend himself across the floor

Mr Ynus Moolla, Solidarity whip, yesterday afternoon gave notice of a motion to suspend Rule 2(1) of the Standing Rules of Parliament, which allows the Speaker to "give a ruling or frame a rule in respect of any eventuality for which these rules do not provide"

Mr Abram Mayet, chairman of the House, immediately suspended the proceedings in parliamentary terms, challenging the authority of the Speaker is the most serious action a party can take

Members of the PP said it would be wrong to go ahead with the debate on the report without Mr Rajbansi being present

Solidarity members and Mr Pat Poovalingam of the Progressive Federal Party said they were adamant about going ahead with the motion, even if it meant having to confront the Speaker

However, the crisis was averted after a meeting with the Speaker

Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy moved a motion in the House late yesterday rescinding Mr Rajbansi's suspension to enable him to attend the debate and Mr Moolla withdrew his motion

The report on maladministration will be debated tomorrow. It is understood that now that he has been given the opportunity of attending, it will go ahead with or without Mr Rajbansi

However, there are also suggestions that whatever the outcome of the debate, Mr Rajbansi will be suspended again

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Case No. 31/81
119 (2)

Man fails to appear

A WARRANT for the arrest of a Transkei man was issued in Cape Town Regional Court yesterday after he failed to appear in connection with charges of furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Mr Molliat Mziwoxolo Mfeketo, of Umtata, had his bail of R1 000 provisionally estreated. Unless he appears on September 19 the bail will be finally estreated.

His co-accused, Mr Xolile Thompson Jaxa, of Guguletu, had his bail of R1 000 extended. He was not asked to plead.

The state alleges that the two transported three men to Botswana for military training by the ANC or to make contact with its members. It is further alleged that Mr Jaxa and Mr Mfeketo distributed a publication — "Tambo's Speech".

Mr J M Lemmer was the magistrate. Miss A A Peckham prosecuted. Miss C Burger of E Moosa and Associates appeared for the two men.

BLACK POLITICS

1988 - SEPT.

Abramjee new NPP leader

Cape Times 12/9/88 (11A)
DURBAN — The MP for Laudium, Mr Boetie Abramjee, was yesterday elected new parliamentary leader of the National People's Party

A statement released by Mr Abramjee's office said the move followed the temporary suspension of the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi. Mr Rajbansi is currently appearing before the James Commission of Inquiry in connection with allegations of maladministration and corruption in the Indian house

Mr Abramjee was elected at an extraordinary caucus meeting of the NPP in Durban yesterday, the statement said

Mr Abramjee is deputy leader and Transvaal leader of the NPP

"NPP members reaffirmed their full confidence in Mr Rajbansi despite opposition efforts to have him removed as chairman of the Ministers' Council," it said

At the meeting, the NPP rededicated itself to its political programme of constitutional reform after declaring that it "had done more to roll back obstacles to the programme of the Indian people in the past"

The caucus also voted to engage legal counsel in its bid to obtain a declaratory order on the recent house committee's findings on an investigation into alleged maladministration in the House of Delegates — Sapa

Freedom Indaba

25/8-1/9 88
South
11A

BY MONO BADELA

A "CONGRESS of the People" — the biggest anti-apartheid conference since the historic Kliptown gathering in 1955 — is due to be held in Johannesburg next month.

The congress could overshadow the historic Cape Town launch of the United Democratic Front in August 1983.

Organised jointly by several progressive organisations, the conference will focus on unity and organisation against repression and the question of "one man one vote" in a democratic South Africa

A spokesperson for the organising group, Sydney Mafumadi, said the date, venue and details of the conference would be announced soon

Invitations are apparently being extended to a wide range of organisations including the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), black business groupings like the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) and the Southern African Black Taxist Association (Sabta).

Crackdown

Also included are representatives from sectors like labour, sport, culture, religion, education, political groupings such as the New Unity Movement, students, youth, civics, women, unemployed workers, rural and professional groups.

The conference arises from the resolution taken at Cosatu's special national congress held in May this year to discuss the Labour Relations Amendment Bill and the crackdown on progressive organisations such as the UDF.

It was resolved to call a conference of a broad range of anti-apartheid organisations to consider proposals for the development of a programme of action and organisation against repression.

Cosatu's president, Elijah Barayi, also referred to the conference in his speech at the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) annual congress in Johannesburg recently:

Barayi said workers had built a "powerful unity with their democratic allies".

He said, "We must

• FROM PAGE 1

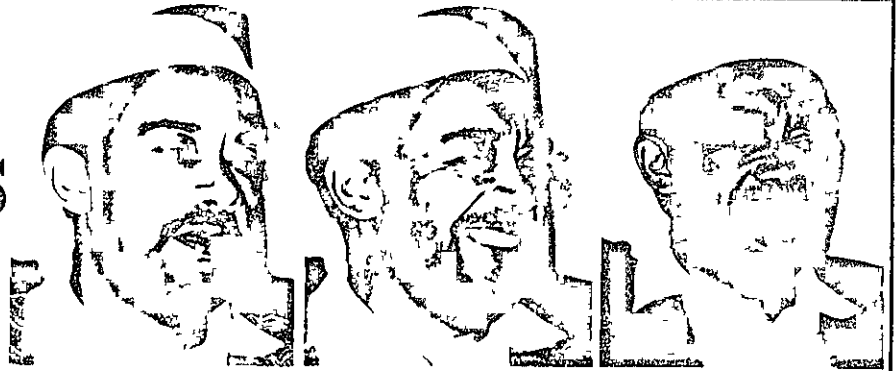
Indaba

strengthen this united front in the struggle. The unity between the various sectors in our struggle was not born today or yesterday. The working class has been in the forefront of the struggle and has historically never been separated from the liberation struggle of our people.

"We are committed to go further. This conference will demonstrate the isolation of apartheid."

• TO PAGE 3

Imam Hassan's views on apartheid unchanged



ONE of the first questions Imam Hassan Solomon was asked when he arrived in Saudi Arabia in 1985, was "How is Nelson Mandela?"

"Mandela is a household name in Saudi Arabia and there is immense interest in our country. Even the taxi drivers ask questions when they see South Africans," says Solomon, who left the country secretly in 1985.

An executive member of the United Democratic Front and the Muslim Judicial Council at the time, he had made several dramatic appearances at funerals, meetings and religious services despite being hunted by police.

Solomon returned briefly to South Africa this month to visit his family and to consult with the Call of Islam, an organisation he helped to form.

Entered legally

He declined to speak about the circumstances surrounding his leaving, but he maintained that he had left and entered the country legally.

"I'm happy to be back and I hope to come back permanently once I have completed my studies," he said.

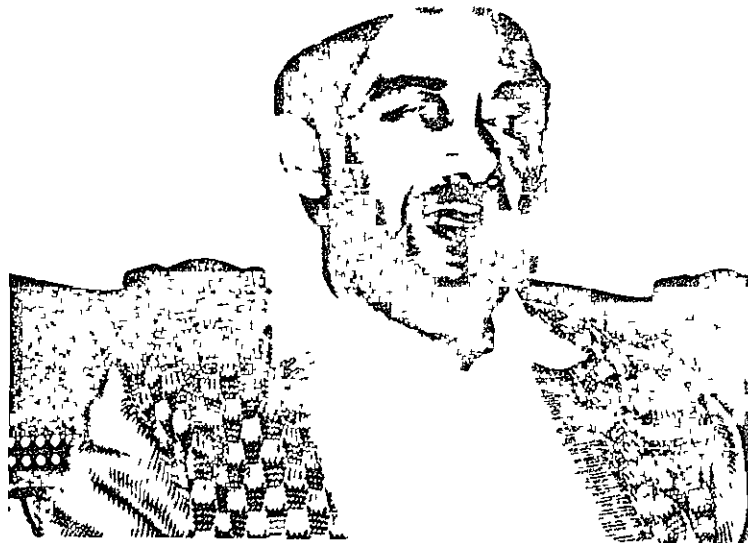
Solomon is studying Arabic and Islamic Studies at Umm al Qura University in Mecca. He hopes to continue his studies in Cairo for two more years.

"My views of apartheid are still the same. I still believe Muslims should play a role with the rest of the people and should not consider being an entity outside the fight for a democratic South Africa," he said.

"Muslims can only expect back that which they put into this fight. They can't ask for more than that. I firmly believe they can make a contribution."

He believed Muslim leaders in the MJC had not done enough since 1985.

MUSLIM leader Imam Hassan Solomon slipped into South Africa this month, as secretly as he left in 1985. The outspoken cleric has not changed his views on apartheid and the UDF. He hopes to return permanently to South Africa, he told RYLAND FISHER



Imam Hassan Solomon

"They could have done much more. They should have used the gains made in 1985 more profitably. To some extent they squandered some of those gains."

He slammed attempts by the State to introduce personal law for Muslims in terms of which Muslim marriages may be legalised.

It is an attempt by the State to coopt Muslims. People supporting personal law have been trying to get into the system through the back

door. But they never had the guts to support the system.

Muslims should never ask a government which does not uphold the dignity of people to uphold Muslim dignity. These things can be done outside parliament.

Solomon left the Western Cape before the State of Emergency was imposed in 1985. He came back to find many of the people he worked with were detained or restricted.

But when people struggle they must use what is available. Maybe they can't have rallies, but they can celebrate events in their homes.

We should not abandon our activities altogether. The struggle can be taken to the churches and the mosques. We must be creative and use all structures in our society.

We must do our duty all the time, whether the road is easy or tough.

We should not place ideological constraints on joining forces in the struggle. Freedom should come first.

I don't think our people should enter into ideological squabbles at this stage. We should not fight amongst ourselves.

Leaders of various groups should come together to forge unity for the next round to come. And it will come. If we can do this, we would have made progress.

The image of the South African struggle was good overseas. But there were sticky issues like the involvement of communists and the use of violence.

Widely publicised

Winnie Mandela, Dr Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu appear regularly on South African television. There are articles on South Africa in the newspapers almost everywhere.

The involvement of Muslims in the struggle in South Africa is widely publicised in the Middle East. In fact, for some people the impression was created that Muslims were in control of the struggle in South Africa.

He had addressed several groups of South African pilgrims in Mecca on the significance of Hajj.

I told them that people who support the tricameral system had no right to go on Hajj. Their way of life is a violation of the principles of Hajj, which symbolises unity and support for the struggle of the underdog.

Those who support tricameralism do not belong there. They have no part to play in the brotherhood of Islam.

26/8-11/9/88
w/maul

(11A) (circled)

A GRADUATE of the 1976 student uprisings, who has spent most of his adult life as a soldier in the African National Congress army will soon be formally named to replace its outgoing political commissar Steve Tshwete

He is Timothy Nkoana, 35, who left Soweto in the late 1970s to join Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) Lusaka sources say he rose through the ranks to a senior post in the ANC's military structures in Angola before his elevation to the position of political commissar.

The ANC has delayed formal announcement of his promotion — and his simultaneous co-option to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) — until he is free to return to Lusaka to take up his post, the sources say. They would not say what the delay is, nor where he is at present.

His appointment, however, could help calm the media storm raised by Tshwete's removal as political commissar two weeks ago — only a month after his elevation to the NEC

Nkoana's co-option to the NEC means direct military representation on the committee remains at four — with MK head Joe Modise, chief of staff Chris Hani and head of military intelligence Ronnie Kasrills (co-opted to the NEC at the same time as Tshwete).

Even without Tshwete — now out of the military but still a member of the NEC — this is a higher proportion than in the past, say ANC sources. It does not support speculation of an ANC "old guard" move to muzzle the relatively young and energetic military leadership.

Coming from within the army and with past promotions either approved or suggested by Hani, Nkoana does not fit the picture of an appointment to bring the military into line, the sources say

Any conclusion about the significance of Tshwete's relocation, they suggest, is to be found in where he has gone (to the ANC's Political Committee) rather than in his removal as political commissar — which they insist is not a demotion, as has been suggested

They also reject speculation that he lost the commissarship over the recent spate of bombings of restaurants, sports venues and other "soft targets" — although they concede the timing of leaks to the press may have been significant

A statement put out in the name of the entire NEC last week strongly criticised these "soft target" attacks, while acknowledging several of them had been carried out by MK fighters.

While the statement said at least some of the attacks had been carried out by

A key man is shifted sideways, a young guerrilla suddenly promoted, an unusual statement issues from the national executive what does all this mean? **DAVID NIDDRIE** reports from Lusaka

civilians in attacks on "hard" targets ANC sources call this "by-standers caught in the cross-fire"

Recent attacks have gone beyond this, the sources concede The Ellis Park attack and the mid-day bombing of an amusement arcade in central Johannesburg, are two examples indicating, several observers suggested, a division within the ANC leadership over the issue

Significantly, however, last week's statement was put out on behalf of the entire NEC, rather than — as is more usual — from secretary general Alfred Nzo or president Oliver Tambo Endorsement is understood to have been unanimous

And Tshwete is known to share growing concern within the upper ranks of the ANC at what one source called "a trend towards a predominance of soft target attacks".

Nevertheless, ANC sources admit the recent wave of bombings appears to call into question either the seriousness of the ANC's pursuit of its stated policy, or the leadership's ability to control their fighters.

"We are serious and word has gone down the line that this must stop," a senior ANC member said. "But ours is an underground struggle and our communication can take time."

More important in this regard, a senior military source added, is another consequence of Kabwe the substantial, although uneven, increase in guerrillas infiltrating back into South Africa — "400 this year alone, as well as a (possibly) similar number of fighters trained inside the country"

But the "people's war" thesis assumes the existence or establishment of a senior political leadership alongside the military structures — both to direct attacks and to ensure the military struggle develops along lines demarcated by long-term ANC strategy and policy.

"In those terms we got ahead of ourselves We have not entirely succeeded in establishing seasoned political direction for the fighters we're getting in or training locally," the military source said

"If we are serious about escalating our struggle and challenging the enemy, we have to address the problem"

Why all the post shuffling at the top of the ANC?



Fast food, soft target. Blasts in restaurants and public places provoke ANC debate

Picture: ELNEWS

"enemy agents" as provocation or to undercut ANC support (Pan-Africanist Congress responsibility was unlikely Lusaka sources said afterwards), it suggests ANC members responsible for specific soft target attacks would face disciplinary action for breaching ANC policy on military targets

That policy derives from the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in late 1985 Prior to Kabwe, ANC policy was to avoid any attack in which civilians could be hurt or killed After 1985 military policy changed in three ways by

- Adopting the notion of a "people's war", implying a significant increase in the numbers of people involved in military action,
- Expanding what constituted a "hard" or legitimate target to include civilians involved in implementing apartheid, and
- Accepting the possibility of unintentionally injuring or killing innocent

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, August 26 1988

A World Apart praised

MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — A World Apart, the film scripted by Shawn Slovo and based on the life of Ruth First, has opened in London to admiring reviews in the British Press.

Slovo, daughter of First, killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo, and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, set her story in 1963 after the banning of the ANC.

The Guardian said it was a political movie underlining the arguments set out in a simpler way by Richard Attenborough's Cry Freedom.

POLICE ON WHY TSHWETE WAS MOVED

SECURITY police believe the transfer of Steve Tshwete from the position of political commissar of the African National Congress' armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), may have been a tactical move rather than a demotion.

Tshwete remained on the ANC's national executive committee and was appointed to a political sub-committee. Recent press reports raised the possibility that Tshwete had been moved from MK because of opposition within the ANC to the increasing trend towards attacking "soft" targets.

But the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, expressed doubt this week. According to police information, "it looks like a strategical change".

He gave two reasons: the ANC had been criticised in Western countries for attacks on civilian targets.

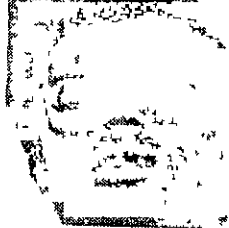
In addition, "Tshwete has a good knowledge of mass

mobilisation" and this would be useful in orchestrating the ANC's campaign to disrupt the municipal elections on October 26.

He argued that Chris Hani, the head of MK, and Tshwete, a former Border president of the United Democratic Front, were responsible for the shift to "soft" targets because they realised ANC morale was so low that if it did not have visible successes it would become thoroughly demoralised.

However, the number of violent incidents during the first six months of 1988 was down compared to the previous two years, although people had the impression they had increased because "soft" targets attacks were more emotional and stayed in people's minds.

Van der Merwe said there had been 88 acts of terror in the first six months of 1988, compared to 234 the previous year, 230 in 1986, 136 in 1985 and 44 in 1984.



Steve Tshwete

(11A) W/Travel
26/8-19/88

Pmb 'refugee' crisis grows as violence bubbles again

W/Mail 26/8-1/9/88

By THANDEKA GQUBULE
THE problem of Pietermaritzburg's 5 000 'internal refugees' has been intensified by the new violence between Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters say community workers.

Initially most refugees were youths but as the conflict escalated, whole families were drawn in. "Political violence is primarily responsible for the refugee problem which started last August and peaked in December and January," according to Wendy Leeb, a community worker and psychologist from the University of Natal Pietermaritzburg. "As the violence accelerates again, the problem becomes more acute."

There is a housing shortage in Pietermaritzburg which became more acute after the two waves of floods. And now the refugees have made it more acute. The communities are meeting the housing problem by "doubling up", she added.

"Inkatha and non-Inkatha violence has pressured people to move from their homes and seek refuge elsewhere.

"Although patterns of movement are not too clear, people — according to political affiliation — move from areas of conflict to what they consider safe areas. As they move in this pattern their assailants follow them," Leeb said.

"The first wave of refugees moved into town from the townships and sought refuge with those who already lived in town in employers' backrooms.

"Movement from one township to another, as well as from the township to out of Pietermaritzburg, occurred as well."

A community worker for the South African Council of Churches, Azaria Ndebele, told the *Weekly Mail* the refugee problem resulted from recruitment drives by Inkatha which caused resistance and fighting among residents.



New violence, new graves: A victim of the last outbreak

Picture: JONATHAN KAPLAN

He described the pattern: the first refugees came from Ashdown township and settled in the Edendale valley. The war then followed them into the valley.

Recruitment drives in Mpumaza and Imbali also sent people into "exile".

But when Ashdown was taken over by the UDF, the first group of refugees returned from Edendale to settle in their homes at Ashdown.

Meanwhile, the second group of refugees from Imbali, who were mainly Azapo people, settled in Dark City, Sobantu — where they began a battle with UDF supporters.

According to Leeb, the conflict has had serious effects on the lives of children. Many children who leave their homes have nowhere to go. A "great number" are lost or missing.

Leeb told the *Weekly Mail* that the increase in the number of

street children was related to the political violence.

"And the insecurity and broken family life has deep psychological effects on children. They live in fear and under stress.

"Child abuse under these conditions is very common as parents are also placed under a lot of stress. A case in point is that of a domestic worker who killed four children."

The SACC runs a service to help refugees with rent. They also give food parcels to those who have lost their jobs as a result of the violence.

A committee initiated by the Black Sash is being established to help refugees. The Black Sash is trying to enlist more support from local churches as well as the International Red Cross.

But all involved agree that the ultimate solution would be successful peace talks.

11A
w/more
25/10-
1/9/88

LETTERS

Let's stop this slanging

■ THE debate between the adherents of black consciousness (BC) and those of Africanism is a healthy one and it would be regrettable if it is reduced to immature political slanging

The struggle is a very serious matter and we all know that the problems posed by the history of this land and the political situation here need the coolness of a surgeon and the sobriety of a judge. People should agree to disagree with a view to ultimately agreeing.

I have been an Africanist from the age of 15, have gone through practically all the agonies experienced by people who, in pursuit of the sublime dream of freedom, happen to break the laws that keep them in physical and spiritual misery in this land, and have been lucky enough to be introduced to the philosophy and politics of BC by eminent BC theorists.

I find absolutely nothing political that can cause antagonism between the two schools of African nationalism.

The difference I know is that of political articulation of the same ideals and I do not hold this to be material.

BC believes in the creation of a non-racial society. The Africanists believe the same. The Africanists oppose the creation of a multi-racial South Africa as enshrined in the 1955 Freedom Charter, and BC does the same.

I think what should be understood by all is that one cannot be racial while executing the struggle and at the same time entreat people to believe one will be non-racist after freedom is attained.

Many people, even some Africanists, have for a long time erroneously believed it was right to adopt a racist strategy because of the predominantly racial character of the oppression suffered by Africans and black people in general.

However, the application of a class analysis of the situation makes us see that racialism is nothing but an economic practice. Racialism is a device for determining, at a given time and situation, who should be exploited and who should not. It is not a psychological aberration suffered by racists.

People have economic and political interests both as groups and as individuals. Some people cannot allow their individual long term interests to be jeopardised and prejudiced by the short or long term interests of the groups to which they belong. The white people are no exception. In a political struggle individuals make personal choices.

A white person who happens to be clever and long-sighted enough to be truly interested in the dislodging of the racial order — and unconditionally aligns himself with a non-racial or anti-racial organisation of the downtrodden masses — cannot be thrown back to the racist laager because of his complexion only — Malcolm MZ Dyan, Duncan Village

■ THE End Conscription Campaign is the third of the Five Freedoms Forum subscribing organisations to have been banned under the Emergency regulations. We want to urge white South Africans to recognise that any limited democracy they might have had in the past is being eroded daily.

Democracy demands that differing opinions be allowed to flourish, and that full freedom of expression and association is encouraged. There has never been any form of democracy for the majority of South Africans — and now white South Africans are seeing their own stunted "democracy" curtailed.

President Botha attempts to illegitimate any form of opposition. Through propaganda and censorship he makes many white people feel it is illegal to hold any opinion that differs from that of the National Party. This is not democracy.

The banning of the ECC will not remove the reasons for its existence and will not make the questioning of the system of compulsory military service disappear. — Gael Neke, FFF publicity secretary, Johannesburg

■ I HAVE read with great interest Mzimkulu Malunga's experience as a miner on the South African gold mines (*Weekly Mail*, July 29-August 4; August 5-11, August 12-18, and August 19-25). It brought back such vivid memories for me that I feel compelled to write to you.

In 1982 I left South Africa intending never to return. Within a few months, having been shipwrecked in Brazil, I was dreadfully homesick for Africa and had no hesitation in using the last of my funds to purchase an air ticket and fly back to Cape Town.

Being virtually destitute, with nothing more to lose and everything to gain, I enrolled at a technical college to study for an electrical engineering qualification. However, the economy at that time (1984-85) was such that, like Malunga, I became tired of the job rejection slips and wended my weary way to the gold mines who employed me as an apprentice electrician working underground in the stopes.

Those few short months working underground were to have a profound effect on my life and to alter my concepts of our society.

Unable (or unwilling in my educated and travelled arrogance) to talk to the white miners — whose lives revolved around work, *brandewyn* dops, rugby

and customised ears — I fell into conversation with my assistant Using *Fanakalo* as a common bond, imagine our mutual astonishment to discover I had spent two weeks camping on the shores of Lake Malawi only some five kilometres from his home village.

Such a revelation was to enhance his prestige within his peer group and make my life more bearable by reminding me all the world does not revolve around the bottom of a mine shaft.

How about working with a semi-literate "boss boy" with little formal training in life but whose grasp of the concepts of "time and motion", managerial skills and the ability to delegate to his subordinates would (should?) make him the envy of any executive managers' annual seminar? — Jerry Lancaster, Mowbray

■ FIVE Freedoms Forum leader Mike Olivier's statement (*Weekly Mail*, August 12-18) that all three House of Assembly parties to the left of the government do not pay adequate attention to the democratic movement is incorrect.

The Progressive Federal Party has relatively good contacts outside parliament, but it was on the very issue of going further than mere contact — and seeking wider joint strategies with inter alia the democratic movement — that two PFP members of parliament left the party to join Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

The NDM developed a philosophy of "total politics" whereby it views all politics in South Africa as a whole and does not differentiate between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary.

In this respect Olivier is correct, the relationship the white parliamentary opposition has with the democratic movement and other extra-parliamentary groups will determine whether there is a fundamental and crucial shift in opposition alliances.

What is clear from your article is that the left arm doesn't know what the left leg is doing — Shelagh Gastrow, Durban

■ It is almost incredible that our "reformist" government intends steamrolling on to our statutes, by way of the President's Council, the iniquitous Group Areas Amendment Bill.

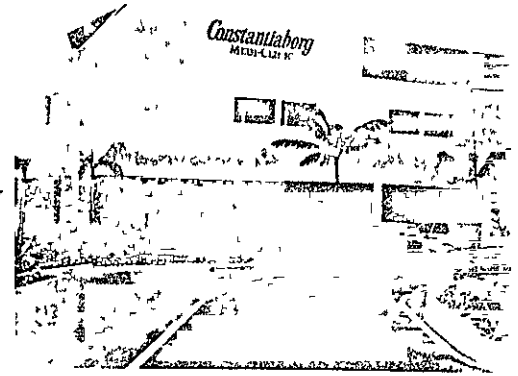
What turns my stomach is that people such as Harry Oppenheimer and the late Alan Paton in recent years found so much to praise about PW's reformist policies, referring to him as a most courageous Nationalist leader.

In practice he outshines all previous National Party leaders in the matters of bigotry and arrogance, even surpassing the late Dr Verwoerd, and that is an achievement indeed — Ray Capel, Troyeville

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023. Shorter letters will be given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.

New Coetsee visit to Mandela

AKGUS 1/9/88 @ 11A



The army's secret war on the ECC

Staff Reporter
 THE Defence Force has admitted running a secret campaign against the End Conscription Campaign which included dropping pamphlets from a helicopter and displaying smear posters. Details emerged in the Supreme Court yesterday during an application for an interdict prohibiting harassment of the ECC. The Officer Commanding Western Province Command, Brigadier Augustinus Koch de Jager, also admitted that four men, apprehended by police in Mowbray after a complaint by ECC member Dr Ivan Toms, were SADF members. The soldiers, who had pots of glue and posters, drove off at speed while being escorted to the police station and no prosecution followed. ● See page 5

City doctor's killer hanged

Crime Reporter
 WILLIAM MANUEL, 38, who murdered 70-year-old Dr Helen Fox in her Pinelands home a year ago, has been executed. He was one of four people hanged in Pretoria yesterday, bringing to 89 the number of executions this year. Manuel, of Oudtshoorn, was sentenced to death on December 4 last year. Mr Justice Conradie said when passing sentence that Manuel had a record of criminal violence going back to 1972 and in terms of the law he had no choice but to impose the death sentence. **PANTHOSE ROUND NECK** Manuel was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for breaking into Dr Fox's home. The court heard that Manuel had asked Dr Fox for money and had tied pantihose round her neck before searching the house. Manuel said that when he went to untie the pantihose Dr Fox was dead. He said he had then raped her. He was acquitted of rape because the State could not prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Dr Fox was still alive.

ty boxer disappears

Skalka worked as a storeman at the administrative offices of the Mbekweni Town Council near Dal Josafat, Paarl. He was last seen by his girlfriend, police constable Angelina Zazini, on August 18. "I started making inquiries when I did not see him for some time and after his uncle asked me if I knew where he was. "I found out he had not arrived at work after leaving home on August 19". Skalka was dressed in a beige jacket, a blackish sweater, and grey trousers and black shoes when he was last seen. Anyone with information on his whereabouts is asked to telephone Constable Zazini on 637 6767 or Mr Rakoff at 44 2858.

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter
 THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, today visited Mr Nelson Mandela in the luxury Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic in Plumstead, where he has been sent to convalesce.

It was his second visit to Mr Mandela in recent weeks. He earlier visited him in Tygerberg Hospital. Mr Coetsee said after today's visit. "I am very satisfied with the arrangements and facilities, which would be difficult to better. 'Mr Mandela's health already appears to have improved considerably and he has obviously greatly benefited from his treatment at Tygerberg'. Mr Mandela was transferred yesterday to the new private hospital, which offers R165-a-day wards with sweeping mountain views, television, radio and telephones. News agencies today speculated the transfer signified a step closer to freedom for the ANC leader.

There was speculation in government circles earlier this week that the ANC leader would not return to prison but would be released in "stages" — the first of which would be his transfer to a convalescent institution.

Mandela family attorney Mr Ismail Ayob said today he did not believe there was "anything significant" in Mr Mandela's transfer. He said he had a call at midnight from the officer in command of Folsmoor Prison.

'He told me he could not reach Mrs Mandela and asked me to tell her Mr Mandela was better and had been transferred to Constantiaberg'.

A Prisons Service spokesman said today Mr Mandela was in Constantiaberg Clinic for "after care" and would remain there as long as his doctor deemed necessary.

Mr Mandela was still under the care of the doctors who had treated him at Tygerberg Hospital.

The spokesman said the clinic had been "deemed to be the most suitable" institution for Mr Mandela.

Prisons Service liaison officer Colonel Danie Immelman said last night Mr Mandela had been discharged from Tygerberg because his condition had improved to such an extent that further treatment at the hospital was no longer necessary.

Miss Anne Nel, a spokesman for the Medi-Clinic, said no statement on Mr Mandela would be made by the clinic and referred reporters to the liaison section of the Prisons Service in Pretoria.

Policemen with two-way radios patrolled the clinic today. Mr Mandela, who turned 70 last month, was admitted to Tygerberg on August 12 and treated for tuberculosis.

He made rapid progress after fluid was drained from his left lung.

He was examined by a Swiss doctor, one of the world's leading lung specialists, who said his treatment at Tygerberg was of the best.

Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic was opened in March by the Rembrandt Group company Medi-Clinic Corporation.

The double-storey building in Burnham Road has 228 beds. The wards face north and have a view Devil's Peak and the back of Table Mountain.

Forty-six doctors and specialists have suites in the hospital, providing expertise in radiography, pathology, neuro-surgery, paediatrics, physiotherapy and plastic surgery.

Patients can choose private rooms, semi-private rooms or four-bedded general wards. All have radio, television and telephones.

The tariff for a private room is R165 a day. Semi-private rooms cost R140 a day and the general wards R114.

The rooms are light and spacious, most of them overlooking a colourful garden, and a lounge area links the ward blocks.

Charges for general wards are in accordance with the medical aid scale of benefits published in the Government Gazette.



Mr Coetsee

West Cape wraps up for a near freeze-up

Staff Reporter
 NEAR-FREEZING temperatures are predicted in the Western Cape as the skies clear behind the cold front moving east across the country.

In Cape Town tomorrow the minimum temperature is expected to be 2 deg C.

Most of the highest mountain peaks in the Western Cape and the Boland are covered with snow following falls last night.

Light snow also fell in Sutherland, where the temperature was minus 4.5 at 8am, according to the Town Clerk, Mrs Yvonne Esterhuysen.

Mr Piet van Merwe, Town Clerk of Touws River, said peaks in the Matroosberg range were covered with snow.

Mr James Walker, assistant Town Clerk of Villiersdorp, said snow fell on the Blokkop peak of the Aasvoel Mountains.

The weather
Fine and cold
 (Details — page 2)

Two city youths held after SAP car stoned

PRETORIA — Two youths were arrested in Bishop Lavis after children had thrown stones at a police vehicle, police said in their overnight unrest report.

At Kagiso (Krugersdorp) two schools were badly damaged by petrol bombs.

At Kwadengzi (Pinetown) a bus was destroyed when it was set alight. — Sapa.

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted.

Gold down again

GOLD traded at \$429.75 an ounce in London today, down from last night's \$431 New York close.

The rand traded at R2,4500 (\$0.4081) to the US dollar in Johannesburg today, little changed from yesterday's R2,4450 (\$0.4089) close — Business Staff.

● See page 21

THE UNIM FAVO

The largest England, America

De Beer: Govt has legitimised ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The Government has legitimised the African National Congress and violent acts committed in the ANC's name by using every possible measure against organisations suspected of furthering the outlawed organisation's aims, says Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Addressing a public meeting in Port Elizabeth last night, Dr de Beer said the ANC had, through the Government's action, gained worldwide sympathy that it otherwise would not have obtained.

Spelling out PFP policy on security, he said the party demanded firmness and fairness, tough effective action but also scrupulous justice. But toughness was not enough.

"As long as fundamental injustices persist in our society, then, wrong though it may be, violent danger to the safety of the

society will persist also.

Dr de Beer said releasing ANC leader Nelson Mandela was not enough to positively influence a climate for political change.

Mandela should be given "space" to mobilise support for his political programme by all peaceful means.

Dr de Beer criticised the NP and the ANC for obstructing political change.

President Botha, he said, was caught between the genuine feelings for justice that many of his supporters had and the political threat from the reactionary right.

On the other hand, the ANC's violent strategies would not bring South Africans to reason — bomb blasts would simply intensify racial fear and prejudice.

Borrowing Dr Denis Worrall's term, Dr de Beer said the "creative opposition" offered a road of hope to all South Africans.

(11A) SPAC 1/9/88

BACKDOWN ON GROUP AREAS

CAL- Tim P's

8/9/88

111

Political Staff

IN A dramatic development last night, government backed down on the controversial Group Areas legislation, agreeing to send all three bills back to the joint standing committee.

In return the Labour Party (LP) has agreed to participate in the tricameral system and debate five bills this afternoon.

The latest development after several hours of negotiation last night, ranks as a major victory for the LP — and an humiliating defeat for the National Party which has seen its tricameral creation brought to a virtual halt during the past two weeks.

There is now speculation that State President Mr P W Botha may opt for a referendum on the whole issue of Group Areas.

Mr Botha stated that he was prepared to do this when he addressed the Natal NP Congress last month, and it is possible he may announce this today.

The LP walked out of the House of Representatives last week in protest against government moves to press ahead with the Group Areas Bills and bludgeon them on to the Statute Book via the President's Council.

The House of Assembly used own affairs rules and orders to pass five bills which are general affairs, in order to be able to introduce amendments without going back to the joint standing committees where the legislation could have been delayed or blocked by the LP.

In addition to the three Group Areas Bills passed by the Assembly this week, the government has also agreed to withdraw the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill and the Slums Bill.

The Group Areas Bills withdrawn are the Group Areas Amendment Bill, the Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill.

Amended forms of these bills will now be introduced and discussed by the standing committees from September 19 and Parliament will reconvene

on September 26 when they will be debated at a joint sitting of all three Houses.

While agreeing to participate in today's joint debate, the LP has made it clear it will not support any facet of the Constitutional Second Amendment Bill.

The bill, scheduled for debate today, and which will empower the State President to appoint a black to the cabinet and create extra parliamentary seats in all three Houses, needs the support of the LP if it is to become law.

The NP needs the bill

To page 3

From page 1

Group Areas backdown

passed to gain extra seats, especially in the House of Representatives and stem the advance of the Conservative Party.

In a joint statement last night, Mr Chris Heunis and the Rev Allan Hertrichse said agreement had been reached on how to deal with the legislation which the House of Assembly had considered during the current session.

While the LP's acceptance that it will meet to debate the five bills this afternoon does not mean it will accept any of them, it does indicate that Parliament will function in the proposals

The five bills are the National Roads Amendment Bill, the Constitution Third Amendment Bill, the Moutse (Validation of Actions) Bill, the Usury Amendment Bill and the Income Tax Amendment Bill.

Also present last night were the leaders of the major parties in the House of Delegates. They will consult their respective caucuses on last night's agreement and will then decide on the proposals.

Grenade attack on Hendrickse's home

11/11/88

M645 2/9/88



The Rev Allan Hendrickse

Crime Reporter

A HAND-GRENADE was thrown today at the Uitenhage home of the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and of the House of Representatives

Mr Hendrickse was not at home and damage was minimal

The blast was confirmed by his son, Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo

Mr Hendrickse said his brother Michael, his sister Arlene and a three-year-old niece were in the house

"We don't know who was responsible — whether it was someone from the far left or the far right," he said

Thrown from vehicle

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said the grenade was thrown from a moving vehicle

The spokesman said it was too early to establish the motive or what kind of grenade was used and he could not describe the vehicle

The explosion slightly damaged a bakkie parked outside the house

● Sapa reports that a limpet mine exploded outside Standerton's post office on the corner of Piet Retief and Burger streets early today as police were trying to pull it away from the building

Serious damage

Police spokesman Captain Reg Crewe said from Pretoria that serious damage was caused but there were no injuries

The police were notified after a postal employee spotted a black package outside the post office. They cordoned off the area.

The mine exploded at 7 40am as police were trying to pull it away from the building

The explosion follows the limpet-mine blast outside Standerton's Wimpy Bar — also in Piet Retief Street, the main street — on August 24

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that the United States government has urged the South African authorities to "pursue vigorously" those behind the blast at Khotso House in Johannesburg, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches and other anti-apartheid groups

"We strongly condemn this senseless act," said a State Department official

"We remain deeply concerned about the recent escalation of bombings in South Africa, which can only further discourage advocates of peaceful change"

Cape Times 2/9/88

Govt: Not so fast on Mandela release

Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent
THE government has been quick to cool speculation that Mr Nelson Mandela's move to the Constantiaberg Medi-clinic in Plumstead was the beginning of a phased release of the jailed ANC leader.

In London the South African Embassy added its weight to statements from the Prison Services that Mr Mandela's status had not changed.

Interviewed on BBC-TV an embassy spokesman, Mr Roger Ballard-Tremeer, cautioned against speculation that Mr Mandela's release was imminent, saying there was no indication that the situa-

tion had changed. The stipulation that he renounce violence remained and yesterday's visit by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to Mr Mandela was not all that remarkable as he was the minister in charge of prisons, Mr Ballard-Tremeer said.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, agreed that little appeared to have changed.

However, he told BBC radio that following recent statements by President PW Botha he no longer believed the ANC leader's release would be conditional on his renouncing violence.

Asked what would happen once Mr Mandela had recuperated, Mr

Ayob said: "I have no idea. They may well take him back to prison."

Meanwhile, in Cape Town Mr Mandela's new "hosts" shifted all responsibility for comment to the Prisons Services.

Routine visitors and outpatients at the luxury clinic were subjected to unaccustomed security checks at all entrances while all media attempts to gain entry were thwarted.

Mr Mandela's tubercular pleurisy required long-term treatment which "could take up to two to three months" to cure, Dr J G L Strauss, chief medical superintendent of Tygerberg Hospital, said yesterday.

State - Mandela - Prison Services - Appeal - ...

from a land gripped by a state of emergency to a land en-

creasingly irked at the restraints of the Rule of Law. Or any law, for that matter.

Freedom in stages

11A
2/19/88

THE TRANSFER of Nelson Mandela to a Cape clinic for tuberculosis "after-care" is significant. That he has not been taken back to Pollsmoor prison, where he could presumably have had similar care, suggests that the much-speculated-about process of a phased release has begun.

Reinforcing the speculation are certain known facts. Recently President Botha said he thought it would be unwise for Mr Mandela, at his age and in his condition, "to choose to go back to jail". Other top sources indicated that he was looking for some conciliatory gesture, not necessarily a renunciation of violence.

It appears the Government at last realises it is in its own urgent interests to release the world's most celebrated pris-

oner. It is concerned, though, at the explosive impact that freeing him might have on the country's "revolutionary climate". A release in stages could well be the answer. It would allow all sections of society to become more used to the idea.

In Constantiaberg Clinic, he might be allowed more access from outsiders, perhaps even media interviews and other progressive degrees of liberty. If this is indeed the idea Pretoria is doing what is humanitarian, sensible and inevitable.

A jailed Mandela is a vast embarrassment and an obstacle to progress. He must be allowed to play his due role, whatever that may turn out to be, in the country's political evolution.

Overheard at the Bottle Store

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...wapo's policy to attack soft targets.

Early release of Mandela 'not on cards'

(11A)
SMX
2/9/88

By Dawn Barkhuizen

There were no firm indications that the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was on the cards, his lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob said this morning.

His was speaking amid renewed speculation that Mandela's move from Tygerberg Hospital to the Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic was part of a gradual process that would lead to his release.

Predictions that Mandela would be released following the October municipal elections were simply "safe predictions" that reached far into the future and were without substance, he said.

Earlier today, another lawyer connected to the family, Mr Essa Moosa, said Mandela's transfer indicated strongly that he would be released after the municipal elections

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

But Mr Ayob said if the Conservative Party took many seats in the October elections, Mandela might "sit there indefinitely". Renewed unrest in the townships could also mitigate against his release.

A South African Embassy spokesman in London interviewed on the BBC also cautioned against speculation that Mandela's release was imminent.

There have been renewed calls for his release from the United States.

A State Department spokeswoman, Mrs Phyllis Oakley, said: "We are certainly pleased to hear that Mandela's health has improved, however the main issue is his release

"The unconditional release of Mandela, which we shall continue to advocate strongly, would do much to improve the prospects for resolving the country's profound political problems."

National Democratic Movement leader, Mr Wynand Malan said: "The Government should bite the bullet and release him. It could be that they are in a halfway situation, but if they wait for the October elections they will never release him because there will be other elections after that."

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'Conspiracy', claims Rajbansi in HoD

Mr Reddy's
2/19/88
11A

Political Staff

MR Amichand Rajbansi made a blistering return to the House of Delegates yesterday with charges of a "conspiracy" against him by the House committee which investigated allegations of maladministration and corruption against him

In a powerful 105-minute speech, his first since his suspension from the House by the opposition majority Solidarity-Peoples' Party alliance in June, the chairman of the Ministers' Council

● Claimed that the committee's report had been biased and manipulated and that it had disregarded important evidence,

● Said there was a political conspiracy against him personally because his National People's Party could not be beaten at the polls,

● Accused the chairman of the committee, Mr M Thaver, of using "vulgar and filthy" language against him in a private telephone conversation,

● Charged the leader of the alliance, Mr J N Reddy, with cultivating the friendship of officials for business reasons, and

● Appealed to civil servants not to get involved in politics

What was needed, he said, was an inquiry into how the committee had been conducted because it had not investigated anything in which it could not involve him

Mr Rajbansi dealt with several issues raised in the re-

port but said he could not go into detail on everything because some of the topics were also being investigated by the James Commission

The opposition had not been prepared to call for a commission of inquiry even when it had the majority vote in the House of Democrats because it preferred a House committee, which could be manipulated by numbers

He strongly questioned why many of the people who had made allegations against him had not volunteered to appear before the James Commission when he would have expected them to have been "in front of the queue"

At one stage Mr Rajbansi said the opposition had thought he was finished

"But," he said, "the Raj will end when the Raj wants it to because the tiger keeps springing back until you kill it"

Dealing with the R1.1m Odeon Cinema deal, Mr Rajbansi said the committee's report had referred only to evaluations of the property for R700 000 and R730 000

However, the municipal valuation had been R1.8m and there had been two others for R1.5m and R1.6m which had not been mentioned in the report

Mr Rajbansi said the "conspiracy" against him was unfolding and that the sources of all the allegations against him were from the same group of people — though it looked as though they were coming from all over

The report was not balanced nor did it present the facts



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Mr Rajbansi also called for the tape recordings of the hearings to be released so that people could hear how witnesses had been shouted and howled at by the Progressive Federal Party MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingam, who, said Mr Rajbansi, had also written the final report

Matters which should have been investigated by the committee had been ignored because he, Mr Rajbansi, had not been involved

If anybody's business graph had improved in the past few years it had been Mr Reddy's, said Mr Rajbansi, saying it would take first prize

Mr Reddy had once approached him privately saying to leave the second phase of a development scheme to the "private tenderers" "I didn't know his sons were among the private tenderers," said Mr Rajbansi

Mr Reddy had also approached other senior people,

such as the former Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, for favourable treatment

Earlier, Mr Reddy had accused Mr Rajbansi of changing answers to questions in Parliament which had been provided by officials and said that any member of the cabinet or member of a ministers' council who sank to "this low level" should resign

Replying to Mr Rajbansi, who left the chamber with other NPP members as soon as he had finished speaking, Mr Poovalingam said he had to admit to a degree of "grudging admiration for his histrionic ability"

Mr Rajbansi, he said, had spoken for 105 minutes without touching on the real issues

There was nothing wrong with being friendly with officials and the report had been based on sworn testimony before the committee

Mr Poovalingam, referring to Mr Rajbansi's criticism of the committee for not heeding a suggestion by the Speaker that it should disband in light of the James Commission, said the committee had decided to continue because it had a "deadline" and that certain issues would not be covered by the James Commission

"It turned out to the disadvantage of an individual but to the advantage of the House," he said

Mr Rajbansi said later that he had left the chamber after speaking because the report deserved to be treated with contempt

Freedom in stages

(119)
2/1/88

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'PAC CHIEF WORSENING'

(1A)
Smeton
2/9/88

THE health of the jailed president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Mothopeng, has deteriorated in recent days, a family member disclosed yesterday.

His wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng, confirmed this after she visited him at the Johannesburg Prison where he is serving part of his 15 years jail term

Mrs Mothopeng told the *Sowetan* that her husband's health had worsened after an operation at a Johannesburg clinic in 1986

The liaison officer of the South African Prisons Service in Pretoria yesterday said. "It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service not to comment on the physical condition or medical treatment of individual prisoners as it is regarded as a private matter between the prisoner, his family and the doctor

"It should, however, be mentioned that the medical treatment of all prisoners is of a very high standard and Mr Mothopeng is no

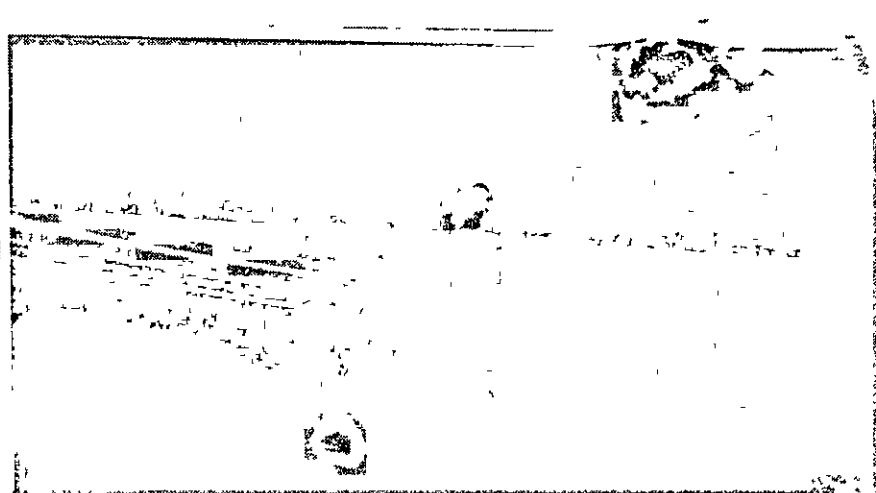


Mrs URBANIA Mothopeng . . . second opinion.

exception "

Mrs Mothopeng said "Zeph has had several check-ups and is not satisfied about his health My husband normally develops swelling on the face, even after receiving medical treatment

It is not that we are dissatisfied with the prison doctor — but we want a second opinion We do not have money and appeal to the community or interested organisations to help," she said



FATAL SHOTS . . . Cape Times driver Mr Henry Rensburg examines the bullet holes in the door of the minibus which Crossroads leader Mr Willie Soga was driving when an assassin shot and killed him on Thursday night. **INSET:** Mr Soga. Main picture ANNE LAING

Killing: Candidates fearful

By **PATRICK COLLINGS**
Crime Reporter

THE remaining candidates in the Old Crossroads Town committee elections fear for their lives after Thursday's assassination of "moderate" Crossroads leader Mr Willie Soga, 42. Mr Soga, who was gunned down outside his home shortly before 10pm, was one of seven men who had been nominated unopposed in the municipal election.

The interim secretary of the Crossroads town council, Mr Ricky Schelhase, said the remaining candidates were shocked at the killing which had left them "frightened".

Reacting to rumours of a threat to kill the nominees, Mr Schelhase said he was aware of the rumour but could not elaborate as a police investigation was under way.

Nominees could either not be reached for comment yesterday or would not comment on the rumours.

Instead they paid tribute to Mr Soga, describing him as a "very friendly and open-hearted man who will be missed".

Mr Soga was shot by an unidentified gunman when he returned to his house in the transit camp after attending a Crossroads council management meeting.

His assassin fired four shots, three of which pierced the door of Mr Soga's mini-bus. A fourth shot shattered the driver's window and exited through the front windscreen.

Mr Soga died after being hit in the chest. His body was discovered when his brother drove past the house about 10pm.

Police recovered four 9mm cartridges at the scene and have ruled out robbery or theft as a motive for the killing.

Anyone with information is asked to contact police radio control at 10111.

11/1/88
273
3/9/88
Cm Tm's

Cosatu, Inkatha bury the hatchet

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A historic settlement, signed by senior officials of Cosatu and Inkatha at the Supreme Court here yesterday, has been hailed as a major breakthrough in peace initiatives in the strife-torn Maritzburg area

The settlement carries with it the hopes of thousands of township residents for an end to the strife

Since the outbreak of violence in the Maritzburg district some two years ago, hundreds of people have died

The settlement was signed here yesterday by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha Mr Jay Naidoo, secretary-general of

Cosatu, had earlier signed the document

The settlement will also put an end to the numerous civil actions connected with the violence in the Supreme Court here

All the interim interdicts which

Accord welcomed

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said after the signing of a major peace settlement between Inkatha and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) here yesterday that he saw the latest move as a "real breakthrough".

The final settlement was reached after a week of intensive negotiations between the parties

have already been granted, were extended to December 1 this year, when they will be discharged This is to allow time for the implementation of a Complaints Adjudication Board which is to be established in terms of the agreement

The board will investigate complaints concerning either of the two organizations and make recommendations There will be recourse to the courts

A joint declaration by the two parties states that Inkatha and Cosatu "acknowledge and regret that there has been extensive violence in the townships of Maritzburg"

Each party recognized the necessity to make it clear to their members that Cosatu and Inkatha condemned acts of intimidation, forced recruitment and violence

Almasa of which started on March 22

NP 'sold out' to Labour Party = CP

CARE TRIPS 3/9/88

Political Staff

THE National Party yesterday suffered a barrage of taunts from the Conservative Party in the wake of Thursday night's "agreement" with the Labour Party during the debate on a government motion that Parliament resume in three weeks' time, for a joint sitting on the group areas bills.

The motion was eventually passed, and Parliament will meet for a third session on September 25

Yesterday morning's joint sitting was devoted entirely to tributes to the retiring secretary of Parliament, Mr Attie de Villiers

There was no mention of the Constitution Second Amendment Bill on the Order Paper and the Bill, providing for the appointment by the State President of a black to the cabinet and for the creation of extra seats, has apparently been dropped for the time being

When it reconvenes, Parliament will debate the group areas trilogy of bills, plus the Slums Bill and Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, which will come before the joint standing committees the previous week.

The Labour Party is expected to reject all five

Political Staff

THE parliamentary leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, gave notice yesterday that he will introduce a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet, when Parliament resumes on September 25.

Mr Eglin said he was introducing the motion in view of

● the inept and damaging way in which the government had handled important political and constitutional issues, and

● the incalculable harm which the government's policies and actions were doing to the economy of the country.

bills, and they will then be referred to the President's Council for a decision

Effectively, this means that they will be on the Statute Book before the municipal elections on October 26

During the debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, the CP contended that the NP had sold out to the Labour Party, while the government maintained that Thursday's agreement

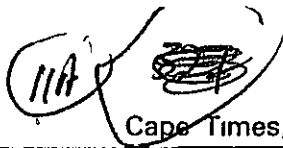
was a triumph for consensus politics

The CP's Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, said the government had "lost" to the Labour Party and that the Rev Allan Hendrickse was now ruling the country

He said Mr F W de Klerk had suspended the rules of Parliament to get the group areas legislation through but then "Baas Hendrickse spoke" — he was ordered to withdraw the word "Baas"

Mr Casper Uys (CP Barberton) said that power was "now in the brown skin" predicting that the voters would take their revenge on the government on October 26

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said the National Party had not lost. The fact was that the Constitution had won



JOHANNESBURG. — The health of the jailed president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Mothopeng, has deteriorated in recent days, a family member has disclosed.

Forgotten black nationalist Mothopeng's health 'worse'

In a report yesterday, the Sowetan newspaper said his wife, Mrs Urbana Mothopeng, confirmed this after visiting him in the Johannesburg Prison where he is serving part of his 15-year jail term

Mrs Mothopeng said her husband's health had worsened after

an operation at a Johannesburg clinic in 1986

The liaison officer of the South African Prisons Service in Pretoria said "It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service not to comment on the physical condition or medical treatment of individual prisoners as it is regarded as a

private matter between the prisoner, his family and the doctor.

"It should, however, be mentioned that the medical treatment of all prisoners is of a very high standard"

Mrs Mothopeng said "Zeph has had several check-ups and is not satisfied with his health



Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

Mr Nelson Mandela's 14-year-old grandson, Mandla Mandela, and his mother, Mrs Mandela-Perry, visited the ANC leader at the Constantiaberg Clinic in Plumstead this morning. The University of Cape Town's SRC executive committee gave them flowers and a card to give to Mr Mandela during their visit.

W/L ARGUS 3/9/88
Grandson visits
Mandela at clinic

by ANDREA WEISS
Weekend Argus Reporter

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's 14-year-old grandson, Mandla Mandela, who visited him in the Constantiaberg Clinic in Plumstead this morning, has been tipped to follow in his grandfather's footsteps

Mandla's schooling was the main topic of conversation during the 40-minute visit by Mandla and his mother, Mrs Mandela-Perry, to the ANC leader this morning

Mandla's mother, who now lives in London, was married to Mr Makgatho Mandela, Mr Mandela's son from his first marriage

People close to Mr Mandela have remarked on the striking resemblance Mandla bears to his grandfather.

"They have the same face," Mrs Farieda Omar, wife of civil rights lawyer Mr Dulla Omar, said today.

She accompanied Mandla and his mother on their visit although she was not allowed to enter the room

After the visit, Mrs Mandela-Perry spoke of Mr Mandela's interest in his grandson "He is very concerned about Mandla because he is the one to carry the Mandela name in a proper way," she said



THE NUSAS SRC AT UCT WISHES YOU A SPEEDY RECOVERY FOR MANY STUDENTS AT UCT YOUR BRAVERY AND DETERMINATION PROVIDE A POWERFUL INSPIRATION AND HOPE FOR THE FUTURE IN OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD NON-RACIALISM AND DEMOCRACY WE DRAW COURAGE FROM YOUR STAND THAT IS WHY STUDENTS AT UCT HAVE DEMANDED THAT OUR UNIVERSITY GRANT YOU AN HONORARY DOCTORATE

WE CONTINUE TO DEMAND THAT YOU BE UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASED TO ENABLE YOU TO PLAY AN UNFETTERED ROLE IN OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN OUR COUNTRY.

GET WELL SOON!
UCT SRC

W/CAPCUGS 3/9/88

Pictures: WILLIE de KLERK, Weekend Argus

Members of the University of Cape Town's SRC executive committee, Mr Kevin Estment, left, and Mr Richard Smith, with the card and flowers they gave to Mandla Mandela and his mother to take to the ANC leader in hospital today.



Mandla Mandela, 14, who is said to bear a striking resemblance to his famous grandfather, was one of those to visit him.

Mandela in cheerful spirits

Political Correspondent

MR NELSON MANDELA is looking thin but well and is feeling fine

He is in cheerful spirits and has nothing but praise for the attention he is receiving, medical and otherwise, according to Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP.

Mrs Suzman was speaking after visiting him in the clinic in Plumstead where he was transferred after treatment for tuberculosis in Tygerberg Hospital.

Mr Mandela told her how the illness had developed and of his subsequent treatment

They did not seriously discuss politics or his possible release

The two met alone in the sitting room of the suite that Mr Mandela has in the clinic.

Mrs Suzman said she remains convinced that he is a reasonable man who would be valuable in any negotiations on South Africa's future.

CNA Times 3/19/88 (11A)

À la carte meals for Mandela inside luxury prison

By CHRIS STEVN

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela enjoys delicious à la carte meals in his luxuriously decorated room at the five-star Constantiaberg Clinic.

And when he tires of the pleasant views of Constantiaberg and the clinic's colourful landscaped gardens, he can switch on the full-colour television set with M-Net and a video channel or the radio in his room.

The only indications that he's still a prisoner are the absence of a telephone at his bedside and the guards at his door.

The Cape Times established yesterday that Mr Mandela was in a private R165-a-day ward with a bathroom and toilet facilities en suite.

His stay at the luxury hospital is being paid for by the Department of Prison Services, a spokesman confirmed yesterday.

"Mr Mandela will have access to the facilities available to other patients," said the spokesman.

He said Mr Mandela 'can watch what he likes' on television.

His spacious room at the clinic is

luxuriously furnished, with carpets, curtains and graphics.

One of his lawyers, Mr Essa Moosa, said Mr Mandela returned briefly earlier this week to Pollsmoor Prison to pack books and study materials for the law course he is expected to finish at the end of this year.

He also took his radio and television and an exercise bicycle.

However, his alleged visit to Pollsmoor Prison was denied yesterday by the Prison Services spokesman.

Mr Mandela's transfer from Tygerberg Hospital has fuelled specula-

tion that the government would free him "in stages".

"The fact that they have not sent him back to Pollsmoor is an indication that possibly after the October elections, they plan to release him," said Mr Moosa.

Commenting on Mr Moosa's remark, the Prison Services spokesman said: "As far as the Prison Services is concerned, he was admitted to the clinic for the exclusive purpose of convalescence."

Mr Mandela's biography, "Higher than Hope", was published yesterday.

Extradited to face terror charges

CP Correspondent

THE man alleged to be the commander of the ANC's military machinery in the Western Cape has finally been extradited to Transkei to be charged with the sabotage of the Umtata bulk fuel depot

Mzwandile Vena appeared in an Umtata court this week to face charges of terrorism and sabotage.

He will be tried together with Neo Mzimba, Mzimkulu Tukela and Sonwabo Mbekela, currently facing

charges of terrorism. The three allegedly harboured Vena and another guerrilla between January 1984 and September 1985.

Vena was arrested in Cape Town earlier this year and Transkei applied for his extradition.

In a statement allegedly made to a Wynberg magistrate shortly after his arrest, Vena admitted blowing up the Umtata bulk fuel depot in June 1985. The depot was completely destroyed in the attack and the main Umtata power station and water lines were

sabotaged at the same time, leaving the town completely without electricity for several days.

Vena has also been linked to the Cape Town terrorism trial of Jenny Schreiner.

The State has alleged that Schreiner helped Vena move from Botswana to Cape Town last August. Vena then allegedly took over as Western Cape commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, replacing the recently jailed Lizo Bright Ngqungwana.

CP 4/10/85



Rugby boss tells: My secret mission to break sporting boycotts

TOOTS TOOTIS TROTT TOOT TAKERS TOOTAVANC



LOUIS LUYT

BLINDA TIMES MAN ON THE SPOT

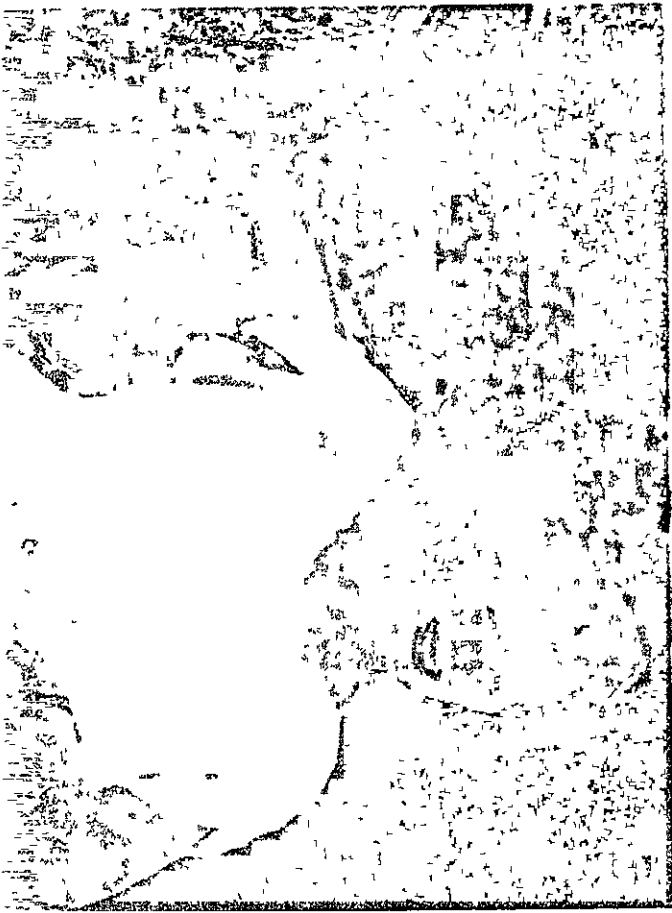


DAVID JACKSON reports from Angola's capital

Peace 4/9/88

itters in grim

ACHTUNG! ANDREA TAKERS ON WORLD



By MARK SMIT and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

TOP rugby administrator Louis Luyt has held secret talks with the banned ANC in a bid to break the stranglehold of sporting isolation.

The Transvaal rugby boss — acting on instructions from SA Rugby Board chief Dame Craven — made two clandestine trips to European capitals to meet ANC leaders.

But now the bold Craven-Luyt initiative has caused a storm in SA's rugby hierarchy, where aspirants are already jockeying to succeed the ageing Dr Craven as president when he retires.

Dr Luyt is the most likely successor in view of the ill-health of WP's Mr Jan Pickard (see Page 29).

Yesterday Dr Luyt accused the Free State rugby president, Steve Strudom, of leaking information about the ANC talks in order to discredit him.

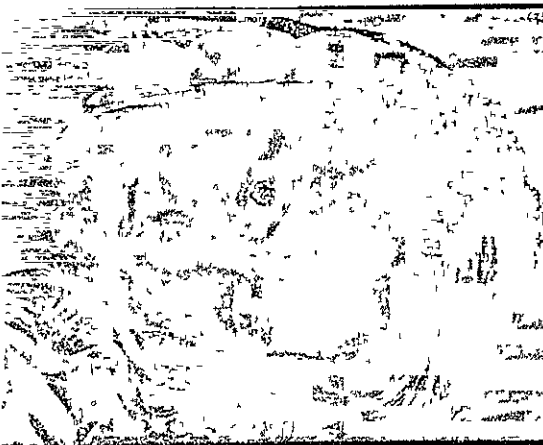
"There was a stormy session at an SARB meeting when I confronted Mr Strudom," said Dr Luyt yesterday.

"He denied leaking anything, but I accused him, to his face, of chickening out and being evasive."

Dr Craven joined in by accusing unnamed SARB factions of attempts to topple Dr Luyt and himself.

At Newlands yesterday Mr Strudom told the Sunday Times: "Of course, I know there have been talks. Dr Craven, Professor Johan Claassen and Dr Luyt told us at an executive meeting that they had taken

PRIVATE LIVES AND PRIVATE LOVES SARB BY ANNELINE



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Surprised

"But not a soul other than those three knew about it — and I include the vice-president, Professor Fritz Eloff, of Northern Transvaal, and Mr Jan Pickard, the only man from SA on the IRB policy committee."

"The revelations surprised us because, normally, all executive members are consulted on such serious issues."

"How can I split the board on an issue about which I know nothing?"

"As far as I'm concerned, there's no dissent on the board."

Much evidence indicates that Dr Luyt's secret mission was undertaken with the blessing of the full SARB.

It was also backed by Mr Rudolph Opperman, recently retired president of the SA Olympic Committee, who said this week that he favoured opening sporting doors to Africa.

He said he had also asked former Springbok captain Tommy Bedford — who attended the Dakar meeting with the ANC last year — to make contact with African administrators.

Positive

Speaking from New York, where he is on business, Dr Luyt yesterday confirmed that he had met ANC information chief Thabo Mbeki in Frankfurt, West Germany, in June.

Dr Craven himself would have led the missions, but he fell seriously ill and asked Dr Luyt and Western Transvaal's Johan Claasen, also a member of the SARB executive, to go in his place.

Professor Claasen was unable to travel, so Dr Luyt went on his own for the first meeting in London in March.

The meeting — in Dr Luyt's London hotel — was attended by African sports administrators and ANC executives.

Dr Luyt said the meeting yielded "positive suggestions".

In June Dr Craven, still not well enough to travel, arranged a second meeting and Dr Luyt went to Frankfurt where he met Mr Mbeki.

Dr Luyt said that, on his return, he compiled a memorandum which he handed to Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

"The Minister considered

PRIVATE LIVES AND PRIVATE LOVES BY ANNE LINE



EXCLUSIVE in the MAGAZINE

Power struggle in SARB

the matter important enough to assure me that he would inform the State President.

"Unfortunately, the Angola talks must have taken precedence and I heard nothing more."

Dr Luyt insists that the SARB, as well as the TRFU executive, were kept informed.

"On July 30 Dr Craven told the full executive that he was going to continue the talks, and not one member — including Mr Strydom, Professor Eloff and Mr Pickard — objected," he said.

Dr Craven confirmed that Dr Luyt had been an emissary of the SARB and reported in full.

"Louis did a good job. He succeeded in getting a number of decisions on co-operation," he said.

Friends

"Unfortunately, this thing goes much deeper. It is all part of the SARB in fighting. I have nothing against anyone who plays rugby. We want to be friends with our neighbours."

"We knew the ANC would be at the meetings. We said we didn't mind, provided they were also genuine sports administrators."

"But we must be strong internally. I hate this division on the board."

"I'm not doing anything subversive, and I won't. But the ANC is a red rag to a bull for many people."

● A fortnight after Mr Luyt's meeting with the ANC two people died in a bomb blast outside Ellis Park.



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MANDELA

119
4/9/88

MORE than two decades after first entering prison, Nelson Mandela is today living in luxury far removed from the bleak isolation of Robben Island (18 years) or the austere cells of Pollsmoor (six years).

Now it's five-star living — after 24 years in isolation

He orders his meals from an a la carte menu offering gourmet dishes and a selection of Cape wines

His private en-suite room has colour TV and a video machine. There is a telephone beside his bed, but whether he is allowed to use it is not known

From his window he can look out at sweeping mountain views and gardens

The ANC leader, who recently turned 70, was transferred from Tygerberg Hospital last week to the up-market R165-a-day Constantiaberg Clinic

All the wards in the clinic owned by the Rembrandt Group, face north and look out on the back of Table Mountain and the Constantiaberg range

The clinic looks more like a five-star hotel than a hospital. It has huge reception areas and lavishly decorated lounges

The rooms are bright and cheery and the beds are covered with duvets

Visits

The beds have panels for lights and remote-control TV switches

Forty-six doctors and specialists have suites in the hospital, providing expertise in radiography, pathology, neuro-surgery, paediatrics, physiotherapy, plastic surgery and various specialist fields of dentistry

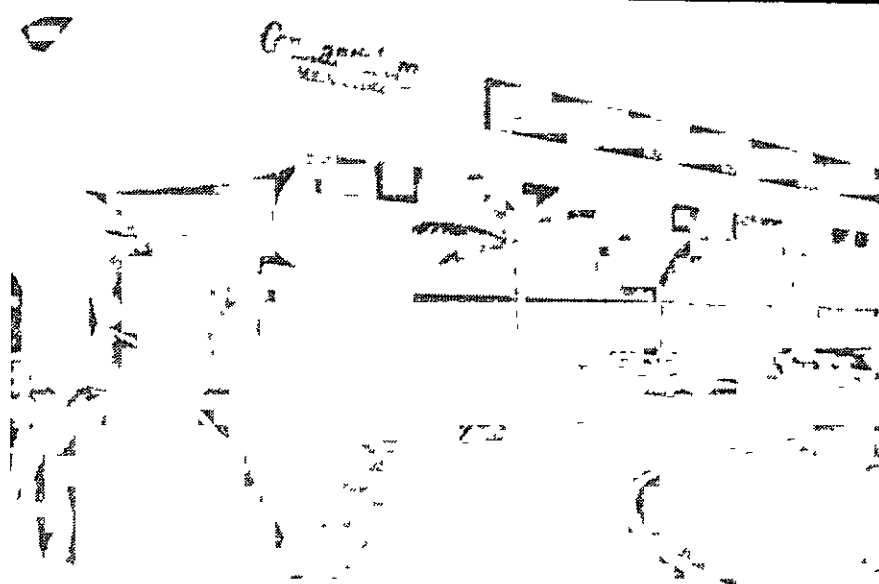
Mr Mandela also receives regular visits from top government officials, friends and family members

Last week, he saw Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee for the second time in a month, and the PFP MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman

He was also visited by his former daughter-in-law and grandson from London, Mrs Rennie Mandela-Perry and 14-year-old Mandla Mandela

Mrs Mandela-Perry, who last saw Mr Mandela more than 26 years ago, is divorced from his son of his first marriage, Mr Makgatho Mandela

Mr Mandela told Mrs Mandela-Perry to tell South Africa not to worry about his health. "He said he had some fluid removed from his lung,



Round-the-clock SAP security is maintained outside the clinic

but it was functioning quite well now"

Mrs Mandela-Perry said they spent most of the visit discussing Mandla, reputed to be Mr Mandela's favourite, and his education in Swaziland

"He is very concerned about Mandla, as he is the only boy in the Mandela family, and the only one to carry on the Mandela name," she said

The visit by Mrs Suzman — who said she found Mr Mandela in good spirits and happy about his medical treatment — is the first she has been allowed in two years in spite of numerous requests to the Prison Service for permission

After her visit she said she spent more than an hour discussing "general subjects" in a sitting-room adjoining Mr Mandela's ward

Grey

She said "He was listening to the news on a radio when I joined him

"We did not talk in depth on politics and did not discuss his possible release

"He looks okay. He is going grey and is thinner than when I last saw him, but he is still a well-balanced person"

Mrs Suzman last saw Mr Mandela in May 1986 in Pollsmoor with a PFP col-

league, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Green Point. She said she had asked for more visits and redoubled her efforts when he took ill

Prisons Service liaison spokesman Captain W van Bergen said of the apparent increase in visitors "Visits will be considered according to existing policy and the needs of the moment"

Before his move to the clinic, Mr Mandela spent three weeks in Tygerberg receiving treatment for tuberculosis

Improved

He was also examined by Swiss doctor Heinrich Hertzog, said to be one of the world's leading lung specialists

The Prisons Service said Mr Mandela had been discharged from Tygerberg because his condition had improved so much that more treatment at the hospital was no longer necessary

Commenting on renewed speculation that Mr Mandela was one step closer to being released, the spokesman said "He was admitted to the clinic for the exclusive purpose of convalescence"

But Mr Essa Moosa, a Cape Town attorney and associate of Mr Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said Mr Mandela had been to his pris-

expected to complete at the end of the year

Mr Mandela also took his radio and TV, and his exercise bicycle had been delivered to the clinic

But the spokesman said Mr Moosa's comments were "totally unfounded"

Mr Moosa said "The fact that they have not sent him back to Pollsmoor is a possible sign that they plan to release him soon

Expensive

"They can't hold him forever and they certainly can't keep him in the expensive clinic indefinitely

The spokesman said the clinic was chosen for Mr Mandela's after care' because it was the most suitable

● A love-song in which Mrs Winnie Mandela tells her husband of a dream she had that they were walking freely through the streets of Johannesburg is being recorded in Rio de Janeiro. The song, Dream of a Free Life, was written and composed by top Brazilian samba personality Martinho da Vila

cfem 4/10/88

SA 'spy' appeals against Harare court sentence

A SELF-confessed South African spy, described by a Zimbabwe High Court judge as "unrepentant and determined", has appealed to the Harare Supreme Court against a 25-year jail sentence imposed on her in November last year.

Ziana, Zimbabwe's national news agency, reports that the appeal of Odile Eone Harrington, 28, is due to be heard before the Chief Justice, Judge Dumbutshena, and judges of appeal, Judge McNally and Judge Korsah, on October 10.

Harrington was convicted by the Judge President, Judge Wilson Sandura, of contravening a section of the Official Secrets Act in that she unlawfully and for purposes prejudicial to the safety or interest of Zimbabwe, obtained information from members of the ANC which she transmitted to the South African Military Intelligence.

Among the documents she obtained and passed on to her masters were discussion papers on apartheid and names and addresses of certain officials of the ANC resident in Harare, Ziana reported.

In her statement to the police, Harrington said "I was sent to Zimbabwe by South African intelligence agents with the express and only purpose of

becoming the courier of the ANC

"If I had met the two agents in Zimbabwe as I was supposed to, I would probably have been told to spy on ANC members or infiltrate the organisation.

"I would of my own free will have sent any information regarding anything I knew about the ANC - people, places or anything else - but during my initial preparation I was not sent to do this, but only to become a courier of the ANC."

Other appeals to be heard during the next Supreme Court sessions, which open on September 19, and which are expected to arouse public interest, are those of former police commissioner, Wiridzayi Rodwell Nguruve, and former assistant general manager (administration) of the National Railways of Zimbabwe Khumbukayi Peter Nemapare.

Nguruve's appeal against conviction and seven-year-imprisonment for theft of Mandrax tablets is due to be argued on October 19.

Nemapare is appealing against a 42 months' imprisonment for contravening the Prevention of Corruption Act by selling five NRZ-owned houses in Botswana without proper authority.

The appeal is to be heard on October 24 or 25 - Sapa

UDF body moots plan to field candidates in poll

By MANDLA TYALA

A UDF-affiliated civic association is seriously discussing a revolutionary plan to field candidates in next month's municipal elections.

The plan would enable the people of Alexandra township near Johannesburg to govern themselves — within the framework of the Government's hitherto despised municipal structures.

It is the brainchild of activist Mr Mike Beea, chairman of one of the UDF's most militant affiliates, the Alexandra Civic Association (ACA).

Alexandra used to be one of the townships where the UDF's street-committee system was most effective. Community councillors, labelled Government stooges, were driven from office.

But the ACA now believes the boycott strategy is not achieving its objectives.

An official points out: "Even if we call for a boycott, the Government will make sure there are people

serving in these structures who do not have the interests of the community at heart.

"It is time we moved in and used these structures to govern ourselves."

The Beea plan calls for "communes" to be established — the name "street committee" is deliberately avoided.

These communes would send delegates to constituency committees which in turn would appoint representatives to a 25-member central committee, which would act as a watchdog over the Alexandra council.

An official says: "The people themselves will decide who will stand for council."

But there are difficulties. One is that the plan is due to be aired at a mass meeting on Saturday — a day after the official deadline for nominations.

4/1/88

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'Small room with TV' for Mandela

Staff Reporter

THE room at Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic where Nelson Mandela is recuperating "is just a small room with a television, single bed and bathroom", according to his former daughter-in-law, Mrs Rennie Mandela Perry.

She and her son Mandla Mandela, Mr Mandela's grandson, visited him for the second time yesterday.

She left the luxury private hospital in tears after the 40-minute visit and was consoled by Mrs Farieda Omar, wife of advocate Mr Dulla Omar.

She said Mr Mandela's room was "just a small room, not a luxury room".

Mr Mandela pointed out another room in which he exercised but she did not enter it.

Mr Mandela asked her to pass on several personal messages, including one to his wife Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Mandela Perry said

He studied his grandson's report, remarked that he was doing well at his private school in Swaziland and advised Mrs Mandela Perry to appoint a guardian to look after the young man's affairs.

"He was afraid that anyone could come along and influence Mandla the wrong way We fear that anything could happen to him," she said.

Mr Mandela had suggested Soweto doctor Dr Natho Motlana as a possible guardian.

"He also asked me to arrange for Mandla to enrol at a South African university after his matric."

Mr Mandela was in good spirits during the visit but "it is not easy leaving him here and returning to London I was depressed"

Stop

DR Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, last night strongly defended meetings that have taken place with sports administrators from African countries — including members of the banned African National Congress — and said a third meeting was scheduled for the near future.

Dr Craven said the talks had been his idea, and not that of the board Transvaal Rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt attended the first two meetings and not Dr Craven, who had been ill. However, Dr Craven was planning to conduct the third session himself.

Dr Craven said last night "Our motives are unblemished and pure — if we speak to the ANC it is because they are all around us, whether in underground organizations or as supporters belonging to organizations like SARU. We have to live with them."

"If the government can talk to Angola, why can't we do the same for sport?" Dr Craven said.

African bloc

He said he would like to see an African bloc formed, with the SARB and black African states working as one in the rugby world.

"I have always said that South Africa's way back into the international arena is through Africa and have stressed this point to the SARB executive," Dr Craven said.

"I also told the executive I would continue to fight for SA rugby's return to the world arena and the way to start this process is through the African states," he said.

Dr Luyt, who said at the weekend that the meetings had yielded positive suggestions, presented a memorandum to the South African government after the second round of talks, but according to Dr Craven, there had been no reaction.

CRAVEN: DENIES ANY
LINK TO ANC

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5/9/88

MR

By CHRIS STEYN
MR NELSON MANDELA'S grandson — the only boy in the Mandela family — emerged yesterday from his second visit to the ANC leader in 48 hours armed with notes taken during their discussion on his education.

Like his famous grandfather, Mandla Mandela intends to become a lawyer.

Shyly admitting that he was his grandfather's "favourite", Mandla told the Cape Times yesterday that he would strive to be like Mr Mandela.

Mandla said his grandfather seemed pleased that his grandson wanted to become a lawyer. Mandla would also visit a French family in Johannesburg which Mr Mandela knew, "because I'm struggling with my French".

Mandla's mother, Mrs Rennie Mandela-Perry, who lives in Bedfordshire, England, said Mandla took notes of the advice given to him by his grandfather. "He wrote it all down," she said.

She told the Cape Times that Mr Mandela did not discuss his possible release.

"But we suspect that it may happen. He is very confident and his face looks so much brighter," she said, soon after a second 40-minute visit to Mr Mandela at the Constantiaberg Clinic.

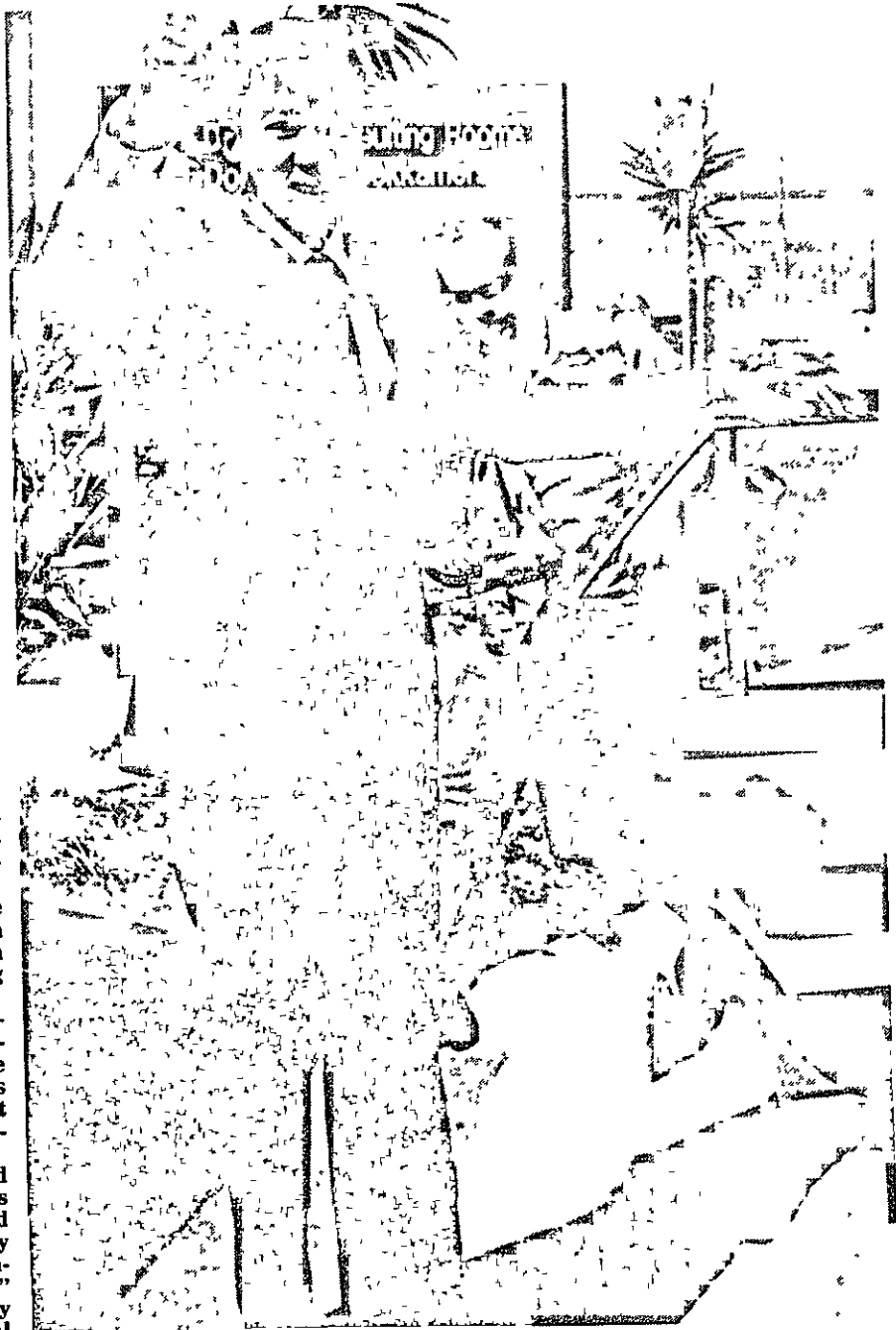
"He has a very nice room, with a telly, a small dressing table, a bed and an adjoining bathroom.

"However when he wanted to take us to his exercise room next to the bedroom, the guards subtly stepped in front of the door," Mrs Mandela-Perry said.

When the family visited Mr Mandela he was dressed in pyjamas and a dressing gown. They said his health had improved "quite a lot" and that he was very happy with the medical care he had been receiving. He had also started exercising again.

Mandla Mandela takes note of granddad's advice

Cape Times 5/19/88



AMANDLA . . . Mandla Mandela, the grandson of Mr Nelson Mandela emerges from the Constantiaberg Clinic where the ANC leader was admitted last week.

Picture FANIE JASON

Coetsee replies to CP claims of 'secret talks'

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday refused to confirm or deny that he had met ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela secretly at venues outside prison and outside hospital.

This follows claims by the Conservative Party that it had "irrefutable" evidence of several such secret meetings.

In a statement to the Cape Times, Mr Coetsee said "I am under the impression that there is a lot of misunderstanding on this issue. I have replied adequately in Parliament and I doubt it very much whether the Conservative Party would really like to pursue the matter any further."

Replying to questions put by the CP in Parliament recently, Mr Coetsee said "I do visit prisons and I do have contact with individuals and groups of prisoners under various circumstances. In this process I have had contact with Mr Nelson Mandela."

CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis yesterday told the Cape Times that the party had gathered evidence from people who were prepared to testify before a committee of the House of Assembly that the visits took place.

The CP tabled a motion in Parliament last week calling for a committee of the House of Assembly to look into the correctness of replies to Parliament concerning Mr Mandela, given by the President P W Botha and Mr Coetsee.

"If the government wants to negotiate with Mandela, they must do so openly and honestly and take the consequences. Not behind the scenes like a crowd of secret service operators," Mr Derby-Lewis said.

He refused to identify the witnesses, fearing "intimidatory tactics" would be used against them, but said the CP had in the past received a number of leaks from sympathetic public servants.

Sanctions call at launch of 'Higher than Hope'

JOHANNESBURG. — The launch of Mrs Fatima Meer's official biography on Mr Nelson Mandela, "Higher Than Hope", at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, was used as a platform for renewed calls for sanctions and an end to apartheid.

The function was delayed for 45 minutes by the late arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Reverend Frank Chikane, said the book represented 26 years of suffering by the jailed Mr Mandela.

He said the imprisonment of Mr Mandela had occurred when the organizations he and others represented were "lamentably non-violent".

Sapa

Tutu's call on voting in Oct elections

11A
17/10/88
5/19/88

Staff Reporter

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town the Most Rev Desmond Tutu yesterday urged Anglicans of all races to consider prayerfully the issue of participation in the October municipal elections.

He made the call at St George's Cathedral yesterday at a ceremony to install Canon Colin Jones as Dean of Cape Town.

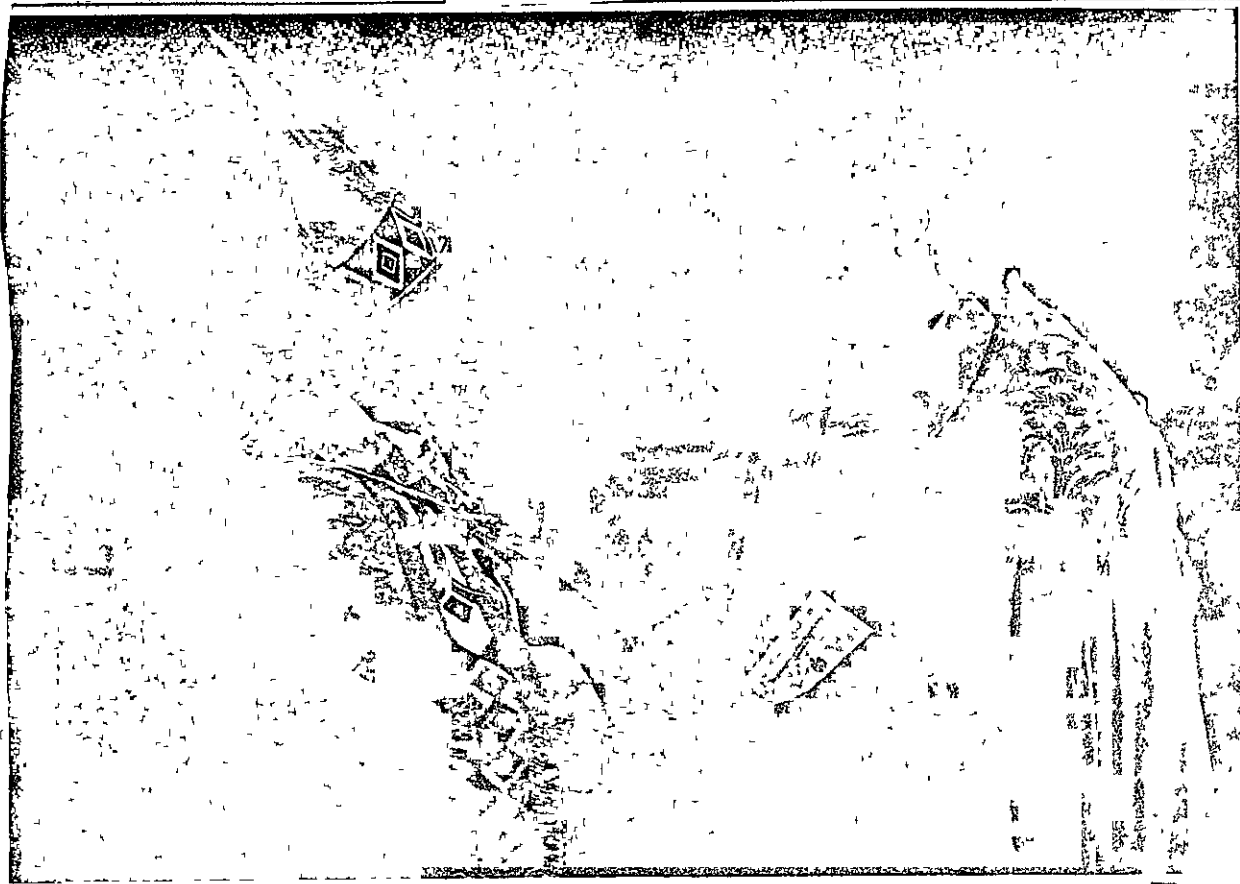
The Cape Times is prevented for legal reasons from reporting fully on what the archbishop said.

Archbishop Tutu said he was aware of the penalties attaching to aspects of his sermon. "I am not defying the government. I am obeying God."

He said he prayed that no intimidation either by those who wished to take part or by those who did not want to participate would mar these elections.

In his address Archbishop Tutu said that there was an alternative to obsession with race. It was the way of love of mutual acceptance of justice — an alternative to this repressive and unhappy polarized dispensation one where the people can participate democratically in the decision-making processes.

You don't do it by proscribing certain organizations and political leaders denying them the right to decide



NEW DEAN. Archbishop Desmond Tutu swears in the Very Reverend Colin Jones as the new Dean of Cape Town at St George's Cathedral yesterday. Picture: RICHARD BELL

From page 1

whether to participate in the October elections. He said the full text of the October elections is not. *See 17/10/88*

"In a normal society people can advocate participation or non-participation."

Archbishop Tutu said the government was guilty of intimidation in "wanting to force participation, placing heavy penalties for calling for a boycott."

Referring to the Khotso House bomb blast, he asked why it was that those responsible such atrocities were "not usually apprehended?"

Referring to the trilogy of controversial Group Areas bills, Archbishop Tutu said if the new Group Areas legislation went into operation the new dean was liable for eviction.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that the government yesterday was extremely guarded in its response to Archbishop Tutu's statements.

Yesterday the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok's, spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said: "We have taken note of what Archbishop Tutu reportedly said and will pass this on

to the minister. He said the full text of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's sermon would be requested.

Archbishop Tutu's statements come hot on the heels of a thinly veiled threat by Mr Vlok to act against certain unnamed churchmen.

Speaking in Johannesburg on Friday, Mr Vlok threatened to clip the wings of those who hid behind the masks of "liberation theology" and "people's democracy".

However, the government is certain to weigh carefully the international repercussions likely to flow from any action it might take against a figure of Archbishop Tutu international prominence.

Indeed, the government's eventual course of action in a matter carrying such wide implications would almost certainly have to be cleared by the highest decision-making authority in the land — the State Security Council (SSC).

The SSC meets tomorrow but it could be some time before the state finally settles on a course of action.

Don't dismiss the Mandela threat

5/9/88
5/9/88
11A

I feel compelled to write to you expressing my opinions about the proposed release of Nelson Mandela which has received much attention in your newspaper recently

It is extremely dangerous to dismiss Mandela as an old and sickly person who poses no real threat to the future of South Africa. It is essential to take the following facts into consideration

- Nelson Mandela was the founder of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, which is responsible for the violence and terrorism committed against, *inter alia*, innocent women and children. Many innocent South Africans have already lost their lives due to this terror war

- If Mandela and his comrades succeeded in their plans, South Africa would be turned into a blood-bath

- Mandela is still the leader of the ANC, which is engaged in a revolutionary alliance with the South African Communist Party. He refuses to renounce violence or to denounce the alliance

- It has been demonstrated in the past that "old and sickly" revolutionary leaders who are released can play a central role in the mobilisation of the masses in an insurrection

- Mandela is receiving the best possible medical treatment. His health is relatively good for a person of his age and his family is well provided for, which is borne out by the fact that his wife Winnie Mandela recently completed building a R500 000 house in Soweto

In conclusion, Mandela is not a prisoner of the South African Government but of the violence which he played a leading role in creating and will not renounce

(General) M C W Geldenhuys
Former Commissioner of Police

Wingate Park

CAF 7415 6/9/88 (119)

Mandela a determined leader — biography

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela is depicted in a biography published this week as a political leader of courage and determination, but emerges also as a caring father and sometimes errant husband.

"Higher than Hope", the first authorized Mandela biography, was written by Professor Fatima Meer to mark his 70th birthday. Professor Meer has known Mr Mandela since the early Fifties when both worked in the ANC.

Armed with a letter from Mr Mandela authorizing her research, she had access to friends and former colleagues, and to their documents and letters

Mr Mandela's face is blacked out in photographs showing him with his family.

The book confirms Mr Mandela's political reputation but also reveals him as a sometimes over-indulgent father, as an occasionally unfaithful husband and as a sentimental patriarch battling to guide his family from a prison cell.

Tracing the break-up of his first marriage to Evelyn, a nurse, Professor Meer writes of Mr Mandela's pain at the anger his eldest son, Phembi, focused on him.

In the early days of his second marriage, to Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Mandela tried to teach his bride to drive. They fought and he

abandoned her in a street, jogging home to take out his anger on a boxing bag.

His letters reflect concern about the welfare of his family. He urges them to eat well, to keep warm and to study. He chides them for working too hard, for driving too far, too fast or too late at night.

His wife and children are reprimanded when they fail to write, when they do not answer his questions about the family accounts or when they forget to thank supporters abroad for help and support.

In another letter he asked his wife to point out a magazine article on leukemia to friends who had a child suffering from the disease

To his children he is comforting about their failures but the most persistent theme is his urging that they should study and attain the highest qualifications possible.

He complains to Winnie in a 1979 letter about their daughter Zenani's decision to quit college.

Professor Meer tells more than previous biographers about Mr Mandela's early days in the ANC. She describes his part in a coup by the Youth League, which seized control of the ANC in 1949.

She also reveals that he attended the 1955 Congress of the People, although restricted by the government — Sapa-Reuter

'Not exceptional' that Mandela is in a clinic

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The SA Prisons Service indicated at the weekend that there was nothing exceptional in the transfer of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela from Tygerberg Hospital to the Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic

Asked what precedents there were for such action, a Prisons Service spokesman said yesterday that there were numerous examples of prisoners receiving the best medical care

She said R16,5m was paid out for medical and special treatment for the year 1987-1988. A number of prisoners were receiving medical and post-medical care in various institutions, she said

"Thus for instance Oscar Mpetha has been hospitalized at Groote Schuur for a couple of years

"Under the circumstances it is a futile exercise to single out one individual's case, no matter how newsworthy it may be, for a detailed analysis"

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Tait
6/9/88

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Nactu concern for Mothopeng

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Council of Trade Unions has noted "with grave concern" the report from the family of imprisoned Pan Africanist Congress Zeph Mothopeng expressing fears that his health had deteriorated

"Nactu wishes to re-emphasize the resolution taken at its recent congress, calling for the immediate release of both Comrade Mothopeng as well as Comrade Mandela.

"The State President should without further delay release these persons" — Sapa

THE room at Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic where Nelson Mandela is recuperating "is just a small room with a television, single bed and bathroom" according to his former daughter-in-law, Mrs Rennie Mandela Perry.

She and her son Mandla Mandela, Mr Mandela's grandson, visited the African National Congress leader for the second time at the weekend

She left the luxury private hospital in tears after the 40-minute visit and was consoled by Mrs Fariada Omar, wife of advocate Mr Dulla Omar.

She said Mr Mandela's room was "just a small room, not a luxury room"

Mr Mandela pointed out another room in which he exercised but she did not enter it

Mr Mandela asked her to pass on several personal messages, including one to his wife Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Mandela Perry said

He studied his grandson's report, remarked that he was doing well at his private school in Swaziland and advised Mrs Mandela Perry to appoint a guardian to look after the young man's affairs

"He was afraid that anyone could come along and influence Mandla the wrong way We fear that anything could happen to him," she said

Mr Mandela had suggested Soweto doctor Dr Nthato Motlana as a possible guardian

"He also asked me to arrange for Mandla to enrol at a South African

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

university after his matric "

Mr Mandela was in good spirits during the visit but "it is not easy leaving him here and returning to London I was depressed "

She wanted to "discuss so many things with him We had so many things to discuss However, the 40 minutes went so quickly "

She said Mr Mandela has asked her to apply for permission to visit him whenever she wanted to

'NELSON MANDELA NOT LIVING IN LUXURY'

88/9/5
Sowetan
MIA

288
SOWETAN, Tuesday, September 6, 1988

Page 5

Namibia looking at tax harmonisation with SA

Star 3/6/88
Argus Africa News Service

221A

WINDHOEK — The proposals of the Margo Commission on Tax are being studied in depth by government officials in Namibia, with a view to "possible tax harmonisation", says the Territory's Finance Minister, Mr Dirk Mudge.

In his Budget speech this week, Mr Mudge said that although Namibia had its own tax system, any tax reform in South Africa would have a "direct influence" on policy decisions here.

This was because all countries in the southern African region were economically interdependent, and also because there was already a double taxation agreement between Namibia and the Republic.

The Margo Report, said Mr Mudge, was "interesting" and contained some "far reaching tax proposals".

He remarked, however, that a number of the recommendations made by the Margo Commission were already in force in the tax structure on this side of the Orange River.

For instance, Namibia has for some years followed a policy of not exempting basic foodstuffs from GST, but has instead applied a system of direct subsidies to keep the prices of items like brown bread and milk at realistically low levels.

The further proposal by the Margo Commission that married couples be taxed separately, has been in force here for almost a decade. Mr Mudge remarked that the loss of revenue to the State exchequer had been absorbed "long ago" and administrative problems with the separate system had been "almost completely overcome".

In Namibia, attention had been given to the lowering of personal income tax scales since 1980 — a step also suggested by the Margo Commission.

Mr Mudge said the top marginal rate had been 58 percent in Namibia in 1979, but was now only 42 percent. He noted, however, that the negative effects of "bracket creep" were constantly being monitored by his financial experts.

The Finance Minister also disclosed that his Department had been holding talks with the South African authorities about recent legislation in the Republic concerning the taxability of interest received from investment by inhabitants of Namibia.

After these talks, it was decided to draft legislation in Windhoek which would provide that interest and dividends earned by Namibian individuals and companies on locally-generated capital invested outside the Territory would be taxed here, "insofar as it was not already taxed".

Namibia's spies and 'spooks' get more cash

Star 6/6/88
Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa
News Service

221A

WINDHOEK — Spies, "spooks" and other members of the murky netherworld of the intelligence community have not been forgotten in the Namibian Budget allocations this year.

In fact, a glance at the money available for "secret services" and intelligence operations — revealed in the detailed breakdown of proposed

expenditure for 1988/89 — shows that there has been an overall increase of 23 percent on last year.

Intelligence and secret services are this year allocated R8,98 million, compared with R7,28 million in 1987.

Leading the way in increased expenditure for undercover operations is the Security Secretariat of the Transitional Government, which came into being last year.

Its overall budget has

been boosted from R544 300 to R844 100. But the portion provided for "secret services" goes up by 250 percent from R100 000 to R350 000.

The military has also been given a large increase for "secret services".

Under the Defence vote, the allocation for such services goes up 110 percent from R1,2 million to R2,53 million.

The total defence bud-

get was raised from R181,97 million to R212,74 million.

The police budget goes up from R136 million to R147,49 million.

The Department of National Intelligence sees its allocation trimmed from R4,58 million to R4,3 million.

And where does all this money go?

Even if we knew we couldn't tell you — it's a secret.

Judge slams Raj for 'trivial' questions

CAPE TOWN'S
6/9/88
NA

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the House of Delegates, was rebuked by the chairman of the James Commission of Inquiry here yesterday afternoon when he questioned a witness about "card games during office hours"

Mr Rajbansi was cross-examining Mr Helgard Saayman, a former senior official of the Indian Education Department who gave evidence against Mr Rajbansi on Friday

Mr Rajbansi had asked Mr Saayman whether he was aware that there had been complaints about him playing cards during office hours

Although Mr Saayman immediately denied the allegation, commission chairman Mr Justice Neville James

intervened angrily and told Mr Rajbansi his question was "too trivial" "I won't allow it that was in 1974, and this is now, 1988," said the chairman

Later, Mr Rajbansi suggested that Mr Saayman was involved in "instigating student disturbances" at Springfield College in Durban

Mr Saayman replied that if he had that sort of influence among the Indian community he would now be in Mr Rajbansi's position

Mr Saayman also said he did not know if Mr Rajbansi intended making further allegations, and he asked the chairman whether it would be necessary to consult a lawyer

"Can I advise you at this stage — don't" answered Mr Justice James

Jailed PAC boss moved

IMPRISONED president of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, Zeph Mothopeng, has been admitted to a Johannesburg private clinic and will be there for some time, according to his wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng.

Mrs Mothopeng said her husband, who is serving two 15-year sentences for offences related to state security, was moved from Johannesburg prison to the clinic when his condition deteriorated in the early hours of Thursday.

Last year Mothopeng, now in his 70s, underwent an operation to correct an ailment of the glands, according to Mrs Mothopeng.

"When he was taken to Florence Nightingale Clinic on Thursday his legs and neck were terribly swollen, and it appears there are difficulties with his circulation," she said.

Mothopeng, like Nelson Mandela, his

counterpart in the outlawed African National Congress, has previously refused State offers to free him on condition he renounced violence as a means of solving political problems.

At the recent Natal Congress of the National Party, President Botha said he would release Mandela if he "co-operated" with the authorities.

Mandela, also in his 70s, is in a private clinic in Cape Town where he is

recuperating from a lung ailment.

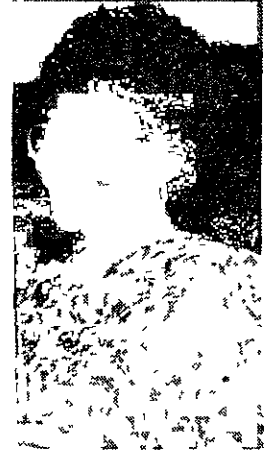
It could not be established if Mothopeng would be sent back to prison after his treatment. In Mandela's case Mr Botha said he did not think the prisoner should go back to prison, but left the choice in the ANC leader's hands.

Yesterday the Prisons Department refused to comment on Mothopeng's illness, and to say if he was being treated on if he was being treated by State doctors or those

appointed by himself.

A statement said "It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service not to comment on the physical condition or medical treatment of individual prisoners as it is regarded as a private matter between the prisoner, his family and the doctor."

The department was "furthermore satisfied" that the medical treatment of all prisoners was of a "very high standard" and Mothopeng was no exception in that regard. — Sapa



MRS Mothopeng

1/19
6/9/88

RESTRICTIONS on funeral of UDF man

By Adele Bale

The Lebowa Commissioner of Police has imposed unprecedented restrictions on the funeral of 27-year-old emergency detainee, Mr Alfred Mabake Makaleng

The funeral may only be attended by his relatives and legal representatives

This is considerably harsher than previous restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations which permitted a maximum of 200 mourners

Mr Makaleng, a trade unionist and the northern Transvaal UDF publicity secretary, died in hospital on August 26. He had been held in detention for more than two years

He was flown from Nylstroom Hospital to the Johannesburg Hospital where he lay in a "brain-dead" condition for three days until death. The funeral is on Saturday at Bydrift, near Pietersburg

Mandelas attend murder trial

By Cathy Stagg

Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Miss Zinzi Mandela, were spectators at a trial being heard in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

It has been admitted by some of the accused that they used Mrs Mandela's car and stored a Scorpion machine pistol and an AK-47 at her house.

Mr Oupa Seheri (33), Miss Priscilla Mkhonza (29), Mr Ben Dlamini (27), Mr Setimbiso Buthelezi (25) and Mr Charles Zwane (18), all of Soweto, have pleaded not guilty to two counts of murder, two of attempted murder and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

The charges relate to the murder of Mr Mlando Ngubeni and Mr Xola Mokhaua and the attempted murder of Mr Jeremia Nkosi and Mr Colin Dlamini on January 24 last year after a disagreement in a shebeen at Miss Mkhonza's home.

Yesterday, Mr Seheri said he threatened to hit Miss Mkhonza if she refused to tell him where the four lived.

He denied that he threatened to kill her or burn down the house.

The State alleges that

Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Miss Zinzi Mandela, outside the Rand Supreme Court where they attended a murder trial yesterday. Both were listed as State witnesses, but when the State closed its case last week the court heard it would not be necessary to call them because of admissions made by the accused.

the four men, who were later shot, were at the shebeen when an argument began between Mr Mokhaua and Mr Seheri.

There was a fist fight and Mr Seheri allegedly produced the Scorpion pistol, which was taken away from him by a bystander.

Mr Xola Mokhaua and his friends took the pistol and were later shot by the accused, ac-

ording to the State.

Mr Seheri admitted he took an AK-47 to Mrs Mandela's home.

He said he had met Mr Vuyisile Tshabalala the previous evening at a night vigil for a member of the Mandela soccer team; a young man known to him as Jomo.

Mr Tshabalala, who was wanted by the police, told him he would be taken somewhere to

collect a parcel containing a Scorpion machine pistol.

Mr Seheri was going to demonstrate to various people how to use it. He went to a bedroom in Mrs Mandela's house where Mr Buthelezi and Mr Zwane gave him a case containing the Scorpion, the court heard.

The hearing continues.

Talking to ANC, PAC 'not illegal'

Pretoria Correspondent

There was nothing illegal about talking to the ANC or the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) unless something sinister was being planned, it was argued in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

The defence counsel for two of the seven accused in the PAC/Qibla trial, Mr D Delahunt, submitted that Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and many other South Africans had made contact with banned organisations without being prosecuted.

Defending Mr Achmad Cassiem (41) and Mr

Yusuf Patel (27), alleged members of the Muslim Qibla movement — who have been charged under the Internal Security Act for allegedly conspiring with the PAC — Mr Delahunt said the State had failed to prove a conspiracy took place.

The other five accused, Mr Mabutu Enoch Zulu (52), Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga (26), Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa (29), Mr Sestiba Paul Moholo (29), alleged members of the PAC, and the Rev Daniel Saul Nkopodi (27), face charges under section 54 (1) of the Internal Security Act.

Advocate Johan Pre-

torius, prosecuting, had submitted that Mr Cassiem and Mr Patel shared a common cause with the PAC to overthrow the Government.

Mr Delahunt felt that there was "no clear evidence" that Mr Cassiem or Mr Patel had known that the people they had met were members of the PAC.

"To prove conspiracy, the State has to show that there had been agreement between the accused and the PAC," Mr Delahunt said.

The hearing was adjourned until September 26 when judgment will be given.

SMC
6/9/88

Call for SARB 11A showdown over talks with ANC

By Barry Glasspool

The call for an emergency meeting of the South African Rugby Board executive to discuss secret talks, attended by ANC members, is gaining momentum

Mr Ronnie Bauser, president of Griquas and one of the 11-man SARB executive, supports the call made by Free State president Mr Steve Strydom

MORE TALKS

SARB president Dr Danie Craven's confirmation that he has already bound himself to a third round of talks with various African sports administrators, and that he is determined to go ahead with the talks despite opposition, has caused the gravest crisis in the SARB's history.

Mr Strydom says the full executive should first be consulted to determine whether they approve of further talks with people who, in his view, would seem to be more political than interested in helping South African rugby break the tightening bands of isolation

RANKLED

Dr Craven's use of Transvaal president Mr Louis Luyt to act as the special emissary at secret talks in London and Frankfurt has obviously rankled with some members

The fact that Mr Jan Pickard and Professor Fritz Eloff are SA's rep-

resentatives on the International Rugby Board, but were apparently not consulted, has not helped matters between the warring factions.

The emergence of Mr Luyt as the new "crown prince" and the apparent new successor — although he is quoted as saying he does not want the job — when Dr Craven finally stands down, has drawn the two factions into an open power struggle

Speculation in some quarters suggests that Dr Craven, who has been president since 1956, will be "forced out" in the wake of the ANC connection

The crisis of confidence is the fiercest test that Dr Craven has had to face in a long career at the top, but he is determined to continue on a course which he believes to be right and for the good of SA rugby

CENTENARY

His opponents accuse him of not taking some of his closest colleagues into his confidence, opting instead to do things on his own with Mr Luyt

The collision course of men entrusted with running SA rugby's affairs could not have come at a worse time and could yet have serious repercussions for next year's proposed tour by a top World team to celebrate the SARB's centenary.

The current "broeder-twis" suggests it won't be much of a party

114

Indian education

'now at its worst'

DURBAN — The state of Indian education is at its worst, according to the secretary-general of the Teachers' Association of South Africa, Mr Sathish Jaggernath

Commission hears evidence

about complaints made by Tasa to the James Commission, in which charges of irregularity were levelled at members of the Ministers' Council and Mr Rajbansi

When Mr Rajbansi put it to him that there had been a dramatic improve-

ment in Indian education, pointing out that the number of pupils who received an A aggregate in matriculation examinations had risen from 69 a year to 155, Mr Jaggernath said that that was not a true reflection, especially if more pupils wrote examinations compared with those who wrote in previous years

Mr Jaggernath gave evidence yesterday to the James Commission here which is investigating allegations of corruption in the House of Delegates

He said there had always been unhappiness in the ranks of teachers since a takeover by the government. While there had been problems, the situation had not been as bad as it was currently

"Even under the Department of Indian Affairs we had problems, but nothing as serious as the problems at present," said Mr Jaggernath

He said that while the qualifications of teachers had been upgraded, it did not mean that the standard of education had improved

He alleged that in the past five years since the takeover — first by the South African Indian Council and then by the House of Delegates — there had been political victimization and irregularities in the promotion and the administration of the Department of Education

Mr Jaggernath was recalled to give evidence by the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who cross-questioned him at length

"There has been no dramatic improvement like Mr Rajbansi is trying to show. There has been 1% improvement a year in matric results, except for last year, when there was 7% more," he said

Mr Jaggernath said teachers were fed up the way things were being done

"We are talking about the human factor in Indian education, the complaints, the disgruntled people. It does not mean that if more teachers get a better assessment now then the status of education is better," he said

Mr Colin Mann, counsel for the Indian Education Department, said that all the evidence that the association could muster were six affidavits, but Mr Jaggernath said that if the commission wanted more, they had a great number of people who would submit statements — Sapa

INA

Mandela's role in world politics

BRITISH Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's projected trip to South Africa, now pencilled in her diary for December, is very much tied to the release of Nelson Mandela.

To justify a visit she needs to extract from South Africa tangible evidence of an advance in the political situation there. Mandela's release could provide that.

South Africans point out privately that, despite President PW Botha's statements to the contrary, they could free Mandela without any promise from him to renounce violence.

The news that Mandela, reported until only a few weeks ago as being in robust health, is now ill, adds a new dimension to delicate negotiations aimed at devising a scenario that will free Mandela without leading to widespread disturbances in the country.

Thatcher has long cherished the idea of a personal initiative on South Africa. Having taken such a strong stand against sanctions, she has to prove that her policy can produce results. So far she has had to show for it.

She will not be comforted by Botha's uncompromising speech to his party conference, in which he said "I am not considering even to discuss the possibility of black majority government."

The British Prime Minister always has at the back of her mind the Lancaster House experience in 1979 when all the parties to the Rhodesia dispute were finally brought to the conference table. Heads were knocked together and peace came.

News that Nelson Mandela is ill was followed by the statement by president PW Botha that "I don't think that at his age and under his condition it would be wise for him to choose to go back to jail." The problem of Mandela's release seems to be high up on Botha's agenda. It is also, reports DEREK INGRAM, a concern for British prime minister Margaret Thatcher as she plans to visit Southern Africa at the end of the year

The idea of somehow getting Botha, Mandela, Boesak, Buthelezi and other political leaders together round a table in South Africa is far-fetched, especially since South Africa is a sovereign country while Rhodesia was a "self-governing colony of Britain."

Nevertheless, it would be a prize to strive for and Thatcher is not averse to taking on challenges others reckon impossible.

Her first substantial visit to black Africa since Lusaka in 1979 satisfied her that she could put her head into black Africa and survive.

Now she will tackle Zimbabwe and Mozambique in December — that part of the trip is already fixed

— and she will go on to South Africa if by then conditions permit.

It seems she sees a "window of opportunity" to seize the initiative on Southern Africa in those weeks when there is a political vacuum in Washington. The new US president will be elected on November 8, but he is not installed until January 20.

If Mandela's release were indeed agreed, a knotty point for South Africa would still be whether to free him before or after the Thatcher visit. Obviously the first option is preferable and that raises questions as to whether his illness is being used for a double purpose — as a face-saver for Botha and to meet international demands.

It will be far easier for South Africa to release the world's famous prisoner on humanitarian grounds than to be seen to be giving way to pressure from abroad. Botha said as much in his speech.

Thatcher for her part, would still be able to point to Mandela's release for which she has persistently called, as marking a major advance in the political situation.

She may also be able to point to the changing situation in Angola and Namibia, especially if by December the South Africans really have pulled out of southern Angola and the Cubans are preparing to leave.

Another straw in the wind is the visit of Foreign Minister Pik Botha to Vienna to assess whether South Africa can sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) — a move followed by South Africa's admission at last that it has a nuclear capability. Thatcher would also be able to claim this as a step by Pretoria in the right direction.

The ifs in Angola are big. Although South African troops are said to have started withdrawing we have been here before. Several times over many years. South African troops have pulled back, or started to pull back, only to return a few months later.

The Cubans have always objected to the linkage introduced by the Americans between their withdrawal from Angola and the independence of Namibia. Yet they are taking part in talks which are tying the two actions together. After almost continuous talking in a series of venues that includes Geneva, New York, Brazzaville and Cape Verde everyone is still hanging in.

Super powers

Largely this is because the superpowers now both want to clear up the bloody and tangled situation in the region. As happened over Zimbabwe in 1979 a variety of international pressures are keeping the parties talking.

The extent of the Soviet behind the scenes role was revealed recently when Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin told the Angolans that they should start talking to the rebel Unita movement while the United States said it would go on supplying arms to Unita so long as Angola continued to receive help from the Soviet Union. These are all moves in the chess game.

Adamishin has talked of a positive momentum to the Angola-Namibia talks and he and Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs who is acting as mediator in the talks, seem now to be acting in concert.

The obstacles are many. Not only the timetables for the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the South Africans from Namibia have to be agreed, South Africa will not pledge that the African National Congress will not be based or trained in either country.

Free election

If South Africa does agree to leave Namibia — and it is a big if — it will do everything possible to transfer power to the administration that it already has in place under Administrator General Louis Pienaar and not let the country be taken over by the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), which would almost certainly win a free election.

Under the plan agreed at the beginning of August between Angola, Cuba and South Africa (but not by Swapo, which is excluded from the current talks) elections are to be held on June 1, 1989. Pienaar has now said that he will hold segregated elections before the UN plan for independence is introduced.

A week after the Geneva agreement he remarked ominously: "Local elections can be a demonstration before the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 that the majority prefer democracy and democratic values."

Dirk Mudge, who chairs a multiracial council of ministers convened in Windhoek, questioned whether any new elections were necessary before independence. At all costs, South Africa will want to prevent Swapo becoming the government of Namibia.

Thatcher is unlikely to decide whether she will go on to South Africa from Zimbabwe until the last minute.

There are so many imponderables in South Africa itself one key event she will want for is the municipal elections on October 26 — GEMINI NEWS



General Yahya Khan 1969-71



General Zia ul-Haq 1977-1988



Field Marshal Ayub Khan 1958-69

Pakistan's military rulers

NEW DELHI — India is wondering whether the death of Pakistan's Zia ul-Haq will halt the geopolitical shift which it believes has been taking place on the subcontinent.

America's tilt towards military run Pakistan has long irked India.

The United States has cast a suspicious eye at New Delhi since the mid-1950s era of "cold war" warrior John Foster Dulles, secretary of state under Eisenhower. But now there are signs that Washington may be able to see some virtue, and even utility, in New Delhi.

Pakistan continues to be a frontline state for US global strategy, but the changing power balance in south west Asia has brought in new perceptions.

The process began with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan. Washington's response was cautious, but it finally realised the futility of a stalemate, paving the way for the signing of the Geneva accord on Afghanistan.

Although still suspicious of Moscow, Washington seems to be going along with the idea of a neutral and independent Afghanistan, and was beginning to have doubts about Zia's intentions — doubts on which India was hoping to capitalise.

A military dictatorship in Pakistan was an asset to the US in an atmosphere of cold war and global military confrontation. And against that background, what India considers as the maintenance of equidistance from the superpowers, and Western countries as a pro-Soviet tilt, was regarded by US policy makers as an unforgivable sin.

With the roll back of 'red' influence as Soviet troops leave Afghanistan, however, the picture is changing — setting off nervous thoughts among the senior army officers controlling Pakistan.

Easy money

First, they fear that Pakistan will lose its position of arms conduit to the Mujahideens fighting Kabul. Apart from the political and military implications, this means the drying up of a source of easy money for soldiers and bureaucrats.

Second, they feel that reduced superpower rivalry in the region will be to their disadvantage because there will be less need for Pakistan as a counterpoise to "pro-Soviet" India.

Reduction of rivalry would also remove the cold war motivation of US policies in the region, and enhance the attraction of India's democratic approach compared with Pakistan's

authoritarian, Islamic regimes.

The danger of a new breed of ayatollahs in South Asia (in the wake of President Frshad's declaration of Bangladesh as an Islamic republic), particularly in a country bordering Iran, must have alarmed at least a section of the Reagan administration, just as it alarms many Indian officials.

To take advantage of the doubts in Washington over Zia's designs, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is said to have sent signals to the Reagan administration to keep an eye on the Pakistani leader's Afghanistan policy.

Ghandi has indicated that he would do all in his power to ensure that President Najibullah's national reconciliation programme dismantles the ruling PDPA's monopoly over the Kabul government and accommodates Afghan moderates in a broad based settlement.

Ghandi, however, is coordinating his moves with Moscow, in the belief that their long range interests coincide. He has no fears that Moscow will move closer to Islamabad, particularly if the latter continues to move towards fundamentalism, which Moscow has reason to oppose because of the possible effects on its own large Muslim minority. — GEMINI NEWS

1-7/9/88 (11A) Sat

'Mandela freer than Botha'

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is a far freer man than South Africa's State President.

Speaking at a prayer service for Mandela, the leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, said white South Africans had imprisoned themselves. He added. "They don't know it yet but they have thrown away the key."

Mandela, recently hospitalised for tuberculosis, is a life prisoner and his possible release is a matter for constant speculation and campaigns

At the special prayer service in Bellville South attended by more 600 people, Dr Boesak said Mandela was on the agenda of the politicians of the world

"Nelson Mandela is in jail because the government wants him there. Even if he dies of natural causes people will blame the government."

At the start of the service Dr Boesak referred to police surveillance units monitoring the proceedings.

"We have nothing to say that they can't hear. We will not be afraid to say we love Nelson Mandela very much...we revere him and admire him and he is the leader of the people," said Dr Boesak.



Dr Allan Boesak

"We have been lame, scared and silent for too long. As sure as God's sun will come up tomorrow Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela shall walk with us to a new future," he told the congregations whose shouts or "amen" grew even louder.

At the end of the service the congregation lit candles in remembrance and rose to sing the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

GET WELL



Winnie Mandela

Mandela moved

THE jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been released from Tygerberg Hospital near Cape Town and transferred to the luxury Constantiaberg Clinic, a spokesperson for the Prisons Service has confirmed

His discharge coincides with confirmation by family sources that Mandela was taken to his cell at the nearby Pollsmoor Prison to pack up his belongings. All his belongings were removed, sources said.

It was unlikely that he would be returning to Pollsmoor.

Prisons Service spokesperson Colonel Daan Immelman said the transfer to the Constantiaberg Clinic had taken place because Mandela's condition has improved

to such an extent that his further treatment in the Tygerberg Hospital was no longer necessary."

He said Mandela "had consequently been transferred to the Constantiaberg Clinic for after care."

Constantiaberg Clinic is a private hospital located in Plumstead, one of Cape Town's southern suburbs.

Mono Badela reports from Johannesburg that Mandela's family lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said neither he nor Mrs Winnie Mandela had been consulted about the transfer.

Asked whether he thought this was a prelude to Mandela being released, Ayob replied "I don't think it's significant."

11A

Santa 17/9/8

11A 7/9/88



AUTHOR Professor Fatima Meer autographs copies of the book on Mandela.

MANDELA:

'Caring father, errant husband'

NELSON Mandela is depicted in a biography published this week as a political leader of courage and determination, but emerges also as a caring father and sometimes errant husband

Higher than Hope the first authorised Mandela biography, was written by fellow activist Fatima



Meer, professor of sociology at the University of Natal, to mark his 70th birthday last July. Mandela jailed since 1962 for incitement and for plotting the overthrow of white rule is at present in a private Cape

Town clinic recovering from Tuberculosis

Meer has known Mandela since the early fifties when both worked in the now-outlawed African National Congress (ANC)

Armed with a letter from Mandela authorising her research, she had unprecedented access to friends and former colleagues and to their documents and letters

To comply with South African law — Mandela is listed as a so-called banned person — his face is blacked out in photographs showing him with his family

The book confirms Mandela's political reputation, but also reveals him as a sometimes over-indulgent father as an occasionally unfaithful husband and as a sentimental patriarch battling to guide his family from a prison cell

Tracing the break-up of his first marriage to

Evehne, a nurse Meer writes of Mandela's pain at the anger his eldest son, Thembi, focused on him

In the early days of his second marriage to social worker Winnie Madikizela, Mandela tried to teach his bride to drive. They fought and he abandoned her in a street, jogging home to take out his anger on a boxing bag kept hanging in his bedroom

His letters reflect concern about the welfare of his family. He urges them to eat well, to keep warm and to study. He chides them for working too hard, for driving too far, too fast or too late at night

Reprimanded

His wife and children are reprimanded when they fail to write, when they do not answer his questions about the family accounts or when they forget to thank supporters abroad for help and support.

In another letter he asked his wife to point out a magazine article on leukemia to friends who had a child suffering

from the disease

To his children he is comforting about their failures but the most persistent theme is his urging that they should study and attain the highest qualifications possible

He complains to Winnie in a 1979 letter about their daughter Zenani's decision to quit college

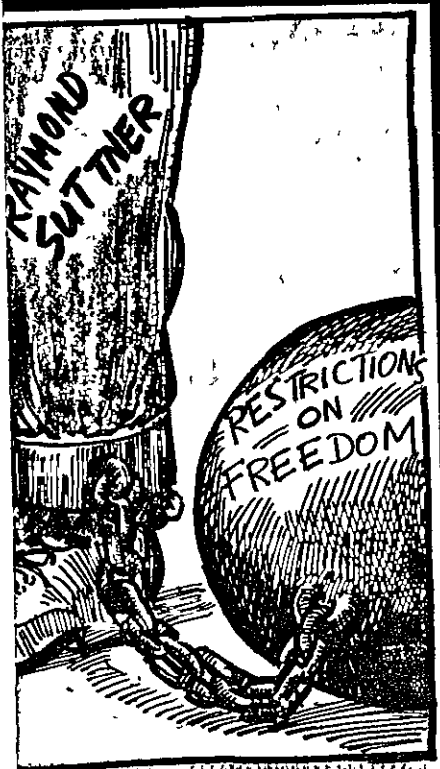
"I am surprised at Zeni's lack of ambition and finesse. She is gambling away her entire future," he says

Meer tells more than previous biographers about Mandela's early days in ANC. She describes his part in a coup by the Youth League, which seized control of the ANC in 1949 and steered it from passive resistance towards armed opposition to racial discrimination

She reveals that he attended the 1955 "Congress of the People" where some 3000 black activists adopted the socialist Freedom Charter as their blueprint for a future South Africa

Though under government restriction and forbidden to attend he watched the meeting from a nearby house and could not resist moving, heavily disguised among the people for a few hours

"The picture professor Meer presents is that of an ordinary human being with natural emotions and desires and not an ancient myth," Winnie Mandela says in a foreword to the book — Sapa-Reuter



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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'UDF has no link with ANC'

11P
7/9/88

A LAWYER for the 19 accused in the marathon Vaal Triangle treason trial yesterday submitted in the Pretoria Supreme Court that there was no evidence on which to convict the accused for having allegedly furthered the aims of the outlawed African National Congress.

Addressing the court towards the end of the defence argument, Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC, said there has been insufficient evidence to prove what the objectives of the ANC were.

He told Mr Justice van Dykhorst that there was no essential requirement on which to convict the accused. He said the lack of violent qualities in the United Democratic Front indicated that the body or its members did not carry out the objectives of the ANC.

The State, he said, produced no evidence to show that the objectives of the United Democratic Front were indeed those of the ANC. He pointed out that an expert who testified for the State was also not asked to say what those objectives were.

Argue

The defence had until yesterday to argue the case of the leaders of the UDF, Azapo, Vaal Civic Association and Azanian National Youth Unity. The judge ruled that no oral evidence would be led after yesterday.

One of the accused, Mr Oupa Hlomuka, was yesterday granted permission to visit Sebokeng starting Friday for the unveiling of the tombstone of his late father. He has to return to Johannesburg on Sunday.

(Proceeding)

Luyt-ANC talks: No witch-hunt, says Craven

By Barry Glasspool

There will be no rugby witch-hunt against Transvaal Rugby Union President Dr Louis Luyt during his absence overseas on a business trip.

This has been made clear by Dr Dame Craven as the Minister of National Education, Mr FW de Klerk, launched a probe into the secret talks held earlier this year in Europe with African sports administrators which were attended by ANC members.

The Transvaal boss will be given the chance to put his side of the controversial issue in person and not be pilloried in his absence despite the strident clamour for an emergency meeting of the executive of the SARB.

Dr Luyt is expected back from New

York early next week, but he is known to have already made available for the Government a comprehensive memorandum of his talks, including the political issues discussed.

Dr Craven has confirmed that he has answered a questionnaire from the Government after Mr De Klerk had asked his department to start an investigation into all aspects of the talks.

At least four members of the SARB executive have demanded an immediate meeting as the controversy over the talks and moves by rugby into the political arena rage on.

After receiving the invitation from African sports officials, the SARB

president reiterated that he only agreed to the talks on one condition — that it would be with sports officials only. He could not deny that some of them might have strong ANC links, but refuted that the SARB was talking to the ANC as such.

At this stage Dr Craven was not prepared to make public some of the more sensitive aspects of the talks between Dr Luyt, the African sports officials and the ANC. He would only reveal these in a confidential discussion with Mr De Klerk, he said.

Dr Craven believed that South Africa was on the verge of a huge breakthrough and that Dr Luyt had done a wonderful job in a short time.

11A

Star

7/9/88



STAK REPORTERS

Mandela 'keeping himself in prison'

Star

7/11/88
Staff Reporters

(11A)
(S)

Nelson Mandela was keeping himself in jail by refusing to renounce violence, President Botha said in an interview with a foreign TV journalist last night

Mr Botha, who said Mandela was receiving the best health care "anywhere in the world", said he would be released if he were prepared to renounce violence and "come to the conference table"

Mr Botha also claimed he had broadened democracy in many ways. Apart from "the few terrorist organisations" the vast majority of the country's black people were well disposed to the Government

"I will give you an example. Only last week I paid a visit to Crossroads where a lot of propaganda was made against our Government on the bad conditions existing there — and, what happened? I was overwhelmed with goodwill by the inhabitants," he said

Winniford
GILLIA

Winnie off the hook as murder trial witness

By TYLER PARRY

WINNIE MANDELA and her daughter, Zinzi, subpoenaed to give evidence in a Rand Supreme Court murder trial this week, were let off the hook when two accused made key admissions.

Setimbisio Buthelezi and Charles Zwane, accused of killing two people after a shebeen brawl, admitted to using a car registered in Winnie Mandela's name, and providing a fellow accused with an AK-47 taken from her home.

Buthelezi is a boyfriend of Zinzi Mandela and close relative of Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi.

Oupa Alex Seheri, 33, Priscilla Mkhonza, 29, Ben Dlamini, 27, Buthelezi, 25 and Zwane, 18, pleaded not guilty to attempting to kill Jeremia Nkosi and Collin Dlamini and murdering Mando Ngubeni and Xola

Mokhaua on January 24 last year. They have also pleaded not guilty to possessing an AK-47, a Skorpion pistol and ammunition.

The state alleges an argument broke out at a shebeen after Seheri burnt a hole in Mokhaua's trousers with a cigarette. They decided to settle the matter outside in a fistfight.

When Mokhaua appeared to be winning, Seheri allegedly produced a Skorpion. He was disarmed by an onlooker.

Seheri, Mkhonza and Dlamini went to the home of Winnie Mandela where they obtained the AK-47 from Buthelezi, according to the state.

In admissions before the court, Buthelezi said that, when approached by Seheri, he had handed over an AK-

47 which he kept under his bed in Mandela's home.

The state alleges the accused drove to Mokhaua's home in two cars, one of which belonged to Mandela.

Buthelezi and Zwane admitted following Seheri to a house at Zola 3, Soweto, where shots were fired.

The state alleges Seheri started shooting at people on the stoep, who scattered. Nkosi and Dlamini were wounded after refusing to hand over the Skorpion.

Ngubeni was allegedly attacked with a sharp instrument and allowed Zwane and Seheri into the house. When he refused to give them the pistol, he was also shot.

Seheri, Zwane and Buthelezi then allegedly forcibly brought Mokhaua and another person to this house. Zwane admitted driving Mandela's

car to Mokhaua's house, from where "two people were taken".

The state alleges that when Mokhaua indicated where the pistol was hidden, he was shot.

Zwane admits returning to the Zola 3 home where more shooting took place.

Seheri allegedly shot Mokhaua in the head. Mokhaua and Ngubeni later died.

The state alleges Seheri hid the AK-47 and Zwane and Buthelezi hid the Skorpion.

Zwane said Seheri had given him the Skorpion after the shooting and he had handed it on to Buthelezi. Buthelezi admitted placing the Skorpion in a bag and keeping it in his room.

Prosecutor Brian Sheer said in the light of the admissions by Buthelezi and Zwane it was not necessary to call Winnie and Zinzi Mandela.

Accused did not 'hide anything'

Enquirer



THE three United Democratic Front leaders, who with 16 others are charged with treason, were yesterday described as "witnesses of unusual calibre" who dealt with complex issues "openly and directly without hiding anything"

By ALINAH DUBE

Mr Chaskalson said. *9/9/88*
"It becomes striking that in its argument, the State did not refer to the evidence of the three accused contained in 3267 pages and that it asked the court

to find them not to have been good witnesses.

"The common allegation made in the State's argument is that both Mr Molefe and Mr Lekota participated in the planning and the co-ordination of the UDF."

(Proceeding)

This was said by Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, defence counsel, at the end of his argument. He told Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and an assessor that the three volunteered information even though it was unnecessary for them to do so at the time when they gave evidence.

He submitted that there was no basis for the court to find the evidence of Mr Popo Molefe, secretary general of the UDF, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary and Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal executive member of the UDF, not to be

CHT 4/15 8/9/88

11A

Minister 'forced to give evidence'

DURBAN. — At the start of the second session of the James Commission into allegations of corruption in the House of Delegates yesterday morning, advocate Mr Anton Ackermann told the chairman, Mr Justice Neville James, of an allegation of someone being forced to give evidence.

He said that the suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, had told him that Minister of Education and Culture Mr Kessie Ramduth had told Mr Rajbansi that Mr Ramduth was forced to give evidence by Mr Ackermann

"What is even more disturbing is that it seems that there has been contact between Mr Ramduth and Mr Rajbansi and may I point out that Minister Ramduth is still under oath," said Mr Ackermann

Mr Rajbansi denied that he

'Caste discrimination' in teacher's 'transfer'

DURBAN. — The James Commission investigating alleged corruption in the House of Delegates was yesterday told how the Minister of Health, Mr Raman Bhana, tried to get a Tamil school teacher, who was in love with a Gujarati girl, to be transferred from the Cape to Durban in a bid to break the romance

The chief director of Indian education, Mr A K Singh, was being cross-questioned by the suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, about approaches Mr Bhana made to him (Mr Singh) to investigate the teacher who

was not named in evidence and to get him transferred to Durban.

"He was opposed to a Tamil marrying a Gujarati. I told him that the matter would be looked into," said Mr Singh.

Mr Rajbansi asked Mr Singh whether he was aware that Mr Bhana was a member of the Gujarati community.

He said he was, but Mr Singh said then that he left the matter to the chief director, Mr B Panday

"I received two telephone calls from Mr Bhana who asked me to do something and he told him that the matter was being investigated." — Sapa

told Mr Ackermann that Mr Ramduth had told him that he was forced to give evidence

"Minister Ramduth told me that he was called to give evidence and that's why he gave it," said Mr Rajbansi

Mr Justice James asked Mr Rajbansi when he had contacted Mr Ramduth

"I spoke to him before he gave evidence," said Mr Rajbansi

The chief executive director of

Indian Education, Mr A K Singh, told the commission that documents went missing and others were altered to ensure the promotion of two educators who were not liable to be upgraded

He said that in 1985 he was summoned to Mr Rajbansi's office and instructed to include the names of two teachers, Mr C Panday and Mr B Singh, on the list of educators for promotion — Sapa

PRETORIA — The State President, Mr P W Botha, would have to release Mr Nelson Mandela if he renounced violence otherwise Mr Botha's offer would be seen as a trap, the Supreme Court here heard yesterday

This was argued by Mr B Doctor, counsel for Ruth Gerhardt, who is serving a 10-year sentence after the Simon's Town spy scandal

Gerhardt, who has served four-and-a-half years of her sentence, applied to be released because Mr Botha offered to release security prisoners if they renounced violence — which she did

Mr Justice Goldstone said that Mr Botha had only offered to "consider" releasing such prisoners

Mr Doctor then argued that by getting Mr Mandela to renounce violence and then keeping him in jail would be a trap, and he submitted that Mr Botha's offer had not been a trap

The State President was cited as first respondent to the application, and the Commissioner of the Prisons Service the second respondent

The commissioner, who also represented the State President, submitted in a written reply yesterday that Mr Botha had not made an offer when he spoke in Parliament on January 31,

Release, or statement a trap — counsel

gmc trips 8/9/88 (114)

1985

According to a Hansard transcription handed in to court, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, asked, after Mr Botha had outlined his stance on Mandela "I would like to ask the State President if that same offer will also extend to some of the other prisoners who are in jail and have been there for years"

Mr Botha "Yes, if they unconditionally accept the provisions I laid down"

Mr Doctor told the court that Mr Botha was empowered by the Constitution Act and the Prisons Act to release prisoners

Gerhardt's husband, former Simon's Town naval commander and KGB spy Dieter Gerhardt, is serving a life sentence for treason

The hearing was adjourned to 10am today — Sapa

Cosatu goes ahead with massive rally

2-8/9/88
2-8/9/88
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W/M
THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) is pressing ahead with plans to host a major gathering of anti-apartheid organisations in Johannesburg later this month.

Some press reports have likened the planned gathering to the historic Congress of the People at Kliptown where the African National Congress and allied organisations adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955.

But most officials from the one-million-strong labour federation were wary about the comparison, pointing out that the size — and objectives — of the forthcoming gathering were different.

The main aim of the conference is to bring a wide range of extra-parliamentary organisations together so they can explore forms of united action in the face of what they see as mounting state repression.

The call to organise such a conference was made at a special congress of Cosatu's member trade unions earlier this year, where it was decided the Labour Relations Amendment Act — and the restrictions imposed on the United Democratic Front (UDF), Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and other groups in February this year — should form the focus of the unity drive.

Another key issue on the agenda of the meeting is likely to be the October elections and the implications of these for extra-parliamentary forms of political organisation.

Although Cosatu is still in the process of organising the meeting, indications are that a broad range of labour, community, youth, church and sports organisations — including some that have been bitterly opposed to each other in the past — will be invited.

By EDDIE KOCH

Included on the guest list are groups ranging from Cosatu and National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) members to Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM), the only parliamentary party to be approached.

Organisers of the conference also have plans to ask the Inyandza liberation movement of KaNgwane chief minister Enos Mabuza as well as opposition groupings from other "homelands" — a notable development given the turbulent state of homeland politics at the moment.

Other groups who will be asked to attend — and who are not normally considered to be close allies of Cosatu — are the massive Zion Christian Church (ZCC) and the South African Black Taxi Association (Sabta). According to some sources inside Cosatu, the organising committee is even considering inviting members of the Rastafarian religion.

The remaining groups expected to attend include many affiliates of the now restricted UDF and Azapo, a range of sports organisations, various women's groups, the main religious groupings and black business institutions such as the National Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) and the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business (Achib).

The sheer range of groups involved in the scheme has inevitably led to some controversy and debate within Cosatu over who should be included — and excluded — from the list.

One of the contentious issues is the decision to include, mainly, white, liberal groupings such as the NDM, and

Institute for the Development of Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa).

Some unions and regions of Cosatu feel the conference should be restricted to mass-based organisations with a mainly working class membership while others place their stress on a very wide "popular front"

There is also some debate over the decision to exclude groups such as Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) and the National Forum, which have Africanist and black consciousness leanings, on the grounds that they have no significant membership.

Although there are no plans to draw up a new policy document along the lines of the Freedom Charter, the proposed conference is likely to have a major impact on opposition politics — probably the main reason why the South African Police have warned it will not allow the meeting to contravene the emergency regulations and will closely "monitor" progress in organising the gathering.

Midweek talks between the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), which represents most employer organisations, and Cosatu/Nactu ended in deadlock.

The talks stalled over the unions' demand that Saccola urge employers not to use six controversial clauses in the Labour Relations Act. They ended without arrangements being made to meet again.

This could herald an end to the unique negotiation process which came close to resolving the clash between business and labour over changes to the country's labour laws, which the unions say are designed to undermine the rights of organised workers.

SARB/ANC: De Klerk explains

Political Staff *ANC 8/7/88 (119)*
THE Minister of National Education, Mr F W De Klerk, has dismissed reports that he demanded an explanation this week from the SA Rugby Board for its recent meetings with African sports administrators, including members of the African National Congress

Mr de Klerk said in a statement yesterday that what he had ordered was a full report from his own department on all information available on the SARB/ANC discussions

"Any deductions and interpretations made from this statement are the responsibility of those who made them," he said.

It was widely reported yesterday that Mr de Klerk had asked for a full report from the SARB itself about its activities, and that the SARB president, Dr Dame Craven, had refused to co-operate in the "probe".

Mr de Klerk said yesterday he was still waiting for certain outstanding information and would then decide whether or not to make a further statement

In his original statement on Tuesday Mr de Klerk said that neither he nor his department had received information about the meetings from the SARB

There had also been no consultations between the SARB and himself or his department either before or after the talks

Mr de Klerk said that as a general standpoint he was opposed to discussions with the ANC

COURT HEARS CONFESSIONS

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THREE confessions by alleged Pan Africanist Congress men, including the editor of Skotaville Publishers Mr Jaki Seroke, were admitted as evidence and read in the K11ptown Regional Court yesterday

The magistrate, Mr H Hofman, ruled that the confession made by Mr Seroke, which was the only one outstanding, would be admissible as evidence in the case Mr Seroke had said he was influenced by the conditions of his

detention to make the confession which he believed would end his detention

Mr Seroke (28) and his co-accused, Mr Mandla Cele (24) and Mr Thembinkosi Khonongwe (24), pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, possession of arms and banned literature.

In their statements read in court, Mr Cele and Mr Khonongwe admitted joining the PAC in Lesotho and receiving military training in Tanzania and Libya.

They said they re-entered the Republic from Botswana and used taxis to Soweto from Bophuthatswana

In Johannesburg they met Mr Seroke, who found them accommodation in Tembisa, where they were subsequently arrested. They were found with arms, including hand grenades and Scorpion machine pistols

(Proceeding)

The peace treaty that must endure

DURBAN — When the peace treaty between Cosatu and Inkatha was sealed at the Maritzburg Supreme Court last week, it seemed to be an awkward moment for the warring sides

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha was with local Inkatha leaders speaking among themselves and with their lawyers Mr Alec Erwin of Cosatu stood talking with the trade union lawyers

Both sides seemed a little self-conscious and everybody was eager to speak to milling reporters as nobody appeared to know what to do next

There was no slick media presentation, no champagne, no exchange of cigars or wine Just a deep appreciation that the pact between the two to hopefully bring peace to Maritzburg could have a massive bearing on South Africa's political future

Previous peace talks have not been enough to bring violence to an end in Natal and kwaZulu, and the announcement of a complaints adjudication board did not so much usher in a wave of relief as serious apprehension over whether it would work

Massive damage

But there are powerful motivations for the peace to hold Inkatha and its political opponents are aware of how much they have to lose, measured in the number of people killed and injured, the loss of public support and diversion from programmes to assault white economic and political power

The rising death toll in Natal and kwaZulu has given everybody a glimpse into the future, at the massive damage each side could inflict unless steps were taken to stop the violence now

Besides adding to the depressing but growing "civil war syndrome" in South Africa, the more than 1 000 deaths have reminded everyone that black-on-black political violence cannot secure political change It merely strengthened the hands of white racist politicians determined to hold onto power

Their most powerful argument was simple They could not allow power to pass to people who were killing each other

As long as the killing lasts, black political advancement is hampered, and the space open to peaceful initiatives for political change reduced

With white voters so apprehensive of their future given their past policies, even the National Party's national statutory council could expect a lukewarm response as long as white extremists could play up a rising black political death toll

If the parties do no more than agree to stop killing each other, this creates so much more room for middle-of-the-road political initiatives, like that presently advocated by the Independent Party

It is trying to bring opponents of the Government together around a statement of values and princi-

A peace treaty with ramifications for South Africa's political future has been concluded between Inkatha and Cosatu Both sides know how much they will lose if it does not hold.

ples prepared by Inkatha as a step towards taking control of Parliament and launching genuine constitutional negotiations

As long as Inkatha was at loggerheads with other organisations, these opponents could have rejected the initiative outright And some people backing the initiative were more than a little concerned about getting caught in the cross-fire

Also, the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba certainly did not benefit from the political violence Some whites who liked the direction the Indaba was going in were at the same time apprehensive that they might indirectly be party to more black-on-black violence over access to political offices that would be created if the Indaba were implemented

Simply, there are no winners except for white racists And everyone monitoring the violence is watching for agents from this group wanting to sabotage the peace

Admittedly, with so many people suffering so much, a peace treaty may simply not work Much personal bitterness still exists, giving rise to scores to settle that may outweigh any peace treaty

But by signing it, Inkatha and Cosatu are saying that more important than arguing who started the violence and who can find the muscle to sustain it, is who is politically sophisticated enough to seek an end to it One, or both, stand to gain enormously from showing a way out of the trouble, and by continuing to seek peace

Murderous clash

Admittedly the pact would more likely succeed were just Cosatu and Inkatha locked into a murderous clash But to this, one has to add the behaviour of UDF members and Azapo

And attacking a person from one organisation in the name of another is the culmination of several inputs spanning years in people's lives, factors which have been well documented by observers

But signing the pact shows that both sides appreciate they have more to gain from peace Those few awkward minutes at the Maritzburg Supreme Court building could prove vital in the next few years

At the very least there is a concern prevailing in progressive circles that peace must be established between Inkatha and its political opponents to ensure that if political change came through the actions of one of them, the other would not develop into a Renamo-type body — Own Correspondent

Tutu: You can't reform a Frankenstein

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu defied the government yesterday for the second time this week, repeating a call he had made about the October municipal elections, and said blacks should not vote for a system which oppressed them.

Speaking to more than 1 300 students and staff at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the archbishop said people should "prayerfully consider what God wants you to do".

"But we urge black people Do not take

part in a process that is meant to perpetuate your oppression"

Archbishop Tutu, who was speaking in his capacity as chancellor of UWC, told the audience his stand was "not bravado"

He said he would protest when "people are being turned into things so that the world can be misled"

"Our people do not have the right to say May we participate" And we cannot say to our people You cannot participate Because it is an offence," he added

He said he was committed to the "struggle for a just South Africa to the extent of saying

When God demands certain things of me, I will obey only God"

"I want to say to you what other church leaders have been saying We say please consider prayerfully what God wants you to do on October 26"

He also challenged the State President's assertion during a television interview earlier in the week that a majority of South Africans can blacks were favourably inclined towards the government's policies

"He is so sure of the majority of blacks supporting him that he won't allow them to vote," Archbishop Tutu said

"We are not going to allow, or participate in, third-rate operations

"You cannot change this system piece-meal. You cannot reform apartheid, you cannot reform a Frankenstein, you can only destroy it," said the archbishop, to cheers from the audience

During the induction service of the new Anglican Dean, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday, Archbishop Tutu also "prayerfully" urged black people "not to vote in the October elections — and I hope white Anglicans

To page 3



Archbishop Tutu at UWC yesterday

From page 1

will join their black brothers and sisters not to vote"

Our Political Staff reports that the police investigation into a statement over the weekend by the archbishop on the municipal elections has not yet been completed.

The Hanson officer to the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Meier, said yesterday "The police are still busy with the investigation"

He also said there was nothing further to add to previous police announcements on the matter

Yesterday he referred to the police seizure of the videotape and joked about how the police would probably come to fetch a tape at UWC

Picture: GLENN SHERBATT

CALLING FOR DISCIPLINE Archbishop Tutu calls for discipline on campus during his speech yesterday at UWC with him are vice-rector Professor Jaap Durand, left, and rector Prof Jakes Gerwel



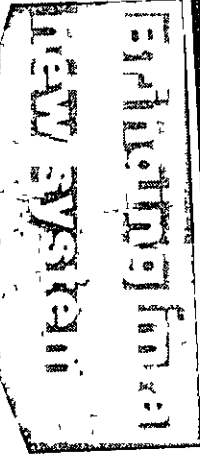
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SOWETIAN, Friday, September 9, 1988

WITNESSES 'PULLED BY HIS PRIVATES'

By SONTI MASEKO

TECHNOLOGY is daily getting sophisticated, the use of coins at public telephones will soon be outdated. In the picture Mr Sam Mooketsi (left), a technician, is watching Dr Joe Jivhuho testing a new card system, which if successful, will phase out the coins. On the scene is Mr Martin Ellis, post office area manager for the West Rand. The testing was done at the Orlando Post Office



A STATE witness claimed in the Pan Africanist Congress case at the Khip-town Regional Court that he was pulled by his private parts and forced to sign a statement in which he admitted things he did not know.

Mr Maropodi Mapalakanye, an actor and poet who is employed as an organiser by the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, said this before Mr H Hoffman. Shortly after he had made these allegations the State and defence closed their cases and Mapalakanye and another witness, Mr Vincent Mfundisi, were told they

would be released "I do not know anything about the statement I was tortured," Mr Maropodi Mapalakanye (34), told Mr Hoffman. Mr Mapalakanye spoke in a quivering voice as he told the court

how he was tortured at the Protea Police Station in Soweto last October. He was called as a State witness in the trial of alleged Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members Mr Jaki Setobe (28), the editor of Skotaville Publishers, Mr Manda Cele (24) and Mr Theminkosi Khononwe (24). The accused have pleaded not guilty to charges under terrorism.

Mr Mapalakanye said Sergeant Venter and another policeman pulled him by his private parts and forced him to agree that he gave people handgrenades when he was arrested on October 2, last year.

"They asked me if I knew Mandela and Vusi (both accused in the trial)

Asked by the magistrate if he told anyone about the torture while in detention, Mr Mapalakanye said he could not trust anybody because the police threatened to lock him up for five years "If I tried to get smart," he said



Mandela jailing himself in support for violence = PW

STATE President PW Botha this week said Nelson Mandela was "jailing himself" and reiterated that he would free him as soon as he renounced violence

In an interview conducted by John Cocker of SABTV news, Botha said "the moment Mandela re-

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nounces violence and undertakes to come to the conference table in a friendly and peaceful way, he will be out of jail"

Botha also claimed he had broadened democracy in many ways in South Africa

Apart from "the few ter-

rorist organisations" being thrown in against South Africa and organised against South Africa, he said vast majority of the country's black people were well disposed to the government

"I will give you an example Only last week I paid a visit to Crossroads near

Cape Town, where a lot of propaganda was made against our government on the bad conditions existing there - and, what happened? I was overwhelmed with goodwill by the inhabitants"

Cocker then put it to Botha that according to the world media, Botha's supporters had in fact kicked out the vigilantes

"So they admit I have supporters among the black people," Botha replied

The supporters, Cocker said, were "very politely called 'uncle Toms' in the United States"

"Oh, I see So the moment the black man is co-operating with me, he is an uncle Tom, but the moment he uses violence against his own people, he is the right fellow"

"If Nelson Mandela renounces violence and comes back to the conference table, will he also be called an uncle Tom?" the President asked - Sapa

He can live in Transkei - Keswa

By REVELATION NTOULA

NELSON Mandela, the imprisoned ANC leader would be unconditionally welcome to live in Transkei if he were released from prison

This was said by Brig Roy Keswa, second in command of the Transkei Military Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information

His remarks were made during a Press conference at the Transkei consulate offices in Johannesburg and came amid mounting speculation that the South African government was anxious to release Mandela, who is presently in a Cape Town clinic

After Mandela was admitted to hospital about two weeks ago, State President PW Botha said he hoped it would not be neces-

sary for Mandela to return to Pollsmoor Prison This was echoed by Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok

These statements were generally interpreted as indicative of the willingness of the government to release Mandela, 70

Subsequent to this, President Botha repeated his old stance that the jailed leader was imprisoning himself because he did not want to meet the government's requirement of renouncing violence as a pre-condition for his release

During the Press conference, Keswa reiterated that Mandela would be more than welcome in Transkei He said Mandela was in fact a "son of the soil" of Transkei Keswa said other leading Transkeians had expressed the same view

MT 11/18 9/9/88

Mandela home: Police won't drop charges

PRETORIA — Police have not withdrawn charges against people suspected of having burnt down Mr Nelson Mandela's Soweto home in spite of calls to do so

Police said it was a matter between the State and the alleged arsonists, the Mandela Crisis Committee said yesterday

The damaged house, the police said, was the property of the Soweto Council

A press statement by the committee said that although assurances had been given to the police in writing that the house was being restored to its original state, the children from the Dalwonga High School would still appear in court on Monday, September 12

"We believe that this action against the children will not make the resolution of broader problems allegedly related to the burning of the house easier," the statement said

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria, Captain Reg Crewe, said the children had already appeared in court on charges of public violence and the case had been postponed for further investigation — Sapa

Rajbansi clashes with his former lieutenant

CART TUNIS
9/19/88

11A

DURBAN — The former director-general of the House of Delegates, Dr James Gilliland, and his former boss, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House Mr Amichand Rajbansi, clashed yesterday during the session of the James commission

Dr Gilliland told the commission, which is investigating allegations of corruption in the House of Delegates, that Mr Rajbansi knew very well that a special committee was formed to deal with the allocation of six petrol service station sites

Mr Rajbansi discussed the distribution with him and suggested an order of merit for the applicants.

Dr Gilliland said he would not have set up a committee without the knowledge of the chairman of the Ministers' Council

While cross-examining Dr Gilliland, Mr Rajbansi said he did not know about the committee, nor did he instruct that it be set up to deal with the allocation of the sites

Mr Rajbansi said he was aware Dr Gilliland and officials had got together on an ad hoc basis to investigate the claims of the six applicants

Chairman of the commission Mr Justice Neville James asked Mr Rajbansi whether he had received the findings of the special committee Mr Rajbansi

replied that he had received a verbal report from Dr Gilliland

Mr Rajbansi said government officials often got together and worked as a group, while a minister might be aware of this, in that particular case he did not instruct anyone to set up a special committee to investigate the claims

Dr Gilliland said he set up the committee with the express knowledge of Mr Rajbansi and that he formed it after discussions with him in his office

"Mr Chairman, all I can say is that the committee was formed and the chairman was aware of it I did not act voluntarily," he said.

Dr Gilliland said he was director-general of the House of Delegates from August 1, 1984 to November 30 last year

He said Mr Rajbansi was very concerned about the allocation of petrol service station sites and he suggested who should get priority

"I have no doubt this committee was formed with the knowledge of the chairman of the ministers' council," Dr Gilliland said

He also said that he personally discussed with Mr Rajbansi the appointment of a former magistrate to investigate the claims made by applicants for petrol service station sites, but Mr Rajbansi did not agree

The inquiry continues — Sapa

Giving human touches to the Mandela legend

1/19
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JO-ANNE COLLINGE reviews Fatima Meer's recently published book about Nelson Mandela

The most casual student of history probably recognises the concluding words of Nelson Mandela's last public speech, delivered from the dock in the Rivonia trial of 1964

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and see realised

"But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die"

How many have wondered where Nelson Mandela was during the Congress of the People, when the blueprint for such a society, the Freedom Charter, was debated and adopted in 1955?

Being banned, Mandela was unable to attend officially. But, we are told, he sat together with other banned people in a house overlooking the open field in Kliptown, south of Johannesburg, where more than 3 500 delegates gathered

Enthusiastic

"Young Kathy (Ahmed Kathrada, another of the Rivonia trialists sentenced to life imprisonment) was among the enthusiastic volunteers who ran in and out excitedly updating them on the deliberations

"Nelson couldn't resist the temptation to be part of the crowd. He had a rough and ready 'disguise' of sorts and he donned this and moved about unrecognised

"The Freedom Charter was being discussed. He stood alongside a bearded Transkeian who listened intently. He marvelled at the concentration of the people as each clause was read, translated and affirmed with a thundrous shout of 'Afrika'"

This detail from the vast tapestry of history is provided in Professor Fatima Meer's biography of Nelson Mandela, "Higher than Hope", published by Skotaville this week.

Mythical status

It is written from the perspective of someone who was involved in the political events of the 1950s and 1960s that culminated in the banning of the ANC in 1960, leading to the emergence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its campaign of sabotage about a year later

Professor Meer says her aim is to restore to the public the human dimensions of the man who has attained almost mythical status internationally during his 26 years in prison

The biography interweaves the



Mrs Winnie Mandela and author Fatima Meer at the launch of the book "Higher than Hope"

© Picture by Alf Kumalo

political role and private life of Nelson Mandela and, by publishing some of his prison letters to his family, gives a sense of the emotional reality of the world's most renowned political prisoner

Professor Meer traces Mandela's rural roots in Transkei

She examines his little-known first marriage to Eveline, a cousin of Walter Sisulu. This marriage resulted in the birth of four children, two of whom are now dead

The first daughter died within a year of birth and the oldest son, Tembi, was killed in a car crash as an adult — well after his father's jailing

The book tells of Mandela's politicisation as a Wits student, and his role within the ANC Youth League and its later dominance of the ANC

It relates how the ANC Programme of Action was put into action, how Mandela conducted himself as volunteer-in-chief of the Defiance Campaign, his banning and participation in the mammoth 1956/61 treason trial, and finally his work from underground after the outlawing of the ANC

When the story reaches 1955 it becomes almost a dual biography

The year signifies the breakdown of his first marriage and his subsequent meeting with his second wife, Winnie Madikizela

The relationship between Winnie and Nelson Mandela has a curious symmetry, a reciprocal pattern of activism and suffering by association. In the years when Mandela was on the move politically, he bore the brunt of State sanction and his family carried the secondary burden of anxiety, the privation of separation and financial instability

Once Mandela was sentenced to life in jail, Winnie emerged more fully as a political figure

Family's safety

She was subjected to detention without trial, to repeated court cases, to attacks on her home, to banning orders and banishment to the tiny Free State town of Brandfort. It was Nelson's turn to live with the lonely weight of fears for his family's safety

These feelings emerge time and again in his letters. "We couldn't fulfil our wishes as we had planned, to have a baby boy," he wrote to Mrs Mandela in 1977

"I had hoped to build you a refuge, no matter how small, so that we would have a place for rest and sustenance before the arrival of the sad, dry days

"I fell down and couldn't do these things I am as one building castles in the air"

The path of true love hardly ever ran smooth for Nelson and Winnie Mandela, thanks mostly to political imperatives and occasionally to some more commonplace trials and tribulations

Driving lessons

Professor Meer records the familiar scene of husband and wife locked in struggle over the wife's driving lessons

"A man teaching a woman to drive on an Orlando road (in the 1950s) is a rare sight and bound to attract attention. When the husband is the famous Mandela, the interest is compounded

"The lessons proceeded amid exuberant calls of 'amandla'. But when the car stalled, and exposed the fa-

mous couple in an obvious quarrel, the youths — out of respect — melted away

"Nelson stalked out of the car, banging the door behind him. He went home and punched out his anger on the boxing bag"

In a more serious vein, the biography offers documentary treatment of Mandela's political views. It contains little by way of analysis, but reproduces a selection of his key speeches and writings

All of these were previously available, but not easily accessible, in court records and two collections of his writings, "The Struggle is My Life" and "No Easy Walk to Freedom". The biography includes casual snippets of description and odd quotations that give a glimpse of Mandela's complexity

For instance, we are told that a picture of Lenin addressing a crowd dominated the study of his Orlando West home

We then read his testimony on communism at the Rivonia trial

"I believe that communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries for their freedom, because the short-term objects of communism would always correspond with the long-term objects of freedom movements.

"I am not a communist and have never been a member of the Communist Party. We count communists as among those who support our cause"

Mandela describes himself as a staunch Christian, both before and after his jailing. In an undated letter to one of his sisters he wrote

"I have attended many services when I knew you would be asked to pray. When Divine words come from you, they are realistic, simple and inspiring

Progressive

"I have listened to sermons by priests of several denominations here (in jail). Some of their sermons have been memorable

"I'm strongly in favour of moves towards the merger of all SA churches, so long as the doctrine of the new church is progressive and moves away from the rigid and backward dogmas of olden times"

And in the same letter he speaks of his attachment to his clan within the royal house of Tembu. "To you, Winnie and me, our clan is the whole world, our umbrella, the source of all our strength and efforts — the navel that links us together as a family"

Judgment in November for Vaal treason trial

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

The Vaal Triangle treason trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court was adjourned yesterday at the close of argument to a provisional judgment, date in mid-November

At the close of yesterday's hearing — almost three years since the trial of United Democratic Front leaders and other Vaal activists first began in Delmas — Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst said he and assessor Mr W F Kruegel would try to reach a judgment by November 15

State and defence counsel still have to submit written argument, the defence having dealt orally with only 40 percent of the State's argument, according to Mr George Bizos, SC, after the judge imposed a deadline for close of argument

Mr Bizos told the court "We do not accept that we should be asked to forgo our right of oral argument"

The defence had, however, complied with the judge's request

Twenty-two men pleaded not guilty in January 1986 to charges of high

treason and alternate charges of murder, subversion and furthering the aims of the African National Congress. Three of the accused were discharged, and of the remaining 19, 16 were granted bail.

BAIL REFUSED FIVE TIMES

UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe, UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lekota and former Transvaal co-secretary Mr Moses Chikane have been in prison since 1985, having been refused bail five times.

During the hearing, the prosecution held that the accused were party to the UDF's alleged "grand conspiracy to overthrow the State by violence and to make the country ungovernable"

The defence maintained that no conspiracy had been shown to exist, and said the men had consistently advocated peaceful resistance to apartheid

At the close of yesterday's hearing, several accused said they were looking forward to "a recess where we do not have to work on the case"

Defence hit by treason trial 'deadline' blow

SM 10/9/88
1/11

NINETEEN men started a long wait yesterday for the verdict in South Africa's longest treason trial, having already witnessed a three-year duel between State and defence lawyers from the dock.

The trial has been adjourned until November 16, when, Mr Justice Kees Van Dijkhorst told the court, he would try to have his judgment completed. He has more than 25 000 pages of typed evidence to consider.

The trial was adjourned amid intense controversy, with defence counsel protesting strongly at a deadline imposed by the judge on the presentation of oral argument on behalf of the 19 accused.

The outcome is of vital importance to the future of the restricted United Democratic Front as well as the 19 men. The essence of the indictment is that the UDF, its affiliates and allies, conspired with the outlawed ANC to overthrow the State by violence.

"We are aggrieved," Mr George Bizos, SC, for the defence, said after the judge gave the defence a week to complete its oral argument.

The judge had told defence lawyers that they could supplement their oral argument by written submissions. But they were dissatisfied with that proposal.

"We do not believe we can do justice to our clients' case by reducing parts of our argument to writing," Mr Bizos added.

Noting that the defence had been given a total 15½ days to present its final oral argument for the 19 accused — the judge's deadline was imposed after the defence had argued its case for

PATRICK LAURENCE

just over a week — Mr Bizos asked "Is not each one of these accused entitled to a day after two and half years of evidence and 10 000 pages of evidence?"

The judge at that stage insisted on his deadline being met. When it expired on Tuesday, he had to extend it for a few hours the next day.

Time ran out on Tuesday because three of the accused — Mr Popo Molefe, national secretary of the UDF, Mr "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF, and Mr Moss Chikane, a former Transvaal UDF executive member — were obliged to meet another deadline. They had to return to prison for the night.

The prosecution had earlier been told by the judge that it was not necessary to read their final arguments into the record. It had summarised its arguments against the main accused — Mr Molefe, Mr Lekota and Mr Chikane — in barely over three handwritten pages.

The controversy over the deadlines was the second during the trial. The first concerned the dismissal by the judge of one of his assessors, Professor W A Joubert.

Professor Joubert was dismissed after the judge learned that he had been a signatory to the UDF's million-signature campaign in support of its aims in 1984. The judge held that Professor Joubert's support of the UDF campaign meant that he could not fulfil his role impartially.

Defence counsel protested against Professor Joubert's dismissal, arguing that it was inconsistent to dismiss him while retaining the second assessor, Mr W F Krugel, a member of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond.

In the presentation of its final argument, the State, led by Mr P B Jacobs, SC, contended that the UDF "encouraged the masses to confrontation" with government institutions and authority.

Accusing defence witnesses of showing a "propensity to lie," the State declared that, during the upsurge of violence in black townships from 1983 to 1985, attacks were "purposefully aimed" at township councillors, politicians and government property.

The 19 are charged with five counts of murder, the allegation being that their propaganda incited the mobs which attacked and killed four town councillors and one of their assistants in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984. One of the murdered councillors, Mr Jacob Dlamini, was the victim in the Sharpeville Six case.

In reply for the defence, Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC, identified two linchpins in the State case that the UDF was formed at the behest of the ANC, following a call for a "front for national liberation" by ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, on January 8, 1983, and that the UDF, acting on instructions from the ANC, tried to foment a revolutionary climate for the overthrow of Government.

On the first issue, Mr Chaskalson referred to evidence led by the defence that the idea of a united front long pre-dated Mr Tambo's call — Mr Molefe himself mooted the idea in 1981 — and that, unlike Mr Tambo's call, the earlier calls had received extensive publicity in South Africa itself.

On the second point Mr Chaskalson drew the court's attention to evidence that the UDF had repeatedly committed itself to non-violence, both in speeches made at mass meetings and in its publications and media statements.

84 to stand
for black
seats in polls

YESTERDAY was the final day for the acceptance of candidates for election to black councils in the Western Cape and at the last count 84 people had made themselves available to stand in the October polls

A Provincial Administration spokesman said that final details of the candidates would be available on Monday

The 84 candidates are standing for election to the Ikapa town council and to councils in Langa, Crossroads, Lingeletu (Khayelitsha), Mfuleni (Kuis River), Kaya-
mandi (Stellenbosch) and Mbekweni (Paarl)

The Western Cape candidates are among 780 people competing for 629 seats on 92 councils in the Cape Province

11A

10/9/88

Afrikaners to meet ANC, senior Soviets

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and CHRIS STEYN

A GROUP of 18 top Afrikaner politicians and academics will hold a six-day conference in Germany next month with senior Soviet policy-makers and key ANC members.

The initiative is expected to come as a major embarrassment to the government, particularly as the SA delegation includes Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the brother of the National Party's Transvaal leader and former editor of Rapport, Professor Willie Esterhuyse of Stellenbosch and Professor Willie Breytenbach, the government's former constitutional guru.

News of the mission comes just days after Mr F W de Klerk voiced his strong opposition to talks with the ANC in response to plans by Dr Danie Craven's SA Rugby Board to forge ahead with contacts with the banned organization.

The conference, which will be held under the auspices of the Friedrich Nauman Foundation in Munich from October 23 to 29, comes at a time of important changes in both Soviet and ANC policy towards SA.

Sources in SA and London yesterday indicated that topics would include how the Soviet Union and SA view each other and the problems of national unity in the two countries

To page 3

From page 1

Papers would also be given on Soviet policy towards SA, perestroika, state policy and strategies for opposition groupings in SA

The Soviet delegation will include Professor Gleb Starushenko and Professor Victor Goncharov, two of the five deputy directors of the African Institute of Soviet Academy of Sciences, and possibly the Soviet Envoy in Lesotho, Mr Boris Asovan

Included in the SA delegation are Idasa director and former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Beyers Naude

Academics on the trip are Professors Andre du Toit and Herman Giltomee of UCT, Professors Willie Breytenbach, Willie Esterhuyse, Sampie Terreblanche, Hennie Kotze, Jannie Gagiano and Gerharo Erasmus of Stellenbosch, Professors Laurie Schlemmer, John Barrett and Mark Swilling of Wits, Professors Wimpie de Klerk and Deon Geldenhuys of RAU, and Professor Susan Boysens of Unisa

The Cape Times learnt yesterday that the Stellenbosch academic and Director of the Institute for Soviet Studies, Professor Philip Nel, was in Europe to finalize the arrangements for the meeting

It is believed that the ANC's publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, will lead his team

In July last year, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert led more than 60 prominent academics, clerics, artists, politicians and journalists on a three-nation West African indaba with the ANC and other African leaders

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport last night before flying to Geneva, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said "It is better to talk frankly and honestly than to make sabre-rattling noises about Red armies on the border"

Dr Boraine, who recently visited Moscow and the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, said Soviet policy was currently undergoing "radical changes" and it was "just as well South Africans understand these"

Cape Times 10/19/88

1114

Police film Tutu's private prayer

SERVICE

JOHANNESBURG — Security police yesterday entered a private prayer service attended by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and filmed the proceedings, but they took no action over his illegal call on the municipal elections next month.

A contingent of security police, who were outside the City Methodist Church after a press conference held by the archbishop, entered the building saying they wanted to listen to the service. They were told the meeting was a "closed" one for workers of the SA Council of Churches. Al-

though the doors to the hall were held closed they were pushed open and the police entered with a video film crew.

The service continued with Archbishop Tutu addressing members of the South African Council of Churches. He ignored the police, who filmed the Nobel laureate, others in the crowd and the journalists who flowed into the basement church room after the police.

The police filed out some 20 minutes later, prompting a round of contemptuous applause, and milled about for an hour before

leaving the pedestrian mall outside the downtown church without taking any action.

Asked about possible police action against him, Archbishop Tutu said "I have no fears for myself. God's church will continue." He had defended the elections call for a boycott of the elections at a news conference earlier in the morning.

The news conference came after his inspection of the SACC headquarters, which was heavily damaged in a bomb attack last week.

Noting that the name of the

building, "Khotso", meant peace, he called the attack "quite dia-bolical".

"It is quite clear that the authorities are hellbent on destroying the SACC," he said.

The archbishop said he would give a prize to whoever apprehended those responsible for the blast. "And if those are brought to trial and convicted, I will give them another prize," he added.

A dozen police in full riot gear, including gas masks, approached a crowd of about 200 outside the

SACC building during a sidewalk prayer led by Archbishop Tutu and SACC general secretary Mr Frank Chikane. Both Mr Chikane and Bishop Tutu urged the crowd to disperse and there were no incidents.

Archbishop Tutu told a news conference that the campaign for a boycott was "not a call by Desmond Tutu" but a call by 26 church leaders who had agreed in July to a campaign of non-violence against the white minority government.

"We should not want to continue the oppression of our people

by collaborating with those who want to," he said. "When your people are voiceless you are meant to be the voice."

Archbishop Tutu launched his active call for a boycott last Sunday in Cape Town, then told more than 2,000 university students on Thursday that apartheid was a "Frankenstein" that must be destroyed, not reformed.

The segregated elections for whites and blacks on October 26 are the first for black municipalities since bloody rioting engulfed black townships in 1984. — UPI

11A
11/9/88
Now
profs
off to
meet
Reds

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
TOP Afrikaner academics and politicians will hold talks with senior Soviet officials and ANC members in West Germany next month

The group is said to include Stellenbosch academics Professor Wilhe Esterhuysen and Professor Willie Brøytenbach, who was one of the main drafters of the present constitution

Other names being mentioned are those of Idasa director and former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, National Democratic Movement leader Wynand Marais, Dr Beyers Naude and UCT professors Hermann Gihomee and André du Toit

Dr Slabbert and professors Gihomee and Du Toit were part of the delegation which met ANC leaders in Dakar, Senegal, last year.

Professor Gihomee confirmed yesterday that he had accepted an invitation to the conference, organised by the Friedrich Nauman Foundation in Munich. It is to be held from October 23-29.

Dr Wimpie de Klerk, former editor of Rapport and brother of Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk, said he had been invited but regretted he could not attend because of prior commitments

Rethink

"However, I support the idea of the conference very strongly and hope it will produce positive results."

The Soviet delegation is expected to consist of some top "Southern Africa watchers", including Professor Victor Goncharov and Professor Gleb Starushenko, deputy directors of the African Institute of Science, and possibly the Soviet envoy to Lesotho, Mr Boris Asoyan.

The conference comes at a time when there are indications of a major rethink in Soviet policy towards Southern Africa and a reappraisal inside South Africa of Soviet intentions and strategies towards the region.

ANC information chief Thabo Mbeki is expected to lead the ANC delegation which will probably include some of the organisation's top academics attached to overseas universities.

New strategies for black resistance

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THESE are sobering times for black resistance to apartheid. Little more than two years ago, a rampant black extra-parliamentary movement was seeking ways to expand its growing power — today it is beleaguered, and seeking ways to survive.

Since the nationwide state of emergency was declared in June 1986, the State, whose imminent collapse some activists had confidently predicted, has shown that it possesses the physical capacity not only to survive but to largely immobilise its "militant" black opponents. Within the extra-parliamentary movement in general and the UDF in particular whose activists led the assault on apartheid in the townships, the stark lessons of the past two years have inevitably brought home to activists that the white State was nowhere near as weak as it appeared before mid-1986 and that their fight for change will be protracted.

Mobilise

Out of this realisation has come a search for strategies for the long haul ahead.

The widespread stayaway in June in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill showed that activists retained a surprising ability to mobilise.

Repeated complaints by members of state security establishments that a "revolutionary climate" persists may simply be a rationale for continued emergency powers, but may also reflect the continued ability of the Congress tradition and black consciousness to influence the black political climate.

Several options are emerging as activists — chiefly in the United Democratic Front — debate new strategies, but two themes dominate. The need for organisation and for new allies.

On the first score, there was more to black resistance between 1984 and 1986 than "necklace murders", violent confrontation with the authorities and attempts to

by **Steven Friedman**

research manager of the South African Institute of Race Relations

make the townships "ungovernable".

The period also saw growth in grassroots black organisation which promised to become a far greater potential source of black power than the violence which often accompanied it.

Several "civics" were able to organise township dwellers around bread-and-butter issues and, in some areas, to wield unprecedented power through negotiations with officialdom.

The search for new allies is born out of the realisation that black resistance alone may be insufficient to change a system which has access to formidable physical power even if its political legitimacy is suspect.

Negotiate

One manifestation is an embryonic attempt to isolate the ruling group by seeking new white allies. One consequence of the search for room to organise has been a willingness to debate one of the taboos of extra-parliamentary politics: participation in government-created platforms, such as black local authorities and the tricameral Parliament.

This does not mean that the UDF and similar groups will take part in October's local elections — or that they will ultimately use official structures.

But the debate is important primarily because it reflects a growing emphasis on more patient, long-term organisation rather than the "quick fix" of mass mobilisation which the Government is well able to counter.

This emphasis is reflected by another option which enjoys far wider support among township

activists. An attempt to seek a local negotiating relationship outside the official structures with the white authorities, as some "civics" had done in the Eastern Cape in 1985-86.

This view is not restricted to the UDF. While black consciousness activists remain implacably opposed to participation in official structures, they, too, have sought to bolster grassroots organisation by negotiating with the authorities in townships such as Soweto.

The "civics" thus have a clear incentive to negotiate now — but whether the authorities do, is another matter.

The balance of power has shifted and the Government believes it no longer has to deal with its opponents in order to run the townships. Its security strategy is designed to ensure that they will be excluded from the township power equation.

But the authorities have only partly succeeded in restoring township stability and two developments give the "civics" a potential lever to seek negotiation. Continuing rent boycotts in some major townships and government attempts to defuse black grievances by upgrading urban black areas.

Prospects for negotiation may depend, meanwhile, on both sides' ability to find a way of negotiating "bread-and-butter" issues while not addressing the constitutional ones.

In theory this is possible, but in practice it faces severe obstacles. And, if negotiation is to become the same source of strength to township organisations as it has been to unions, they will have to create a permanent negotiating relationship with the authorities which would allow them to continue

influencing township decisions regardless of temporary shifts in the power balance.

The search for new allies is also a consequence of the strategic rethink. Perhaps the most important aspect is a renewed attempt within the Congress tradition — the UDF and its allies — to influence white politics.

This section of the extra-parliamentary movement has always been open to whites. But its demand for universal franchise in a unitary state and its mobilising style has limited its support to a tiny fragment of white society.

Now it is seeking to broaden that support — to strike limited tactical alliances with influential groups such as business, and with sections of the parliamentary opposition.

Alliance

One consequence is that while support for participation in official structures for blacks is still a minority view, white "participation politics" has been partially endorsed by the movement because white constitutional structures are seen to wield some real power.

But it may also have distinct limits. An attempt to win greater white support would obviously entail major compromises.

But there are limits to the concessions which the movement can make. It also emphasised that while a non-racial South Africa need not be socialist, an alliance with whites would have to be based on the "destruction of apartheid" — which implies that all political structures that offer minority racial protection would have to go.

However legitimate this demand may be, it is probably unsaleable to most whites.

In sum, then, the extra-parliamentary movement is weakened, but its influence has not been eliminated. Nor is it likely to be.

□ Extracted from an article in the latest *Optima*, a publication for shareholders of Anglo American.

PAC president reaches 75 tomorrow

11/19/77
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11/19/77

CP Correspondent

THE President of the PAC, Zephania Lokoane Mothopeng, reaches the age of 75 tomorrow, suffering deteriorating health in a Johannesburg clinic - with no sign of an early release.

Another six years have yet to elapse before the PAC leader is due for release. He is serving part of his 15-year jail sentence at the Johannesburg Prison.

On the evening of his birthday, renewed calls for his release have surfaced, and the importance of his being part of the political solution in South Africa is being stressed.

Last week, after visiting him at the Johannesburg Prison his wife, Urbama Mothopeng, confirmed that his health had declined recently.

On Tuesday Mothopeng was admitted to the Florence Nightingale private clinic in Johannesburg, where he is said to have both a swollen neck and legs.

Last year he underwent an operation to correct an ailment of the glands.

In an interview with the Africa News Organisation on Tuesday, a leading member of the PAC's central committee - and one of the founders of the now exiled movement - Lawrence Temba Mgweba, pointed out that the continued imprisonment of Mothopeng would "reap no reward" for anyone.

"Comrade Mothopeng is a sick and very old man. Keeping a man of his age and his condition in prison is inhumane," said Mgweba.

"Besides, he is the leader of an organisation which has the recognition not only of the Organisation for African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement - but also the United Nations.

"Comrade Mothopeng is at the same time a staunch Christian, and church leaders should be allowed to speak to and pray for him while he is on his sickbed."

Mothopeng was born near Vrede in the

Orange Free State on September 10, 1913. At the PAC's inception in 1959 he was a member of the national executive.

He was arrested in 1960 and served two years' imprisonment in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Detained in March, 1963, in terms of the 90-day legislation, he was convicted in 1964 of furthering the aims of the PAC and imprisoned at several prisons, including Robben Island.

After serving a three-year jail sentence, he was served with a banning order on his release, confining him to the Orange Free State.

This was amended a short while later so that he could live at home in Orlando West, Soweto.

Mothopeng is said to have continued underground work for the PAC in the mid-1970s.

In August, 1976, he was arrested again, and charged two years later in terms of the Terrorism Act with furthering the aims of the PAC between 1963 and 1977. It was during his imprisonment in 1986 that he was elected President of the PAC.

Mothopeng is presently serving a 15-year jail sentence and is due to be released in 1994.

In a statement released to ANO on Tuesday, the National Council of Trade Unions noted "with grave concern the report received from the family of Zeph Mothopeng regarding the deterioration of his condition."

Nactu emphasised the resolution taken at its recent congress calling for the "immediate release of both Comrade Mothopeng as well as Comrade Mandela."

The statement said "The State President should without any further delay release the persons.

"What will they benefit by keeping him in jail for another six years?", asked the Nactu spokesman, adding that Mothopeng was "older than Botha" who should "show respect for his elders." - Ano

Biko's death to be remembered

Eleven years after horrid death, his legacy continues to haunt SA

By SIBUSISO MABASO

THE black consciousness movement will on Monday remember the death in detention of Steve Bantu Biko, who died in police custody 11 years ago

Biko, who believed in and practised the concepts of self-reliance, self-sufficiency, liberation and initiative by blacks, died on September 12, 1977

Azanian Co-ordinating Committee spokesman

Jackie Hlapulosa said commemoration services would be held throughout the country and abroad to mark the 11th anniversary of the father of the black consciousness philosophy

He said the day would be marked by a cultural tribute which would feature music, drama, poetry, seminars, workshops and lectures at a venue to be announced later

Over a decade after Biko's death, his legacy continues to haunt South Africa. Although a court inquiry found that Biko died from head injuries sustained during a scuffle with police who were questioning him, nobody was found responsible for his death

However, eager to clear its name and worried about the political implications of Biko's death, the disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council instituted action against two of its members - Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker - seven years after the event

In a finding which helped immortalise Biko, Lang was found guilty of improper conduct, while Tucker was found guilty of improper and disgraceful behaviour. Tucker was subsequently suspended for three months and Lang was cautioned and reprimanded

But many South Afri-

cans thought the doctors got off lightly

Said Dr Abu-Baker Asvat then "The black community is getting used to the kind of justice meted out by our courts and statutory bodies - irrefutable and damning evidence was led both in a court of law and at the disciplinary meeting of the SAMDC, yet one can find nobody responsible and the other tacitly condones their actions"

Since then his spirit has returned to South Africa in many cultural forms - including books, poetry, theatre and film - triggering a series of dramatic events not dissimilar to the local and international furor that greeted the news of his death 11 years ago

The Biko Inquest, as the probe against the two doctors became known, came to the stage with Sara Essa's play of the same name in 1985

Then early this year came Richard Attenborough's epic on the black consciousness leader - *Cry Freedom*. The film was banned hours after its release on July 29 because, in the opinion of the government, its screening could "arouse serious feelings in inter-group relations". The film was banned in terms of the emergency regulations

Earlier, the Publications Control Board had declared the film not undesirable



Steve Bantu Biko ... nobody was found responsible for his death.

ANC talks: Luyt gave PW a secret report

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

A SECRET report by Dr Louis Luyt on his talks with ANC representatives has been lying on the tables of Cabinet Ministers, including President Botha, for the past three months

Yet, this week, after reports had appeared about the Transvaal rugby boss's hush-hush meetings, the National Education Minister, Mr F W de Klerk, suddenly called for an official inquiry

"What's wrong? Don't they talk to one another in the Cabinet?" a perplexed Dr Luyt asked this week

He is in New York on a business trip

"I find it very strange that Mr De Klerk has called for an inquiry. All the information he needs is already available

to him in plain Afrikaans"

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, this week confirmed that he had met Dr Luyt at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after the rugby boss returned from Frankfurt, where he had discussions with ANC information chief Thabo Mbeki

Stir

Dr Luyt had presented him with a memorandum — which he read and then passed on to President Botha

Mr Botha said the President told him that he had no intention of responding to Dr Luyt's report

Revelations about Dr Luyt's meetings have caused a great stir in rugby circles, where a number of ambitious members of the SA Rugby Board are jockeying for positions to succeed an ageing Dr Danie Craven

Mr Steve Strydom, president of the Free State union and said to be Dr Luyt's main rival, immediately distanced himself from the talks, which Dr Luyt attended as the personal emissary of Dr Craven

An unrepentant Dr Luyt, however, vowed to confront his opponents in the SARB "I'll be there when the yappers start yapping (as die keffertjies begin om te kef)

11/9/88
Stir

September 12 1988

Academics and politicians invited

SA group to meet ANC and Soviets

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12/9/88
S/day

A GROUP of SA's leading academics and politicians have been invited to a conference in West Germany next month to meet Soviet counterparts and members of the ANC.

The conference has been planned for October 23 to 29 — the week of the SA municipal elections

Sources in SA and London said topics would include how the Soviets and SA viewed each other and the problems of national unity in the two countries

The CP said that by failing to stop the trip, President P W Botha had tacitly co-operated in giving credibility to the ANC

Idasa executive director Alex Borame said last night Soviet policy was currently undergoing "radical changes" and it was "just as well South Africans understand these"

The SA party would include Idasa's Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Stellenbosch University economist Prof Sampie Terreblanche and National Democratic Movement (NDM) leader

SUSAN RUSSELL

Wynand Malan

Soviet policy-makers expected to attend included the deputy directors of the African Institute of the Soviet Academy of Science, Professors Victor Goncharov and Gleb Starushenko

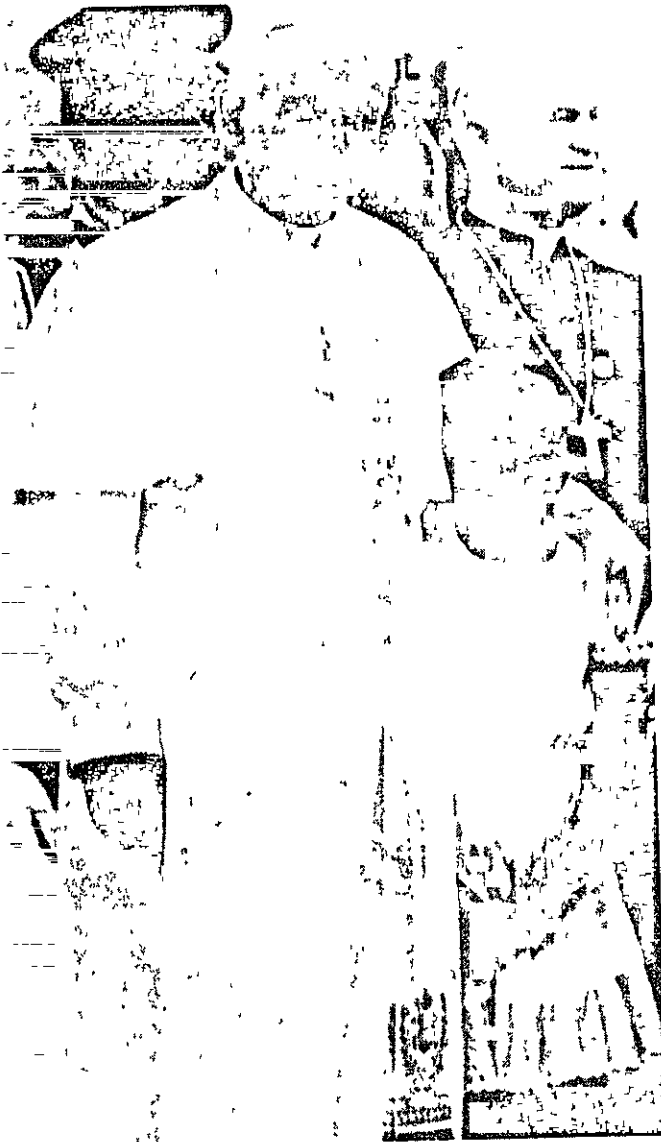
It is believed the Soviet envoy in Lesotho Boris Asovan would also attend the talks

The names of the ANC delegates were not available yesterday, but it is believed that the organisation's publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki would lead the team.

Others included in the SA delegation were the unbanned director of the banned Christian Institute Beyers Naude, Professors Andre du Toit and Herman Gilhomee from UCT; Professors Willie Breytenbach and Willie Esterhuysen from Stellenbosch, Prof Laurie Schlemmer from Wits; Professors Wimpie de Klerk and Deon Geldenhuys from RAU; and Prof Susan Boysens from Unisa.

Pope, Tutu don't agree on sanctions

McC 12/9/80



POPE'S ARRIVAL. Pope John Paul II seen here with a young Zimbabwean girl as traditional dancing and singing shortly after his arrival in Harare on Saturday at the start of a Southern African tour

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON — Pope John Paul has disagreed with Archbishop Desmond Tutu on some sensitive political issues, according to a report here

And the head of the Roman Catholic church's appeal from Harare for an end to violence as a means to fighting injustice has been attacked by Anglican leaders in Britain

The Pope is quoted in the Daily Mail as disagreeing with Archbishop Tutu on economic sanctions against South Africa

"Sanctions are a political means. From a global point of view they are politically acceptable in some situations. But a search should be made for a solution, that is less drastic and more worthy of man," the Pope is reported to have told the Mail's correspondent.

English protests

He was also asked about Dr Tutu's attitude to next month's municipal elections.

"Archbishop Tutu is a citizen of South Africa and has South African experience. I am not a citizen. I can give only a global judgment. In principle it is not a good thing to boycott an election but it is always possible to do so in some situations."

The Pope's appeal to end violence provoked protests from English church leaders who feel that when there is no other way for a people to gain their

liberty, then violence is "understandable"

Manchester's Bishop Stanley Booth-Clibborn, said "The Pope does not sufficiently accept the depth of the problems faced by South African blacks

"The African National Congress was forced to move down another path because there was no other way open"

Peterborough's Bishop William Westwood, said "Outsiders who do not live in the country and who are not at the sharp end have no right to make pronouncements like this"

Attacked apartheid

The Pope, speaking in Harare, had said "I appeal to all those who bear responsibility for the destiny of the people of this region, of whatever racial extraction or ideological inspiration, to renounce the use of violence as a method for achieving their ends"

He had already attacked apartheid as a violation of human rights

The Pope today moved to Bulawayo, where he will celebrate Mass before an expected 100 000 at Ascot racecourse and meet priests at an ecumenical gathering, Sapa-AP reports

Mr Joshua Nkomo, a senior minister in the government and the political chief of the Matabeleland province, and local church leaders greeted the Pope as he stepped from a chartered Air Zimbabwe Boeing 707

Cardinal McCann joins Pope on tour of Africa

Staff Reporter

OWEN Cardinal McCann, Roman Catholic Archbishop emeritus of Cape Town, has joined Pope John Paul II's official party for the rest of his five-nation Southern African tour

Cardinal McCann will travel on the Pope's aircraft to Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique

Cardinal McCann was asked to join the Pope because he wanted someone with him who knew the Southern African region and South Africa

The party is in Bulawayo today where the Pope was to meet priests and religious leaders at the Bulawayo Catholic

cathedral and this afternoon there was to be an ecumenical meeting at the Anglican cathedral

FAREWELL CEREMONY

Tomorrow there will be an official farewell ceremony at Harare airport and the next stop is Gaborone where the Pope will meet President Quett Masire. He will also meet clergy and religious leaders

He will celebrate Mass at the National Stadium in Gaborone.

On Wednesday the Pope goes to Lesotho where he will meet King Moshoeshoe II. He will be given a traditional welcome at Thaba Bosho

CME 7/15 12/9/88

114

Praise for meeting with ANC, Soviets

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DR Wimpie de Klerk yesterday praised the planned meeting in West Germany next month between Afrikaner academics, the ANC and Soviet officials.

Dr De Klerk, the former editor of Rapport and brother of Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, said he regretted not being able to attend the ANC conference but he already had a prior commitment to a banking conference in Cape Town.

He dismissed any suggestion that he had decided to opt out of the ANC meeting because news of the controversial meeting had leaked out prematurely.

The RAU communications professor said yesterday: "I am not backing out. I have not got anything against it (the ANC meeting)."

He then added: "I think it is necessary and in the spirit of the times."

Dr De Klerk's stand follows weekend press reports that some members of the 18-strong SA contingent to the six-day conference in Germany were expressing concern and unhappiness that news of the conference had leaked out.

Some of the participants were apparently worried about reaction to the trip by the government and the university authorities.

News of the invitation comes at a time when the storm surrounding recent meetings between Transvaal Rugby Union chief, Mr Louis

Luyt, and ANC members concerning international sporting links continues unabated.

State President P W Botha recently condemned South Africans holding talks with the ANC during his address to the National Party congress in Bloemfontein.

South African Rugby Board president Dr Danie Craven, however, yesterday reaffirmed that further talks would take place with African sports administrators which included the ANC.

The first government reaction to the West German meeting came from Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe who said, "The government's view is very clear. We cannot approve talks with those who are blowing up our people in Wimpy Bars."

The talks will be led by the ANC information officer Mr Thabo Mbeki and the Soviet delegation is expected to include Professors Victor Goncharov and Gleb Starushenko of the African Institute of the Soviet Academy of Science and possibly the Soviet envoy to Lesotho, Mr Boris Asoyan.

According to Rapport, some of the South Africans invited felt that the conference could be threatened by too much publicity.

Most of the academics invited had not yet been granted leave by their universities to attend the conference and some expressed concern that the "untimely publicity" would place their universities in a contentious position.

WIMPIE DE KLERK ... praised meeting between Afrikaners the ANC and Soviet officials

Cape Times, Monday, Sep



Coloured residents may vote in elections

Cape Times
12/1988
119
2078

Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS of coloured residents in the Lansdowne-Wetton area are eligible to vote for the white Cape Town City Council, but a survey in the area yesterday showed that most people

either did not know their voting status or did not intend voting.

A resident of 26 years, who asked not to be named, said he would not exercise his vote for the council, while other residents surveyed did not know if they were on the roll, or said they did not vote.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party said it would make the strongest possible representations to the government to have the Lansdowne residents removed from the roll.

City Council public relations officer Mr Ted Doman said yesterday that residents in the triangular area bounded by the Cape Flats railway line, Lansdowne Road, Wetton Road and the Wetton Circle were eligible to vote for the council in the October elections — but only if they had lived there since 1972.

Exception made

After the government scrapped the Common Voters' Roll and then introduced coloured management committees in 1972, it was decided to make an exception for people living outside management committee areas. "They would be allowed to vote for council," Mr Doman said.

There were possibly a few other small areas where this would apply in Cape Town, but the Lansdowne community was the largest.

While Mr Doman could not say how many people were still on the voters' roll, estimates by residents in the area and by canvassing candidates put the figure in the region of 600.

Mr Doman said attempts were made by the Athlone and District Management Committee to have the area included in its jurisdiction but that this had been opposed by the City Council.

The area falls in Ward 13 (Athlone Crawford, Rondebosch East, Lansdowne, Wetton, part of Claremont and Kenwyn) where sitting councillor Mr John Muir is fighting against non-aligned candidates Mr Aubrey Cox, Mrs Ruth Ortlepp, Mr Raymond Roos and Mr Alexander Papayanni —



CIVIC LEADERS . Chairman of the Lansdowne Civic Association Mr Cecil Walker (right) and executive committee member Dr Norman Mahara

Picture RICHARD BELL



Mr Harold Holmes

Bid for white administrator

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A new black political grouping was formed in Alexandra township here at the weekend with a view to participation in the coming municipal elections.

The Alexandra Representatives Party was established at a meeting called by a group called the Concerned Residents of Alexandra.

The chairman of the meeting, the Rev Michael Motsele, said yesterday that the meeting had agreed in principle to support candidates, and perhaps even to field some, in the elections.

The meeting had also agreed to send a delegation to Pretoria, according to Mr Motsele, to request that the current white administrator of Alexandra, Mr Steve Berger, be retained.

"We think that Mr Berger is doing a wonderful job in Alex," Mr Motsele said, "but he won't be available after the elections."

"We see the retention of Mr Berger as one of our most important issues."

Alexandra resident Mr Linda Twala, who attended the start of the meeting, said it was a failure.

The hall was "not very full and the meeting was not successful", Mr Twala said.

and against Mrs Jean Vigus, who is standing for the Conservative Party.

Mr Jan Hoon, CP Cape leader, confirmed yesterday that Mrs Vigus was standing for the CP, and added his party would make "the strongest form of opposition" in representations to the government to have the coloured voters removed from the roll.

"We believe only voters eligible for the House of Assembly should vote for the City Council," he said.

Mrs Vigus could not be reached for comment.

Mr Muir said yesterday that he would canvass in the area on the same basis as the rest of the ward

"These people are all voters and will get the same attention as other voters."

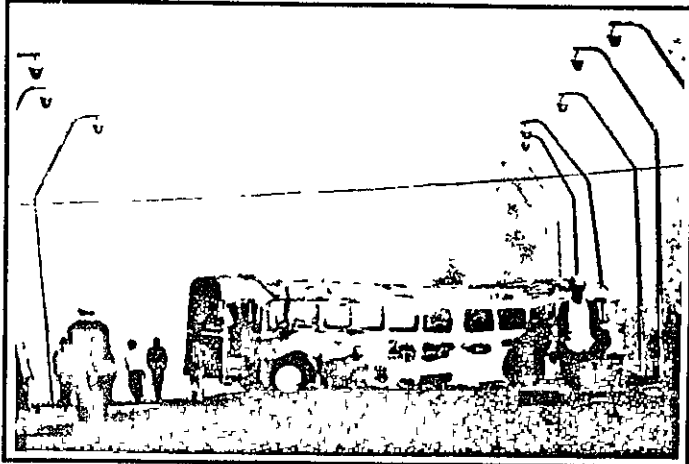
Lansdowne Civic Association yesterday said it had not been aware of the voters' eligibility for the council elections. "But we would be opposed to anything not based on universal franchise," said its chairman, Mr Cecil Walker.

Mr Harold Holmes, a resident in the area and son of former coloured councillor Mr Henry Holmes, said yesterday that in the days of the common municipal voters' roll, he had been involved in the "hurly-burly of politics. But there is such tremendous apathy now", he said.

Players escape death

BY ...

Will the peace



Inkatha and Cosatu sign a treaty, but there's still much pe

The Argus Correspondent in De-



FLASHBACK: Emergency treatment for a victim of the bloody strife in a township near Maritzburg

WHEN the peace treaty between Cosatu and Inkatha was sealed at the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, it seemed to be an awkward moment for the two sides

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, was with a dozen local Inkatha leaders, speaking among themselves and with their lawyers Mr Alec Erwin of Cosatu stood talking with the trade union lawyers

Both sides seemed more than a little self-conscious and everybody was eager to speak to milling reporters because nobody appeared to know what to do next

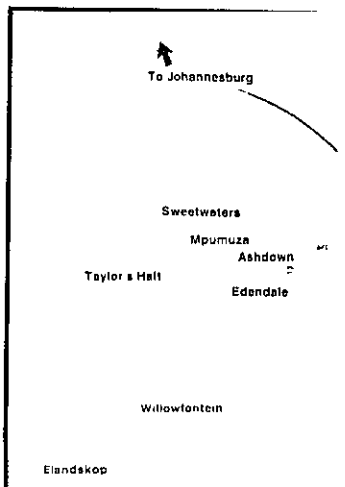
There was no slick media presentation, no champagne, no exchange of cigars or wine just a deep appreciation that the pact between Inkatha and Cosatu aimed at bringing peace to the Maritzburg area could have a major bearing on South Africa's political future

Previous peace talks have not been enough to bring violence to an end in Natal and Kwazulu and the announcement of a complaints adjudication board did not usher in a wave of relief but rather serious concern over whether it would work or not

But there are powerful reasons for the peace to hold Inkatha and its political opponents are aware of how much they have to lose, measured in the number of people killed and injured, the loss of public support and diversion from programmes to assault white economic and political power

The rising death toll in Natal and Kwazulu has given everybody a glimpse at the future — at the vast damage each side can inflict on others unless determined steps are taken to stop the violence now

Besides adding to the de-



Troublespots in the

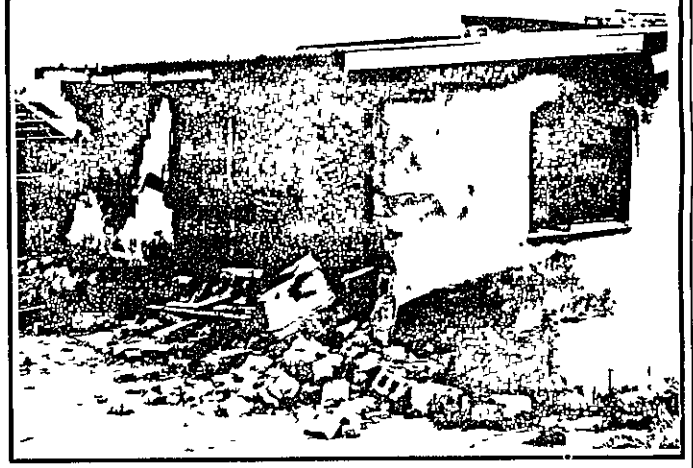
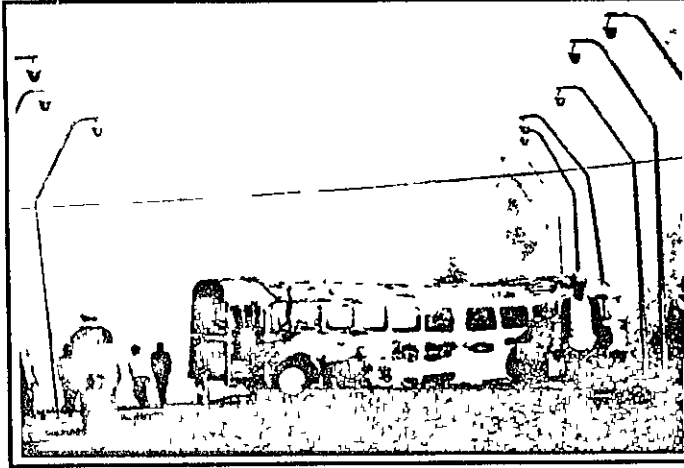
pressing "civil war syndrome" in South Africa, the more than 1 000 deaths have reminded everyone that black-on-black political violence cannot secure political change. It merely strengthened the hands of white racist politicians

Their most powerful argument was simple they could not allow power to pass to people who were killing one another. As long as the killing lasts, black political advancement is hampered and the scope for peaceful initiatives for political change reduced

With white voters so apprehensive about the future, even the National Party's national statutory council could expect a lukewarm response as long as white conservatives could point to a rising black political death toll

If the parties do no more than agree to stop killing each other, this will create so much more room for middle-of-the-road political initiatives such as that advocated by the Independent Party. It

the peace hold?



sign a treaty, but there's still much personal bitterness ...

The Argus Correspondent in Durban discusses the historic accord



the bloody strife in a township

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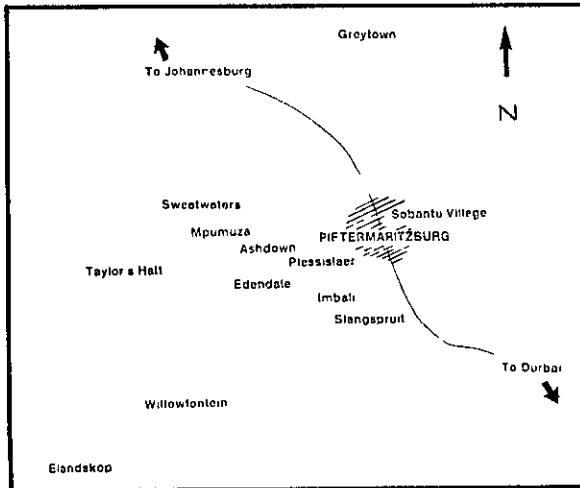
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Troublespots in the Maritzburg area

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is trying to bring opponents of the government together around a statement of values and principles prepared by Inkatha as a step towards taking control of Parliament and launching genuine constitutional negotiations

As long as Inkatha was at deadly loggerheads with other political organisations, these opponents could reject the initiative outright. And some people backing the initiative were more than a little concerned about getting caught in the cross-fire

Also, the Kwazulu Natal Indaba certainly did not benefit from the political violence. Some whites who liked the direction the Indaba was taking were at the same time apprehensive that they might indirectly be party to more black-on-black violence over access to political offices that would be created if the Indaba programme were implemented

Simply put, there are no winners from black-on-black

political violence, except white racists. And everyone monitoring the violence is watching for agents provocateurs from this group wanting to sabotage the peace

Admittedly, with so many people suffering so much, a peace treaty may simply not work. Much personal bitterness still exists, giving rise to scores to settle that may prove too much for any peace treaty

But by signing it, Inkatha and Cosatu are saying that more important than arguing who started the violence and who can find the muscle to sustain it is who is politically sophisticated enough to seek an end to it

One, or both, stand to gain enormously by showing a way out of the trouble and by continuing to seek peace

But the pact would be more likely to succeed were only Cosatu and Inkatha locked in a murderous clash. To this one has to add the behaviour of United Democratic Front members and the Azanian People's Organisation

And attacking a person from one organisation in the name of another is the culmination of several factors spanning years in people's lives — factors which have been well documented by observers of the fighting

But signing the pact shows that both sides appreciate they have more to gain from peace. Those few awkward minutes at the Supreme Court building could prove vital in the next few years

At the very least there is a concern in progressive circles that peace must be established between Inkatha and its political opponents to ensure that if political change comes through the actions of one of them, the other will not develop into a Renamo-type body

APC Times

11A

Jailed PAC head in clinic

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Jailed Pan African Congress (PAC) president Zeph Mothopeng, 74, is recovering in Florence Nightingale Nursing Home here from a gland ailment.

His wife, Urbania, yesterday said he had been very ill since last Tuesday and had begun recovering on Sunday.

However, after visiting him yesterday she said his condition seemed disappointing.

A clinic spokesman said he was "quite comfortable".

Mothopeng was admitted to Hillbrow Hospital on Tuesday last week and was transferred to the clinic after refusing to be treated in that hospital, his wife said.

The PAC president was convicted under the Terrorism Act in 1978 for furthering the aims of the PAC and is serving a 15-year sentence.

He was moved to Johannesburg from Robben Island in December 1984 and is due to be released in 1994.

Dutch anger over Boesak attack on policy

The Argus Foreign Service

UTRECHT. — Dr Allan Boesak has angered Dutch government officials and parliamentarians for labelling Dutch foreign policy as "scandalous, hypocritical and in league with apartheid".

"I think this accusation . . . is reasonably insulting when you tell a government it is running a scandalous policy and is in league with apartheid. This must be tough on (foreign affairs) Minister van den Broek and the government and I want to register my protest against it," parliamentarian Mr C Bantjes said during a television interview yesterday.

Other members of Parliament have also objected to Dr Boesak's comments, and a foreign affairs spokesman issued an immediate denial soon after Dr Boesak's controversial comments were broadcast during several guest appearances at a well-attended international religious day in the city of Amersfoort.

The South African churchman has in the past been sternly critical of Dutch government policy — but never this vociferous.

Journalists here expect more of the same fireworks from Dr Boesak at the anti-apartheid rally of the University of Utrecht today.

People's Party votes confidence in Rajbansi

ARGUS 12/19/88 (11)

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — The caucus of the National People's Party has passed a vote of full confidence in its leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who has been temporarily suspended from Parliament. The caucus said it had no reason to doubt him.

A statement today said they would retain him as political head once his suspension was lifted.

Mr Rajbansi, also suspended from President Botha's Cabinet, was suspended as leader of the House of Delegates two weeks ago after the findings of the Thaver committee alleged he was guilty of misuse of public funds.

SUCCESSOR

A spokesman for the caucus said the party's Transvaal leader, Mr Boetie Abramjee, 57, had been elected as Mr Rajbansi's successor as an interim measure. Mr Rajbansi has been suspended until the start of the 1989 parliamentary session.

The caucus also decided to engage a legal team to approach the Supreme Court for a declaratory order in connection with the findings of the Thaver committee.

"We believe the report is politically

prejudiced against Mr Rajbansi and this is why we are seeking a declaratory order," the spokesman said.

Meanwhile the party is preparing for a series of report-back public meetings in all major centres.

Among Mr Abramjee's first tasks will be to represent the NPP at standing committee meetings in Pretoria to discuss the five controversial Group Areas/Free Settlement Bills.

He said although the NPP saw "some good clauses" in the Bills, it refused to back down on its decision not to support them when Parliament reconvened this month.

BACK ON MAP

Another important function during Mr Abramjee's leadership would be to build up the image of the NPP following a split this year. This, he said, would be done at two party congresses.

Mr Abramjee started his political career in the mid-70s and served as Laudium management committee chairman for seven years before being nominated to the Indian Council. Two years later he was elected to the council, representing Laudium.

This was followed by his move to Parliament as MP for Laudium in 1984.

Tutu out to provoke, says Vlok

Ch. 16 - Tutu's
12/9/88
11/17

GERMISTON — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, claimed at the weekend that revolutionaries had decided that Archbishop Desmond Tutu should create incidents during the visit of the Pope and the United States presidential campaign that would embarrass South Africa

Mr Vlok, who was addressing a National Party conference, was referring to the archbishop's speeches last week calling for a boycott of the municipal elections

He said the archbishop was trying to challenge the law and authority concerning an issue that was not discriminatory, but reasonable and legal

"I do not see this as a confrontation between the church and the state. It has totally misled clerics, such as Archbishop Tutu, who are involved. It is far more a conflict between him and his church and not one between the church and state," he said

He said the alliance of the ANC and the South African Communist Party was abusing naive church leaders, including those who had voiced their opposition to the municipal elections

Mr Vlok referred to Archbishop Tutu, one of 26 church leaders opposing the elections, as a tragic and misguided figure who, "as a result of his own ambition, was playing a key role in the plans of people who were doing everything in their power to bring South Africa to its knees".

Overseas travel

He said Archbishop Tutu's call for sanctions and boycotts would put tens of thousands of South Africans out of work and on the brink of starvation

"While his people are hungry, the bishop lives in luxury and abundance. He annually spends thousands of rand to travel overseas where he calls for further sanctions and boycotts, which leads to more unemployment and starvation"

The minister asked how many job opportunities the archbishop had provided

"In whose name is he asking for sanctions and the subsequent unemployment — the Anglican Church's?" Mr Vlok asked

"I am not prepared to accept that. The Anglicans I know are God-fearing people with compassion and empathy for their fellow man," Mr Vlok said. He claimed that the archbishop was not speaking for most South Africans

Mr Vlok said the ANC-SACP alliance had two faces. One was friendly and meant for businessmen, clerics and rugby players, the other was a cold-blooded, lawless and destructive force which condoned necklaced murders and was conducting a war of terror. — Sapa >

'Steve Biko died fighting for return of the land'

11A
Structure
13/7/88

By MIKE TISSONG

THE struggle for liberation "started when the first white settlers set foot on Azanian soil centuries ago," a service to commemorate Steve Biko's death in detention, was told in Soweto on Saturday.

Mr Kenny Mampondo, a former member of the now-restricted Azanian Youth Organisation, said "We did not start fighting in 1976. The struggle for the return of the land started a long time ago."

"Comrade Biko was a hero who led the way." Biko, who is regarded as the father of Black Consciousness, died in detention in Pretoria on September 12, 1977.

Inquest records

Inquest records show that he had injuries on his head, body, arms and legs and there were five areas of damage to his brain.

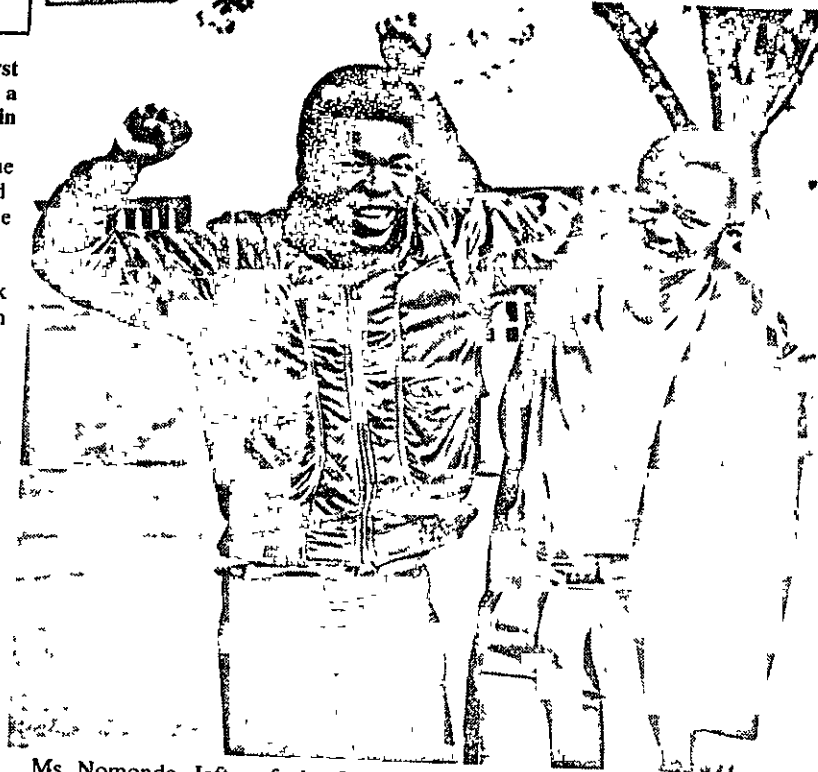
The meeting was recently hosted by the recently formed National Youth Co-ordinating Committee (Naycco) at the DOCC hall in Orlando.

It was one of many being held across South Africa, and in several countries such as Zimbabwe, Botswana, America, Britain, France and Australia.

Commenting on the arrest of activists including the president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, Mr Mampondo said the system was "afraid of anything connected with Comrade Biko — and they knew commemorations were due this week." "They even banned *Cry Freedom* because Biko was in it."

Self-reliance

"Although we are here to commemorate Biko, let us not forget other comrades who have fallen in the struggle including Mthuli kaShezi, Onkgopotse Tiro and Mapetla Mohapi."



Ms Nomonde Jafta of the Imbeleko women's organisation said "The unity Black Consciousness bitterly fought for since its inception was being fragmented by people who just want to be different."

"In the 1970s Black Consciousness united black people across the political spectrum."

"In the 1980s, some want to call themselves this and that. But they do not disagree with the basic make-up of Black Consciousness which is black self-reliance."

MR KENNY Mampondo (left) was the main speaker at a Steve Biko commemoration service in Soweto. He is pictured with Mr Stanley Sigotyana of the Azanian Student Movement.

Italian ^(IA) ^{Smetham} ^{13/9/88} degree for ANC chief

NELSON Mandela, the imprisoned South African black leader of the African National Congress, has been awarded an honorary degree in political science from the University of Bologna.

The degree was accepted on behalf of Mandela by Johnny Makatini, an ANC member living in exile

A brief statement from Mandela's wife, Winnie, was read at the ceremony. It said "I want to underline the importance and the impact of this award in the fight for the people of South Africa to build a just society."

The university said the degree honours people "who have greatly contributed to the return of freedom in their countries"—Sapa

CHIEF 12/15

13/9/88 (11A)

Chief on Mandela

NEW YORK. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that if Mr Nelson Mandela is released, they can work together despite differences in their political philosophy

"Nelson Mandela acknowledges my political power," Chief Buthelezi said in a Newsweek magazine interview in Hong Kong, published yesterday — Sapa-AP

CMP Times 13/9/88 11A

4 MPs vow to defy LP leaders

Political Correspondent

FOUR Labour Party MPs yesterday vowed to defy the party leadership despite a Friday expulsion threat hanging over their heads for bucking party discipline.

Another three MPs — also suspended for flouting a ruling by the party's national executive committee that MPs should not stand in next month's management committee elections — also face the chop if they have not reversed their stand by the end of the week.

As a full-scale row erupted within the party yesterday, deputy leader Mr Miley Richards said the expulsion of the rebel MPs from the party would come as "a mere formality" on Friday if they continued their "totally unacceptable" stand.

Mr Richards said the NEC had decided on a ban of MPs in local government structures in order to develop a broader leadership base in the party.

"Anybody bucking the system is out," he promised. He said that if the rebels had not come in line by Friday he would have to act as the "execu-

tioner" and "sort out the men from the boys".

Mr Richards said that unity and discipline among party members were paramount at a time when the party was confronting the government on major issues like the Group Areas Act.

However, most of the rebel group interviewed yesterday vowed to continue their stand, even if it meant leaving the party after many years, while others said they would take their lead from their constituencies or disclose their tactics only when the Friday deadline arrived.

A defiant Mr Hansie Christiaans (Ravensmead) said "I am not going to pull back because my people want me".

He described speculation that the move was linked with the NP as nonsense and accused the LP leadership of acting in a "cowardly fashion" and for "handling me like a dog" because it had failed to give him a hearing.

Mr Johnny Johnson, MP for Esselen Park (Worcester), said "I am going through with the election and nothing will stop me".

MANDELA AND BUTHELEZI

We can work together despite differences in political philosophy

NEW YORK — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said if jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is released, the two can work together despite differences in their political philosophy.

"Mandela acknowledges my political power," Chief Buthelezi said in *Newsweek* magazine interview in Hong Kong.

Chief Buthelezi opposes violence and sanctions in the fight against apartheid, South Africa's policy of racial segregation. His stance has alienated many black radicals such as those in the outlawed ANC

Chief Buthelezi said the prospect of working together with Mandela, who has been imprisoned for 26 years, "is a sign of hope for the future of the country"

He also denied that such a relationship with Mandela would anger many blacks

Resolution

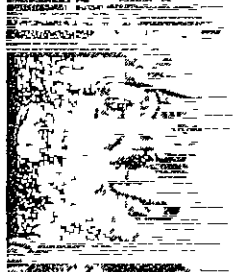
"There is no way that the ANC can be ruled out of a political resolution. The ANC must have a part as much as South African President P W Botha's party must have a part," Chief Buthelezi said

Asked about the prospects of Cuba's withdrawal from Angola and South Africa's withdrawal from South-West Africa, also known as Namibia, Chief Buthelezi said "It would be a good thing if Cuba doesn't withdraw from Angola it will set back the clock of progress in the liberation of Namibia"

Conflict

"The situations are interlinked. Any reduction in conflict in any part of Southern Africa means that the prospect for all of Southern Africa are better"

Chief Buthelezi, who was on a tour of Asia to encourage foreign investment in his country, is leader of the Inkatha party, which claims to be the biggest organisation in South Africa with 1.6 million members



CHIEF Buthelezi against violence, sanctions.

Argus Correspondent DAVID CAPEL reports from Johannesburg

TOM LODGE usually has three letters either before or after his name.

Unlike those attached to the names of some academics, they don't refer to his university qualifications, but to an organisation that many white South Africans would not want to be linked to under any circumstances

The letters are "ANC". The word "expert" is usually mentioned, too.

In recent years the name Tom Lodge has become synonymous with the outlawed African National Congress, an organisation most white South Africans associate only with bomb blasts and, worse in their minds, "one man, one vote".

Dr Lodge, 37, of the political studies department at the University of the Witwatersrand, is the country's leading expert on the ANC, having spent almost 10 years doing research on the organisation

Something of an irony

It is perhaps something of an irony that the country's top ANC authority is British, although Dr Lodge is quick to point out that he is by no means the only academic around with an insight into the ANC

Dr Lodge's expertise on the subject will shortly no longer be available to South Africans, however. He is leaving the country at the end of the year to take up a post at the Social Science Research Council in New York, where he will be responsible for research with an African and Southern African orientation

Does the ANC expert know something the rest of us don't? Dr Lodge hastens to emphasise that his move is purely a career one and that he is not leaving because he sees no future for South Africa

In fact, he does not believe there will be very dramatic change in South Africa in the near future. Rather, he believes the procedure through which the ANC will eventually take part in government will be one of attrition and erosion, and this will take "a very long time"

"Some more optimistic people in the ANC talk about five years, but I think one has to think more in terms of a decade"

That the ANC will one day play a pivotal role in governing the country is certain, Dr Lodge believes. He reckons South Africa is likely to be led by a black government by the turn of the century

He has no doubt that the ANC has widespread support among black South Africans. The difficulty lies in transforming this largely emotional support into organised mobilisation, a problem experienced even by legal political organisations, he says

Dr Lodge believes that although there are restraints influencing the ANC leadership in the extent to which it allows its units to carry out bomb attacks, it is unlikely that the number of attacks will drop

Dr Lodge did not perceive a major shift to the right among whites in South Africa. They were moving "in all sorts of ways".

It is unlikely that the government will be confronted with a military challenge on the same



Dr Tom Lodge

scale as that faced by Ian Smith's UDI government in Rhodesia. The South African government, Dr Lodge says, is militarily and administratively much more powerful than Mr Smith's was

Another major difference between the two countries was that in South Africa one did not find the same bitter, intense racial hatred among whites that existed in Rhodesia where it was very difficult to find significant support for black nationalism among whites, except for a tiny, beleaguered liberal minority

Far from a major shift to the right, a significant number of young, upper middle-class South Africans had shifted to the left of the spectrum, Dr Lodge said, adding that the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) had "consistently exaggerated" the impact on it of the stayaway by students and other young people in last year's general election

Dr Lodge first visited South Africa from Britain in 1976 and left on June 16, the day the country's townships erupted. He returned in 1978 and has been here since

He says he was inspired in his work on the ANC by his contacts with expatriate South Africans taking African studies courses at British universities

Reputation has grown

Dr Lodge's reputation as an ANC expert has grown steadily since he first began working at Wits. Now hardly a day goes by without his getting at least one call from a journalist wanting his views on trends in the organisation, its latest strategy and how it may view a particular political development

He was even interviewed once by Die Patriot, mouthpiece of the Conservative Party (CP)

Dr Lodge, who is married with two sons aged five and eight, also has strong views on Press freedom, or its lack. He believes big business has done more damage to the Press in South Africa than the government's restrictions, and cites the closure of the Rand Daily Mail as an example of this

He says South Africa is still a comparatively easy country in which to do certain kinds of research, although foreign academics have more immunity than local ones such as Raymond Suttner, who has just been released from detention after two years

Dr Lodge is working on two books on the contemporary ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP). He believes his new job will allow him to establish a broader range of contacts with African academic institutions, and his interest in South Africa is likely to remain strong

For the next few months, however, the man some call "Mr ANC" can expect his telephone to continue ringing

ANC expert sees
no dramatic
SA change soon
MCS 14/9/88 (112)

Sensitive talks on escaped detainees

NR6ES
14/9/88
11A
[Handwritten marks]

From DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Sensitive negotiations were continuing at high level today between South Africa and the United States in an effort to end the sit-in of three prominent anti-apartheid activists in the American consulate in Johannesburg.

The three, Mr Murphy Morobe, acting-publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, acting-general secretary, and Mr Vusi Khanyile, chairman of the National Education Crisis Committee, escaped from emergency detention at Johannesburg Hospital yesterday.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, confirmed that the three escaped from police custody while having physiotherapy at the hospital.

They arrived at the consulate about 11pm.

It is understood that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the US Ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, have conferred.

President Botha is being kept informed of developments and has been briefed by Mr Vlok, among others

In Washington the South African Ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof, went to the State Department to discuss the issue.

South African diplomats are aware that against the background of the US presidential election campaign, an extremely delicate situation has been created — especially if the present US administration created the impression that it was not firmly standing up to South African demands.

The US is apparently in a dilemma because its worldwide policy is not to grant asylum in its embassies or consulates, but Mr Perkins has guaranteed that the three will not be evicted.

A possible solution may be for the men to travel to the United States, provided the South African government gives them safe passage from the consulate.

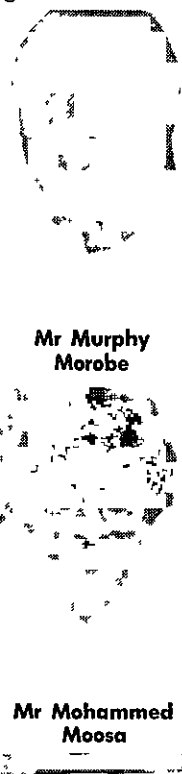
Although there is confusion over whether consulates have diplomatic immunity, it was understood that even if they did not South Africa did not intend to storm it.

A diplomatic solution would have to be found.

It is understood that the police do not intend to guard the consulate in the manner of the Klaas de Jonge "siege" in Pretoria, with its attendant publicity.

Mr Perkins was expected to visit the men, at their request, today.

A spokesman for the US State Department said: "We were in contact with these three men before their detention without charge and we hold them in high regard."



Mr Murphy Morobe

Mr Mohammed Moosa

It is United States policy worldwide not to offer asylum in consular or diplomatic premises, the official noted.

"However, consistent with this policy, we permitted these men to enter the consular premises and we will not press them to leave against their will."

A Prisons Department spokesman said he could not comment as emergency detainees were under police jurisdiction

In Johannesburg, the consul, Mr Tom Furey, told reporters the consular premises were inviolable and the three fugitives would be allowed to remain.



Mr Vusi Khanyile

Sapa reports that Mr Morobe, 32, was detained in July last year. Married with two children, he went underground after an emergency was declared on June 12 1986. During the next 13 months he remained active, often arriving unannounced and in disguise at newspaper offices to give interviews or deliver Press statements

Mr Moosa, 31, and Mr Morobe, who were detained together, assumed their positions in 1985 after their predecessors were arrested on treason charges in a case still pending. Mr Moosa, who is married with one daughter, visited Europe, the United States and Canada on behalf of the UDF before he was detained

Mr Khanyile, 37, a special assistant to the chief administrator of the University of Cape Town, is married with three children. He became involved in black student politics in 1972 and was detained for five months in 1977-78. He received a bachelor's degree in 1982 from the University of Birmingham in Britain.



SPOKESMAN: American consul Mr Tom Furey reads a statement to media representatives at the consulate in Johannesburg where the three men have sought refuge

Top detainees flee to seek refuge in US Embassy

3 UNDEFESTAPRE

Too late in life to be tackled



GOLDEN OLDIES The oldest player in the Golden Oldies tournament, Mr. Des Pastore, 73, with his special 'yellow' chicken' shorts indicates to younger players that they should go easy on the tackling. Here he does some pre-match scurrying with fellow Butterfield Baabaas team-mates Ian McCallum, Alan Skeats and Joe Huisamen at Hamilton's yesterday.

Boring clobber for flashy sprinter Flo

CHIBA Japan — Florence Griffith Joyner the US sprinter known as much for her flamboyant outfits as her speed, said yesterday that she does not mind exchanging her flashy look for the standard issue US team uniform for the Seoul Olympics.

Griffith holds the world record in the women's 100-metre sprint and is favoured to win Olympic gold in the 100- and 200-metre races. She was caught the attention of many fans at the Olympic Games, she will be required to suit up in the US team uniform.

THREE top-ranking United Democratic Front detainees made a dramatic escape from the Johannesburg Hospital yesterday and took refuge in the United States Consulate

US officials allowed the three to stay, saying they would not be forced to leave against their will.

The three are Acting UDF secretary Mr. Murphy Morobe, acting UDF general secretary Mr. Muhammad Vally Moosa and National Education Crisis Committee chairman Mr. Yusuf Khanyle.

The US government made it clear last night that South African government officials would have to seek consent before being allowed into the 11th floor consulate offices where the three took refuge — setting the scene for a diplomatic row between Pretoria and Washington.

US Consul General Mr. Tom Furey last night said that discussions were under way between the three and consulate officials in the South African government.

In a statement released outside the consulate offices in the Krue Centre in Commissioner Street last night, Mr. Furey said: "We can confirm that three prominent anti-apartheid activists are in our consulate general offices in Johannesburg."

"We were in frequent contact with them prior to their detention without charge and hold them in high regard as international law consultant premises are inviolable and host government officials may not enter them without consent."

In accordance with our world wide policy, the US does offer asylum in its consulate and diplomatic premises. However consistent with this policy we have permitted these men to enter and will not press them to leave against their will.

Committee called for

The three who had to pass through the consulate a tight security control requested protective custody on their arrival at 11am yesterday.

Mr. Naidoo said the three immediately asked for a committee to be formed to represent them. They named Mr. Naidoo, South African Council of Churches president, Mr. Jay Naidoo, DCC secretary general, and Mr. Sanku Maredzama of the SACC and Mr. Manjiv Datta of the DCC as members of the committee.

Mr. Naidoo said they had also asked to see their families, to make themselves comfortable and have requested food, clothing and a radio.

"They are in good health and wanted the press to be informed," he said.

Mr. Naidoo, who described the escape as quite a surprise to all of us, was last night summoned to John Vorster Square.

Mr. Naidoo said that Mr. Morobe's detention was still justified and his release cannot be granted at this stage.

Mr. Morobe and Mr. Moosa had been detained since July 22 last year.

Mr. Khanyle has not said he could not comment on behalf of the detainees but speaking in his SACC capacity, said that he hoped Washington would secure Morobe, Moosa and Khanyle's safety.

Plea for moderation

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

VLISI KHANYILE, 37, former chairman of the National Education Crisis Committee and special assistant to the University of Cape Town vice-chancellor was detained on December 12, 1986 while attending an VEC meeting in Soweto.

Senior United Democratic Front office-bearers Murphy Morobe 32 and Muhammad Vally Moosa 34 were detained in July 1987 after operating under ground for more than a year.

A UDF spokesman last night said Vally Khanyle served as a key link between the university and the black community. As such he advised UDF on its role in moving towards a post-apartheid South Africa.

Appearing last night for the release of the three detainees, the UDF acting vice character Mr. J.V.O. Rood urged the government not to respond to the situation heavy handedly.

Mr. Khanyle's detention for all those who know him as a conscientious and responsible leader flies in the face of all reason and has given cause to believe that it must be based on malicious misinformation he added.

Mr. Khanyle, an accountant and married with three children, has been detained a number of times since his expulsion from the University of the North in 1977. He was refused a passport in November 1986.

"Twice in recent years activists have taken refuge at diplomatic missions in the country, Sir A.D.F. leader stayed at the British consulate in Durban in late 1984 before embarking later with drawn treason. The charges of a Dutch citizen, Kias de Jonke, was allowed to return to the Netherlands after taking refuge in a Dutch Embassy office in Pretoria for two years.

Renamo vows to fight on, slams PW's mission

LISBON — Mozambique's Renamo fighters vowed to continue their economic operations in South Africa over the weekend, slaming the South African government's mission to negotiate with the rebels.

Zimbabwe, Rhee and increase their economic operations in South Africa over the weekend, slaming the South African government's mission to negotiate with the rebels.

The statement from Renamo denied the rebels had any

PW's mission

Zimbabwe, Rhee and increase their economic operations in South Africa over the weekend, slaming the South African government's mission to negotiate with the rebels.

The statement from Renamo denied the rebels had any

'Free the Three' call by UCT staff and students

11A (114) (114) (114) (114)
11645
14/9/88

Staff Reporters

THE escape of Mr Vusi Khanyile, special assistant to the vice-chancellor of University of Cape Town, highlighted the plight of detainees and the abhorrent practice of detention without trial, said acting vice-chancellor of UCT, Professor J V O Reid.

The university had made "the strongest representation at the highest level" concerning Mr Khanyile, Professor Reid said.

"For those who know him as a constructive and responsible leader, his detention flies in the face of all reason and has given cause to believe that it must be based on malicious misinformation

Opportunity

"I urge the South African government not to respond to the situation heavily handedly but to see the opportunity to create the condition under which a long-term resolution of their plight and the plight of all detainees can be achieved

"I appeal for the release of the three as a first important step in this direction"

UCT's Student Representative Council demanded that the three be "allowed to walk free without threat of harassment or renewed detention".

A statement, issued by SRC external vice-president Mr Mike Briggs, said "The UCT Students' Representative Council has constantly called for the release of all detainees and condemns detention without trial

"Mr Kanyile's detention cuts short the valuable contribution he was making to the university community

"Murphy Morobe, Vusi Kanyile and Mohammed Valli are undoubtedly popular leaders of great calibre.

"We hope that their willingness to risk the dangers of escaping from detention will bring attention to their plight and that of all detainees."

Cape Democrats chairwoman Ms Amy Thornton said all members of her organisation and all UDF supporters would be delighted that the three senior UDF members had "joined the world"

She reiterated the Cape Democrats' call for an end to all detention without trial

The escape put South Africa "full square into the US presidential campaign" and the international spotlight would focus sharply on detention without trial in South Africa, said Ms Thornton

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), called for the unconditional release of the three

Long time

"Certainly they must be released unconditionally. They have been in detention without trial for a long time and I'm not suprised they did what they did"

The event had the potential

of becoming a "major issue" in the US presidential campaign if not handled delicately, said Dr Slabbert

Commenting on US reaction, he said they were handling the issue according to diplomatic conventions

Senior Western Cape UDF executive member and city advocate Mr Dullah Omar, speaking in his personal capacity, said the plight of the escapers highlighted the "iniquity of detentions and in fact the whole state of emergency which has imposed a reign of darkness and cruelty"

"It causes tremendous suffering, but is bound to fail as present-day struggles bear testimony," said Mr Omar

"Our call is release the three immediately and all detainees, end the state of emergency and unban the organisations of the people"

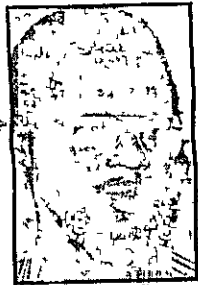
● Mr Krish Naidoo, attorney for the three, said former US presidential candidate the Rev Jesse Jackson telephoned him last night to offer his help

11A
Sawyer
14/9/88

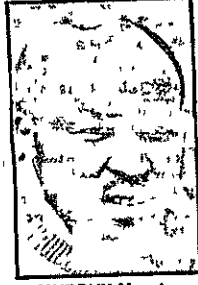
Drama as 3 top UDF men take refuge in US Consulate

ESCAPEE

Fugitive . . . fugitive . . .



VUSI Khanyile



MURPHY Morobe

THREE emergency detainees took refuge in the American Embassy in Kine Centre, Johannesburg, at lunchtime yesterday. They are acting UDF Treasurer, Mohammed Valli Moosa acting UDF Publicity Secretary Murphy Morobe and National Education Crisis Committee Chairman, Vusi Khanyile. They escaped from the Johannesburg hospital yesterday - Brigadier Leon Meller - a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in Pretoria yesterday. The three were receiving physiotherapy when they fled. Meanwhile the United States yesterday said it does not intend kicking out the three anti-apartheid activists who escaped detention and slipped into the American Consulate in central Johannesburg. We were in contact with these three men prior to their detention without charge and hold them in high regard, a State Department official said yesterday.

'E.T.' in the . . .



EPHRAIM Tshabalala SOWETO tycoon and former mayor Mr Ephraim Tshabalala has until 12 noon today to settle his rent arrears estimated at R38 000, or be disqualified as a municipal candidate in the forthcoming October 26 elections. A top ranking Soweto City Council official, who asked not to be named, said that Mr Tshabalala owed the council R38 000 in rent and service charge arrears. Most of the

WANTED

Deadline to pay is today

be written a letter notifying him of his arrears. Some members of the committee passed a motion calling for the confiscation of the sites. The council's housing director, Miss Estelle Bester, declined to disclose proceedings of the meeting because she had not been empowered by the council to do so. But she has confirmed that

Tshabalala yesterday proved fruitless. A top party official said "Mr Tshabalala has been asked not to address the Press. Only two party spokesmen have been chosen to speak about party issues." A party spokesman promised that the Public Relations Officer Mr Nxumalo, would issue a Press statement late yesterday.

UDF men escape, take refuge

11A
Sawyer
14/9/88

From page 1
in touch with the South African Government, the official said, "but I will not comment on the substance of these contacts".

The official did not yet know whether the US ambassador to South Africa, Mr Edward Perkins, would respond to the escapee's request to see them at the Johannesburg consulate. Lawyer Krish Naidoo told reporters at a hastily convened afternoon Press conference that the three went to the consulate at lunchtime. Naidoo did not explain how the three, who have been detained under emergency regulations, made their way to the consulate, which is on the 11th floor of the Kine Centre. Mr Naidoo, who is acting for all three men, has offices on the 23rd floor of the same building as the American Consulate, which occupies the 11th to 16th floors.

XI PEOPLE Security

No-one was allowed into the eleventh floor offices where the three detainees have taken refuge. Consulate security guards, in front of the bulletproof glass doors leading to the office area, also refused to let the media in.

Johannesburg Police Public Relations Officer, Captain Pierre Louw, said yesterday afternoon he had no statement to make.

The SA Prisons Services said it was up to the police to comment as the three men had been security detainees.

A letter to Mr Naidoo from the Minister of Law and Order, dated March this year, concerning Mr Morobe, said his continued detention was not based on his membership of the UDF. "Mr Morobe was involved in propagating and organising boycott actions and several campaigns which are aimed at the undermining of state security, the promotion of alternative structures and the creation of a revolutionary climate," the letter said - Sapa.

Activists

The State Department described the three escapees as "prominent anti-apartheid activists". The US official said under International Law consular premises were inviolable and host government officials may not enter them without consent. Consulate personnel were involved in discussions with the three men to determine their wishes. The US was also

To page 4

AT THE SCENE

UDF men are tip of iceberg

14/9/88
11P

MURPHY Morobe (32) and Mohammed Valli Moosa (34), were detained in July 1987 after operating clandestinely since a state of emergency was declared on June 12, 1986. Vusi Khanyile (37), was detained in December, 1986.

An estimated 30 000 people have been detained without charge for varying periods during the emergency. The Government has not released comprehensive statistics, but it said recently that 802 people who had been held at least 30 days were still in custody.

Many of the detainees were members of organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front, a nationwide coalition of more than 600 anti-apartheid groups.

Mr Morobe, a former member of the outlawed Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), was also among the UDF delegation which travelled to Britain during the occupation of the Durban offices of the British Consulate by six UDF men.

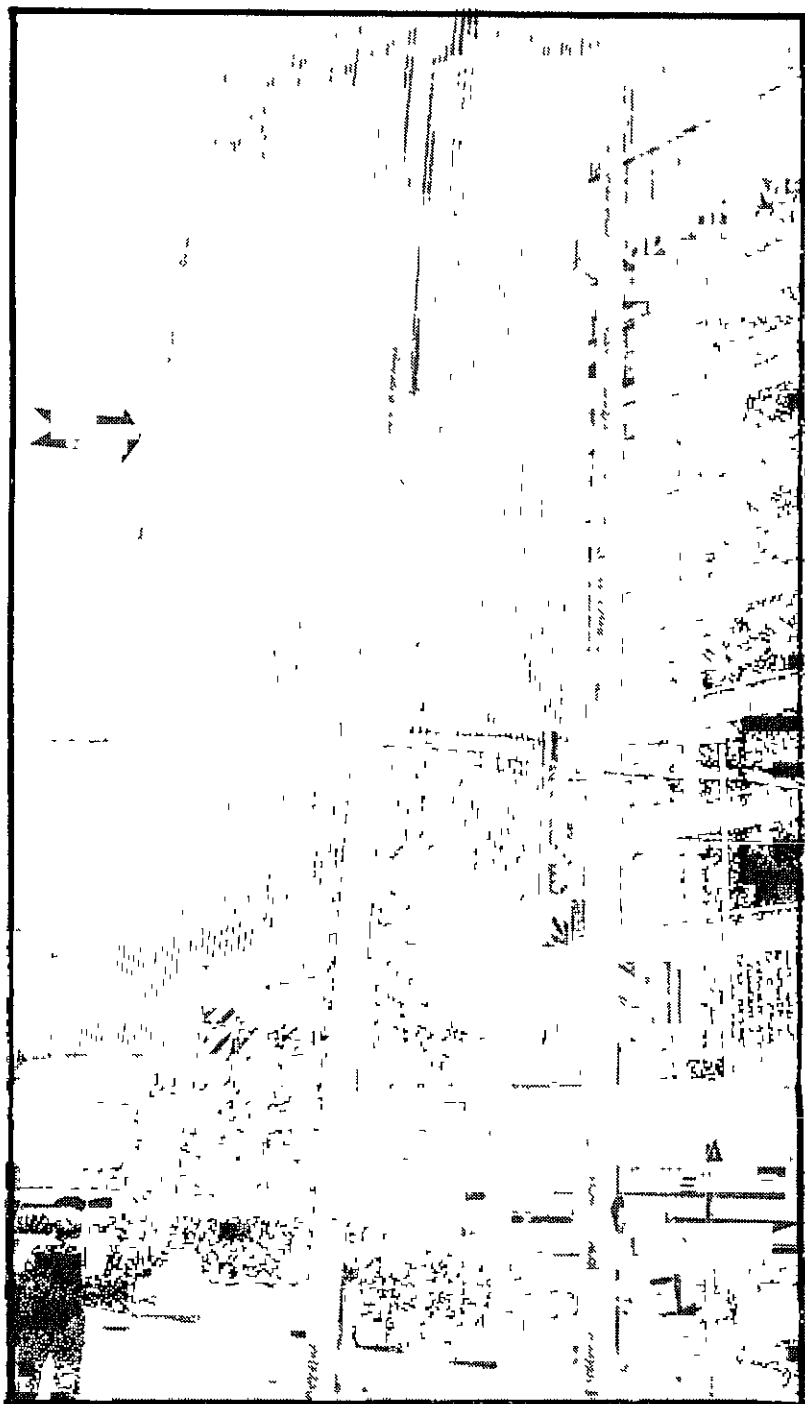
Wife

The two men were held since July 22, last year, in Port Elizabeth. Transferred to the Diepkloof Prison in Johannesburg on July 29.

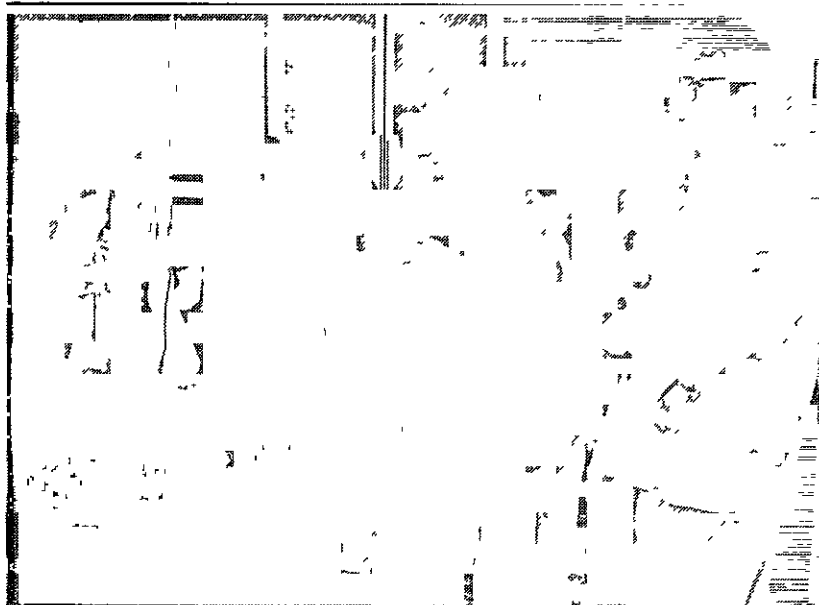
Meanwhile, both Mr Moosa and Mr Morobe, had their application for release refused by a Rand Supreme Court judge recently.

• Speaking from her Cape Town home last night, Mrs Nombulelo Khanyile, wife of one of the three men, said she believes her husband to be responsible and trustworthy in all his actions.

"I therefore expect all those concerned to act in a human and just way," she said — Sapa-Reuter



SANCTUARY . . . the Kine Centre with the 11th floor Consulate arrowed
Pic ROBERT MAGWAZA



WAITING Journalists eager for news on the 11th floor.

176 us
15/9/88

Freedom papers, no immunity letters for fugitives

(114)
1092
1030

From DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — The three anti-apartheid activists still in the US consulate in Johannesburg will not be given written assurances that they are immune from rearrest, a police spokesman said today

Release papers have been signed by Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok

The three are acting-United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, acting-UDF general secretary Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, and National Education Crisis Committee chairman Mr Vusi Khanyile, who is also special assistant to the vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town

ASSURANCE

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said today it was not necessary to give the men a written guarantee that they would not be re-detained

"We have given the Americans an assurance that the three are free to go. The paperwork has already been done"

Mr Vlok had in any case been considering their release, which was why they had not been so strictly guarded, Brigadier Mellet said

The three activists, however, are insisting on a written guarantee from the authorities before they leave the consulate-general.

Brigadier Mellet said "The South African government has already given such an assurance to the American Ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, so we have no further interest in this matter. We have said they are free to go and that is our word"

Brigadier Mellet said the only aspect that still interested the police was their escape from custody while visiting Johannesburg Hospital for physiotherapy on Tuesday.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told the BBC last night it was not South Africa's style to give its word that the men would not be arrested and then to arrest them once they had left the consulate

The offer to release the men from detention was not a ploy.

DECIDING TODAY

● The three have not been officially notified that they may go free without fear of being arrested, said their lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo.

Once the government had notified him officially he would ask the detainees what they intended doing.

"We will decide later in the day whether we will wait for the government to approach us on the matter of their release or whether we will approach them."

Mr Naidoo added that the fugitives were "fine" and would continue to receive daily visits from their families. They were free to receive mail

UDF 3 make 'conditions' for release

CAPE TOWN 15/9/88
114
UDF

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The three emergency detainees holed up in the US Consulate would not consider leaving the consulate until their attorney received direct notification from the government on their status, a spokesman for the three said late last night

After a two-hour meeting with attorney Mr Krish Naidoo, who represents two of the three, South African Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said the three were still awaiting official notification through their attorneys of a government statement which said the men were in no danger of being arrested once they left the consulate

Mr Chikane is one of a committee formed at the request of the three to consult for them. Dr Beyers Naude is another

Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Roland Darryl was last night unable to say whether the offer to allow the three detainees to walk free would be put officially to Mr Naidoo

Mr Darryl said the freedom offer had been released to the media and constituted an agreement between Pretoria and Washington

However, US information officer Mr Barrie Walkley said last night that the men had received the full text of the statement released by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. Mr Walkley said it was his impression that the statement had not been received through the men's attorneys

In a statement, issued at midday in Pretoria, Mr Botha said the three were no longer in detention and were free to leave the consulate

At 3pm yesterday — before the three men had knowledge of Mr Botha's statement — Mr Naidoo released a statement in which the men said they

would not leave the consulate until the state of emergency was lifted and all detainees were unconditionally released

The three men — acting UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, acting UDF general secretary Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and National Education Crisis Committee chairman Mr Vusi Khanyile — set out their demands in a combined statement in an effort "to highlight the plight of hundreds of detainees"

Their demands included that they be allowed to walk out of the consulate free of any restrictions, or the threat of redetention

Asked if this undertaking had been made to the men, law and order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said there was no question they would be redetained

He said this had also been shown by the fact there had been no manhunt after their escape from Johannesburg Hospital on Tuesday, nor had there been any police guard at their hideout in the Kine Centre. They were emergency detainees, which was a "temporary" situation, he said

All three men were yesterday visited by members of their families

When asked whether they would leave, Mr Morobe's wife Dora, who spent several hours with him, said the three would leave only if their demands were met

Mr Moosa's girlfriend, Ms Jean de la Harpe, and their child also visited the fugitives. All she was prepared to say was that they were in good health

Asked about the facilities provided for the three at the consulate, Mr Naidoo said they had been given a room, said to be about 20 sq m, furnished with beds, a television set, radio and several facilities

Dr Naude said they were in a positive state of mind. The three would not take rushed decisions

JUDF 3 DIED: IT WAS TIME TO LEAVE

11A

THE three emergency detainees who sought refuge at the American Consulate did so because they failed to see any justification for their continued detention without trial, a Press conference was told in Johannesburg yesterday.

The three men, Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Mohammed Valli and Mr Vusi Khanyile, had their message read out to the Press by the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, in an office twelve floors higher than where they had sought shelter at Kine Centre, Johannesburg.

"We would like our action to be seen as highlighting not only our own plight, but also of the hundreds of other detainees whose situation is equally hopeless," their statement read.

Among those present at the conference were Dr Beyers Nande, former general secretary of the

BY ALI MPHAKI

SACC, Mr Max Coleman of the Detainees Parents Support Committee, Mr Jay Nardoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Krish Naidoo, lawyer of the three men and Mr Saki Maconzana, an employee of the SACC.

The five, including Mr Chikane, were among those who met the three fugitives, and they told the conference that they were all in good health.

The three said in their statement that their action is also a plea to all South Africans and the international community.

Students go back

TECHNIKON Northern Transvaal students started trickling back to classes yesterday following a resolution that a three-day long lecture boycott be called off.

Mr C D Miller, the technikon's senior director of technology, said that the majority of students continued to boycott classes after "trouble makers" persuaded them to do so. He said the reasons which have been advanced in support of the boycott were "purely political".

According to him, it was agreed that the students would return to lectures yesterday morning.



Italians honour Mandela

South Africa
11/17/84
19/1/84

JOHANNESBURG - The University of Bologna, the oldest university in Italy, bestowed an honorary degree in political science on imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela this week

A ceremony, to confer the degree, was held at the Carlton Hotel and was attended by Mrs Winnie Mandela and anti-apartheid and trade union leaders

Italian ambassador to South Africa Dr Mario Piersigilli said that the university's senate had decided to honour Mandela during celebrations to mark the 900th anniversary of its founding

Freedom

He described Mandela as "a man who has committed his life to the freedom of black South Africans, to the struggle against unequal and unfair legislation and to the promotion of a democratic and non-racial society in this country"

Piersigilli said that, in conferring the degree, the university wished to honour the lawyer who had found, in the unchanging principles of law, the inspiration for his commitment to fight against all forms of discrimination

This is not the first time that Mandela has been honoured by an Italian institution. In 1982 the city of Rome, conferred honorary citizenship on him

9-18 1970
W. Mail Weekly Mail Reporter (IA)
Stoffel allows a Slovo quote

THE Minister of Information, Stoffel van der Merwe, yesterday quoted a well-known South African political figure: Joe Slovo.

Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and a member of the African National Congress executive, was justifying armed struggle and attacking white minority rule on Radio Moscow.

"The choice of revolutionary violence as part of the struggle" was forced by the "stubborn refusal of the minority to extend democracy to the majority", Slovo said.

Slovo is "listed" under the Internal Security Act and normally cannot be quoted. However, Van der Merwe yesterday gave special permission for the press to use this quote.

He also quoted Radio Freedom, the ANC's radio station, saying "one more offensive" was needed "to ensure that the puppet councils are destroyed ... by militant action of all the people".

Van der Merwe remarked: "In other words, the struggle is on."

(11A) Soweto 15/9/82

Shot woman not insurgent says relative

By SY MAKARINGE

A WOMAN who was killed during a confrontation between the police and alleged Pan Africanist Congress insurgents near Lichtenburg in July was not a member of the organisation, according to relatives.

She was Miss Mina Selau (22), of Ramatlabama Village near Mafikeng

According to a relative who asked not to be named, Miss Selau was on her way to visit relatives in Dobsonville, Soweto, when the "taxi" she was travelling in with three other people was stopped at a roadblock

A gun and handgrenade battle ensued and all four people in the vehicle were killed

Police said at the time that five policemen were wounded in the incident

"Mina was an innocent little girl. She was not a member of any organisation. She was just unfortunate to die in that way," the relative said

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that it "would appear as though the woman was not a member of the PAC".

"However", the spokesman said, "her relationship with the other deceased will form part of the inquest proceedings"

Identified

The police earlier identified two of the insurgents as Mr Siphon Mahlaba of Katlehong and Mr Mncedisi Khethelo of Herschel. Yesterday, they identified the third man as Mr Adriano Joao Manguela, a Mozambican

Miss Selau was buried at Ramatlabama village on Saturday — five weeks after the incident took place. The family claimed it was informed of her death about two weeks ago

CML-101's
16/9/88

Jesse Jackson contacts UDF men

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — American civil-rights leader Mr Jesse Jackson has sought contact with the three former emergency detainees holed up for the fourth day in the US consulate here.

Mr Jackson had contacted the US consul-general asking to speak to the three refugees, Dr Beyers Naude said yesterday.

The three men, UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, acting UDF national secretary Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and NECC national chairman Mr Vusi Khanyile, had been informed of Mr Jackson's request and said they would speak to him, Dr Naude said. He could not confirm whether direct contact had been made.

Dr Naude is a member of the six-man support group appointed to represent the three, who escaped police custody at Johannesburg Hospital on Tuesday and then sought protection at the US Consulate.

Veteran UDF leader Mr Archie Gumede is due to visit the three today, a spokesman for the refugees said. Mr Gumede, who is restricted from talking to the media, was one of the six who took refuge in the British Consulate in Durban for several weeks in 1984.

National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan also spent several hours at the consulate yesterday. He called for the release of the three men and said it could only be to SA's advantage if they were allowed to return to their communities as free men. "They have already proved themselves as leaders within those communities and should be allowed to do so again."

Mr Malan has said in the past that Mr Khanyile's detention was one of the reasons why he left the NP.

The three have demanded the unconditional release of all detainees and the lifting of the state of emergency before leaving the consulate.

© Khanyile still has UCT job — Page 3

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MI Times 16/9/88 (118) (118)

Imbali security stepped up

MARITZBURG — More policemen are to be brought into Imbali township near here after complaints by residents that uncontrolled violence in the area is destroying community life

On Wednesday a delegation of 16 women from Imbali requested that the SADF be deployed in the area. A spokeswoman alleged that under the "kits-konstabels", who are now used to police the townships, the situation had degenerated

Meanwhile, chiefs in the Sweetwaters area who held their own meetings on Sunday which were followed by violence, are to be called to Ulundi for questioning by Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo

They will also be asked why they did not attend a mass meeting addressed by Dr Dhlomo to report back on the "peace settlement" reached by Inkatha and the Cosatu two weeks ago. — Sapa

Inkatha arson threat alleged

MARITZBURG — An Inchanga woman alleged in Supreme Court papers here yesterday that she had seen an Inkatha member point out her home as being one that was to be burnt down

Her husband said their son was a "comrade" and that Inkatha and the comrades often clashed in their area

The statements were made by Mr Casper Gumede and Mrs Anna Gumede, of Fredville in the Inchanga area.

They made the allegations in support of a temporary interdict calling on Mr Joe Zuma to show why he should not be restrained from assaulting the Gumede family or entering or attacking their house

Mr Gumede said he had reported the matter to the police but feared that they did not have the resources to mount a 24-hour guard

The rule was yesterday extended by Mr Justice Law. — Sapa

Consulate stalemate: 'Free' three sit tight

Argus
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THE situation of the three detainees taking refuge in the American consulate in Johannesburg appears to have developed into an indefinite sit-in, with the three expanding their demands to include the end of all political detentions in South Africa and the waiving of restrictions in general.

However, the South African authorities made it clear today the three anti-apartheid activists were no longer their problem.

The men, acting UDF treasurer Mr Valli Moosa, acting UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, and National Education Crisis Committee chairman Mr Vusi Khanyile, were free to go home after the government gave an assurance that they would not be redetained.

"LAUGHING STOCK"

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in an interview today there was no international legal principle applicable in their case. He said: "They are free to go. They know it. But obviously they now wish to use this incident to create news."

"They are obviously very disappointed that their ~~understanding~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~stolen~~. As far as I am concerned they are becoming laughing stock."

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Mrs Albertina Sisulu will today meet the three. The trio's lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo, said today it was likely the three activists would remain in the consulate over the weekend.

In a statement yesterday the three fugitives refused to accept the government's offer of freedom without further assurances. Mr Naidoo said today he had had no reply from the government.

JESSE JACKSON IN TOUCH

The Rev Jesse Jackson spoke on the telephone to the three men yesterday and expects to speak to them again today. He was also in touch yesterday with Dr Boesak and with lawyers and labour leaders in South Africa.

"In some sense, their predicament will heighten the movement in this country and around the world to end apartheid," Mr Jackson told newsmen in Washington yesterday.

"The state of emergency is creating a state of urgency outside South Africa."

The incident at the consulate has apparently caused Mr Jackson to toughen his anti-SA rhetoric again after softening it in public comments earlier this week.

MADE THE ISSUE CLEAR

Mr Jackson said the three men had made it clear to him that the issue concerning them was not their personal freedom but the need to end political detentions in general.

They wanted more than the right to return to their families, they wanted to leave the consulate without any restrictions.

They were also concerned, he said, that the government had not been in communication with them but had made statements concerning their situation through the Press.

The three men were concerned about detainees and about an unrestricted release of Mr Nelson Mandela, he added.

They have, however, refused to leave until certain demands have been met — The Argus Foreign Service, Political Staff and Correspondents.

11R

3 OFFERED ASYLUM

THE three United Democratic Front emergency detainees held up in an American Consulate, have received several offers of political asylum from undisclosed countries.

The three, Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Vusi Khanyile and Mr Mohammed Vah Moosa, dashed for freedom while undergoing physio-

BY ALI MPHAKI

therapy at the Johannesburg hospital on Tuesday.

A spokesman for the three yesterday told a Press conference that the men were studying the offers, although it was unlikely they will leave the country.

The men also rejected

a statement by the spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mallet, that they "sneaked" from hospital where they were guarded by young guards.

The men said they were in fact guarded by eight armed policemen — who composed of three whites and five black men

Commenting on the news that papers for their release were signed yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, the men said so far nothing definite has been proposed directly to them.

"By and large we found the announcement require a great deal of circumspection on our

side before a conclusion from us is reached either way. Obviously we hope for a speedy resolution of the problem, but we are no fools — our eyes remain open. Our minds are set," they said.

They said if the Minister's announcement is anything to go with, then the release of the many of their colleagues who are still in detention should also be imminent.

SEVEN suspected members of the African National Congress who allegedly attacked the houses of policemen in Mamelodi two years ago will appear in the local magistrate's court in October and December this year on charges of terrorism, attempted murder and endeavouring to overthrow the State.

The seven are Mr Samuel Makhubela (29) of Soshanguve, Mr Thokiso Aaron Mogeerane (31) of Vosloorus, Mr Conrad Lekhumbi (28) Mr Motshela Edwin Makwela (35), Mr Sello Stevens Khotla (34), all of Mamelodi, Pretoria, Mr Neo Moerane (26) and Mr Lucas Mabe (26), both of Atteridgeville

The accused will appear on October 31 except for Mr Mabe and Mr Moerane who have been charged separately and will appear on December 1, according to their lawyers.

Alleged ANC 7 in court

11R

FM.



He warns of the "complications" yet to come — including the general conditions of the emergency and the restrictions placed on "non-Inkatha members," despite widespread calls for them to be lifted, even from Inkatha Secretary-General Oscar Dhlomo

"What we have is agreement at senior level. It now has to filter down to grassroots membership. But in this agreement there is a definite sign of hope"

Cosatu executive member Alec Irwin said the Complaints Adjudication Board — the keystone of the agreement — offered a more practical and speedy way of resolving problems in the area "From our side we see it as a starting point."

It is widely believed that UDF members will follow the Cosatu initiative, and to some extent membership of the labour federation and the political movement do overlap in Maritzburg

Some doubts have been raised about whether the infamous "warlords" blamed for initiating some of the violence will take the agreement seriously. Nobody seems to doubt the sincerity of Inkatha's top leadership, but observers point out that the warlords wield immense power in certain areas that they may be reluctant to give up.

Dhlomo, however, is optimistic that the agreement will allow the respective organisations to regulate each other. He said the agreement was important because it placed responsibility on each movement to monitor its members, it enabled the movements to monitor each other, and it provided a forum which was less expensive than the courts. And "most importantly it promotes the concept of political co-existence"

Pamphlets are being printed in Zulu for distribution to all Maritzburg township residents spelling out the conditions and spirit of the agreement

88/9/16

INKATHA-COSATU PACT Stumbling blocks



The big question following last week's ice-breaking peace pact between Cosatu and Inkatha is not so much if it will end the destructive cycle of violence in the Pietermaritzburg region, but whether the leadership of the organisations have the ability to get the message to their members on the ground

The restrictions placed on the UDF severely hamper it from conveying Friday's agreement to grassroots. In fact the UDF could not participate in negotiations leading to the agreement and the setting up of the Complaints Adjudication Board, and could not sign the agreement which all sectors of the community hope will end four years of bitter fighting

More important, however, is that the ban on the UDF does not allow it to hold meetings in the townships. This is one of the reasons why Peter Kerchhoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, a group which has been closely monitoring the violence, is cautious about seeing any instant solutions. "I think this is a first step — from here talks can start leading to negotiations for peace," he says

Handwritten scribbles at the bottom of the article.

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, September 16 1988

ANC military intelligence chief gives evidence

MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — Ronnie Kasrils, Umkhonto we Sizwe's head of military intelligence, has begun to give evidence to a commission here that is hearing evidence in the case of Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim.

Ebrahim, who is alleged to be the most highly placed ANC member since Nelson Mandela to go on trial in SA, is facing treason charges in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Kasrils, recently appointed to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), began to give evidence on Monday morning before commission-

er John Peter Herholdt. He was the third ANC member to be called before the commission.

Last Tuesday, Totisi Memela completed her evidence. Vusi Khumalo, who started giving evidence after Memela had finished, was still being cross-examined yesterday. The hearing is closed to the media.

Khumalo, a former instructor in politics at the Nova Katanga camp in Angola, was in charge of military in-

telligence of the Transvaal Implementation Machinery, an ANC military organ which operated in Swaziland.

Kasrils is one of three ANC executive members who will give evidence. The others are Jacson Zuma, a member of ANC intelligence, and John Nkandimeng, the secretary-general of the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

Kasrils was not immediately cross-examined as the prosecution team, Louisa van der Walt and Harry Prinsloo, had not completed dealing with

the evidence of Khumalo.

Kasrils left SA 25 years ago in September 1963. He has also been a member of the ANC's political military council (PMC) since July 1985.

ANC president Oliver Tambo is the chairman of the PMC, while Josiah Jele, also a member of the NEC, is executive secretary.

The witnesses' evidence is being led by defence counsel Leonard Gerling and Kessie Naidu. The commission is expected to complete its work next week.

I met ANC twice, treason trialist tells court

TREASON trialist Moses Mayekiso told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he had met ANC representatives overseas on two separate occasions.

He had been approached by an ANC representative while he was in Britain on business for the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu), for which he was an organiser.

Mayekiso, 38, Obed Bapela, 28, Richard Mdakane, 29, Paul Tshababala, 38, and Mzwanele Mayekiso, 22, have

EDYTH BULBRING

pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, alternatively subversion and sedition.

He did not know he would meet the ANC when he left for Britain in April 1986 and had not solicited the meeting, Mayekiso said.

The ANC representative in London, Solly Smith, had wanted to know what was happening on the labour front in SA and what was the stand of Mawu.

He had also met SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) representatives in Britain. Mayekiso said he did not think he was doing anything wrong.

While meeting metal workers in Sweden in June 1986, he had been contacted by a person staffing the ANC office, who had requested a meeting. He had met the ANC representative and had discussed the labour movement.

On his return to SA on June 28, he had been arrested at the airport.

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B/day 16/9/88.

ANC members get 12 years' jail

111A 9711 Pretoria Correspondent 10/9/88

After being sentenced by the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday to an effective 12 years' jail on four counts of terrorism, two self-confessed members of the ANC clenched their fists and shouted: "Amandla. Long live the people and the ANC. Umkhonto we Sizwe."

Magistrate Mr W J van den Bergh had convicted Sonwabo Balizulu (41), a petrol attendant of Cape Town, and Jekwa Kweza (33), a Sats employee, for possessing 11 grenades, three AK-47 rifles and 517 rounds of ammunition, and for belonging to a banned organisation. They had pleaded guilty.

They were sentenced to a total of 22 years' jail. The sentences are to run concurrently, making it an effective 12 years in jail.

Mr van den Bergh said deposed

Chief George Matanzima of Transkei had been elected by democratic vote. The accused had intended to overthrow him by violent means after obtaining weapons and explosives from the ANC.

The two had claimed that the weapons were not to be used in South Africa, but were for the purpose of defending themselves in case Matanzima's government tried to detain them.

Their plea of explanation said: "Both resented the corrupt administration of the Transkei government under George Matanzima and the violent suppression of opposition parties. They were in favour of the introduction of free elections and wanted Matanzima removed from office."

A mitigating factor, said Mr van den Bergh, was that the accused did not commit any acts of violence. But they were trained ANC terrorists.

Judgment reserved
NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Four ANC suspects to appear

SA Crime Reporter (11A)

Four alleged members of an all-white African National Congress cell, arrested in May in Broedersdroom, are expected to appear in court soon, police report.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said police investigations were almost complete.

The suspects are former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist Mr Damian de Lange, alleged commander of the cell, Mr Murdock Lugg (30), Mr Ian Robertson and Ms Susan Westcott.

They were arrested on May 8 and police seized a large quantity of arms, including a SAM-7 surface-to-air missile.

UDF 3 'right not to trust govt

Cap T. M. S. 17/7/80 2119

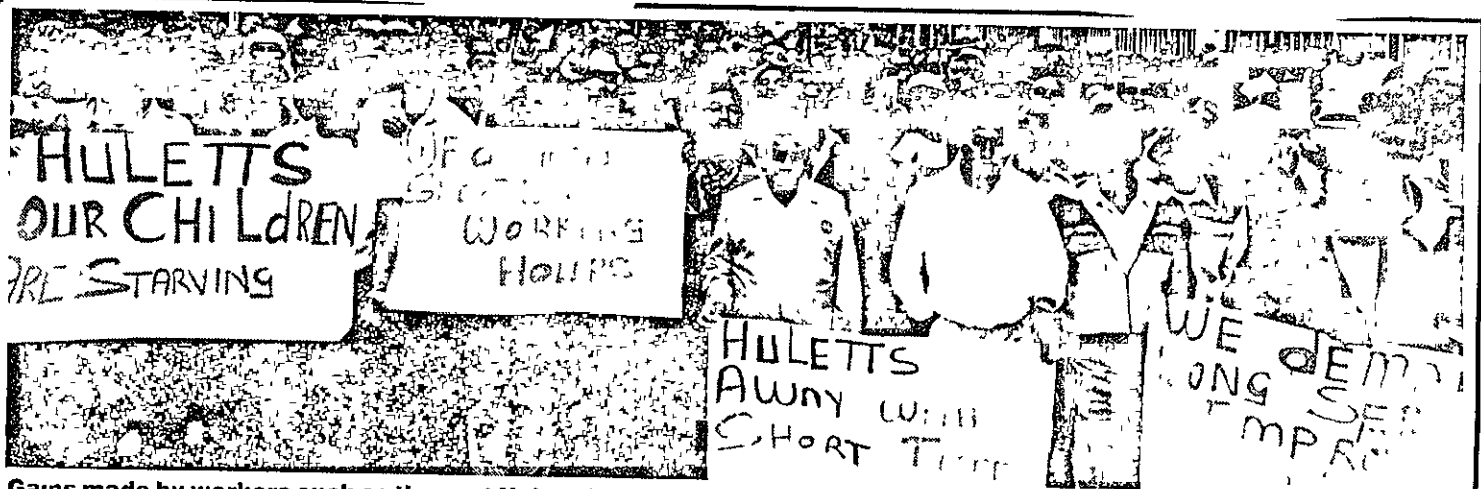
JOHANNESBURG. — The SA government was not to be trusted and the three men taking refuge in the US Consulate had every reason for being deeply suspicious of the government's offer of freedom from re-arrest, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, said at a press conference yesterday.

The press conference was held after Dr Boesak had spent two hours talking to the men — Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Vusi Khanyile and Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa — who took refuge on the 11th floor of the Kine Centre, where the consulate has offices, on Tuesday.

UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, who could not attend the conference because of the restriction order placed on her, highlighted the issue of the absence of freedom to which the three men were trying to draw attention. This was clear especially in the light of the banning order served on Mr Aubrey Moekwena and the detention of the Rev Charles Martin yesterday, Dr Boesak said.

● The three activists were caught off balance by the SA Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria yesterday.

He said the three were deeply disappointed that they had not succeeded in becoming martyrs and the fact that they would have to leave the US Consulate "with their tails between their legs with all of SA laughing at them" could not be a pleasant prospect, Mr Botha said.



Gains made by workers such as these at Huletts' Durban sugar refinery are threatened by a campaign against unions.

Left wing faces smear campaign

By KERRY CULLINAN

OVER the past few months, there has been a proliferation of smear pamphlets against anti-apartheid organisations and trade unions.

The campaign is seemingly aimed at discrediting the organisations and causing factionalism and confusion.

Last week, Brigadier AK de Jager, commanding officer of the Western Province Command, admitted that SADF members had erected posters smearing the End Conscription Campaign.

Besides the more crude pamphlets linking the organisations to the ANC, the PAC and the Soviet Union, others aimed at causing division and rivalry between organisations have also appeared.

For example, as the working relationship between Cosatu and Nactu has improved, so the number of pamphlets claiming to come from Cosatu attacking Nactu, or vice versa, have increased.

Another tactic of the smearers is to promote di-

vision within organisations.

This is the speciality of a monthly publication called *SA Trade Union Titbits*. Its recent edition accused high-ranking Food and Allied Workers' Union officials of fraud.

The most recent attack on Cosatu comes in the form of *Labour Pains in SA*, a special issue of *The Aida Parker Newsletter*.

The Aida Parker Newsletter has repeatedly attacked anti-apartheid organisations and in 1986 the Media Council ruled that it had breached the media code of conduct for a report on the End Conscription Campaign.

In *Labour Pains in SA*, so-called workerists are hailed as true unionists, whereas "populists" - which are said to dominate Cosatu - are described as being dedicated to "the interests of the ANC/SACP at the expense of worker priorities".

This attempt to sow division within Cosatu's ranks is relatively sophisticated in that the workerist/populist division has a historical basis.

However, the split is exaggerated and distorted by the publication.

Populists are described as those calling for "socialism now". They are said to put "the struggle for political power and the advancement of a one-party Marxist-Leninist state before the interests of the workers".

Workerists, on the other hand, are said to stand for "worker interests first" by working for better conditions, pay and job security.

Thus, political issues and striving for better wages and working conditions are presented as being mutually exclusive.

This is in conflict with Cosatu's political policy resolution which states "The struggle against national oppression and the struggle against capitalist exploitation are complimentary to one another and part of an uninterrupted struggle for total liberation".

The publication accuses the "unabashedly populist" Cosatu leadership of maintaining its control by the "manipulation of agendas, intimidation and other measures".



A mineworker at a cultural rally.

It is, therefore, clear that the newsletter is advocating that trade unions steer clear of politics and address factory floor issues only.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok would also like to see Cosatu's withdrawal from the political arena, as borne out by his restricting Cosatu

to trade union activities alone.

However, this approach has been repeatedly condemned by Cosatu.

"Workers in this country are not only striving for better conditions but also for a democratic socialist society controlled by the working class," reads part of Cosatu's resolution on political policy.

e Press 18/9/88 (11A) *[Signature]*

Profile page 4 (11/4)

PROFILE

More than seven years behind bars

Ask Morobe about struggles since 1976 - he was there

ORN on October 2, 1986 in Orlando East one of the four children of Gladys and Kenneth Morobe - Murphy, Morobe - one of his childhood friends with his uncle, a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

In 1966 he returned to Soweto and completed primary school going on to Orlando North Secondary School in 1972 and to Morris Isaacson High School.

In 1972 Morobe became involved in the SA Students Movement.

He was beginning to feel the need to challenge the education system and although generally and although his thoughts were not well developed at that stage, he was self-motivated to join SASM.

In particular Morobe participated in its cultural activities and was active in a youth group called Soweto Students (meaning arise in Tswana) which held drama music and poetry readings, cultural activities which were then related to political issues.

Influenced to a large extent by the black consciousness philosophy, the group saw such activities as a tool to remove the inferiority complex which prevailed among black people.

At the end of 1973 a new executive was elected and Morobe served on this body as treasurer.

In 1974 the government decided to go ahead with the enforcement of Apartheid as a medium of

instruction in black high schools and this led to a number of boycotts.

SASM seized upon the issue and led the massive demonstration of June 16, 1976.

Morobe was an active participant in the June 16 march which was his first experience of demonstrating.

He maintains there was no intention on the part of the students to employ violence.

A police charge was sudden and unexpected and Morobe witnessed a rapid change in the mood of the demonstrators.

The police sent in a dog which bit some children and was subsequently killed by the marchers.

Pupils were enraged by police shooting and tear gassing and began throwing stones at police vans.

Police returned fire and this resulted in the death of Hector Pieterse and retaliatory action by students.

On August 2, 1976 the Soweto Students Representative Council was formed and Morobe served as deputy-chairman under Deputy-Minister

between August and December 1976, the SSRC was responsible for a number of campaigns and protests including stayaways in August, September and November.

On December 31, 1976 Morobe was detained in terms of Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

He was held in Soweto Prison and subsequently for three months in solitary confinement at John Vorster Square.

From March to June 1977 he was held at Central Prison, and from June to September 1977 at the Krugersdorp Prison.

He spent a further six months in solitary confinement at Lecuwakop Maximum Security Prison on from September 1977 to March 1978 serving a six-month sentence for refusing to give evidence at the trial in Pretoria of 12 members of the ANC.

Following the end of his sentence he was returned to John Vorster Square until June 1978 when he was charged with conspiracy, to commit sedition, with 10 others including Sebela, Dan Moutse, Seth Mzabuko, Thabo Ndabeni and Sibongile Mkhemula.

Morobe's trial ended in May 1979 and all were found guilty, but only four received prison sentences, including Morobe who was sentenced to seven years for four years suspended for five years.

Morobe served three years on Robben Island and was released in May 1982.

After his release he came active in the Congress of SA Students and served on the executive committee of the Soweto Youth Congress. He also began work as an organiser for the General and Allied Workers Union in Johannesburg.

Through Morobe's involvement in Gawe he was active in setting up UDF structures in the Transvaal and the attendance of the national launch of

the UDF in Cape Town.

Morobe served on the UDF executive in 1984.

From the end of October to December 13, 1984 Morobe was held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act at Vanderbijlpark in connection with the Durban trial.

In April 1985 Morobe travelled on behalf of the UDF to the US. He also toured England, Holland, Spain, Sweden and Denmark.

Morobe was re-detained on January 22, 1986 in terms of the emergency regulations and held at John Vorster Square until March 1987.

Morobe was released to Soweto.



Murphy Morobe - the government will increasingly lose its ability to rule

the UDF in Cape Town.

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Morobe was released to Soweto.

During his time at Turfloop, Khanyile found time to listen to and meet with black consciousness leaders such as Barry, P. yana, Harry Newenhu and Themba Sono.

In 1977 there had been no functioning Students Representative Council at Turfloop since its closure by the authorities in 1974.

Khanyile became active in the campaign to re-establish the body and once they had got it off the ground again, he was elected vice-president with Jake Mantsabane as president.

Only six weeks away from his final BCom examination, Khanyile was expelled following a student strike which began as a food boycott.

Following the nationwide clampdown on various organisations on October 19, 1977, Khanyile went into hiding until his arrest on December 3, 1977. He was released at the beginning of May 1978.

Khanyile then found employment as a book keeper with Anglo-American - he had been on an Anglo-American scholarship with a service obligation.

In 1973, Khanyile again enrolled at Turfloop University for a BCom (with a BSc (Pharmaceuticals) degree) when he had completed his second year, he began a BCom degree as he was not happy studying pure science.

He participated in various university societies being chairman of the Anglo-Student Society and president of AEL SEC, an international organisation for commerce and economics students.

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As more of his colleagues were detained his political prominence increased especially after the formation of the Soweto Parents Cross Committee on which he served as secretary in October 1983.

As secretary of the SPC, Khanyile took part in consulting with a broad range of people and had talks with various government departments over the education crisis in the black community.

At the same time the committee consulted with the community, students parents, teachers, trade unions, political organisations and on December 25, 1983, three members of the SPC, including Khanyile met with African National Congress representatives in Harare Zimbabwe.

Four days later on 29 December, the National Education Crisis Committee was established at a national consultative conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand.

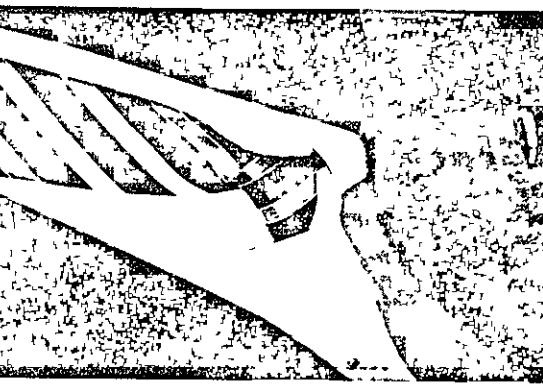
The conference was convened by the SPC and it felt it could not deal with the education crisis at local level. Khanyile was elected chairman of the NECC.

Khanyile views the functions of the NECC as:

- To exert community views and perceptions about the role of education in the development of the country.
- To be a vehicle for the community in its attempts to resolve the education crisis.

Particular education views defined in its constitution:

- To be a vehicle for the community in its attempts to resolve the education crisis.



Vusi Khanyile from humble beginnings

system which enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial democratic system which eliminates the capitalist norms of competition and individualism and status while it (people's education) encourages collective input and participation by all, as well as stimulate critical techniques and analysis.

Khanyile is married to Nenele and they have three children.

PROFILE

Stalemate at US consulate as sit-in trio settle down to a luxury life

UNNOTED SAAMI'S 5-STARR HOTTEST

18/7/88
MIA
STC

Secret plan to create new common voice

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

FRUSTRATED at the slow pace of reform, National Party MPs are grappling with ways to inject some movement into the Government's virtually moribund political initiative.

One group, which claims substantial support in the Cabinet, is developing a still-secret set of proposals which will be presented to President P. W. Botha soon.

A toast as Mel fulfils her promise to tragic friend



THE American Consulate in Johannesburg has effectively been turned into a publicly office of the United Democratic Front.

By **MANDLA TYALA**



Three UDF leaders — comfortably installed in the luxury office block — have converted the diplomatic sanctuary into a political operations centre.

The men escaped from custody this week and sought refuge in the consulate — only to learn that the Pretoria authorities had planned to release them anyway.

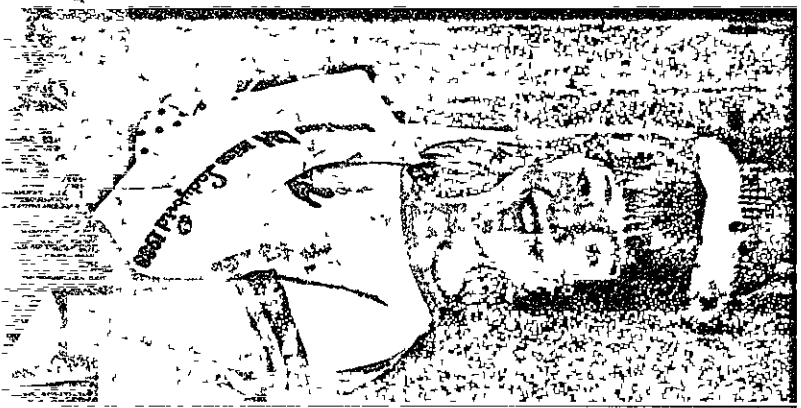
They have now taken up residence in the diplomatic premises high above Johannesburg's central business district.

And among their prominent callers could be the Rev Jesse Jackson, unsuccessful US presidential candidate, who yesterday confirmed that he intended visiting South Africa to meet the ex-detenantes.

In their five-star eyrie opposite the Carlton Hotel, the three have established a busy base from which they aim to focus maximum publicity on the system of detentions.

They occupy three rooms with a view — and have all the mod cons of home.

Even new outfits have been provided free by clothes shop proprietor and UDF patron Mr Yusuf Surtee.



Paula's a real little lady!

By **DOREEN LEVIN**

CHATTERBOX Paula Dias, 9, walked off with the 1988 Sunday Times OK Miss Ladybird title yesterday.

Lesetle Smit, 6, of Pretoria, came second and Karon Chan, 7, of Bedfordview, was third.

Paula is the fourth Miss Ladybird. She wins bursaries worth R10 000, R5 000 in cash and Ladybird clothes valued at R800.

The Sid 1 Port Elizabeth pupil hopes one day to be Miss South Africa — and to teach children to read.

Books — Cinderella and Snow White are her favourites — drawing, singing, ballet, acting and swimming are her main interests.

She begged me to enter her in the competition, said proud mother Miriam Dias.

Ranmer up Lesetle, who won R1 000 and clothing worth R300, is no stranger to beauty contests.

Karon, who wants to become a tennis coach, won R2 000 and

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burg's central business district
And among their prominent callers could be the Rev Jesse Jackson, unsuccessful US presidential candidate, who yesterday confirmed that he intended visiting South Africa to meet the ex-detainees
In their five-star eyrie opposite the Carlton Hotel, the three have established a busy base from which they aim to focus maximum publicity on the system of detentions
They occupy three rooms with a view and have all the mod cons of home
Even new outfits have been provided free by clothes shop proprietor and UDF patron Mr Yusuf Surtee
The three dashed to the consulate on Tues-



See
OPINION
Page 28

day after slipping away from their guards at the Johannesburg Hospital, where they had been taken under light escort for physiotherapy.
Shortly afterwards, the Government announced that the escapers — acting UDF general secretary Mr Valli Moosa, acting UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe and National Education Crisis Committee chairman Vusi Khanyile — were no longer in detention and could walk to freedom whenever they chose
But, as their sit-in enters Day Six today, there is no sign that they are planning to leave their comfortable refuge
And there will be no shortage of home comforts if they elect to stay.

There's a television, a video and a microwave oven for snacks
The view is panoramic from the 11th floor of the Kine Centre building, where the men have been allocated three large offices
The offices have been turned into
● A bedroom with three beds and fresh linen,
● A living room furnished with a couch, TV set, a video recorder and a microwave oven,
● A study-cum-conference room
There is lots of space for physical exercise

Wives

The men have a radio and plenty of books to occupy the few idle moments left when they are not consulting with their lawyers, planning strategies or receiving high-profile visitors such as Dr Allan Boesak
Time is also allocated to visits from wives and children
Much attention is given to drawing up Press releases and formulating responses to Government statements
Unlike the UDF group that occupied the British Consulate in Durban in 1984 — and had to get by with rudimentary sanitary arrangements — the "Jo'burg Three" have access to first-class facilities in one of Johannesburg's smartest office blocks
They move freely along the passage in their three-roomed sanctuary This has been made easier because the consulate is being renovated and most staff members have moved to another floor higher up in the towering building
American diplomats, say

□ To Page 2

Hijack 'butch

By CHARMAIN NAID
THE fourth hijacker drama died when "his" during interrogation".
This dramatic claim Maseru's Queen Elizabeth his body being taken t

Gold down yet again

GOLD in Hong Kong dropped 5 37 US dollars an ounce yesterday to close at 414 47 US dollars, compared to Friday, 419 84 It opened in Hong Kong at 414 52 US dollars
● See Business Times

WP in final

WESTERN Province made the Currie Cup rugby final against Northern Transvaal on October 1 with a 26-9 win over Northern Free State in semifinal match at Welkom yesterday.
● Report Page 36

Ruda it was

THOUSANDS of readers correctly guessed that Ruda Landman was the mystery personality in our M-Net decoders competition
● Winners Page 19

Uncle Sam's 5-star hotel

□ From Page 1
sources, take extravagant care to ensure that the three men are comfortable. Food is provided by consular staff.

A doctor, engaged by a support group to give the three men a routine check-up after more than a year in police cells, was not allowed to see them.

The consulate said, a US official would attend to the men's medical needs.

Families are no longer required to provide changes of clothing for Mr Morobe, Mr Moosa and Mr Khanyile. New outfits have been delivered by Mr Surtee, the Johannesburg outfitter who was the centre of controversy when he obtained bridging finance from Mr Chris Ball, chief executive of First National Bank, to pay for advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Sources close to the situation say that the 11th-floor refuge of the "Jo'burg Three" has the atmosphere of an operations centre.

The men are meticulously monitoring developments and frequently return to a private room to consult.

An official of the SA Council of Churches said "They are cautious about every move they make."

So far, they have not allowed photographs to be taken inside their refuge.

"The time will come for that, when they will peer out of the window like Klaas de Jonge," said a relative.

A member of the support group said it would be a while before the men experienced their first taste of boredom.

"It will have to be something like the De Jonge affair — but I do not see this one lasting that long."

Klaas de Jonge also escaped from police custody. He spent two years in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria before returning to Holland as part of a prisoner swap last year.

The UDF, recently muzzled by tougher emergency regulations, is making the most of the situation.

Co-presidents Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede were expected at a Press conference at the offices of the lawyers representing the three men, but Mr Gumede missed a flight from Durban and Mrs Sisulu could not attend because of a restriction order.

Instead, Dr Allan Boesak took charge and said the three were "pretty patient" and were in "no hurry to leave the consulate."

He stressed that the men — "and this is the feeling of

most of us" — had no faith in Foreign Minister Pik Botha's claim that they were no longer in detention.

Brigadier Leon Mellett, liaison officer for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, said this week "We are not involved anymore. This is now an issue between the Americans and their three guests."

The American Embassy in Pretoria refused to be drawn on their uninvited guests, other than to say that "material comfort" was being provided.

The embassy stood by its stance that the men would not be forced to leave the consulate.

"The three men requested refuge because they had reason to fear for their safety, and their estimate of the situation has not changed," said a spokesman.

Biko stand praised at commemoration service

CP Correspondent

THE father of Black Consciousness, Steve Biko, was praised for his principles this week at an Azanian Co-ordinating Committee service in his memory

In paying tribute to Biko, who died in detention on September 12, 1977, speakers touched on black worker alliances, restrictive laws and political events in South Africa

"In remembering Biko, we should examine if we are still treading on the footprints he left behind for the successful execution of our struggle," Banking, Insurance, Finance and Assurance Workers' Union education officer Oupa Ngwenya told the lunchtime gathering at the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union offices in Johannesburg

Said Ngwenya "He stood for the oneness of the country as opposed to national states which perforate black solidarity"

He said the protest action from June 6-8 this year demonstrated that the "interests of the workers and capitalists will always clash"

The fact that employer organisations were going to abide by the statutory requirements of labour relations indicated

"their alliance with the ruling class"

"So it is for the black working class to seek alliances with the communities from which they come," said Ngwenya

A representative from the Johannesburg Action Youth, Terry Sam, told the gathering the working classes had made a tremendous impact and had "shaken the government"

Sam called on Azacco to put up opposition to "alliances between the working class and the bourgeoisie" and said "the oppressed and exploited" were a vital force in bringing about "revolutionary change in society"

Another speaker, Tsepo Sebusi, who is National Youth Co-ordinating Committee secretary for political education, warned that "the government will forever protect the interests of the bourgeoisie"

Turning to restrictions on political and other organisations, Sebusi said "This is nothing new It is not a miracle We have and will survive the repression"

● Meanwhile, four services organised by Azacco to mark the death of Biko in the Far Northern Transvaal were banned by the police - Ano

DURBAN — The South African Rugby Union (Saru) have also held talks in Lusaka with the ANC it was revealed this weekend

A statement released by the Saru executive, said their president, Mr Ebrahim Patel, and four other members, met an ANC delegation led by the ANC information boss Mr Thabo Mbeki

According to the statement, Saru had been invited by the ANC to discuss the rugby situation in the country with specific reference to its future.

The Lusaka talks followed the recent disclosures of meetings in London and Frankfurt between the Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt, African sports administrators and members of the ANC

The discussions, the statement said were "fruitful and constructive", and Saru was hoping that the talks would benefit all who support the anti-apartheid sports movement.

The statement also said that Saru

Saru also holds talks with ANC

GAZETTE

19/9/88

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had always maintained that it was prepared to meet any person or organization to outline its position and principles for true non-racial rugby and its opposition to apartheid

Among other things achieved at the talks, is the ANC's commitment to work closer with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) to popularize Saru internationally

"We will brief our affiliates on the talks with the ANC and do not regard this initiative as sensational. On the contrary, it is simply a natural consequence of Saru's principled position being brought nearer to realization," said Mr Patel

SA students talk to ANC

19/9/88
Cape Times By PETER DENNEHY

TEN students from the University of Stellenbosch and one each from the universities of Pretoria, the Free State and Port Elizabeth have just returned from a week-long trip to Maputo during which they talked to the ANC

Ms Tanja Hichert, assistant editor of Die Matie, said the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) had funded their trip, but the students had visited the ANC office in Maputo on their own initiative

Under the Nkomati Accord, the ANC was still allowed to maintain an office in Maputo, said Ms Hichert. The students had spoken to Mr Kingsley Molepe and Mr Thomas Ndiela there, and asked them about "soft target" bombings. The spokesmen had said it was not policy to hit soft targets, but the ANC did not have complete control over its cadres.

"We were allowed into Mozambique on South African passports, and had no problems," she said

Apartheid blamed

BUCKET toilets with night soil spilling over and children dying in dongas along the unlit gravel streets of the townships were some of the problems caused by apartheid, a Rand Supreme Court judge was told on Friday.

Trade unionist, Mr Moses Mayekiso, said such problems were found in Alexandra Township. He said the night soil spilled over the bucket system toilets that were not emptied regularly and the "rotten" houses were overcrowded with

families.

He said some of the children fell into the dongas along the unlit gravel streets and died there.

Mr Mayekiso said these problems were discussed at informal meetings and the residents blamed apartheid. He said it was suggested that a residents' organisation be formed to tackle these problems.

Mr Mayekiso (38) said this from the witness

Sanction 19/9/88
By **MANDLA**
NDLAZI

11A

stand when he gave evidence in his defence at the trial where he appears with four other civic leaders on charges of treason, alternatively sedition or subversion.

The other four are Mr Paul Tshabalala (38), Mr Richard Mdakane (29), Mr Mzwanele Mayekiso (22) and Mr Obed Bapela (28), all from Alexandra.



Jackson *9/16-17/88* to visit 3 UDF men?

JOHANNESBURG
President P W Botha has invited US black civil rights leader Rev Jesse Jackson to visit SA to help end a stalemate over three detainees holed up in the US consulate in Johannesburg, a spokeswoman for Rev Jackson claimed at the weekend

However, last night a spokesman for the State President, Mr Jack Viers, said President Botha was unaware of such an invitation

Rev Jackson's spokeswoman, Ms Tanya Mitchell, made the claim in Chicago. She said Jackson had not "accepted the invitation as of yet"

On Wednesday, Rev Jackson spoke to the three on a telephone hookup from the SA embassy in Washington

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LAN TAYLOR



UN visit

Sources close to the three former detainees yesterday said the three may be visited by UN secretary general Dr Perez de Cuellar as well as Rev Jackson

The three who entered the consulate last Tuesday after escaping from police custody are the UDF's acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, acting general secretary, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and the National Education Crisis Committee chairman, Mr Vusi Khanyile

Yesterday SA Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Roland Darroll confirmed a statement on Dr De Cuellar's visit next week would be issued today — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

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A knee-jerk reaction in the 'right' and 'reasonable' direction

Political Reporter DALE LAUTENBACH ponders the "reasonableness" of the government's response to the "Consulate Three"

ARCUS
19/9/88
11A

THERE was a flurry of genuine surprise all round when just 24 hours after the three senior United Democratic Front detainees had escaped into the twilight of diplomatic protection, the South African authorities responded with a notice of their release.

The surprise was such that while many asked the obvious question about these long-term detainees — if now, why not before? — there was a clamour too of congratulations. The government had acted reasonably, had done the right thing, had, in short, risen to the occasion. This in itself was cause for comment.

By the same token, it is only consistent unreasonableness that makes ordinary reasonableness remarkable.

And when reasonableness itself is remarkable, how far is it from that "South American junta" to which Mr Sydney Kentridge, QC, likened South Africa in seeking to defend the reasonable, civil expectations of the End Conscription Campaign in court recently against the martial law indemnity claim of the Defence Force?

Ordinarily, a government is expected to act reasonably, is praised when it acts with extraordinary courage and, more

usually, taken to task on all fronts for its lapses, international and domestic.

The unusual praise that President Botha's men won for their actions in announcing the "freedom" of Mr Vusi Khanyile, Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Mohamamed Valli Moosa was also more than just unusual. It effectively blunted the swords of criticism that might have been driven into the State's response, properly analysed.

That sword might even have been twisted when a public official, Law and Order Press liaison person Brigadier Leon Mellet, came out with his comment that the three men were emergency detainees which was a "temporary" situation.

This must surely trash any claim to reasonableness. These "temporary" detainees among them were held, without charge, for a total of 48½ months, Mr Morobe and Mr Moosa since July last year and Mr Khanyile since December, 1986.

A comment from Professor Don Foster, author of *Torture and Detention in South Africa* and head of the psychology department at the University of Cape Town, bears repeating here, too.

Considering how haggard and devastated that other long-term detainee, Mr Raymond Suttner, appeared when he was fi-

nally released recently, said Professor Foster, what measure of desperation was it that drove the three UDF men to resort to an escape with all its possible consequences?

The "reasonableness" of the State's response must also be pitched against facts of the situation — the 48½ months and that singular fact that there have been and are still no charges against these men.

Does the State really think it could get away with the cavalier argument that the three men were about to be released anyway?

Or was it a case of "Who? oh, them! Well, now that you mention it, now that it comes to our attention, they might as well go free."

These imaginings are distracting but of course unlikely. Which leaves a more likely explanation that a desperate government, renowned for knee-jerk, ad hoc response to events, has just had its knee jerked again.

And that the foot kicked out in the "right" and "reasonable" direction was no reliable index of attitude.

Just wait until next time or ask about the thousands of others who remain in detention, similarly without charge or access to the law.

CHE Times 20/9/88 (11A)

Rajbansi: The 'Idi Amin' of Indian politics?

DURBAN. — A House of Delegates deputy minister yesterday described Mr Amichand Rajbansi as "an Idi Amin of Indian politics".

Mr Somaroo Pachai, the Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs, Housing, Local Government and Agriculture, was giving evidence to the James Commission which is investigating allegations of irregularities in the House of Delegates.

Mr Pachai said Mr Rajbansi was an autocrat who used bullying and dictatorial means to run a one-party show.

He told the commission in one instance Mr Rajbansi's former private secretary, Mr H Moosa, was brought close to tears after being chastised by the chairman of the Minister's Council in his offices.

Mr Pachai also told of his humiliation when he received a message from the switchboard operator when he returned to his hotel in Pretoria which read "Very upset by your presence at Labour Party conference Demand apology."

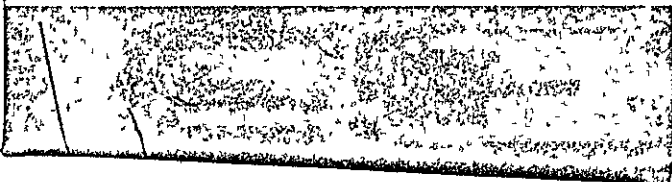
Mr Pachai said that he was shocked because he had informed Mr Rajbansi by letter that he intended to attend the Labour Party conference.

"This is how he treats people," said Mr Pachai.

He told the commission that he was the national chairman of the National People's Party until towards the end of 1987 when he decided to sever ties and remain an independent member of the House.

He said that in December last year he received a letter from Mr Rajbansi instructing him not to deal with any housing matters. A week later he received another letter demanding to know whether he was dealing with certain housing matters and if he did not stop immediately Mr Rajbansi would take action.

"I was expected to leave all matters at the drop of a hat. This is his habit of getting all people to do as he wants. He threatened to close my office and pack me off to Pretoria." — Sapa



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'KICK OUT LIBERALS, HOMELAND GROUPS'

IR
20/9/88
Maseko

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

THE Azanian Co-ordination Committee yesterday indicated that it would pull out of the forthcoming anti-apartheid conference if certain organisations — among them liberal and homeland groups — were not kicked out, writes LEN MASEKO.

By LEN MASEKO
the participation of several organisations including the Five Freedoms Forum, New Democratic Movement led by Mr Wynand Malan, KaNgwane-based Inyandza National Movement and the Scopasengwe Party of

Bophuthatswana The conference has been called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu)
Addressing a Press conference yesterday, Azacco official Mr Lusiba Ntloko said invitations to the
● To Page 4.

Azacco has objected to

Meeting

● From page 1 IR

conference — scheduled to be held in Cape Town this weekend — were sent to a "mixed bag of organisations", some of them "representatives of the ruling class". Other Azacco objections included

- Only 15 delegates were allowed from Azacco while "the non-democratic movement" — what ever that means — had 50 and its affiliates were given a higher status.
- Organisers of the conference belonged to one political grouping, namely the Charterists.
- The meeting was scheduled for this weekend "thus not allowing consultations between organisations and their constituencies

Mr Ntloko said, "For us to forge any meaningful solution some important points have to be considered that it needs to be unity, first and foremost of the oppressed and exploited, that unity should be based on specific principles, all organisations to accept and respect the integrity and genuineness of other

Maseko
20/9/88

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Cosatu's conference rejected

*17/6/88
20/7/88
11/8*

Staff Reporter

THE Azanian Co-ordinating Committee has resolved not to attend a conference organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in Cape Town at the weekend

Spokesman Mr Peter Jones said at a press conference yesterday the conference "does not constitute a meaningful facility for different organisations to find common ground".

He said the committee was told in discussions with Cosatu that the agenda would be "unity and organisation, against repression" and "one person, one vote".

But it had subsequently learnt that the major "emphasis of the congress is to work to create a climate for a political settlement"

They also objected to the exclusion of organisations such as the Cape Action League, and the invitations to liberal groups such as the restricted End Conscription Campaign and political parties such as Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement and those forming part of political structures in the parliaments of homelands, he said

'I was mandated'

A DAY after the Alexandra Action Committee was formed trade unionist Mr Moses Mayekiso was arrested, a packed Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

The AAC was formed at a meeting held on February 17, 1986 and Mr Mayekiso was arrested the next day. This was said by Mr Mayekiso on his third week in the witness box when giving evidence in his own defence.

Led by defence lawyer advocate Mr David Soggot, SC, Mr Mayekiso was testifying on some documents exhibited in court. Some of the

documents were found in his possession when he was arrested.

Mr Mayekiso said he was arrested under emergency regulations and released on March 7 of that year. After he was released, he said, he was briefed about what had been happening in the area.

He said he then sought help from the South African Council of Churches to help with the situation in the area. Mr Mayekiso said he was mandated to draft the constitution for the AAC. He later circulated the draft at a meeting. He said he had discussed the draft with his attorney.

Answering another question Mr Mayekiso said he had no objections to T-shirts with the slogan "the struggle must continue". This was a popular slogan, he said.

Mr Mayekiso said he had approved of a decision to produce T-

shirts for the AAC and the adoption of a red flag as the colour of the AAC. He said before he went abroad his wife accompanied him to see a Father Cairns about the situation in Alexandra. He said he wanted to get advice and help on how the situation in the area could be handled.

Mr Mayekiso said he had heard that police no longer attended to complaints from the residents. This is why, he said, he had gone to see Father Cairns. Mr Mayekiso said he did not approve of the "peoples' court" held at number 31-7th Avenue in Alexandra. He said he had heard of other such courts at the third, ninth and 15th avenues in the area.

He said he was against such courts because of corporal punishment meted out by the youths who ran these courts.

11/1
20/9/88
S. M. M.

Consul puts Press gag on UDF three

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a surprise move the United States consul-general has forbidden any direct or indirect Press contact with the three United Democratic Front activists holed up in the consulate here.

This was confirmed today by the spokesman for the men's support group, South African Council of Churches communications director Mr Sakkie Mocosoma.

The activists — acting-UDF treasurer Mr Valli Moosa, acting-UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe and National Education Crisis Committee chairman Mr Vusi Khanyile — have spent a week in the consulate.

They have indicated they will not leave until their de-

mands have been met by the government.

An assurance by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that they were free to go and would not be re-detained, was countered by a demand by the activists that the emergency be lifted and all political detainees freed.

Refused entry

The support group yesterday met the consul-general, Mr Peter Chavaes, to discuss Press contact with the men.

Mr Mocosoma said Mr Chavaes refused entry to journalists hoping to interview the men.

Mr Chavaes also refused to allow the men's attorney to answer Press questions on behalf of the three.

Mrs Winnie Mandela is expected to visit the former fugitives today.

Please tell, says Ccawusa

CMT Times 21/9/88 117

Staff Reporter

THE Commercial and Catering Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (Ccawusa), asked Cosatu this week why the union was not invited to the "People's Congress" on September 24

In a telex to Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, Ccawusa general secretary Mr Vivian Mtwla said the union had noted with concern that various community organizations and trade unions had not been invited to participate in the People's Congress

"We believe that it was the objective of this congress to play the basis for real unity in our struggle against op-

pression and exploitation, and we would be discussing the event within our structures," Ccawusa said.

Ccawusa said the Cape Action League (CAL) and the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), were also excluded while organizations such as the National Democratic Movement and the Five Freedom Forums were invited.

The conference would discuss unity and organization against repression, one person one vote in a democratic society, the Group Areas Act, Labour Relations Act and working to create a climate for negotiations

by Arnold



THIS is the condition five white men left the Leeuw family furniture in. The incident took place at Dlamini 1 on Monday night. Mr Herbert Leeuw (76) and his wife, Violet were stunned by the event.

meat and cabbage stew and sold it to residents of Wolhuter hostel, near Jeppe, in Johannesburg on Monday.

The chef, Mr Ernest Cele, told police he found the clot and, mistaking it for salt, added it to the stew

Victims

Police liaison officer, Colonel Frans Malherbe, said Mr Cele prepared the stew at lunchtime on Monday with the help of Mr Richard Khumalo (40) who died soon after arrival in the hospital's casualty ward

The remaining victims, including Mr Cele, had responded to treatment, were in a stable condition

• To Page 2

Whites attack homes

FIVE white men attacked the homes of two Black Consciousness activists in Soweto on Monday night — leaving one of them injured

The families of Mr Thami Mcerwa and Miss Thenjiwe Leeuw said the attacks occurred within five minutes of each other in Dlamini 1 Mr

By MOKGADI PELA

Mcerwa is a legal unit official of the National Council of Trade Unions while Miss Leeuw is the former minute secretary of the Azanian Students Movement

Mr Mcerwa said about 11 20pm on Monday the

white men driving a white car broke the front windows of his home and immediately drove off

About five minutes later Mr Victor Leeuw (40), in the same area, was awoken by the sound of shattering glass.

"When I went out to check, I was confronted by five white men. One of

them grabbed me by the neck and pushed me inside the house where they started assaulting me. I was injured in the head, wrists and I was cut on the left thigh"

He said R270 which was in his briefcase was missing. Almost all the

To Page 2

11A Sowetan 2/9/88

Attack

• From page 1. *11A*

windows were damaged and furniture in the dining room and bedroom was scattered around. *Sowetan 2/9/88*

Mr Leeuw said he reported the matter at the Moroka police station while Mr Mcerwa's family was still seeking legal opinion in connection with the matter.

Soweto public relations officer, Major Fanyana Zwane, confirmed that the Leeuw family had reported the matter to the police and said the matter was being investigated.

Rajbansi attacks welfare bodies

C.M. 7.25 2/9/88 114

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Certain child-welfare organizations were being used to fan the flames of revolution in the country, Mr Amichand Rajbansi said at the close of yesterday's evidence in the James Commission of Inquiry into alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates) and see if you get sued for defamation," said the Commission chairman, Mr Justice James.

Mr Rajbansi cited the child-welfare organizations at Phoenix, Lenasia, and Tongaat as examples of "revolutionary" bodies.

His assertion arose during his cross-examination of Mr Yunis Moola, MP for Stanger, on the House of Delegates' failure to accept Stanger Child Welfare's offer of sharing their premises.

Mr Moola said Child Welfare had offered their premises to the House of Delegates for a maximum rental of R2 000 a month, but he was "shocked" to learn that it was decided instead to rent premises from Krishna Holdings at about R7 500 a month.

Working on a 10-year lease, he said, this decision would cost an extra R1 000 000 more during that time.

It was "nonsensical" not to share Child Welfare's premises, Mr Moola said, because it was a "totally apolitical organization".

The hearing continues today.

THOUGH HE HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH REASON ON LEAVING THE

SARU, ANC talk

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Rugby Union (Saru) crossed the Limpopo River at the weekend to hold "fruitful talks" with the African National Congress (ANC) in Lusaka.

A statement released by Saru's executive this week said their president, Mr Ebrahim Patel, and four others met a delegation of the ANC at the request of the banned

organisation.

The ANC delegation was headed by Information Director Thabo Mbeki.

The Lusaka talks followed the recent disclosures by the Transvaal rugby union's president Dr Louis Luyt that he held at least two meetings with sports officials from African countries at which ANC members, including Mbeki, were present.

The meetings, convened at the request of Dr Danie Craven's union, have created a storm in Afrikaner circles

The difference, according to Patel, is that the Saru-ANC meeting was held at the request of the outlawed organisation.

The discussions, the statement said, centred on rugby in South Africa, particularly the future of the game

Saru said it had always maintained it would be prepared to meet any person or organisation to outline its position and principles for true non-racial rugby — and its opposition to apartheid

Saru's destiny was tied to Africa The union could now confirm that

RETURN TO PAGE 17



Thabo Mbeki

11A
15-2-1988 Saru
11A

Saru talks to ANC

• FROM PAGE 1

the quest to establish rugby links with African rugby playing countries had begun and — after being in existence for 100 years — it had finally arrived at that moment when it was ready to take its place in the international arena.

After its annual general meeting in Johannesburg in May, Saru announced it had given up hope that the International Rugby Board would be able contribute meaningfully to resolving the rugby problems in South Africa

It decided to forge links through Africa with 52 other rugby-playing nations

After the AGM, Saru said it was prepared to "walk a lonely path" to seek alliances with countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia.

"We must not expect any joy from the IRB," Patel told SOUTH

Suspicion

Patel said Saru was mindful that in recent newspaper reports an impression had been created that there had been ongoing meetings between Saru and the South African Rugby Board

"This creates wrong impressions and unnecessary suspicion The fact of the matter is that there was only one meeting with SARB on May 7 1988 at which Saru reiterated its position and principles as it has consistently done over the years."

Patel said this meeting took place with the full knowledge and consent of Saru's affiliates

"We also draw a very clear distinction between discussions and negotiations Saru will always be party to any initiative aimed at total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of true non-racial rugby in a democratic South Africa," Patel added

"We are to brief our affiliates and don't regard this initiative as sensational On the contrary, it is simply a natural consequence of Saru's principled position being brought nearer to realisation "

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CAPC 7.475 22/9/88 (117) 222
**'Winnie threatened
us,' youth tells court**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A young witness told the Magistrate's Court here yesterday that he and a relative were threatened by Mrs Winnie Mandela just before they were assaulted and had initials carved on their bodies.

Mr Isaac Mokgoro, 19, Mr John Jusaf Morgan, 60, and Mr Absolom Dumisane Madonsella, 20, have pleaded not guilty to two charges of kidnapping and assault alleged to have occurred on May 26 last year.

The state alleges Mr Phillip Makanda, 18, and his 16-year-old relative were removed from their Soweto home at gunpoint and taken to the home of Mrs Mandela.

The court heard that Mrs Mandela told Mr Makanda that if he did not speak the truth, the men would hurt them, he said

They were then allegedly assaulted and "Viva ANC" and "M", allegedly denoting Mandela, were carved on their bodies.

They were then allegedly taken to another house and kept in a garage from where they later escaped and ran to Meadowlands police station.

The trial will continue tomorrow

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Evidence: 'NPP teachers' got preference

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The former national secretary of Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party told the James Commission yesterday that between 60 and 80 Indian teachers were promoted or transferred after they joined the party when it was voted into power in the 1984 elections

"It is corruption, maladministration and highly irregular that teachers get promoted on the basis of their political affiliations," said Mr George Thaver

When asked by Mr Rajbansi to name some of the 'eight to 15'

teachers Mr Thaver said had visited Mr Rajbansi about being transferred, Mr Thaver could name only two

Mr Rajbansi then accused Mr Thaver of "fabricating" the story South Africa's largest importer of books was questioned on the substantial school book allocations his firm received from the House of Delegates after donations were made to Mr Rajbansi's National People's Party

Mr Arvind Roopanand of D Roopanand Bros, whose three book and stationery outlets have all enjoyed substantial jumps in

their allocations since 1986, said this was because of the company's "good track record"

Mr Roopanand conceded that he donated R500 to the NPP in 1985 and R1 000 after receiving letters of request, but said he was a "neutral businessman" who did not support any particular political party or organization

Mr S Zwigelaar, former executive director of Indian Education, testified that Mr Rajbansi had instructed him to allocate new orders for school books to D Roopanand Bros

114 *CR 11715 22/9/88*

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CMC Times 22/9/88
117

Mbabane swoop: 3 South Africans held

MBABANE. — Armed Swazi para-military police arrested three South Africans — a man and two women — during a dawn raid on a house in a township here yesterday.

Police confirmed that the three, believed to be members of the ANC, were found to be in possession of seven AK-47 rifles, nine AK magazines and 580 rounds of ammunition.

They are being held in custody pending their appearance in court.

Swaziland's Arms and Ammunition Act was drastically amended last month after a lengthy parliamentary debate concerning the stiffer penalties recommended by the House of Assembly. Up to 10 years' mandatory prison sentence without the option of a fine was suggested, although the fine option was eventually allowed.

A senior police source said that most of the people who brought illegal weapons into the country were members of ANC cadres, who simply paid their fines and were flown out of the country at the state's expense — only to return to Swaziland at a later date. — Sapa

SUPREME COURT ROLL

THE anti-apartheid conference in Cape Town this weekend will go ahead in spite of the detention of 10 prominent activists yesterday

The conference has been set up by Cosatu to seek "unity and organization" against apartheid issues to be discussed include the state of emergency, the new Labour Relations Act and the banning of the UDF.

Most of the 10 people detained in Cape Town are members of the UDF and Cosatu

Cosatu information officer Mr Frank Meintjies said none of the 10 had played a part in organizing the conference

Those detained are Mr Neville van der Rheede, a restricted high school teacher Mr Saleem Mowzer, restricted UDF leader Mr Trevor Manuel, Cape Democrats leader Ms Amy Thornton, restricted UDF leader Mr Mountain Qumbela, chairman of the Rocklands Ratepayers' Association Mr Willie Simmers, UDF president Mr Zollie Malindi, International Labour Research Institute and Mowbray Youth Congress member Mr Harold Harvey, United Women's Congress member Ms Nomalinda Mfeketho, and the secretary of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers Mr Huxley Joshua

In Maritzburg police said they raid-

Detentions but congress goes ahead

ed the premises of several organizations, including Cosatu, the Maritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, the Black Sash, Lawyers for Human Rights and Edendale Advice Centre

Police said the raids took place under the emergency regulations

According to sources within the organizations, police were looking for material on the October 26 municipal elections, and at the Cosatu offices the workers were asked for information about the planned congress in Cape Town

Some 75 organizations are to meet at the conference, which will be held at UCT

Mr Meintjies said the conference was a "platform to enable organizations to work out a way forward", adding that the 600-700 people expected to attend did not agree on all issues.

From page 1

● New detentions 'a reign of terror' -

Page 7

From page 1

Detentions

"What has become clear is that there is a wide range of forces which are not part of the democratic movement which have an objective interest in the abolition of apartheid," a statement read out by the former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Beyers Naude, said

Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, said it would be a recipe for disaster if the conference was banned

"We are not about to launch a new movement. This is not a conference of people who necessarily agree on everything. It is a conference of people who agree that the apartheid problem must be dealt with once and for all," Mr Mufamadi said

Last night the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said anti-election propaganda, subtle as well as hard intimidation and bloody violence, was once again the order of the day in South Africa

Addressing the H L Swanepoel Group of Companies' workshop session in Verwoerdburg, he said the country remained in the grip of an "escalating revolutionary attack".

"It is being fomented and orchestrated purposefully and diabolically by our enemies. All terrains of our everyday life are being unscrupulously and cold-bloodedly trodden upon, and in the process nothing and nobody is overlooked" — Sapa, UPI, Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

Govt threatened 'UDF 3' — Winnie

copy 7-1-78 22/9/88
JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday visited the three UDF detainees who have taken refuge in the United States Consulate here

Afterwards Mrs Mandela claimed the three were warned by senior government officials to leave the consulate by midnight last Tuesday — the day they sought refuge there — or the government would take the severest action against them

Mrs Mandela, her daughter Zindzi and the president of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Manas Buthelezi, spent more than 90 minutes with the three, who have been holed up in the consulate for eight days

Mrs Mandela said the men, Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Mohammed Vali Moosa and Mr Vusi Khanyile, had received a telephone call from senior government officials at 11pm last Tuesday

She said they were told to leave the country at midnight. If they would not, the government would take the severest action, she said, adding that she believed the telephone call had come from senior government ministers "including Mr Adriaan Vlok and Mr Pik Botha"

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet, said Mrs Mandela's claims were "totally untrue" and that the three were free to leave the consulate any time they wanted to, without fear of reprisal from the police

Mrs Mandela also said the men were not living in a five-star hotel as reported in a Sunday newspaper but were living in "just an ordinary boardroom" — Sapa

CHF Top 22/9/86
**Youth group
in Langa**

Staff Reporter

A NEW youth organization has been formed in Langa with the aim of providing a variety of cultural and educational activities for young people.

Mr Siphiso Tukulu, chairman of the Harlem Youth Organization, said yesterday that the group had been formed in August by young people in Langa.

"We wanted to form a new youth group as many of the existing groups only teach music to their members."

A fund-raising concert is to be held in the St Francis Hall in Langa on Sunday. It starts at 1pm. Doors will open at noon.

Anti-apartheid conference

NO

T U R N I N G

B A C K

A 12-YEAR-OLD girl was killed instantly and another child wounded when a policeman — part of a reaction unit and security police team — was attacked at a house in Claremont, near Pinetown, on Tuesday night.

The girl has been identified as Nosipho Khumalo, who was shot in the chest. An 11-year-boy, Nhlahleni Phuli,

Girl (12) is shot dead

was also wounded in the leg and received medical treatment.

Major Chari du Toit, police public relations officer for Port Natal

said, police received information that a man was in possession of a Scorpion semi-automatic pistol.

"Police obtained a

warrant to search the house and members from the reaction unit and security police went to the house.

"The occupants in the house denied knowledge of any firearms, but when police searched the house they found the pistol in a bag under the bed.

"In the meantime, a policeman was allegedly

• To page 2

THE anti-apartheid conference called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions is going ahead as scheduled despite the pull-out by the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee.

Addressing a Press conference yesterday, the organisers of the conference said it was "unfortunate" that

By LEN MASEKO

they had received a "negative feedback" from Azacco.

Azacco has objected to the participation of what it termed "liberal and homeland groups" including the Five Freedom Forum, New Democratic Movement, KaNgwane-based Inyandza National Movement and the Seoposengwe Party of

Bophuthatswana

The two-day conference, which will be held in Cape Town this weekend is being called by Cosatu to forge a broad front in the fight against the apartheid system. More than 600 delegates from 75 community organisations are expected to attend.

Cosatu Press officer, Mr Frank Meintjies, said "We chose

• To page 2



CONFERENCE organisers at yesterday's Press conference (from left) Dr Naude, Mr Meintjies and Mr Sydney Mufamadi

• The Group Areas Act. One of the organisers, Dr Beyers Naude, said this conference was a call to "everyone, including the Afrikaner community" to join the fight for the democratic future.

Mr Meintjies said it would "be foolish of the Government to ban the conference." Banning the meeting would "add to a catalogue of the Government's 1988 blunders."

Meanwhile the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) is to hold a central executive committee meeting today, to decide whether it will attend the anti-apartheid conference or not.

The Azanian National Unity, which is among organisations invited to attend, has turned down the invitation to attend the meeting.

Cape meeting

• From page 1

organisations participating in this conference using one criterion: that they should have real interest in seeing the abolition of the apartheid system. These organisations do not necessarily agree with each other but agree that there should be a speedy end of the apartheid system."

He said there were organisations who objected to the invitation of Azacco to the conference but, he added, "only one or two organisations would have ended attending the meeting" had the organisers heeded all objections raised by some groups.

Issues

Main issues to be discussed at the conference include

- The restrictions placed on the UDF and 17 other organisations,
- The Labour Relations Amendment Act,
- One person one vote in a democratic South Africa, and

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By Adele Baleta
Between 600 and 700 delegates representing 75 organisations are expected to attend the anti-apartheid conference organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in Cape Town at the weekend, according to a statement at a Johannesburg press conference yesterday.

The press conference was organised by Cosatu and attended by prominent anti-apartheid campaigners, Dr Beyers Naude and Dr Max Coleman.

Anti-apartheid student, labour, community, church, political and business groupings have been invited to attend the Cape Town conference.

Cosatu condemned the detention of 10 Western Cape activists and warned that a ban on the anti-apartheid conference would be a recipe for violence.

Cosatu's publicity secretary, Mr Frank Meintjies, said the weekend's proceedings would focus on two areas — unity and organisation against oppression, and one person, one vote, in a democratic

Hundreds to attend Cosatu conference

South Africa.

The Labour Relations Amendment Act, the Group Areas Act and the banning of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates would also be discussed.

Mr Meintjies said it was clear that the Government was unable to resolve the political, economic and social crisis.

The conference had been arranged to gather anti-apartheid organisations together to discuss the way forward and to express united opposition to racist oppression.

He said that although he did not expect any doctrinal statements to be drawn up, future projects of joint action could result.

Mr Meintjies added that it was regrettable that the Azanian co-ordinating committee had withdrawn.

23/9/88 FM

THE KINE THREE

(11A)

In search of a role

Having been granted temporary refuge in the American Consulate in Johannesburg, the question now is what will the "Kine Three," as they have been dubbed, do?

The three (former) emergency detainees are acting UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, acting UDF secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa, and National Education Crisis Committee chairman Vusi Khanyile. They sought refuge in the consulate after escaping from detention while on a routine visit to the Johannesburg Hospital two weeks ago.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's assurance to the media that they would not be rearrested if they left the consulate has defused some of the potential for confrontation.

But whether they will, in Botha's words, "have to leave the US consulate with their tails between their legs with all of SA laughing at them" remains to be seen. For the moment there is no indication that the three intend to leave at all. A protracted sit-in would obviously serve to keep the name of the restricted UDF in the news.

Botha (no doubt correctly) accused them of wanting to gain world attention — particularly the attention of the US Congress in the hope that this would contribute towards the passage of sanctions legislation.

The three have said they intend highlight-



UDF's Morobe ... the choice is theirs

ing detention without trial in SA and the plight of about 1 000 people still detained.

Their demands are that government lift the emergency, release all detainees unconditionally, and guarantee they can walk out of the consulate free of restrictions. There is little prospect of government acceding to the first two demands. The situation is thus deadlocked. But over what?

A protracted sit-in could embarrass Washington, particularly if their consulate came to be seen as a UDF command post from which a political campaign was being mounted — against the local elections, say.

It seems clear that the Kine Three's gameplan won't be made in isolation from the UDF. They have appointed a support group comprising SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, Max Coleman of the restricted Detainees Parents Support Committee, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, SACC's Saki Maconzana, and their lawyer Krish Naidoo. They have also been visited by UDF leading lights, the Rev Allan Boesak and Albertina Sisulu — and Winnie Mandela was due to meet them this week.

On Tuesday, the support group was negotiating with the Consul General. Media access to them was also being discussed.

While there is confusion over whether Jesse Jackson will visit them, an American correspondent pointed out that Jackson has for the last week been holed up in Jamaica, courtesy of Hurricane Gilbert, and therefore cannot be contacted.

So how long will they stay? Government says the choice is theirs. The Americans say they won't be forced to leave.

"The aim is to find a speedy resolution to the problem," says US embassy information officer Barrie Walkley. "But there have been cases where temporary refuge has become extended." The most famous case is that of Cardinal Josef Mindzenty who took refuge in the US embassy in Budapest for 11 years after the Hungarian uprising.

SA Institute of International Affairs' John Barratt observes that everything is speculative at the moment and repercussions will depend on what they demand and what they do.

"But I do not think it is enough to fuel a new sanctions drive and the sting has been taken out by government saying they will not be redetained. At the moment they can't really build an issue out of it."

So for the moment it is all more of a problem for the Americans — although it could be an embarrassment to Pretoria because of more publicity on security legislation. ■

(11A) Summary 23/9/88



FLASHBACK: Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo (left) and Black Consciousness exponent Mr Muntu Myeza, at a seminar in April where Freedom Charter adherents and Azanian Manifesto supporters agreed that apartheid was deplorable and proposed a new economic framework for South Africa. Can a leaf be taken from this book?

THE proposed broad front against apartheid to be launched in Cape Town at the weekend could be stillborn.

Two of the 75 organisations invited to take part have indicated they will not attend. They are the black consciousness-orientated Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (Azacco) and the Africanist Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu).

Their decision echoes the first crack in the politics of resistance as seen when the Pan Africanist Congress broke away from the African National Congress in 1959.

UDF

This was again seen when the United Democratic Front was launched a few months after the National Forum was formed in 1983.

However, the organisers of the Cape Town conference have stressed that the meeting will not see the formation of another organisation.

BIG CRACK IN THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE

All the organisations have been invited because of their wish to end apartheid and many did not necessarily agree with the policies and principles of each other, the Congress of South African Trade Unions which organised the conference said.

One of the aims of the conference is to form a front to thwart the Government's attempts to weaken anti-apartheid forces.

Another is to consolidate recent advances in solidarity on matters of common interests which saw ideological differences being played down.

FOCUS

By THEMBA MOLEFE

The conference highlights the problems that have been bugging unity among anti-apartheid forces.

Azacco points out that although it applauds attempts by organisations to foster solidarity it objects to the fact that the proposed front will include what it regards as direct representatives of the ruling class.

It cited the National Democratic Movement whose leader Mr Wynand Malan is a Member of Parliament the Inyandza Cultural Movement of Mr Enos Mabuza, the leader of the KaNgwane homeland and the People's Progressive Party of Bophuthatswana.

Solution

"Any meaningful solution for unity should be based on the fact that it needs to be a unity, first and foremost, of the oppressed and exploited," says Azacco.

It says further: "We need to construct a unity based on specific principles — principled unity."

- All organisations should accept and respect the integrity and genuineness of other organisations.
- The solution should be worked for through democratic consultation and
- It should be tested through united action on specific action as was the case with the joint Cosatu-Nactu protest action of June 6, 7 and 8

Regard

"In the light of this we regard the Cosatu initiatives to hold an anti-apartheid conference as over-ambitious and impractical, says Azacco.

Azacco's sentiments are echoed by Azanyu which says it reiterates its position that it is committed to working closely with all organisations that are seriously committed to the total destruction of settler colonialism and capitalism."

It says it is also committed to the formation of a united front of all organisations on the basis of certain basic principles which it says are:

- The oppressed and exploited are the only vehicle for social change and that the ruling class cannot be an agent for change.
- Apartheid cannot be

reformed, but must be destroyed.

"We do not believe in an anti-apartheid struggle as it was born in 1948. Our struggle started prior to 1948," says Azanyu.

Some of the organisations have objected to the structural planning of the conference in terms of delegate status.

Cosatu has already laid down plans regarding the number of delegates from each of the participant groups. It has also assumed the organisational control and has drafted the agenda.

Cosatu and the majority of organisations it invited, have adopted the Freedom Charter as a guiding document.

Black consciousness groups and the Africanists do not recognise the Charter as a document which could unite the oppressed.

The organisers this week said those groups which felt strongly about certain organisations should take into account that objections were raised about their participation as well.

Out of the 75 groups invited only Azacco and Nactu from the "other" camps have been invited.

Azacco points out that hundreds of other organisations have been excluded and says some of them are the Azanian Students Movement the Cape Action League and the National Youth Co-ordinating Committee.

The list of invitees includes the Association of Democratic Journalists while the Media Workers Association of South Africa is not included.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers has been invited while the Black Lawyers Association has been left out.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlha'u. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Police ban

city congress

POLICE late last night banned a major weekend anti-apartheid conference after virtually sealing off Cape Town earlier in the day with roadblocks set up on all major routes into the city.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet confirmed that the ban on tomorrow's People's Congress had been imposed in terms of emergency regulations.

At least 24 activists, more than half from the Western Cape, were detained in the 48 hours leading up to the ban as police rounded up people thought to be organizers of the conference, scheduled for UCT tomorrow.

Most of those detained were involved in organizing the conference, at which representatives of about 75 organizations are expected.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), one of the main organizers, said police yesterday intercepted two of its officials at Jan Smuts Airport, preventing them from flying to Cape Town for the conference. Cosatu vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini and assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mufamadi were handed orders issued by Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, placing them under house arrest between 6pm and 6am and confining them to Johannesburg's city limits until October 3, Cosatu spokesman Mr Frank Meintjies said.

Salt River raid

A third Cosatu official, regional secretary Mr Donsie Khumalo, was served similar restrictions on Wednesday night, Mr Meintjies said. Late yesterday it was learnt that a fourth senior Cosatu official, Mr Moses Lamola, has also been restricted.

In Cape Town police sources confirmed that roadblocks had been set up outside Bellville, Wynberg and Cape Town. They said those delegates already in the city were also being "monitored".

Yesterday afternoon security police raided Community House, head office of several Western Cape anti-apartheid organizations, in Salt River.

A Western Province Council of Churches worker, Ms Theresa Solomons, was detained in the raid. She became the 14th Western Cape activist to be detained in the past two days.

UCT student Mr Paul Stober and tutor Mr Harald Harvey were detained early yesterday.

Several other Cosatu members expected to attend were detained or restricted yesterday and union offices and homes of union members were searched by security police. Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) information officer Ms Kelly Forrest said.

A TGWU shop steward at Rhodes University, Mr Dennis Goba, was detained, and the houses of four other TGWU shop stewards, including that of Cosatu regional chairman Mr Elijah Ntentile, were raided.

The TGWU offices in Port Elizabeth were raided twice by security police. Cosatu's Eastern Cape regional secretary, Mr Mkalipi, was questioned but not detained.

The offices of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), also a Cosatu affiliate, were searched by security police. Among unionists de-

From page 36



From page 1

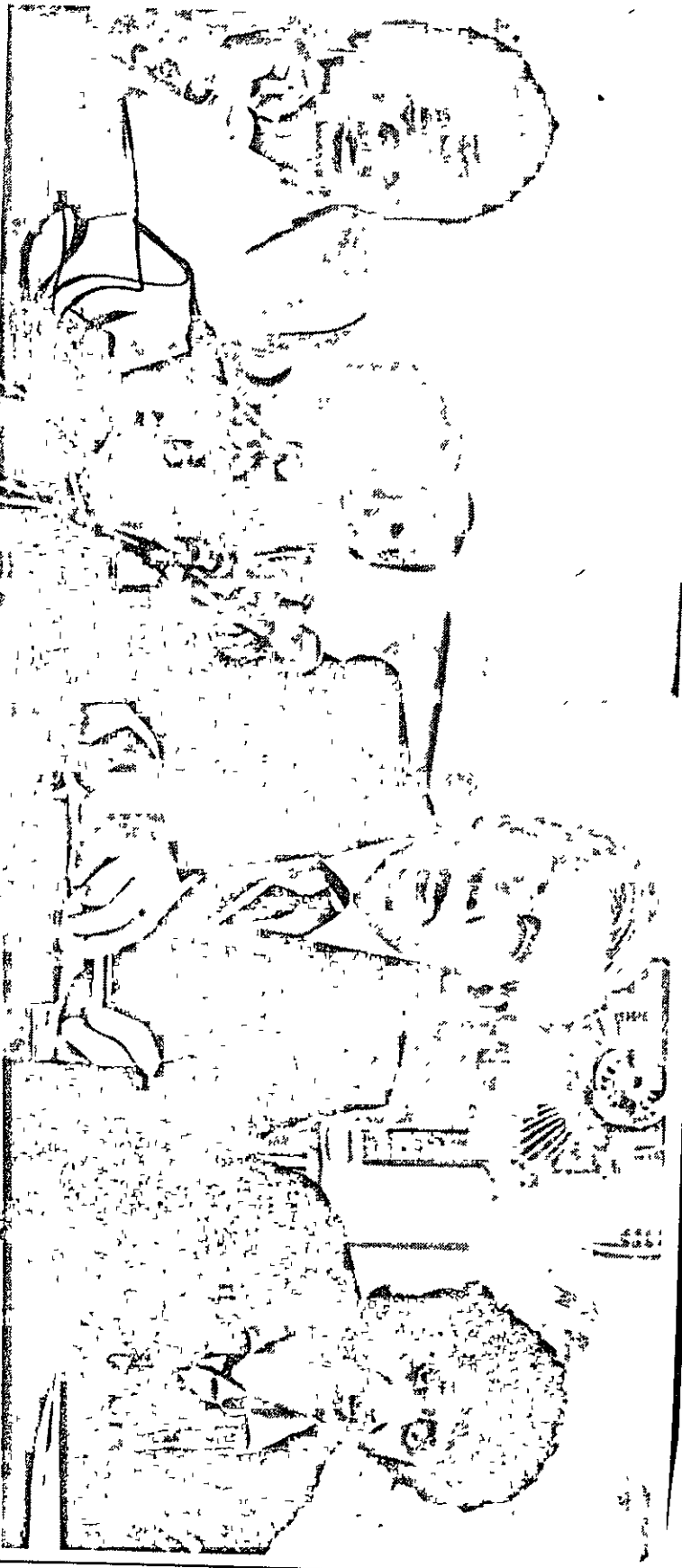
Police ban
tained were Cosatu Northern Natal office secretary Mr Siphiso Cele and Numsa members Mr. Willis Mchunu, Mr Derek Phiri, Mr Jerry Thbedi, Mr Peter Magagula and Mr Joe Bokaba.

Also detained was Construction and Allied Workers' Union Northern Natal administrator Ms Grace Dube.

Yesterday Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union worker Mr Gladwell Somana was detained at Lawaalkamp. All the detentions and restrictions were confirmed yesterday by lawyers acting for those concerned.

In Colerberg, a mini-bus belonging to a group of delegates to the conference who had stopped over for the night en route to Cape Town, was fire-bombed. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and UPJ

CMR Tim ES
23/9/88



PRESS CONFERENCE ... Present at yesterday's press conference were (from left) Mr. Elijah Baray, president of Cosatu, Professor J V O Reid, acting principal of UCT, and Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu.

Pledge to unity follows banned city meeting

ORGANIZATIONS involved in the now-banned anti-apartheid conference, which was to have been held in Cape Town this weekend, yesterday committed themselves to continue to strive for unity among opposition groupings.

Representatives from many of the 75 organizations concerned which would have been present at the conference yesterday afternoon held a press conference at the University of Cape Town yesterday. It was chaired by civil rights lawyer Mr Dullah Omar.

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), one of the main organizers of the banned weekend conference, said that the organizations concerned would continue to demand their right to meet and the right to free-

dom.

"The action of the government has destroyed one of the few rays of hope in this country. But organizations which are part of the congress have committed themselves to strive for unity," he said.

He added that the timing of the banning, which was announced on Thursday night, had decided the organizations not to apply for a court order.

And in a meeting yesterday with SA's London ambassador, Mr Rae Killen, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday expressed "regret" that the South African government had taken action to stop the meeting.

The organizers of the meeting said it had been decided not to apply for a court order.

Professor J V O Reid, acting principal of UCT, hosts to the banned congress, deplored the banning and expressed his horror at the burning of transport on the way to Cape Town and the police roadblocks on major routes into the city.

"We agreed to provide facilities for the conference because we believe in the importance of peaceful discussion," he said — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa

Mr. Tom's 24/9/88

(11/9)

Picture ANNE LAING

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Send in the Press, say runaway detainees

Weekend Argus Correspondents
JOHANNESBURG. — Three of the four detainees held up in offices of the United States consulate here have criticised their hosts for not allowing them access to the Press.

And they are staying put because they still have received no "watertight guarantee" of safe passage from the government and their demands for the freedom of other detainees have not been met.

The three original fugitives also denied Press reports that they had a part in turning away a fifth person who sought refuge.

They were referring to Thursday's request for refuge by Max Mankazana, Mr Mankazana was arrested as he left the building.

A fourth man, Clifford Negobo, also escaped from Johannesburg Hospital and was given tempo-

rary refuge at the consulate on Wednesday night. The original three fugitives are Mafeson Morobe, Mohammed Valli Moosa and Vusumuzi Khanyile.

Hour-long visit

Their complaint was made through Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu when he visited them for an hour yesterday afternoon.

A statement said that at a meeting of the three, their lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo, and the US consul-general, Mr Peter Chaves, they made it clear they wanted access to the Press.

They proposed that a photographer be commissioned by Mr Naidoo to spend about 30 minutes taking pictures which would be distributed by their lawyer.

The also proposed that a panel of five or six

journalists interview the three, who would answer written questions from the pool of local and foreign newsmen.

The group were prepared to provide written answers to the questions.

But these proposals were turned down by the Americans, the statement said.

Statement "worthless"

At a Press conference yesterday afternoon, Archbishop Tutu said statements by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that the fugitives would not be rearrested were "not worth the paper they are written on".

"It's highly unlikely they would have remained undetained had they left the consulate. They could be detained under other legislation besides the state of emergency regulations."

"The three also point out that they were detained along with several other colleagues. If they were due for release as the government asserted, then it would be logical to assume that their colleagues would be free by now," said Archbishop Tutu.

"They will remain in the consulate until many of the others walk out free."

Archbishop Tutu also read out demands from the trio that all detainees be released and that restrictions on individuals and organisations be lifted.

● Weekend Argus's Washington correspondent reports that a State Department official said Mr Mankazana was carefully interviewed by consulate officials. They determined that he was "not in immediate or serious danger, justifying temporary refuge."

Meeting to hit out at racism

CP cos
COSATU
11A
Cosatu 25/9/88
snubbed

By KERRY CULLINAN

COSATU believes that its Anti-Apartheid Conference, to be held in Cape Town this weekend, is the last possible peaceful platform of its kind

All organisations opposed to apartheid and not involved in "sustaining or propping up the system" have been invited

This excludes Inkatha, but includes Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement and homeland organisations such as Contralesa and Inyandza

"It is not a conference of those who necessarily agree on everything, but where people who agree apartheid must be dealt with," said Cosatu's Frank Meintjies

Reacting to the decision of the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee to withdraw from the conference because of the presence of parliamentary and homeland organisations, Meintjies added that it was a pity that Azacco had decided to place itself outside of the broad anti-apartheid movement

"The conference is focusing on unity rather than divisions," added Cosatu assistant-secretary Sydney Mufamadi.

Meintjies added that the government would be very foolish to ban the conference.

And the SA Police public relations division, in response to a telex asking whether the conference was in danger of being banned, merely said: "Any organisation or individual acting within the ambit of the law has nothing to fear from the SAP".

Meanwhile, the Azanian National Youth Unity has also announced its withdrawal from the conference

"Azanyu cannot sit and discuss with MPs and Bantustan organisations as this will legitimise the present system," said Azanyu acting general-secretary Mayaya Molefi

Some 600 delegates from unions, political, women's, student, youth, civic, rural, business, professional, sporting, cultural and religious organisations are expected.

CP Correspondent

THE Azanian Co-ordinating Committee will not attend a congress of the people to be hosted by Cosatu in Cape Town at the weekend, said spokesman Peter Jones

"For a number of reasons it is impossible for us to take part in the congress," he said

Jones said the conference "does not constitute a meaningful facility for different organisations to find common ground"

He said the committee was told in discussions with Cosatu that the agenda would be "unity and organisation against repression" and "one person, one vote"

But it had subsequently learnt that the major "emphasis of the congress is to work to create a climate for a political settlement"

CP Press (1/A) 25/9/88

Activists held in Cape swoop

Police nab 11 on eve of peoples' congress

CP Correspondent

ELEVEN Cape Town political activists, including restricted United Democratic Front leader Trevor Manuel and veteran activist Zolile Malindi, were detained under emergency regulations this week.

Others restricted are UDF leader Mountain

Qumbela, newly elected chairman of the Democratic African Teachers' Union Andile Jonas, Cape Democrats chairman Amy Thornton, teacher Saleem Mowzer, Willie Simmers, United Women's Congress member Nomaandia Mfeteke; Athlone attorney Huxley Joshua, Mowbray Youth Congress member Harold Harvey and West-

ern Cape Teachers' Union member Neville van der Rheeder

Manuel was detained at his Athlone home, according to his attorneys who also confirmed the detention of Harvey, Thornton and Mfeteke

Manuel, secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape, was released under severe restrictions in July after al-

most two years in detention

Joshua was detained under emergency regulations at his home in Hazendal, Athlone, according to his wife, Sonia Joshua

D Mkize High School teacher Andile Jonas was detained at Gugulethu Police told the family they were detaining him, said his brother, Siphon Jonas

Veronica Simmers said her husband was detained at 4.30am at their Mitchell's Plain home

Azizha Mowzer said police detained her son at their Rylands home

Pensioner and diabetic Malindi, 64, was detained at his Gugulethu home at 5am, according to Lettie Malindi

Malindi and Mowzer were freed after spending two days in detention in July

● Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the 11 were detained only two days before a massive anti-apartheid conference is due to take place in Cape Town

Cosatu's Frank Meintjies told the Press in Johannesburg that those detained were all members of the UDF

Meintjies said offices belonging to Cosatu affiliates had been raided and a number of activists were detained in Mamelodi near Pretoria

Varsity student by day, ANC guerrilla by night

By HENRY LUDSK

A TRAINED African National Congress commander and mastermind of several night-time hand-grenade and limpet mine attacks, acted out an amazing double life as a university student by day.

The secret life of 24-year-old University of the Western Cape student Ashley Forbes was revealed in the Cape Supreme Court this week during his trial on terror charges.

His career as an urban guerrilla ended abruptly last

Boyish cell commander tells court of his secret double life

year when police caught up with him.

The story of the once reserved schoolboy from the middle-class suburb of Wynberg who joined the banned ANC, unfolded as Forbes spoke for hours about his radicalisation during the turmoil of forced removals and civil unrest.

Boyish-looking Forbes, the youngest of four children, admitted leaving South Africa in 1986 to undergo military training in Angola and taking command of ANC cells in the Western Cape.

He also admitted recruit-

ing and training members of the organisation, and participating in several hand-grenade and limpet mine attacks in the Peninsula.

"During the day I attended university and at night I did what was required of me," Forbes told the court.

He and five other people have been convicted of terrorism.

Forbes spent three days this week giving evidence in mitigation of sentence.

He said that when it became extremely difficult for organisations to express grievances legally, a

"people's war" was launched because it was felt it was the only option left.

"I had no choice, no other way of expressing myself, other than becoming a member of the ANC."

Forbes said he became a member because the ANC stood for a united and democratic SA.

Six others have been found guilty of assisting Forbes and his co-accused in carrying out their activities. Another of the accused was convicted of furthering the aims of the banned organisation.

Forbes admitted taking part in a hand-grenade attack on Manenberg police station while still a student.

He told the packed court that the forced removal of his grandparents from their home in District Six was one of the first things to change his outlook.

He said his grandmother came to stay with his family in Wynberg after being forced to leave District Six because of the Group Areas Act.

This event "started to awaken other things" within him.

He became aware of areas, such as Mitchell's Plain and Bonteheuwel, and began to understand how people felt after being forced to move.

"I started to criticise the apartheid Government more and started to pose particular suggestions as to what I could do about it."

He became increasingly involved in student politics and the "bread and butter issues" of broken classroom windows, a shortage of textbooks, the concept of gutter education, and inadequate facilities.

He said that joining the United Democratic Front in 1984 gave him a new outlook on the political struggle.

He found that "whites and coloureds could actually sit around the same table, that they could be drawn closer together and that racial barriers could be broken down."

The trial continues this week.

CHAP. 7.1.15 26/9/88 (117) (228) (230)

Indians visit detainees as mark of 'solidarity'

SEVERAL prominent members of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) visited the four escaped detainees holed up in the United States Consulate in Johannesburg at 115pm on Saturday, to "show their solidarity" with the men

The TIC delegation comprised Mr Cassim Saloojee, Mr Essop Jassat, Mr Ahwin Shah and Mr Reggie Vandaya

Mr Saloojee said it had been merely "a courtesy call" and a gesture of unity by the congress to the men

Meanwhile, doctors were yesterday compiling a report on the health of the reportedly ill Mr Clifford Ngcobo, the fourth emergency detainee, a lawyer representing Mr Ngcobo said yesterday

The doctors, Dr Wendy Orr and Dr Kevin Solomons, examined Mr Ngcobo on Friday

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who also visited the men on Friday, said Mr Ngcobo was "not well"

Mr Ngcobo has instituted a R40 000 civil claim against Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok for alleged ill-treatment by police

US Embassy spokesman Mr Barry Walkley said a fifth man, Mr Max Manakazana, was refused entry to the consulate because officials determined he was not in immediate and serious danger justifying temporary refuge

— Own Correspondent, Sapa-AP

Labour rebels to back Sirs' bills

*Capl. T. 1/15
26/9/55*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

REBELLION within the Labour Party gained force at the weekend and last night the conservative breakaway faction was poised to become the official opposition in the House of Representatives.

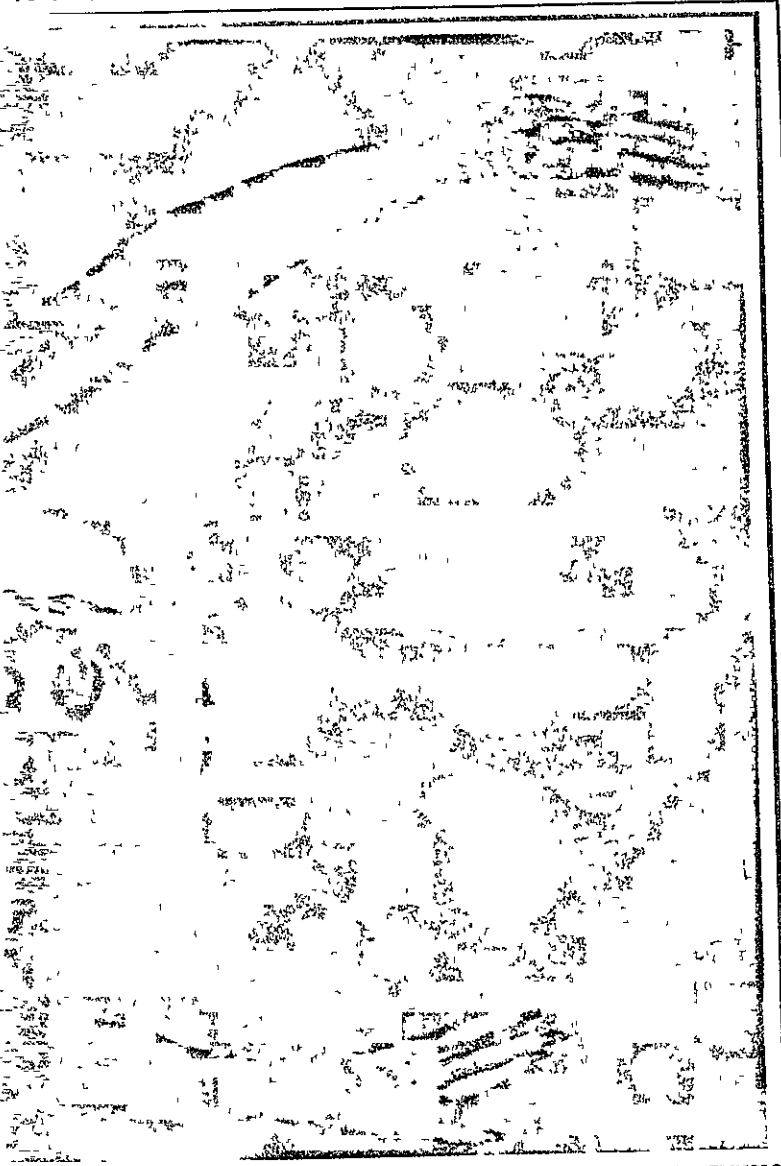
And in another shock move the rebels disclosed last night that they planned to support two of the government's controversial trilogy of Group Areas bills which will be debated from today at a specially convened week-long session of Parliament. These are the Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Local Government within Free Settlement Areas Bill.

The rebel faction, comprising largely Western Cape M.P.s, had swelled to nine by last night — two more than the United Democratic Party which is currently the official opposition in the House.

The nine are Mr. Carter Ebrahim, Mr. Andries Johannes, Mr. Chris Swartz, Mr. Vernon Sass, Mr. Collic Koeberg, Mr. Hansie Christians, Mr. Nic Isaacs, Mr. Gysie Swartz and Mr. Johnny Johnson.

Mr. Carter Ebrahim

Mr. Ebrahim former Minister of Education and the spokesman for



Children hurt as bus hits bridge

Staff Reporter

THIRTY-SEVEN people — all but one of them school children — on a fund raising outing were injured at the weekend when the bus they were travelling in collided with a low railway bridge in Witteboome.

The top deck of the bus was extensively damaged, a City Tramways spokesman said yesterday. He said a full inquiry would be conducted.

The bus was on private hire and not operating on a normal bus route when the accident happened at about 8pm on Saturday night.

A parent of one of the children involved, who asked not to be named, said yesterday the children from Victoria High School were travelling from Cape Town to Wynberg for a fund-raising function.

A police spokesman said 37 people had been injured but had suffered only "scratches and bruises". They were taken to Victoria Hospital and were all discharged by 8am yesterday morning.

More blasts but no-one hurt

JOHANNESBURG — Blasts rocked Durban and East London at the weekend. No one was hurt.

Labour

back

CHE Toms
26/9/88

114

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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And in another shock move, the rebels disclosed last night that they planned to support two of the government's controversial trilogy of Group Areas bills which will be debated from today at a specially convened week-long session of Parliament. These are the Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Local Government within Free Settlement Areas Bill.



Mr Carter Ebrahim

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Mr Ebrahim, former Minister of Education and the spokesman for the group, said last night "Our numbers already indicate that we can become the official opposition."

While the rebels planned to stand as independents for the present, Mr Ebrahim said, "the formation of a party could well be a natural development and a consequence of our stand (on the Group Areas Act)."

All parties in the tricameral Parliament (except the National Party), have rejected the bills outright, with a number of parties staging a boycott of Parliament last month in protest.

Mr Ebrahim, who was chairman of the LP's Cape Peninsula region, resigned from the party at the weekend to show his "solidarity" with six MPs expelled for refusing to obey a party directive not to make themselves available for election to the management committees in the October elections.

The six are Mr Sass, Mr Koeberg, Mr Christians, Mr Isaacs, Mr Swartz and Mr Johnson.

Mr Ebrahim's walkout was followed by that of the MP for Heideveld, Mr Johannes.

The rebel group, which spent most of yesterday in a strategy meeting, said last night that the breakaway group had been joined by Mr Swartz, the MP for Daljosophat (Paarl).

There was speculation in LP circles yesterday

To page 2

CHE Toms 26/9/88
114

From page 1

that Mr David Curry, the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, could be the next to join the conservative breakaway faction.

Mr Curry, who is on an overseas trip, is seen as the main champion of "own affairs" administration in the party and is one of the party MPs who has circumvented the leadership's ban on MPs participating in mancom elections by having his wife stand for the October 26 poll.

It is understood that the party hierarchy is far from upset by the loss of the nine members which will bring the combined opposition to 15. There are 85 seats in the House of Representatives.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party will hold a caucus meeting this morning to plan its strategy for the five days of joint debate on five bills, among them the Group Areas trilogy.

The LP's tactic will probably be to launch an all-out attack on the government, focusing on the suffering caused by the passing of the Group Areas Act.

The LP in Natal decided at the weekend to continue to participate in the tricameral system at parliamentary and provincial level.

● Debate on bills resumes in Parliament today — Page 7

'Assaults at Mandela home': Men acquitted

CHL 7-19-88 Own Correspondent *(20) 19*

JOHANNESBURG — Three men were acquitted in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday on two counts of assault and two of kidnapping alleged to have taken place at Mrs Winnie Mandela's home last year.

Mr Isaac Mokgoro, 19, Mr John Jusaf Morgan, 60, and Mr Absalom Dumisane Madonsella, 20, had pleaded not guilty to charges of kidnapping two youths on May 26 last year. They denied allegations that they assaulted the youths and carved the words "Viva ANC" and "M" on their bodies.

CAPE TIMES 27/9/88
**Unrest:
Limpet
blast
at siding**

JOHANNESBURG. —

One or more limpet mines exploded on a siding at Luipaardsvlei railway station early yesterday morning, but no one was injured, police said.

A police spokesman said the blast, the 23rd known terror blast in South Africa in 28 days, occurred about 3am, and speculated that "more than one" limpet mine was used.

The blast occurred at a private siding. One cross-tie was destroyed and damage was "not serious".

Meanwhile, police report that a man was stabbed to death and a woman injured in unrest-related incidents overnight.

The SA Police Public Relations Division reported in Pretoria yesterday that a group attacked and stabbed a man to death at Sweetwaters, Natal, while a group stoned buses at Klaarwater, Pinetown, injuring a woman.

Arsonists set fire to a private house at Inanda, Durban, and at Katilehong on the East Rand a man tried to set a private house alight. The occupants arrested him.

CAPE TIMES 27/9/88 11A
**Rajbansi
'asked not to
be mentioned'**

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A witness giving evidence to the James Commission of Inquiry here testified yesterday that Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates (HoD), had telephoned him on Tuesday night and asked him not to mention his name in connection with proceedings concerning Raj Investments.

Mr Paraw Seebran was being cross-examined by Mr Rajbansi at the time the disclosure was made. Advocate Mr Anton Ackermann, representing the commission, then told Mr Rajbansi that he had been told not to contact witnesses giving evidence before the commission.

Mr Rajbansi said he had been given a list of certain witnesses who were not to be contacted. He said he disputed what Mr Seebran had said.

Questioned by Mr Colin Mann, who is representing the administration in the HoD, Mr Seebran said he had not been too surprised when he received Mr Rajbansi's telephone call.

He said Mr Rajbansi knew that he was going to give evidence and was "very nervous" about it.

Mr Seebran said he had received three telephone calls from the chairman of the Ministers' Council on July 14 this year, on the eve of his going to Cape Town to give evidence before the Thaver Committee of the HoD.

Mr Rajbansi had "pleaded" with him to come to his office and he had finally agreed to see him on Friday, July 15.

Mr Seebran said Mr Rajbansi had told him not to mention his involvement in Raj Investments to the Thaver Committee.

He was rather to involve two or three of Mr Seebran's sons and to say they had formed a company with Mr Seebran's nephew, Mr Jiven Seebran, and operated Raj Investments in this way.

Mr Seebran said he had told Mr Rajbansi that he could not do such a thing and that he had no confidence in him.

The hearing continues at 10am today

Lisa Bonet resigns

Crisis in Parliament

By PATRICK CULL
Political Staff

THE Labour Party last night threw the tricameral system into yet another crisis when it refused to vote on the Free Settlement Areas Bill after more than seven hours of debate.

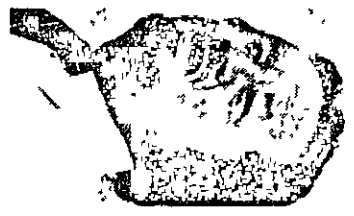
And a defiant Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, told a news conference, "We will boycott when it suits us. We will play along when it suits us."

The latest impasse came late yesterday afternoon at the end of a long debate on the first of the trilogy of group areas bills when the Labour Party walked out and was followed by the United Democratic Party and all the members of the House of Dele-

Defiant LP refuses to vote on areas bill



Mr Nothnagel



Mr Hendrickse



Mr Chris Heunis



Mr Peter Mopp

The effect of yesterday's walkout is once again to halt the passage of the bills and force President P W Botha to instruct the other Houses to meet within 14 days of a given date to vote on the bills.

Fourth session

And that means an unprecedented fourth session of Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse said last night that the LP would refuse to vote on the other bills scheduled to be debated this week and he was not prepared to give any guarantee that the party would vote even if instructed to do so. Should they do this, they will be deemed to have rejected the bills.

That means they will go to the President's Council — but 14 days later than Mr Botha had hoped to send them there and with less chance of getting them on the Statute Book before the October 25 municipal elections.

And that is what Mr Botha desperately wants.

A clearly annoyed and distressed Mr Chris Heunis, who was replying to the debate when the LP led the walk-out, accused the LP of breaking their word.

They had undertaken to dispose of the business, he said.

Not so, said a totally unrepentant Mr Hendrickse, questioning just how Mr Heunis could talk about honour in a situation and under a system which did not really recognize the viewpoint of other people.

Mr Hendrickse said the LP wished to show its utter rejection and disgust at the proposed group areas legislation.

"We are taking this step as another means to show just how strongly we feel."

Explaining the overall strategy, Mr Hendrickse said the LP had decided

to participate in the joint debate to be able to address National Party and Conservative Party members directly on the issue.

"Not to vote is to demonstrate to the people outside that we are going to stand firm on our utter rejection of the legislation."

Members of the House of Representatives used yesterday's seven-hour debate to express their abhorrence of group areas legislation, said Border MP Mr Peter Mopp, stating that the basis of the Group Areas Act was "the white man's fear and the white man's greed".

"These laws which you passed to protect your pigmentation will not stand the test of time."

The reality of South Africa, he said, was a state of emergency in which any organization outside Parliament was

effectively banned. People were now being taken off the street and locked away.

Addo MP Mr Peter Hendrickse said there was little difference between the NP and CP. Both believed in the group concept and apartheid — the difference was in the implementation.

The NP was going ahead with group areas legislation — which was apartheid, which in turn was a heresy. "It is evil and cannot be amended."

The CP also lashed out at the government, with Ernesto MP Mr Moolman Mertz stating that the Free Settlement Bill meant the beginning of the end of the Group Areas Act.

The end of the act, he said, would lead to racial mixing and conflict.

Defending the bill, the Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, said the bill provided a practical way to resolve the differences between those who wanted separate residential areas and those who wanted mixed areas.

Injustices

It was, he said, a give-and-take solution which took cognizance of the reality of mixed areas.

The NP MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, said there had been injustices since the time of Jan van Riebeeck and it was now time to try to right them. He appealed to the CP to turn away from the past and build a South Africa of the future.

Today the joint sitting will debate the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill which makes provision for how people in open areas will vote at third-tier level.

With the LP having opted for confrontation and the NP clearly on the defensive, it could be an acerbic and bitter debate.

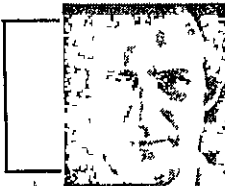
27/9/88
11A
MAR 27/9/88

SA, Botswana talks on ANC in the balance

The arrest last week of a man claimed by Botswana police to have plotted to rescue two South African commandos from a Francistown jail could hardly have come at a worse time for South Africa's diplomats.

It came in the midst of efforts by the Department of Foreign Affairs to persuade the Gaborone government to crack down harder on African National Congress (ANC) insurgents said to be entering the Republic from Botswana. Just six days before the arrest, the South African and Botswana Foreign Ministers had met in Pretoria to discuss the ANC issue.

The South Africans are understood to have been optimistic that they were able to impress on the



BY GERALD L'ANGE,
Editor of The Star's Africa News Service
Pretoria's diplomatic efforts to halt the flow of ANC insurgents from Botswana have run into problems

Botswana the gravity of the situation as seen from Pretoria

South Africa claims half the ANC insurgents entering the Republic are doing so through Botswana and that some are being trained in the Dukwe refugee camp and in the Gaborone area

The meeting in Pretoria between the Foreign Ministers, Mr Pik Botha of South Africa and Dr Gaositwe Chiepe of Botswana, was the latest development in South African efforts going back several years to get Botswana to choke off the ANC infiltration channel

Claims denied

The Botswana government has consistently denied that it has allowed the ANC to use its territory for bases or as an infiltration route from countries to the north

It says it does its best with its limited security resources to block ANC activity, deporting ANC members found to have entered the country illegally and arresting and disarming anyone found with weapons

Pretoria has insisted with equal consistency that Gaborone is simply not doing enough to curb the ANC and certainly is not doing its utmost

At the meeting last week the South Africans are understood to have alleged that detailed information given to the Botswana police and army by the SAP about the activities and whereabouts of ANC insurgents in Botswana has never been passed on to higher authorities in Gaborone

This may emerge as the core of the problem as seen by Pretoria

South Africa has long tried to persuade Botswana to enter into a joint security agreement to facilitate curbing the ANC and has even, according to Botswana government officials, applied pressure such as restricting supplies to Botswana's strategic fuel reserves

Pretoria has also sought agreement to establish some form of South African representation in Botswana. It has been argued that this would, among other things, enable Pretoria to provide assistance to the growing number of South African citizens detained in Botswana

More than a dozen South Africans have been detained at various times in Botswana, where security consciousness has become almost an obsession following several commando raids on apparent ANC targets in the country

Public parade

The South African Government is believed to have been angered by the fact that several of these people have been paraded in public in handcuffs and leg-irons

This treatment has been compared with that given to ANC members caught with weapons, who have been quietly deported despite a Botswana law providing for a minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment for illegal possession of arms of war

How close the recent meeting in Pretoria came to resolving these issues is not publicly known. Nei-

ther is it clear at present how the negotiations will be affected by the arrest in Francistown this week of the man alleged by the Botswana police to have plotted the rescue of the South African commandos and of the lawyer who was to have represented them when they appeared in court today

According to the Botswana police, the alleged rescue plotter is a black South African soldier whose South African registered car was found to contain a pistol with a silencer, ammunition, a two-way radio, loose Botswana registration plates and a number of caltrops

Tyre spikes

The latter are the three-pronged spikes that have traditionally been used by the military for disabling horses or puncturing vehicle tyres. Similar caltrops are said by the Botswana authorities to have been strewn outside the Botswana army barracks by South African commandos who attacked alleged ANC targets in Gaborone in 1985, killing 14 people

The two commandos, who allegedly were to have been rescued, were arrested near Gaborone last June after a South African commando group had been surprised during what was said to have been a reconnaissance mission

Their trial has been postponed because of the arrest of the defence lawyer

And so, probably, has any Botswana government move to react positively to the South African representations made at the meeting in Pretoria last week

It has widely been presumed that when South Africa agreed to help finance the Sua Pan soda ash project the quid pro quo was an undertaking by Botswana to put a clamp on the ANC, but no proof that this is so has ever emerged

100 years ago today

Visit of the Vice-President
The Vice-President, General Smit, is expected to arrive in town on Thursday. He is coming to lay the foundation stone of the permanent hospital buildings. On Monday afternoon a meeting was held to make arrangements for his reception. Very few persons were present, and the only business transacted was the appointment of a committee to draft an address of welcome. Another meeting will be held at 4 o'clock today. It is probable that a luncheon will be given in his honour. He will remain in town until Monday. The Hospital Board, at their meeting on Monday afternoon, discussed the arrangements for laying the foundation stone of the Hospital by His Honour.

CALL 7.165 27/9/88

Rajbansi angered after 'staff misuse' challenge

DURBAN — The director-general of the House of Delegates, Mr Ronald Peter Wronsley, told the James Commission yesterday that Ministers' Council chairman Mr Amichand Rajbansi had got extremely upset with him when he raised the issue of the use of stationery and staff to urge people to participate in the coming elections

Mr Wronsley told the commission that he brought up the matter on July 14 this year at a Ministers' Council meeting

"I took up the matter after misuse of staff, stationery and envelopes. This irritated Mr Rajbansi and he launched a strong attack on those who wanted to unseat him. He was very angry."

Mr Wronsley said that after the meeting Mr Rajbansi accused him of being anti-Indian. "This is not correct. I am not anti-Indian."

Advocate Mr Colin Mann, for Mr Wronsley, then asked him about two

pieces of land that Mr Rajbansi wanted to buy

He told the commission that Mr Rajbansi had told him that he (Mr Wronsley) had the power to effect the sale. "But I contacted the chairman of the Housing Development Board who gave me a negative reply. I then informed Mr Rajbansi that I could not."

Mr Wronsley then spoke about the delayed confirmation of promotion of Mr A K Singh as chief executive director of Indian Education

He said that the confirmation of Mr Singh's position had to come from the cabinet, but he was informed that their decision was not forthcoming because Mr Rajbansi had objected.

He said Mr Rajbansi could not support the confirmation of Mr Singh's job because he had "problems" about the chief executive officer

When Mr Rajbansi was suspended by the cabinet, he said, Mr Singh's job was confirmed some eight months later and was backdated to January 1, 1988 — Sapa

Vlok pledge on 4th consulate fugitive

AKG 28/9/88 119

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Clifford Ngcobo, the fourth detainee to take refuge at the United States consulate in Johannesburg, would not be detained again if he left the consulate, according to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok

Mr Vlok was responding yesterday to a telex from Cheadle, Haysom and Thompson, Mr Ngcobo's legal representatives. The telex contained the results of a physical examination of Mr Ngcobo.

Mr Vlok said, however, that charges of illegal possession of a firearm were still being investigated, said a spokesman for the firm

"NGCOBO NOT WELL"

The spokesman said later that the firm had submitted a proposal to the Minister following the statement. He would not disclose the proposals for fear of jeopardising negotiations.

"Our client's position is different from the three other activists, because he has not demanded the release of all detainees."

The spokesman said three examinations were conducted by doctors to assess Mr Ngcobo's mental and physical state. "Generally, all of the reports confirm our fears that Mr Ngcobo is not well," Mr Ngcobo's lawyer said

Biko services banned

THE Divisional Commissioner of Police in Far Northern Transvaal has banned all services in the area planned to commemorate the death in police custody of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

A notice to this effect was pinned at the entrance of the Workers Centre in Pietersburg on Saturday morning. The notice said all services to commemorate Biko's

By MATHATHA
TSEDU
and
MOKGADI PELA

death were banned in the Far Northern Transvaal. A service organised by the Northern Transvaal Peoples Co-ordination Committee was scheduled for today.

Reacting to the ban, NTPCC information secretary, Mr Kgalabe

Kekana, said the police measures would not "erase the memory of Steve Biko from our minds. The black masses will struggle tirelessly for our freedom which Biko fought and died for."

Following the banning of services in the Far Northern Transvaal marking the 11th anniversary of Steve Biko, the Azanian Co-ordination Committee said the move was not surprising because the man had been banned even in his own life time.

The Azacco statement went on to say, "Recently we saw a movie, *Cry Freedom*, being literally taken off the streets and now our people are being denied to remember their heroes."

CP: 1915 28/7/88
114

Decision on fugitive set for today

JOHANNESBURG — A decision would be taken today concerning a former detainee, Mr Clifford Ngcobo, who has taken refuge in the United States consulate after the authorities told his lawyers yesterday that he would not be re-detained in terms of the emergency regulations.

Mr Ngcobo's lawyers had contacted to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, on Friday concerning Mr Ngcobo's status

An investigation into alleged possession of illegal firearms concerning Mr Ngcobo was continuing.

The spokesman said Mr Ngcobo would consult his lawyer, Mr Azur Cachalia, today and a decision on whether Mr Ngcobo would leave the Consulate would be taken. — Sapa

Intimidation in platteland Van Eck

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MANY of the platteland towns were being subjected to a "shocking system of intimidation" in a bid to make residents vote in the October 26 elections, the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said yesterday.

Mr Van Eck said that as part of "a massive intimidation campaign to make people vote", black residents of the new section of Bongoletu township in Oudshoorn who showed opposition to participation "have as punishment recently had their newly installed electricity meter boxes ripped out of the walls of their homes by the municipality".

Speaking during the debate on the Local Government in Free Settlement Areas Bill in Parliament, Mr Van Eck said that residents were also told that if they failed to register or vote they would "cease to exist".

Residents were also told that they would not receive any further services, repairs "or anything", he said.

by ANTON KRUGER

A YEAR ago, a conference bringing together UDF affiliates and Cosatu with Black Consciousness groups and Nactu was unimaginable

Yet, this weekend's Anti-apartheid Conference (AAC) goes further — from the New Unity Movement on the left to Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement on the right.

Major political actors will be joined by a wide range of interest groups ranging from taxi-owners and taverners to sports federations and religious bodies

And purists may wince at invitations to bantustan opposition groups and Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement which rules KaNgwane.

Yet it is precisely this breadth of organisations which gives the conference its significance — the attempt to draw in organisations outside the traditionally defined "democratic movement" around a joint programme of action

Champion tiring

The AAC is a response to the continued State of Emergency, and its effect on mass organisations

The champion is tiring but the challenger has taken a hammering. Thus might a boxing commentator describe the present round of the clash between the government and its extra-parliamentary opponents

The Government offensive appears to be running out of steam. The Angolan retreat, the growing impact of sanctions, lack of funds for the buying of hearts and minds and the failure to win over significant black moderates are but a few of Pretoria's problems. An increasingly strident right-wing has paralysed even the limited reform programme.

At the same time there can be no doubt that the Emergency has severely affected the democratic forces

A systematic programme of repression has almost eliminated the open campaigning which changed the face of South African politics in the mid 1980s

Responding to calls

Restrictions, detentions, treason trials and assassinations have driven the UDF and other organisations off the streets

But it has failed to eliminate them. Activists in many parts of the country have regrouped, and are searching for new ways forward

The three-day stayaway in June, the largest in South African history, showed that township residents are still willing to respond to calls for action

The UDF's affiliates and Cosatu believe, however, that survival and progress demand a fresh approach, in which traditional political boundaries be reconsidered and perhaps redrawn.

National gatherings of both Cosatu and the UDF over the past two years have emphasised the need for an ever wider unity of purpose around the immediate objective of toppling the Nationalist Government.

Late in 1986, the UDF and Cosatu launched a National United Action campaign with the NECC and the SACC

Milestone on road to unity

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SACSS



Wynand Malan His party has also been invited

Although repression minimised the impact of this drive, it laid the basis for the UDF-Cosatu 'united front' during 1987. UDF-Cosatu unity was seen as the key building block of a popular alliance of the widest possible range of forces operating in the black community

Furthermore, the "united front" would serve as the base from which the democratic movement could give more serious attention to isolating Botha within the white ruling bloc by bringing anti-apartheid white groupings

(including those in parliament) closer to the people's camp

This new thinking provides the framework within which Cosatu and its allies have initiated the AAC

While its ambitions are limited the AAC clearly forms a part of a longer process a milestone on the road to a broader unity

Bantustan groups, black business and sports bodies, squatter committees and other 'non-activists' groups invited to the conference are

key targets of state co-option strategies

This doubles the importance of their being brought onto the side of the democratic movement, even though they may not endorse all of its positions

Activists argue the need to structure relations with these groups, rather than continue to approach them on an ad hoc basis

Similarly invitations to the NDM, Idasa and the Five Freedoms Forum sound notice of the democratic movement's intention to seek ways of influencing the anti-apartheid middle ground elements in the white community

The difficulties faced by the AAC (if the authorities allow it to proceed) should not be underestimated. It is unlikely that all of those invited will even attend, let alone reach consensus on all matters

Even within Cosatu unions have debated different ideas on the type of unity required, with the metalworkers arguing for a narrower anti-capitalist unity rather than the broad anti-apartheid unity favoured by the mineworkers

While the conference is a clear statement from Cosatu on the need for immediate anti-apartheid united action, other participants at the Conference might see things differently

The challenge of the AAC according to sources close to the organisers is to seek out and emphasise those issues which unite the participants while taking account of their differences

October poli

If this process can generate a programme of action uniting the bulk of organisations at the Conference it will have achieved an important objective

Opposition to repression and the call for one person one vote in a united South Africa are the bases around which the organisers hope to achieve that unity

Coming on the eve of the October municipal elections the AAC is likely to have thorough discussions on the issue. The Conference however is not a response to the October elections. It is the result of a long term orientation of resistance politics towards broad united action of all opponents of apartheid

The impact of the AAC has already been felt as a tremendous morale booster. In many parts of the country including places that had fallen silent politically the AAC has provoked new energy and initiative among activists

The spectacle of a range of organisations sinking their differences to take a common stand will certainly have a similar effect on masses of South Africans

The AAC will offer an important opportunity to reach consensus on the present situation, and the way forward

It strengthens the hand of the democratic movement, and extends its influence to uncommitted sections of the community. If the AAC sees these groups drawn into sustained and co-ordinated action against apartheid, it will be an historic triumph

Some writers have compared the AAC to everything from the UDF launch to the Congress of the People

Clearly its objectives are a lot more limited than that, hoping primarily to arrive at a united programme of action

While the conference will not launch new structures or fronts it is nonetheless an historic attempt to unify millions of people behind a concerted anti-apartheid thrust

UNITY WITH ORGANISERS

THE State has used the heavy jackboot to try to wreck the unity talks planned for the University of Cape Town this weekend.

Several activists believed to be involved in the talks were rounded up in a police swoop in Cape Town this week.

Nine people were detained in Pretoria's Attendgeville and Sautsville in the past week, bringing the total detentions in the area since mid-August to 43.

The offices of several anti-apartheid organisations in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Cape Town, were visited by police.

In another setback, the black consciousness Azanian Co-ordinating Committee pulled out of the conference, billed as the biggest gathering of anti-apartheid organisations since the United Democratic Front launch in 1983.

In spite of the last minute knocks and the spectre of a possible ban, arrangements for the conference continued late on Wednesday.

Among those held in the Western Cape are UDF leaders Trevor Mannel, Zoh Mairudh, Mounam Qumbela, Willie Summers, Neville van der Rhee, and Democratic Teachers Union chairperson Andile Jonas.

• TURN TO PAGE 3

TOP IN APART

THE Mannel family might paint a happy picture when it is no longer in the news. After more than two years in detention, this week the Mannels were torn apart again. The UDF leader, restricted to his home from dusk to dawn, was hauled off again, his detention being linked to this weekend's anti-apartheid conference. For Mannel, it meant having less than three months to get to know his son Govan, who was two months old with his previous detention. With Mannel, blacked out, are his wife, his son Govan, and dog Pastor.



Unity wreckers

FRONT PAGE

Cape Democrats chairperson Amy Thornton, attorney Huxley Joshua, teacher Salm Mowzer, former United Women's Congress chairperson Noma-India Mfeketo, and Harold Harvey

Mrs Veronica Summers said police had raided her house in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain on Tuesday night.

The police returned at about 4am on Wednesday to detain her husband

"I immediately telephoned Neville (van der Rheede) to tell him about my husband's detention, but a security policeman answered the phone at Neville's house," she said

I then phoned Huxley Joshua, the lawyer but his wife told me he and Trevor Manuel their next door neighbour had just been picked up

The police later told me Willie is being held at Muizenberg

When police came to detain Manuel, his wife Lyn, had gone next door to lawyer Huxley Joshua — only to find police were busy detaining Joshua.

Mrs Sonia Joshua said her husband had undergone bypass heart surgery in March

"He had two operation since then because of infection and is still recovering. He still goes to hospital regularly and has an appointment with his cardiologist on Friday

"The police say he was involved in this weekend's anti-apartheid conference. How active could he have been after spending 50 days in hospital?" she asked

Confiscated

The directors of SOUTH have condemned the detention of Joshua, a fellow director, expressing concern for his health.

SOUTH's directors called for the release of all detainees

Mrs Carol van der Rheede said police arrived at her Westridge house at about 4am and searched the house for about an hour

They confiscated some documents and detained her husband, she said.

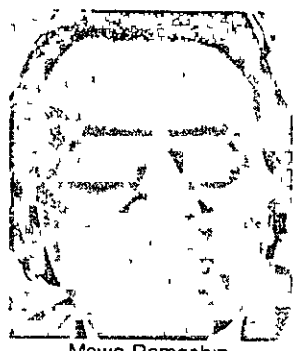
Those arrested in Pretoria included officials of Atteridgeville Residents Organisation, Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo) and Soshanguve Youth Organisation (Soyo)

Those detained last week are May Ledwaba, Tsepo Mptlana, Vuyo Kapa, Nicholas Lamola, Enoch Ndolo, N L Madimo, Lucky Mabusela, Tshupa Chudi and Strko Sokuba

The president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Patrick Molala, was detained on September 6

Condemning the detentions National Democratic Movement MP for Greytown, Pierre Cronje, said the government had to learn that 'you can ban people but not ideas'

"After more than two years of Emergency detentions and banning the ideals that the UDF stands for are more popular than ever"



Mewa Ramgobin

Police raid NIC three

DURBAN — Police this week raided the homes of Natal Indian Congress officials here in the nation-wide crackdown on participants of the Anti-Apartheid Conference

In addition the offices of a number of civil and human rights organisations in Pietermaritzburg were searched.

In Durban, the homes of Mr George Sempersadh, the president of NIC, and Dr Farouk Meer, the organisation's secretary, were raided on Tuesday

The authorities also visited the Verulam home of the vice president, Mr Mewallal Ramgobin, on Tuesday night but Ramgobin was not home

The NIC is one of the many organisations sending delegates to the weekend conference in Cape Town.

Black Sash

In Pietermaritzburg, the offices of Cosatu the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa) the Black Sash Lawyers for Human Rights and the Edendale Ad vice Centre were searched.

According to Captain Pieter Kitching police liaison officer acted under the emergency regulations and did not need a search warrant.

During their raid the authorities seized a number of documents from the Black Sash office and a booklet from the Lawyers for Human Rights premises

According to the organisations it appeared the authorities were looking for material on this weekend's conference and the coming municipal elections

Ban warning

JOHANNESBURG — Foreign embassies have been requested to pressure the Botha government not to ban this weekend's anti-apartheid conference in Cape Town.

About 75 organisations are to meet in the University of Cape Town's Jameson Hall on Saturday to discuss the key issues of one man, one vote and joint opposition to repression

Cosatu's Frank Meintjies said here earlier this week the conference was a "platform to enable organisations to work out a way forward", adding that

the 600 to 700 people expected to attend did not agree on all issues"

Meintjies said he did not expect doctrinal statements to be drawn up at the conference but future joint action would be discussed

We think it will be foolish for the government to ban this conference. It will be disastrous and shortsighted on their part.

Cosatu had asked various embassies to persuade the government to think "brilliantly" before banning the conference.

The choice of organisations invited was based on the criteria of opposition to apartheid"

The former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, said there were many organisations which were not part of the democratic movement but which had an "objective interest in the abolition of apartheid

"The government itself is incapable of dismantling apartheid because it is synonymous with apartheid

"To expect a solution from the illegitimate tricameral system would be tantamount to asking the government to transform itself into the opposite. A permanent and lasting solution to this country's crisis can only emerge from the democratic movement."

Invitations have been extended to a broad group of organisations ranging from labour federations to black business organisations such as National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), the South African Bus and Taxi Association (Sabta) and the Taverniers Association

Included in the political sector are the Inyandza Cultural group of Kangwane Five Freedoms Forum, National Democratic Movement, Democratic Peoples Party (Transkei), the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralca) and Bophuthatswana's Peoples Progressive Party and Seoposengwe Political Party

Other representatives will come from the students, youth, civics, women unemployed, rural professional (lawyers, doctors and the media), sports, culture, religion, and anti-conscription educational groupings

The conference is being held in terms of a resolution adopted at Cosatu's special national congress in May this year

Sacos units on standby

THE South African Council on Sport (Sacos) had all their units on standby but had not received a formal invitation to attend the Anti-Apartheid Conference according to general secretary Colin Clarke

A Cosatu spokesperson however assured SOUTH that Sacos would be invited. "They are topping the list of sport organisations

Jay Naudoo will be in Cape Town soon to see Sacos"

Clarke said this week they had written to Cosatu asking for clarification and were awaiting a reply

Some affiliates had been approached individually but Sacos as such had received no formal invitation. We don't know where we stand

As much as we would like to, we cannot attend a wedding without an invite. This is the view of some of our affiliates

"We had written on Friday and are still awaiting a reply. Our affiliates are on standby but time is running out

Contact had been made with a Cosatu official locally but not with anyone at the national office, Clarke said



Comforting words for Sonia Joshua (left) from her brother Raymond Abrahams and his wife Cecelia

Azacco pull-out 'regrettable'

THE Azanian Coordinating Committee (Azacco) pulled out of this weekend's anti-apartheid conference after objecting to the inclusion of certain organisations — among them white liberals and homeland groups

Cosatu's assistant secretary Sydney Mufamadi said it was regrettable that Azacco had excluded itself

"This is not a conference of people who should necessarily agree

"Their desire is that the apartheid problem must vanish from this earth"

At a hastily convened press conference after meeting Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) organisers, Azacco objected to the participation of several organisations including the Five Freedoms Forum, Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM), kaNgwane homeland leader Enos Mabuza's Inyandza National Movement, the Transkei Democratic Party and the People's Progressive Party of Rocky Malebane Metsing in Bophuthatswana

"Invitations have been sent to a mixed bag of organisations, some

of which are direct representatives of the ruling class. These organisations and what they stand for have been rejected by our people. This in our view, is unprincipled unity which bears no relation to the aspirations of our people," Azacco's national co-ordinator Lusiba Ntoko told newsmen

"We applaud all attempts by all organisations to forge unity. To forge any meaningful solution it needs to be unity of the oppressed and exploited, first and foremost"

Azacco sees Saturday's conference as "over-ambitious" on the

part of Cosatu and an "impractical exercise"

Other objections included

- Only 15 delegates were allocated to Azacco while the non-racial democratic movement has 50 delegates and its affiliates were given a further delegate status. Azacco quoted as an example the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and South African National Students Congress (Sansco)

Organisers of the conference belong to one political grouping, namely the Charterists

Q

ANC softens ban on sport

New meeting with SA rugby chiefs planned

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa News Service
Lusaka

The African National Congress, which will meet South African Rugby Board officials again soon to discuss South Africa's sports isolation, is prepared to waive its previous stipulation about "no normal sport in an abnormal society".

This important concession by ANC leaders has been brought about by the realisation that sports such as soccer and athletics have become integrated at senior level and that this integration has had a positive effect on racial attitudes in the country.

The ANC now acknowledges that the slogan about "no normal sport" — which was coined by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sarnoc) in the early 70s — is obstructive in that it suggests nothing in South African society should change until everything changes.

The slogan also ignores the reality of the situation as there has been normalisation in certain sports.

The next meeting between the ANC and rugby board officials could take place within a month. The venue will be in Africa, possibly Lusaka or Harare.

It is understood that, at the two previous meetings in March and June, Transvaal rugby chief Dr Louis Luyt, as the SARB representative, indicated that the board was prepared to make rugby multiracial in all unions under its jurisdiction.

The ANC appears to accept this assurance. But two problem areas remain.

One is the position of the South African Rugby Union (Saru), the black sports body. The ANC believes it would be difficult to reach an understanding with the SARB without knowing Saru's standpoint and while rugby continues to be controlled by two different bodies

The other problem concerns sport at school level. The ANC's view is that apartheid in education is blocking true grassroots integration in sport and that this is where reform is most needed.

Dr Luyt said after his second meeting with officials of the ANC in Frankfurt "I don't believe the ANC wants to boycott South African sport. They are only for boycotts of segregation in sport."

On his return to South Africa, he handed a detailed memo on his talks to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. It was reported that this memo was not passed to the State President, Mr P W Botha as arranged because he "reacted angrily" when Mr Pik Botha mentioned the meetings.

● The Star's London Bureau reports that another organisation dedicated to advancing the cause of South African sport was launched yesterday.

Freedom in Sport International (FSI) — connected to but different from the original Freedom in Sport — will attempt to counter political interference in sport, according to the organisation's president, Lord Chalfont.

He said yesterday that the FSI would largely be funded by the Confederation of South African Sport. Part of the confederation's funding comes from the South African Government.

~~SPIN~~ Star 23/9/88

Black schools will be used for polling

Primary schools in black townships would be used as polling stations in the October municipal elections, the assistant director of black local authorities, Mr Pieter de Beer, said yesterday

He confirmed this would be done despite the tense atmosphere prevailing in black schools as a result of dissatisfaction with black education, the state of emergency and the detention of scores of students

The Transvaal Provincial Administration had obtained permission from the Department of Education and Training to use black primary schools in areas where no other suitable venues were available, he said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party's black affairs spokesman, said the move was "unwise" in the light of the radicalisation of black youths and large-scale intimidation.

Mr De Beer acknowledged that the use of schools as polling booths could be politically sensitive

"But what are we supposed to do if there is no other available place? We cannot exactly erect tents"

Missing jogger in Pretoria — SAP

Staff Reporter

The Pietersburg jogger, who disappeared after leaving home for her customary morning run yesterday, travelled from Pietersburg to Pretoria on a bus belonging to the Lebowa Bus Service, police said yesterday

A statement from the police public relations division in Pre-

Confusion reigns over disputed figures

Information black-out on municipal election

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

No central information point exists in the Transvaal for the collection of information on the October municipal election

Although nominations for the Transvaal closed last Friday, the number of accepted and unopposed candidates are not yet available — with most political parties, the Transvaal administration and the Bureau of Information (which has spent about R5 million promoting the elections) referring inquiries to local authorities

In terms of regulations, local authorities have to announce the number of accepted candidates within two weeks after nomina-

tion day
This means the picture should begin clearing after September 30, according to spokesmen for various political parties

However, contradictory information is provided by various sources about even basic details

About two weeks ago, the Transvaal administration said there were 258 local authorities in the province. Last week, the independent newsletter *Southern Africa Special Dispatch*, in an article researched by two top political journalists, said the number was 302. And today, another Transvaal administration spokesman gave the figure as 222.

The Transvaal administration will open a central information office on October 26 to which election results could be sent for further distribution, the Administrator's liaison officer, Mr Fanie Terblanche, said today

This offer had been extended to white, coloured and Indian local authorities, but no official reply had been received from the umbrella organisations for these local authorities

Mr Terblanche said the administration only handled black local authorities information

Asked why it did not co-ordinate white, coloured and Indian election information too, he said it was because these elections had been politicised

Teacher defies call to quit election

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

A Belfast teacher has put his career on the line by openly standing for the Conservative Party in the coming municipal elections

Maths teacher Mr Gabriel Joubert (42) of Hoerskool Belfast says he believes in "playing honest"

A widower with three teenage children to support, Mr Joubert claims he has already been instructed by the Transvaal Education Department to withdraw his candidacy immediately.

"But I'm not going to. They will now see that as insubordination and I stand a big chance of losing my job"

He said he knew that other teachers, both CP and National Party members, were standing as so-called independents, but they were only doing

that to get around the TED's ruling that no teachers could stand for a political party

"But nobody is kidded, they're all standing for their own political party"

"If I stood as an independent I would be accepting party funds for posters and things, and I would then not be a true independent"

"I believe in being honest with the public. The CP have asked me to stand for them, and that is what I'm doing"

He did not want to withdraw as directed by the TED because then his National Party opponent would win by default

Asked what he would do if the TED dismissed him, Mr Joubert said he did not have any definite plans

"But that here" *unlike the old good way, as it won't kill me*

No proof that night man

A 44-1111-1111

Intimidation

in platteland

Van Eck

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MANY of the platteland towns were being subjected to a "shocking system of intimidation" in a bid to make residents vote in the October 26 elections, the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said yesterday

Mr Van Eck said that as part of "a massive intimidation campaign to make people vote", black residents of the new section of Bongolethu township in Oudshoorn who showed opposition to participation "have as punishment recently had their newly installed electricity meter boxes ripped out of the walls of their homes by the municipality"

Speaking during the debate on the Local Government in Free Settlement Areas Bill in Parliament, Mr Van Eck said that residents were also told that if they failed to register or vote they would "cease to exist"

Residents were also told that they would not receive any further services, repairs "or anything", he said

ANC on civilian deaths

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress regretted the loss of innocent lives during operations, the Cape Supreme Court was told yesterday

Ashley Forbes, convicted of terrorism, told the court "We have to fight for our freedom to the last drop of blood before we achieve our liberation"

Forbes left the country in 1986 to undergo military training. When he left he was being sought by the police for his activities in an ANC support cell.

He said he was proud to be a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe and added the ANC accepted that civilians would be killed in war.

But it had never been the position of the ANC to attack civilian targets. "People are caught in crossfire and this is what the ANC regrets. You never kill because you like to. It is traumatic to come to the realisation that one day you will have to take a human life," Forbes said.

"The intention is not to kill but to take a message to the police force that they should resign, that they are seen by the people as the enemy."

ANC



ANC's Mbeki



SARB's Craven



Saru's Patel

2019-2020 Sushu
11A

SCRUMDOWN

From AMEEN AKHALWAYA JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between the outlawed ANC and Danie Craven's multi-national SA Rugby Board — and in all likelihood a later scrumdown involving Ebrahim Patel's non-racial SA Rugby Union — is very much on the cards.

Such indabas are certain to have wide local and international implications.

They are likely to cause a split in Craven's SARB, which has already shown cracks since the revelation that one of its executive members, Dr Louis Luyt, has been involved in talks with the ANC.

• TURN TO PAGE 18

A spate of bogus 'union newsletters' pours into factories

By EDDIE KOCH *IIA*

FACTORIES, compounds and townships around the country have been inundated in the past few weeks by a spate of smear pamphlets, bogus letters and semi-official bulletins aimed at creating rifts within South Africa's labour movement.

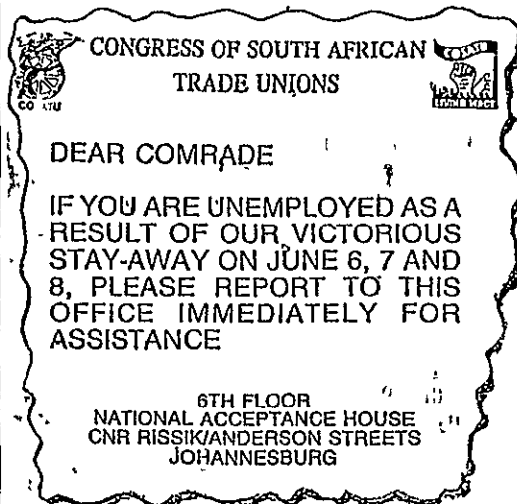
False letters, written on official union letterheads, have also been circulated to anti-apartheid organisations and union bodies overseas in an apparent attempt to undermine support for sanctions and block funds for unions inside the country.

The smear campaign, which began about a year ago, has reached unprecedented proportions. Common themes and terminology in the pamphlets indicate the drive is being closely coordinated and the vast number of copies distributed suggest it has extensive financial backing.

Some of the most recent smear pamphlets and letters include:

- A letter to overseas organisations, written on a letter-head of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, which claims that the union had taken a top-level and secret decision to oppose sanctions. It urges the groups to "suspend indefinitely your effective support for sanctions and disinvestment" and freeze all financial support for Fawu as "a security measure".

- An "open letter" from the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) was sent to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a range of trade unions and newspapers opposing sanctions and urging workers to vote in the forthcoming municipal elections. "In many instances we have called for people's power. This is our opportunity to exercise people's power and vote," it says.



One of the bogus union bulletins

- A recent edition of the now-regular *SA Trade Union Monthly Tibus* claims extensive financial mismanagement within the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu). It attempts to promote hostility between the two major labour federations by claiming that the information was provided by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

- In Natal, factories were flooded with pamphlets, written on a Cosatu letterhead, that claim to be written by discontented "workerists" and urge members to "organise lunchtime meetings to discuss the Cosatu leadership".

- Pamphlets on Cosatu letterheads, distributed in townships around Johannesburg, last month urged workers who are "unemployed as a result of our victorious stay-away" to report to the federation's office for financial assistance.

Common topics covered in the campaign include claims that rank-and-file members are opposed to sanctions and disinvestment, a stress on alleged clashes between "workerists" and "populists" (an old debate within Cosatu that is now redundant), attempts to promote conflict between Nactu and Cosatu and claims of financial mismanagement.

The pamphlets are also laced with false rumours and gossip about the personal lives of union officials. The latest edition of *Labour Tibus* claims under the headline "Trends of the Revolutionary Glitterati" that top Cosatu officials have had affairs with Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the jailed African National Congress leader. The same page shows a picture of Tutu being hugged by Winnie Mandela with a caption saying "Is Tutu now Winnie's new boyfriend?".

Says Cosatu information officer Frank Meintjes: "We believe the pamphlets are just one tentacle of an extensive extra-legal campaign against Cosatu. The producers of the pamphlets may very well be the same people who have bombed Cosatu House and Khotso House."

ANTI-APARTHEID CONF



Jones, Boesak, Marks, Omar

Ban beaters talk unity

29/9-10/10
SAF

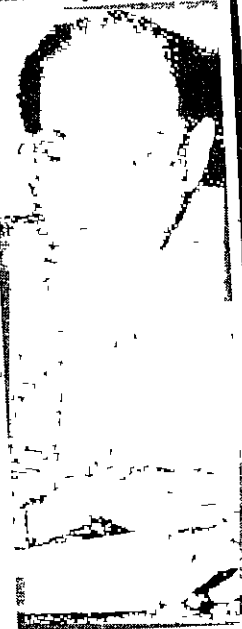
SECRET talks between a wide range of organisations took place in Cape Town at the weekend, in spite of a ban on the Anti-Apartheid Conference planned for the University of Cape Town.

And historic talks between activists linked to the restricted United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organisation were held in the weeks leading up to the conference, it has been reliably learnt

The conference, organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, was banned last Thursday night by Commissioner of Police General Henne de Witt.

About 600 delegates from 73 organisations were expected to attend

Many of the delegates heard about the ban on their way to Cape Town and some people were turned back at airports



Sacos' Ebrahim

A large contingent of security police moved into a Sea Point hotel where most of the Cosatu delegates were accommodated.

Despite the police presence, discussions on ways of building unity in future are said to have taken place at various venues throughout the Western Cape.

These included meetings involving progressive groupings and representatives of Kangwane homeland leader Enos Mabuza's Inyanda National Movement

The Inyanda Movement were among the groups represented at a press conference after the ban was gazetted

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Ban beaters in secret unity talks

SAF
10/10
29/9-10/10

• FROM PAGE 1

Others at the conference, chaired by lawyer Abdullah Omar, included Wymand Malan's National Democratic Movement; the South African Council on Sport (Sacos); World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak, Anglican Dean the Very Rev Colin Jones, representing Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Cosatu president Elijah Barayi and general secretary Jay Naidoo, University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerweij, Independent MP Jan van Eck; the

Black Sash, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) and the National Union of South African Students

In the build-up to the conference, UDF affiliates in the Western Cape consulted many organisations, including the New Unity Movement, sports organisations, black businessmen, lawyers and church organisations

Two meetings were held with members of black consciousness organisations, it has been learnt.

BC organisations represented by the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (Azacco) announced last week that they were pulling out of the conference.

It is believed to have been the first time such wide-ranging talks were held

"The process of negotiation and discussion was more important than the conference itself. The conference would have been the cherry on top of the cake," said one person who was supposed to attend the talks.

Cosatu had budgeted R250 000 for conference, according to information officer Frank Menniges

This included the cost of transport, accommodation, catering and venues. Cosatu was hoping to recoup some of the money, he said.

General secretary Jay Naidoo said Cosatu had decided not to challenge the ban in court

"The ban came at the last minute and the earliest court decision we would have been able to receive would have been on Saturday afternoon."

ANC's line on sport

By JIM FREEMAN

THE African National Congress has denied reports that South African sport has become integrated sufficiently for the movement to drop its "no normal sport in an abnormal society" stand

Reliable sources in Lusaka said yesterday that while there had been extensive integration in certain sports, this had not been sufficient to warrant ANC support for an application for any sporting body to re-enter the international arena.

"The integration has been implemented for the wrong reasons. The integration in sports like soccer and athletics has not been intended to destroy apartheid, but to promote professionalism," said the source

"There is no doubt that soccer has not been normalized, but that there has been integration to a certain extent on a senior level

"But our children are not allowed to play together



'Not enough integration to end isolation'

er, and there is an uproar when a black child wants to play in Pretoria

"Even in athletics the participation of blacks in long-distance running has increased integration. However, the children are not running together because apartheid is still very much alive in South African sport. South African sport will only be fully integrated when our children play together

"The ANC cannot support an application for South Africa to return to the international soccer fold either in Africa or the world

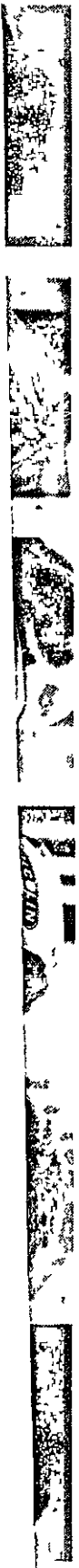
"If sport is 'integrated enough', the applications will be supported"

The Lusaka statements come on the eve of reports of a further meeting "somewhere in Africa, but probably either Lusaka or Harare" between the ANC and officials of the SA Rugby Board

Yesterday the president of the SARB, Dr Danie Craven, said he would attend the third round of talks between the SARB and the ANC

Unsources reports from Lusaka yesterday said the ANC was prepared to waive its stipulation that no normal sport could be played in an abnormal society

The policy change had been brought about "by the ANC's realization that some sports like boxing, soccer and athletics have become integrated at senior level and that this integration has had a positive effect on racial attitudes in the country", said the reports.



23/10/76
W. Mout
11A

A Matie in Maputo

THE disc jockey at the mini-golf club on the Maputo beachfront speaks Portuguese with an American twang.

Hordes of people and mosquitoes dance together under disco lights to the beat of *Modern Talking*, while chauffeurs wait outside in BMW's for their partying bosses.

Last week, one of those "bosses" was Mota Lopez, host to 14 Afrikaans students from the universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and the Orange Free State who were on an eight-day visit to "Marxist-Leninist" Mozambique "This," he said, stretching out his arms, "is socialism".

One could not tell by his smile whether he was joking.

In the bustling centre of Maputo, there are few signs of government control of commerce. Although it is illegal, hawkers sell food and cigarettes on virtually every street corner. Business people, waiting impatiently for government promises to move towards a less-controlled economy, sell anything from food and household appliances to curios.

A year ago, Mozambicans say, shop-windows were empty and people queued for bread.

Now it seems easy to live in the city centre without realising that you are in one of the world's poorest countries. However, one is still confronted by the effects of the devastating war, more so than a white South African in one's own country.

The vasty shanty towns of Maputo spread directly from the city centre, separated only by green belts where farmers in collectives produce food for the city.

Large numbers of rural inhabitants flock to the city each year, building reed huts or corrugated-iron shacks in the ever-expanding refugee camps. These dwellings are more spacious than those of Crossroads in Cape Town — and they're legal.

During our short visit, we became acutely aware of the international isolation of South Africa. Mozambique receives aid from, among others, the USA, Britain and the Soviet Union.

An international fair had just finished when we arrived and preparations for the Pope's visit were in full swing. An international fun run in aid of Unicef was held in the streets of Maputo. The Zambian and Tanzanian soccer teams played at Independence Day celebrations.

The highlight of these celebrations was a soccer match between what was the official soccer team of colonial Mo-

A group of Afrikaans students visit Maputo ... and have their preconceptions scrambled

By TANJA HICHERT of Stellenbosch, one of 14 students who returned from Mozambique this week

zambique and the "Veterans of the Revolution", captained by none other than President Joachim Chissano. One could only imagine South African Minister of Defence Magnus Malan and his former cabinet colleagues playing a friendly rugby game against the ANC central committee in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Such prospects seemed closer when one of the ANC representatives in Mozambique greeted us in Afrikaans "Ek moet dit oefen," said Tommy Ndlela "Ek kry maar min kans om Afrikaans hier te praat." He suggested an Afrikaans translation of the ANC *Die Afrikaanse Nasionale Kongres*.

The ANC officials' views seemed surprisingly moderate, even when one takes into account that they were being very diplomatic.

One only has to go to Kaya Mandi, the township outside Stellenbosch, to hear the same sort of things being said, and to hear opinions to the left of the ANC. We heard the same views on the October 26 elections that one hears from extra-parliamentary organisations in South Africa, and we were able to hear their direct answers to questions on the armed struggle and the bombing of "soft targets".

It was stated categorically that it was not official ANC policy to attack "soft targets". This was a surprise. The explanation given was that the ANC does not have complete control over all its cadres.

One member of our group said afterwards that he had had preconceived ideas and had expected to meet archetypal "terrorists".

To some of us their position seemed tragic. We had never thought of ANC members as people who would rather not be in exile. During our second meet-

ing, while we shared some beers and spoke to people individually, we realised some of them had not seen their families since 1976.

They, being good diplomats, never questioned our *bone fides*, but we had to answer some questions. They were interested in the state of affairs on Afrikaans campuses and in hearing how the ANC was perceived by Afrikaners generally.

We could only explain how outraged people were after every bomb and how successful was government propaganda about the ANC.

The ANC officials held no bitterness towards Frelimo for signing the Nkomati Accord, which allows only 10 ANC representatives in Mozambique. According to them, there had never been an ANC military base in

Mozambique.

However, the bitterness in the Frelimo government over South African violations of Nkomati was very clear. "The Nkomati Accord was useless in all aspects except one," said Sergio Vieira, member of the Frelimo central committee and former minister of state security. "It has shown the whole world that South Africa is a destabilising force in the sub-continent."

It is this that induced Chissano to talk to Botha again last week, he said. "Every commitment given by South Africa is another nail in its diplomatic coffin, because it cannot keep its promises, even if it tries."

Soviet diplomats — with cans of Lion Lager in their hands — condemned Renamo atrocities and South African involvement with the rebel organisation. But it was more surprising to hear this reiterated by the Swedish ambassador, international welfare organisations and foreign journalists.

Even the US ambassador, Melissa Wells, showed a hint of scepticism about South Africa honouring the accord. "We have detected a pattern of support for Renamo, even after the Nkomati Accord," she said. "Where this support comes from is another question."

All of these people confirm that Renamo has destroyed 800 health centres and 2 629 primary schools and killed more than 400 teachers in Mozambique.

And they all agree that Mozambique would have the potential of becoming, in Wells' words, "the California of Africa" if it was allowed to develop peacefully.

● Tanja Hichert is a University of Stellenbosch political science honours student and an assistant editor of *Die Matie*.

Courts bid farewell to individual rights

THE Natal Indian Congress court challenge to key Emergency regulations — which could be the last of the attempted court challenges to Emergency regulations — has been dismissed.

Mr Justice David Friedman said he "regretted" the application had to fail.

The NIC brought the application to test the validity of regulations which have effectively banned the United Democratic Front. They also challenged certain media regulations including those which prevent any call for a boycott of the October elections.

However, the application, brought in the Durban Supreme Court, was affected by a decision of the Appellate Division, handed down the day before the start of the NIC case.

In terms of this decision, one of the long-standing grounds of attack on a regulation — that it is void for being vague — was found to be an invalid reason for setting aside Emergency regulations.

This decision forced the NIC legal team to abandon its argument that the regulations were invalid as they were vague. Instead, Ismail Mahomed SC argued that they were so unreasonable that parliament could not have intended to give the state president the power to make such regulations.

However, Mr Justice Friedman found that, following the AD decision, this attack (unreasonableness) was also no longer a valid ground for challenging Emergency regulations.

After the Appeal Court decision that 'unreasonableness' was insufficient ground to invalidate an Emergency regulation, the Durban challenge to the regulations last week had no chance. Many lawyers believe it marks the end of an era, reports CARMEL RICKARD

He found that in terms of the new decision, he could not even inquire whether the regulations were unreasonable, and added, "I regret that the application must fail".

The judge said he used the words "regret" deliberately as in general it was one of the traditional roles of the court to act as a watchdog against executive excesses in the field of subordinate legislation.

The court fulfilled its role by measuring the legislation against long and well-established principles.

"It is therefore a matter of regret that in the field of security legislation the legislature should have seen fit to remove from the court the role traditionally entrusted to it of fairly and without fear or favour, safeguarding the interests of the state and of its citizens."

Civil rights lawyers see the effect of the new AD judgement as more than something to "regret". Several have commented that it could be the end of the era in which Emergency regulations can be tested in the courts.

A number of pending cases are being

postponed indefinitely while lawyers consider whether it would be worth while continuing with them.

Commenting on the AD decision and its effect, Durban Legal Resources Centre director Chris Nicholson said he found it distressing. The ruling meant that while a regulation might be vague, it was still valid, and that people could be charged with breaking a regulation so vague that they did not understand it.

"It seems to be unjust for people to face the severe penalties set out in the Act, for contravening a regulation which is so vague that they could not understand it."

He said the NIC judgement was also "a serious development" and in effect meant a regulation could be both vague and unreasonable without the courts being able to intervene.

"It is a serious blow to the country if we are going to be governed by regulations which are vague and unreasonable which the courts can do nothing about."

Fink Haysom, of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University, said the ruling effectively held that the approach of the courts up to this time had been incorrect.

"This reverses many judgements made in the past years," said Haysom. "It not only makes an enormous barrier for lawyers and leaves individuals unprotected from the capriciousness of the executive, it also clearly points to the abdication of the AD in its role of protecting the individual."

23-29/9/88

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Squatters, workers, clerics, chiefs ... rally to talk about tomorrow

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY politics could be transformed this weekend when unionists, workers, squatters, clerics, students, youth, artists, professionals and traditional chiefs rally in Cape Town to discuss ways of engineering a speedy end to apartheid — if the government does not scuttle the planned gathering

The one-million strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) this week announced it had invited between 600 and 700 delegates from 71 labour, community, religious, sports, "homeland", cultural and women's organisations to a mass anti-apartheid conference in Jameson Hall at the University of Cape Town

The main objective of the conference is for a wide spectrum of organisations, which come from divergent schools of political thought but share a common objection to apartheid, to discuss ways of co-operating in the face of increased government repression and the banning of 18 anti-apartheid organisations in February

The main items on the agenda include mass detentions under the State of Emergency, government clamps on the media, the new Labour Relations Amendment Act, the municipal elections in October, and the trio of draft laws dealing with illegal squatting, resettlement and urban segregation

"The organisations were chosen mainly on one criterion — an interest in dismantling the apartheid system, even though many would not share each other's political views," Cosatu press officer Frank Meintjies told a press conference in Johannesburg

The guest list thus includes militant trade unions, political and civic groups from the rival Africanist, black consciousness and "Charterist" camps, organisations made up mainly of white liberals such as the Five Freedoms Forum and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, black businessmen's associations such as the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, and a range of religious groups that

Hundreds will gather in Cape Town this weekend to talk about the end of apartheid ... if the government does not stop them first. EDDIE KOCH and VUSI GUNENE report

include the Zion Christian Church as well as the Rastafarian movement.

A decision to call the conference was made at Cosatu's extraordinary congress in May this year which met to discuss the labour movement's response to the impending changes to the country's labour legislation

These changes, which unions believe are designed to shackle the power of organised labour, were made law when the government promulgated the Labour Relations Amendment Act this month

But Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi said the idea of calling such a conference could be traced back to a meeting in May 1987 of the National Working Committee of the now-banned United Democratic Front (UDF). There it was decided to "extend moral and political influence to those forces which are beginning to move away from the trenches of apartheid"

The call was given some impetus when Cosatu, the UDF, the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and the National Education Crisis Committee staged a joint "campaign for national united action" and "Christmas against the Emergency campaign" at the end of the year

The range of organisations that could be pulled into such joint campaigns was broadened after Cosatu's special congress, when the union federation and its one-time rival, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), co-operated in calling for three days of peaceful protest at the Labour Relations Amendment Bill. It culminated in the mass stayaway by

some three million workers in July

The conference this weekend is likely to encourage further campaigns whereby disparate groupings can co-operate in joint anti-apartheid projects that create "unity in action"

A union document outlining the reasons for the conference says "There are millions of people involved in legal and open organisations struggling for a unitary democratic South Africa free from racism. These mainline organisations are part of the mass democratic movement.

"There are many other organisations which are opposed to apartheid but are not part of the democratic movement. These include business people, taxi associations, teachers, sports bodies and professional groups

"The government views these organisations as a moderate block which they hope can be won over in the wake of the crackdown on the democratic movement. The democratic movement must harness and give clearer direction to these forces"

Although some press reports have likened these objectives to those of the Congress of the People, the meeting at which the African National Congress and allied organisations drafted the Freedom Charter in 1956, Cosatu officials stress they do not envisage the conference drafting a political programme

"This is a conference about protest and action," said Mafumadi. "We see it as a platform to enable organisations to work out a way forward. We do not envisage a new organisation and have no intention of replacing the UDF"

The question now uppermost in the organiser's minds is whether the government will ban the meeting

Mafumadi told reporters that the detention of 11 prominent UDF activists in Cape Town this week and a series of raid on Cosatu branch offices around the country in the past two weeks were "clear signals to us as to what the government is thinking about the anti-apartheid conference"

(VA) W/Mail 23-29/1980

Winnie served tea to youth tortured in her back yard, court told

By TYLER PARRY

WINNIE MANDELA served tea and cake to a young man after people believed to be members of the Mandela football team beat him and poured battery acid on his wounds, the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court heard this week.

John Jusuf Morgan, 60, Isaac Mokgoro, 19, and Absalom Dumasane Madonsela, 20, of Orlando West — believed to be the driver and members of the Mandela Football Team — pleaded not guilty this week to charges of kidnapping and assaulting two boys at Mandela's Orlando home.

One of the boys, Peter, is 16 years old and his full name cannot be disclosed. His evidence was heard in closed court.

His brother, Phillip, 18, testified three men came to his home on the night of May 26 last year.

He said his uncle opened the door and the men asked for Phillip and Peter who were in bed asleep. The two boys were held at gunpoint and forced to leave with the three men.

The men wore pantyhose over their faces, Phillip said, but he identified one of the men as Madonsela and said he was in possession of a gun.

They were driven to Mandela's home and taken to a prefab Zozo hut at the back of the house where a third boy was being held.

Mandela was fetched by the men and they said "Here are the boys, we have brought them."

Phillip said she greeted them and said, "If you don't want to be hurt like this boy you must tell the truth."

He was accused by others present of having "sold out" and told people had died because of his actions.

He said he knew nothing about their allegations and they started to hit him. Mandela was not present during the assaults.

Some of the men fetched a plastic rope and hanged Peter from the neck until the rafters broke and he fell to the ground. He said plastic was placed on his head and his face was pushed into a bucket of water.

A few women in the room tied his hands behind his back and he was made to sit on a chair.

Mokgoro hit him and said, "Let's stoep him."

With a pen knife, a big "M" was carved into his chest with a knife and "Viva ANC" was carved into his thigh, Phillip said. His brother and the third boy were seated on the mattress and made to watch this.

The men then fetched a car battery and "black stuff" (battery acid) was smeared into the wounds by Mokgoro, Phillip said.

Peter was then held and "Viva ANC" was carved into his back.

The assaults continued and the

brothers were then told to lie down on the floor and sleep.

After a couple of hours, Mandela came in with tea and cakes and then left, Phillip said.

The third boy was asked to give names of other "sell outs". After he gave a name the person concerned was fetched. This person was told if he didn't want to look like the others he should tell the truth.

The four boys were then taken to another house in Soweto and kept in a garage from which they escaped, Phillip told the court.

During cross examination defence lawyer Kathy Satchwell put it to Phillip that there were discrepancies in the evidence he and his brother had given.

Peter had also said Mandela entered the room after the *stoeping* and had claimed the brothers were kidnapped by two people, not three.

Phillip said the incidents had happened a long time ago, and as he had been beaten his recollection was not so good.

Eviction looms for Haggie strikers

By EDDIE KOCH

MORE than 1 800 metalworkers at two Haggie Rand plants on the East Rand face eviction from their hostels as a wage strike at the steelworks drags to the end of its first week.

The workers, who began striking last Saturday after a deadlock in annual wage talks, were dismissed early in the week and told they would only be re-employed if they accepted the company's wage increases.

Haggie management says the company had locked the workers out before the stoppage began and that subsequent strike action has thereby been rendered illegal.

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa insists the workers had exhausted all conciliation procedures before downing tools and that the strike is legal.

It plans to challenge the validity of the dismissals and the threat of evictions in court, says union organiser Alistair Smith.

The strike began after workers rejected management's offer of a minimum wage increase of 45 cents an hour. Workers are demanding an 85 cents an hour hike across the board.

Production at Haggie's Jupiter plant in Cleveland, which manufactures steel cables, and at its Germiston steelworks has been halted. The Jupiter factory, jointly owned by Anglo American and Gencor, is the biggest of its kind in the world.

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23-29/1980

W/Mail

SA RUGBY BOSSES TO MEET ANC - AGAIN



LUSAKA — The African National Congress will meet South African Rugby Board officials again soon to discuss South Africa's sports isolation and is prepared to waive its previous

stipulation about "no normal sport in an abnormal society"

This important concession by ANC leaders has been brought about by the realisation that some sports like soccer and athletics have become integrated at senior level and that this integration has had a positive effect on racial attitudes in the country

The ANC now acknowledges that the slogan about "no normal sport" — which was first coined by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee

(Sanroc) in the early seventies — is obstructive in that it suggests nothing in South African society should change until everything changes

The slogan also ignores the reality of the situation, since normalisation has happened in certain sports

The next meeting between the ANC and Rugby Board officials could take place within a month. The venue will be somewhere in Africa, possibly Lusaka or Harare

It is understood that at the two previous meetings in March and

June the SARB representative, Dr Louis Luyt, indicated that the Board was prepared to make rugby multiracial in all unions under its jurisdiction

The ANC appears to accept that assurance. But two problem areas remain

One is the position of the South African Rugby Union (Saru), the black sports body. The ANC believes it would be difficult to reach an understanding with the SARB without knowing Saru's standpoint and while rugby continues to be controlled by two different bodies

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SAC 29/9/88 (11A)

General warns of SACP-ANC plans for poll destabilisation

Vereeniging Bureau

Attempts are still being made by the SA Communist Party/ANC alliance to disrupt the country's economy and social order, General Hennie de Witt, the Commissioner of the SAP, said at the Vaal Show yesterday.

Because of the strategic importance of South Africa in the Soviet plan of world domination, the

Russians had subjected the Republic to one of the most "comprehensive revolutionary onslaughts" in the history of mankind.

He added that police were aware of comprehensive plans by the ANC and its surrogates to disrupt the October elections through widespread violence, boycotts, and work stoppages.

Curry: Assert power at negotiating table

Staff Reporter

AKGUS 30/9/88 (11/2)

MANAGEMENT committees should stop acting as weaklings and assert their power, according to Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives.

Mr Curry, an honorary life president of the Association of Management Committees, was delivering the closing address at the organisation's 15th annual congress yesterday.

"In the past we were pawns, now we are at the negotiating tables at the highest level," he said.

Political power would not be handed over on a silver plate, but would have to be fought for.

"We are clear what we want — a non-racial, united South Africa," he said to applause from delegates.

PERSONAL CODE

The government should not just talk but take action to bring about meaningful change, Mr Curry said.

It was important that committee members adhere to a strict, exemplary code of personal conduct and uphold the dignity and integrity of the public office to which they had been elected, he said.

Mr F L Erasmus was re-elected president. Mr S G Smith (Boland) was elected vice president, Mr N D Thomas treasurer (unopposed) and Mr B Jacobs interim secretary.

Executive members for 1989 are. Mr E H Goldschmidt (W Cape), Mr I E Jarodien (N Cape), Mr D Johnson (E Cape), Mr P C Jooste (Karoo), Mr N Isaacs (Cape Peninsula), Mr C Hare (Border), Mr G R Sweetland (S Cape), Mr M M Theron (N-West Cape), Mr K C van Niker (Walvis Bay) and Mr J J van der Bergh (Assosec).

Vlok stays firm on fugitive

Cape Times 30/4/88
Own Correspondent

114 300 307

JOHANNESBURG. — Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday that his minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, would "not be prepared to accept any proposals" from the lawyers of the fourth detainee holed up at the United States consulate here, but he would be prepared to "point to the facts".

Brig Mellet was responding to proposals submitted by the lawyers acting for Mr Clifford Ngcobo, which seemed to have been lost the pre-

vious day.
Mr Azhar Cachalia, lawyer for Mr Ngcobo, said he had sent a telex to the minister as well as the proposals. He said he had received no reply to the proposal.

Mr Cachalia said he had sent the telex asking for clarification on Mr Ngcobo's health

He had received a reply stating that Mr Ngcobo was under investigation for "illegal possession of a firearm", but he would not be detained on his release.

11A B/deny 30/9/88

De Beer: release Mandela

PETER DELMAR

PFP leader Zach de Beer has called on President P W Botha not only to release Nelson Mandela, but also to grant him "political space to mobilise support for his political programme by all peaceful means"

In the latest issue of the PFP newsletter, Progress, De Beer said it would not help SA to release Mandela when his own organisation and so many others were banned and proscribed. Freeing Mandela should be followed by an invitation to the negotiating table.

If Botha issued this invitation he would "free himself from the albatross of apartheid which still hangs around his neck, the challenge of democracy will move from Botha to Mandela"

Two recent events could help prepare the ground for negotiations between government and black leaders, De Beer said. These were the "visible failure" of the tricameral parliament and the recent publication by the ANC of a political blueprint for post-apartheid SA.

"Let me state clearly that the new document is not precise. I do not think I could agree to it. But I do believe that reasonable people can discuss it, on the way to an agreement"

De Beer said government should tell the ANC that the document provided a basis for discussion.

30/9/88

(11A) ~~SECRET~~ SPML

SA warned of rise in urban terror

Acts of terror could be expected to escalate as the October 26 municipal election drew closer, Brigadier H D Stadler, head of intelligence in the Security Police, said in Johannesburg yesterday

He said at a conference on urban terrorism at the Rand Afrikaans University that although acts of violence escalated from 1984, statistics indicated terrorist acts had decreased substantially since the state of emergency was imposed

"Since 1974 there have been 1 006 acts of terrorism in which 178 people have been killed and wounded," said Brigadier Stadler

"In 1985 there were 137 acts of terror, last year 235 and so far this year 138

"Since the state of emergency this situation has changed and there is increased stability

"The ANC has no permanent logistic infrastructure in the country and they have to operate from outside South Africa

"For this reason they have had to establish local training camps, crash training courses and have had limited success with forming ANC cells here," said Brigadier Stadler

"The highest incidence of acts of terror has been in Soweto

"Now their attention is aimed at civilian targets and the whites are their soft target," he said

Brigadier Stadler told delegates that the ANC's attempts at a guerilla war had never really got off the ground

ANC plans known — Wessels

Police prepare for municipal polls violence

By Joe Openshaw

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels warned in Johannesburg yesterday that violence at the polling booths by the ANC and the radical Left in an attempt to disrupt the October 26 municipal elections would not be tolerated

Speaking at a conference of urban terrorism at RAU, he said the police were aware of plans being laid by the ANC

"The ANC has promised strikes on election day as well as bus boycotts to prevent people getting to work or to the polling booths

"I can assure the public that we will not tolerate illegal interference in the elections

"It is not police policy to kill and maim people, but we will not stand by

and see defenceless people murdered and maimed by those who haven't the interests of the people and the country at heart

"We have already taken action and detained and curtailed the free movement of radicals and instigators

"I give candidates the assurance that everything possible will be done to ensure their safety and that of their families so they can take part in the election without fear"

He said it would be foolhardy for him to reveal precisely what plans and precautions the police have to protect candidates, voters and the polling stations, but he gave the assurance he police will be present and visible everywhere

Measures were already being taken to protect central business areas by searching people and by roadblocks

Social norms 'contribute to incest'

By Janet Heard

The social mores and norms of society encouraged many of the characteristics found to contribute towards incest, Mr Clive Willows of the Maritzburg Child Welfare Society said this week

He was addressing about 400 delegates at the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare's national symposium

Research had shown that 34 percent of women experienced some form of sexual abuse, where they had not consented, before the age of 18. About 90 percent of the victims were girls and around 95 percent of the perpetrators were men

Mr Williams said most children's socialisation was based on gender, where boys were encouraged to be dominant, that the man was the head of the family and that power was in his hands, thus increasing the potential for abuse

These norms were reinforced through the mass media and advertising where the man was portrayed as being independent, powerful and

'Thousands vote with their feet'

Political Reporter

One of the most significant characteristics of the "silent revolution" which was transforming South African society was that it was brought about by the man in the street, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said yesterday

"While the Government and political activists were

Launch 'was not disrupted'

30/9/88

~~SECRET~~

11A

Secretum

PUPILS at the US funded Phambili High School in Durban did not disrupt the launch of the Nelson Mandela book, *Higher Than Hope*, as was reported yesterday.

They demonstrated after Mrs Winnie Mandela had given her

speech and sat down. There was no tussle, Mrs Mandela's lawyer Mr Krish Naidoo, who was at the launch, said yesterday.

In fact Mrs Mandela pacified the pupils and promised to help them solve the problems that have been plaguing the school for some months.

(11A) 17/9/88

Respondents ordered to pay costs

Appeal court ruling goes against UDF

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday upheld an appeal against a decision of a Natal judge who found that the declaration of the United Democratic Front as an affected organisation was of no force and effect in law

Mr Justice JM Didcott in the Durban and Coast Local Supreme Court on May 8 1987 found that the Registrar of Affected Organisations was not entitled to take any steps against the UDF pursuant to the declaration in Proclamation 190 of October 9 1986, read with the Affected Organisations Act of 1974

Ordered to pay costs

Mr Justice Didcott ordered that the costs incurred by the UDF, the Durban Housing Action Committee, the Natal Organisation of Women and Mr Curnick Ndhlovu, the chairman of the UDF'S national executive committee, be paid by the Government

Yesterday Mr Justice Rabie, the Acting Chief Justice, upheld an appeal by the State President, the Government of South Africa and the Ministers of Law and Order and of Justice. He ordered the respondents, jointly and severally, to pay the costs, including those of two counsel for the State President and Government and two for the Ministers

With the concurrence of Mr Justice Joubert, Mr Justice Hefer, Mr Justice Vivier and Mr Justice Steyn, he set aside the lower court order

An issue in the appeal was whether the State President — in Proclamation 30 of 1984 — had, or had purported to, transfer or assign the powers entrusted to the Minister of Justice by Section 8 of the Affected Organisations Act to the Minister of Law and Order

The judge said the position in the present case was that the State President did not indicate that he "approved of anything done by himself", but that he approved, following advice given him by the Executive Council, of the transfer of powers as contemplated in Section 20A of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1961.

Duties and functions

The reasonable and correct construction to place on Proclamation 30 was that the State President indicated that he was transferring the powers, duties and functions entrusted to the Minister of Justice by the Affected Organisations Act to the Minister of Law and Order.

The judge held, therefore, that the lower court erred when it declared Proclamation 30 to be of no force and effect — Sapa.

Third rugby meeting with ANC on cards

But a Lusaka climbdown on sports boycott is not likely

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA and Weekly Mail Reporters

A THIRD meeting between the African National Congress and the South African Rugby Board — and a possible scrumdown later involving the South African Rugby Union — seems to be on the cards.

But reports this week that the ANC is prepared to ease off on the dictum "no normal sport in an abnormal society" have been denied by the organisation in both Lusaka and London. It is also being ruled off-side in non-racial sports circles.

A representative of the ANC information service in London said there had been no shift in policy.

"We are sticking to the United Nations boycott and we adhere to the blacklist," he said.

Sources in the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), to which Saru is affiliated, say they expect the ANC will set stringent conditions before it considers advocating an end to South Africa's sporting isolation.

And they are confident no steps will be taken without Sacos' blessing.

What is likely, sources say, is that the ANC will first test the water with Danie Craven, the SARB, and then act as "referee" in possible later talks with Saru.

Saru president Ebrahim Patel would not comment. His SARB counterpart, Dr Dame Craven, last night said he was planning a meeting with the ANC but it was not finalised. "It's on the cards," he said.

Commenting on adverse reaction to the issue from President PW Botha, Craven said "It doesn't matter a damn who I speak to as long as they are sportsmen."

He said he was not aware ANC policy had shifted but said it was "a wonderful thing. It goes to show we are not talking to diehards. We are not talking to a brick wall. They (the ANC) have changed a policy of 20 years standing. That says something."

But Sacos sources say the conditions that would be set for any back-down on the isolation issue would include:

- The SARB closing shop and joining Saru — bringing with it assets like Newlands, Ellis Park and Loftus Versfeld
- The new rugby body refusing to collaborate with the National Party government
- Opening schools to pupils of all races, so sports apartheid can end
- No SARB official being allowed

● To PAGE 2

by regulations

11A
W/Mail
30/9-6/10/88



ANC meeting

● From PAGE 1

to hold office in Saru for at least 10 years.

A meeting, with the ANC mediating, could change the face of South African sport.

But that would depend on whether the SARB considers the above conditions, which they are unlikely to do.

Already right-wing elements have reacted with hostility to the talks with the ANC and could insist that no further negotiations take place.

If nothing else comes of the SARB-ANC meeting, one major step will have been taken — the SARB, a pillar of the Afrikaner Nationalist establishment, has given *de facto* recognition to the ANC, a body the government would prefer to see destroyed.

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BLACK POLITICS

~~WANDA GENERAL~~ 1988

OCTOBER -

OCTOBER 1988

Winnie at centre of fracas at book launch

119
Chew
2/10/88



Winnie Mandela

Pupils hijack stage and slate Fatima Meer

BLACK students from a US-funded high school disrupted a book launch attended by Winnie Mandela and tussled with the youths who guard her before she intervened to stop a clash on Wednesday night

Mandela made her first visit to Durban since 1975 to attend the local launch of a biography of her husband, jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela

The biography, *Higher than Hope*, was written by

Fatima Meer, a sociologist who administers the American Aid to Phambili High School through the Institute for Black Research

Meer has been criticised recently at the high school over the way the R1-million in US aid money has been spent

Fifty students from the school - the only one in the Durban area that accepts released emergency detainees - entered a nearby

hall where Mandela was guest of honour and commandeered the microphone to make accusations against Meer

Members of the Mandela United Football Club - a group of youths who act as bodyguards to Mandela and have been involved in altercations near her home in Soweto - grabbed the microphone and elbowed the local students

Mandela then intervened, telling the high

school students "I understand there are problems here, but I regret very much the manner in which you are presenting them. Don't make a spectacle of a cause men have lost their lives for

"Don't challenge the ANC. It is yours. Your enemy is in Pretoria"

She then agreed to continue listening to the grievances of the students and the tension eased - Sapa

118 Chiny 2/10/88

Concern for PAC boss

Ill Zeph Mothopeng's family think he's in prison after clinic

CP Correspondent

PEOPLE close to the sick Pan-Africanist Congress president, Zeph Mothopeng, are concerned because he has been returned to Johannesburg's Diepkloof Prison following medical treatment

And the PAC has issued a warning that, should its 75-year-old leader die in jail, the exiled movement would call for a 48-hour demonstration "against the brutal murder by the so-called white civilisers"

Mothopeng is believed to have been discharged on September 16 from the private clinic where he was said to have

been admitted with a swollen neck and legs on September 6

Last year he underwent an operation to correct an ailment of the glands.

A source close to the Mothopeng family said on Monday that Mrs Urbania Mothopeng and the PAC leader's family were "very worried" because he was sent back to prison from hospital. They felt he would be "much better out of prison considering both his declining health and old age"

He said, "The family are certainly not happy that Uncle Zeph is totally in the hands of prison doctors. They want their own doctors to attend him to satisfy their minds"

PAC central committee member Lawrance Temba Mgweba said Mothopeng had been a healthy man until he was operated on last year "without his consent" and without the knowledge of his family.

"There was no need to operate on him because he was not sick"

Mothopeng's 15-year prison sentence under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of the PAC between 1963 and 1977 will expire in 1994 - Ane

Scribes honour PAC's Masemola

CP Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's longest-serving political prisoner and member of the PAC, Japhta Masemola, 57, was recently honoured in Harare by the Federation of Southern African Journalists when it set up the Japhta Masemola Sponsorship.

The annual sponsorship will enable two or more young South Africans "to study or advance their skills

in journalism in any of the region's institutions".

FSAJ is a federation of journalists' organisations from the Frontline States and liberation movements in Southern Africa.

Although the PAC proposed the sponsorship cover two people, the congress decided there could be more.

Masemola was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1961, just after he got married.

Judgment reserved in PAC accused's trial

CP Correspondent

JUDGMENT was reserved in East London's Regional Court in the lengthy terrorism trial involving two alleged members of the PAC, until November 15

Thozamile Tiyo, 24, of Fort Beaufort and Mgcineni Mgqatsha, 53, of Qumbu in Transkei, have been in custody since February last year. The State alleged the two had tried to infiltrate from Botswana when they were captured in 1987

The State accused the two of leaving the country in 1983 to join the PAC in Lesotho. The State also alleged they underwent arms training in Tanzania

The defence, who took a day to state their case, had earlier claimed that the State had failed to prove that one of the

accused had intended to overthrow the State

Defence lawyer VEN Tshabalala argued that Mgqatsha was arrested outside South African borders and even if he underwent training, it was also outside the country

A State witness's knowledge of the Benghazi Camp where the accused allegedly underwent military training was dismissed by Tshabalala as "scanty". On Tiyo's behalf, Tshabalala said he had nothing to submit

Earlier evidence by several State witnesses was held in camera

The accused were first captured in Bophuthatswana last year, allegedly in possession of arms, ammunition and explosives - Elnews

Mandela care

(NA) 3/10/88

THE cost of keeping African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, in an exclusive Cape Town clinic is more than eight times the amount spent on keeping an average prisoner

Based on rates charged at the exclusive Cape Town Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic, Mandela's accommodation and nursing costs were between R3 210 and R4 950 for the month of September

The 70-year-old leader was transferred to the clinic on August 30 after treatment for TB at the Tygerberg Hospital

Psychiatric report

Botha 'flexible' on releasing Mandela

From DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

GBADOLITE (Zaire) — President Botha has given Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko a clear indication that he is flexible on the release from prison of ANC leader Nelson Mandela

And he has assured President Mobutu that he has an open mind on the death sentences for the Sharpeville Six

This emerged in the formal joint communiqué by the two African leaders after more than four hours of talks at President Mobutu's country

palace at Gbadolite, his birth town

The communiqué said they had discussed four topics

● The Brazzaville peace talks and national reconciliation in Angola.

● Namibia's independence,

● Development of central and Southern Africa after Namibia's independence, and

● The position of Mr. Mandela and the Sharpeville Six.

The communiqué said "President Botha's flexible approach concerning the release of Nelson Mandela was a source of

encouragement to President Mobutu

On the Sharpeville Six, who have been sentenced to hang for their complicity in the mob-killing of a Lekoa civic official, the communiqué said "President Botha indicated that this question would be examined after judicial processes which had not been resolved had come to an end"

On the other three points dealt with the communiqué said the South African delegation had told the Zairean delegation of the present state of the peace discussions in Braz-

zaville They exchanged views on national reconciliation in Angola

The communiqué said Zaire reiterated its support for United Nations Resolution 435 The South African delegation told its Zairean hosts of the contents of the recent discussions that South Africa had with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar

It is reported from London that President Botha's African foray and the renewed speculation on the status of Mr. Mandela have been featured prominently in newspapers and on television

The London Times, in an analysis by its Johannesburg correspondent, Michael Hornsby, says that if Mr Botha can persuade other African heads of state to meet him around the conference table it would put pressure on the ANC to drop its armed struggle and negotiate

Sapa-AP reports from Johannesburg that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. K. Botha, said yesterday he would neither confirm nor deny reports that President Botha has promised the unconditional release of Mr. Mandela

Mr Botha's 3/10/88
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Visit to Zaire by President P.W. Botha is condemned

ANC BLASTS MOBUTU

HARARE — The African National Congress yesterday condemned Zaire President Sese Seko Mobutu's meeting with the South African head of state, saying no black leader should have contact with P.W. Botha while his government hangs political opponents.

The ANC said from Zimbabwe, in an interview with the *Sunday Mail* newspaper, that the day before their summit in northern Zaire, seven men were executed in Pretoria and four political prisoners were due to hang on Tuesday.

"Botha executes people who are victims of an inhuman society as well as political prisoners, and this is why the ANC says African leaders should not be meeting with him, the organisation said.

It also said African leaders should shun the white-led government while repressive laws are still wielded against the media and anti-apartheid activists.

Saturday's talks in Mobutu's ancestral village of Gbadolite were the third summit Botha has had with black African leaders during his 10 years in power, all in the past three weeks.

Botha has conferred with the heads of state of Mozambique and Mala-
wi

Western diplomatic sources in Harare, the Zimbabwean capital, said plans were afoot for a similar summit between Botha and Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka on Wednesday.

Kaunda, who is former head of the 50-member Organisation of African

Unity is one of Pretoria's harshest critics. He has repeatedly said he would never talk with the South African President until black activist, Nelson Mandela and other political detainees are free.

There was no official confirmation of the report — Sapa



Jail to end for Mandela?

Cape Times 3/10/88

New era for Africa

Mobutu's plea met with 'promise'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

NELSON MANDELA will probably never return to prison.

But the ANC leader, currently under police guard at a luxury Cape Town clinic, is most unlikely to be granted unqualified freedom as a political actor to mobilize his huge personal following in South Africa.

These disclosures surrounding the changing status of Mr Mandela emerged at the jungle summit between President P W Botha and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko at Gbadolite at the weekend.

President Mobutu made an earnest plea to Mr Botha to release Mr Mandela and appeared heartened by his response.

A joint communique issued shortly before the SA delegation to the talks jetted out of Gbadolite on Saturday evening noted "President Botha's flexible

Full summit reports
See PAGE 5

approach concerning the release of Nelson Mandela was a source of encouragement to President Mobutu."

According to a report in the Washington Post, Mr Botha vowed to free Mr Mandela after the ANC leader recovers from TB.

The weekend report, based on a telephone interview with the Zairean president after the South African delegation had left for home, stated "Mr Mobutu said the SA president gave him a solemn promise that he will not send Mandela back to prison on regaining his health in a Cape Town nursing home."

It added "I obtained from Botha a firm commitment that Mandela will soon be freed without any condition and he will be allowed to return home without any constraints."

However, well-placed conference sources indicated that Mr Botha had pointed out to his Zairean counterpart the risks Pretoria faced in allowing Mr Mandela to operate as a free political agent and the popular backlash that could result if the government felt bound to imprison him once again.

Leading members of the SA security establishment have also stressed repeatedly in recent months that the government could not risk giving Mr Mandela unconditional freedom.

And being released into a South Africa under a state of emergency in any case precludes normal



PRESIDENT BOTHA, I PRESUME . . . A Zairian military official greets President P W Botha on his arrival at Gbadolite, north-western Zaire, on Saturday. Next to Mr Botha is President Mobutu Sese Seko. The weekend summit between the two leaders is a prelude to further talks between SA and other African states on regional issues. **Full report on summit, PAGE 5**

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Best race —
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Boyatino,
peron, was a

length away in third just ahead of an English runner, Unfuwain, the mount of Willie Carson.

Mtoto, unbeaten this year and considered the best middle-distance performer in Europe, was slowly away in the 12 furlongs (2 400 metres) event and when the 24-strong field turned into the home straight he was still nearer last than first.

Roberts's worst fears were realized when he was unable to get a clear run through beaten horses and although he made up several lengths in the final 200 metres he could not haul back Tony Bin and Reid.

Strike at Karos hotel: Police hold 43 workers

MORE THAN 40 striking hotel workers were arrested yesterday for trespassing after the management of the Karos Arthur's Seat Hotel in Sea Point allegedly "broke an agreement and called the police".

A police spokesman confirmed that 43 people had been arrested for trespassing at the hotel yesterday afternoon.

Six of the Karos group's hotels have been affected by industrial action since the dismissal of a number of workers following the June 16 stayaway and a deadlock in wage negotiations.

The Liquor and Catering Trades Union (LCTU) claims that Karos Hotels dismissed 122 workers at the Karos Wilderness Hotel for commemorating

To page 2

To page 2

P.T.O.

Ngcobo slips out of consulate

Own Correspondent

THE fourth detainee to take refuge in the US consulate offices in Johannesburg, Mr Clifford Ngcobo, slipped out quietly at the weekend, a spokesman for his attorneys Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom said yesterday.

The spokesman said Mr Ngcobo's health had improved considerably in the week he spent in the consulate. He had earlier been diagnosed as suffering from anorexia and symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.

Mr Ngcobo was afraid of being detained again if he left the sanctuary of the consulate. On the strength of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's assurance that he would not be, and his need for urgent medical attention, he left about 8 30am on Saturday, the spokesman said.

The extent of suffering he experienced while in detention cannot be disclosed in terms of the emergency regulations, the spokesman said. However, charges had been laid against the Law and Order Minister for alleged assault which included electric-shock treatment.

Mr Ngcobo was a member of the Soweto Civic Association at the time of his detention. Three other detainees, Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the UDF, and chairman of the NECC Mr Vusi Khanyile, are still in the consulate.

Three write to Sowetan

The "Kine Three" have written a letter to a Johannesburg newspaper explaining why they have refused to leave the city's American consulate

In a letter to the editor of the *Sowetan*, Aggrey Klaaste, published in the newspaper today, UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said the three fugitives made their decision in order to highlight the immorality of detention without trial.

He said that the three had not accepted the Government's release offer because on the evening after their escape the Government had sent a message through the American Consulate saying that the men should either leave the country by midnight or the police would move in "till hell freezes over".

Mr Morobe said it was futile to escape if they were to be re-detained and that the option of going into hiding or leaving the country illegally was inappropriate.

"For this reason the consulate provided us with a degree of immediate safety after our escape and illustrated the plight of other detainees."

Mr Morobe said he and his colleagues were incensed by the "blatant" attempts by some newspapers to trivialise their situation.

Police told to seize videos of Biko film

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

Police were yesterday ordered to seize all video copies of the Steve Biko film "Cry Freedom" — including all pirate copies

The order was issued by SAP Commissioner, General Henne de Witt, in terms of the media emergency regulations

This follows the seizure of the film by police on August 29, only hours after screening started countrywide. The screenings were accompanied by several bomb blasts in Durban, Alexandra and Roodepoort.

ANTAGONISM

General de Witt said the video was a danger to public safety, the maintenance of public order and would delay the termination of the state of emergency and heighten the "revolutionary climate"

Points made were

- "Cry Freedom" was interspersed with propagandistic misrepresentations and contained a number of themes relating to the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa

- There were also some "extremely violent scenes" in the film and others which could lead to racial friction.

- Certain scenes could also cause antagonism towards the security forces

General de Witt said the Publications Appeal Board had placed a 2-19 age restriction on the film but that in the case of a television recording, there was no means of controlling who would see "Cry Freedom".

11A Smetan

5/10/88

GENEVA — The World Council of Churches said yesterday it had increased its total annual grant to political organisations and anti-racist groups combating white minority rule in Southern Africa.

The South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), a black movement fighting for Namibian independence, will receive 150 000 dollars from the Geneva-based WCC's special fund to combat racism, compared with 115 000 dollars last year.

Another 150 000 dollars will be shared between two black South

WCC gives to ANC, PAC

African organisations fighting white minority rule

According to WCC criteria for allocating grants, "the situation in Southern Africa is recognised as a priority due to the overt and intensive nature of white racism and the increasing awareness on the part of the oppressed in

their struggle for liberation."

The Pan-Africanist Congress, which the WCC said played a leading role in opposing Pretoria's apartheid policies of racial segregation, gets 45 000 dollars, an increase of 10 000 dollars.

But the African National Congress (ANC), the main nationalist rebel movement operating in South Africa, receives 105 000 dollars — 5 000 dollars less than last year.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions was allotted 20 000 dollars, double its 1987 quota, for publicity and information work

South

Kine 3's letter 'justified'

By Kaizer Nyatumba (11A)

The publication of a letter written by the "Kine Three" to the *Sowetan* newspaper on Monday may have embarrassed the American government, but it had to be done because the three men's plight demanded public attention, the paper said today.

In an editorial, the *Sowetan* said it seemed the three men's escape and their subsequent holding up at the US Consulate in Johannesburg had been "trivialised by others (and) had to be corrected".

SABC-TV reported last night that the three men had apparently violated the conditions under which they were granted temporary refuge by the US.

The US Embassy then issued a statement saying only members of their immediate families, legal representatives and designated support committees were allowed access to Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Vusi Khanyile at the consulate.

In their letter the three UDF leaders criticised certain newspapers.

"We are obviously not too happy about upsetting the American government, although we are sure if the publishing of the letter is perceived in the larger context, they would understand," the *Sowetan* said.

The paper also said it would "try as far as is possible to keep the sit-in in the news and also report more about the odious system of locking people up without charging them".

One of "the most sinister things" the Government had done, said the paper, was to gag the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) "which had tried to make the public aware of an evil that other people — because they thought it did not concern them — easily forgot or ignored", the newspaper said.

UDF member restricted

DURBAN — Yunus Ismail Mahomed, an executive member of the UDF in Natal and a Natal Indian Congress leader, was served with a restriction order by the Security Police in Durban this week. 6/10/82

Mahomed is prohibited, unless he obtains the written consent of the police commissioner or the Port Natal divisional commissioner, from being outside the boundaries of the magisterial districts of Durban, Pinetown, Umlazi and Inanda at any time. He may not take part, in any manner whatsoever, in the activities of the UDF.

He may also not contribute, prepare, compile or transmit any material for publication in any publication as defined in the Internal Security Act, nor help someone to do so. Mahomed spent 145 days in solitary confinement detention in 1982 — Sapa

(118) Blday

Mandela home for Christmas?

8-11-61/101 85

114

By Kaizer Nyatumba

An editorial in the *Sowetan* newspaper said today there was a great possibility that African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would spend Christmas with his family outside prison this year.

The paper said speculation about Mandela's release had been fuelled by recent rumours from the Government and there was clear evidence that the Government was "looking desperately" for a way to release the ANC leader without losing face.

It appeared that Mandela's release depended on the outcome of the October municipal elec-

tions. A defeat for the ruling National Party could mean that plans for the release might have to be put on hold indefinitely, the *Sowetan* said.

It noted that in the past rumours of Mandela's release had been squashed by the Government's insistence that he complied with certain conditions before being freed, including the renunciation of violence.

"Mandela, we understand, has been very firm in his refusal to comply with those conditions. Much as we would love to see him free, we believe the price he is expected to pay for his freedom is rather too high," said the paper.

Clamp slapped on UDF man

1/18 South
6-12/10/88

DURBAN — One of the top leaders of the UDF in Natal, Mr Yunus Mahomed, who has been in hiding since the first state of emergency was introduced on June 12 1986, has been traced and served with restriction order

Mahomed is the Natal secretary of the UDF, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, and is connected to the Kagiso Trust in Natal

He was driving along the Natal North Coast road on Monday when he was stopped by security policemen and served with the restriction notice.

He has been on the run with several of his NIC colleagues, including Billy Nair, Praveen Ghordaan and Roy Padyachee

The restriction order, dated June 10 1988, prohibits Mohamed from taking part in any UDF activities and is restricted to the magisterial districts of Durban, Umlazi, Pinetown and Inanda

He is also prevented from publishing, compiling and distributing any publication prohibited in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Mahomed has been previously detained and banned

— PTSA

Mbeki bid to see Mandela

11A



Mbeki, right, with Omar outside Constantiaberg

FORMER African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki made a futile attempt to see his ex-cellmate Nelson Mandela while on a visit to Cape Town this week

Mbeki, 78, visited a Cape Town eye specialist on Monday and had applied to the Prisons Service to see Mandela on the same day

Advocate Abdullah Omar said Mbeki arrived in Cape Town early on Sunday morning and had to leave by Monday night. His appointment was on Monday morning

Inside grounds

"Mbeki expressed the desire to see Nelson Mandela and applied for permission. By the time he had to leave, he had not yet received permission," Omar said

"Despite this, he asked to see the clinic where Mandela is being held. I took him there so he could walk around outside. He did not go inside the grounds."

Mbeki and Mandela were cellmates at Robben Island prison after they were sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage at the famous Rivonia trial. Mbeki served 23 years of his sentence

Mbeki was released on November 5 last year and is restricted to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and had to get permission to travel to Cape Town

He cannot be interviewed or quoted by the media

Defence hits at State in terror case

THE escalation of acts of terrorism in South Africa were due to the enslavement of a proud nation whose aspirations were not satisfied by the Government, Defence Advocate Dikgang Moseneke said in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Brigadier Jakobus Hendrik Buchner, an expert on ANC and PAC activities, conceded under cross-examination by Mr Moseneke that people who made laws in this country were the only people who could change them. Brigadier Buchner also admitted that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter".

Subversion

The policeman was testifying in the trial of seven members of the PAC and Qibla who were this week convicted by Mr J H Bekker on 19 counts of terrorism and subversion. The seven are Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Ndoda Gcanga, Vincent Mathunjwa, Paul Mohohlo, Daniel Nkopodi, Achmad Cassiem and Yusuf Patel. They had pleaded not guilty.

Dramatic

Earlier the trial took a dramatic turn when the prosecutor Mr J Pretorius and Mr Moseneke argued over the submission of Zulu and Gcanga's previous convictions in Swaziland and Lesotho. After the magistrate had ruled that the two could be asked if they acknowledged the convictions, Zulu replied. "I do not have previous convictions. The State must prove that". Gcanga said: "I do not admit"

Rock against the iron fist

Star 7/10/88
110



Sting ... rock stars are asked to lend their names to lots of causes, some of which are vague, but "Amnesty is about real people and their problems."

Exciting new find Tracy Chapman ... raised in the harsh environment of a Cleveland slum, her songs explore the themes of racial tension, poverty, anger and frustration.

Harare will today host the concert pop fans in southern Africa have been waiting for. When it begins the sub-continent will reverberate to a musical call that has united people in countries around the world as superstars Bruce Springsteen, Sting, Peter Gabriel and Tracy Chapman raise their voices for peace, harmony, justice and understanding.

By PETER FELDMAN
When the "Human Rights Now" concert starts in Harare tonight, southern Africa will rock to the strains of a musical call that is meant to unite people around the world

your ideals into action That's why I am here," he says

Thousands of South Africans have undertaken the trek to Harare to see artists who, in the normal course of events, would not be standing together on a common platform — and certainly not in Africa.

another, is part of everything. "I'm concerned with how the individual finds his or her way in the world," she says, "and what they do when they realise that either they're in or they're out."

Peter Gabriel, a former member of the British band Genesis and now a megastar in his own right, is a vociferous critic of the South African Government who made his feelings clear at the Mandela concert. He has dedicated a song to Steve Biko, which he will perform tonight, and has played at several concerts with political themes.

Tracy Chapman, who rose from obscurity to stardom in a dizzy few months, sums up her mission: "We as individuals are not free until we're all free. We have to be aware of the rights of people and how to exercise them. This tour is about raising consciousness."

Sinewy powerhouse

Bruce Springsteen, of course, is "The Boss", the working class hero whose message is delivered with true grit and feeling. A sinewy powerhouse of a performer, Springsteen's music touched the heart of first America and then the world.

Sting, a former member of supergroup The Police, participated in a previous Amnesty tour two years ago. It inspired him to pen "They Dance Alone", a haunting song on his new LP "Nothing Like the Sun" about loved ones "disappearing" in Chile.

Political consciousness plays a vital role in Tracy Chapman's life. Her lyrics reflect her awareness. She explores the themes of racial tension, poverty, brute anger and frustration. And her headline appearance at the historic Nelson Mandela concert in London in June helped cement her stance.

He has performed at anti-nuclear concerts, donated money to families of striking workers and spoken his mind about injustice in several countries, including South Africa. He performed on Little Steven's "Sun City" song and his set, the last one tonight, should help light the torch for political freedom.

Sting says rock stars are asked to lend their names to lots of causes, some of which are vague, but "Amnesty is about real people and their problems."

Her adolescence was spent in a Cleveland slum where she was forced to face raw street experiences which few underprivileged young people are ever able to surmount.

His tour statement revolves around ideals and he believes that one of the biggest challenges of adulthood is "holding on to your ideals after losing your innocence."

Senegalese superstar Youssou N'Dour says he is supporting the tour because it allows people to speak out for what they believe in. "My music talks about human dignity using African rhythms."

Private and reticent, Tracy coped by writing songs and poems.

The Human Rights Now Concert involves an exhausting 56 000 km world tour by the artists to mark the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Through a nationwide educational programme called A Better Chance, she was awarded a scholarship to a private school in Connecticut. Here she was exposed to a new range of musical expression.

"This tour will generate a new force to save lives, stop torture and free prisoners of conscience worldwide," Amnesty said in announcing the venture.

She maintains politics, in one form or

"For young and old people who still believe human beings are unique, Amnesty International is a tough, realistic way to put

Mr Jack Healey, executive director of Amnesty International USA and the executive producer of the tour, says "The only way to show that the declaration belongs to everybody in the world is to play the world and not just the West."

The artists are totally committed to this premise and have petitioned Soviet authorities to make them welcome in Moscow.

Indians meet ANC in Lusaka

11A
LUSAKA — A large contingent of representatives of the Indian community from Durban and Johannesburg arrived here last night for talks with the African National Congress

The trip has been organised jointly by the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC). The talks are to last until Monday.

The group is being led by TIC president Mr Cassim Salojee and Professor Jerry Coovadia, the president of the NIC.

The purpose of the trip, according to Professor Coovadia, is multi-faceted.

Most of the members of the group are not NIC or TIC members but representatives of various religious denominations, the business community, sports administrators, academic and student organisations, trade

BRUCE CAMERON

unions and civic associations

Professor Coovadia said the talks had been arranged in recognition of the prominent role the ANC would play in the future of South Africa.

It was essential for Indian South Africans as a group to ascertain details concerning the ANC's policies and strategies for change.

The NIC and TIC, which had historical links with the ANC, would be holding separate talks with the ANC, Professor Coovadia said.

The forthcoming municipal elections in which the TIC and NIC are not participating are expected to be discussed, as well as the current political role of the two groups.

SPW 8/10/88
Professor Coovadia said it was essential for the NIC and TIC, in view of their different interests, to "explore common aspirations and ideals".

Referring to the group generally, he said it was important for the Indian community to establish the nature of "the ANC's aspirations for a new society".

He said "It is unrealistic not to expect sections of the Indian community to have fears about change and their future. It is necessary that these fears be addressed in open discussion".

It was also an opportunity for the Indian community, in view of the lack of information on and distorted propaganda about the ANC, to establish the true facts concerning the organisation.

It is the first trip of this kind organised by the NIC and TIC.

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COURT TOLD OF SOVIET TRAINING

114
Dube
5/10/88

MEMBERS of the African National Congress were involved in a fight to free the suppressed people in South Africa, the Pretoria Supreme Court was told yesterday.

This was said by Yusumuzi Sindane, a Soviet-trained ANC member currently serving a 17-year sentence on Robben Island, who gave evidence in leg-irons.

He was testifying for the defence before Mr Justice Daniels and two assessors.

The witness was called to give evidence following an application by the defence in the Bethal treason trial.

The application was made when the trial resumed on Monday after the evidence of six active ANC members was heard before a commission in London.

The accused are Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim. They have pleaded not guilty to several charges of terrorism and treason.

Sindane, whose pseudonym was "Mhlaba Nkosi" or "Stan", told the court that he joined the ANC in 1976. Later he received military training in Russia where he specialised in rockets.

The witness said he went to Swaziland during 1986 where he came to know Mr Maseko, an accused in the case. He said Mr Maseko was popularly known as "Scotch".

The prisoner said he never attended any of the meetings where landmine warfare was discussed while he was in Swaziland, as was suggested in the evidence of State

By ALINAH DUBE

witness XI earlier before the court.

He said during the time he spent in Swaziland, he and "Scotch" belonged to the implementation machinery of the Umkhonto we Sizwe; the military wing of the ANC.

"We had a common purpose to fight for the freedom of the suppressed people in South Africa. Our aim was to establish underground structures by making contact with both the black and white people in the Republic," he said.

(Proceeding)

7 die as
hippo tips
boat over

CRIME REPORTER

SEVEN ANC members — said by police to have infiltrated South Africa from Botswana — drowned in the Zambezi River last month when their rowing boat was overturned by a hippo, police said yesterday.

They were apparently part of an eight-man group sent to disrupt the October 26 elections, said Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The eighth man escaped. All were armed and their names are known to police.

Brigadier Mellet said the men were crossing the Zambezi from Zambia into Botswana on a well-known infiltration route.

Police came by the information through their own sources, but Radio Zambia is believed to have broadcast the news of the drownings.

ANC support keeps on growing

(11A)

Oliver
9/10/88

THE Grahamstown Regional Court was told this week by a University of Natal lecturer, Dr Ian Phillips, that support for the ANC had grown

The government, on the other hand, was losing support, he said

Phillips gave evidence in mitigation of sentence for Mxolisi Peter Sokopo of Duncan Village, found guilty of Terrorism Act-related charges on Monday

Phillips told the court the ANC had a vision of a democratic non-racial South Africa

This was borne out by the Freedom Charter, central to the policy of the ANC

He said that in 1986 new guidelines were drawn up by the ANC and these were made known this year

The guidelines were sent to other countries so they

could study them, he said
Phillips told the court the new guidelines did not replace the Freedom Charter and the policy of the ANC, but made some changes, including the recognition of workers and women's rights

He said ANC tactics relied on support from mass opposition to the government, underground strategies, armed struggle and the isolation of the government, while seeking moral support for itself

Turning to the background of the ANC's armed struggle, Phillips said events during the 1950's had influenced the organisation's strategy

Several racially-discriminatory laws were passed by the government during that period and several members of the organisation were arrested

The organisation was banned in 1961 and operated underground, forming Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. In its policy, the ANC differentiated between armed struggle and terror

The former involved selected government institutions as targets for attack, while the latter had to do with indiscriminate acts of violence that resulted in loss of human lives.

He added that MK rejected terrorism as its policy and believed in an armed struggle

Asked to outline the ANC attitude towards negotiation, Phillips said since the 1940's the organisation had shown willingness to negotiate with the government

Where home is a dangerous place to be

By VASANTHA ANGAMUTIRU

of income

NIGHT had crept over Emachobeni, Inanda, and the Ntombela family were asleep when they heard a loud bang on the door.

Alone with six children, Catherine Ntombela awoke. Frightened and peeped through a window in the kitchen.

A group of about nine men stood outside, one of whom was emptying the contents of a five-litre container around the house.

In a matter of minutes the house was engulfed in flames. Fortunately Ntombela and the children managed to escape through a small window with only minor bruises.

Her house is one of 13 that have been set on fire in the past two weeks in Emachobeni.

The attack on Ntombela's house resembles the attacks on homes of people suspected of being UDF supporters or members.

According to Ntombela, her two sons were UDF activists before they moved out to be closer to their places of employment.

With the house went the furniture and her sewing machines, her only source

Ntombela and her children are now staying at a friend's place. They sleep in the lounge and the kitchen of the small two-bedroom house.

"My home is gone. Years of saving to buy furniture and the machines went up in flames in one night. They attacked my

home because they thought my sons were there," said Ntombela.

"Did they not think of the children inside or that we will be homeless?"

Ntombela knows of at least 13 homes in the Emachobeni area that have been burnt out in the past two weeks.

In the wake of escalating violence in the area,

hundreds of residents have fled.

"We know they want to know where we are staying. My friends have told they've been looking for me."

"Wherever they suspect there are UDF supporters, they attack and they never leave anyone who has seen them," Ntombela said.



Catherine Ntombela standing in the ruins that were once her home.



mark with an X the picture
to the picture
carefully picture, mark your choice with

CP Reporter

Govt restrictions aim to generate black disunity

Selective banning is smear tactic - Inkatha

As far as Inkatha was aware, he said it was not the policy of the UDF, Cosatu, Azapo, Inkatha or any other organisation to get itself banned or restricted

REGRETTABLE

A banning order was therefore an "unwelcome and regrettable setback in the liberation struggle and one which should never be used as a yardstick to sort out so-called authentic freedom fighters from so-called collaborators

ACTIVIST

"It would be unfair, for instance, to dismiss an indefatigable human rights activist like Archbishop Desmond Tutu as insincere in his campaign simply because he has never been banned or imprisoned for political offences"

POLLSMOOR

"If black politics were to decree that all authentic political leaders had to graduate from Pollsmoor Prison or that they first need to be annointed by a banning or restriction order, then the struggle would be delayed indefinitely," he said

AUTHENTICITY

Similarly Dhlomo said, "if black politics were to decree that a political organisation acquired as certificate of authenticity via a banning or restriction order, then many authentic but as yet unbanned political organisations would be unable to mobilise the populace in the interests of the struggle"

THE South African government should not be allowed to use banning and restriction orders on individuals and organisations to generate disunity within black political ranks

In a paper for the publication *Clarion Call* on the implications of the recent restrictions, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and Secretary-General of Inkatha, said blacks should, instead, counter the government's divisive tactics by transforming its Draconian measures into instruments of black unity

"We must close ranks in defiance of the enemies of black unity," he said

RESTRICTIONS

Anybody who cherished the ideal of non-violent and democratic opposition to apartheid must condemn the recent restrictions on 18 organisations and several of their leaders, he said

Dhlomo asked what the real motives of the South African government were with regard to the restrictions

"Is black disunity a National Party priority?" KwaZulu and Inkatha were tempted to conclude that it was, he said

CYNICS

"We are constantly asked by cynics of all descriptions why the South African government decided to restrict the UDF, Cosatu, Azapo and others and left Inkatha and Uwuasa unrestricted

"Obviously the government must have been fully aware that certain political ob-

servers and leaders would begin to speculate that Inkatha was not banned because it allegedly co-operated with the apartheid regime," and therefore could not be a trusted ally in the black liberation struggle

"This is a classic smear tactic," he said

"During the past few months we have already been subjected to this apartheid-inspired speculation, which we vehemently reject

"The government has tried to pull the rug from beneath our feet in the past and there is no reason for us to think that they have stopped trying to do so For us the real enemy has always been apartheid and the racist policies of successive SA governments

MARGINALISE

"To try to marginalise us politically just won't work We won't allow it, we will continue to oppose the government's racist legislation We will continue to strive for a united, non-racial South Africa," he said

"No matter our differences with some organisations in the struggle, we have always recognised that they revolve around tactics and strategies and that we are totally united in a common aim of destroying apartheid"

Dhlomo said it was

unfortunate that ANC President Oliver Tambo, and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal, had "walked into a government trap" when expressing their views about why Inkatha had not been restricted

"These two distin-

strange he added that the South African government decided to restrict the UDF at a time when a strategic debate was going on within the organisation on the question of participation or non participation in government-created structures

been - was nipped in the bud by the very same government that claims to be the champion of negotiation politics in our country"

Inkatha also found it strange that this same restriction was imposed at a time when leaders like Archie Gumede and others, whom the

"If black politics were to decree that all authentic leaders had to graduate from Pollsmoor Prison, or that they first need to be annointed by a banning or restriction order, the struggle would be delayed"

that so-called black-on-black violence and not apartheid was the greatest socio-political problem in our country," Dhlomo added

"All these disturbing developments prompt us to ask How serious is the South African government in its declaration that it wants to negotiate with all leaders who subscribe to the politics of negotiation?"

CLANDESTINE

"How involved is the South African government in clandestine attempts to foster disunity within black ranks in an effort to prolong white domination?"

Dhlomo said he believed black leaders should at all times keep the following axioms in mind whenever the South African government acted against their organisations

SORDID

"Political organisations in South Africa did not ban or unban themselves This was the sordid task reserved for the South African government Therefore, in as much as it would be futile and shortsighted to ask the UDF (and not the SA government) why it was restricted, it would be equally futile to ask Inkatha why it was not restricted



Oscar Dhlomo... we must close our ranks.

gushed leaders have said that Inkatha was not banned because unlike other organisations it does not pose a political threat to the South African government

"It is remarks such as this that ensure that the apartheid inspired roots of black disunity continue to sink deeper into our society

Inkatha found it

HOMELANDS

"This is the kind of debate Inkatha had to grapple with more than a decade ago when the homelands policy was rammed down our throats

"Restricting the UDF has of course meant that this debate - no matter what its outcome would have

11A
Chen
9/10/88

Mandela may be home free after municipal elections

CP Correspondent

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela could be freed very soon - possibly in the middle of November, or just before Christmas.

Top government sources were this week reported as saying Mandela would be released soon. Though no definite date was given, they added that his release could come any time from mid-November.

Others believe the release of the ANC leader will be part of Botha's annual amnesty package of pardon for prisoners just before Christmas.

Speculation - arising from his current hospitalisation for TB - that Mandela may be released before this time, has now been ruled out.

The reason the government wants to keep Mandela locked up over the next few weeks, according to political analysts, is to ensure that the October 26 national municipal elections will not be disrupted and public focus shifted away from what the authorities consider to be an important process in the "reform" process.

Another problem is that although State President PW Botha has hinted at his possible release, Mandela's refusal to renounce violence does not augur well for his release.

Mandela has repeatedly rejected this condition for his release.

Botha could, on the other hand, get out of the awkward position he is in by freeing Mandela on humanitarian grounds, since Mandela has tuberculosis, and still boast that he did not bow to pressure from within or outside South Africa.

Botha's recent meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko has further increased speculation about Mandela's release.

Although Foreign Minister Pik Botha has neither confirmed nor denied sentiments by Mobutu that he clinched a deal for Mandela's release, a joint communique by the two Presidents - after more than four hours of talks at Mobutu's country palace at Bgadolite - referred to "President Botha's flexible approach concerning the release of Nelson Mandela".

This, the communique said, "was a source of encouragement to President Mobutu".

PW Botha's visit to Zaire followed soon after his meeting with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, who reiterated his pledge to deal openly with South Africa.

Botha and Chissano vowed at their meeting, at a remote town near the Cahora Bassa Dam, to strive for peace in the region.

Botha's safari into Africa has been seen by many as a move calculated to regain South Africa's lost international recognition. But government sources have observed that his efforts are directed rather towards opening doors in Africa, possibly to an all-African summit.

Some political analysts claim that Botha's African adventure will be thwarted by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who will not agree to a summit of African heads of state that includes Botha.

To Page 2

P.T.O.

Release rumour may prove true . . .

Mandela part of PW's Africa summit hopes?

11A
9/10/88

From Page 1

The unconditional release of Mandela could, however, be the lever for Botha to enter the arena of an all-African summit

Political observers are

also asking what the fate of other Rivonia treason prisoners will be

Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada are among those still serving life sentences. Scores of other political prisoners still in jail

include PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng, who was convicted of terrorism and has served nine years of his 15-year sentence

Shortly after one of Mandela's co-accused - Govan Mbeki - was re-

leased last year, he was severely restricted in terms of the state of emergency

Official sources are reported to have said this week that Mandela's release was being looked at in the light of the role he could play in South Africa - not in the ANC hierarchy in Lusaka

However, anti-apartheid forces and the ANC have stated on numerous occasions that for any meaningful dialogue to take place in South Africa all political prisoners have to be freed

Most observers believe the swift and unconditional release of Mandela could reap enormous benefits for the country - politically and economically

The 70-year-old ANC leader is recuperating under strict security at Constantia Clinic in Cape Town where his accommodation and nursing costs over the past month are estimated to be between R3 000 and R5 000. He was admitted there after being transferred from Tygerberg Hospital

Mandela was first hospitalised in August amid speculation that he had lung cancer



Handwritten notes: a scribble, "XMR", and "alopes am".

Ministers wait for

Ministers' reply

Memo urges govt to lift state of emergency

By KERRY CULLINAN

THE "Kine Three" are still waiting for the Ministers of Law and Order and Foreign Affairs to reply to a memorandum sent to them on September 19 - six days after the three took refuge in the American Consulate.

According to Krish Naidoo, who is Murphy Morobe, Vusi Khanyle and Mohammed Valli's lawyer, the Ministers received the memorandum the next day, but have not yet replied.

Naidoo added that his clients had asked him to release the memo to the Press this week.

"As we write this memorandum, we are aware that a mass security force crackdown is in progress and includes *inter alia*, the detention of civic, student and other anti-apartheid activists," said the three.

who dismissed the government's assurance that they would not be re-arrested if they left the consulate as a "trick"

They said they required the government to release all detainees, lift the state of emergency and the restrictions on organisations and give an assurance that they would not be re-detained or restricted

"There are many other people who are currently in detention for reasons that are substantially similar or virtually the same as those for which we were detained," said the three

They gave 40 cases of people currently in detention for reasons similar to theirs. These included New Nation editor Zwe-lakhe Sisulu, Eastern Cape UDF leaders Stone Sizani, Edgar Ngoyi, Henry Fazi and Natal UDF leader Skumbuzo Ngwenya, and

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe:

Northern Transvaal's Eileck Nchabaleng and Frans Mohala

"The government is consistently trying to create the impression that all is well in this country and that it strives to achieve democracy," they said, but reality reflected that

- Numerous organisations are restricted
- Hundreds of people are in detention
- Security forces have unfettered powers to detain people without having to



Vusi Khanyle



Mohammed Valli

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Hippo sends terrorists to their death

Crime Reporter

Seven alleged ANC terrorists drowned last month when a hippo overturned their rowing boat on the Zambezi River, police have revealed.

It seems the men were on their way to South Africa to disrupt the municipal elections, said Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order.

He said an eighth man escaped.

All were armed at the time. The exact location of the incident has not been revealed, but it is a well-used infiltration route from Zambia to Botswana.

Police learnt of the deaths through their own sources, but Radio Zambia is also understood to have carried a report on the drownings.

The names of the dead men are known to the police but have not been released.

Personalities not the issue, says PFP, Malan, Worrall

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Opposition parties on the political left yesterday shrugged off speculation in the Sunday press that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, could soon be entrusted with the portfolio of constitutional development and planning in a governmental attempt to boost its yet unsuccessful attempts at starting meaningful negotiations about political reform.

Reacting to speculation in two Sunday newspapers that Mr Chris Heunis could be "promoted sideways", either to a newly-created post of Prime Minister or to take over the country's financial reins, they agreed that a governmental change of attitude about political reform was necessary before black leaders would be persuaded to take part in negotiations.

While senior Nationalists yesterday refused to discuss the possibility of a major Cabinet

reshuffle, Mr Heunis dismissed the speculations as "utter disinformation".

The leader of the PFP, Dr Zach de Beer, said personalities would not determine the effectiveness of the Government's reform initiatives.

"That Mr Pik Botha may perhaps have more charm than Mr Heunis is interesting, but hardly relevant in this very serious business."

DETAINEES

Dr de Beer said the momentum of the reform process would be determined only by "what the Government is prepared to do for our black citizens".

"If the Nats are prepared to release Mr Nelson Mandela and other key detainees, and to negotiate on the basis that black people have equal dignity as South Africans, there will be progress," he said.

The leader of the National

Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, doubted the Government's sincerity about reform by putting Mr Botha in charge of constitutional reform.

"It can only be an expression of frustration because they just cannot get negotiations going."

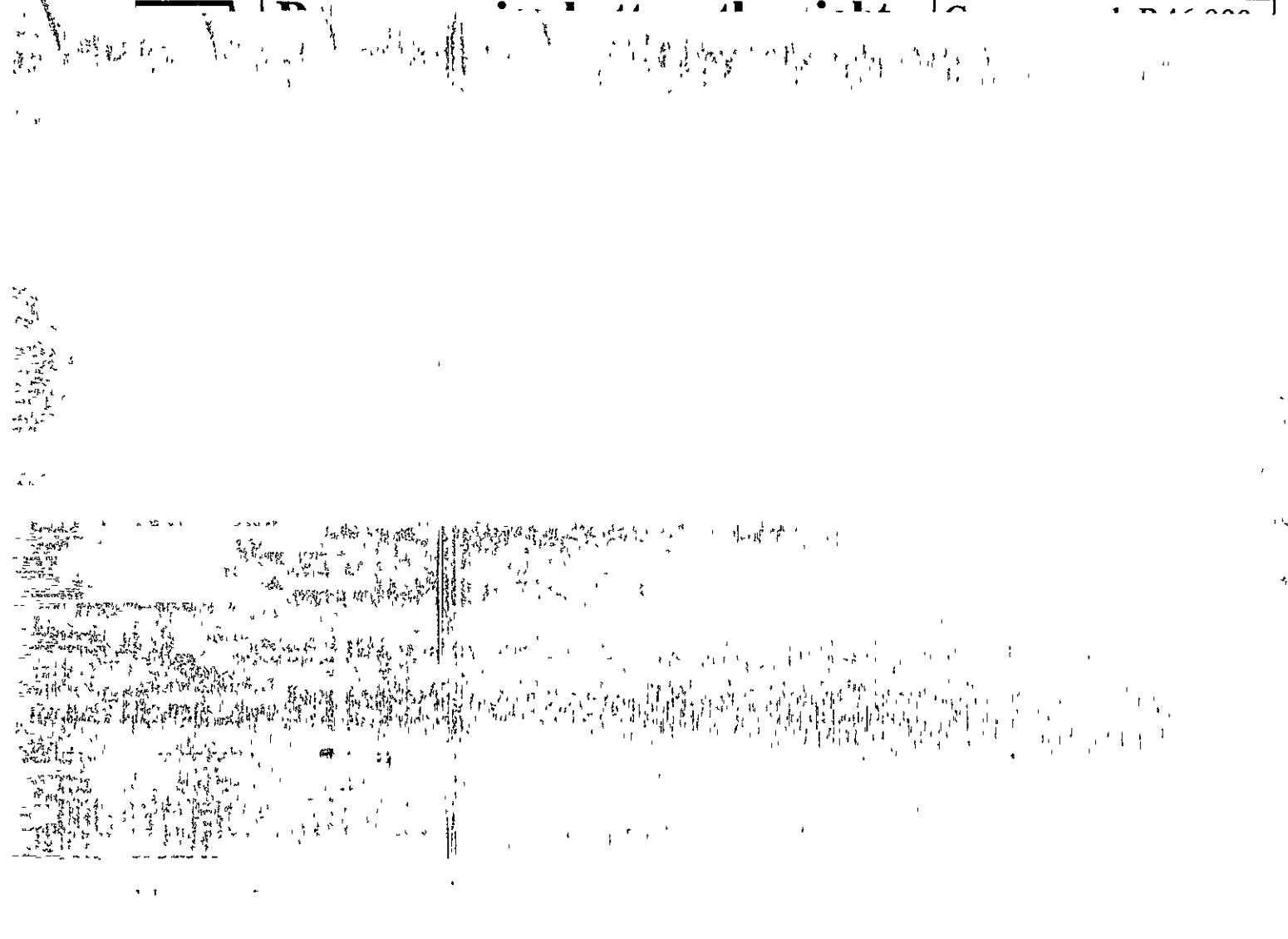
What was needed, Mr Malan said, was a "radically fundamental" shift in attitude by the Government. It should commit itself to a democracy which was not based on a group definition.

The leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said the Government's inability to get the negotiation process started did not depend on personalities.

"I can understand that Mr Botha would be a more likely person than Mr Heunis from a personality point of view."

"But the problem is that the National Party has simply lost credibility. This fact is highlighted by the NP's handling of group areas," Dr Worrall said.

Skv 10/10/88



Participation still negotiable — LP

CAF Tings 10/10/88

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The Labour Party seems determined to continue on its path of confrontation with the government, according to a number of tough resolutions passed at the Eastern Cape congress on Saturday

The congress again emphasized its resolve to send whites to the polls for a general election next year, and also called on the party to debate fully at its national congress at the end of the year the issue of participation

Laying down the terms under which it was prepared to co-operate with the government, the congress stated that it would be willing to join hands with the National Party only if it acknowledged that

● The Group Areas Act was ungodly and immoral and had to be repealed

● All men were made in the image of God and the Population Registration Act was therefore a direct contradiction of this and should be repealed

● All the country's people were South African citizens and entitled to the benefits of full social, economic and political rights

The congress also supported the courageous stand taken by Dr Danie Craven, and called on the leadership to establish contact with other political groups both inside and outside Parliament.

Opening the congress, Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said that if the National Party wanted support, then the Labour Party wanted a sign of goodwill the first of which would have to be a refusal by Mr Botha to send the group areas bills to the President's Council for a decision

Campaign of violence in SA 'will be stepped up'

By Bruce Cameron
Political Staff ^{Stev} 10/10/86

LUSAKA — Claims by the South African Government that the current spate of bombings in the country is aimed at disrupting the coming municipal elections have been confirmed by ANC sources in Lusaka.

At a meeting between the ANC and members of the South African Indian community, the question of the "armed struggle" was raised on a number of occasions. An ANC spokesman was adamant that it would continue and step up the campaign of violence.

At a press conference, Natal Indian Congress spokesman, Mr Zac Yacoob, said both the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses were opposed to violence but understod the motivation of the ANC.

The Indian delegation was told the ANC executive had given firm instructions that there were to be no attacks on civilian targets.

Attacks on such places as Wimpy restaurants were disobedience of orders by people who were trained within South Africa and had not received sufficient training or had been carried out by unnamed people.

Automatic all risks cover

Post-apartheid plans spelt out

Indian leaders meet ANC in Zambia

11A

10/10/88

Lusaka

Seventy leaders of the South African Indian community met a high-powered ANC delegation in Lusaka yesterday to discuss ways to end apartheid, a post-apartheid society, the municipal elections and non-collaboration with the South African Government

The Indian leaders were told that post-apartheid South Africa would bring a widespread redistribution of wealth, and the nationalisation of major companies in a mixed economy of private and State ownership

Most of the Indian delegation — which included businessmen, educationists, trade unionists, religious leaders and sports administrators — said they saw the ANC as the alternative government for South Africa, but asked for details on what sort of government was envisaged

Spokesmen for the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), the two main groups at the meeting, said the talks were also focusing on the Indian community's role in the fight against apartheid, and its future in a post-apartheid South Africa

"We are of the view that the only solution to South Africa's problems is a non racial, democratic South Africa," Mr Zak Yacoub of the NIC executive committee told a news conference

The ANC assembled its most powerful delegation yet to meet a group from South Africa

It included Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, his chief of staff Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Thambo Mbeki, and eight members of the ANC executive

The Indian group included 10 NIC members led by vice-president Mr Jerry Coovadia, and 10 TIC members led by president Mr Cassim Saloojee

Other delegations included educationist Mr Pat Samuels, president of the Teachers Association of South Africa, Dr Yuzuf Minty, president of the council of the University of Durban-Westville; Mr Hassim Seedat, president of the council of the M L Sultan College

Among the businessmen were Mr Ray Maken, president of the Moritzburg Chamber of Commerce who was recently black-

By Bruce Cameron of The Star's Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter

balled from membership of the city's Victoria Club, and Mr Ebrahim Salogee, chairman of the Lenasia Traders' Association

The religious leaders were Mr Sathia Pillay, president of the South African Tamil Federation, Mr Hafez Noorbhai, head of the Nur-me Islam School, and Father Clement of the University of Durban Westville

Sports administrators were Mr Pops Chetty, manager of Real Taj Football Club, and Mr Harry Naldoo of the Natal Council of Sport

Mr Yacoub said the two Indian congresses opposed the segregated national municipal elections this month.

Violence views

Like the ANC, he added, they believed that those who took part in the poll would merely be helping to entrench apartheid

Asked about the ANC's use of violence in its fight against apartheid, Mr Yacoub said the two Indian organisations understood why that, violence was necessary

"We cannot in those circumstances condemn that violence," he said

But the Indian congresses were non-violent organisations and would not be joining the ANC's armed struggle directly

● A second important meeting took place yesterday at Kabwe north of Lusaka where exiled leaders of Swapo met a diverse group of fellow Namibians to discuss plans for an end to South African rule of their country.

The meeting aimed to promote consensus among Namibians ahead of the planned United Nations-sponsored elections next year, which are expected to be won by Swapo

The elections will be held if a UN independence plan for the territory is implemented by November 1

"Swapo is watching the developments with cautious optimism, though not much has changed on the ground inside Namibia as there are daily brutalities by the occupying forces," Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, Swapo's secretary for foreign affairs, told delegates

Mr Reggie Diergaardt, of Namibia's Labour Party, said this was the first time he had met the exiled leadership of Swapo

"I realise that Swapo must be part of any settlement in Namibia if you want peace to be internationally recognised," he told reporters



All the top people were seen at the (also known as Tanya) ● See story on Page 3

Campaign of vi SA will be step

By Bruce Cameron of The Star's Political Staff 10/10/88

LUSAKA — Claims by the South African Government that the country is "at risk" of being disrupted by the coming municipal elections have been confirmed by ANC sources in Lusaka

At a meeting between the ANC and members of the South African Indian community, the question of the "armed struggle" was raised on a number of occasions. An ANC spokesman was adamant that it would continue and step up the campaign of violence



Artist Gordon Vorster dies

Prominent Broederstroom painter, writer and actor Gordon Vorster (64) died at his home yesterday morning after a long illness

He was one of the founders of the well known art route along the Crocodile River between

After the ceremony the South African party cruised around Lake Zurich before taking lunch at a waterside restaurant.

side, containing players from the four Home Unions, will visit South Africa next year to celebrate the SARB's Centenary.

State to pay UDF man's legal fees

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Justice, Minister of Law and Order, and two other respondents have agreed to pay the legal fees of UDF executive member Mr Willie Hofmeyr, who was released from Pollsmoor Prison after 166 days in detention, says his attorney, Mr Justin Hardcastle.

The attorney said that on September 26 Mr Hofmeyr began a Supreme Court action against the Ministers, the Divisional Commissioner of the Security Police in the western Cape, and the head of the section of Pollsmoor Prison, applying for relief from effective solitary confinement.

The application was to be

heard on October 18

"An agreement was reached whereby Mr Hofmeyr's application was withdrawn on the basis that the respondents in the matter pay Mr Hofmeyr's legal fees."

Mr Hofmeyr, a final-year law student at the University of Cape Town, was released on a restriction order

Mr Hardcastle said he was not entitled to be on the UCT campus. *Star 10/10/84*

"We have launched an application with the Security Police to get permission for him to attend the law faculty from tomorrow until his examinations end on November 2." — Sapa.

Hillbrow
Pullingerkop
Berea
Yeoville
Bellevue

42 Booyens/Turfontein
43 Forest Hill/Chrisville
44 Robertsham
45 The Glens
46 Mondeor/Ridgeway
47 South West

5 Parkhurst/Parktown
6 Craighall Park
7 Melrose
8 Waverley
9 Kew/Lombardy East
10 Newlands

14 Parkview/Saxonwold
15 Parktown
16 Houghton
17 Highlands North
18 Glenhazel
19 Sandringham

Funeral 'can show solidarity'

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) yesterday called on all Witbank businessmen to attend the civic funeral this weekend for the three victims of the town's bombing earlier this week.

Fida's president, Mr John Gogotya, launched the appeal in the belief that their presence would show that all South

Africans, irrespective of race, were appalled by these acts of terror.

"This united front will also show that all citizens support democracy and that South Africans are determined to seek a solution to the country's problems through non-violent means," Mr Gogotya said in a statement — Sapa

Explosive device found

MBABANE — More than 200 travellers were evacuated from a Swaziland-South Africa border post yesterday afternoon when police found an explosive device in a telephone booth.

The device was found at the Oshoek border post and was apparently wired to a telephone at the border gate.

All border traffic was halted and the area cleared before a policeman removed the device. Traffic resumed a few minutes later — Sapa

three victims of the
bombing earlier this week

Fida's president, Mr
Gogotya, launched the
appeal in the belief that their
presence would show that all South

Black-on-black political violence under microscope at Natal seminar

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Three black research organisations have joined to present an extensive two-day seminar on political violence in South Africa's black townships

The Umtapo Centre, the research unit of the Educational Opportunities Council (EOC) and the Centre for the Enrichment of African Political Affairs (CEAPA), will host the seminar which is to be held in Durban's Athlone Hotel on October 15 and 16

Titled "Who'll stop the killing?", the seminar will examine the origins and causes of political violence in the townships and strategies to eliminate it.

will be the first time that church and media workers, health and legal professionals, academics and educationists, community workers and researchers will be assembled to seek solutions to this relatively new development in black political life.

Announcing the seminar, the organisers said

black-on-black violence had been experienced in South Africa over the past five years

"Although many organisations had publicly condemned it, little had been done to stop it."

"We view these developments with grave concern and, while praising the efforts of some organisations to answer the problems of violence, believe that not sufficient emphasis has been placed on finding lasting solutions

"It is our belief, as black research organisations that are committed to bearing its responsibilities towards liberation, that much more needs to be done"

Topics to be discussed include the legal handling of group violence, the church's role in objectively dealing with the oppressed community, and the socio-political and educational implications of violence within an oppressed society

● Further details can be obtained from Cosmas Marake, EOC (011) 833-1510, Thabo Ndabeni (011) 403-2511 and Deena Soliar, Umtapo Centre (031) 31-2888

ne said

11/11
Cape Times 10/10/88
Consulate man

is 'improving'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The health of Mr Clifford Ngcobo, the fourth detainee to take refuge at the US Consulate, is improving, a spokesman for his legal representatives said yesterday

Mr Ngcobo, who is undergoing treatment at an undisclosed place, left the consulate on September 30 after prominent doctors Wendy Orr and Kevin Solomons found he had anorexia and showed signs of post-traumatic stress disorder — Sapa

Promise on Mandela 'reaffirmed'

11/6/75 10/10/75
The Argus Foreign Service *114*

PARIS — Zairean diplomatic sources in Paris assert that South Africa's President Botha has reaffirmed his personal promise to President Mobutu Sese Seko to release Nelson Mandela before the end of the month

The sources refer to a telephone call on October 3, the day after the Gbadolite meeting, from President Mobutu to Mr Botha

The Zairean leader referred to the promise made by Mr Botha about the release of the ANC leader and the subsequent denial issued by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha

"President Mobutu believe that he

had been made a fool of before other African leaders and demanded to know whether or not Mr Botha intended to keep his promise about Mandela," the sources said

"Mr Botha replied that he would keep his promise but he had been embarrassed because President Mobutu had released the news even before he had arrived back at Pretoria

The diplomat said that President Mobutu had also been given Mr Botha's "word of honour" that the Sharpeville Six would not be executed

President Botha said he would wait until all judicial appeal processes had been exhausted and then the six would be reprieved

11A
Talks time for
ANC, Swapo
ANC talks 10/10/88
LUSAKA — Swapo met
fellow Namibians near
here at the weekend
while the ANC held talks
with members of South
Africa's Indian commun-
ity
The Swapo meeting
took place in Kabwe,
north of Lusaka. Its aim
was to promote consen-
sus among Namibians
ahead of UN-sponsored
elections next year
which are expected to be
won by Swapo
And ANC leaders met
representatives of the
South African Indian
community at the week-
end to discuss ways of
ending apartheid —
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Constitution.

Mr Botha also assured the associ

Jail 'is no answer for Mandela'

Star 11/10/86
Political Correspondent

ZURICH — President Botha reiterated his view last night that ANC leader Nelson Mandela should not go back to jail.

However, he said, he carried the responsibility as Head of State to determine whether a situation would lead to disorder or not.

Mr Botha told a meeting of the Swiss-South African Association in Zurich his conscience and his duty would tell him what to do.

He said "If I have my choice, I will not put old people and people with long years behind them in jail.

I would prefer them to be on the outside, but I also have to get some co-operation. I think you will agree.

Mr Botha said he had said early in his career as Prime Minister that he hoped Mandela would make it possible for him to be released by rejecting violence as a means to achieve political ends.

He said a misconception related to the ANC leader's position.

He said "The truth is the ANC does not want Mr Mandela out of prison because it suits them to project him as a martyr. The ANC also fears that the release of Mr Mandela might lead to pressure on them for peaceful negotiations.

"The ANC is against negotiations. They are against the peaceful sharing of power, because they are in favour of force and violence.

"They want to seize power, not acquire it through consultation.

"It is puzzling that any European government can believe that the ANC and its master, the SA Communist Party, with its headquarters in London, would really introduce a democratic government in South Africa."

Mr Botha said Mandela was convalescing from an illness in a modern clinic.

"He is at present cooperating with the authorities. I hope he will continue to do so and not revert to policies which might lead to violence," he said.

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Indian leaders see ANC as key to solving SA problems

Star 11/10/88

11A

There would be no peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa without participation by the African National Congress.

This was the view of 67 South African Indian leaders who returned from top-level talks with the ANC in Zambia yesterday

ESSENTIAL

Addressing a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport last night, Mr Jerry Coovadia, a group leader and vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, said "The ANC is regarded by many of us as the future government of South Africa an essential pillar in any future democratic South Africa

"Many of the issues we discussed in Lusaka were in fact already entrenched within the constitution of the ANC, so, in answering our questions, they were not merely paying us lip service"

Because of the high level of organisation within the ANC and its good relations with the rest of the world, immediate efforts should be made to give the ANC recognition in South Africa, Mr Pat Samuels, president

By Dawn Barkhuizen

of the Teachers' Association of South Africa, said

The delegation — the biggest South African group to meet the ANC — timed the meeting to coincide with the October municipal elections "to show our attitude"

It said the ANC viewed the October municipal elections as a watershed election which would nail the final nail in the coffin of apartheid

Those at the meeting agreed that the Indian community had a direct role to play in achieving a non-racial South Africa

The Indian delegation comprised members of the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, businessmen, lawyers, educationists, religious leaders, trade unionists and sports administrators

Items discussed were means to end apartheid, a post-apartheid society, non-collaboration with the South African Government, municipal elections, cultural and sport boycotts

In a joint communique issued

by the ANC, NIC and Transvaal Indian Congress at Jan Smuts yesterday, it was stated that

- The ANC was indispensable to seeking peace in South Africa.
- The ANC would continue to escalate its armed struggle
- The ANC was a national liberation movement committed to the Freedom Charter, and although it had communist members it was not a communist group

SANCTIONS

- The ANC remained firm in its demands for sanctions against South Africa
- The ANC was committed to the cultural boycott, although it recognised the need for cultural activity among the "oppressed" people
- The ANC was committed to religious freedom
- On education, the ANC was committed to a single non-racial system
- The ANC reiterated its stance on the sports boycott, but was still prepared to receive South African sporting administrators in an endeavour to educate them

Greeks change SA embassy address to Mandela Street

The Star's Foreign
News Service

Star
11/10/88

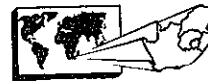
(1/10)
ATHENS — The Athens street in which the South African Embassy is located has been renamed Nelson Mandela Street — at least temporarily

Members of a Greek left-wing youth party this week pulled down the sign reading M Iatridou Street and put up a new one reading Nelson Mandela Street in English and Greek

The action came after the party staged a demonstration, chanting anti-apartheid slogans and calling for the release of the ANC leader. They attempted to hand in a petition at the Embassy, but were turned away. Police looked on, but took no action.

Now the party has applied to the city council to accept the change of name.

A council official admitted that it would meet to discuss the application, but warned that some people would probably object. M Iatridou was a prominent Athenian.



ANC role vital in peace search, say Indian leaders

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — There would be no peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa without participation by the African National Congress, say Indian leaders.

This was the view of the 67 South African Indian leaders who returned from top-level talks with the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport last night, Mr Jerry Coovadia, a group leader and vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, said "The ANC is regarded by many of us as an essential pillar in any future democratic South Africa.

"Many of the issues we discussed in Lusaka were in fact already entrenched within the constitution of the ANC — so (in answering our questions) they were not merely paying us lip service."

Because of the ANC's contact with the rest of the world, immediate efforts should be made to give the ANC recognition in South Africa, Mr Pat Samuels, president of the Teachers Association of South Africa, said

The delegation, the biggest South African group to meet the ANC, timed their meeting to coincide with the October municipal elections "to show our attitude"

All present at the meeting had agreed that the Indian community had a direct role to play in achieving a non-racial South Africa. The host of the meeting, the Indian High Commissioner in Lusaka, had called on South African Indians to unite with blacks in their attempts for a peaceful non-racial country

Powerful group

The Indian delegation included members of the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, businessmen, lawyers, educationists, religious leaders, trade unionists and sports administrators.

The ANC assembled its most powerful delegation yet to meet the group

Items under discussion were means to end apartheid, a post-apartheid society, non-collaboration with the South African government, the municipal elections and the cultural and sport boycotts

In a joint communique issued by the ANC, NIC and Transvaal Indian Congress at Jan Smuts yesterday, it was stated that

- The ANC was indispensable to seeking peace in South Africa
- The ANC would continue to escalate its armed struggle, but remained firmly opposed to attacking soft targets
- The ANC was a national liberation movement committed to the Freedom Charter, and although it had communist members, was not a communist group

Redistribution

- In a post-apartheid society it was hoped to eliminate social inequality based on race and bring widespread redistribution of wealth, the nationalisation of certain companies in an economy of private and State ownership

- The ANC was committed to the cultural boycott, although they recognised the need for cultural activity among the oppressed people. Clear distinction was to be made between those who supported apartheid and those who opposed it

- The ANC was committed to freedom of religion and of the right to practise any religion in its entirety

- On education the ANC was committed to a single non-racial system, providing for the needs of every individual and based on the ideal of critical thinking

- The ANC reiterated its stance on the sports boycott, regarding sport as the soft underbelly of apartheid, but was still prepared to receive South African sporting administrators in an endeavour to educate them

ANC essential to future SA, says NIC

THE Indian community recognised the ANC was an essential pillar of any future democratic SA, Natal Indian Congress vice-president Gerry Coovadia said on his return from Lusaka yesterday.

Coovadia was part of the 70-member delegation of Indian educationists, trade unionists, businessmen, sports administrators and religious leaders who met members of the ANC's national executive in Lusaka at the weekend.

The meeting, which a delegation spokesman said was planned to coincide

B/day 11/10/88 SUSAN RUSSELL (IIPV)

with the October elections, covered a wide range of topics

These included the structure of a post-apartheid economy, ways to end apartheid, sanctions, sport and cultural boycotts and the municipal elections

In a joint statement issued at a Press conference at Jan Smuts, the delegation and the ANC said the Indian community had a vital role to play in the struggle for a non-racial SA

Delegates said they were encouraged

by the ANC's commitment to religious and cultural freedom

The ANC had explained the intransigence of the SA government gave it no choice but to escalate the armed struggle although it remained opposed to soft targets

While members of the delegation were opposed to violence they understood the reasons why the ANC had been obliged to take up arms

Delegates said the ANC was commit-

● To Page 2 →

ANC essential to future SA, says NIC

ted to a mixed economy but had made it clear this would include state structures, co-operatives and the private sector

The ANC also told delegates it would nationalise certain sections of the economy

"But they also made it very clear that their vision of a new economy is that of a

mixed economy and the rights of traders and business people would be upheld," Transvaal Indian Congress president Cassim Salojee said

Salojee said the ANC would not nationalise industries overnight

● From Page 1 ←

S.A. Times 11/10/88

Mandela dominates President's tour

Own Correspondent

ZURICH — The release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been the dominant issue raised by most leaders President P W Botha met during his recent travels in Africa and Europe

The subject was again high on the agenda when Mr Botha met West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Friday, according to West German radio reports

Mr Botha also mentioned Mr Mandela last night in an address in Zurich to the Swiss-South African Association

The ANC leader had been cooperating with the authorities, said Mr Botha

He reiterated earlier remarks

that he hoped "it wouldn't be necessary" for Mr Mandela to go back to jail. The government had to take into account the repercussions of freeing Mr Mandela "but if I had a choice I wouldn't keep old people who have a lot of years behind them in jail"

"But I also need some co-operation I hope he will continue to do so (co-operate with the authorities) and not revert to policies which might lead to violence," said Mr Botha

The ANC was against negotiations, and did not want Mr Mandela out of jail, he said

Mr Botha said there was a "misconception" about Mr Mandela's position but stopped short of say-

ing he would probably not go back to jail, as he has suggested before

Other misconceptions, Mr Botha told the Zurich meeting, were that South Africa was destabilising the Southern Africa region, and that the SA government could be forced into accepting "unreasonable demands"

Mr Botha said SA had a case against sanctions

The country had done a great deal in the past 10 years to improve social, economic and political circumstances of blacks

He said economic developments in SA would benefit the region and sanctions benefited only "radicals"

Unban the ANC call follows ^{CA} visit to ^{11/10/88} Lusaka ⁽¹¹⁹⁾

JOHANNESBURG — South African Indians who returned yesterday afternoon from Lusaka and talks with the African National Congress have already called for the organisation to be unbanned, Mr Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners to be released and the state of emergency ended

A joint communique issued in Johannesburg said the delegates were convinced the ANC had an important part to play in the search for lasting peace in South Africa and urged the government to begin negotiations with the organisation to create a peaceful, non-racial, democratic South Africa

The communique added "The ANC explained that in view of the complete intransigence of the South African government and the persistence of state repression, it had no choice but to intensify the armed struggle"

The message was issued jointly by the ANC, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and other Indian representatives

The party was one of the largest to have visited the ANC from South Africa. Another 40 people were to have gone but had transport difficulties

'Obstreperous pastor' hits back at Buthelezi's insult

Staff Reporter (119)

UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak, labelled "an obstreperous little pastor" at the weekend by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has responded by suggesting the Inkatha leader has a psychological problem

During a recent interview Dr Boesak said leaders such as Chief Buthelezi were invited for talks by Britain and the United States while "those of us who represent the democratic movement" were not.

The Zulu leader hit back at an Inkatha Women's Brigade conference in Ulundi at the weekend where 5 000 delegates resolved to invite the "very pretentious" Dr Boesak to test his popularity by sharing a Durban platform with Inkatha

Chief Buthelezi told the meeting he found it "strange" that "this obstrep-

erous little pastor" from the Western Cape always took it on himself to insult him without provocation

"What is the size of his constituency? Who elected him to talk as he does?" he asked the Ulundi crowd

Dr Boesak at first declined to respond yesterday but then said "I really think the man has such a huge psychological problem

"I was remarking on diplomatic trends — if he wants to see it as an attack, that's his business. It was an observation on my part"

Dr Boesak said he did not share platforms "with puppets put there by the South African government" His constituency (the UDF) was banned on February 24 (along with 16 other organisations) and he added "Let him (Chief Buthelezi) get his government to unban my constituency and I'll show him how big it is"

Groups vow unity

THE National Council of Trade Unions and the New Unity Movement resolved at the weekend to do all in their power to ensure the unity of the oppressed and exploited in the country

• At their weekend meeting held at Lekton

House, Johannesburg, the two organisations said the liberation struggle entailed fights against racism, capitalism and imperialism

In their analysis of the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which became law on September

1, they noted that the Act reversed gains made by the labour movement in the past 10 years

They accused the State and employers of denying workers the right to withhold their power

11A

12/10/88



'Candidates opposed to mayor harassed' Court restrains the police from interfering with voters

11/18
AFCS 12/10/88



SOCCER STUNNERS: Adding glamour

Staff Reporter

MUNICIPAL police in Kaya Mandi, Stellenbosch, were being used as a private army to harass election candidates opposed to the mayor of the Town Committee, it has been claimed in the Supreme Court.

In terms of a court order granted yesterday, by agreement, the committee and municipal police are restrained from assaulting, intimidating, harassing or interfering with any voters or supporters.

They are also not to interfere in any way with the election campaign being conducted by Mr Thomas Donald Mosomothane, Mr Gerald Mzamo Ntshanga, Mr Johannes Mtwalapha Mjandana, Mr Peter John Swartz, Mr Joseph Ndaba Ngubane, Mr David Lithule Swartbooi and Mr General Thabisa Hlwempu.

In addition, they are not to support the election campaign of any of the candidates for the Kaya Mandi Town Committee. They are barred from taking unlawful action at meetings or in relation to the securing and/or registration of votes.

The Kaya Mandi Town Committee and the commander of its municipal police force have undertaken to take all reasonable steps to prevent any of its officers from taking part in the assault, intimidation and harassing of voters and supporters and from taking unlawful action against them.

The Kaya Mandi Town Committee, the commander of the committee's law-enforcement officers and nine others have until November 8 to show why the order should not be made final.

In papers Mr Thomas Mahlomola Mosomothane, an elected member of the Kaya Mandi committee, said he and fellow-member Mr Gerald Mzamo Ntshanga became "firm opponents" of the town Mayor Mr V V Myataza, who commanded a clear

majority in the present Town Committee.

Mr Mosomothane said he and Mr Ntshanga recorded "futile protests" against "blatant corruption and intrigue" in the allocation of housing and licences, deployment of municipal police and "in short, in every area where power and privilege are dispensed".

Their stand had been seen as a threat to the political aspirations of the mayor and the six others standing for election.

He and Mr Ntshanga had joined forces with the five other applicants to stand for responsible, clean administration.

However, they and Kaya Mandi people in general were now "terrified" of attending any election meeting at which the municipal police were present.

Municipal police were introduced in Kaya Mandi about July 1987.

Mr Mosomothane said "numerous complaints" were lodged with him about "the erratic and often violent behaviour" of the police.

Now the police were acting as — and being viewed as — the private force of a political faction headed by the mayor.

In one incident municipal police with shotguns ordered an election meeting closed, without authority.

The municipal police have continued to identify themselves "blatantly and publicly" with the political cause of the mayor and his candidates.

Supporters had been shot or beaten up.

Last month one of Mr Mosomothane's supporters Tamara Ruiters, was shot dead at an election meeting.

The three weeks remaining to election day were "absolutely crucial".

Mr Justice Williamson was on the Bench. Mr P A L Gamble, instructed by Chennels Albertyn, appeared for the applicants.

Flying visits give ANC a degree of acceptance

Start 12/10/88

11/19

The Government may consider the African National Congress to be nothing more than a communist-inspired, terrorist organisation, but to many it is an alternative government

Despite the strong condemnation by the Government of the contacts with the ANC, Zambian Airways continues to fly a variety of groups and individuals to the ANC headquarters.

Some go with a lot of publicity — like the visit of members of the Indian community at the weekend. Others go quietly, like the group of black businessmen from Nafcoc, who were also in Lusaka last week.

They range from opponents of the ANC to some who are as close as allies can be. They include politicians, businessmen, trade unionists and educationists.

Even while the President, Mr P W Botha, was threatening at the Natal National Party congress to label as traitors those who talked to the ANC, representatives of the South African Rugby Board was turning to the ANC in an attempt to find a way out of its international isolation.

There is little doubt that many of the plans made by the progressive forces (as they like to be known) in their anti-apartheid campaigns, are made in consultation with the ANC.

The problem for the Government is that many of the individuals and organisations speaking to the ANC do not see the organisation in the same way as the Government.

At the least, it is a major player on the stage of South Africa's future, but to many others the ANC is the saviour

BY BRUCE CAMERON

While the Government and those to the right of it see the African National Congress as anathema, it is clear that other factions within the country and outside regard the organisation as, at the very least, a major factor in any future peace negotiations.

SA elections could affect tactics

The forthcoming municipal elections could lead to a major change in the strategy of the ANC and other organisations such as the virtually banned United Democratic Front.

The ANC as well as organisations in South Africa have, since the introduction of the tricameral system, attempted to block every effort by the Government to bring blacks into bodies created by itself.

ANC sources indicated in Lusaka that if the elections were a significant success in black areas and there were polls in the region of 60 percent, there could be a rethink of the current strategy of total non-collaboration.

This could include various organisations taking part in future elections, with the structures being used to oppose the Government and to destroy the structures themselves.

and the Government the enemy.

This was quite clear at the weekend meeting between the ANC and members of the Indian community as, one after the other, speakers aligned themselves with the cause of the ANC while being careful to stay within the law by not endorsing violence.

An example is the forthcoming municipal elections in which many political organisations have decided not to participate.

The outcome of the elections is being seen as a major test even though many of the organisations have been restricted by the state of emergency regulations from campaigning as they would wish.

Even communism was seen by many of the delegates as the lesser evil, with the man the

Government likes to paint as the nastiest of all, Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the Communist Party of South Africa, receiving a rousing welcome and remaining the centre of attraction.

The Government is trying everything it can to discredit the ANC and expose it as a thuggish, terrorist organisation.

Its latest attempt is a booklet published by the Bureau for Information with gruesome pictures of people being necklaced.

But as long as apartheid exists the ANC, as was repeatedly indicated at the talks here, holds the moral and political high ground.

One Indian delegate summed up the position by saying the ANC did not make people inferior or make them second class citizens because of their colour.

"Anyone is better than someone who does this."

If the Government is on the soft ground internally, its position is even worse externally.

In Zambia, the ANC is treated almost with reverence by locals and diplomats alike.

If something is needed in the country which is almost crippled by shortages, invoking the ANC works like magic.

The ANC, which has many more diplomatic missions than South Africa, has free reign in Zambia with its members being given a remarkable status and the status is also reflected in how the diplomatic corps treats it virtually as a government in exile, a label the ANC tries to avoid.

And diplomats in Lusaka made it clear that they were more prepared to accept the word of the ANC rather than that of the South African Government.

All this is apart from the mounting sanctions campaign and South Africa's general isolation in sport and culture.

Even in these campaigns the ANC has a major say, and this was acknowledged by the visits of the South African Rugby Board.

The ANC also told the Indian delegates that it would consider and advise on boycotts on their merits.

As they were aimed at apartheid South Africa and not at those forces fighting apartheid, exceptions could be made.

It is quite clear that with the sort of clout the ANC has locally and internationally, the Government is not convincing sufficient people about how it sees the ANC.

strum

Tug-of-war over talks with ANC

BRUCE CAMERON of The Argus Political Staff reports from Lusaka

THE South African government may consider the African National Congress to be nothing more than a communist-inspired terrorist organisation, but to many it is an alternative to the government

In spite of the government's strong condemnation of contacts with the ANC, Zambian Airways continues to fly a variety of groups and individuals to the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka

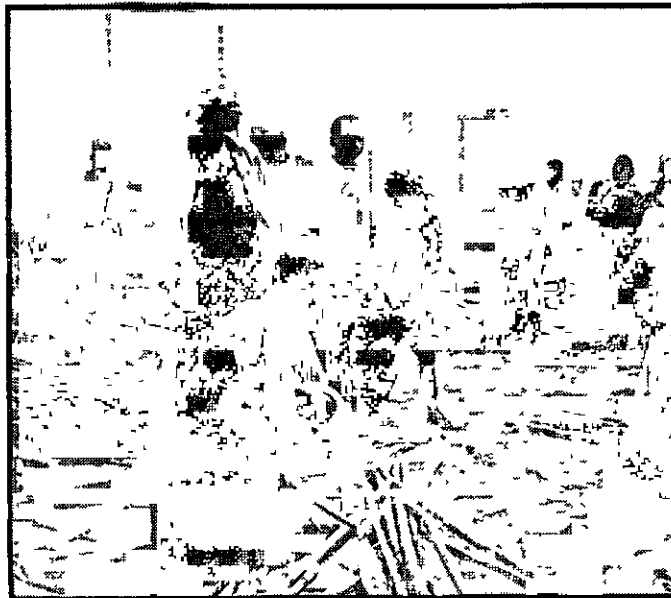
Some, such as the members of the Indian community who visited at the weekend, go with a lot of publicity Others, such as the group of black businessmen who were also in Lusaka last week, go quietly

They range from opponents of the ANC to some who are as close as allies can be They include politicians, businessmen, trade unionists, educationists.

Even while President P W Botha was threatening at the Natal National Party congress to label as traitors those who talked to the ANC, representatives of the South African Rugby Board were turning to the organisation in an attempt to find a way out of international isolation

There is little doubt that many of the plans made by the "progressive forces" (as they like to be known) in their anti-apartheid campaigns are drawn up in consultation with the ANC

The problem for the government is that many of the



CONTRASTS: With Lusaka's tallest buildings in the background, a woman cuts sugar cane while breast-feeding her baby.

individuals and organisations speaking to the ANC do not see the organisation in the same way as the government At a minimum it is a major player on the stage of South Africa's future

This became quite clear at the weekend meeting between the ANC and members of the Indian community as one after the other speakers aligned themselves with the cause of the ANC while being careful to stay within the law by not endorsing violence

An example of the caution concerned the coming municipal elections in which many political organisations

have decided not to take part

The outcome of the elections is being seen as a major test even though many of the organisations have been restricted by the state of emergency regulations from campaigning as they would wish

The government is trying everything it can to discredit the ANC by portraying it as a thuggish terrorist organisation Its latest attempt is a booklet published by the Bureau for Information with gruesome pictures of people being necklaced

But as long as apartheid exists, the ANC, as was repeatedly indicated at the

talks in Lusaka, holds the moral and political high ground

One Indian delegate summed up the position by saying the ANC did not make people inferior or make them second-class citizens because of their colour "Anyone is better than someone who does this"

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All this is apart from the mounting sanctions campaign and South Africa's general isolation in sport and culture In these campaigns the ANC has a major say This was underlined by the visits of the South African Rugby Board

The ANC also told the Indian delegates that it would consider and advise on boycotts on their merits These were aimed at apartheid and not at those forces fighting apartheid Exceptions could be made

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Flying visits give ANC a degree of acceptance

Star 12/10/88

11/19

The Government may consider the African National Congress to be nothing more than a communist-inspired, terrorist organisation, but to many it is an alternative government

Despite the strong condemnation by the Government of the contacts with the ANC, Zambian Airways continues to fly a variety of groups and individuals to the ANC headquarters

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BY BRUCE CAMERON

While the Government and those to the right of it see the African National Congress as anathema, it is clear that other factions within the country and outside regard the organisation as, at the very least, a major factor in any future peace negotiations.

SA elections could affect tactics

The forthcoming municipal elections could lead to a major change in the strategy of the ANC and other organisations such as the virtually banned United Democratic Front.

The ANC as well as organisations in South Africa have, since the introduction of the tricameral system, attempted to block every effort by the Government to bring blacks into bodies created by itself.

ANC sources indicated in Lusaka that if the elections were a significant success in black areas and there were polls in the region of 60 percent, there could be a rethink of the current strategy of total non-collaboration

This could include various organisations taking part in future elections, with the structures being used to oppose the Government and to destroy the structures themselves.

and the Government the enemy

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The outcome of the elections is being seen as a major test even though many of the organisations have been restricted by the state of emergency regulations from campaigning as they would wish

Even communism was seen by many of the delegates as the lesser evil, with the man the

Government likes to paint as the nastiest of all, Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the Communist Party of South Africa, receiving a rousing welcome and remaining the centre of attraction

The Government is trying everything it can to discredit the ANC and expose it as a thuggish, terrorist organisation

Its latest attempt is a booklet published by the Bureau for Information with gruesome pictures of people being necklaced

But as long as apartheid exists the ANC, as was repeatedly indicated at the talks here, holds the moral and political high ground

One Indian delegate summed up the position by saying the ANC did not make people inferior or make them second class citizens because of their colour

"Anyone is better than someone who does this"

If the Government is on soft ground internally, its position is even worse externally...

In Zambia, the ANC is treated almost with reverence by local and diplomats alike.

If something is needed in a country which is almost crippled by shortages, invoking the ANC works like magic

The ANC, which has many more diplomatic missions than South Africa, has free reign in Zambia with its members being given a remarkable status and the status is also reflected in how the diplomatic corps treats it virtually as a government in exile, a label the ANC tries to avoid

And diplomats in Lusaka made it clear that they were more prepared to accept the word of the ANC rather than that of the South African Government

All this is apart from mounting sanctions campaigns and South Africa's general attention in sport and culture

Even in these campaigns the ANC has a major say, and this was acknowledged by the visit of the South African Rugby Board

The ANC also told the delegates that it would advise on boycotts on their merits

As they were aimed at apartheid South Africa and not those forces fighting apartheid exceptions could be made

It is quite clear that with the sort of clout the ANC has locally and internationally, the Government is not convincing sufficient people about how it sees the ANC

Time is not yet ready says ANC

LONDON — The African National Congress has appealed to leaders of black African states to have nothing to do with Pretoria's current diplomatic offensive.

The ANC says now is not the time to open up to South Africa, and premature approaches to Pretoria will actually postpone negotiations between the president and "the country's real leaders"

It especially criticised Zaire, one of the countries recently visited by Mr Botha, along with Mozambique and Malawi

The ANC statement is seen as the organisation's first substantial response to the visits, which came during the negotiations about the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia

In a BBC Radio interview, Mr Tom Lodge, of Witwatersrand University, now visiting New York, was asked which countries he thought the ANC was most concerned about

"In the case of the



PRESIDENT Mobutu

Zaireans, I think there is real concern here, because Zaire is a major African state — it is the second most populous African State — and of course it is an important trading partner for South Africa," he said

But this meeting between Botha and Mobutu could give legitimacy to an already fairly surreptitious economic relationship and make it easier for the South Africans to maintain — *Sowetan Foreign Service.*

11A
Sowetan 13/10/88

SA 'agents' on trial over bombed ANC house



Alleged South Africa agents (from left) Mr Kevin John Woods (35), a former Central Intelligence Organisation member, Mr Phillip Conjway (54), ex-Special Branch, and Mr Michael Smith (34), ex-Rhodesian Light Infantry, are led into the Harare High Court yesterday. They face charges which carry the death sentence.

Massive security at hearing

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Unprecedented security precautions involving hundreds of troops and police and even an anti-aircraft gun were in evidence yesterday at the start of the trial of three alleged South African agents accused of bombing an ANC house in Bulawayo.

A motorised column of six armoured personnel carriers carrying heavily armed soldiers of a commando battalion escorted Mr Kevin Woods (35), Mr Michael Smith (34) and Mr Phillip Conjway (54) to the High Court from the Chikurubi Maximum Security Prison and back to the jail.

Sharpshooters patrolled the building and armed police were stationed in the courtroom itself.

The heavy security blanket followed an abortive attempt to free the men from custody in July. The dramatic rescue attempt involved a helicopter stolen by an Air Force officer who fled the country.

In the sombre wood-panelled courtroom, the three men pleaded not guilty to charges of murder or alternatively contravening the Law and Order (Maintenance)

Act dealing with explosions and acts of terrorism

It is alleged that the three men "acting in concert and with common purpose" detonated a car bomb in the grounds of a house in a Bulawayo suburb occupied by ANC members in January this year.

When the booby trapped car blew up, the driver, Mr Obert Mwanza, was blown to smithereens. He had been out of work and was allegedly offered the job of driving the car without knowing the purpose of the journey.

According to the State outline the bomb was detonated by a remote-control device by Mr Smith, a former Rhodesian Light Infantry soldier and a fugitive still at large, Mr Christopher Bawden. Mr Bawden is believed to be in South Africa.

The State will seek to prove that Mr Woods who was an officer in Zimbabwe's Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) until 1986 had been recruited by the "South African Intelligence Organisation" in 1983.

Mr Smith is also said to have been recruited as an agent by the South Africans that year while Mr Conjway, a former-Special Branch policeman during the Rhodesian era, was taken on in 1985.

in to cast prior ballots

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

to city council said many voters showed up on Monday, but the flow had decreased since.

After three relatively quiet days at Johannesburg's white municipal election polling booths, the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party yesterday both claimed the lead.

A confident Mr Alwyn Marx, the NP's campaign organiser, said his party had taken the lead in virtually

every ward.

But PFP campaign organiser Mr Peter Seal angrily dismissed the claim as "rubbish" and "blatant distortion".

The Conservative Party's Johannesburg chairman, Ms. Fred Rundle, was less optimistic but said his party was in the lead in a few wards.

Mr Rundle said the NP was leading the field, adding "The Nationalists are intimidating pensioners to vote for them by threatening to take their pensions away if they don't vote Nat".

ean rugby rage to laughter

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pass the ball so he could join the try-scorers. Kobese duly obliged and the downcast Chileans were spreadeagled in Lock's wake.

At the start of the sumptuous barbecue of thick juicy steaks, the Chilean rugby chief was still simmering. But manager Able Malan explained what the Pioneer had been laughing at. It wasn't too long before the long face was replaced by smiles as rugby friends ate and drank a little in a night of marvellous bonhomie and friendship.

See Back Page

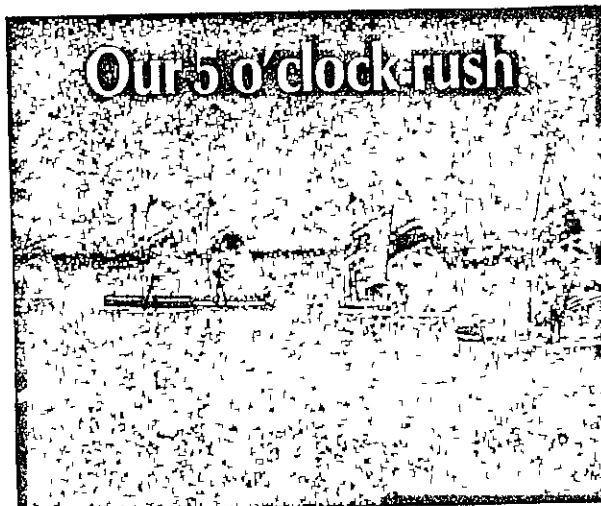
Trying the case with two assessors is the Judge President, Mr Justice Sandura, who last year sentenced South African spy Odile Harrington to the maximum 25 years.

The charges faced by the three men carry the death penalty.

Most of yesterday's proceedings were taken up with argument over an application by senior defence counsel, Mr Michael O'Meara for a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of statements and the validity of confirmation proceedings before a magistrate.

Mr O'Meara said all statements and confirmation hearings were being challenged on grounds of undue influence, the lack of proper access to lawyers and, in Mr Conjway's case, because it would be alleged that he had been tortured.

The hearing will continue today.



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| 6 No tipping | 13 Mauritian folklore presentations | 21 Tennis |
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Spate of terror attacks on Reef

By Craig Kotze

Three men were injured yesterday afternoon when a limpet mine exploded in a telephone booth at the Dunnottar Post Office on the Far East Rand in one of several terror-related incidents reported by police over the past few days

The blast, the ninth in the country so far this month, occurred only hours after six security force members were shot and wounded by suspected ANC terrorists in Katlehong, Germiston, on Wednesday night

IDENTIFIED

A spokesman said two of those injured in the Dunnottar explosion were admitted to Nigel Hospital. Their injuries were not serious, he said.

The injured men have been identified as Mr Johannes Kako (45), Mr Moses Khane (44) and Mr Ehot Zwane.

A Pretoria police spokesman said an SPM limpet mine was used. No arrests have yet been made.

The six wounded men in the Katlehong shootings were taken to hospital but their injuries were not serious, police said.

Their names have not been released.

GUNMEN

A Pretoria police spokesman said the six were on guard duty at a hostel when black gunmen, believed to be ANC members, opened fire on them with AK-47 rifles. The security force members were unable to fire back as the gunmen, who were on foot, fled.

Police later found AK-47 cartridge cases at the scene. No arrests have yet been made.

● Police said yesterday that two alleged foreign-trained ANC terrorists, a collaborator and a courier had recently been arrested in Welkom.

Terror justified if war declared — brigadier

11A Pretoria Correspondent

The "guerilla warfare" staged by the "Boer generals during the Anglo-Boer War" was justified as the government of the day had declared war, but the same cannot be said about the situation today, a Pretoria Magistrate was told yesterday.

"The government has now declared certain actions unlawful and people violently opposed to the government are liable for punishment," said Brigadier Hendrik Bugner while giving evidence in aggravation of sentence for seven convicted PAC/Qibla movement members.

The seven: Enoch Zulu (52), Ndoda Gcange (26), Vincent Mathunjwa (29), Paul Moholo (29), Daniel Nkopodi (27), Acham Cassiem (41), and Yusuf Patel (27) were this week found guilty on 19 charges, including terrorism, by Mr J H Bekker.

Questioned by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, who appears for some of the convicted men, Brigadier Bugner, an "expert" on PAC affairs, said that since 1980 more than 70 members of the banned PAC had infiltrated the country and were caught by the security forces.

Brigadier Bugner said it was not only the ANC and the PAC that could be described as terrorist organisations — AWB members had been found guilty of terrorism and thus the body could be described as such.

Brigadier Bugner said he agreed with the statement: "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" but "this depends upon which side you are on".

He said he had "problems" with people who wanted to bring about changes outside the parameters of the country's law. "In as far as those who are not represented in parliament goes, the situation is changing."

Sentence will be passed today.

Talks with ANC get nod from ex-Bok captains (118)

Natal backing for Craven d/w 11/10/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Top Natal rugby personalities yesterday gave the thumbs-up to Dr Danie Craven's call for full integration in the game — including talking to the ANC — in an attempt to break South Africa's sport isolation.

Former Springbok captain Wynand Claasen said he supported the SA Rugby Board president's bid.

He said Dr Craven should be fully supported for his attempt to integrate the sport.

"Integration in sport can be a forerunner to ridding the country of some of its problems. Sport can do it — it can open doors," he said.

Claasen added he did not think that by integrating rugby it would result in a rush by the black community to play the sport.

Tommy Bedford, another former Bok captain, said there was nothing



Wynand Claasen . sport can open doors

ing wrong with Dr Craven's plans to have further talks with the ANC

Communist

If it was all right for the Government to "frankly negotiate" with communist Cubans for their withdrawal from Angola, "what's wrong with Craven wanting to speak to fellow South Africans (the ANC) about sport?" he asked.



Tommy Bedford . . integration bid long overdue.

He felt Dr Craven's desire to integrate rugby at all levels had to be supported.

"I have been propounding multiracial rugby since the tours in the early 1970s. You can understand, in my opinion, this kind of statement (Dr Craven's) was very long overdue and must wholeheartedly be welcomed."

Natal Rugby Union general manager Mr Roger Gardner said



Denis Compton greatest admiration

"Rugby took that step four or five years ago. What Dr Craven is saying did not go far enough. We obviously believe it should go all the way, and we support him."

Further support for Dr Craven's attempt to break down the apartheid stranglehold on sport has come from legendary English cricketer Denis Compton, Sapa reports.

Compton, who arrived

in Cape Town from London on Sunday to present the trophy to the winner of yesterday's Protea Challenge cricket match between Western Province and Transvaal, is interested to hear of Dr Craven's recent initiatives.

Positive

"I have the greatest admiration for Dr Craven and would go along with any positive steps he took."

Compton (70) said SA Cricket Union managing director Dr Ali Bacher had recently sent him a video showing progress made in the development of black cricketers.

"It looks as if African cricketers are beginning to love cricket in the same way as soccer — there should be some magnificent African players before long."

He said it was admirable that South Africans still showed "tremendous enthusiasm" for the game despite 17 years' isolation, some of which was of SA's own making.

Star 14/10/88

114

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"Black people do not really want a vote within the present apartheid Constitution. They also and especially want a say in determining within which constitutional structures they can exercise their vote. An apartheid Constitution based on separate group areas is unacceptable to them. They — even those who joined Parliament to come and change the Group Areas Act — have left, because they cannot do that.

Because of this, the democratic movement and its leadership throughout South Africa at this stage are telling all voters not to participate in the apartheid regime's racist local government elections in October. They are telling them: 'Do not vote and do not stand for Black town council and Coloured and Indian management committee elections. Boycott these elections. By participating in these elections you will not be working for the liberation of our people. Instead, you will become the apartheid regime's partner in apartheid oppression.' That is the message being sent throughout this country by those people not represented here in Parliament . . . "

" . . . Because the Government has not only banned and restricted most leaders and organisations of the oppressed, but has now also made it illegal for the people to campaign peacefully against such participation in the October elections — it is now illegal to say outside this House that people should boycott the elections — I take this opportunity — after having made the necessary consultations outside this House — to convey this call made by the democratic movement to the oppressed people of this country . . . "

JAN VAN ECK, Independent MP

Hansard 29-8-88

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- ★ NATAL YOUTH CONGRESS (NAYCO)
- ★ FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN (FEDSAW)
- ★ ATTERIDGEVILLE/SAULSVILLE RESIDENTS ORGANISATION (ASRO)
- ★ CONGRESS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF SA (CONTRALESA)
- ★ NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS (NIC)
- ★ EAST RAND PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (ERAPO)
- ★ CAPE AREAS HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE (CAHAC)
- ★ MAMELODI CIVIC ASSOCIATION (MCA)
- ★ ORANGE FREE STATE YOUTH CONGRESS (OFSYCO)
- ★ NATAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATION (NAWO)
- ★ TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS (TIC)

AND ALL AFFILIATES OF THE UDF:

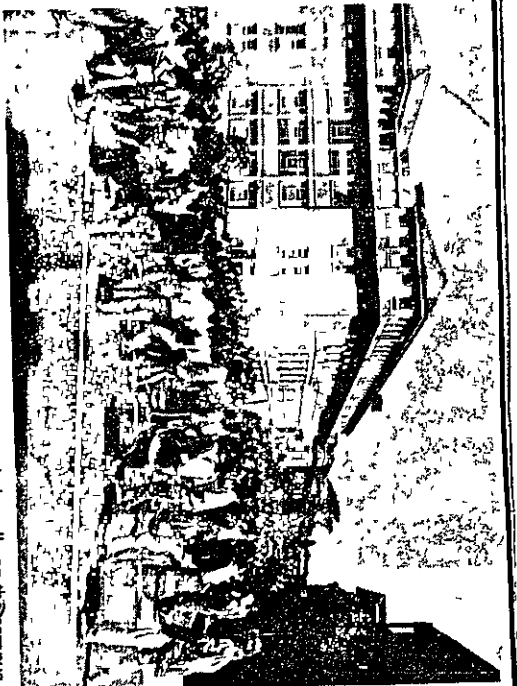
NATAL, BORDER, BOLAND, KAROO, EASTERN CAPE, NORTHERN CAPE, WESTERN CAPE, TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE FREE STATE (except those specifically restricted by law and those rendered non-functional by mass detentions).



POLICE ON CAMPUS Police on the UCT campus yesterday



POLICE CONVOY A convoy of police vehicles De Waal Drive at the entrance to UCT



UCT RALLY Part of the 500 students who attended a rally on the campus yesterday

POLICE SEAL UCT

By PETER DENNEHY and CHRIS STEYN

POLICE yesterday sealed off the UCT campus, allowing only students carrying registration cards entry.

The university made an urgent Supreme Court application to force the Minister of Law and Order to remove the blockades, but at 1.45pm, a half-hour before it was due to be heard, the police withdrew and the application was postponed.

The Vice-Chancellor of UCT, Dr Stuart Saunders, said the university was taking legal action to ensure right of access to the campus was secure. The police blockade coincided with a rally in Jameson Hall concerning the municipal elections. Speakers at the rally, which started more than two hours late, said many people "from various parts of the Western Cape" had been turned away.

Eventually more than 500 attended. As students were about to disperse at the end of the rally, a member of the audience announced that "the women comrades" had been detained. "We want them released and we want that now," he said. "People are angry and anxious for action. What are we going to do now?"

'Agents provocateur'

Shouts of "march, march" came from the crowd. Hundreds of students left Jameson Hall and moved towards De Waal Drive.

When they reached upper Woolfsack Drive above the UCT Sports Centre they were addressed by student leaders who urged them "not to go on a

Drug shock in Rapport cycle tour

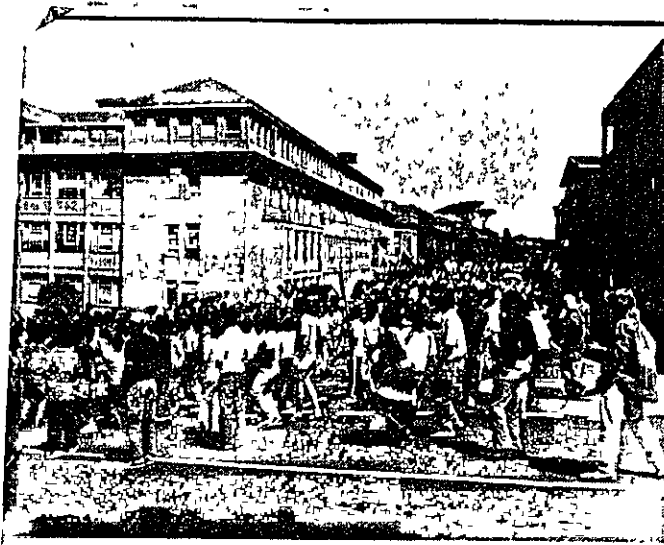
JOHANNESBURG — A former winner of the Rapport cycling tour, Jannie van den Berg, has been tested positive for taking the anabolic steroid Decadurabolin.

The chairman of the South African Cycling Federation, Brigadier Arno Combrink, said Van den Berg had taken the steroids during the first stage on Monday.

He finished third in yesterday's fifth stage between Sasev'soy and Oudtshoorn and was placed third overall before the announcement.

An SAFC reporter on the tour reports that Van





LY... Part of the 500 students who attended a rally on the campus

TIME 14/10/88 (111) ~~14/10/88~~ yesterday

UCT

By PETER DENNEHY and CHRIS STEYN
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'Agents provocateur'

Shouts of "march, march" came from the crowd. Hundreds of students left Jameson Hall and moved towards De Waal Drive

When they reached upper Woolsack Drive above the UCT Sports Centre they were addressed by student leaders who urged them "not to go on a suicidal mission"

"We are aware that there are agents provocateur among us," one said

A police helicopter hovered overhead throughout the march, sometimes so close that it was difficult to hear what was being said

The depleted column of students wound its way back to Jameson Hall, where there was more dancing. Police then came on to the campus itself, but there were no confrontations

Dr Saunders said students and staff had "every right" to full access to the university "and I see no reason why the public with bona fide reasons to be there should be prevented from doing so"

Lieutenant Denise Benson said police had taken precautionary measures, "acting on information received regarding an illegal gathering on the campus". She said police had not detained any students during the operation

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Picture OBED ZILWA

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2 Cape Times, Friday, October 14, 1988

Election candidates assaulted, bombed

JOHANNESBURG — The administrator of Tsakane township in Brakpan, Mr Raymond Radebe, is fighting for his life in hospital after he was attacked by a group of men in the township on Monday night.

In another incident, a house belonging to the administrator of Duduza in Nigel, Rev Simon Mahloko, was attacked with what is believed to be a limpet mine.

Another man, Mr Walter Moseki, claims he was assaulted by council police at his Soweto home on Monday night.

All three are candidates in the forthcoming municipal elections.

Mr Radebe is in a critical condition at the Far East Rand Hospital in Springs.

A spokesman for the East Rand police yesterday confirmed they were investigating the attack on Mr Mahloko's home and the assault on Mr Radebe.

Mr Moseki said two uniformed council policemen came to his house at about 7pm. He said they accused him of intimidating people and telling them not to vote for another candidate. One of them punched him in the face until he fell to the floor.

"He kicked me all over my body. The assault continued for about 30 minutes," Mr Moseki said — Sapa

By CHARL DE VILLIERS
and ANDRE KOOPMAN
A KAYAMANDI municipal policeman who stands accused of murdering a local resident at an election meeting, was yesterday charged with contempt of court after allegedly threatening hostel dwellers with expulsion unless they voted for the township's mayor.

The policeman, together with seven colleagues and the Kayamandi town committee, was restrained by an interdict on Tuesday from, among other things, interfering with the election campaign of seven local municipal candidates.

Mr Roger Chennells, the attorney acting for the seven candidates, yes-

terday said the policeman — the eighth respondent in the application — allegedly entered married quarters at Kayamandi and told residents to vote for Mr Victor Myataza.

"This was in contradiction of Mr Justice D M Williamson's temporary order that the respondents do not assault, intimidate, harass or interfere with voters in the municipal election."

"According to hostel residents, the policeman went into hostel number 124 on Wednesday night and threatened Mrs N Lambiso — whose husband was previously allegedly beat-

en up by municipal policemen — and others that unless they voted for the mayor, they would be chased out of the hostel and Kayamandi," Mr Chennells said.

Residents further alleged that the policeman — who is charged with the murder on September 27 of Ms Margaret Ruiters at an election meeting addressed by Mr Myataza — told the hostel residents that Mr Thomas Motosofiane's election agent was "leading them astray", he said.

Yesterday morning, Mrs Lambiso charged the policeman with con-

tempt of court, he added.

"Municipal policemen are acting as and are being viewed in Kaya Mandi as the private force of a political faction headed by the Mayor," a candidate and applicant, Mr Mjandane, said in papers before the Supreme Court.

● In an allied development, Bolland police liaison officer Colonel C F Cronje said police, acting in terms of the emergency regulations, had prohibited reporters from attending Ms Ruiters' funeral in Kayamandi on Wednesday.

Cape Times, Friday, October 14, 1988 3

Kayamandi cop defied interdict



11A

Stav
17/10/88

Activist's speech to be read at Wits

Education Reporter

One of the three activists in the US Consulate in Johannesburg, Mr Vusi Khanyile, is to write a paper to be delivered at the Richard Feetham Memorial Lecture at Wits University on Wednesday

A member of the Wits' Student Representative Council (SRC) said reports that Mr Khanyile, past chairman of the restricted National Education Crisis Committee, would deliver the paper were incorrect. It would be read on his behalf by Mr Firoz Cachalia, publicity secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress

The other speaker at the lecture entitled, "The



Mr Vusi Khanyile ... still at the US consulate

University in the South African Crisis", will be Mr Jan van Eck, Independent MP for Claremont

The lecture will be held at 8pm in the university's Great Hall. There is no charge and members of the public are welcome to attend

Unity talks

(Cont from page 1)

The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports that the air has been cleared between Dr Craven and his deputy, the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union president, Professor Fritz Eloff

Professor Eloff was quoted at the weekend as saying he was unaware of a visit to Harare by South African rugby officials

Today he said that Dr Craven apologised to him last night for not having told him of the Harare meeting

"He said he did not have the opportunity to get in touch with me and I accept that," Professor Eloff said

Dr Craven had fully informed him of the latest developments and he was satisfied with the progress that had been made

Prof Eloff leaves for South America next week before going to London where he and the Western Province Rugby Union president, Mr Jan Pickard, will represent the Sarb at the annual meeting of the International Rugby Board where the Harare talks will be discussed

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, said that South African sports administrators, and rugby administrators in particular, had always shown themselves to be big thinkers who could see the wider picture

"This initiative took vision and courage on the part not only of Doc Craven and Louis Luyt, but also on the part of Ibrahim Patel of Saru

"The government is expected to respond and we urge it, in the interests of what could be a far-reaching step toward national reconciliation, to adopt a statesmanlike position"

From Auckland it is reported that New Zealand's elder statesman of rugby, Cec Blazey, while congratulating especially Dr Craven for his role in pushing for non-racial rugby, puts a damper on the encouragement felt elsewhere

He told reporters "However high-minded the motive behind the Harare talks may have been, one fact sticks out and cannot possibly be sidestepped unless the Botha government is prepared to support Dr Craven he is wasting his time

"Unless Mr Botha changes his mind, the rugby administrators of South Africa — and I gather that they are not unanimously in support of Dr Craven or Dr Luyt — cannot possibly realise their hope of fully re-entering the world scene"

The Australian Rugby Football Union was said to be "quietly cautious" in its reaction

THE next round of unification talks between the South African Rugby Board and the SA Rugby Union is to take place in about a month's time — and one non-racial controlling body, as demanded by the African National Congress, could be operating as early as next year.

This was confirmed by Sarb president Dr Danie Craven today after his return from a triangular get-together between the Sarb, Saru and the ANC in the Zimbabwe capital of Harare at the weekend

"Both rugby bodies will hold separate meetings on November 11 when a new date and an agenda will be decided on," said an optimistic Dr Craven

"It's a pity we had to meet outside the borders of the country but the next venue will be on home soil

Abhorred violence

"We have declared the Sarb's centenary celebrations in 1989 as the 'year of total normalisation', and what better way to kick off than with a unified body."

Referring to the Harare talks he said "Dr Louis Luyt (Transvaal rugby chief) and I made it quite clear that we abhorred violence in any form Dr Luyt was also outspoken about the Ellis Park car-bomb

"The ANC delegation was receptive throughout and promised to put our viewpoint to their executive

"These talks again proved to me how valuable dialogue is We should keep talking to people who differ from us"

Dr Craven will release a statement later today on the weekend meeting before he flies to South America tomorrow to initiate the formation of the Gondwanaland Rugby Union between South America, South Africa and other African countries

Propaganda

"As far as the Gondwanaland initiative is concerned I leave for South America in the knowledge that I have the co-operation of the rest of Africa," he said

The Argus Political Staff reports that the Government, which has repeatedly condemned talks with the ANC, was silent earlier today but a spokesman for Minister of National Education, Mr FW de Klerk, said Mr de Klerk would deal with the issue at a public meeting in Lichtenberg tonight

Meanwhile, Mr Con Botha, National Party director of information, conceded that the ANC had pulled off a propaganda advantage but said the organisation was presenting a dual image.

By DEON VILJOEN
Sports Staff

136 000
PERSONS
NRCs 17/10/88
119
Rugby on the way
Unified

"In recent months they have tried to give an image of sweet reasonableness while they continue with cowardly actions such as bombing innocent women and children"

Mr Mike Ellis, the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on sport, welcomed the talks but warned that they could be the prelude to a major split in South African rugby

(Turn to page 3, col 8)

ANC offers to help SA rugby

ANC-TAD 17/10/88

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — The African National Congress agreed yesterday to "use its good offices" to get South African rugby players back into international competition once a new non-racial controlling body has been formed.

The announcement was made in a joint statement, read out by the president of the SA Rugby Union, Mr Ebrahim Patel, with SA Rugby Board president Dr Dame Craven and ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo standing at his side.

Mr Patel, who supports the sports boycott, said the talks happened "because of the common desire on the part of all participating organisations to ensure that rugby in South Africa is organised according to non-racial principles."

"The meeting confirmed this position and agreed that SA rugby should come under one non-racial controlling body," he said.

"They (the participants) agreed to work together to achieve these goals, and called on all people of goodwill inside and outside SA to support this process."

"They also agreed that the accomplishment of the goals stated here is a necessity for South African rugby to take its place in world rugby."

The leaders of the SARB and the SARU



Dr Dame Craven



Rosenkowitzes split, father gets custody

Staff Reporter

CUSTODY of the "Rosenkowitz Six" has been granted to their father, a friend of their mother's said.

The six, who made history as the first surviving set of septuplets, are 14 years old.

Their parents, Colin and Susan Rosenkowitz, were divorced in the Supreme Court on Thursday. They are 53 and 40 years old respectively, according to the Sunday news-papers.

The friend, who would not be identified, said it was more sensible that Mr Rosenkowitz should keep the children as he still had the large family home in Constantia.

Mrs Rosenkowitz is said to have moved to a cottage in nearby Wynberg.

Train kills two trapped on bridge

Staff Reporter

TWO elderly farm labourers, who used a railway bridge as a shortcut across the Berste River near Faure railway station, were among three people killed in train related accidents in the Boland and Peninsula at the weekend.

Red carpet for returning PW

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A smiling President P.W. Botha and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, were given the red-carpet treatment at Jan Smuts Airport when they were met by members of the cabinet, their wives and senior Defence Force and police officers on their arrival from the Ivory Coast yesterday.

The West African state was the President's final stop on a trip which began with the funeral of Bavarian leader Franz Joseph Strauss and in-
German Char-

From page 1

Mr Luyt is understood to have paved the way for the conference with his September meeting in Frankfurt with the ANC

According to sources close to the talks, the white SA representatives expressed fears of a split in South African rugby, with the hard-line right refusing to keep ties with the ANC and to integrate rugby down to school level.

The sources expected that as soon as the new non-racial control was established the ANC would support a mission seeking renewed international contacts

Professor Fritz Eloff, vice-president of the SARB, declined last night to comment on the agreement. He said he would discuss the matter with Dr Craven on his return to SA.

Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, who is also responsible for sport, is expected to react tonight when he addresses a meeting in the Conservative Party stronghold of Lichtenburg.

The government has said before that it is opposed to any contact with the ANC. Mr De Klerk said last week that he would meet the SARB executive early in November.

The president of the Natal Rugby Union, Dr Nic Labuschagne, said "Judging from the reports one can only feel encouraged by the talks."

A senior British Isles rugby administrator, who declined to be identified, said "It's difficult to comment properly until we hear the full story, but I think it's the kind of development the rugby world has been looking for to get the Springboks back into the playing arena."

"Obviously we'll have to wait and see if the deal works and sticks, and that it will satisfy the political people, such as governments who have taken policy stands on the question of sporting links with South Africa."

"I think Dr Craven and the SARB will earn the congratulations of the rest of the rugby-playing world for taking such a bold and courageous decision, particularly as the South African government has been so anti anyone talking to the ANC."

● The vice-president of the SA Athletics Union, Mr Jannie Momberg, said. "It's almost a pity that Dr Craven is not 30 years younger so that he could have led this momentous new development for South African sport."

"I think it is time that the sports people of South Africa stand up and be counted on the issues discussed between the Rugby Board and the ANC, because sport can bring together the government and the ANC from across the great divide."

"It is far better for people to talk than to throw bombs at one another, and I think, on this score, we are maybe 20 or 30 years behind," said Mr Momberg.

● The chairman of the SA Cricket Union, Mr Joe Pamensky, praised the SARB for its initiatives towards the readmission of South African players to the international arena.

"Sport can act as an important catalyst in leading the way to demonstrate the goodwill of the people, and of the ways in which they can live together."

"Dr Craven must be applauded for doing what he is doing for South African rugby, and hopefully get the success which he is hoping to achieve," said Mr Pamensky last night.

Asked whether the SACU would speak to the ANC, he said "South African cricket took the view a while back that the timing for such talks was not right — we might be proved right, we might be proved wrong."

"We must decide whether the road through Africa is the only road to go — as the SARB seems to have decided — and we must be guided by the rugby people."

Nation-building plan, launched

Rebuild SA for all, says editor

AN impassioned plea to South African blacks to embark on a "campaign that would rebuild South Africa "for all its peoples", was made by Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan*, Johannesburg's black newspaper, last night

Speaking at Shareworld, where a nation-building concept was launched with a dinner to raise funds for the Soweto Old Age Home, Mr Klaaste said nation building was "something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style", a shift in thought and in the crucial role blacks would play in the country's future

He said "I have written somewhere that it is increasingly becoming the responsibility of blacks to save this country from certain ruination. It is our responsibility because it is also our country and we are, after all, in the majority

"Even more pertinent, we have something within us, that makes us equal

WINNIE GRAHAM

to saving this country and perhaps the world"

It was Dr Nkware Nkhumah, in the heady days of African independence from colonialism, who exhorted black leaders to seek first the political kingdom. But, as one African country after the other gained independence, just as inexplicably, nation after nation tumbled

The lesson it taught was that getting the political kingdom was not the means to an end. To be effective, lasting and democratic, political kingdoms needed power structures to underpin them

"They needed a back-up of strong people who had clout economically and academically, who had the strength to realise the value of a free press, who had a spiritual and religious foundation

"Such kingdoms, sadly, also needed a strong defence system, a respectable system of justice and strong security

"Before 1948 the Afrikaners were a despised, oppressed people, their

lives as filled, perhaps, with suffering as the lives of blacks in the colonised states of the continent," he said

"Their thinkers had a Calvinist, almost Germanic zeal which was, fortunately for them, alive to the fact that the political kingdom gathers most of its strength from subsidiary or parallel power structures

"They placed people in key positions in the church, in the Broederbond, in business and finally in their political organisations. They built a power vult but they made one fatal mistake. They forgot the rest of us. Not only that, they hurt us," he said

Leadership

While anger from the dispossessed was becoming simply too powerful to ignore, the monolith of Afrikanerdom was cracking. This had taught nation builders another bitter lesson. Had the Afrikaners done all the things they did for themselves for all in South Africa, they would have been in a comfortable leadership position today

Because blacks were blessed with "an indescribable ethic to forgive and forget", they would, after the reconstruction of collapsed power structures, do good things not only for themselves but for all South Africans

The Afrikaners were hoist by their own historical petard. They encumbered their people with a baggage of racial supremacy, a passionate claim to the ownership of the land and overlordship eternally over blacks. They kept on massaging "what should have been badly bruised consciences", by pointing to the general debacle on the continent

"Not that South African blacks helped to nullify this stereotype," Mr Klaaste added. "One moment we are bowed, scrapping slaves, happy to lick the baas's hand. The next we are engaged in unbelievable acts of violence and, more irrationally, against ourselves. How could the average white person have confidence, nay respect, for such people?"

Agenda

"We have to show those people that when we talk of building, we include them in that happy future. We have no secret agenda. We will start helping rebuild the structures in all forms in our societies and when we run out of ideas, out of money, out of managerial skills, we will ask for help from our white friends"

The general manager of *The Star*, Mr Jolyon Nuttall, told the gathering he had been briefed and consulted by Mr Klaaste on the evolutionary stages of the nation-building idea

Mr Klaaste had put his finger on the essence of the idea when he said the challenge for blacks was to eliminate the fear among the numerically few whites that if they handed power to the blacks they, the whites, would become victims of an incompetent, divisive society

"Progress, real progress, usually requires someone to break out of the pack, to take up a position different from that occupied by 'them' and 'us'," Mr Nuttall added

"It is only then that fresh initiatives bear fruit. I truly believe that what Aggrey Klaaste has started in his first term of editorship on the *Sowetan* represents a new perspective of an old ideal. It is innovative and courageous"

Prior voting a success in black areas

Mc Toub 26/10/88

Municipal Reporter

THE Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) claimed yesterday that prior voting in the Cape had been so successful that "any rumours of the elections being a failure" had been "squashed"

Some black areas would be reasonably represented even without today's voting, it said

Groups opposing the elections, including the UDF, are unable to respond to these claims in the press because of government restrictions

Dr Annelie Rabie, a public relations officer for the provincial administration, said in a press release yesterday that 20,9% of the 264 562 registered black voters in Cape wards where elections were being held had already cast votes

"This in itself is a significant percentage in view of the historic tendency of municipal elections to record low voting percentages," she said

In the Western Cape, where elections were being held at seven black towns, 27 265 or 36% of the 75 589 registered voters in wards where voting was happening had already cast votes

She did not mention that Khayelitsha, which has a total population officially estimated yesterday at some 200 000, is the only Cape Town township where voting is taking place. It has 67 000 registered voters, 35% of whom have already voted, according to figures before a court this week.

A possibility exists that the Khayelitsha election may be declared invalid if the Appellate Division upholds a recent Supreme Court decision setting aside the separation of the Khayelitsha local authority from the Ikapa one, which runs the other black Cape Town suburbs

In Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and Crossroads there will be no election because not enough candidates could be found

In the Northern Cape, Dr Rabie said, the average black voting percentage was 45,3% so far. One town recorded a 76,5% vote

In the Eastern Cape, excluding the 144 342 voters of Ibhayi at Port Elizabeth, 21 towns recorded an average percentage poll of 46,3% of registered voters, she said

This was an "exceptional achievement", considering that two years ago the councillors of 42 local authorities resigned because of the actions of "leftist elements"

The CPA said 16 different coloured management committees in the Cape had registered a prior voting percentage of over 61%, and 19 white councils already had percentage polls between 21% and 30%

Black polling booths open today at 7am and close at 9pm. Others open at 8am and close at 7pm, unless other times have been fixed by local authorities

The first results are expected to come in at 10pm tomorrow

Tomorrow's Cape Times will carry most of the results and an assessment of how the voting went.

Liquor outlets will be open for business as usual today

Police guard 'guns down candidate'

PORT ELIZABETH — A candidate in today's Ibhayi City Council election was fatally wounded by an Ibhayi policeman early yesterday morning, police said

PE People's Party candidate Mr Morris Zipotete Thomas, 35, was shot outside his Zwide house

There are as yet unconfirmed reports that an Ibhayi municipal policeman, who was on guard at Mr Thomas's house, was shot in the head. Police said the matter was under investigation

A 30-year-old member of the Ibhayi municipal police appeared briefly in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday in connection with the death of Mr Thomas

He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to November 23

According to Mrs Nozuko Thomas, the wife of Mr Thomas, her husband went to investigate after he had been woken by shots fired outside his house

"After he had opened the back door we heard him calling for help, saying 'They have shot me', before he collapsed"

"I noticed a municipal policeman who had been guarding the house standing outside the door of the kitchen. He said he had been shot in the head," Mrs Thomas said

Police said Mr Thomas was allegedly shot when he went to an outside toilet about 12 25am

"Shortly after midnight, Mr Thomas left his house, apparently to go to an outside toilet," police said

"A person was seen moving around in the backyard of the house by a guard, who allegedly thought the person was an assailant. Shots were fired"

Vote, urges Assocom

JOHANNESBURG — The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry appealed yesterday to the business community to be aware of its stake in the outcome of the local government elections today

It said that whatever the personal views of businessmen in regard to the elections in general, or in relation to particular political parties or groupings, the business community had to make its influence felt by voting in the elections

"Local and regional authorities are rapidly becoming a focal point for both national and local issues and are a sphere in which business can have a positive impact on the quality of government.

"Where practicable, and if requested, businesses should give employees sufficient time off from work to cast their votes, and to use to good effect the corporate vote available to them — Sapa

Randburg a test for PFP

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The PFP's political future is on the line in today's Randburg town council elections

PFP's chances

Complicating the local election scenario is the CP, which has put up three official candidates for the first time. The NP already has two unopposed

'Rugby drawn knee-deep into politics'

Craven, Luyt slated for talks with ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

LICHTENBURG — By negotiating with the ANC, Dr Danie Craven and Dr Louis Luyt had drawn rugby knee-deep into politics, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said at an election meeting last night.

He was shocked that the two men had turned to a terrorist organisation.

Mr de Klerk said the Government was neither involved in, nor had it been consulted on, the Harare discussions on SA rugby.

He was "shocked that the president of one of South Africa's national sports bodies had bypassed its government and turned to a terrorist organisation which is involved on a daily basis in attacks on innocent people".

Mr de Klerk said "The Government stands firm on its principle that talks with the ANC are absolutely unacceptable as long as the ANC persists in its present activities and attitude.

"The Government recognises the autonomy of sport and believes it should not be politic-

ised. The Government does not want to interfere with initiatives to establish sports ties with bona fide organisations in Africa. As a matter of fact, these initiatives are welcomed.

"The Government, likewise, does not wish to interfere in the organisation of domestic or international sport.

"The SA Rugby Board must decide for itself with whom it wishes to co-operate in the field of rugby. But by negotiating with the ANC, Dr Craven and Dr Luyt, have now drawn rugby knee-deep into politics."

Split is looming

● Chris Whitfield of The Star's London Bureau reports that a split is looming between anti-apartheid activists in Britain and the ANC over the agreement reached with Dr Craven on the future of rugby.

While the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) moved quickly to paper over any cracks, statements released by the two organisations

indicated they were not prepared to drop their clear-cut boycott campaign.

A Sanroc press statement welcomed the talks "as our aim has always been to form single anti-apartheid sports bodies to control and administer sport in South Africa."

However, it added "We will continue with our campaign to isolate South African sport."

The AAM's chairman, Labour Party MP Mr Robert Hughes, said "The disbanding of racist rugby organisations and the creation of a new, non-racial rugby body are potentially significant developments, but do not in themselves create the conditions for genuine non-racial rugby."

However rugby officials in London have welcomed Dr Craven's rugby pact with the ANC.

International Rugby Board chairman Mr John Kendall-Carpenter said "Anything that will assist rugby to come together is to be welcomed. Of course, rugby people never wanted anything else."

Star
18/10/88

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Trust member barred from UDF

THE restriction of the Kagiso Trust's management committee member and trustee, Mr Yunus Mahomed, which prohibits him from participating in the activities of the United Democratic Front is meaningless because the UDF is itself banned.

Mr Mahomed was restricted by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, on October 3 and confined to the magisterial area of Durban.

Kagiso Trust said in a statement yesterday that

the order meant Mr Mahomed had been prohibited from participating in the activities of the organisation, as engagement in the work was illegal.

This, the trust said, meant harassment of the organisation and an attempt to disrupt its activities.

Mr Mahomed's participation within the UDF, when the organisation was still unrestricted, was always distinct from his activities within the Kagiso Trust. His restriction is the culmination of a pattern of specific acts of harassment against the trust, the organisation said.

It said the pattern included the refusal by the Commissioner of Police for permission for Mr Mahomed to attend a trust meeting scheduled for October 9 and 10.

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ANC military was in touch with Zipra rebels, court told

HARBRE — Members of the ANC military wing were known to be in touch with rebels fighting against Robert Mugabe's government, a retired senior officer in the Zimbabwean Central Intelligence Organisation, Kevin Woods, said in a statement produced in court here yesterday.

The statement, handed in by the prosecution on the fourth day of the trial of Woods and two other former members of the Rhodesian security forces for murder, also speaks of the Zimbabwean

MICHAEL HARTNACK

security authorities interrogating "an ANC captive".

Continuing links between the ANC's Mkhonto we Sizwe and the Matabeleland dissidents have been suspected here for many years but never before mentioned in public.

Most of the dissidents came from Joshua Nkomo's Zipra, which in 1966 concluded a pact with the ANC. Joint

combat groups of Ndebele-speaking Zipra and Xhosa or Zulu-speaking Mkhonto We Sizwe crossed into the northern areas of Rhodesia where they fought a series of bloody engagements with Ian Smith's forces and SAP units.

The Zimbabwean security authorities have since independence feared the former comrades-in-arms maintained secret contacts in the bush although the ex-Zipra dissidents were now rebels against a black government and Mugabe publicly acknowledged the ANC as allies

in the fight to overthrow apartheid. Woods and his two co-accused have pleaded not guilty to killing a hired casual driver, Arnon Oberl Mwanza, in a car bomb attack on an ANC house in Bulawayo's Trenzance suburb on January 11 1988.

Statements alleged to have been made to the police by Woods, 35, Michael Smith, 34, and Phillip Conjwayo, 54, were yesterday admitted as prosecution evidence despite earlier defence protests.

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Cape Times

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TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1988

A TIMES MEDIA

Now soccer meets ANC

*CMK Times 18/10/88
 117*

LUSAKA. — Four representatives of South Africa's National Soccer League flew here yesterday for talks with the African National Congress (ANC), the second contact between the banned group and a top South African sporting body in three days.

Their meeting will follow highly publicised talks which took place here at the weekend between South African rugby administrators, including Dr Danie Craven and senior ANC officials.

The one Indian and three black soccer officials who arrived yesterday declined to give their names to reporters at Lusaka Airport, but said they would be in the Zambian capital till Friday.

They were met by ANC publicity and information secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki and other ANC officials.

ANC sources said the talks with the soccer delegates were likely to focus on similar issues as those held with rugby officials — achieving multiracial sport in South Africa in return for a possible easing of the international sports boycott against the country.

The NSL is the biggest and most professional soccer league and it receives some sponsorship from South African government organisations such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

Praise from sportsmen

In the earlier rugby talks, South African Rugby Board (SARB) president Dr Danie Craven won a promise from the ANC to help end the international isolation of South Africa's Springbok rugby team if the sport is run on non-racial lines.

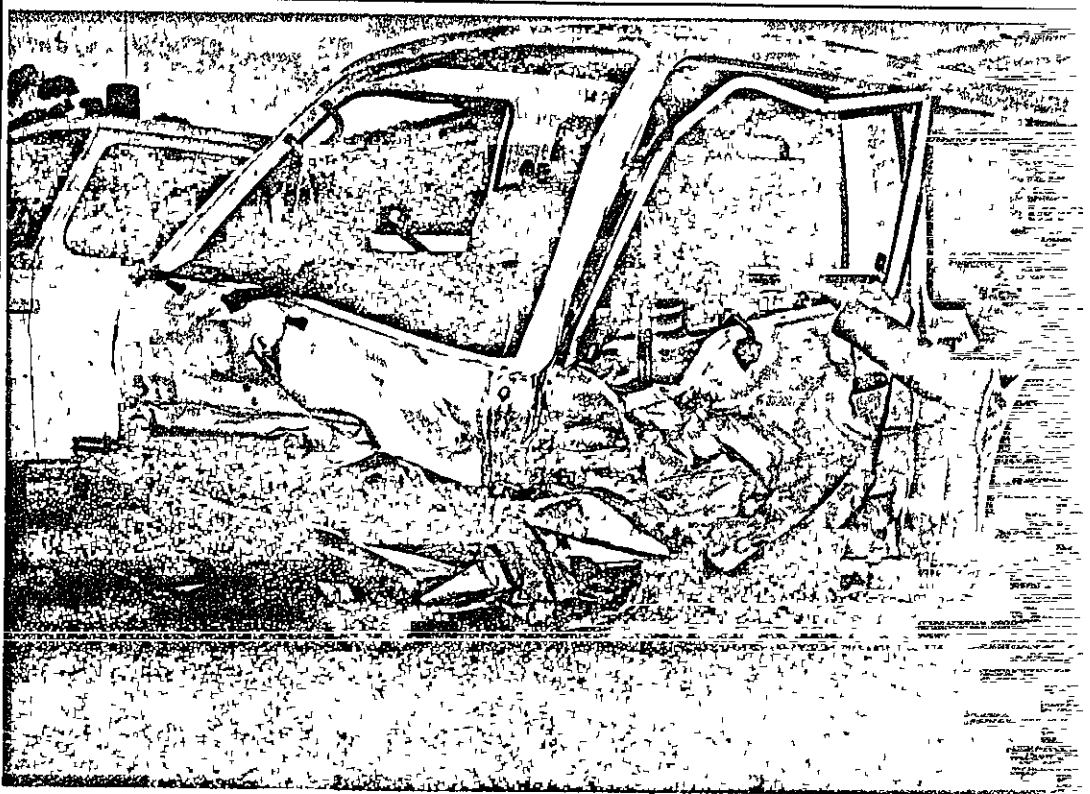
Meanwhile, the rugby initiative has won praise from sportsmen around the world.

It was acclaimed by the major sports bodies including the International Rugby Board (IRB), the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and FIFA, the controlling body of world soccer.

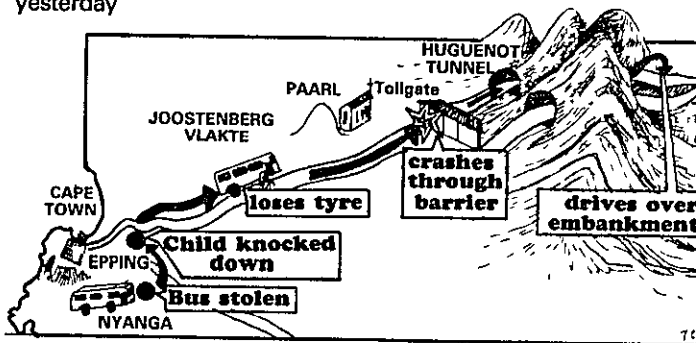
Even the radically isolationist Sanroc chairman, Mr Sam Ramsamy, said in a statement that he had welcomed the SARB-ANC meeting in Harare and hoped other sports bodies would take similar initiatives.

Mr Ramsamy said "We welcome the talks held in Harare as our aim has always been to form single anti-apartheid sports bodies to control and administer the sport in South Africa as a prerequisite to a totally integrated sports structure."

An ANC spokesman who made the initial contact earlier this year with Dr Louis Luyt, said the ANC was ready to talk sensible terms with other SA sports bodies on possible non-racial unification and eventual acceptance — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent



HIGH-SPEED BUS . . . A policeman examines the minibus that crashed after a high-speed chase along the coast yesterday.



Crash at tunnel ends bus chase

Talks with ANC 'shocks' De Klerk

ONE TIME
18/10/88

(117)



LICHTENBURG. — The Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night that the government was neither involved nor consulted concerning the Harare discussions on South African rugby.

Commenting on the statement released at the weekend on the discussions, Mr De Klerk said he was "shocked that the president of one of South Africa's national sports bodies bypassed its government and turned to a terrorist organisation that is involved on a daily basis in terrorist attacks on innocent people".

In excerpts of his speech released to Sapa by the Bureau for Information, Mr De Klerk said: "I wish to state clearly that the government was neither involved nor consulted in the matter.

"The government stands firm on its principle that talks with the ANC are absolutely unacceptable as long as the ANC persists in its present activities and attitude.

"The government recognises the autonomy of sport and believes that sport should not be politicised. I therefore want to emphasise that the government does not want to interfere with initiatives to establish sports ties with bona fide organisations in Africa. As a matter of fact, these initiatives are welcomed."

It likewise does not wish to interfere in the organisation of domestic or international sport.

The South African Rugby Board must decide for itself with whom it wishes to co-operate in the field of rugby. By negotiating with the ANC, Dr Craven and Dr Luyt had, however, now drawn politics -knee-deep into rugby.

"In view of the seriousness of the matter the scheduled meeting between the executive committee and the government can no longer stand over to the second week of November, as originally planned. I have therefore directed that arrangements be made to bring forward the meeting to the earliest possible date.

"From inquiries that I have made personally it is clear that the discussions with the ANC in Harare do not carry the blessing of the South African Rugby Board. The South African Rugby Board owes it to South Africa to give account of these events in the full

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Initiative to end political violence

DURBAN — A major initiative to end the murderous political violence between people loyal to different anti-apartheid groups in South Africa was launched here at the weekend, by about 120 top intellectuals and leaders of various organisations

Organised by the Umtapo Centre, the Centre for the Enrichment of African Political Affairs and the Educational Opportunities Council, the seminar focused on how to stop the political killings that have left thousands of people dead and many more homeless in the past few years

The seminar brought together supporters of the Freedom Charter, the black consciousness ideology and Pan-Africanism — the major themes running through South African extra-par-

liamentary politics — in the form of the New Unity Movement and former members of the now-banned UDF and Azapo

After two days of examining the origins, causes and destructive effects of political violence, the representatives resolved unanimously to call on all organisations fighting apartheid to assume their historic responsibilities and take the initiative to end the bloodshed, particularly in townships

The delegates did not want to leave the responsibility of stopping the killings in the hands of the "police, army, judiciary, capitalists or liberals or their agents"

Their resolution called on organisations committed to liberation to uphold their own democratic traditions, and to outlaw the use of violence against other

like-minded organisations as a way of settling political differences

Delegates decided to form a committee to carry out their resolution, which would be translated into all languages and circulated as widely as possible

The seminar wanted "all segments of the liberation movement inside and outside South Africa" to convene a conference for the specific purpose of drawing up a code of conduct to bring about an end to the killing. This would be binding on all activists and members of organisations fighting apartheid

Through papers delivered at the seminar, delegates looked at the role of the clergy, teachers, lawyers and journalists caught up in political violence, and at the psychological and sociological factors that shaped political violence — Sapa

From page 1

CP & Tails 18/10/84
realisation that their impact is far wider than mere rugby." *(11A)* *(3)* ing integration politics on sport.

It was ironic that the ANC, which together with its front organisations was campaigning to deny South African sportsmen overseas competition, was now being approached to bring about "peace" between the two domestic rugby bodies.

"I must warn sportsmen that they should not allow themselves to be abused by the ANC with a view to advancing its objectives. The implications of discussions with the ANC are far-reaching and certain risks are involved for those participating in such talks," Mr De Klerk said

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said in a statement that the negotiations between Dr Craven and others with the ANC on South African rugby was a degrading spectacle

"It is bad enough that Dr Craven wants to force our rugby into full integration on all levels and, in doing so, force his politics on sport," Dr Treurnicht said.

"It is he who is enforcing integration politics on sport. "It is even worse to give the ANC, with its communist control, say in or control over the way we play and administer sport." By doing this, recognition was being given to the ANC as if it was a body entitled to make decisions on South African sport.

"The time has arrived for our sportsmen and sporting bodies to state clearly that these actions by Dr Craven, who is obsessed with sports integration, were totally unacceptable to South Africans," he said

"We in South Africa are not prepared to pay the price offered by Dr Craven in return for the dubious possibility of competing internationally."

The CP deplored the laxity of the government. The government's problem was that it approved of multi-racialism and no longer had the courage to protect the own affairs and interests of whites with a firm hand, Dr Treurnicht said. — Sapa

"It is he who is enforcing

Child detainees 'assaulted'

DURBAN — The courts would have to consider imposing conditions for the protective detention of witnesses, especially children, a judge said here yesterday.

Mr Justice Didcott made these remarks after a 13-year-old schoolboy said he and three companions had been held in a cell at the Pine town police station since being detained as witnesses in April this year. The boy told the court that he and his friends were assaulted by police and told to make

The boy was to give evidence at the trial of 11 men who have pleaded not guilty to murdering a tribal councillor, Mr Ephraim Zaca, and his son, Jabulani, at their Pine town home on April 18 this year.

The 11 are alleged to have been part of a group which decided to kill Mr Zaca and his son on the afternoon of that day. That night they went to Mr Zaca's kraal. Mr Zaca and his son were stabbed and beaten to death and his house was set on fire. The men are Mr Paul Mhlongo, 25, Mr Sithembiso

Judge calls for

witness protection

Magubane, 18, Mr Dan Msoma, 23, Mr Mandle Mvubu, 19, Mr Christopher Zuma, 18, Mr Musawenkosi Mahlamba, 18, Mr Mhlongeni Meyiwa, 18, Mr Bongani Thembe, 18, two youths aged 17 and one of 15.

The 13-year-old youth, when called to give evidence, said he had been detained in April this year. He knew nothing of the incident at Mr Zaca's kraal. He knew none of the men before court and was not at the kraal that night.

He had heard of the incident from the police after being detained. After he and his companions were detained, they were assaulted by the police and told to make statements.

Unless they made statements they would be assaulted again, the court heard.

Questioned by the prosecutor, Mr D F Malan, he admitted his statement to the police was different to the evidence he had given in court yesterday.

He said he and three other boys had been detained in the police cells since April. None of them had been given any school books. They had had few visits from their families. He had heard that when their families came to visit them they were sent away by policemen.

Mr Justice Didcott said that if the witness's evidence was true the courts would have to consider making conditions when ordering the detention of witnesses for their own protection. The conditions would have to take into account visits by the family of a detainee and the detainee being provided with facilities for schooling.

Earlier, the judge had called for a full report on the detention of the boys.

The hearing continues — Sapa

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TALK TO ANC



Dr ZACH de Beer ... PFP leader.

Opposition tells Govt

THE Government was bluntly told yesterday that it should be talking to the African National Congress as the row over the weekend rugby talks with the ANC escalated.

After strong condemnation of the talks by Transvaal leader of the National Party, Dr F W de Klerk, at a political meeting at Lichtenberg on Monday night the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Party suggested the Government should follow the same route as Dr Danie Craven

Both Dr Zach de Beer, PFP leader, and Dr Denis Worrall, IP leader, said that if there were to be peace in South Africa the Government would have to talk to the ANC as well as other

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

organisations
At the meeting in Lichtenberg Mr de Klerk said he was "shocked that the president of one of South Africa's national sports bodies had by-passed its Government and turned to a terrorist organisation that is involved on a daily basis in terrorist attacks on innocent people"

Condemn

Dr de Beer said he was not in the business of condemning Dr Craven or Dr Louis Luyt. "Before we get the peace we are all looking for we will have to talk to the ANC and other organisations?"

Dr Worrall said Mr de Klerk's reaction was perfectly predictable "but quite mistaken"

He said "One doesn't promote the interests of sport from a political platform or international sport from Lichtenberg. By contrast Dr Craven and Dr Luyt are showing courage and vision"

Peter Hain says Craven was 'heroic'

CAPE TIMES 19/10/88
From IAN HOBBS



Peter Hain

LONDON — Anti-apartheid leader Peter Hain and Lord Chalfont, head of the right-wing Freedom in Sport movement, said yesterday that Dr Danie Craven could still make a historic breakthrough for South African sport and society in general.

Mr Hain, who led the giant demonstrations against the 1969-70 Springbok rugby team in Britain, said Dr Craven's Harare initiative with the ANC was "genuinely heroic".

Mr Hain said the astonishing spectacle of the South African Rugby Board president leading the way for sporting and social integration proved that isolation had worked.

Mr Hain said he advocated the changes Dr Craven is now calling for at a secret meeting in London 11 years ago.

But Mr Hain, now a senior figure on the left-wing of the British Labour Party, said "There is still a long way to go before the general sports boycott can be lifted."

Former Labour government Defence Minister Lord Chalfont said Dr Craven had shown "immense courage" and had to get worldwide support.

Lord Chalfont, who noted South African government opposition to Dr Craven with concern, said it would be tragic and destructive for South Africa if the Harare initiative was halted.

Fifa welcomes soccer talks

LONDON — Fifa, the controlling body of world soccer, has greeted the meeting between the South African National Soccer League and the ANC as a "great day for soccer in Africa".

Fifa executive spokesman Mr Guido Tognoni said that, while a long and difficult path of negotiation lay ahead, that meeting was without doubt a watershed for sport in Africa.

"Just the fact that this meeting is taking place is wonderful. It can only do good for the sport that unites Africa from the north to the south."

"As we did the rugby people, we wish all participants in these talks courage and good luck. We support this initiative very strongly."

The ANC's new approach — tackling sport as a separate issue and sports bodies one at a time — risks wrong-footing other anti-apartheid groups, who have long pressed for an across-the-board boycott under the slogan that there could be "no normal sport in an abnormal society".

The ANC says that the talks with South African sports bodies are an extension of its campaign to win support among all social, political and racial groups in the country.

The four-man National Soccer League delegation was led by league chairman Mr Rodgers Sishi. They met senior ANC officials including information and publicity secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki and a high-ranking member of the military wing, Mr Steve Tshwete — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent.

ip. restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and picture rights. Cape Times

SOUTH AFRICAN rugby meets the government today with its top men split on the issue of talks with the ANC.

The executive of the SA Rugby Board will meet the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk. But the board's president, Dr Danie Craven, will not be there as he is on his way to Chile.

The president of the Transvaal Rugby Union, Mr Louis Luyt, who was with Dr Craven during the Harare talks with ANC and SA Rugby Union representatives, last night accused the government of double standards in its criticism of the meeting.

ANC 'sincere'

"If Mr P W Botha goes ahead with his talks with Cuban's Fidel Castro, what's the difference between talking to the ANC and Castro? Like the ANC, the Cubans have shot and killed enough South Africans, so what's the difference?" he said.

And, he said "I have spoken to many people whom I believed to be sincere, and was disappointed. But I found the ANC to be sincere and genuine." Dr Craven fired another salvo over the government's bows yesterday, accusing Mr De Klerk of having waited until he was leaving for South America to bring forward from November to today the meeting between the minister and the SARB executive.

The SARB now had no option but to fight the government openly because it had repeated a "disastrous" error made 23 years ago when former Prime Minister Dr H F Verwoerd said no Maori would tour SA as part of an All Blacks side, he said.

Last night the line-up in the SARB appeared to be as follows: Dr Craven and Mr Luyt backed by Mr Nic Labuschagne, president of the Natal union, on one side opposed by Professor Fritz Eloff of the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union and Mr Steve Strydom of the Free State union, with possible support from Western Transvaal's Professor Johan Claassen.

Western Province's Mr Jan Pickard would not comment yesterday beyond saying that it was "a delicate matter".

Dr Craven said criticism from conservative quarters — including Prof Eloff — of his Harare talks was misinformed.

He said Prof Eloff's comments, in which he distanced himself from the joint statement by the SARB and the ANC and questioned what the ANC had to do with rugby, displayed a lack of "faith and confidence in my acts".

A clearly unrepentant

To page 3

From page 1

Rugby crisis

Mr Luyt said "I can assure you a great deal will be discussed at the meeting tomorrow — and what Mr De Klerk said (in Lichtenburg) will also be analysed."

"As Dr Craven will be in South America with the touring Pioneers, he asked me to attend the meeting."

"Though I do not want to pre-empt anything, I am sorry Mr De Klerk added his comments last night, before meeting with us," Mr Luyt said.

He was more guarded on comments made by Prof Eloff, Dr Craven's deputy on the SARB.

Yesterday Prof Eloff was unwilling to discuss the possibility of a split in the SARB but said Dr Craven had been informed of his standpoint. "I am not looking for a confrontation with Dr Craven. He knows my feelings, respects them and I would prefer not to comment further."

But while Mr Luyt also preferred to play down the possibility of a split within the SARB, several players and administrators predicted a split.

"It would be a sad day if it (a split) happened. I would hate to experience this in my tenure. I am a newcomer to this dog-eat-dog scenario, but I stand by my beliefs. For I believe this is vital," said Mr Luyt.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk, Mr Tiens Kotzé, confirmed that a

meeting would be held today with a delegation from the South African Rugby Board.

Other SA rugby personalities have entered the debate over the Harare talks.

Last night SARB member and president of the Western Transvaal union, Prof Claassen, said he could not agree with the joint statement made after the Harare meeting.

Eastern Free State president Mr Willie Crowther said he felt Dr Craven may have been misled as to whom he would be meeting at Harare.

In another development, a crisis between SARB and SARU was narrowly averted yesterday.

Though SARU president Mr Ebrahim Patel remained stonily silent, it was reliably learnt that he was furious over Dr Craven's comments on SATV that SARU had "hidden behind the ANC" in Harare.

Dr Craven yesterday said he had been in touch with Mr Patel and "we've decided to forget the past, bury the hatchet and carry on".

He said of the SA Council on Sport's comments that they would not support a non-racial controlling body in rugby unless it followed a Sacos line "They're touchy because they are losing" — Staff Reporters, Own Correspondent and Sapa.

SPORTS

CRK Tiens 19/10/88

11A

CRK Tiens 19/10/88

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2 will be sentenced today for ANC ties

By Celeste Louw

Two men were found guilty by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday on counts of terrorism and of being members of the African National Congress.

Sibusiso Mdolose (36) and Thebego Qhoshana pleaded guilty to two counts of terrorism and two counts of being members of a banned organisation.

In a statement handed to the court, Mdolose said he had had problems with his reference book while in South Africa and accepted employment in Swaziland.

He joined the ANC and received general training between 1976 and 1983. He became the chief of transit in an Angola camp and was offered the position as residence commander in March 1986.

He had returned to South Africa and arranged transport for people from Botswana to Soweto. "I was unaware of the fact that some of these people had transported arms with them on these trips."

Qhoshana said he had been detained in 1977 and released two years later without having stood trial.

He went back to school in 1980 and, as a result of continuous raids by police, went to Botswana and was offered a scholarship by the ANC. "I waited for the scholarship for a very long time and agreed to undergo general training within the ANC."

Both men will be sentenced today by Mr S Visagie.

Police seize Azapo files in raid

sta 20/11/87
By Jovial Rantao

[Handwritten signature]

Police raided the Johannesburg offices of the restricted Azanian People's Organisation yesterday

11A

They confiscated membership files and took a directory containing members' phone numbers and addresses.

An Azapo spokesman said seven security policemen entered the organisa-

tion's offices in Wanderers Street at about 10 am. They searched the offices and photographed anti-election posters

"They told us they were specifically interested in our members who stayed in Alexandra and the East Rand townships," the spokesman said.

Police comment was not available at the time of going to press.

'Don't forget those in detention'

Sit-in 3 get warm welcome at Wits

11A star 20/10/88

Staff Reporter

The three former detainees who emerged from the US consulate yesterday, appealed to South Africans and the international community not to forget the plight of the estimated 1 300 people still in detention

Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Vusi Khanyile were met by scores of foreign and local media representatives and crowds of curious onlookers who jammed the entrance of the Kine Centre building in Commissioner Street

Uniformed police and building security guards patrolled the area

The three held a press conference at the University of the Witwatersrand shortly afterwards

Reading a statement on behalf of the three, Mr Mohammed Valli said they had decided to leave the consulate because they felt their stay in the consulate had served the purpose of highlighting detentions

The three activists said that shortly after they entered the consulate they received a message from Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that they could either leave South Africa immediately or face the prospect of being surrounded by police "until all hell freezes over"

Shortly afterwards, a new message had come from Mr Botha that they were free to leave Mr Valli said

the Government had obviously been shocked by news of their escape "It was a panic response"

He said they had received a message from Nelson Mandela, who suggested that the three should leave the consulate as soon as possible This assisted them with their decision

Mandela thought it would be "a great pity" if the three went into exile

Mr Murphy Morobe later said that even if one of the options had been to go into exile, the fact that the offer had come from Mr Botha made it unacceptable

The UDF publicity secretary said there would obviously be major constraints on the future activities of the three, but their first major task was to work for the release of those left behind in detention

The activists said they had been treated courteously by consulate staff but had not been offered a meeting with ambassador Mr Edward Perkins.

The three were welcomed by representatives of several anti-apartheid organisations, including the SA Council of Churches, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the National Union of SA Students, the Black Students Society and Idasa leader Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert Also present as they left the consulate were UDF presidents Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede

Jail for terrorism, membership of ANC

By Celeste Louw

Two members of the African National Congress were jailed by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday for terrorism and membership of a banned organisation.

Mr S Visagie sentenced

Sibusiso Mdolose (36) to an effective 10 years and Thebege Qhoshiana (29) to nine years' imprisonment after they pleaded guilty to two counts of terrorism and two counts of being a members of the banned ANC.

Mr Visagie said the men thought they could help improve the situation in the country by joining the ANC, but they had been aware that they acted unlawfully.

"One must remember that you were already adults when you joined the ANC," Mr Visagie said

It was found they had undergone training in the ANC to endanger law and order in South Africa.

Mr Visagie took into account that there was no evidence that the men had committed any violence in South Africa before their arrest on June 11 last year.

PAC AND QIBLA 7

SEVEN members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Qibla, a Muslim organisation, were found guilty on 19 counts of terrorism and subversion in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday. One of them is a minister of religion.

Daniel Nkopodi, an AME pastor from Ngobi in Bophuthatswana, was convicted on five counts of terrorism and one of subversion. The magistrate, Mr J H Bekker acquitted him on a charge of having bought a car with PAC funds. Nkopodi was convicted for being a courier for the PAC and having transported for their members and arms and ammunition from Botswana.

Mabatu Enoch Zulu, a member of the PAC high command was found guilty on five charges of terrorism and acquitted on five other similar counts. Ndoda Ganga was convicted on three counts of terrorism. He was acquitted on three similar charges. Vincent Mathunjwa and Paul Mokohe were found guilty of a total of five counts of terrorism. Mathunjwa was acquitted on three charges including that of receiving military training outside South Africa.

Qibla

Achmad Cassiem, leader of Qibla and Yusuf Patel, an executive committee member of the organisation were found guilty on two counts each of terrorism and conspiracy. They

AME pastor transported arms

GUILTY OF TERRORISM

Rugby may lose grant

the outcome of the De Klerk SARB talks in Pretoria
In his statement released from his office shortly after the meeting, Mr De Klerk said it was not only the government who had an interest in the matter, "but also the hundreds of thousands of rugby players and fans throughout the country".

Meanwhile, South Africa's former rugby greats are coming out strongly in favour of Dr Craven's "African initiative"

Two former Springbok captains, Morne du Plessis and Wynand Claassen, said the initiative was for the good of SA rugby.

Positive reaction abroad

Du Plessis said he had received several telephone calls "from players of my era" from France, Wales and England, who "reacted very positively to Dr Craven's talks".

Former Bok centre Dr Wilf Rosenberg said "South Africans are the most complacent and apathetic nation in the world Here we get a courageous guy like Dr Craven who is willing to get off his backside and do something to get us back into international sport."

Another Bok captain of the glory days of international competition, Dr Dawie de Villiers, once again demonstrated the sidestep which won him acclaim in the green and gold

"I'm not on the playing field any more If you want reaction, speak to F W de Klerk," he said

A past president of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), Mr Hassan Howa, said "I don't think the ANC is the be-all and end-all of a normalisation of South African sport It will be the people of this country who will determine the end result, and up till now, the government has not done much to make progress on non-racial sport."

In Harare, an ANC spokesman emphasised yesterday that the weekend meeting had not resolved to call for the lifting of the ban on apartheid sport

He said in a statement that the meeting had resolved that the SARB and the non-racial SA Rugby Union should work to establish a single non-racial body.

The formation of such a body would face stiff resistance from "South African racists", a statement said.

● A high-powered soccer delegation, representing the National Soccer League and the SA Soccer Association, returned home yesterday from a two-day summit with the ANC in Lusaka and pledged that they would speak to anybody and everybody in an attempt to help soccer's return to the world body.

Rugby may lose its R¹/₂m govt grant

SA RUGBY stands to lose its R500 000 government subsidy

The Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday called on the SARB to take an official stand on its liaison with the ANC, but said that if the government "did not like" what the SARB had to say, it would consider withdrawing financial support.

He said the delegation had agreed to his request, pending Dr Danie Craven's return from South America

After a meeting with the board executive in Pretoria yesterday, which was called after last weekend's controversial talks with the ANC in Harare, Mr De Klerk said "We would have to re-evaluate our financial support to the Board and all other respects

"No threat was posed and I am not posing any threat now I just want to know where they stand"

Dr Louis Luyt, who accompanied Dr Craven to Harare, said afterwards that he may decide to leave rugby administration

"Rugby should be allowed to follow its own path What should have been reached, has been reached"

"I may have to go If I embarrass the South African Rugby Board, I will do it.

"No one will have to ask me to go, I'll go of my own accord I just want to make one thing clear, I have no masters, not in rugby, nobody."

Meanwhile, Dr Craven, the crusty doyen of SA rugby, received a warm welcome from the full Nam-pak Pioneers touring party at Santiago Airport yesterday

He cut short an impromptu press conference, saying he was anxious to get to a telephone to hear

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6/20/88

The ANC on the Nkomati Issue

THE ANC set up a co-ordinating committee in Swaziland in 1984 to deal with problems caused by an influx of members from Mozambique en route to SA after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in March 1984, according to evidence by ANC national executive member Ronnie Kasrils in London.

Alleged ANC members Action Mandala Maseko, Simon Diadla and Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim are on trial in Pretoria on charges of treason, terrorism, attempted murder and malicious damage to property.

Mr Justice Daniels granted an application by their defence in August for evidence to be taken on commission from six ANC members in London.

Kasrils testified the committee in Swaziland was set up on his initiative after the accord was signed.

"As a result of the accord, numerous members of the ANC left Mozambique and came into Swaziland on their way home to SA," Kasrils said.

"The influx of these members caused tremendous difficulties for our structures in Swaziland. The Swazi authorities were looking for them, were arresting them and we had great difficulty accommodating them."

Kasrils said Ebrahim was never a member of the senior organ based in Maputo in the early '80s or a member

Evidence taken on commission for the Bethal treason trial, sitting in Pretoria, from a senior ANC member in London last month included information on how the movement's activities had been disrupted by the Nkomati Accord between SA and Mozambique. SUSAN RUSSELL reports on the evidence, which has now become available.

of any ANC senior organ Ebrahim had also not been a member of the RPMC (regional political military committees) set up in Swaziland.

Kasrils testified that the work of the co-ordinating committee involved arranging a system of consultation to better assess the internal situation in Swaziland, control the movement of their people and cater for those imprisoned.

Decision

Under examination by defence counsel L Gering, Kasrils said the committee had no function in the conduct of military operations.

Kasrils also testified about the decision taken at the 1985 ANC Kabwe conference to form RMPCs in the Front-

line states which were known as "forward areas".

He returned to Swaziland in late August 1985 to brief members on the Kabwe decision to attempt to set up RMPCs in the "forward areas".

Gering: "Did the RPMC control or run or authorise the military struggle from Swaziland to SA?"

Kasrils: "No, it did not."

Units requiring arms, weapons and ammunition would obtain them from the Ordnance Department which fell under military HQ in Zambia. The department would have had a sub-structure operating in a forward area. This was not connected with or under the command of the RPMC.

Gering put it that evidence in the trial on two occasions during 1986 had either instructed or encouraged mem-

bers to start or to continue with land-mine warfare in SA.

Kasrils: "That would be impossible. I find that allegation ludicrous."

Gering: "Why do you say that?"

Kasrils: "Because only a military man, and a member of the military headquarters, or somebody in the command structure of the military would be able to give an order to soldiers, and he never was a member of our military headquarters or military machinery."

Gering: "Can you tell us from your own knowledge how conditions in Swaziland during 1985 and 1986 had an effect, if any, on the role and function of the RPMC in Swaziland?"

'Sinister'

Kasrils: "When we came to creating or developing our structures in Swaziland after the Kabwe conference... we had to take into account a concrete analysis of the concrete situation, if I can put it that way, that pertains in Swaziland."

"The place had become very difficult for the ANC to work in

"Within that time a very sinister development took place in Swaziland which affected nearly 100 of our people who had been held, and were being held, in Swazi jails, police stations — namely that a process began whereby certain Swazi policemen would arrive at these police stations and would remove our people one by one."

"The enemy knew far too much about our personnel, our structures, our methods in Swaziland for us to apply a structure which would have too much knowledge of our operations, of our work, whether political or military inside SA."

"As a result of that we came to the decision which was taken together with certain of our comrades in Swaziland that we would not create an organ with those kinds of powers."

"Although we set up an RPMC we maintained different machinery, different machineries for Natal and Transvaal, and within Natal and Transvaal we retained our different political and military machineries, so that they could have the best chance of survival, the best chance to work."

Azapo offices raided by SB police

THE offices of the Azanian People's Organisation were yesterday raided by security police who reportedly said they were searching for "anti-election" pamphlets and stickers.

The seven policemen, six whites and a black, searched all the cabinets and took out files, then took all the names of people in the office and those who entered the office during the raid.

They also photographed all the people they found at the Azapo offices and demanded the names of those officials who were supposed to address the Solidarity Day service an hour later

in the same building

A police spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said police do not comment on routine visits because it was part of their duty to visit any office for investigations on a continuing basis.

The remembrance service was switched from the Lekton House Hall to a smaller office in the same building.

Former Azapo executive member and now Azzaco official, Mr Lybon Mabaşa, said Azapo dissociated itself from a smear pamphlet dropped near newspaper offices in Johannesburg this week.

He said the pamphlet, which purports to be from Azapo and criticises the UDF, was a fake by those parties which stand to benefit from the internecine clashes and the delay of the struggle for liberation.

He said Azapo condemned the smear pamphlets strongly. He said the police raid was disturbing and provocative as it came on the day that was sacred to blacks and their organisations.

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ANC 2 on murder rap

From OUPA MPEKULA

EAST LONDON - Two alleged ANC members charged with murder and terrorism appeared in the Transkei Supreme Court this week

Ndibulele Ndzamele, 24, and Pumzile Mayapi, 31, are accused of bombing the Mzamba Wild Coast Hotel on April 18, 1986. Two people, Thomas Anthony Hudson and Bhenkosi Moffat Nkane, were killed

Charges against a third accused, Leonard Mdingi, were dropped

Ndzamele and Mayapi are alleged to have undergone training in Angola, Zambia and East Germany between July 1980 and 1984

They are also alleged to have been found in possession of a handgrenade, a 9mm pistol and 16 rounds of ammunition, 20 rounds of AK-47 ammunition and rounds of a Tuka-Tukarov pistol ammunition

The two pleaded not guilty to all the charges — *ELNEWS*

Afrikaner elite to see ANC, Soviets on policy

Political Correspondent

A LARGE group of top Afrikaners leaves South Africa tonight to meet key members of the ANC and senior Soviet policy-makers

The 19 prominent academics, politicians and journalists will gather in Munich from October 23-29

The initiative is expected to be an embarrassment to the government, defying its campaign to stop contact with the ANC

The delegation originally included Dr Wimpe de Klerk, brother of the Minister of National Education, Mr FW de Klerk, who has repeatedly slammed contact with the ANC

However, Dr De Klerk subsequently dropped out of the Zurich meeting, as did a Matie professor, Dr Willie Esterhuyse

Both will now attend another conference also featuring ANC and Soviet representatives

Idasa directors

Included in the SA delegation to the talks are Idasa co-directors Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan, and the unbanned director of the banned Christian Institute, Dr Beyers Naude

Afrikaans writer Breyten Breytenbach will also be there

SA academics on the trip are Professors Andre du Toit and Hermann Giliomee of UCT, Professors Willie Breytenbach, Sampie Terreblanche, Hennie Kotze, Jannie Gagiano and Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch, Professors Laurie Schlemmer, John Barrett and Mark Swilling of Wits; Professor Deon Geldenhuys of RAU, and Professor Susan Booysens of Unisa

Natal University profs meet ANC

MARITZBURG — The principal and vice-principal of the University of Natal met the African National Congress in Lusaka on Wednesday, a spokesman for the organisation confirmed yesterday

The principal, Prof Peter de V Booysen, and the vice-principal, Prof Colin Webb, left the country on Monday for Zimbabwe and Zambia where they were guests of the Universities of Zimbabwe and Zambia

A spokesman for the University of Natal said their trip was part of the university's programme to develop dialogue with other universities in Southern Africa

"I gather their main topic of discussion was the role of universities in rural developments in which the Maritzburg campus is extremely interested," the spokesman said

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka confirmed that three members of the University of Natal met the ANC at noon on Wednesday. The meeting lasted until the late evening

He confirmed the names of Prof Booysen and Prof Webb but could not name the third

It is understood the professors discussed the academic boycott and the state of education in South Africa — Sapa

The conference will also be attended by two journalists, Ms Elsabe Wessels of Business Day and Ms Anne-Marie Mischke of Rapport

The ANC delegation will include executive member Mr Joe Slovo, the ANC's head of international affairs, Mr Johny Makatini, and publicity secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, who will give a major address on the ANC's new policy guidelines

Homes of election candidates blasted

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

Municipal buildings and the homes of municipal election candidates were hit by four grenade attacks and mini-limpet blasts in the Cape and on the East Rand last night and early today.

No one was injured.

The Cape targets were in Mitchell's Plain and the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre. These attacks bring the number of bomb blasts in the country this month to 17.

In Vosloorus, hand grenades were flung at two homes, causing little

damage, police said. They would not say whose homes were hit, but it is understood they belonged to election candidates.

The first attack was at 2.02 am and the other five minutes later.

The Cape blasts follow attacks on municipal targets on the Reef on Wednesday — a hand grenade attack on municipal police in Alexandra and two limpet mine explosions at the municipal barracks in Katlehong.

Two bystanders were injured in the Alexandra grenade attack.

Time to make a stand — Naidoo

By Lloyd Coultis

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), said last night that the Government could not take away people's right to decide what to do in the municipal elections on October 26.

He was speaking at a meeting of the Transvaal, Indian Congress in Actonville, near Benoni.

He said it was important for people to make a stand "and your stand is not with the oppressor, it is with the oppressed. For the future of our country lies with the oppressed of our country".

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, shared the platform.

He told the meeting South Africa was one of the few countries in the world where people were compelled to be democratic.

He added: "Usually democracy does not need to be advertised, because the essence of democracy is the freedom that people have to participate freely to choose their organisations and their leadership and to voice their opinions. That is what broadening of democracy really means."

Rugby chiefs urged to end ANC talks

STW 21/10/88
BENONI — The State President, Mr P W Botha, urged South Africa's rugby administrators last night not to put the ANC in a position to make "cheap propaganda of sport in South Africa"

He told an audience of about 1 000 people at a meeting in Benoni that the rugby bosses would come off second best after discussions with the African National Congress

He said all South Africans, and specifically sports administrators, should not engage the ANC in dialogue, because the ANC saw sports as an important terrain in which to continue its subtle subversion

The ANC was committed to a sophisticated process to make its revolutionary forces more acceptable politically both in South Africa and overseas

Mr Botha said the ANC was wrapping itself in a cloak of piousness "in order to stab you in the back with a dagger"

The Government would like to see South African athletes compete abroad, but the ANC was using the talks to bring out divisions.

Politically blind moles

"There are still politically blind moles in this country who fail to see this"

Discussing his recent visits to African and European leaders, the President said South Africa would strive to become a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in due course

He wished to look African leaders in the eye and he would "not be afraid to go to the OAU"

Mr Botha said great progress had been made in relations with African leaders and all the leaders he had met had agreed that the Cuban presence in Africa was a threat to peace on this continent

There were many African states which agreed that the Cubans should leave Africa

South Africa had an important role to play in uplifting states in "this troubled continent"

Mr Botha said white South Africans had originally come from Europe but had made South Africa their own country and would not be kicked out

ANC 'cheap propaganda'

ACCUS 21/10/88
(Continued from page 1) 11A

blind moles in this country who fail to see this"

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RELATIONS

Mr Botha said he wished to look African leaders in the eye

"I will not be afraid to go to the OAU"

He said great progress had been made in relations with African leaders and all the leaders he had met agreed that the Cuban presence in Africa was a threat to peace on this continent

There were many African states which agreed the Cubans should leave Africa

South Africa had an important role to play in uplifting states in "this troubled continent"

Mr Botha said white South Africans had originally come from Europe but had made South Africa their own country

"We shall not allow ourselves to be kicked out because we have nowhere else to sit"

He slated Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu and leader of Inkatha, for refusing to enter into talks with the government and launching repeated attacks on Mr Botha in public — Sapa

ANC 'making propaganda of talks'

BENONI — President Botha has called on South Africa's rugby administrators not to put the ANC in a position to make "cheap propaganda of sport in South Africa"

He told an audience of 1 050 people at a public meeting in Benoni that the rugby bosses would come off second best after discussions with the ANC

He called on all South Africans and specifically sports administrators not to engage the ANC in dialogue, because the ANC saw sports as an important terrain in which to continue its subtle subversion

He said the ANC was committed to a sophisticated process to make its revolutionary forces more acceptable politically both in South Africa and overseas

The ANC was wrapping itself in a cloak of piety in "order to stab you in the back with a dagger"

The government would like to see South African athletes compete abroad but the ANC was using the talks to bring out divisions

"There are still politically

(Turn to page 3, col 7)

POLITICS AND RUGBY

Doc in the ruck



When he captained the SA rugby squad during the Springboks' golden years, Danie Craven showed he was fearless when facing burly forwards. This week "Doc" Craven (78), confronted by National Education Minister F W de Klerk, showed similar tenacity in their head-on clash.

When told that De Klerk had ordered an advanced meeting, originally scheduled for November, with the SA Rugby Board (SARB) to discuss Craven and Transvaal rugby boss Louis Luyt's weekend meeting with the ANC in Harare, the headstrong rugby supremo, on his way to Chile, told the *FM* "I have more important things to do for rugby than to see De Klerk." And off he went to forge the Gondwanaland rugby league.

This latest venture of prominent South Africans across the border to meet the ANC has plunged SA rugby into its darkest hour since it became the victim of sport boycotts. To the average South African, and in particular the Afrikaner, it is, to use the cliché, an event too ghastly to contemplate.

Craven admits that the long-looming split in the SARB is now becoming a reality. He blames De Klerk: "There has been much speculation about the 'African initiative' I put forward to the SARB in March, which the board approved. In the interim, as I had discussed with my executive, and as I stated publicly, I am pursuing the course I believe is right for rugby. Inevitably therefore, the pursuance of my African initiative led me this past weekend to Harare," he explains.

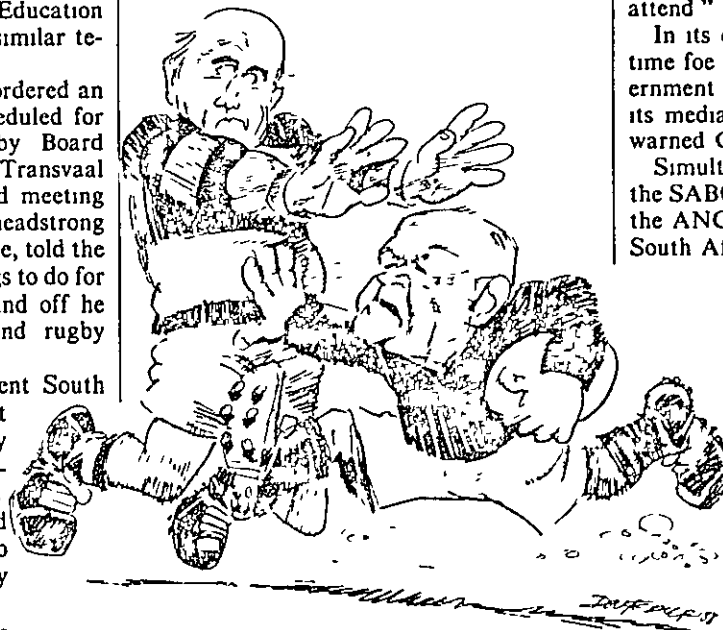
De Klerk, however, wants to question the SARB — sharply — about this. "The SARB owes SA an explanation about the events with the knowledge that the force of impact extends much further than just rugby," De Klerk told a National Party meeting in Conservative Party-controlled Lichtenburg.

Already it looks as though SARB vice-president (and Craven's logical successor) Fritz Eloff of the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union is getting cold feet. A prominent member of the Broederbond (one of Craven's pet hates, as it happens), Eloff initially told the press he was unaware of the Harare visit. Later he was reported as saying that Craven had explained everything to him and that he was satisfied.

But on Tuesday, after De Klerk spoke, Eloff told reporters "I do not talk to terrorists. The ANC has nothing to do with rugby."

Craven at first refused to respond to De Klerk's speech, but when contacted by the

FM decided to break his silence. Referring to the outburst as a "second Loskop Dam speech," Craven warned that De Klerk's



comments would have far-reaching and detrimental results for SA. (It was at Loskop Dam in the early Sixties that Hendrik Verwoerd made his infamous speech rejecting the inclusion of Maoris in any All Black team that toured SA — and so precipitated the era of sports boycotts.)

Craven says "We had an opportunity to save sport in SA — but some people cannot see that I think it is a shame. We will now sink back further than ever before unless we take strong action to show our true colours."

Nothing has changed since the Basil D'Oliveira affair when the SA-born coloured cricketer was denied entry to SA as a member of the visiting MCC squad by the late John Vorster, says Craven.

"But I will not give up. They will not stop me. And I will not be alone in this fight. Those who join me to get SA rugby back in the international arena will get the visiting teams."

According to Craven at least four SARB executive members will follow him if he is kicked off the board. He feels no remorse about talking to the ANC. "It will not be necessary to talk to them again but it was worth it."

Craven says he and Luyt stressed their concern about violence to the ANC representatives. "They showed understanding for our viewpoint and promised to refer it to their executive. But do you think that will still happen after this (De Klerk's) speech?"

Craven says the meeting had originally been arranged between himself, Luyt and "with various other persons — some of whom in the end could unfortunately not attend." One wonders who they were.

In its effort to discredit Craven, an old-time foe of Nat apartheid policies, the government has commandeered the support of its media. The Naspers group has already warned Craven about talking to the ANC.

Simultaneously with De Klerk's outburst the SABC's Current Affairs warned against the ANC's publicity-seeking meetings with South Africans. "This it has received from the Harare meeting," says the SABC.

Exactly why De Klerk chose to react in such a blunt manner is not fully understood. For if, as the SABC put it, "the success of the State President's diplomatic initiatives in Africa in recent weeks has substantially dented ANC efforts to isolate SA" then Craven's safari would have been best ignored. But perhaps that is not possible so near to the local elections on October 26 — and with the CP breathing down De Klerk's neck in the Transvaal.

Interestingly enough, the SABC — aware of the possibility that SA could indeed attract an overseas rugby team, as mentioned by International Rugby Board chairman John Kendall-Carpenter in a BBC programme after Craven's visit — sounded one conciliatory note. "In its desperation to shore up its battered image, it is nevertheless possible that the ANC will make compromises on the rugby issue for the sake of political expediency," it commented.

It is unlikely that Craven or Luyt will back down and leave the door open to Eloff and his followers to take over the SARB — but it is equally unlikely that Eloff could attract any international tours whatsoever.

As for Luyt — this could be an opportunity he has been waiting for to fill his JSE-listed Ellis Park with professional teams. All kinds of possibilities are now opening up.

No church, union decisions on poll day protest

MAJOR church and labour organisations have not taken any decision on a call yesterday by an official of the restricted UDF for a "national peaceful protest" on October 26.

Sapa-AP reports that Titus Mafola, a UDF official, told a Press conference the municipal elections to be held on that date were undemocratic, fraudulent and unjust, and were being "forced on our people by the security forces, the state propaganda system and collaborators".

A leaflet said the moment had arrived to call on people "to demonstrate their rejection of these apartheid elections in the clear-

MP (S) 2/10/82
Business Day Reporter

est way possible" It said the conference had been convened by churches, Cosatu trade unions and UDF affiliates.

However, spokesmen for Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who earlier appealed for a poll boycott, and the SA Catholic Bishops Conference said they did not know of the protest call. The SA Council of Churches could not be reached for comment.

In its reaction, Cosatu said its central executive had discussed the call. Appropri-

ate action would be taken after further discussions in its regional and local structures. The organisation reiterated its belief that the elections were aimed at entrenching apartheid. Spokesmen for a number of large Cosatu affiliates said their unions had not been represented at the conference.

A spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he was unaware of the appeal.

Transvaal MEC John Mavuso yesterday slated boycott and protest calls as "going against the grain of the aspirations of black people".

Copy Tracks 2/11/88 (11A)

ANC rugby row draws fire, praise

Own Correspondent and Staff Reporters

THE ANC would go out of its way to sow doubt and division among South Africans, even in rugby, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday

Speaking at a Trekfees at Carolina, Gen Malan said security and diplomatic successes were hurting the ANC. This was why "the brains behind the terrorists" were using other methods

They sought the company "of people among us to project a picture of saintliness"

They would go out of their way to sow doubt and division, even in rugby, which lay "so close to the heart of South Africa"

Commenting on the row between the government and the SA Rugby Board (SARB) over meetings with the ANC, the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, yesterday said the government should stop threatening ordinary South Africans who were trying to take the country "back into the world"

These South Africans were in fact saying that the ANC was an important

factor in the country. The government should heed this message

SARB president Dr Danie Craven also came under fire from the Federation of Afrikaans Teachers' Associations (FAO)

"The FAO rejects initiatives and actions which include negotiations with a banned organisation which actively engages in and promotes armed action and violence against the people of the Republic of South Africa," said FAO chairman Professor H O Maree

Speaking at a meeting in Fish Hoek, Independent Party leader Dr Dennis Worrall said Dr Craven and Mr Louis Luyt were "both successful men of proven judgment — and nobody should therefore question that they have acted in the best interests of the game they love"

He praised WP captain Carel du Plessis and the management and players of the SA Pioneers team in South America for "coming out in such strong support of Doc Craven and Louis Luyt"

"It is vital to be talking. How else do we convey to the ANC our abhorrence of mindless violence, and how else do they convey to white South Africans their abhorrence of apartheid?"

No church, union decisions on poll day protest

Business Day Reporter

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Transvaal MEC John Mavuso yesterday stated boycott and protest calls as "going against the grain of the aspirations of black people".

to October 27, 1988

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Ex-spy on 'nude in street' charge

By MAKHAYA MANI

A DEFECTOR from the African National Congress who once gave evidence against the organisation at the United Nations, has been charged with parading naked through the streets, abusing policemen.

Nokonono Daphne Kaye, 34, appeared in New Brighton Magistrate's Court this week with only a blanket wrapped around her.

It is alleged that she walked naked through the streets of kwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth, shouting abuse at the South African Police.

Kaye told the court that she was disillusioned with the actions of the police in the township and had gone naked to protest against them.

Kaye left the country in 1976 while a student at Fort Hare university to join the ANC. While an ANC member, she attempted to spy on the organisation.

In 1982, she gave evidence against the ANC to a United Nations sub-committee on behalf of the South African government.

On her return to South Africa, she lived for a period with her cousin, Ciskei President Lennox Sebe. She now lives in kwaZakhele.

At the hearing this week, Kaye was not asked to plead.

The magistrate postponed the case to October 27.

UDF groups call for a ^(11A) 'national ^{w/ mail} protest day' ^{21-27/10/88}

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

OCTOBER 26, the day of the municipal elections, has been declared a "national day of peaceful protest" by several extra-parliamentary groups, most of them affiliates of the restricted United Democratic Front.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, representatives of at least 10 organisations urged support for the stand taken on the elections by the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, and Dr Allan Boesak, Moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk.

In terms of the Emergency media regulations, the contents of the call may not be reported.

Among those represented were the UDF National Executive, the Transvaal Indian Congress, Detainees Forum; civic associations, the South African National Students Congress, the South African Council on Sport, the Federation of Transvaal Women, Call of Islam, the Muslim Youth Movement, and the Teachers Association of South Africa.

Reading a statement on behalf of the groups represented at the press conference, UDF office-bearer Titus Mafolo said: "At this moment in our history decisive and demonstrative peaceful action by all is needed.

"We call on all businessmen, workers, the clergy, youth, students, women, teachers, professionals and all peace-loving South Africans to participate fully in the National Day of Peaceful protest."

Mafolo said no particular forms of protest were being advocated. "As in the past, we are not going to tell people what form the Day of Protest should take," he said. "The various communities will decide for themselves."

The statement attacked the system of prior voting. "The desperation of this immoral government is evident in its decision to extend voting from one day to ten days by introducing the system of prior voting."

Bomb victim praises ANC talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Ellis Park car-bomb victim Mr Gordon Eddey — whose left leg was blown off in the massive blast on July 2 — has lauded the talks between the South African Rugby Board and the African National Congress.

“The initiative was excellent. The sooner all South Africans get talking about the real issues for which sport has always been the whipping boy, the better off we will all be,” he said.

Sportsmen should be allowed to talk to whom they liked, he said.

However, he doubted whether the talks would result in international tours, or halt incidents like the Ellis Park bombing — “This would depend on the mood of the ANC men on the ground.” — Sapa

● Rugby row draws fire, praise — Page 3

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Starbridge could help conquer fear

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Star 22/10/88
CARINA le GRANGE

IT WAS because of the intense polarisation between different race groups that The Star had to do something to "close the gap between the races" and launched its regular column "Starbridge", a senior reporter of The Star said in Johannesburg last night.

Winnie Graham was speaking at the annual prize-giving of Coronationville High School on "The Star's contribution to inter-racial communication".

"How could we build a nation when we knew so little about each other, when fear and hatred dominated much of our thinking and understanding?

"I don't suppose there is any other place in the world where a newspaper has deliberately embarked on a special communications campaign, but then, nowhere else in the world have people been so effectively divided," she said.

Because of this division, people seldom have the opportunity to meet socially, and as a result, all sorts of misconceptions have evolved.

"We would like the peoples of South Africa to realise that basically we are all much the same. We have much in common. Let's build on this."

She quoted the Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, who said the column must make the people face up to realities and to the fact that no matter how much violence and counter-violence is employed by any faction in our society, people still have to live together.

Mrs Graham said she had been overwhelmed by the number of people who have, "in their own quiet way", been building bridges between the races.

"The truth is we are all Africans — white, coloured, Indian or brown — and if we want to make a future for our children, we have to get started now. We South Africans have never been afraid of hard work. The bridges we have to build may not be physical structures — but they will cost even more effort to construct.

"But think of the end result: how rewarding the fruits of our labour will be," she said.

WEEKEND Argus

October 22 1988

Africa and the democratic ideal

THE report in The Argus yesterday on Zambia's forthcoming elections — fortuitously, set for the same day as South Africa's — made dispiriting reading. President Kenneth Kaunda is the sole candidate for the presidency, opponents having been precluded by law. Candidates for parliamentary seats all belong to the ruling party.

Many people have been detained and held without trial or explanation. The government-controlled radio and television are giving support only to the official point of view. What should be the central issues — the vicious downward spiral of Zambia's economy, rising prices, a growing foreign debt — have been obscured.

But the decline of democratic standards and human rights in Zambia do not give South Africans cause for self-satisfaction. Much, though by no means all, of the scenario now unfolding in President Kaunda's freidom has a parallel here.

Probably the most powerful opponents of the government have been precluded by law from participating in South Africa's election, either as candidates or as proponents of a boycott. Emergency regulations inhibit a coherent or comprehensive debate of the real issues. Many opponents of official policy have been detained without trial or explanation. Radio and television are shameless in their pro-government bias.

While South Africa in some respects still can claim to stand closer to full democracy than Zambia, and while apologists for both governments might provide ample reasons why full freedom of speech and of choice are not possible, the fact remains that the trend throughout Africa sadly appears to be moving away from, rather than towards, what ought to be the democratic ideal.

Scientific wonder

OFTEN ordinary folk stand astonished at the miracle of



TO talk, or not to talk to the ANC is the big political question as businessmen, academics, clerics, politicians, trade unionists, students and even sports administrators are having discussions with exiled leaders of the outlawed organisation.

As this week's denouncement by President Botha and Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr FW de Klerk of Dr Danie Craven and Dr Lou- is Luyt's talks with the ANC indicates, the government has no doubts South Africa is at war with the ANC and you cannot talk with an enemy which plants bombs and kills innocent people. To do so until such time as it has renounced violence is unacceptable.

Two years ago the Bureau for Information put out a 42-page propaganda booklet giving the government's reasons for not favouring such talks. This week President Botha reiterated in much the same words what he had told the Natal Nationalist congress. "Not even Mrs Thatcher speaks to people who stand for violence. I know of no properly elected leader in the world who speaks to people who perpetrate violence against the state."

Yet, for all the government's protestations, to the point of withdrawing passports, the stream of people off to talk to the ANC in Lusaka, Harare, Dakar and other places is thickening, the latest being representatives of South Africa's National Soccer League.

Earlier this month, 67 Indian leaders — the biggest delegation so far — had talks with the ANC in Zambia, next week 15 academics are to confer with Russian officials, academics and possibly also ANC members in Cologne.

THE talkers' attitude is that only through dialogue can there be understanding and hope of persuading an opponent to adopt a different viewpoint.

One argument is that even the government engages in talks with its Angolan enemies and indirectly with the ANC through Mr Nelson Mandela. The case for talking is supported by Professor

NOW, EVERYONE'S TALKING TO THE ANC — EXCEPT THE MATS

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

w/c Mrs's 22/10/88 114

Academics flying out to meet Soviets and ANC in Munich

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
 Political Staff

SOUTH African academics due to meet Soviet experts and an ANC delegation in West Germany next week hope to get clarity about the latest moves on Africa's political chessboard.

Their three-day talks near Cologne could also provide a unique opportunity to explore Russia's intentions in Southern Africa and early responses to President Botha's new Africa initiatives.

The talks, orchestrated by Munich's Friedrich Murrmann Foundation, will be wide-ranging and cover such issues as nationalising, constitutional structures and economic policies.

The Soviet delegation will include key thinkers and Africa specialists. The ANC will be represented by some of the organisation's rising stars, including executive member and publicity chief Thabo Mbeki.

The South African group will consist of 16 academics and politicians, including a strong Stellenbosch contingent.

One, Professor Hannie Kotze of Stellenbosch's department of political science, said before his departure for Europe last night (Friday) that the talks were important in that the knowledge gained could help in evaluating future actions in Southern Africa and all round.

Professor Hermann Gilhoms, of UCT, will deliver a paper on the illusive search for peace. He said it would deal with the issue of conflicting nationalisms in South Africa, while a Soviet speaker would discuss the national question in the Soviet Union.

He said South Africa was in a new era and it was important to get clarity on Russia's plans in a changing set-up in Southern Africa.

The talks were also important when viewed against the background of the Soviet Union's new reform policies, a possible Soviet and Cuban withdrawal from Angola and the South African government's initiatives in Africa.

On the official disapproval of talks with the ANC, he said he could not see how such talks could be stopped by the government. "In terms of President Botha's initiatives, it would look bad if all contact with the ANC were to be knocked flat."

He understood there would be a strong ANC presence at the talks, but in the first instance the discussions were to be between the South African academics and the Soviets.

Professor Deon Geldenhuys, of the Rand Afrikaans University, said he would deliver a paper on South African perceptions of the Soviet Union. It would report on the South African government's policy on the negotiations.

"The more the government criminalises the Congress movement, the more its symbolic appeal spreads," he wrote in a chapter in the book *A Future South Africa*.

An American analyst of resistance politics, Tom Karris, has estimated that in a free election in South Africa the now-outlawed ANC could win three-fourths of the black vote as well as some white votes.

The pro-talks lobby was given a major boost in September 1985 when Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda hosted talks in Lusaka between a delegation of business leaders, including Anglo America's Mr Gavin Relly and LTA Construction chairman Dr Zac de Beer, now leader of the PFP, and members of the ANC executive.

In November of the same year then PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, led a party group to Lusaka for talks with ANC members, including secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki and three others.

At that time news of a planned meeting between Stellenbosch students and members of the ANC Youth League had President Botha condemn all talks with "an organisation of self-confessed men of violence" before the eight students had their passports withdrawn.

ANOTHER planned meeting, by clergy led by Dr Nico Smith and six others of the Dutch Reformed family, had President Botha warn that such talks would amount to "a defiance of the state's authority." The talks were called off after the clergymen were told that travel documents would not be issued.

Subsequent talks with the ANC included ■ DECEMBER 1985: Thirty-seven South Africans, mainly church leaders, and five Stellenbosch and four UCT students met an ANC delegation.

■ JANUARY 1986: The Federated Chamber of Industries announced that it had informal discussions with the ANC, the government and various organisations after drafting its business charter of social, economic and political rights.

■ MARCH 1986: The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Enos Mabuza, and 21 members of his Inyanga party met with an ANC group headed by Oliver Tambo, a Cosatu delegation led by Mr Jay Naidoo met an ANC/Sactu delegation, and a Nuss delegation met ANC representatives in Zimbabwe. ■ APRIL 1986: A four-person delegation of the

end as man-made craft hurtle through space, as future conflicts are talked of as star wars, as yesterday's science fiction turns into today's reality...

But every now and then a scientific breakthrough happens which is explicable to ordinary people, not because of its technical wizardry but because of what it means in someone's life. Such is the case of 12-year-old Timmy George whose heart condition treated at Groote Schuur Hospital will now be regularly monitored, with the aid of an ingenious telephone attachment, over 3000km of sea from St Helena Island where he lives.

It might not rank with the greatest of scientific inventions, but for a little boy now able to continue a practically normal life it surely must come close

at Unisa, who has had talks with the ANC. He sees it as illogical to refuse to talk else can such a person be persuaded to adopt a different viewpoint or attitude? If one does not like his use of violence, then surely that is the very thing to be discussed. The essence of dialogue is to persuade."

The government's attitude is "a contradiction in terms." On the one hand it disapproves of talks with "terrorists" like the ANC, while on the other it talks with the Cubans on their violence in Angola.

"It is also talking with leaders in black Africa. It is inevitable that it will eventually talk with the ANC. In a sense they are already doing so by talking with Nelson Mandela."

National Democratic Movement leader, Mr Wynand Malan, who has also been involved in talks with the ANC, said this week South Africans of all political persuasions were beginning to discuss their future with one another because of the government's immobility and reluctance to do so itself.

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He said the ANC was not included in the official programme, but if members were to be present the talks could also be of value to them. They would be able to get a clearer picture of South African thinking on important issues.

"They are beginning to shape their own future because it is apparent to them that the government has still not learnt that it alone cannot take all decisions. The widest possible spectrum of people need to be involved if the country's future is to be peaceful."

"The government should not scold Dr Craven, but ought to look at itself. It should ask itself why Dr Craven is talking with the ANC. The people who are doing the talking against conventional political wisdom and against the wishes of their respective establishments are in a sense pioneers of the future," he said.

THE government's continued condemnation of contact with the ANC has clearly put its credibility at stake on the crucial issue of a negotiated future for all South Africa's people.

While it has committed itself to a negotiated future, it continues to exclude those seen inside and outside South Africa as one of the major players on the country's stage.

Even voices within the National Party have indicated a school of thought which recognises the ANC as a factor in future negotiations.

An opinion survey commissioned by the govern-

ment last year showed that the ANC had about 35 percent support among blacks, that about 20 percent supported revolution but that most felt good-will towards the government.

When Information Minister, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, disclosed details of the poll, he described this as "fairly high symbolic support" but added that there was "very little" black support for positions taken by the ANC in favour of a violent struggle, disinvestment by foreign companies and an eventual socialist system.

The ANC has been claimed to have more diplomatic missions than the government.

The organisation comprises a large bureaucracy with an estimated budget (in 1983) of more than R200-million and a total personnel of more than 10 000. It caters for an army, refugees, bureaucrats and diplomats with permanent facilities in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and other capitals.

POLITICAL scientist, Professor Heribert Adam, of the Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, has described it as a "government-in-waiting" - a position to which it has been "elevated from a shadowy exile existence."

He says the reason for the ANC's "increased presence" in South Africa lies in its legal absence

coloured people more so than in the last elections in many black areas these elections are being held for the first time.

In the Transvaal and the Free State the CP is making claims of greatly increased support compared to last year's general election. The Nationalists dismiss these as being exaggerated but concede that it is a tough fight.

At one stage NP leaders were stressing the importance of third-tier government and the devolution of power under the new constitutional system. When it came to the election the party decided that local regions and constituencies must decide for themselves whether they wanted to fight on a party-political basis.

The CP is taunting it for "running away from the fight" while the Nats maintain that in many regions the feeling was that the local elections should not be over-politicised.

The CP's Transvaal general secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, says the party hopes to take control of the majority of Transvaal municipalities. It is making a determined onslaught especially in Pretoria, the Vaal triangle and on the West Rand.

In Pretoria there is a general election atmosphere, with posters up all over the place. The Nationalists alone have printed some 12 000 posters but complain that their opponents are taking them down as fast as they are put up.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has addressed

by Archbishop Denis Hurley, met, an ANC delegation led by Oliver Tambo.

■ MAY 1986 A 12-person delegation of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, led by Mr Sam Moseleyane, met an ANC/Sachu delegation.

■ JUNE 1986 Barclays Bank's Chris Ball and other leading businessmen and academics, including Unisa's Professor Marinus Weichers, flew to London for a debate with ANC representatives on BBC radio.

■ SEPTEMBER 1986 A joint University of the Western Cape and University of Cape Town delegation met the ANC in Zambia to discuss the role of universities, problems facing black students, and the education crisis in black schools.

■ 1987 Archbishop Desmond Tutu met the ANC's Oliver Tambo and 10 others in Lusaka where he asked the ANC to review its own position and consider renouncing violence, a delegation of students from the University of Durban-Westville held talks with ANC representatives in Harare, the SA Foundation's London director, Mr David Williams, attended a meeting of international business executives with the ANC's Oliver Tambo.

■ Idass's Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert led a delegation of 50 to Dakar for talks with an ANC delegation. Dr Denis Worrall led a group of prominent South Africans on a visit to Zimbabwe where they held talks with Cabinet Ministers and ANC officials in Harare. Archbishop Tutu led a delegation of ten religious leaders, including Hindu and Muslim representatives, to a meeting with ANC members.

Last month a group of students, including 10 from Stellenbosch, had talks with ANC representatives in Maputo. On their return they accused the government of "shameless distortion and withholding of the ANC's viewpoints."

About that time Nationalist political commentator Dr Piet Muller wrote that attempts to prevent all discussions could lead to "a kind of iron curtain mentality" which would ultimately benefit nobody.

Nats and CP on big collision course

by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

A HEAD-ON fight between the Nationalists and Conservatives in the Transvaal and the Free State and largely non-party political contests in the Cape are the main features in next week's municipal elections.

Except for a handful CP candidates in Cape Town making more of a token stand, and a few Nationalist candidates in Somerset West and CP ones in Parow and Bellville, there are no official party political candidates in the Western Cape.

There are also some CP and Nationalist candidates in Mossel Bay, Port Elizabeth, East London, Uitenhage, Beaufort West and Williston and bitter fights in the Kuruman and Gordonia areas where the CP probably has its best chance.

In the Transvaal and the Free State it is mostly the CP which is putting up candidates under its own colours.

The Progressive Federal Party is officially standing in Johannesburg, Sandton and Randburg and for the rest supports some members standing as independents or candidates promoting its ideals. Except for a few candidates in the Transvaal the Independent Party has adopted similar tactics.

The Nats are making a bid for Durban and Pietermaritzburg and are in a tough battle with the CP in Northern Natal.

Prior voting for coloured and black local bodies has shown moderate interest, in the case of the

one election meeting in the Pretoria city hall and is due to have another on Monday night.

Mr Beyers says the big issues in the election are the group areas, especially the government decision to have open areas, the scrapping of influx control and the regional services councils, which the CP sees as the introduction of multiracial government in third-tier government.

While the CP is opposed to the regional services councils in their present form, it has decided to take part, even if just in a spoiling role. It is also determined to ensure that the money from the rates of whites will only be used for this group instead of, as it maintains, the present plans to use this to subsidise other groups. It is determined to use its power in local government to prevent open areas wherever it can.

The NP is trying to fight back with the argument that group areas are being maintained, although some open areas will be allowed. Its rightwing opponents ridicule this as ambiguous talk.

The CP's Cape leader, Mr Jan Hoon, claims there is a marked swing to the party, also in city areas where it has not yet been able to build up a strong organisation.

Cape Nationalist secretary Mr Sakkie Pretorius maintains these claims are groundless. NP field workers have not come across any significant swing after last year's general election and the CP can be kept from getting the majority on any city or town council in the province.

If Mandela goes free

Star 27/10/88 118

AN interesting thing to do in South Africa at the moment is to ask supporters of the United Democratic Front and African National Congress how they view the persistent reports that President Botha is to release Nelson Mandela.

"I'll believe it when I see it" is an understandable first response, but this is quickly followed by a strongly negative reaction.

Mandela's release would be meaningless, would come too late, would change nothing, one is told, in any case, he's ill, he's old he's gaga he'll be assassinated.

Quite noticeably, the more radical the activist one is talking to the more negative the reaction.

Some now even assert that the whole ANC tactic of concentrating on Mandela as a personal symbol was a mistake. What about Mandela's fellow-prisoners, such as Walter Sisulu and Kathy Kathrada let alone the thousands of others in jail and detention?

One UDF activist went so far as to tell me that "the movement will determine the conditions under which Mandela can be released", and I had to remind him that President Botha alone holds the key.

Yet, these are the very people who have campaigned ceaselessly for his freedom.

Among the several reasons for this hesitation is an uneasy, if unspoken, feeling that perhaps Mandela serves the movement better as a symbol (ie in jail) than he ever can in the mundane day-to-day world the rest of us live in.

But more than that there is the fact that Mandela's release would, overnight, transform the political dynamics of the liberation struggle — with consequences that might be hard to control.

No one doubts that the ANC enjoys a historical legitimacy, or that it is the most powerful black political movement. But for more than 25 years its leadership (the so called ANC External Mission) has been in exile in London and Lusaka.

Despite its remoteness, the External Mission has enjoyed an unchallenged authority within the movement — all else apart, most of those inside the country who might have challenged the dominance of the exiled leadership have been killed or jailed.

The result is that ANC supporters inside South Africa can easily be tempted into thinking that there is little they can do and that, in the end, salvation will come from outside.

Mandela's release, however,

THERE has been continual rumour recently that the Government is about to release Nelson Mandela. It is normally assumed that those who have campaigned the most for his release, activists within the UDF and the ANC, would be enthusiastic about the idea. But are they? R W JOHNSON, writer for The Times in London, decided to find out.



POOR IMAGE Mrs Winnie Mandela has been described as "out of anyone's control" and an embarrassment to Mandela and ANC supporters. If Mandela is released one of his first tasks may be to try and erase his wife's bad image.

could change all that and shift the ANC's centre of gravity back inside South Africa.

It is possible, of course that Mandela's health is so poor — he has TB — that Mr Botha will release him simply so that he does not die in jail.

In that case he would, though free play almost no role. That seems unlikely.

All reports are that his health has largely recovered (he has always been a fitness fanatic).

There is also no doubting the man's very considerable intellectual capability — he has read omnivorously in jail, secured further degrees, is widely conversant with international affairs and is the sort of person who gives people Tolstoy for

birthday presents.

The modesty, courage, sense of humour and penchant for self-criticism all suggest a quite exceptional man, one of overwhelming moral stature.

He will surely play a role if he is freed. For a start he will want to erase the disastrous image of his wife Winnie, who is seen as his representative but who, in fact, seems to be out of anyone's control.

She repeatedly makes speeches which flout official ANC policy. Recently I heard her speak in favour of terrorist attacks on soft targets, and she attacked as 'gutter journal

ists and traitors' those who are to expose her extraordinary dealings with the right-wing American businessman Mr Robert Brown.

Within her own township she has become very unpopular, and ANC supporters, privately, are deeply embarrassed by her, though of course they feel obliged to defend her publicly.

It is very noticeable that although Mrs Mandela says all sorts of hair-raising things which would land anyone else in jail the Government is quite happy to let her be no doubt calculating that she is sowing a valuable degree of alarm and despondency in black ranks.

It is possible that the Government on releasing Mandela,

will try to place restrictions on him. He would ignore them and dare the Government to put him back in jail.

He would attract huge crowds and the excitement and momentum he built up would quickly become a force of its own. In that heady climate Mandela's assassination would be an ever-present possibility.

In that case whoever the assassin might be the Government would be blamed, which means it would probably want to surround Mandela with security police — which he would resist.

A freed Mandela would doubtless set his sights on a speedy negotiation of majority rule, and to that end would hope to muster international support and the maximum degree of black unity within South Africa.

His first demands would have to be the unbanning of the ANC and other black organisations, the release of all other political prisoners and the return home of ANC exiles.

Pretoria might make some gestures but it would want the quid pro quo of the calling off of all ANC military activity.

As for the exiles Pretoria would either ignore the call for their return completely or allow back only those it regarded as African nationalists, leaving the communists in exile.

If — and it is a very big if — Pretoria then offered negotiation it could hope to drive a wedge between Mandela and the External Mission.

Even before that, though, Mandela would cross a Rubicon of his own if he called for African unity. From prison he has repeatedly made it clear that "both Tambo and Buthelezi are my brothers".

It would of course, be sound strategy to face the Government with a wall of African unanimity behind him, and there is no doubt that Chief Buthelezi, the moderate Zulu leader, would rally to the call.

But because of the deep antagonism towards Chief Buthelezi in many parts of the UDF and among ANC exiles, many would find it impossible to follow Mandela down that road. The very call for unity would thus produce disunity. It is the consciousness of this Rubicon just ahead which makes so many UDF supporters nervous of Mandela's release now.

A freed Mandela would thus face a sea of trouble as well as a torrent of acclaim. He would undoubtedly come under almost intolerable pressure from all sides. But few men have shown such fortitude and moral strength for so long as Mandela has. The chance exists that he could surprise us all again.

BARRY GLASSPOOL

SANTIAGO — The knives are out for Dr Craven. But if the much revered Stellenbosch doc tor is forced off the pinnacle of South African rugby, a few other heads will roll with his departure.

At 70, Dr Craven, after a life time of selfless service to the game as a player and adminis trator, is carrying the brunt of fierce criticism after the Harare talks with the ANC last week-end.

His running mate, Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt has been caught up in the crossfire too, and the simmering under-surface tensions came into the open when SARB vice-president Professor Fritz Eloff dissociat ed himself from the statement released after the talks because he did not agree with the link with ANC.

The SARB meeting on Friday November 11 is bound to be the most explosive — and crucial — in the history of SA rugby.

Dr Craven has had the full ap proval of his executive to pur sue his African and South American Initiative.

Thrust forward

But from the time the ANC factor entered the picture he and Dr Luyt were thrust into the forefront as the sole protagon ists of a scheme to deal with a terrorist organisation.

The men who take decisions on the executive with Dr Craven ran for cover and then emerged from their foxholes with all guns blazing at the man whose sole purpose is to find ways and means of getting the Springboks back into the world rugby.

And that road embraces working with black African countries and the sports admin istrators who have been at the heart of the effective, organised boycotts against this country.

But suddenly Dr Craven is the ogre fiercely attacked by gov ernment, repudiated by some of his own colleagues and branded as a rugby facsimile of Judas.

After 32 years as president and on the eve of the SARB's 100th birthday, Dr Craven has chosen the road which his con science dictates. He will not be intimidated nor deflected from the drive to normalisation — a stance which Minister Mr F W de Klerk describes as his "obses sion with integration".

It has been precisely South Africa's obsession with apart heid which has lead to the coun try becoming a pariah in the eyes of the world.

If Dr Craven is sacrificed to appease hardline rightwingers on a political altar, the steps that have already been taken and the processes set in motion will be a fitting testament to the man who has risked everything in the twilight of a massive rugby career.

Forget it

And unless these sincere re forms are vigorously pursued, SA rugby can forget about ever becoming part of the brother hood of nations.

An example of Dr Craven's standing was the reception he received from South American officials, players and media at a cocktail party at the residence of the South African Ambassa dor to Chile.

He stands alone as a respect ed "father" of SA and world rugby — as one Paraguayan ad ministrator described him.

Craven gets warm welcome in the Americas



ROUSING SPEECH Dr Danie Craven addressed the South American rugby fraternity.

F W de Klerk 'takes note' of ANC visit

SJA 22/10/88 **BRUCE CAMERON**

DURBAN — Minister of National Education Dr F W de Klerk has "taken note" of the visit to Lusaka by the principal of the University of Natal, Professor Peter Booyen, and two other academics.

Speaking at a National Party municipal election rally in Dur ban on Thursday night Mr de Klerk also criticised news papers which had supported the South African Rugby Board meetings with the African National Congress.

Mr de Klerk said: "I take note that the Rector of the Univer sity of Natal and other academics have also taken the route to Lusaka to discuss South African education with a terrorist organisation which plants bombs in South Africa, which murders innocent people."

Referring to the SARB controversy, he said some newspapers wanted to make out the Government was being unreasonable. "They want to make out that the ANC will open the door to in ternational sport and the Government is now slamming the door shut. That, according to them is the basis of the debate."

"I want to ask one question to which I want an honest reply: Must our security forces stop fighting against the ANC with its bombs and its AK rifles with its hand grenades with its neck laces with its intimidation and its communistic objectives?"

Every reasonable, every peace loving South African, will an swer no," he said.

Tired and looking drained after a long flight and recently not in the best of health following heart troubles, Dr Craven was at his best.

His eloquent address trans lated into Spanish by former Pumas prop Ronnie Foster for the benefit of those whose Eng lish is non-existent, captivated young and old alike and current South American players listened attentively to a man they have read about as a giant in his playing days.

In the course of making many

telling points, the Doc pointed out that the SARB team was here not just to play rugby "but to make friends and be friends".

He appealed to all to carry the spirit of rugby to the world. "We will play together and we will live and work together," he continued.

The SARB chief referred to George Bernard Shaw who once said that the more he saw of people the more he liked them. Dr Craven said: "The more I see of people the more I like the loyalty of my dog."

Detainees GROSS

Swords with Vlok

by BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

DURBAN. — "Jailer" and detainees came face-to-face at a National Party municipal election meeting here last night, verbally crossing swords on whether there was freedom in the country.

The "jailer" was the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The detainees were Ms Anita Kromberg and Richard Steele, who were held by the police in 1985 for two weeks before the Supreme Court ordered their release.

Mr Vlok was stopped momentarily in his tracks when Ms Kromberg told him during his speech that she had been "in jail because of you"

He replied "You must have been busy with something"

She retorted "You would have put me in court then"

Assault

Earlier, Ms Kromberg referred to the alleged assault of a student at a National Party meeting on Thursday night, telling Mr Vlok the person who had assaulted the student was in the audience.

He gave her the assurance "I am the Minister of Law and Order and I will protect you."

Mr Steele pointed out people in the audience whom he said had been involved in the scuffle at the meeting, and asked whether the Minister approved of this type of intimidation.

Mr Vlok defended detention without trial, saying that the

measure was used in other Western countries and if there was a need there, then the need was even greater in South Africa.

The government did not like using the measure but there was a problem bringing cases to court.

They did agree on one thing, however that former National Party policy to try to link urban blacks to the homelands was wrong.

Ms Kromberg said "We told you long ago. You should listen to us more often."

ANC talks

Mr Vlok also hinted last night that legal steps could be taken against people who held talks with the African National Congress.

Mr Vlok was challenged at the meeting on why people speaking to the ANC were not charged with treason.

Mr Vlok said the government could not go overboard in its reaction.

"We must be balanced. We have a judicial system that will look at it, that will deal with it."

W/C 1986/5 22/10/88 (11A)

'ANC can't win arms struggle'

Buthulezi slams Ingwavuma 'traitors'

IF there was any hope that the ANC could win its armed struggle, the leaders of Mozambique would never have entered accords with South Africa. Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at Ingwavuma this week

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at a meeting commemorating Inkatha's successful court blocking some years ago of an attempt by the government to cede Ingwavuma to Swa-

ziland

He said there were "traitors" in neighbouring districts who wanted Ingwavuma ceded to Swaziland and said he was aware that Swaziland's king had again raised the matter

"We were assured after the case by the Foreign Affairs Minister that the matter would never be revived by the South African government and that, if the Swazis want an outlet to the sea, they should talk

to the Zulu nation"

Buthelezi said that KwaZulu and Inkatha had been very much alone in the fight against giving such a large tract of South African land to a foreign country

"Our brothers in the ANC were very ambivalent about the whole issue. They blew hot and cold because they still wanted to have Swaziland as a sanctuary from which to launch attacks on South Africa

"For this they were prepared to close their eyes if the worst happened and you were sold out to Swaziland"

"President Sam Machel would never have entered into the Nkom Accord, and his successor, President Joaquim Chissano, would not have met the South African State President in Mozambique recently, either of them thought that the ANC could find freedom through armed struggle



Mangosuthu Buthelezi is angry over raising of Ingwavuma issue.

PAC slates ANC's SA rugby talks

Only liberated Africans can initiate non-racial sport

CP Correspondent

THE exiled PAC this week launched a scathing attack on the talks in Harare at the weekend between the ANC, the SA Rugby Board and the SA Rugby Union.

In a statement, the organisation's chief representative in Harare, Waters

Toboti, said the situation called for "clearer positions to be stated by those leading the struggle" to end "white domination".

Toboti said the PAC rejected the idea that Africans had a common desire to establish non-racial bodies "with racists".

"Racial sport in South

Africa came about as a result of African conquest and a means to serve and sustain the status quo. Racist legislation, including that over rugby, was meant to tighten apartheid.

What enabled "the racists" to segregate sport was the political power they

gained over Africans, which they had not been able to regain to establish non-racial sporting bodies, he said.

This, he stressed, gave rise to Africans correctly stating there would be no normal sport in an abnormal society. That political abnormality continued and

claims that without political power Africans could help reverse the prevailing system of apartheid was "merely an attempt to have the horse drawn by the cart".

"Nobody in the ranks of the liberation movement, and no individual African interested in the liberation of Azania, can accept appointments by racists in the SARB to be messiahs to redeem the beleaguered sport.

"Any such venture is tantamount to betraying the efforts of the Azanian masses who saw the international isolation of South African sport bring suffering to South African sport, in particular rugby, which is a religion to the white community."

He added that the meeting in Harare also vindicated the PAC's position that "the Dame Cravens and all whites, for that matter, were incapable of dismantling apartheid."

It was for this reason they were soliciting active support of "the oppressed to uplift them from the morass of their own making".

Craven was interested only in getting South African rugby back into world competition.

He said rugby was not banned internationally because of the SARB passing racist legislation, but because of the country's apartheid system. He said it took political will and commitment to remove racism, and Craven, the SARB and SARU had the power to do this.

It was time Africans and their organisations redoubled their efforts to isolate the government further.

"We believe it is only fair to caution Africans that any assistance they render to the government reverses all previous gains they have made with their sweat and blood.

"It is only when Africans have gained power that they can initiate and establish non-racial sporting bodies and structures," he said.

Olivia may soon leave embassy sanctuary (8) 119

The Star's Africa News Service
5/27/1988
The former South African student holed up in the British embassy in Luanda, Olivia Forsyth, may soon be granted a visa to leave Angola, according to informed sources in the Angolan capital.

Sources in the British embassy in Luanda say officially that there

is no change in the situation, with Miss Forsyth claiming sanctuary in the embassy after saying she had escaped from an African National Congress (ANC) detention camp. But privately there is hope that the Angolan government may soon grant her an exit visa.

Miss Forsyth, brought up mainly in South Africa, is a British citi-

zen. It is alleged that she spied on the ANC for South Africa.

The Angolan press reports that the Angolan Minister of Justice, Mr Franca van Dunen, has delivered a private letter to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher from President Edwardo dos Santos. It is speculated that the letter concerned Miss Forsyth's future.

Apartheid long dead, says Mavuso

11A
Chen
23/10/88

... as he takes stunned audience down Koornhof memory lane

A STUNNED audience this week heard Transvaal Provincial Administration executive member John Mavuso say apartheid was long dead "because blacks now control the Transvaal and other areas".

At a function held in Evaton this week in honour of Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Roelf Meyer, Mavuso rekindled memories of SA ambassador to the US Dr Piet Koornhof's controversial "apartheid is dead" speech in Washington 10 years ago.

Meyer, accompanied by Mavuso and other TPA officials, was on a fact-finding mission regarding the squatter problem in Evaton following a decision by the government to remove a large number of squatters from Weilers Farm, near Grasmere, to the north of Evaton early this month.

Asked Mavuso "Who is controlling the Transvaal? Who is controlling Evaton?"

To all these questions Mavuso answered Blacks.

He said it was high time people dropped the perception that South Africa was at war or that there was a black/white confrontation.

Mavuso said black on black violence was more of a reality.

He added that white South Africans

By STAN MHLONGO

were more benevolent in that "they never tried to wipe out the black man like the Austrahians" who committed genocide by killing thousands of Aborigines in order to concentrate power in the hands of white people.

Mavuso emphasised that he belonged "to that breed of black nationalists who long before 1948 strived for the participation of blacks in the body politics of this country - their aim being to become involved in local politics - not to overthrow the government".

He slammed the ANC - calling them "the political upstarts in Lusaka" - who sought the advice of Russians and Cubans on how to resolve this country's problems.

"It is high time a big indaba is held and the supporters of sanctions and disinvestment must come forward to answer why this country's economy must be impoverished," said Mavuso.

11A
Chen 23/10/88

Business can help abolish apartheid

Desegregate the workplace - Tom Boya

By SOPHIE TEMA

MANY South African companies have long hidden conveniently behind apartheid to deny blacks equal opportunities for promotion, training and general upward mobility.

These views were expressed by the president of the United Municipalities of SA, Tom Boya, when *The Role of the Business Sector in the Population Development Programme* was discussed in Johannesburg this week.

At a meeting attended by economists, agriculturists, medical experts and business people, Boya said keeping blacks at lower ranks of the employment ladder also ensured that black pensioners were constantly kept unable to make ends meet.

Blacks had experienced this disadvantaged position as a result of white ob-

sion with race. They began to see themselves as a distinct social group bound together by the colour of their skins and their underlying oppression, he said.

Many employers in the private sector still had racially segregated benefit structures, Boya said.

"By doing away with such practices, the entire private sector can demonstrate the possibilities of a true non-racial society in the work place."

Boya said good working relations and conditions would enhance a general feeling of security and help eliminate fears and suspicions which were the main enemies of a common solution to the problems of the country.

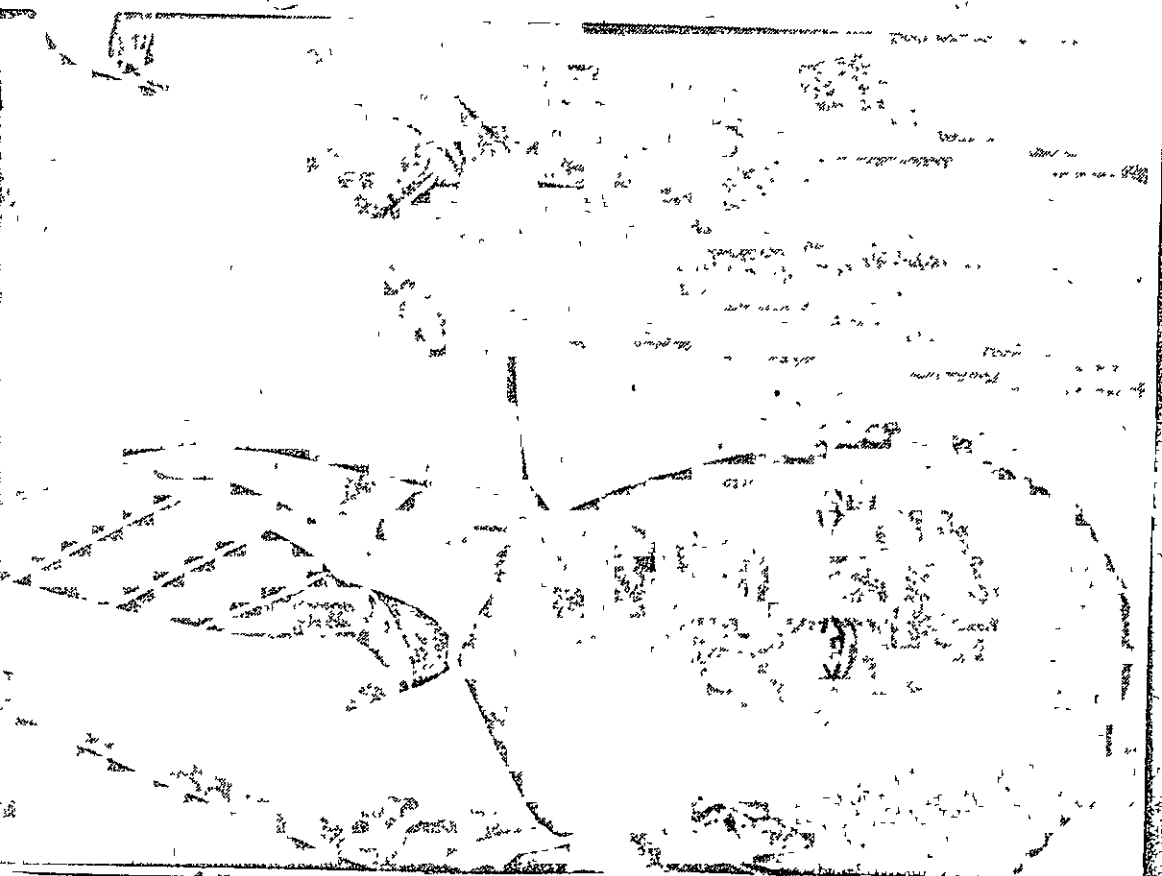
"The views of black South Africans on the government's population development strategy must be assessed against the background of their political history. This had been characterised by:

- The attempt of successive white governments to maintain white supremacy in all aspects
- The consequent exclusion of blacks from the political process and from all decision-making power in an attempt to escape the implications of the black majority
- The economic, educational and social deprivations which flow directly from the exclusion of blacks from policy and decision-making
- Lagging seriously behind their white counterparts in the areas of education and the possession of skills, they perceive their colour and their numerical majority in relation to the struggle for admission into the political and economic mainstream

"Notwithstanding these problems, it cannot be denied that the past few decades have witnessed an increasing change in basic attitudes as a result of a number of factors:

- These included
- The increasing educational standard among blacks, rapid urbanisation and the greater awareness of problems such as unemployment
- The increased rate of inflation and the escalating cost of living which threatens the newly-won high standard of living
- The greater participation in the economic development of South Africa by blacks and the freer flow of information which has made blacks aware of the diminishing natural resources of the country

Tom Boya... president of the United Municipalities of SA.



(11/19)

Bomber seized near Minister

By Craig Kotzé,
Crime Reporter

Police thwarted a possible "kamikaze" attack on Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok by a suspected ANC insurgent armed with a limpet mine in Cape Town at the weekend

Mr Vlok was opening the new Crossroads police station on Saturday when two Riot Unit policemen arrested the suspect — only 150 m from Mr Vlok. Bomb experts defused the mine.

Last night, the suspect was in Groote Schuur Hospital under police guard after complaining of dizziness. Police searched his Crossroads home and seized ANC literature.

Security sources said that, although the suspect would not have been able to get near Mr Vlok, had the mine exploded near him the incident would have generated immense propaganda for the ANC.

TIGHTEN SECURITY

It would not be necessary to tighten Mr Vlok's security arrangements as maximum security already existed for members of the government and other VIPs.

Mr Vlok praised the two policemen for their speedy action.

● In another incident on Friday, a baby was killed and four people injured in a limpet mine explosion — the 18th known blast this month — at a polling booth in kwaThema on the East Rand.

● Mr Vlok announced on Friday police had arrested 50 suspected insurgents and killed five others since the beginning of September.

● Three people were killed, including a youth shot dead by security forces, in Natal township unrest at the weekend, police said.



SA, Soviet academics swop views on S Africa

ARC 45
24/10/88
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The Argus Foreign Service

LEVERKUSEN (West Germany). — An unusual and high-powered political think-tank composed of South African and Soviet academics gets down to business here this afternoon.

Sixteen of South Africa's leading liberal academics, most of them Afrikaners, have come here for an exchange of views and ideas with some of the Soviet Union's foremost Africa experts.

They will be seeking a clearer view of Soviet perceptions of Southern Africa and its future, and outlining their vision on how to resolve the region's problems.

Also present is a delegation from the ANC, which is expected to table for debate its guidelines for South Africa's constitutional and economic development.

Significant inclusions in the ANC party are Mr Joe Slovo, co-founder of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the organisation's information chief, who come fresh from talks with South African football chiefs in Lusaka.

The South African party is expected to return to strong negative reaction from Pretoria, which has condemned the Lusaka talks as well as the meeting between rugby bosses and the ANC in Harare

But as the three parties assembled for a get-to-know-you dinner here last night the South Africans were unrepentant

Dr Alex Boraine, a director of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa and chief convener of the meeting, said it was vital for this exchange of ideas to take place

The conference opens officially later today with addresses by Dr Boraine and Dr Gerhard Reichler of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Munich, which has helped to organise and finance the talks.

Prominent in the South African delegation are Idasa founder Dr F van Zyl Slabbert,

the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, Dr John Barratt of the Institute for International Affairs, Stellenbosch academics Dr Sampie Terreblanche and Professor Willie Breytenbach, Professor Herman Gillhooie of UCT, Professor Susan Booysen of RAU and Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Unisa Dr Beyers Naude and exiled writer Breyten Breytenbach are also attending

Among the Soviets are Africa experts Professor Appolon Davidson and Professor M Zagorodny, as well as Dr N Tetokum of the Soviet Capital Solidarity Committee, a Soviet group specialising in South African affairs

Sowetan launches new campaign to rebuild society

Staff Reporter

South Africa's main newspaper for blacks, the *Sowetan*, launched a new "Nation Building" campaign with a dinner at Shareworld at the weekend

Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan*, said the campaign would highlight the new roles blacks could play in a future South Africa. Mr Klaaste was the main speaker at the dinner to raise funds for the Soweto Old Age Home.

In the vital roles blacks would assume, whites had to be shown that they would be included in the happy future of a new concept of nation building, Mr Klaaste said.

LOSS OF CONFIDENCE

"We have no secret agenda," Mr Klaaste said. "We will start by helping to rebuild the structures in all forms in our societies. And when we run out of ideas, money or managerial skills, we will ask for help from our white friends."

Afrikaners, who were an oppressed and despised people before 1948, suffering perhaps as much as blacks under colonial rule, were quick to point out the debacle of post-independent black Africa when "nation after nation tumbled".

South African blacks had not helped to nullify such stereotype, Mr Klaaste said.

"One moment we are bowed, scrapping slaves... the next we are engaged in unbelievable acts of violence and, more irrationally, against ourselves," he said.

The result was a loss of confidence and respect among average whites for such blacks.

One lesson to be learned from Dr Kwame Nkrumah, first leader of independent Ghana, was that black leaders needed more than to seek their political kingdom first. For such a kingdom had to be underpinned by other power structures, economic, religious, academic and spiritual, even strong defence, security and justice systems, he said.

Praising Mr Klaaste's novel concept and fresh initiative, Mr Jolyon Nuttall, manager of *The Star*, told the gathering the essence of the nation building idea was a challenge to blacks to eliminate fears among the whites.

SA profs meet Soviets, ANC

OWN Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Talks between a delegation of SA academics, Soviet experts on Africa and the ANC start today just outside Cologne

Dr Philip Nel, director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, said the talks reinforced the view that the Soviet Union could play a constructive role in national conciliation in SA

The ANC and Soviet delegations were expected to arrive in Cologne today

Sixteen academics from SA left for Cologne on Friday. The group is led by Idasa directors, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine. Included are Stellenbosch academics Prof Willie Breytenbach, Prof Hennie Kotze, Prof Sampie Terreblanche, Prof Gerhard Erasmus and Prof Jannie Gagiano, Prof Lawrence Schlemmer and Mr Mark Swilling of Wits, Prof Deon Geldenhuys and Ms Susan Booysen of RAU, and Prof Herman Gilhomee from UCT

Also taking part are Mr John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan

The Soviet representatives include Africa expert Mr Appolon Davidson, Mr M Zavgorodny and Mr N Tetokum of the Soviet Capital Solidarity Committee, an influential think-tank on Soviet-African policy

The ANC delegation is understood to include top-ranking ANC members

Craven urges Luyt not to quit over row

DR DANIE CRAVEN will tell Dr Louis Luyt not to quit over the row in rugby circles after last week's talks with the ANC.

Dr Craven, the president of the South African Rugby Board (SARB), told Sapa he would make the appeal to Dr Luyt, the president of the Transvaal Rugby Union

Dr Luyt accompanied Dr Craven to Harare for talks with the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Rugby Union (SARU)

Dr Luyt said last week, that he would quit if opinion in the SARB was against the talks

Dr Craven, who is in Santiago, where he chaired the first meeting of a proposed joint South African-South American rugby body to be known as the Gondwana union, also said it was already evident that the government was going to react sharply to anything the SARB did on behalf of South African sport, even though it was powerless to do anything itself.

He said the ANC would contact satellites of the Organisation of African Unity such as the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa "and international bodies" to argue the case for sports like rugby and soccer to be readmitted to international competition, provided these sports became truly integrated

President P W Botha and the Minister of Education, Mr F W de Klerk, have both attacked the rugby board for talking to the ANC

Mr De Klerk met with the board's executive last week after the talks

Yesterday the SARU met the executive committee of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos)

Sacos said afterwards that reports of the SARU splitting from Sacos were "malicious and totally unfounded" — Sapa

SA academics, Soviets hold talks

TALKS between a delegation of SA academics, Soviet experts on Africa and the ANC start today near Cologne in West Germany.

Philip Nel, director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch University, has described the talks as reinforcing the view that the Soviet Union could play a constructive role in national conciliation in SA.

Sixteen academics from SA left for Cologne on Friday. The group is led by Idasa directors, Van Zyl Slabbert and

Alex Boraine, and includes Stellenbosch academics Willie Breytenbach, Hennie Kotze, Sampie Terreblanche, Gerhard Erasmus and Jannie Gagiano; Lawrence Schlemmer and Mark Swilling of Wits; Deon Geldenhuys and Susan Booysen of RAU; and Herman Giliomee from UCT.

Also taking part are John Barratt, of the Institute of International Affairs, and NDM leader Wynand Malan.

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B. Day (11A) 24/10/88
GLEN SHELTON

We are closer than ever, claims Winnie

By Lloyd Coultts

Mrs Winnie Mandela has dissociated herself from a statement regarding her marriage to Mr Nelson Mandela, purportedly made by her and carried by weekend newspapers yesterday

Mrs Mandela said in a statement to *The Star* yesterday "I dissociate myself completely from the statement published in the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Star* purporting to come from me about the state of my marriage

"I owe no one an explanation about a relationship as personal and as sacred as my marriage Nelson and I are closer today than on the day of our wedding"

The statement published at the weekend was supposedly issued by the Mandela family lawyers in reaction to a

Reuters report which claimed the marriage was in trouble

But Mr Ismail Ayob, the family attorney, denied all knowledge of the report

The statement allegedly made by Mrs Mandela denied that there was tension in her marriage

"Mrs Mandela denied that there were any problems in their marriage and stated that Mr Mandela would say the same had he the opportunity to do so," the statement said

Mrs Mandela took issue with an October 15 Reuters report on her visit to her husband in a Cape Town clinic.

The report quoted sources close to the Mandela family as saying there were tensions between Mr Mandela and his wife regarding political statements made by her

WHILE our rivals and some of our detractors wish to make believe that nation-building is a flash-in-the-pan idea by a new Editor anxious to sell newspapers, or perhaps his name, I can say without equivocation that the idea took years to manifest itself. This manifestation was in fact the result of a combination of personal political historical and existential factors that have impacted on my life — and I daresay the

THIS is a copy of a speech the Editor of the Sowetan, Mr Aggrey Klaaste gave at the inaugural Nation Building at Shareworld on Friday

Thinking behind nation building

life of young Sam Mabe — for 30 years. In other words this is no obscurantist idea. It is no fly-by-night notion plucked from the air. The timing for it is, frankly profound.

Nation building is many things. In the final analysis it is something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought and in the crucial role that blacks will play in this country's future. But let me speak for myself. I am 48 years old and have lived through 40 years of National Party Rule. It has been a daunting experience full of despair, small triumphs of helplessness, tempestuous bouts of anger, grief and very little hope.

I have lived likewise through three historical watersheds in the country's history: Sharpeville, March 21, 1960; Soweto, June 16, 1976, and September 4, 1984 onwards. I have been chastened by these events, as they showed me singly and jointly the best and the worst in the human experience. As a journalist — almost this entire period — I have been placed somewhere near the centre of these events.

After Sharpeville 1960 the first paradigm towards a phenomenon I have been able to identify began. After the first shock of the tragedy we were thrown into uncontrollable waves of anger, which anger was just as ruthlessly smashed by the State. The aftermath of the tragedy, which saw the banning of the ANC and PAC and the systematic destruction of almost all

political dissent, ushered in the process.

The newspapers, the artists, commentators and all opposition political organisations stridently decried the evils of the Government. Day after bitter day we wrote, spoke and acted out the evils of the apartheid system.

Unwittingly we were fanning and reinforcing the deep but impotent anger in the hearts of blacks. I am not saying there was anything wrong in that. It was a natural reaction. The uncanny thing is we were planting the seed for the next explosion.

In the meantime, the white communities were being told a rather different story. Lulled into a sense of false security by the Government and its powerful organs, white South Africa was made to believe everything was under control. Even those whites who have been close to the black struggle gave themselves a silent hug of comfort. Things were under control. The Government and its media reinforced his chimera. The people were told over and over again that the few radicals who had inflamed a gullible black population had been smashed.

The next terrible explosion happened 17

years later in 1976. This time the cost was much higher. People were seriously beginning to question the legitimacy of the apartheid system. Our children caught most of the flak and became the heroes and martyrs of the struggle. It hurt and hurt badly. Once again the media and the opposition political organisations saw it as their duty to fan the silent flames systematically for the next round.

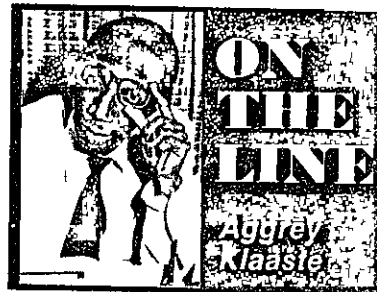
Once again the white community was told things were under control. Law and Order only needed to be put in place for life to hum cheerfully forth. A few businessmen, perhaps bothered by plain self-interest perhaps out of badly battered consciences, decided to do something. The thinking then was to form a black middle-class, a kind of buffer between the raging masses and the whites. But generally the delusion was being perpetrated that this this killing of children was also just another historical aberration. That if something was done quickly to patch up the cracks all would be well.

Blacks lost many things. Worst of all we lost the innocence of our children. We also lost their respect for us.

The scars of 1976 were on the way to being healed when the next conflagration struck with phenomenal intensity. This was September 1984. After that it became clear to me that something desperate something unusually creative would have to be initiated.

It took the security forces and the police a longish time to deal with the violence unleashed in 1984 and onwards. They looked on with sadistic fascination as the black community was seemingly engaged in tearing itself apart.

That hurt as well and the scars are still raw. Some of that insanity is still being played out in



the shades of the lovely hillsides of Natal.

As if we were a nation accursed, there is a swing to the right in white politics which is perhaps as frightening as the necklace phenomenon of the 80s. It is, in its own appalling crudity, fanning race hatred. Apartheid is not dead at all. No, it is about to stalk the streets of our townships in all its dreadful menace.

There is therefore a holding of the angry breath in the black community. It is probably unconscious, but I can feel it in my bones. There is the silent preparation from blacks for the next inevitable explosion.

Quite clearly somebody has to do something to stop this madness. Or at least cushion the blow if or when it will fall. This has decided us on the Sowetan as a result of our reading of our history of our experiences that we should dramatically shift the focus.

If you will allow me a little diversion into history. It was Dr Nkumeh Nkrumah who in the hey-days of African independence from colonialism exhorted black leaders to seek first the political kingdom. There was a flaw there which has become reality with the wisdom of hindsight.

For one African country after the other got its independence in the exhilarating days of Uhuru. And just as inexplicably nation after nation tumbled. There

were coups aplenty and the continent ran red with blood.

That lesson taught me that the getting of the political kingdom was not the means to an end. Political kingdoms do not stand up on their own, pristine exultant as a galvanising abstraction. They are also not the result only of politicising and rhetoric. Political kingdoms to be effective, lasting and particularly democratic need all sorts of power structures to underpin them. They need a back-up of strong people who have clout economically, who have clout academically, who have strength to recognise the value of a free press who have a spiritual or religious foundation. Such kingdoms sadly also need a strong defence system, a respectable system of justice, a strong security system.

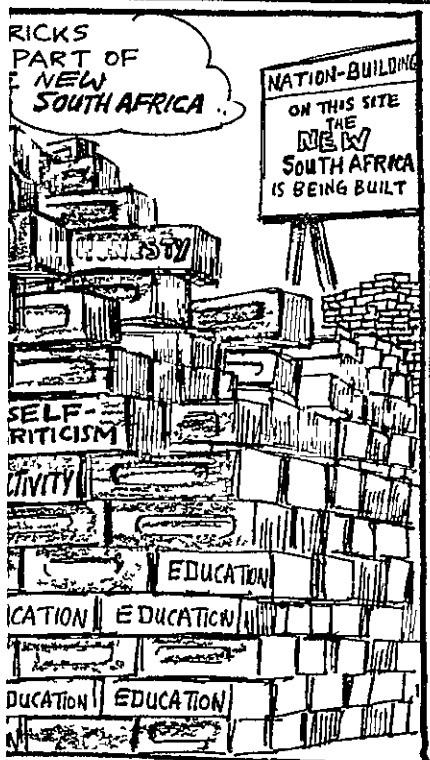
By some strange quirk of history the National Party when it came into power in 1948 seemed to have a sense of this.

The Afrikaners before 1948 were a despised in fact an oppressed people. Their lives were perhaps as filled with suffering as the lives of blacks in the colonised states of the continent. Perhaps just a little better than the despicable situation in the lives of black South Africans. The Afrikaners became aware they had a poor white problem and dealt with it. Their thinkers had a Calvinist almost Germanic zeal which was fortunately for them alive to the fact that the political kingdom gathers most of its strength from subsidiary or parallel power structures.

They placed people in key positions in the church, in the Broederbond in business, and finally in their political organisations. They built a powerful Volk, no doubt about that.

But in building such a powerful people, a people that has been able to misrule this country

• To Page 7



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Building the nation

(1A)

Sowetan 24/10/88

(2)

• From Page 6
for 40 years, they made one fatal mistake They forgot the rest of us Not only that, they hurt us

Today that injury to Blacks and others, that total contempt for the humanity of others is reaping the whirlwind

While the anger from the dispossessed is becoming simply too powerful to ignore, the monolith of Afrikanerdom is cracking That has taught us, the nation builders, another bitter lesson For if the Afrikaners had done all the things they did to build themselves, done them for all of us, for South Africa, they would have been in a comfortable leadership position today That, I believe, is the crux of the matter

I have written somewhere that it is increasingly becoming the responsibility of blacks to help this country from certain ruitation It is our responsibility because it is also our country, and we are after all in the majority Even more pertinently, we have something within us, something not easily definable that makes us

equal to saving this country and perhaps the world

It stirs in the very depths of my soul, the certainty that blacks have a unique and remarkable humanity called *ubuntu* that others do not have We have this indescribable ethic, to forgive and to forget

We would thus be able, after the reconstruction of collapsed power structures, to do the good things, not for ourselves, but for all South Africans The Afrikaners are hoist with their own historical petard They encumbered their people with a baggage of race supremacy, an almost passionate claim to the ownership of this land, and overlordship eternally over blacks They taught this in their schools, through their religion, and by propaganda They kept on massaging what should have been badly bruised consciences by pointing to the general debacle in the continent

Not that South African blacks helped to nullify this stereotype We tend to act like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde One

moment we are bowed, scraping slaves, happy to lick the Baas' hand The next thing we are engaged in unbelievable acts of violence And more irrationally against ourselves How could the average white person have confidence, nay respect for such people?

The Afrikaner *broedertwis* has become a reality The Afrikaners have revolted against the so-called reform process In their eyes this is first a sharing of the spoils of a powerful country they believe was built solely through Afrikaner sweat and blood, and in the end the fear of handing over to violent blacks They will have no truck with that And who can blame them Thus the Conservative Party and other radicals to the right

The more dangerous thing is they are a very frightened people For this reason we, on the *Sowetan*, have studied the danger signs and something just had to be done

Another little diversion On some of my travels I was told by worried black South African expatriates they were tired of protest politics, of the one impotent continual cry against oppression By some coincidence many of us feel exactly that way

I know what it is like to be in exile It is an emotional, physical and spiritual laceration of the very soul to be unable to get back home I said Nation Building is profoundly tumeous for I fear some of my compatriots inside the country have also become battle-weary We are tired especially that the cost in every upheaval is heavy on us

So everything seems to indicate there has got to be another movement spurred on But what should it be?

(To be continued tomorrow)

SA may take the place of USSR as the world's 'bogey man'

Talking glasnost seriously

Reform in the Soviet Union might mean that those South Africans who previously feared that Moscow controls the ANC can now possibly start hoping that this is the case, according to senior University of Pretoria law lecturer Mr Christof Heyns.

Mr Heyns, who recently returned from attending an International Bar Association conference in Russia, said it was foreseeable that the USSR, and the US could in the near future join ranks in applying pressure against South Africa.

Speaking at a public meeting in Johannesburg last week, Mr Heyns said "If glasnost and perestroika is only a publicity stunt, it must be the most successful publicity stunt of this century, because it has created the worldwide perception that the USSR is finally changing."

Mr Heyns said at the meeting, organised by Lawyers for Human Rights, that South Africa must accept the possibility of increased orchestrated pressure from the USSR and US. He said his fears that this could happen were confirmed after speaking to an American on the flight back from Leningrad.

It is foreseeable that the Soviet Union and the United States could in the near future join ranks in applying pressure against South Africa, says University of Pretoria law lecturer, Mr Christof Heyns, who recently returned from a conference in the USSR. **TIM COHEN** reports

Star 25/10/88

"I mentioned to him, more or less in jest, that it was in a sense a pity Russia was reforming. I said to him that the world needs a bogey man, someone against whom James Bond can fight."

The American replied "Don't worry too much, we've still got South Africa." Mr Heyns said the conference dealt with East-West trade, "which is a manifestation of perestroika or economic restructuring", and with human rights, "which is in essence a manifestation of glasnost".

Regarding economic restructuring, Mr Heyns said, state enterprises could now engage directly in trade with foreign partners, which meant that the foreign trade monopoly had been suspended.

State enterprises were also now responsible for their own budget and were therefore obliged to make a profit. In order to do so they could now diversify their payment of employees,

and if they failed to make a profit they could go bankrupt, Mr Heyns said. "The emphasis is now on reaching a certain quality, not on supplying certain pre-established quantities."

"One often cited example of the consequence of not manufacturing quality products is that more than 50 percent of household fires in Moscow are caused by locally made, exploding television sets.

He said one aspect of the pursuit of quality was to de-control prices. One participant at the conference remarked "At present the ruble is more a unit of accountancy than a reflection of worth."

Mr Heyns said one of the less well-known but possibly more far-reaching economic reforms was that associations of Soviet lawyers, called co-operatives, could now also manufacture goods and supply services. "More than 20 000 such co-operatives, which in effect compete with state enterprises,

have already been registered." "The cherry on the cake, however, has been that these private co-operatives have also been allowed to engage in joint ventures with Western corporations."

The second part of the conference dealt with human rights and this section was dominated by the question of the estimated 25 000 Jews in Russia who are not allowed to leave the country.

He said a professor from Jerusalem and the head of the visa department of the USSR participated in a discussion on the right to leave one's country.

"The mere fact that they were prepared to talk about this is in itself already an advancement, but the reasons the Soviets provide for their action remain incomprehensibly high-handed and in fact, if the situation was not so tragic, laughable."

He said one reason given was that Jewish families would be broken up. Another was that while in Russia all citizens were provided with social services, the Soviets said they would have no guarantee that their citizens would also be well looked after in other countries.

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FOCUS: DEBATING OUR FUTURE

OSCAR D DHLOMO
Secretary General, Inkatha

THERE is a striking resemblance in the way the African National Congress has introduced its Constitutional Guidelines and the way the National Party normally introduces so-called constitutional reform.

Both parties apparently subscribe to the "top-down" approach whereby the ruling clique unilaterally decides on the proposed constitutional reforms and then invites the rest of the population to comment on them.

As someone who subscribes to the "bottom-up" approach in constitutional affairs, I feel I must state this reservation from the beginning. The "top-down" approach in constitutional affairs is manifestly undemocratic and can never yield a broadly acceptable constitutional settlement.

The ANC apparently favours a strong centralised state which would not allow for maximum devolution of powers to lower lines of government. Although the principle of devolution is accepted, one gains the impression this would be minimal.

The idea of a rigidly centralised state arises out of the belief that it is such a state that is able to effectively tackle the inequalities in our society and eradicate remaining pockets of apartheid. While this is a noble idea worthy of support it is likely to lead to social conflict. At worst it could lead to less and not more participatory democracy.

I support the principle of universal suffrage based on the principle of one man one vote. This is the universal demand of the black majority. However, I hope the ANC is aware of other possibilities in this regard should it be called upon by concerned minorities to consider alternative options. I have in mind such voting procedures as proportional representation.

In the Bill of Rights section of the Guidelines I have problems with clause (K). It is quite clear that under this clause ANC rulers could conduct a witchhunt against those organisations they disapprove of.

Even today some ANC spokesmen wrongly claim Inkatha promotes tribalism and/or ethnicity. Here is another similarity with the National Party which introduced the Suppression of Communism Act and then went on to describe a communist as anyone who disagreed with National Party policies. Under this clause a racist or



PIECING TOGETHER A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

The ANC has issued a set of 'constitutional guidelines for a Democratic South Africa', intended as a starting point for debate about a non-racial South Africa. Since political debate in this country seldom tackles the practicalities of a post-apartheid society, the Weekly Mail used the opportunity to ask a wide range of organisations to comment on the ANC guidelines. Not all responded, but a broad enough spectrum did. Their replies are printed on the following pages.

tribalist could easily be anyone who disagrees with ANC policies.

If the ANC claims it supports a multi-party democracy then it should allow all parties to operate freely and trust the electorate as ultimate judges. Interestingly nothing is said in clause (K) about the advocacy of revolution

to overthrow a legitimate future ANC state. If there is need to outlaw anything I would have thought the advocacy of revolution would be the principal candidate.

Once again the ANC envisages far reaching and unrestrained state intervention in the regulation of economic

life. There is, however, a welcome change in the ANC's economic thinking in that nationalisation, as a mechanism for the redistribution of wealth, has been dropped. One appreciates this state intervention will be aimed mainly at affirmative action and not at stifling private initiative.

While I appreciate the victims of forced removals need to be considered first in any land reform exercise, I feel it is also important to consider the case of peasant farmers. Land reforms in countries like Zimbabwe have demonstrated how peasant farmers, if given adequate land, resources and know-how, can be a vital factor in the country's economy.

It is clear the ANC does not envisage the creation of a "workers' republic" in its future state. The rights

proposed for workers are not different from those afforded workers in democratic countries. I support clause (V) without any reservations.

The guidelines are too scanty on any detailed and effective evaluation. There are nevertheless, a few omissions.

• The geographic boundaries of the ANC state are not defined. Is it a unitary state or a confederation of "independent" states of the TB axis? If so, how will these states with their reasonably well-equipped and trained armies, be brought into the unitary state?

• While recognition is accorded to linguistic rights, nothing is said about the official language(s), the name, flag or the anthem of the new state.

• It would also have been interesting to observe what titles are envisaged for senior state leaders. Are we talking about a republic with an executive president or a government headed by a prime minister with a ceremonial president?

• With reference to the franchise clauses, no indication of voting age is given.

• It is not clear whether the ANC version of a "unitary state" actually excludes the federal option. There is a school of thought in politics which would argue a federal state can in fact be regarded as unitary.

Giving evidence before the House of Commons Committee of Foreign Relations about a year or two ago, ANC publicity director Thabo Mbeki is on record as saying the ANC would consider a federal option provided the federal units (or states) were geographically, and not racially designated. Incidentally this has been Inkatha's position for over 10 years.

There is no doubt the ANC's attempt at drafting a future constitution has been a worthwhile one. The constitution decidedly tilts the balance towards centrist politics where the majority of political groupings in South Africa are to be found, where the constitutional future of the country will be decided.

WHAT IT SAYS: Full text of the ANC's 'Constitutional Guidelines'

THE STATE
(A) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.
(B) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.
(C) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.
(D) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.
FRANCHISE
(E) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote.
(F) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and to be elected to all legislative bodies.
NATIONAL IDENTITY
(G) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national

identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.
BILL OF RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
(H) The Constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement.
(I) The state and all social institutions shall be under constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.
(J) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.
(K) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.
(L) Subject to clauses (I) and (K) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press.
Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to

work and guarantee the right to education and social security.
(M) All parties which conform to the provision of (I) to (K) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.
ECONOMY
(N) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population.
(O) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity.
(P) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to cooperate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.
(Q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.
(R) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small scale family activities shall be supported by the state.
(S) The state shall promote the acquisition of management, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.
(T) Property for personal use and

consumption shall be constitutionally protected.
LAND
(U) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues:
Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land.
Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals.
WORKERS
(V) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution.
WOMEN
(W) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes.
THE FAMILY
(X) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.
INTERNATIONAL
(Y) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the OAU and the Charter of the UN and to the achievement of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.

ZACH DE BEER
Progressive Federal Party

THERE is no doubt the African National Congress's 1988 Constitutional Guidelines suggest a meaningful modernisation and improvement of the original Freedom Charter

The original document certainly contained a good many statements with which any democrat would agree (such as "no one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial")

But it also included the well-known passages about transferring "mineral wealth, banks and monopoly industry" to the "people as a whole", which have always been unacceptable to those who believe in a free economy as part of a free society

Furthermore, liberals have always been uncomfortable with the section on politics which omitted any reference to a Bill of Rights or to multi-party democracy.

The new document goes a considerable distance towards meeting these problems

Paragraph (H) specifically provides for a Bill of Rights Paragraph (M) appears to ensure multi-party democracy, though its interpretation needs clarification Paragraph (Q) does at least make explicit provision for a private sector, though it requires a great deal of precise formulation

The statement of principles is accompanied by a preamble, which also makes very interesting reading

There are phrases and sentences in it which one can welcome warmly thus "The constitution must also be such as to promote the habits of non-racial and non-sexist thinking, the practice of anti-racist behaviour and the acquisition of genuinely shared patriotic consciousness"

It is too often forgotten that a constitution is or can be more than a basic law it can also be a powerful tool for shaping a society and giving it cohesion.

On the other hand, the preamble also contains a reference to "rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth"

Now it is easy to understand and to sympathise with the feeling behind this proposition; but we would not be able to support a programme which stopped or reversed the process of economic growth, since that would be contrary to the interests of all the people of our country At the very least, we would need to debate the proposed economic programme very thoroughly before we could consider agreeing with it

Returning to the guidelines themselves, it is noteworthy that they rigorously specify a unitary state, with one central legislature

I can find no corresponding provision in the original charter I imagine, but do not know for sure, that this new formulation is a reaction to the behaviour of some white politicians who have abused the term "federation" to describe various race-based conceptions

Our party is committed to federation in its normal sense, that is a geographical decentralisation of certain government powers to states or provinces, as in the United States, Canada or Australia. We would need a lot of persuasion to make us drop this in favour of a centralised state.

I have said enough to indicate that,

THE TWO AREAS WHICH

IT is good to see recognition being given to the independence of courts in the African National Congress's Constitutional Guidelines, but there are two important things we do not know yet

One is that we do not know the "exclusions" or the circumstances under which rights can be suspended

Many states allow for rights but allow for them to be excluded under certain circumstances, for example a State of Emergency A lot depends on how easily exclusions can be invoked

The second issue is what jurisdiction the courts will have

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It's an dlock

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Worm's Eye
Steven Friedman

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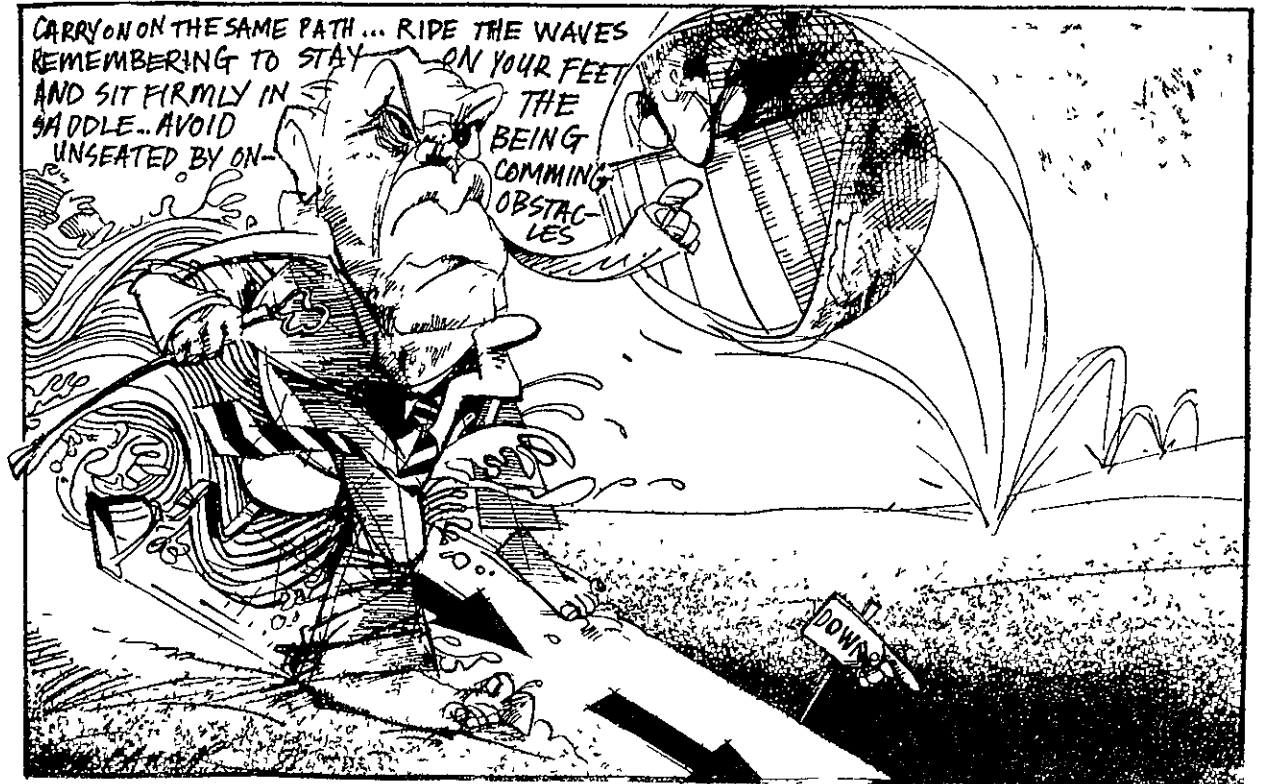
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DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



LETTERS

Before you span Johnson, consider your own 'fix'

THE shock disclosure that Ben Johnson's record-breaking run was artificially aided is symptomatic of a "drugged" society

He wasn't the first to be caught and won't be the last, showing that the situation is the product of a larger force putting pressure on the athletes

Why it surfaces at the Olympics is obvious The eyes of the world's "couch potatoes" are focused on Seoul

Induced by enormous quantities of money and praise, sportspeople frantically train to shave seconds and milliseconds off records that won't stand for too long afterwards

They bask in glory for fleeting moments while their "critics", whose only exercise is to stretch for the next beer or handful of chips, berate and debate for hours the evil they have witnessed

They feel "cheated" because their heroes only got there by taking drugs, forgetting the years of training, dedication and sacrifice

I don't condone the taking of steroids to improve athletic performance — but I do object to instant bandwagon-jumping by spectators

The very people who rush to the liquor cabinet or dressing-table to improve their "performance" in the boardroom or bedroom are guilty of the same deception

In addition, athletes have only a few years to show their prowess — after which they are left only with yellowing newspaper photos and video reruns

Before we pass judgment on those who are giving us sporting history, and enormous pleasure in the process, let's not forget that we have longer to make our mark in society, without people having our every second D Lubner, Johannesburg

WHEN you lace on your shoes for your training run, and set off on your chosen route for an hour or two of exhilaration and freedom, spare a thought for those who can't join you

There are about 1 000 people in South Africa who are in detention without prospect of a trial About 200 of them have been held for more than two years They comprise children, youth, women and men from all walks of life and all communities

Life in detention is dreary But there is one time of the day when the boredom and loneliness can be joyfully cast off — every detainee is entitled to one hour's exercise, in the open air, if facilities are available

But there is a problem Most detainees can't afford a pair of running shoes

Join us in giving support to the organisation called Detainees' Education and Welfare (Dew) They provide detainees with track-suits, educational materials, food parcels and small amounts of money for toiletries Their limited resources do not stretch to the expense of running shoes

Are you like us, with two or three

into question the behaviour of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa)

Although it is far from clear that the ANC would be any less authoritarian than PW Botha and Co (such lack of clarity being largely due to censorship), Idasa persists in giving its platform to unrepentant Marxists and their like, to the virtual exclusion of those who favour more democratic ideals

Is Idasa — as its name implies — interested in democracy, or is its hidden agenda for South Africa something

along the lines of the people's republics of Tanzania, Ethiopia or Mozambique?

Isn't it time it invited significant numbers of liberals to its seminars? B Vosloo, Leaville

I DISAGREE with the theory of community video set out in Gaye Davis' report (Weekly Mail, September 30-October 6) It is wrong to assume that ideological purity alone makes for good video

Many community videos are travesties of communication, reflecting in their structure an archaic Maoism that owes more to the catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution than anything else

With their wobbly zooms, random focus, curious colour and incoherent soundtracks, they are of a piece with consigning ballerinas to the paddy fields and swineherds to the stage of the Peking Grand Opera

The fact of the matter is this community videos share two characteristics with home movies — their constructions lacks skill and their relevance and interest is limited to the participants and their immediate families

Like it or not, a high level of craft is essential Anything else is an insult to viewers

La luta will never continua with the lens cap on David Basckin, Durban

AS someone who has had no personal ties with Michaelhouse, I take strong exception to its description as "a bastion of exquisitely manicured exclusivity" in your Education Focus (Weekly Mail, September 23-29)

In June last year, about 270 pupils and staff from all over South Africa assembled at the school for four days in what was a totally non-racial gathering to consider the theme "South Africa — my role in its future"

In June this year, 230 pupils gathered at Hilton College for a second symposium on the theme "Unity through education" It was organised by the Michaelhouse African Affairs Society

These were not isolated events in the life of an otherwise exclusive society Indeed, I believe that Michaelhouse is doing more than most private schools to promote social change inside and outside its own community Deane Yates, Houghton

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023 Shorter letters will be given preference The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space

ZACH DE BEER
Progressive Federal Party

THERE is no doubt the African National Congress's 1988 Constitutional Guidelines suggest a meaningful modernisation and improvement of the original Freedom Charter

The original document certainly contained a good many statements with which any democrat would agree (such as "no one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial")

But it also included the well-known passages about transferring "mineral wealth, banks and monopoly industry" to the "people as a whole", which have always been unacceptable to those who believe in a free economy as part of a free society

Furthermore, liberals have always been uncomfortable with the section on politics which omitted any reference to a Bill of Rights or to multi-party democracy

The new document goes a considerable distance towards meeting these problems

Paragraph (H) specifically provides for a Bill of Rights Paragraph (M) appears to ensure multi-party democracy, though its interpretation needs clarification Paragraph (Q) does at least make explicit provision for a private sector, though it requires a great deal of precise formulation

The statement of principles is accompanied by a preamble, which also makes very interesting reading

There are phrases and sentences in it which one can welcome warmly thus "The constitution must also be such as to promote the habits of non-racial and non-sexist thinking, the practice of anti-racist behaviour and the acquisition of genuinely shared patriotic consciousness"

It is too often forgotten that a constitution is or can be more than a basic law it can also be a powerful tool for shaping a society and giving it cohesion

On the other hand, the preamble also contains a reference to "rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth"

Now it is easy to understand and to sympathise with the feeling behind this proposition, but we would not be able to support a programme which stopped or reversed the process of economic growth, since that would be contrary to the interests of all the people of our country At the very least, we would need to debate the proposed economic programme very thoroughly before we could consider agreeing with it

Returning to the guidelines themselves, it is noteworthy that they rigorously specify a unitary state, with one central legislature

I can find no corresponding provision in the original charter I imagine, but do not know for sure, that this new formulation is a reaction to the behaviour of some white politicians who have abused the term "federation" to describe various race-based conceptions

Our party is committed to federation in its normal sense, that is a geographical decentralisation of certain government powers to states or provinces, as in the United States, Canada or Australia. We would need a lot of persuasion to make us drop this in favour of a centralised state.

I have said enough to indicate that,

LOOKING TOWARDS A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

CONTINUED FROM OVERLEAF IN RESPONSES TO THE ANC'S CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES

prima facie, we could not agree to the guidelines But, happily, the preamble makes it clear that what is sought is "extensive and democratic debate" about them In that we could certainly participate

What is more, I think the present South African government should be prepared to participate also

I conclude by repeating what we have often said jailed and banned leaders should be set free, peaceful political activity should be permitted, and genuine negotiations on the future constitution of South Africa should take place

I doubt very much whether our government leaders have the courage to do this, but do it they should

CASSIM SALOOJEE & FIROZ CACHALIA
Transvaal Indian Congress

THE Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) shares a long history, a programmatic position and an ideology with the ANC, though their legal status differs Our response to the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines will, therefore, be different in substance and in tenor from others because it comes from "within"

However, our interpretation is not a representative statement of the internal congress movement as a whole The guidelines have stimulated vigorous debate within our organisations and opinions will differ

ANC has, for a long time, resisted pressures to formulate "blueprints" However, the old order in South Africa is disintegrating and we have entered a transition period, the outcome of which is uncertain This has made it vital to visualise the nature of post-apartheid society more concretely and to advance practical proposals

In this context, we welcome the ANC's intervention Its guidelines situate the organisation more clearly in the political spectrum, and provide a framework for debate

The existing apartheid state is widely recognised as illegitimate and a basic source of political crisis and social strife It is appropriate, therefore, that the guidelines begin with proposals for the radical re-ordering of the state

The strong element of centralism in the proposals is necessary to encourage the formation of a national identity The apartheid state and the race-politics of the National Party have perpetuated tribal and ethnic identities and encouraged racial chauvinism and division A strong, non-racial state will be a creative instrument of national reconciliation

At the same time, as the proposals

A view from Pretoria

The GOVERNMENT VIEW, as published in a new booklet by the Bureau for Information

IN direct contrast to its revolutionary and violent nature, the ANC in the recent past has increasingly emphasised political initiatives It has even shown a willingness to negotiate with the South African government — albeit only to negotiate the government's surrendering of power

The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines are part of this change in style They can create the impression that the ANC has now adopted a liberal stance and even altered its course

The question arises Are the recent ANC initiatives not merely tactical moves to attain the objective of a total take-over of power more rapidly?

There are three main reasons for the ANC's change of style

- Pressure from the West As the ANC's acts of terror in South Africa increased, resistance towards the organisation gradually developed in the West By modifying its image — but without renouncing violence — it attempted to secure continued Western support

- Admission of military set-backs The ANC's commitment to new political initiatives should be evaluated against the admission by its president, Oliver Tambo, that it has suffered military setbacks

- The application of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in South Africa The ANC's new initiative may be seen as the local application of the new Soviet policy One should bear in mind that Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev once again expressed his support for the ANC in May, the SA Communist Party (SACP) is traditionally a servile supporter of the Soviet Union, the SACP accepted the ANC's Freedom Charter as its plan of action in the short term, and the ANC leadership consists mainly of active SACP supporters

In the same way that Gorbachev achieved success with his new policy strategies, the ANC also hopes to gain advantage by presenting itself as a moderate alternative

However, just as Gorbachev frankly declared that *glasnost* and *perestroika* do not mean he is departing from his basic ideology but that through these strategies he is actually attempting to pursue it more effectively, so the ANC's new strategy does not mean it is turning away from terrorism and violence

This is the true significance of the ANC's political initiatives The real voice of the ANC is not represented by the honeyed words in its new political initiative, it may more accurately be heard in the bomb and limpet mine explosions in South Africa's cities

● This is an edited version of an article in the Bureau's *RSA Policy Review*, October 1988.



Dave Steward, Info man

churches, mosques, sports organisations, etc, may be constituted on a voluntary basis

Incidentally, we see no reason why Afrikaans churches, schools and cultural organisations should not continue to exist, provided only that access to them is not limited by racial criteria

Similarly, we would argue that the strong emphasis on centralism in the guidelines is qualified by Clause D, which aims at enhancing popular participation in all levels of government Clause B, which recommends a decentralisation of delegated powers to regional and local units, Clause M which commits the ANC to pluralism in the political sphere, and Clause X, which allows for the emergence of a legally-protected private sphere

In other words, the guidelines envisage a state which is both national and democratic

The guidelines contain no detailed recommendations for a reordering of legal institutions, though the content of the law will necessarily undergo detailed changes in a post-apartheid South Africa

The proposals do contain a Bill of Rights, and we welcome this The Bill that has been proposed has strong emphasis on "second generation rights", or economic and social rights, and on the duty of the state to eliminate race discrimination and social and economic inequalities

Such a Bill could well serve as an important instrument for guaranteeing effective rights to the majority of the population while ensuring that necessary socio-economic changes take place in an orderly way and within legal framework

It is not clear, however, whether the ANC sees the Bill as embodying "fundamental rights" or how such rights would be enforced There is no mention also of "due-process" rights which should be included in a Bill of Rights

The key challenge we are facing is to ensure that change takes place without destroying our productive infrastructure, indeed that it takes place in a way that facilitates further development

We must ensure, further, that through economic development, society as a whole advances and that — eliminate the crushing poverty — stifling ignorance so many are condemned to today The current enthusiasm in ruling circles for privatisation and *laissez-faire* (mirrored in their equally strong fascination for the macabre achievements of the Chinese generals) promises only growing gloom for the majority

We are hopeful that the forms of economic restructuring contemplated

recognise, the new post-apartheid South Africa can only be built on the basis of recognition of rights to cultural and linguistic expression

There is some confusion on this in the Left It is sometimes wrongly assumed that differentiated cultural identities are necessarily divisive, and a manifestation of "false consciousness" It is true that cultural identities have been manipulated by the NP for reactionary ends, but it does not necessarily follow that they are the unique product of separate development

Indeed, they have a separate existence and have positive elements

The concept of group rights is rejected — implicitly, not explicitly — in the ANC proposals Cultural

forms do not "belong" to any ascriptively defined group They are a universal human product The rights to culture and linguistic expression are therefore an aspect of individual rights and the rights of freely associated individuals

They cannot and should not form the basis of claims to special privileges and powers

This raises other important issues Some may contend that the proposals are not sufficiently sensitive to the dangers that arise from the centralisation of authority A closer examination of the guidelines shows that this is not so The recognition of rights to free cultural and linguistic expression implies a separation between the state and civil society, a sphere in which

THE TWO AREAS WHICH REMAIN UNCLEAR ... A LAW EXPERT'S VIEW

IT is good to see recognition being given to the independence of courts in the African National Congress's Constitutional Guidelines, but there are two important things we do not know yet

One is that we do not know the "exclusions" or the circumstances under which rights can be suspended

Many states allow for rights but allow for them to be excluded under certain circumstances, for example a State of Emergency A lot depends on how easily exclusions can be invoked

The second issue is what jurisdiction the courts will have

We have independent courts in

South Africa at this time but their jurisdiction has been greatly reduced

It is not clear whether, in terms of these proposals, the ANC intends the courts to have full jurisdiction over basic rights or not

The mere existence of courts does not go the whole way — they must have jurisdiction to enforce these rights against officials

I make the next point with hesitation as it is the tricky issue of "groups" in a new South Africa and the extent to which groups will be recognised

I know that in the past the ANC has said groups would not be politically relevant.

Tony Matthews
Constitutional Law expert, University of Natal

That is because group politics has created the present grotesque situation in South Africa and people want this put behind them Any attempt to continue privilege through groups is indefensible and I am not arguing for that

The point I want to make after this long preamble is that groups will be politically salient for a long time and will have to feature in a constitution through protection of minority

groups in some way if there is to be full freedom

Exactly how would have to be discussed, but for example in China language groups can choose the language in which their children will be educated and the state pays for it If that kind of recognition is acceptable in China, I do not see why it could not happen in South Africa

We cannot simply wish away the existence of groups — the chief example of the futility of trying to do so is Northern Ireland, where the Protestant majority has given the Catholics no recognition as such in the constitution or political planning.

This is one of the reasons for the

continuation of conflict there. Allocating everyone the vote does not solve the problem In a majoritarian situation where the winner takes all, Catholics come off worst. They are specifically recognised in the political situation

Some countries have solved this difficulty by sharing offices or devices

While I am stressing the need to accommodate groups in some way, I must stress I am not arguing for the preservation of any undeserved recognition of any group and the argument has nothing to do with the grotesque situation we have constructed in this country



the guidelines will make it possible for us to harness our national material and human resources effectively to achieve developmental political and ethical goals

The guidelines envisage a mixed economy combining planning and market mechanisms, with the state having an important role as economic regulator. There remains considerable scope for debate on the precise mix.

We believe, for instance, that market relations should be restricted for social services. Basic food, clothing, shelter and even cultural matter and information are goods and services which should not depend on market/money relations.

On the other hand, in the immediate post-apartheid period, market mechanisms could be expanded in the "small business" sector.

And here, as the proposals indicate, expansion need not occur exclusively on the basis of wage labour co-operatives could play an important role, complementing state and private sector initiative.

In sum, it is neither feasible nor desirable to attempt to subsume all economic activity under a central plan. On the other hand, the market is no panacea.

This raises another subject of intense debate within the democratic movement: worker rights.

We fully endorse the ANC's express commitment to the concept of a Workers' Charter, protecting trade union rights and the right to strike. However, greater attention needs to be given to ways to expand the involvement of workers in decision-making within the production process.

economic programmes to organise and participate in regular elections.

The guidelines are essentially a programme for the establishment of a national democracy. This programme has been criticised within the broad extra-parliamentary movement by those advancing a more exclusivist nationalism (the "Africanists") and by "workerists" who claim to adopt a more purely socialist position.

However, it is not clear to us how their proposals for the political and economic restructuring of our society would differ in detail from those advanced in the guidelines. The PAC, for instance, has never committed itself to a denial of political rights for whites, and the "workerists" have never clarified whether they intend to abolish "commodity production" or private ownership.

South African liberalism is at best a selective appropriation of Western liberal/democratic traditions. While liberals have made a strong case for procedural rights, they have often been more than equivocal on the franchise issue. Attempts are continually being made to popularise constitutional mechanisms (minority vetoes, federation, etc) aimed at limiting the rights of the African majority.

The guidelines directly challenge liberals because they commit the ANC to a liberal/democratic constitution — with multi-party democracy, a Bill of Rights, equality before the law, etc.

The guidelines clarify the ANC position on a number of different issues, and as such must be welcome. They will no doubt appeal to a wide range of different constituencies.

This is a source of strength. To the

It unequivocally stated: "Following the capture of a portion of the African leadership of South Africa by a section of the leadership of the white ruling class, the masses of our people are in extreme danger of being deceived into losing sight of the objectives of our struggle."

"They regard as equals the master and his indigenous slave, the white exploiter and the African exploited. They are too incredibly naive and too fantastically unrealistic not to see that the interests of the subject people who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with those of the white ruling class."

The latest reformulation of the charter does not help us reconsider our basic quarrel with the deviation from the 1949 Programme of Action, the 40th anniversary of which we shall celebrate next year.

These "guidelines" continue to amplify the apparition that the charter is

It is not as if we had expected anything better but, disturbingly, the "guidelines" do not help ameliorate the self-defeating disunity and dangerous bickering among the oppressed and exploited which the Freedom Charter triggered and continues to perpetuate, thus delaying our freedom.

We shall continue to say

● Settler/colonialism can never be reformed — it must be eradicated. We cannot afford to appease the enemy.

● The vehicle for genuine change in Azania is and shall always be the oppressed and exploited African majority and not the settler regime. We cannot afford to marginalise the workers in this regard.

The current upsurge of this line of thinking inside Azania is a vindication of the correctness and relevance of our basic ideology aimed at achieving self-determination based on the principles of a non-racial and socialist democracy.

Robert Sobukwe said "Watch our movements keenly and if you see any signs of 'broad-mindedness' or 'reasonableness' in us, or if you hear us talk of practical experience as a modifier of man's views, denounce us as traitors to Africa."

The so-called constitutional guidelines therefore leave us cold.

tral government which will take all or almost all decisions.

Both want to devolve the execution of decisions to lower-ranking administrative bodies or in some cases elected bodies.

There is an indication under the description of how the franchise will work that the intention is to have more than one legislative body. Yet the impression is that these bodies will simply have to execute what has been decided centrally.

This amounts to a delegation of power and not a true devolution — and is not, particularly in a diverse society, democratic.

What is meant by the phrase "the institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed"?

It sounds ominously like yet another bit of prescription. Are we looking at ideological indoctrination or is there room for a normal shift to democratic principles which will come about with the process of urbanisation and modernisation?

In another area the ANC and the National Party tend to overlap in their approach.



Zach de Beer, PFP



Wynand Malan, NDM

WYNAND MALAN
National Democratic Movement

THE African National Congress's Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa represent a significant advance on the Freedom Charter in that they open up a wider debate.

Yet there are elements of prescription which are truly worrying.

To be applauded is the intention to promote a national identity and yet to recognise the cultural and linguistic diversity in the country. What is lacking here is a provision that this diversity will be protected.

Particularly pleasing is the recognition of the rights of women, workers and the family.

It is an advance that there will be a Bill of Rights. Now that the principle has been accepted a meaningful debate on the kind of human rights approach which is needed can be opened. As it stands in the guidelines, it is still very prescriptive.

There is understanding for the desire to eradicate all forms of racism and even to forbid political parties which have even a semblance of this. Yet this may very well prove to be counter-productive and lead to division.

There is no doubt that if we have reached the stage where guidelines such as these proposed by the ANC begin to become part of everyday life the community itself will not allow racism anymore. Better then not to proscribe this from above.

What is worrying about the ANC's guidelines is a certain similarity between them and some aspects of National Party thinking. Both groups think in prescriptive fashion and in concrete terms look to a strong cen-



Firoz Cachalia of the TIC

Pictures: AFRAPIX

The proposals express some conflicting objectives, which may not be simultaneously realisable. We are not certain, for instance, whether it is possible to secure full employment within economies which permit private ownership of productive property and which distribute the social product through the market. The experience of the Nordic countries may provide valuable lessons in this regard.

The development of technology and science makes it possible to build a society free of poverty and class inequalities. We are suspicious of arguments critical of race discrimination, but which consider economic inequalities as rational or inevitable.

There should be no doubt that socialist ideas are pervasive within the democratic movement. But we are committed to working to achieve economic and social goals peacefully and pragmatically within the framework of a democratic constitution which allows all political forces with different

extent that they make the construction of viable compromises possible, they improve the prospects of peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy.

● Saloojee is the TIC president; Cachalia is the publicity secretary.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA
Information Department

THE Pan Africanist Congress does not have the mandate or the time to debate a document the origin and authenticity of which remains unknown.

Nevertheless, we can point out that the PAC's historic comment on the Freedom Charter — and accordingly the African National Congress's latest version — was made succinctly and effectively when our organisation was launched on April 6, 1959.

The PAC then was and still is averse to clever talk or quibbling.

proposed for workers are not different from those afforded workers in democratic countries. I support clause (V) without any reservation.

The guidelines are too scanty on any detailed and effective evaluation. There are nevertheless, a few omissions.

● The geographic boundaries of the ANC state are not defined. Is it a unitary state or a confederation of "independent" states of the TB axis? If so, how will these states with their reasonably well-equipped and trained armies, be brought into the unitary state?

● While recognition is accorded linguistic rights, nothing is said about the official language(s), the name, flag or the anthem of the new state.

● It would also have been interesting to observe what titles are envisaged for senior state leaders. Are we talking about a republic with an elective president or a government headed by a prime minister with a ceremonial president?

● With reference to the franchise clauses, no indication of voting age is given.

● It is not clear whether the ANC version of a "unitary state" actually excludes the federal option. There is a school of thought in politics which would argue a federal state can in fact be regarded as unitary.

Giving evidence before the House of Commons Committee of Enquiry into the Relations about a year or two ago, ANC publicity director Thabo Mbeki is on record as saying the ANC would consider a federal option provided the federal units (or provinces) were geographically, and not ethnically designated. Incidentally this has been Inkatha's position for over 10 years.

There is no doubt the ANC's attempt at drafting a future constitution has been a worthwhile one. The constitution decidedly tilts the balance towards centrist politics where the majority of political groupings in South Africa are to be found, where the constitutional future of the country will be decided.

Forbes, Pandy wed in jail, but kept apart

AKUS 25/10/88

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By BRONWYN DAVIDS
Staff Reporter

ASHLEY Forbes, 24, convicted of terrorism, and Yasmina Pandy, 21, his former co-accused, have been married in a traditional Muslim ceremony in the maximum-security section of Pollsmoor Prison.

Miss Pandy's mother, Mrs Begum Pandy said: "They looked beautiful. The marriage was very moving but the sad part is that they can't be together."

Attended by relatives and friends, the ceremony, yesterday, was conducted by Sheik Nazeem Mohamed in a carpeted lounge.

Mrs Pandy said traditional wedding fare of chicken, salads, sweets, cakes and soft drinks was prepared by the Prisons Service.

"It was quite nice. Yasmina told them what she wanted and they ordered everything, which we paid for."

She said her daughter wore a white wedding gown with the traditional medourah head-dress and she carried a bouquet of white orchids.

Forbes wore a blue suit, white shirt, a silk scarf, a fez and an orchid in his buttonhole.

Mrs Pandy said her daughter would be released on Thursday after serving a six-month sentence for contempt of court.

Forbes, a second-year physical education student at the University of the Western Cape, is one of 14 on trial in the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

Pandy was acquitted of terrorism.

11A 25/10/88

The ideal: To build ourselves

IT has been risky. It has been very difficult to shift the focus from the political struggle

But we had to do something. It seemed to us with the fractious nature of black politics, even the vocabulary — for instance talk about black unity — had become jaded. We had to look for a new vocabulary. We had to be able to use that vocabulary in ways that would not lead to confrontation with a highly suspicious Government. We had also to develop a lateral type of thinking that would in the end lead to black unity. We thought of Nation Building. It is ideologically a neutral label. It also tells the majority of people who had retreated from political activity that they count.

And for heaven's sake how many good people are there even amongst us tonight who should by all definitions be accorded the label of leaders? In the end we are saying to our brothers and sisters who are actively involved in the struggle they need to build strong people. A strong following of thinkers and doers. Not simply a vast number of angry and plainly dangerous people.

We say the political kingdom will look after itself. It will look after itself particularly if it has

FOCUS

strong people behind it. We are saying instead of fanning the flames for the next explosion, implosion in fact, let us start the building now. I have a feeling in my bones that the next upheaval will surely lead to the wastelands. Everything tells me so. The economy is depressed, there are many frightened and unhappy people. All it needs is a match applied to the dynamite stick for things to blast off.

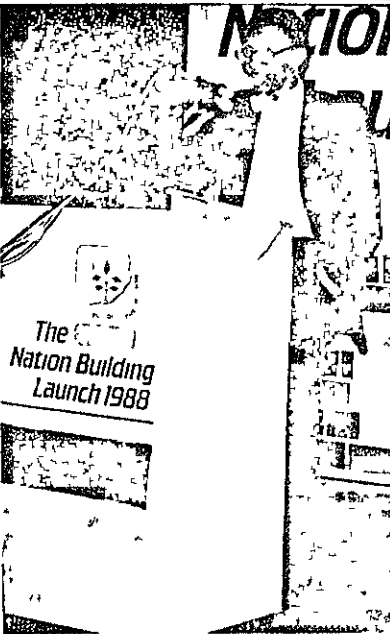
Politics

Why would you rightly ask why is it possible to do the building now? For many years we have quite naturally been obsessed by politics. We have said to ourselves, to our children significantly and to the world that the only leaders who are of consequence among us are the political leaders. That has been a shameful thing to do in many ways.

Those who are politically active had to bear all the attacks from the State. Many of them have died. Many of them are in exile. Many of them are in detention.

That is another reason my sons think my leading a newspaper is a particular singular

This is the second part of a speech delivered by the Editor of the **Sowetan** at the launch of the **Sowetan's Nation Building** at Shareworld on Friday.



MR AGGREY KLAASTE

irrelevance.

It has been difficult to work in the newspaper. Being near the centre of most crisis situations we have been asked many times to search for black leaders. We are asked in times of crisis *aphi amadoda*? Where are the men? The answer almost pathetically has always been they are in jail, in detention, in exile.

What an insulting thing to say about the many black men and

women who are doing excellent work that can make them fit the cap of leadership effortlessly!

Nation Building is about the recognition of such leadership. The reason for this recognition is also ridiculously simple. My sons need to know I have the potential of being a leader. That I can handle a school boycott. That I can understand and explain the profundity behind

liberation before education while at the same time stressing the desperate necessity to acquire knowledge, power.

I am still looking or rather Sam and my colleagues are trying to help me get that essential chemistry together that will convince my sons and their peers that they are the leaders of tomorrow.

Then there are other sons who do not belong to my race. I said they do not believe there is reason for them to share the spoils to share power. The Afrikaner youth quite frankly believe it is silly to try and dismantle a Volk they have built so religiously.

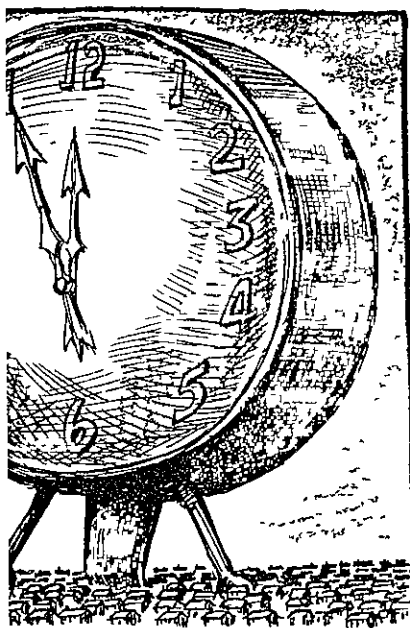
We need to have the type of black leadership that will decrease the fear in the hearts of the young Afrikaners. They are afraid of our numbers. They are convinced by the perception that we are a vast population of gullible people easily swayed by Communists and other radicals. We have to show those people that when we talk of building we include them in that happy future. We have no secret agenda. We will start helping rebuild the structures in all forms in our societies. When we run out of ideas out of money out of managerial skills we will ask for help from our white friends. We are prepared to go to Pretoria and Stellenbosch University for such help.

But we will continue. The ultimate ideal is we who are in the majority will build ourselves by seeking help internally and externally for that matter to build South Africa for all its people.

I have obviously agonised over this talk. I do not even think I have done justice to the idea of Nation Building. I have a feeling it is simply too powerful for a simple journalist such as myself to articulate properly. I do not mind too much. I do not believe this is the final solution.

The launch of the idea is fittingly held to raise funds for our elderly citizens. Perhaps their end in the struggle against the vicissitudes of life will see the birth of a new South Africa. I have not spoken about our plans for the future.

Let me end up by saying we are hoping to make this evening in fact this historic month, October, in which there has been great pain and suffering a day of celebration to rebuild a great people. A great country.



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

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The address is The Conciliator/Registrar SA Media Council, P.O. Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone (021) 46-7317. Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Judgment starts in PAC case

25/10/88
Smeton

(11)

JUDGMENT in the trial of seven suspected members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Qibla, who allegedly conspired to violently overthrow the Government started in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday

Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Ndoda Ganga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Paul Setsiba Mohohlo, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi — all alleged members of the PAC, Mr Achmad Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel, both suspected leaders of Qibla — a muslim organisation — have pleaded not guilty to 24 counts of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice

The State alleges that Mr Zulu, Mr Ganga, Mr Mathunjwa and Mr Mohohlo joined the PAC in 1960 and received military training in Egypt, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania

(Proceeding)

Wit and goodwill abound as Boer meets Bolshevik

Star 1/8/88
26/11 By Sue Leeman
The Star's Foreign
News Service

LEVERKUSEN — The man who President Botha once called the "big devil" behind the ANC was waving nothing more demonic than a pencil, and he was smiling and joking with a professor from Stellenbosch University

Joe Slovo, leading light in the South African Communist Party and co-founder of the ANC's military wing, revealed a keen sense of humour at the opening session of the Leverkusen talks but he was more than matched by the quick-fire wit of Stellenbosch's Professor Jannie Gagiano.

As Mr Slovo posed for photos with those seated on either side of him at the conference table — poet Breyten Breytenbach and Professor Wilhe Breytenbach, also from Stellenbosch —

he quipped Mr Slovo is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa

Professor Gagiano quickly capped Mr Slovo's comment to the great amusement of everyone within earshot.

Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement enjoyed a more private joke with the ANC's Jackie Selebi and Soviet Professor Viacheslav wisecracked about his female colleague Dr Irina Filatova being late

By Sunday night more than 30 delegates had arrived at the ritzy Ramada Hotel in the heart of Leverkusen.

And as the first round of talks got under way there were repeated bursts of laughter from the conference room — a signal, perhaps, that glasnost and toenadering are bringing Boer and Bolshevik together.

Tutu ponders ¹¹¹⁷ Zaire 'invitation'

Own Correspondent ~~258~~

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu is still considering an "apparent invitation" from President Mobutu of Zaire to meet on the recent talks between the two governments.

The Anglican archbishop, who is president of the All Africa Council of Churches (AACC), has postponed a separate visit to Zaire, Angola and Zimbabwe scheduled for this week.

He will still travel to Nairobi next week for a meeting of the AACC's executive

President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, who had asked the AACC to arrange a meeting with Archbishop Tutu, was also unavailable during the time he was scheduled to be in his country. *Star 26/10/88*

Referring to the reported invitation from President Mobutu, Archbishop Tutu said "I have had no direct invitation. Someone calling himself an adviser to the president has contacted my staff from New York and there has been a press report saying I am to hold talks in Zaire."

Two black organisations restricted

Staff Reporters

The Soweto Students Congress (Sosco) and the Azaman Co-ordinating Committee (Azacco) have been restricted by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, rendering them politically ineffective but still able to perform administrative functions

A statement from the ministry said yesterday Mr Vlok had prohibited the organisations from proceeding with any of their activities in terms of Regulation 7 (1) of the Security Emergency Regulations

Azacco and Sosco could not be reached for comment last night

The ministry said "The present concentration by these organisations on increasing violence and intimidation as well as incitement to violence has made urgent action imperative"

Sosco had, since its inception in December 1985, been responsible for the planning, execution and enforcement of various boycotts

As an affiliate of the United Democratic Front and the National Education Crisis Committee, Sosco had been involved with the establishment of alternative structures of authority in Soweto and the promotion of "People's Education", the statement said.

"Sosco even considered murdering SA Police members to obtain firearms," it said.

Azacco was formed on February 29, 1988 to take over the functions, under another name, of the Azaman People's Organisation (Azapo), which was prohibited by the same regulation on February 24, the statement said.

The basis for Azacco's attainment of its objectives and to bring about a new socialistic political order in the Republic was violence, the statement said.

Four members of
PAC convicted
of terrorism

Pretoria Correspondent

Four of the accused in the marathon Pan Africanist Congress/Qibla trial were yesterday convicted of four charges of terrorism

Pretoria magistrate Mr J H Bekker convicted Enoch Zulu (52), Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga (26), Vincent Alson Mathunjwa (29) and Setsiba Paul Moholo (29) of four charges under Section 54 (1) of the Internal Security Act

The magistrate found the four guilty of belonging to a banned organisation, the PAC

Zulu, Gcanga and Moholo were found guilty on charges of having undergone military training outside the country, while Mathunjwa was acquitted of the charge because the State failed to prove its case

The four are appearing with the Reverend Daniel Saul Nkopodi (27), Mr Amcham Cassiem (41) and Mr Yusuf Patel (27)

The trial began on December 1 1986

62
34
132
112

'Mandela freedom' leaflet (11A)

A leaflet that declares "A vote in the municipal elections will be a vote for Mandela's freedom" has been circulating in Reef townships

It is purportedly issued by an organisation called Contralesa, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front

But a spokesman for the organisation stated emphatically that Contralesa had not issued any pamphlet of the sort,

"We suspect that in the case of these pamphlets, like many others that have been issued in names of organisations, the Government is responsible" *Star 26/10/88*

The pamphlet declares, "Boers change their tactics Call their bluff"

"The broad democratic alliance has learnt that the apartheid regime plans to use a poor voter turnout in the municipal elections as an excuse not to release Comrade Nelson Mandela ..."

E Cape township election postponed

CMC link 26/10/88

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Supreme Court here has ruled that all prior votes in the municipal election in the black township of Dukathole at Alwal North are null and void, resulting in the postponement of today's election in the township

These developments follow a successful court application by three Alwal North residents, after the local electoral officers had refused to accept their nominations as candidates for election to the Dukathole Town Council

In a decision handed down in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, on Monday, Mr Justice Van Rensburg ordered the electoral officers to accept the nominations of the three applicants

The three applicants are Mr John Lietsiso, Mr John Jika, and Mr Mark Mohelepi

The co-ordinator of black municipal elections in the Eastern Cape, Mr Danie Bezuidenhout, says that in the light of the court ruling, the Administrator of the Cape has decided to postpone today's election for the Dukathole Town Council — Sapa

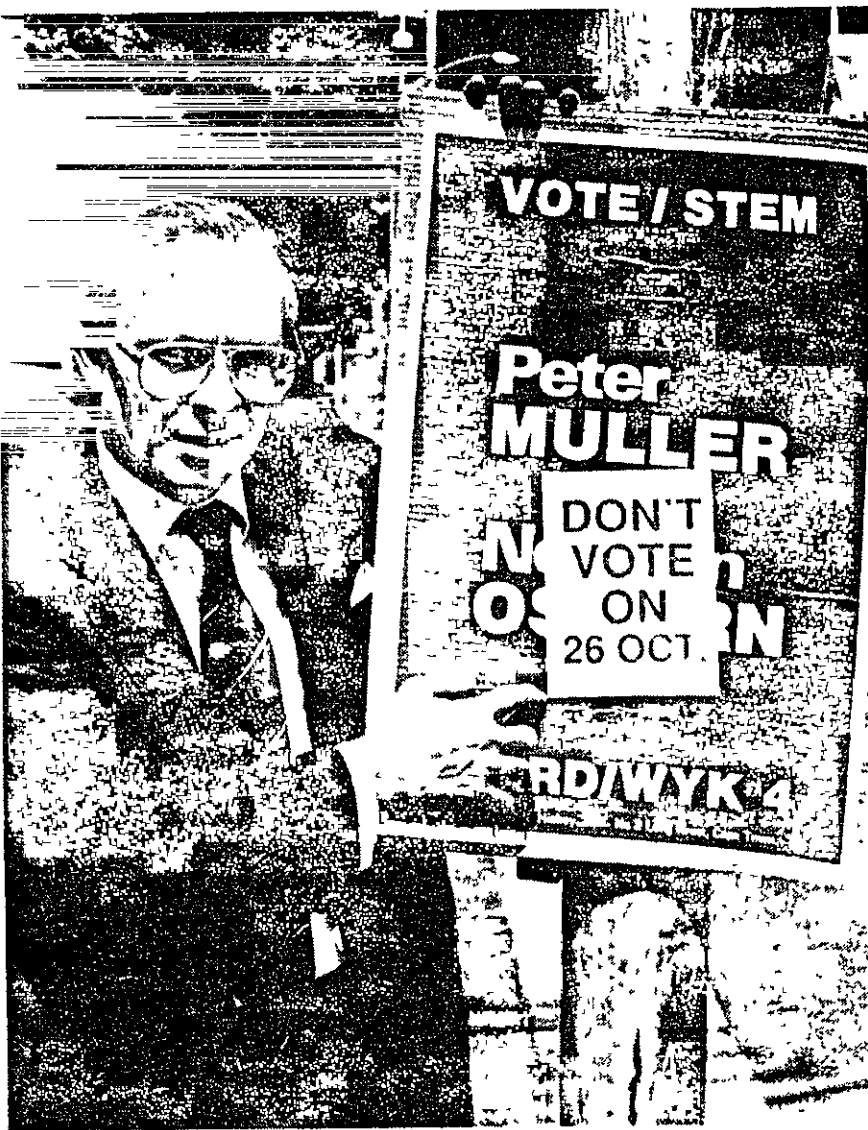
Votes, not seats, the issue

Political Staff

VOTES and not seats will be the overriding political factor in today's nation-wide municipal elections for more than 7 500 local representatives

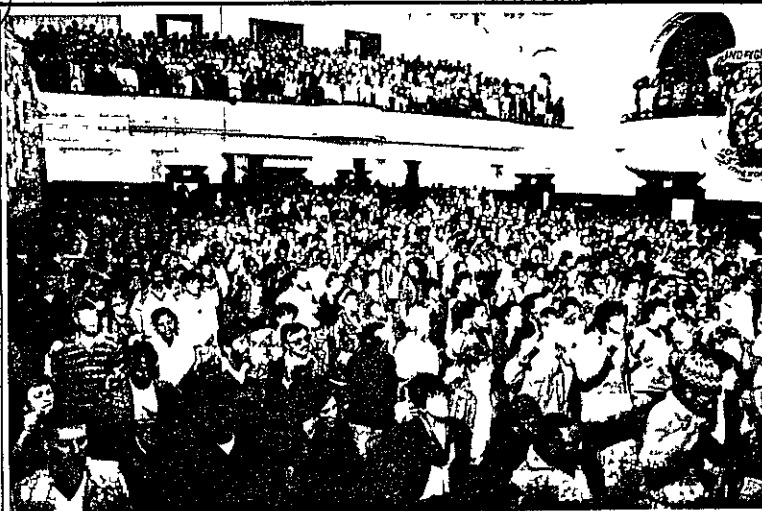
The outcome of the NP and CP battle could determine immediate government strategy and could decide the pace of the reform programme

Political observers, divided on the prospects of the various parties agree there should be a record poll



DEFACED ... Mr Norman Osburn, running mate of the Mayor of Cape Town, with one of his election posters on which vandals have superimposed an illegal message. Mr Osburn urged voters in the Gardens area to reject racism in today's election.

Picture GLENN SHERRATT



Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM The Argus

FULL HOUSE About 2 500 people filled the City Hall last night for the Rally for Democracy

2 500 listen to 'surprise speakers' Tutu, Boesak

Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak were surprise speakers at the Rally for Democracy which went ahead in the City Hall after being banned by police last week

The ban was overturned by the Supreme Court but the rally was postponed until last night

About 2 500 people packed the hall, many having to stand in the aisles and corridors

Police occupied balconies and boxes and lined the back of the hall. A video unit was there and police vehicles, a water cannon and a squeegee machine were parked in Plein and Darling streets and on the Grand Parade

There were no incidents

The meeting was chaired by the Rev Lionel Louw, executive member of the Western Prov-

ince Council of Churches, and other speakers were advocate Mr Dullah Omar, Mr John Ernstzen general secretary of the South African Municipal Workers Union, and Sister Bernard Ncube of the Institute of Contextual Theology

"All brothers"

Ms P Mogwezi of the United Women's Congress and Mr Wilfred Rhodes of the Cape Area Housing Action Committee also shared the platform

Dr Allan Boesak said "I welcome all brothers and sisters to this meeting and honoured guests (referring to the police) At least they know to come where the excitement is

He said today's elections would not give people the power to change the government or "to change the laws that have made this country the polecat of the world"

He appealed to whites to examine their consciences

It is time whites moved in solidarity with us every step of the way. If we do not stand together now how can we build a South Africa that will belong to all of us?

"Whatever happens tomorrow the dream and the struggle will remain. Our resistance will continue"

Archbishop Tutu said "One incontrovertible axiom is that we are going to be free"

The crowd chanted in unison "We are going to be free"

When I say we I mean we. I include those policemen who have come to watch us in the process because let us say it clearly to them I'm very concerned for them because most of them ought to be in bed with their wives and children

"There is no way anybody is going to be free in this country until all of us are free"

"If we believe we will be free and we are talking about a new kind of South Africa we are going to demonstrate that we are disciplined people"

In a joint statement, the organisers of the rally, the Mowbray Youth Congress and the Gardens Youth Congress, said "The peaceful conclusion of the meeting absolutely justifies the action of the Supreme Court's overturning of the ban on the meeting last week"

Powerboat pack on way for SA series

Staff Reporter

SOME of the world's fastest powerboat pilots are on their way to South Africa to race against the country's finest in two offshore races — on November 19 in Table Bay and a week later in Hout Bay

The 20 foreign racers, all of whom took part in the world powerboat championships in Bournemouth last month, are bringing millions of rands worth of state-of-the-art offshore powerboats

Capable of speeds of about 180km/h, they are valued at R250 000 each

Their visit, which was tentatively arranged late last year and kept under wraps, was given a powerful boost by South Africa's presence at the world championships — for the first time in 10 years. South Africa was represented by Cape Town's Norman Levinson in his catamaran Spindrift Super Cat

SPRINGBOK TEAM

It has also been made possible by a R300 000 sponsorship from Charka Brackets, part of the Sulderland group

The 10 teams will be competing against 20 South African teams, including a Springbok team

They will be facing a formidable pack of machines, any one of which could have emerged world champion a month ago. The four litre specialists are

EUROPEAN CHAMPION

● Geoff Purves and Dave Andrews in Hospitality Inns a Cougar catamaran powered by twin 150hp Mercurys

● Dave Trotter and Mark Shorto in the Phantom monohull Magician IV. Trotter is the European 4l champion and his spectacular style of driving makes him a crowd pleaser

● Mike Standring and his fiancée Patti Barker in a Puma catamaran. Standring at one time the only professional powerboat driver in Britain was most successful in the Phantom monohull Agia Bluebird

● Andrew Chambers and Steve Joey La Jole in their Phantom monohull are happiest when the wind is at its fiercest — not to be ignored at the time of the year when the south easter is at its happiest

● Alistair McNulty and Charles Holmes in their Campbell catamaran Vladivar have the distinction of beating Fina, which won the recent world championships

SA LINE-UP

With the advantage of their knowledge of local conditions, the South Africans, apart from Norman Levinson, his navigator Stan Roberts and Spindrift are

● Maurice Waynik and his son Frank in their catamaran Sea Point Plumbing, powered by two new racing Johnsons

● Eddie Hay and Selwyn Schröder in the 9m Sea Point Plumbing II powered by two new 3l 300hp outboard Evenrudes

● Bill Howard and Tony Corazza in their 8m monohull Spindrift Challenger, powered by two 150hp XR2 Mercurys

● Mel Hawtrey, the South African offshore champion, and Johan Wium in Telstar powered by a 340hp V8 outboard



TOP TABLE: The Rev Lionel Louw, left, who chaired the Rally for Democracy, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak

HOUSE

IT PRICES ON QUALITY MEAT!

4.98

Dukakis: Not right time to arm ANC

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Democratic presidential candidate, Governor Michael Dukakis, says it is not the right time to send American weapons to the African National Congress.

Questioned by TV personality Ted Koppel on a special 90-minute edition of the *Nightline* current affairs programme, Mr Dukakis said that if he was elected on November 8 he would start by imposing tough economic sanctions against South Africa and possibly break relations after that.

"You deal with that at the time," he said.

Mr Koppel reminded him that in an interview earlier this year he had said he would consider arming the ANC in its struggle against the South African government.

KEEP OPTIONS OPEN

Mr Dukakis replied that he had said he would hold open the option of sending weapons to the ANC — but he did not think that such a step was called for "at this time".

Mr Dukakis, trailing the Republican candidate, Mr George Bush, at the polls, said a Dukakis administration would set about breaking the back of apartheid and would make it

very clear to the South African government that it could not engage in economic relations and commerce with the US.

Sanctions would be in effect until all South Africans enjoyed full civil and political rights, Mr Dukakis said. Congress ought to pass the Dellums Bill, a package of tough economic sanctions that died in the US Senate earlier this month because it failed to win enough support to survive a filibuster and a probable presidential veto.

Several key members of Mr Dukakis's own party voiced their unwillingness to support the severe measures contained in the Bill.

He pointed out that South Africa provided essential and critical minerals that could not be obtained elsewhere except from the Soviet Union, Mr Dukakis said he accepted there would have to be certain exceptions to a total trade boycott of South Africa, but that the US would seek alternatives to South African supplies.

"The immorality of apartheid is so serious, we have to take very tough actions against South Africa," he said.

"We must do everything we can to end finally this terrible system."

ONE FIN 25 26/12/88

Cops in boxes watch city rally

Staff Reporters

11A (119)

A "RALLY for Democracy" meeting took place in the City Hall under police surveillance last night after a ban last week by the Minister of Law and Order was overturned by the Supreme Court

The meeting was due to be held last Thursday, but the Supreme Court ruling that the rally could continue came too late for organisers to finalise their preparations

More than 80 policemen occupied opera boxes and lined the back of the hall, where more than 2 000 people chanted slogans praising African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo

Asked by lawyers about the police presence, the commanding officer, Major Christiaan Loedolff, said it "was a public meeting"

and showed a warrant issued in terms of Section 28 of the Criminal Procedures Act

The warrant authorised the police to enter the City Hall to investigate and take "necessary steps" for the maintenance of internal security, law and order or crime prevention, said prominent activist lawyer Mr Essa Moosa

There was also a strong police presence outside the hall, where riot vehicles — including a water cannon and tearsmoke-dispensing landrover — lined the parade

Police had been asked to search the building for explosive devices before the meeting, said a spokesman for the organisers

However, he denied a police claim that their presence was a result of a request by the organisers "to provide security at the meeting"



Sowetan

By MIKE TISSONG

AFRICAN socialism came under the spotlight at a seminar at the Funda Centre in Soweto, withered in the heat of debate and was denounced as a myth

The original notion of African socialism was proposed by Julius Nyerere who first described it in 1962 in a document called 'Ujamaa the Basis of African socialism'

Nyerere said African socialism was a socio-economic system different to capitalism which is based on exploitation between people. It was also different to doctrinaire Marxism or scientific socialism which is based on the concept of conflict between classes.

Proponents of African socialism said it was natural to Africa because of the co-operation that existed in villages before the advent of colonialism.

Nyerere said that in the village everyone was a worker. Before colonialism there were no classes there were no big differences in wealth and power in African society.

When he opened the debate, social scientist Dr Neville Alexander asked the question: is African socialism valid as a socialist theory?

He answered it with criticisms from a number of distinguished African theorists including Abdul Mohamed Baboo, Samir Amin and Amílcar Cabral.

These social scientists found nothing in the African situation which distinguished it in terms of struggle from places such as Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam or anywhere else in the world.

Several other participants at the seminar criticised African socialism as it was practised in Tanzania for not including workers and peasants as an organised force for socialism and for compensating foreign companies when they were nationalised.

Dr Alexander said state interventionist policies 'have gone by the name African socialism. State capitalist measures such as the creation of giant parastatal corporations increased dependence on the international corporations.

"These measures also increased the tax burden on the people because when nationalisation took place, the previous owners were compensated.

"The bureaucratic

Myth of African socialism



JULIUS Nyerere . the first leader to put the principles of African socialism into effect



Dr NEVILLE Alexander we must try scientific socialism

'Leaders must gain more knowledge'

FOCUS

However socialist hopes for the future of Africa remain

He said the answer to South Africa was scientific socialism.

"The vast majority of the people in this country constitute the working class. There is really no model of scientific socialism we can look to but there is a core of principles which we need to study, absorb and teach principles which we need to study 'absorb' and teach the working class.

Method

"The actual method by which socialism will come to Azania is being determined by events today.

"We are not going to get socialism on a platter. There is no reason why the boers have to hand over the country to anyone. It has to be taken from them.

"P. W. Botha is challenging us to take

power because he is saying he is an African and why should he as an African, hand over power to other Africans just because they happen to be black?

Some have said our fight is against apartheid only. That is not enough. We have to fight the capitalist structures which uphold apartheid.

Dr Alexander said the "immediate consciousness of the oppressed in this country is black consciousness. You are made to understand from a young age that you suffer because you are black.

"Your political organisation starts when you recognise that you are black. But the struggle is much more complex than just being between black and white.

"The task is to transform black consciousness into a working class consciousness and beyond that into a socialist consciousness.

"A class that is capable of leading the struggle towards socialism is the

black working class. There has to be a unity of black people but this must be under the hegemony and leadership of the black working class otherwise we are going to put black faces where the white faces are today without changing anything.

Dr Alexander said other states in Southern Africa such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola which have committed themselves to scientific socialism found it impossible to build socialism 'because the domination of the Southern African region by South Africa is too strong.

"It will be impossible for them to build socialism until this country is free.

With African socialism dismissed as a viable alternative to the monolith of racism and capitalism in South Africa, scientific socialism came through well with the seminar participants.

One thing that came through clearly through out the debate however was that many of our decision-makers need to read up on political theory to guide this country to liberation.

Without firm theoretical knowledge liberation will be like a ship without a course. It will run aground leading to a loss of many lives and the country will be thrown into chaos based on ideological arguments and economic uncertainty.

Prior voting a success in black areas

Municipal Reporter

THE Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) claimed yesterday that prior voting in the Cape had been so successful that "any rumours of the elections being a failure" had been "squashed".

Some black areas would be reasonably represented even without today's voting, it said.

Groups opposing the elections, including the UDF, are unable to respond to these claims in the press because of government restrictions.

Dr Annelie Rabie, a public relations officer for the provincial administration, said in a press release yesterday that 20.9% of the 264 562 registered black voters in Cape wards where elections were being held had already cast votes.

"This in itself is a significant percentage in view of the historic tendency of municipal elections to record low voting percentages," she said.

In the Western Cape, where elections were being held at seven black towns, 27 265 or 36% of the 75 589 registered voters in wards where voting was happening had already cast votes.

She did not mention that Khayelitsha, which has a total population officially estimated yesterday at some 200 000, is the only Cape Town township where voting is taking place. It has 67 000 registered voters, 35% of whom have already voted, according to figures before a court this week.

A possibility exists that the Khayelitsha election may be declared invalid if the Appellate Division upholds a recent Supreme Court decision setting aside the separation of the Khayelitsha local authority from the Ikapa one, which runs the other black Cape Town suburbs.

In Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and Crossroads there will be no election because not enough candidates could be found.

In the Northern Cape, Dr Rabie said the average black voting percentage was 45.3% so far. One town recorded a 76.5% vote.

In the Eastern Cape, excluding the 144 342 voters of Ibhayi at Port Elizabeth, 21 towns recorded an average percentage poll of 46.3% of registered voters, she said.

This was an "exceptional achievement" considering that two years ago the councillors of 42 local authorities resigned because of the actions of "leftist elements".

The CPA said 16 different coloured management committees in the Cape had registered a prior voting percentage of over 61% and 19 white councils already had percentage polls between 21% and 30%.

Black polling booths open today at 7am and close at 9pm. Others open at 8am and close at 7pm, unless other times have been fixed by local authorities.

The first results are expected to come in at 10pm tomorrow.

Tomorrow's Cape Times will carry most of the results and an assessment of how the voting went.

Liquor outlets will be open for business as usual today.

Police guard 'guns down candidate'

PORT ELIZABETH — A candidate in today's Ibhayi City Council election was fatally wounded by an Ibhayi policeman early yesterday morning, police said.

PE People's Party candidate Mr Morris Zipotete Thomas, 35, was shot outside his Zwide house.

There are as yet unconfirmed reports that an Ibhayi municipal policeman who was on guard at Mr Thomas's house was shot in the head. Police said the matter was under investigation.

A 30-year-old member of the Ibhayi municipal police appeared briefly in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday in connection with the death of Mr Thomas.

He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to November 23.

According to Mrs Nozuko Thomas, the wife of Mr Thomas, her husband went to investigate after he had been woken by shots fired outside his house.

"After he had opened the back door we heard him calling for help, saying 'They have shot me' before he collapsed."

"I noticed a municipal policeman who had been guarding the house standing outside the door of the kitchen. He said he had been shot in the head," Mrs Thomas said.

Police said Mr Thomas was allegedly shot when he went to an outside toilet about 12.25am.

"Shortly after midnight Mr Thomas left his house, apparently to go to an outside toilet," police said.

A person was seen moving around in the backyard of the house by a guard who allegedly thought the person was an assailant. Shots were fired.

Vote, urges Assocom

JOHANNESBURG — The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry appealed yesterday to the business community to be aware of its stake in the outcome of the local government elections today.

It said that whatever the personal views of businessmen in regard to the elections in general, or in relation to particular political parties or groupings, the business community had to make its influence felt by voting in the elections.

"Local and regional authorities are rapidly becoming a focal point for both national and local issues and are a sphere in which business can have a positive impact on the quality of government."

"Where practicable, and if requested, businesses should give employees sufficient time off from work to cast their votes, and to use to good effect the corporate vote available to them — Sapa

Randburg a test for PFP

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The PFP's political future is on the line in today's Randburg town council elections.

PFP claims that it has largely overcome the crushing setbacks of last year's general election will be severely tested in this town and the adjoining northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

In 1982 the PFP won Randburg but lost control after a series of resignations. The chairman of the town's NP-controlled management committee, Mr Frans Lourens, believes that debate and the NP's smooth administrative record have all but killed off the

PFP's chances.

Complicating the local election scenario is the CP, which has put up three official candidates for the first time. The NP already has two unopposed candidates and the PFP one. Seven seats are needed to control Randburg's 13 ward council, one of the few municipalities not to be enlarged by delimitation.

PFP leader Mr Andre Jacobs believes the CP will fail to take any wards and are only of "nuisance value".

The PFP is in with a definite chance, he says.

1988 set to have all-time terror high

Star 26/10/88

Terror attacks are running at the highest level since the resumption of the outlawed African National Congress's underground war after the Soweto revolt of 1976.

With more than two months to go before the end of the year, the total for 1988 is already approaching the 234 attacks recorded last year, the highest annual total since 1976.

Including yesterday's explosion in Potchefstroom, the total for 1988 now stands at 216. October's total so far is 32, the second highest monthly total in the 12 years since 1976.

Last week Brigadier Herman Stadler, intelligence chief in the security police, said that the total number of attacks stood at 184 at the end of September.

On Friday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said "October so far has been plagued with 30 acts of terror". Since then two more bombs have exploded the car bomb in

election

The latest wave of attacks was preceded by a statement from Mr Chris Ham, deputy commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, justifying attacks on white civilians as the beneficiaries of apartheid. He was later repudiated by the ANC.

Since then, however, there have been attacks in which civilians have died and in which it has not been easy to identify a "strategic" target, indicating that ANC leaders either are not in full control of their men or that the repudiation of naked terrorism is a cynical public relations exercise.

In his evidence to the Supreme Court, Brigadier Stadler gave the following breakdown of attacks as at the end of September. 62 were aimed at civilians, 44 at the police, 12 at the military, three at the judiciary and 37 against "the system," a catch-all phrase embracing anyone or anything associated with the government. Four

By PATRICK LAURENCE

ANC denial that it hits "soft" targets may be a cynical public relations exercise, but the banning and harassment of organisations is certainly driving many into the ANC fold

Withbank on Monday and yesterday's blast in Potchefstroom.

Insurgent attacks are now running at more than 20 a month. Thus, barring a sudden and sharp decline in the last two months, the annual total for 1988 will stand at an all time high.

Several factors may be behind the increased rate of attacks. One in which there is little disagreement is today's historic nation-wide municipal poll.

The ANC has, several top security men have warned, vowed to intensify its assault in order to dispute the

attacks were termed "miscellaneous". The continuing inflow of saboteurs, terror bombers and assassins must be juxtaposed with another factor police counter-action

Mr Vlok said last week "The total number of terror attacks this year is more than 200, half of which have already been solved. In some areas the success rate in solving terror attacks is as high as 90 percent."

The vital question, however, is whether police successes will stem the flow of recruits to the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and — in smaller degree — the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

So far that does not appear to be the case. One reason may be the February 24 restrictions on 18 legal but extra-parliamentary organisations. They may have driven many activists underground and into the arms of commanders of Umkhonto and APLA

Time ripe for nation building in S Africa

NR645 26/10/88

114

WHILE our rivals and some of our detractors wish to make believe that nation building is a flash-in-the-pan idea, I can say without equivocation that the idea took years to manifest itself.

Nation building is many things. In the final analysis it is something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought and in the crucial role that blacks will play in this country's future.

After Sharpeville in 1960, the first paradigm towards a phenomenon I have been able to identify began. After the first shock of the tragedy, we were thrown into uncontrollable waves of anger, which anger was just as ruthlessly smashed by the State.

In the meantime, the white communities were being told a rather different story. Lulled into a sense of false security by the government and its powerful organs, white South Africa was made to believe everything was under control.

The next terrible explosion happened 16 years later, in 1976. This time the cost was much higher. People were seriously beginning to question the legitimacy of the apartheid system.

Our children caught most of the flak and became the heroes and martyrs of the struggle. It hurt and hurt badly. Once again the media and the opposition political organisations saw it as their duty to fan the silent flames systematically for the next round.

Once again the white community was told that things were under control. Law and Order only needed to be put in place for life to hum cheerfully forth.

Blacks lost many things. Worst of all we lost the innocence of our children. We also lost their respect for us.

Phenomenal intensity

The scars of 1976 were on the way to being healed when the next conflagration struck with phenomenal intensity. That was in September, 1984. After that it became clear to me that something desperate, something unusually creative would have to be initiated.

It took the security forces and the police a longish time to deal with the violence unleashed in 1984 and onwards. They looked on with sadistic fascination as the black community was seemingly engaged in tearing itself apart.

That hurt as well, and the scars are still raw. Some of that insanity is still being played out in the shades of the lovely hillsides of Natal.

As if we were a nation accursed, there is a swing to the right in white politics which is perhaps as frightening as the necklace phenomenon of the '80s. It is in its own appalling crudity fanning race hatred. Apartheid is not dead at all. No, it is about to stalk the streets of our townships in all its dreadful menace.

There is therefore a holding of an angry breath in the black community. It is probably unconscious, but I can feel it in my bones. There is the silent preparation from blacks for the next inevitable explosion.

Quite clearly somebody has to do something to stop this madness. Or at least cushion the blow if or when it will fall.

While the anger from the dispossessed is becoming simply too powerful to ignore, the monolith of Afrikanerdom is cracking. That has taught us, the nation builders, another bitter lesson. For if the Afrikaners had done all the things they did to build themselves, done them for all of us, for South Africa, they would have been in a comfortable leadership position today.

That, I believe, is the crux of the matter.

It is increasingly becoming the responsibility of blacks to help this country from certain ruination. It is our responsibility because it is also our country, and we are after all in the majority. Even more pertinently, we have something within us, something not easily definable that makes us equal to saving this country.

It stirs in the very depths of my soul, the certainty that blacks have a unique and remarkable humanity called *ubuntu* that others do not have. We have this indescribable ethic, to forgive and to forget.

We would thus be able, after the reconstruction of collapsed power structures, to do the good things, not for ourselves, but for all South Africans.

The Afrikaners are hoist with their own historical petard. They encumbered their people with a baggage of race supremacy, an almost passionate claim to the ownership of this land and overlordship eternally for blacks. They



These are extracts from a recent speech by AG-GREY KLAASTE, left, editor of The Sowetan

taught this in their schools, through their religion, and by propaganda.

They kept on massaging what should have been badly bruised consciences by pointing to the general debacle in the continent.

Not that South African blacks helped to nullify this stereotype. We tend to act like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. One moment we are bowed, scraping slaves, happy to lick the baas's hand.

The next thing we are engaged in unbelievable acts of violence. And more irrationally against ourselves. How could the average white person have confidence, nay respect for such people?

The Afrikaner broedertwis has become a reality. The Afrikaners have revolted against the so-called reform process. In their eyes this is first a sharing of the spoils of a powerful country they believe they built solely through Afrikaner sweat and blood, and in the end of fear of handing over to violent blacks. They will have no truck with that. And who can blame them?

The more dangerous thing is that they are a very frightened people. For this reason we have studied the danger signs and something had to be done.

On some of my travels I was told by worried black South African expatriates they were tired of protest politics, of the one impotent continual cry against oppression. By some coincidence many of us feel exactly that way.

I said nation building is profoundly timeous for I fear some of my compatriots inside the country have also become battle-weary. We are tired especially that the cost in every upheaval is heavy on us.

So everything seems to indicate there has got to be another movement to be spurred on. But what should it be? It has been risky. It has been very difficult to shift the focus from the political struggle.

In the end we are saying to our brothers and sisters who are actively involved in the struggle that they need to build strong people. A strong following of thinkers and doers. Not simply a vast number of angry and plainly dangerous people.

Political kingdom

We say the political kingdom will look after itself. It will look after itself particularly if it has strong people behind it. We are saying that instead of fanning the flames for the next explosion, implosion in fact, let us start the building now.

Why is it possible to do the building now? For many years we have quite naturally been obsessed by politics. We have said to ourselves, to our children significantly, and to the world that the only leaders who are of consequence among us are the political leaders. That has been a shameful thing to do in many ways.

Those who are politically active had to bear all the attacks from the State. Many of them have died. Many of them are in exile. Many of them are in detention.

We have been asked many times to search for black leaders. We are asked in times of crisis *Aphi amadoda?* Where are the men? The answer almost pathetically as always been that they are in jail, in detention, in exile.

What an insulting thing to say about the many black men and women who are doing excellent work that can make them wear the cap of leadership effortlessly!

Nation building is about the recognition of such leadership.

We need to have the type of black leadership that will decrease the fear in the hearts of the young Afrikaners. They are afraid of our numbers. They are convinced by the perception that we are a vast population of gullible people easily swayed by communists and other radicals.

We have to show those people that when we talk of building we include them in that happy future. We have no secret agenda. We will start helping rebuild the structures in all forms in our societies.

When we run out of ideas, out of money, out of managerial skills, we will ask for help from our white friends. We are prepared to go to Pretoria and Stellenbosch University for such help.

But we will continue. The ultimate ideal is that we, who are in the majority, will build ourselves, by seeking help internally and externally for that matter, to build South Africa for all its people.

PAC/Qibla trial: all found guilty

Pretoria Correspondent

All seven accused in the PAC/Qibla trial have been found guilty on 19 charges, including terrorism, by a Pretoria magistrate.

Four of the men, Mabutu Enoch Zulu (52), Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga (26), Vincent Alison Mathunjwa (29) and Setsiba Paul Moholo (29), were found guilty by Mr J H Bekker on Tuesday of belonging to a banned organisation, and having undergone military training.

Yesterday, the other three: Daniel Saul Nkopodi (27), a church minister,

and two Muslim Qibla members, Achmad Cassiem (41) and Yusuf Patel, were also found guilty.

Nkopodi was found to have transported the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members at various times between Botswana, Bophuthatswana and South Africa. He was also found to have been an arms transporter and to have given the men money.

Cassiem and Patel were found guilty of terrorism. The magistrate said the Qibla movement aimed to overthrow the Government by violent means.

The trial continues.

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Terror coverage seen as propaganda

Reports on, talks with ANC face ban

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

The Government is set for a further clamp on the press to cut back on what it sees as ANC propaganda, particularly the coverage of acts of terrorism

It is considering various options for halting future talks with the ANC,

including application of state of emergency regulations or new legislation

Senior Government sources indicated yesterday that new legislation was being investigated that would limit reports of acts of terrorism

This follows statements by the President, Mr P W Botha, that discussions with the ANC

should be considered as treason

He has referred to consideration by the British government of legislation preventing media interviews with the IRA

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who last week hinted at action against the "Lusaka safaris", has pointed to Israeli legisla-

tion which permits only the media to speak to the PLO

One source said the ANC strategy of "violent propaganda" was being assisted by the manner in which acts of terrorism were reported.

The source said there was concern in the Government about how the SABC and two Transvaal newspapers had used the Witbank explosion prominently.

He said "It is not that we want to keep information away from the public. They will be given the information, but it will not be dramatised

"Terrorism thrives on publicity

"Getting no publicity could contribute towards stopping it"

Four years ago President Botha instructed the SABC to play down reports of terrorism.



MINI-SOUTH AFRICAN COURTS IS CONVENED IN LONDON TO HEAR TREASON TRIAL EVIDENCE

Island man gives evidence in irons

ROBBEN Island prisoner in the treason trial this week gave evidence in leg-irons after the judge ruled that he "could not be treated as a free man".

The trial, of three alleged African National Congress members on treason charges, resumed this week in the London Supreme Court.

The defence closed its case this week by calling as its last witness Robben Island prisoner Vusumuzi Sindane who entered the courtroom in leg-irons.

Request by defence counsel L. M. M. that the irons be removed was refused by Mr Justice H Daniels, who said Sindane was serving a long sentence for what seemed to be a serious offence and that he could not be treated as a free man.

He added that he was not prepared to exercise his discretion with the officers in charge of Sindane,

who had recommended that he be kept shackled.

Reacting to the ruling by the judge, Advocate K Naidu, for the defence said he was "aggrieved" at having to appear in a trial where a witness had to give evidence "bound in this fashion, having regard to the stringent security measures that are available in court".

Sindane told the court that he and one of the accused, Acton Maseko, were members of the ANC, serving in Swaziland.

He told the court that he had arrived in Swaziland in February 1986 and that Maseko was known to him as "Scotch".

He denied knowing accused number two, Simon Dladla, and knew the

A key witness at the Ebrahim treason trial is a former ANC chief of staff, who is now a long-term prisoner on Robben Island.

By VUSI GUNENE

third accused, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, only as Ahmed.

He denied allegations that he had attended a meeting at which Ebrahim and Maseko had been present.

He also disputed allegations by a state witness that he had attended a series of meetings at which "land-mine warfare" in South Africa and the infiltration of an ANC member into the country had been discussed in the presence of Ebrahim and Maseko.

Sindane told the court that he had joined the ANC in 1976 and received military training in the Soviet Union.

He told the court that he had also been an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander and chief of staff in Angola between 1977 and 1981.

He told the court that he had worked in Botswana and had lived in Lusaka before leaving for Swaziland, where he had become leader of the Elias Mokoalele Command (EMC).

Sindane said under cross-examination by HJ Prinsloo that he had received instructions from Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hanu to go to Swaziland, although Hanu had not prescribed to him about what work he was to do.

He told the court that in Swaziland he had met Paul Dikeledi, who told him what his job was.

"I waited days before Paul told me what the tasks were. He told me I would work with communication and that I had to know all the routes and communicate with the people on the other side of the country (South Africa)."

"I was the leader of the EMC and worked with September, Paul Dikeledi, Vusi Khumalo and 'Scotch'."

"'Scotch' was a personnel handler and worked directly with Paul, who was the commander."

He told the court that he had become involved in the transportation of weapons across the border and was subsequently arrested, convicted and sentenced to 17 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

The state will begin its argument when the trial resumes on October 17.

A remarkable trial hears ANC leaders on violence

A remarkable series of sittings in London, ANC leaders are focused on their policy regarding violence.

By VUSI GUNENE reports

ARE at war with the apartheid regime," declared executive member Ronnie Kasrils in London today.

By VUSI GUNENE

Kasrils, who is on the command of the ANC wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, was being cross-examined by the defence in the treason trial this week.

He was questioned on his evidence on the formation of the armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which he described as "a force which is not subject to the discipline of the apartheid regime".

He said that details of the formation of the armed wing were dismissed as "press fabrication" by the state.



ta, as well as the diverse population groups of our country, steadfastly pursued this objective.

"Our people mobilised as never before to challenge white minority rule. The decade of the Fifties was a decade of truly great achievements."

"But true to the traditions of the colonialist rule and the ideology of race superiority, the rulers of our country paid no heed to the demands of the people. They drowned our efforts in blood and brutality. The Sharpeville massacre of March 1960 epitomised this reality."

"The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was our people's answer to this historic challenge from the rulers of South Africa."

On the question of land mines in white farming areas, Kasrils said it did not constitute a change in policy.

"These areas along the borders of our country have long been proclaimed and treated by the Pretoria regime as military zones. There are laws on the South African statute books which oblige the white farmers in these areas to be part of South Africa's so-called security system."

"When the apartheid regime instituted these measures, we were among the few people to warn against dangers. It puzzles us that we are today being criticised for carrying out our action in these areas that have been turned into military zones."

On the question of the planting of bombs in restaurants, Kasrils said: "If I had been approached by an ANC unit and asked whether they should go and plant a bomb at a supermarket, I would have said 'Of course not'."

"But when our units are faced with what is happening all around them, it is understandable that some of us should say 'Well, I may have to be being disciplined, but I am going to do this. After all, President Reagan has complained that Africans are killing themselves over there. He has complained that it is all Africans killing Africans. President Reagan has also complained'."

"And I can understand the circumstances in which this kind of action can happen."

ANC African agents had been deputed to carry out sabotage attacks in South Africa to sow confusion and discredit the African National Congress, a senior ANC member said in evidence handed in to the treason trial this week.

The evidence which was heard on Monday in London last month, national executive member Ronnie Kasrils said it was against policy to strike at civilians.

He also said that cadres of the armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had carried out such attacks, they were enraged by the "monstrous and monstrous attacks that the African regime has carried out against our people".

The evidence was this week heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court at the trial of three alleged ANC members facing charges of high treason, attempted murder and damage of malicious damage to property.

The extraordinary case aroused interest in Britain as well. This picture in the communist daily, the Morning Star, showed ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils, left, and defence lawyers Leonard Gering, Chris Watters and Kessie Naidu with, at right, Jacob Zuma.

A state grilling on 'soft targets'

ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils was closely cross-examined by the state prosecutor, Prinsloo, about the ANC's policies and practice of violence.

Prinsloo "Insofar as Wimpy Bars attacks are concerned in general, bombs or limpet mines or explosive devices of that kind were used, are you saying that the ANC disclaims responsibility for any of those, all of those at least?"

Kasrils: "Well in terms of the issuing of orders, it had been made clear that this is not our policy. We accept that some of our combatants have carried out some actions against civilian targets. We have instructed them that this is against policy and that they are not to carry out such actions."

Prinsloo: "When you say some of your combatants, are you saying that some of your combatants have acted upon a frolic of their own?"

Kasrils: "They are not a frolic, but of anger, out of revulsion. Out of very deep thought and emotion I would not call that a frolic. As much as we oppose the particular action, they have not acted under instruction. They are having to operate in extremely difficult conditions, very far from the high organs of command and control in that situation, when they find themselves witness to the kind of degradation and attacks on the people that are taking place almost daily in South Africa, when they hear about massacres and murders perpetrated by the South African state, its police, military and special branch forces, on the people, whether inside or outside Africa, it is clear that this has provoked them to carry out such an act."

Later, Prinsloo asked Kasrils if the ANC would know what acts were perpetrated by its combatants.

Kasrils: "These will be reported. Sometimes lines of communication might break down."

Prinsloo: "The ANC claims to be a well organised body, a responsible body, is that correct?"

Kasrils: "We do claim that we are striving to be more organised and efficient all the time. We are like any other organisation."

Prinsloo: "Then would there be reports back with regard to incidents that have occurred?"

Kasrils: "Well, we can't say that would happen in every single case. We are having to operate under very difficult conditions over many, many kilometres."

is something extremely sinister. We refer in our statement that it has come to our notice that agents of Pretoria have been detailed to carry out bomb attacks to sow confusion and discredit the ANC.

We felt it extremely necessary to bring to the notice of the international community and to our people in South Africa that the Pretoria regime, an evil, monstrous regime that has been condemned by the international community as such, is now stooping to any depths in order to maintain white power and privilege.

That means that the Pretoria regime and its agents will carry out and is carrying out, deliberately, bombings within South Africa against the people of South Africa.

Gering: "There is a reference to the armed struggle in the first paragraph you read out. Can you by reference to any authoritative statement by the president of the ANC throw some light as to how it came about - that the armed struggle was embarked upon?"

Kasrils: "I would like to refer to the speech of Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, delivered on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in December 1966."

South Africa, in Wimpy Bars, can government has been carrying

Call all teachers to a meeting to discuss the suspension of Detu teachers

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ANC 'present at SA spy's torture

APP 7/15/88 11/10/88

HARARE. — An ANC guerrilla leader took part in the interrogation and torture by Zimbabwean Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) agents of Ms Odile Harrington, a self-confessed South African spy, her attorney said yesterday.

Attorney Mr Adrian de Bourbon, on the first day of an appeal hearing in the Harare Supreme Court, sought a reduction in the 25-year jail term imposed by a Zimbabwe judge on Ms Harrington, 28, the daughter of a Johannesburg doctor.

Ms Harrington was not in court yesterday — her 28th birthday when her appeal was argued. It may be several months before judgment is handed down.

Mr De Bourbon challenged the legal basis of her conviction under Zimbabwe's Official Secrets Act, saying she had not imparted any information prejudicial to the state of Zimbabwe, only to the ANC.

Mr Justice Sandura's regret in passing sentence that he could not have her shot showed he had not conducted the trial in a "calm and rational manner", said Mr De Bourbon.

Mr De Bourbon said the worst aspect of the case was the complete failure of the Zimbabwean authorities to punish the CIO and ANC personnel responsible for Ms Harrington's ten-month ordeal in detention, following her arrest within weeks of crossing into Zimbabwe in 1986 on orders from a SA intelligence service.

Mr De Bourbon said the state had not challenged the evidence that she was frequently flogged on the back and the sole of the feet with wire flex. Stripped naked in front of five male interrogators, one of whom spat into her private parts, she kept for long periods in solitary confinement, when she twice attempted suicide.

Mr De Bourbon noted that the torturers were still at large. Referring to the recent amnesty granted by Mr Robert Mugabe to members of the security forces convicted of committing atrocities, he added: "Even if the attorney-general's office did something about it, there is recent executive action to show the CIO is beyond the go courts."

Both the lack of a hearing and the suffering should be investigated factors, he said.

Chief Justice Sandura, who is hearing the case with two assessors, said the High Court trial had made no attempt to examine Ms Harrington's torture in May 1987.

In May 1987, she said, the magistrate, who is an advocate, had not followed the correct procedure for the examination, she said.

Sapa-AP said.

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C a 'state in exile'

ational Congress Africa where they self-sufficient, structures and ship of about exile.

James Bundy, of Cape Town uni- during evidence ANC guerilla, 14 others.

said the ANC is of land, has ngs and a fleet i, could be de- in exile" as it

had more offices overseas than the South African government.

Coloured Peoples Organisation, the Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The ANC also started campaigns which groups, like the anti-pass campaign with the South African Communist Party.

In 1955 the alliance organised the Congress of the people at Kiptown, where the Freedom Charter was drafted by over 3 000 people of all races.

This Charter was adopted by the ANC at its annual conference in 1956.

Explosions marked the formation of Umkhonto weSizwe - the mili- tary wing of the ANC.

"This heralded the last echo of a half-century of non-violent poli- tics," Bundy said.

The other accused are: Peter Ja- cobs, Nicklo Pedro, Nazeem Lowe, Anwa Dramat, Clement Baadjies, David Fortuin, Jeremy Veary, Walter Rhooode, Wayne Maigas, Collin Cairncross, Ashraf Karriem, Colin Petersen and Leon Scott.

against the formation of the re- public, was a turning point in the decision to start a campaign of violence."

The show of force by the police in 1961, when the ANC called for a three-day stayaway in protest

between the ANC, the

between the ANC, the



Colin Bundy

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C. K. M.
23/10/88

Accused appear in ANC colours

CP Correspondent

FOURTEEN alleged members of the ANC appeared in the Wynberg, Cape, Regional Court this week wearing black, green and gold tracksuits.

They will be tried in the Cape Town Supreme Court on February 6 next year for treason, alternatively terrorism.

The date was fixed when they appeared briefly this week.

The accused are: Tony Yengini, 39, Jennifer Schreiner, 31, Lumka Elizabeth Nyamaza, 25 (married to Yengini), Michael Mzimkhulu Lombambo, 35, Mbutu Richmond Nduku, 26, Wellington Mongamele Nkwandla, 31, Mtheteleli Titana, 26, Gary Kruser, 27, Sitlabocha Charles Mohale, 37, Alpheus Nkwana Ndude, 45, Gertrude Fester, 37, Zurayah Abass, 35 and Colleen Lombard, 37.

Bail of R3 000 for Lombard and Abass was extended on condition they report daily to the Guguletu and Woodstock police stations between 5-9pm.

State prosecutor P Mostert told the court that the Attorney-General had authorised a certificate for the detention of the others.

This week a previous order banning relatives from the court was upheld on the grounds that the 12 accused who are in custody were singing hymns in the cells and thus disrupting proceedings in other courts.

The detainees also chanted and sang as they entered

Six 'ANC' men up for treason in Venda

11A

CPWen
23/10/88

Angola-trained cadres infiltrate arms and ammo into bantustan

SIX alleged ANC members pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism and charges under the Internal Security Act at the Thohoyandou Supreme Court in Venda this week.

They are: Peter Nthuseni Ravhambelani, 29, Mashucu Masindi, 27, Temdamuzimu Robert Ratshitanga, 48, Tshililo Christopher Luvhani, 27, Charles Tshitangano, 31, and Frederick Dau, 31.

The State alleges that

Ravhambelani and Masindi were members of the banned ANC who were in possession of arms, ammunition and literature.

Also alleged was that Ravhambelani left South Africa in February 1984 for Botswana where he joined the ANC.

It is alleged he received military training during October 1984 in Angola, where he was trained in topography, military engineering, communications, firearms, politics, tactics, artillery and first aid.

It was further alleged that he received survival training in Angola in 1986, where he underwent special training in using anti-aircraft missiles and machineguns.

He then proceeded to Harare in March 1987, with three other ANC members who later tried to infiltrate Venda. They were unsuccessful and returned to Harare in April of the same year.

The State alleges that Masindi left Venda on June 21, 1983, for Zimbabwe where he joined the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He received a crash course in how to use hand weapons and grenades.

Masindi and three other ANC members then re-

turned to Harare.

He later received military training in Angola.

In June 1984, Masindi received military training in East Germany.

In March 1986, the State alleges that Masindi was in Caculama training camp in Angola, employed as a platoon commander.

He arrived in Harare in August 1986. He and three other ANC members intended to infiltrate South Africa via Mozambique but were arrested by Mozambican police and were sent back to Harare.

In January, 1987, Masindi and other ANC members infiltrated Venda via South Africa.

A temporary base was established near Thohoyandou where food and publications were hidden.

In May 1987, Masindi, Ravhambelani, an ANC member known as "Teddy" Nkutla, and another unknown ANC member, infiltrated Venda.

They were in possession of arms, ammunition, explosives, grenades and unlawful publications which they stored under a bridge at Tshaulu in Venda.

The State alleges that from May to June last

Four days of Idasa talks dispel some mutual suspicions

SPR 28/10/88

BONN — Four days of frank talking in Leverkusen near Cologne have dispelled many of the myths that Soviet and African academics and a party from the ANC believed about each other and this has become the basis for future talks

While the ANC has indicated that its armed struggle will continue, there are signs that the organisation is placing increasing emphasis on negotiated political solutions. And the Soviet delegation has made repeated references to the desirability of a negotiated settlement

Most South Africans at the talks have said they are going home with a much clearer understanding of ANC perceptions of the South African question and a definite conviction that the banned organisation is a vital player in South Africa's political future

Further rounds of talks between liberal South African whites and members of the ANC leadership are planned and Idasa's Dr Alex Boraine, convener of the Leverkusen gathering, said the next meeting would probably take place

BY SUE LEMMAN,
The Star's Foreign News Service
The historic meeting between Soviet and African academics and an ANC group has ended with all sides affirming their commitment to building a non-racial democracy in South Africa

within a year
In his closing remarks at a press conference here, Dr Boraine said the Leverkusen talks had succeeded in breaking down stereotypes

"I think we came a little closer to the development of a climate that could lead to negotiations, the end of apartheid and the birth of a non-racial democracy in South Africa"

The five Soviet delegates, all academics specialising in southern African issues, stressed that the Soviet Union had no intention of establishing relations with Pretoria until apartheid was dead

However, team leader Dr Vasil Solodovnikov said they remained committed to talking to whites "who support the liberation struggle"

Some observers are reading

thus as a shift in emphasis and believe there is a growing Soviet awareness that whites are an important part of the peace process

A buoyant ANC publicity chief, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is clearly delighted at the contact between Afrikaners and the Soviet academics

Idasa chairman Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said he believed the value of the conference lay first in the discussion of attitudes to apartheid and, secondly, in "placing the position of the Soviet Union and the ANC in perspective to bring about change away from apartheid"

He clearly does not hold out much hope of a softening of President P W Botha's opposition to talks of this nature, but said Idasa's task lay in communicating what had happened at the talks to the broader South African community



Talking of the future in South Africa ... from left are Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for information, Dr Alex Boraine, director of Idasa, and a Soviet expert on South Africa, Dr Vasil Solodovnikov, at yesterday's Bonn press conference.

11A
Euro award

for Mandela

STRASBOURG — Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Anatoli Marchenko won the European Parliament's first Sakharov prize for freedom of thought, worth 5 000 European currency units (about R14 375)

Mr Mandela was awarded the prize for his stand against apartheid

Mr Marchenko was one of the USSR's most widely-known dissidents who spent over 20 years in prison. He died in 1987 after a hunger strike

Contrast in black voting percentage

CHRIS TRAVIS 28/10/88 MK 762

Own Correspondent

LARGE black towns and cities generally produced low percentage polls in Wednesday's municipal elections, in sharp contrast to high voting figures in rural municipalities, and pro-boycott groups have claimed success in their restricted campaigns.

However, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Chris Heunis lauded the election as a victory of the democratic processes over the revolutionary

While the government was aware that voter participation had not been satisfactory everywhere and a lot of work still lay ahead, local government would increasingly play a more important role in decision-making, he said

In results available so far, black percentage polls ranged from 3,62% in Tembisa to 21,41% at Duduza on the far east Rand. One notable exception was Khayelitsha where 43,2% of the 67 867 voters cast their votes

Many polls in the rural areas of the Transvaal were above 75%. The overall figure for black elections in the province was 21,6%.

SA Council of Churches general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said the low polls in most major urban

areas "even surprised those of us who campaigned, within the constraints imposed by the state, for the boycott of the elections"

He said the low polls were achieved despite threats against black civil servants that they would lose their pensions, houses and jobs if they did not vote, and promises by candidates "of ridiculously low rents"

The Five Freedoms Foundation, which called on anti-apartheid whites to vote, said it would be dangerous to conclude that the polls in black areas represented a significant acceptance of black local authorities by the majority of black residents

However, an official said the Johannesburg election showed that despite NP and CP gains there were still a large number of white voters who were prepared to support anti-apartheid candidates

Percentage polls in coloured and Indian areas were higher than those in large black municipalities, with 29% in Lenasia, 61% in Actonville and 32,8% in Coronationville

But the Transvaal Indian Congress said less than 17 000 out of 90 000 Indian adults voted — a 19% poll taking into account unregistered voters. This, it said, was a vote of no confidence in President P W Botha's government

Matie SRC supports Dr Craven

Staff Reporter

STELLENBOSCH University's Students Representative Council has come out strongly in support of recent initiatives by the president of the South African Rugby Board and doyen of Matie rugby, Dr Danie Craven.

Fourteen members of the SRC voted by 12 votes to two in favour of Dr Craven's recent talks in Harare with members of the African National Congress, said SRC spokesman Mr Robert Bricourt.

He said SRC members had tabled a motion supporting Dr Craven for his initiative in speaking to African sport administrators and for his attempts to expand and develop South Africa's sport ties.

The motion also lauded Dr Craven for his programme of promoting non-racial sport.

"Just because the ANC was present at the latest talks does not mean that Dr Craven is no longer trying to promote only sport," said Mr Bricourt.

All 3 parties optimistic as Leverkusen talks end

The Argus Foreign Service ^{AKG} ^{28/10/88} ¹¹⁰ ^{10/11}
BONN — The historic meeting between Soviet and Afrikaner academics and a party from the ANC has ended with all sides affirming their commitment to building a non-racial democracy in South Africa

Four days of frank talking in Leverkusen, near Cologne, had dispelled many of the myths they believed about each other, they said — and thus formed a basis for future talks

While the ANC has indicated that its armed struggle will continue, there are signs that the organisation is placing increasing emphasis on negotiated political solutions. And the Soviets here have made repeated references to the desirability of a negotiated settlement

Most of the South Africans at the talks have said they are going home with a clearer understanding of ANC perceptions of the South African question — and a conviction that the organisation is vital to South Africa's political future

In his closing remarks at a press conference here, Dr Alex Boraine, convener of the gathering, said the talks had succeeded in "breaking down stereotypes, and we have reached a far greater clarity on the nature of the struggle and our commitment to end it as soon as possible"

TALK TO WHITES

"But we are under no illusions — this conference had nothing to do with negotiations, we have no mandate to do that"

The five Soviet delegates, all of them academics specialising in southern African issues, stressed that the Soviets had no intention of opening relations with the South African government until apartheid was dead.

However, team leader Dr Vasili Solodovnikov said the Soviets remained committed to talking to whites "who support the liberation struggle".

Some observers are reading this as evidence of a growing Soviet awareness that whites are an important part of the peace process. Dr Solodovnikov himself admitted that just three years ago such a meeting with South African whites was "inconceivable".

Idasa chairman Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said he believed the value of the conference lay firstly in the discussion of attitudes to apartheid, and secondly in "placing the position of the Soviet Union and the ANC in perspective in order to bring about change away from apartheid".

R600-m cut for IDC in Iscor.

The Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) has taken over R600 million of State shares in Iscor in a first step to the privatisation of the steel corporation, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, announced last night.

He was addressing the Afrikaanse Sakekamer at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg.

Mr Du Plessis said the R600 million would be allocated in the following way:

- R371 million for the Development Bank of South Africa — the Treasury's capital commitment

- R100 million for the Local Authority Loan Fund

- R34 million for basic infrastructure to help solve the squatter problem

- R50 million on share capital for the Small Business Development Corpora-

tion — which it is hoped the private sector, as an equal partner, will match. ● R40 million for the South African Housing Trust, created as part of the Government's stimulation package in 1986.

Mr Du Plessis said the R600 million transaction in no way anticipated the final decision on the privatisation of Iscor nor implied that the IDC would have a permanent holding in Iscor.

Mr Du Plessis said the Government had tackled a number of praiseworthy projects and applied policy measures in the past 10 years, all aimed at the single most important factor in the economy — ensuring continued economic growth.

But he added "(This is) something which has unfortunately to a great extent proven to be an elusive target" — Sapa.

Cold spell here for the weekend

The cold front which swept through the country yesterday is here for the weekend and beyond.

Temperatures countrywide will continue to drop, the Weather Bureau in Pretoria says, culminating in snow in the Cape and Natal.

The forecast was for cloudy and very cold conditions throughout the country until Tuesday, with rain in parts.

It is expected to be cloudy and cool in the Transvaal on Sunday with the south-western part of the province even colder.

Good rain fell over much of the country last night and early today, but hail in the Free State caused considerable damage.

Six hundred hectares of wheat on Syferfontein farm, owned by Mr Fanie Schoeman, were flattened by hail.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.

'Talks with ANC saved SA rugby'

LONDON — The mission by Dr Dame Craven and Dr Louis Luyt to Harare for talks with the African National Congress and other interested parties has reportedly saved South African rugby, and details of an IRB-approved World XV tour to this country are expected to be announced next week.

The commitment to total integration of rugby in the Republic by the Craven-Luyt deputation has given the IRB — the International Rugby Board — the green light to sanction a tour next year which will include two unofficial tests.

The South African Rugby Board will be permitted to invite three or more players from each of the other seven IRB member countries to play in the World XV.

The tour is seen as a huge triumph for Dr Craven (78), who is under fire from both the Government and some members of his own board for holding discussions with the ANC.

● See Page 24.

Craven's last stand?

■ The old man has thrown more than rugby into turmoil — and the stakes are high



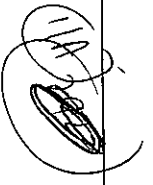
Dame Craven's meeting with ANC members and the symbolism of that joint statement in Harare could not have come at a worse time for government. With all their attention on the municipal elections, this was the last thing they needed. It fell to the minister nominally responsible for sport, F. W. de Klerk, to try to get Craven and Louis Luyt back into line. But the two men did not apologise.

On the contrary, they have been defiant. Craven responded to De Klerk's summons to Pretoria by travelling to South America instead, saying that he had better things to do. Luyt made it clear that he would talk to De Klerk as "no one's man" and with a clear conscience.

Not before or since Allan Hendrickse's rebellion has anyone — let alone white Afrikaners — dared to stand up to President P. W. Botha's government in this way and stuck to their guns. This is why the Craven-Luyt narrative has been headline news for nearly a fortnight. It has had an enormous political impact.

The Nationalists have always been able to dismiss others who have tentatively tried to make contact with the ANC. Leading businessmen have been labelled since Botha's shipping boom of First National's Chris Ball, earnest stalwarts up north by leaving accidents and opposition politicians have been easily discredited and when it comes to the small fry, like university students, passports can always be withdrawn. At worst, such individuals were ostracised. At best, they provided useful propaganda material.

But Craven has been a veteran and patriotic national figure, an Afrikaner who has presided over the white national sport for more than 30 years, a man who still commands the utmost respect of world leaders in his field. Even though he has never been a Nationalist or a Broederbond, he undoubtedly comes from inside the larger. This is why his actions have hit government where it hurts. And it is im-



portant to note that this is the first time that rugby has stood up directly to government. So great was the shock that, for a few days, the Nat newspapers and the SABC were uncertain how to react. What was the party line? After all, this was not Desmond Tutu or even Van Zyl Slabbert or Wynand Malan — this was Dame Craven, suddenly there were no guidelines. Then the word went out and tough editorials and cartoons appeared, pillorying Craven and Louis Luyt.

The case of Luyt is equally interesting. Although always something of a maverick in style, he too could not be dismissed as if he were some bleeding-heart churchman. He is the barefoot-Afrikaner turned millionaire, a shrewd, tough businessman whose public image is the antithesis of the ravine radical. He fronted for government in certain high-dealings involving *The Citizen*. In the Afrikaner view of things, men like Craven and Luyt must be reckoned with. This is why in a stagnant, political arena, they have broken some strange logjams.

What will happen now? One scenario (unprecedented in our sports history) is that a motion of no-confidence in Craven and Luyt will be put — and passed — at the meeting of the SA Rugby Board (SARB) on November 10. The two would then have to resign. Or the six Test union presidents, only Nic Labuschagne of Natal has supported them. Free State's Steve Strudon and Northern's Fritz Elff have made it clear that they oppose any talks with the ANC. Lawson Rourke (Eastern Province) and Jan Pickard (Western Province) have not committed themselves — but it is highly unlikely that either or both will support Craven and Luyt.

Of the other executive members, Johan Claassen (Western Transvaal) and Ronnie Buisser (Orkney) have also distanced themselves from the ANC talks. The minor players are likely to do the same. So it would seem that Craven and Luyt have little natural support. But Craven has a few trump cards to play. Whether by accident or design (and he is a very shrewd operator), he has seized the political initiative, winning the approval of the entire rugby-playing world.

The splits from the International Rugby Board (IRB) are very clear. Dump Craven, and you can forget about any contact for at least a generation. Indeed, the godposts have now been shifted far enough for SA to be not only isolated, but expelled outright from the IRB. The promised 1989 World XV tour would go up in smoke, so would Fritz Elff's scheduled presidency of the IRB. And the effect on other sports bodies trying to get a foot in the international door would be equally emphatic.

But this scenario could have other consequences. Craven says he will continue his initiatives on his own if need be. Luyt has hinted at a breakaway by some of the big unions like Transvaal, Natal and Western Province. And let us not forget that Luyt needs to fill Ellis Park and that one of the jokers in the pack is professionalisation in some form. For instance, if Luyt is left in the cold, there would be little to prevent him establishing full scale professional tours which would erode further the power of the SARB. Indeed, the financial aspect of rugby has been overlooked in the furor. Professional or not, rugby is big business. The associated revenue from sponsorships runs into millions against which any government subsidy is insignificant. Major sponsors like SA Breweries (the Lion Cup) and Santalambank (the Currie Cup) will be watching matters closely. So will the SABC and M-Net, which could be forced to choose between coverage of two rival groupings if there is a split. There's a lot of money at stake and it might not be easy picking the good guys.

If Craven manages to stay in office, others may be compelled to resign and it's been speculated, widely perhaps, that unions which do not back Craven will end up not hosting future international teams. Imagine the All Blacks touring — and not playing in, say, Bloemfontein or Pretoria. The effect on sponsorships and the absence of revenue from luxury suite holders would be devastating. Such complications put the November meeting in a different light. It's been argued by those who know the old man that Craven may somehow be able to achieve a compromise or at least buy time. But such a deal would test even his remarkable capacity for wheeler-dealing and brinkmanship. He would have to deliver renewed contact, in the form of lucrative tours in the near future by the All Blacks, the British Lions — a World XV at the very least. At the same time, he would have to avoid giving any impression of betraying the commitment he made in Harare, because in a sense he has already burnt his bridges.

Which raises another intriguing issue: the role of the ANC. There is justified scepticism of its sincerity in meeting Craven. Despite the Harare statement, the ANC is clearly keeping its options open. It may want to polish its image among whites while simultaneously containing and dividing them. It is no doubt delighted at the fuss the talks have caused. But, if it is indeed changing its strategy, the ANC cannot ride two horses at once. If it really wants Craven to have any success at home, the bombs will have to stop (or, if they are being planted by mavericks, unequivocally condemned). As Craven was returning to SA a massive bomb exploded in Witbank, killing two people and injuring many others. Such incidents give force to arguments that Craven has been naive and is simply being used, every bomb that goes off progressively undermines his position. Even if the ANC is sincere it may find that it does not have the clout to influence the



Doc Craven will fit be thumbs-up for him?

range of constituencies which oppose any links with SA. The anti-apartheid courage industry in Britain African leaders like Robert Mugabe be the Third World bloc at the UN and in the Commonwealth, and a generation of domestic activists and churchmen studded for 20 years on boycott as the only option — all would have to be persuaded that it is time for a radical change in tactics. This shift is unlikely, at least in the short term. We can expect the ANC to go for cover on this one while saving face with the familiar argument that, while apartheid exists, contact is undesirable. By the beginning of this week, the silence of most local rugby people seemed to indicate that they were reserving judgment — but another way, giving Craven and Luyt the benefit of the doubt.

Some important figures have publicly supported them: former Bok captains Morne du Plessis, Wynand Claassen and Tommy Bedford and two provincial captains, Naas Botha and Carel du Plessis. Former Northern's star Thys Lourens has condemned them. How do the other players feel? They desperately want tours — but by courtesy of the ANC? How apologetic are they? No doubt the provincial presidents are now anxiously testing the wind in their own backyards — it would be foolish for them to attend the November meeting without some kind of mandate from their own officials and players.

That mandate is likely to be a conservative one — crushingly so, if more bombs go off. In the end, even rugby is not that important. It may turn out that Craven has been used by the ANC, and he has risked much, he could fall far and hard. But there is no doubting his sincerity. In recent years he has had much contact with blacks and coloureds, sources say that he has been deeply moved by the ravages their communities have suffered under apartheid. And he is repeatedly of the view that it is

absurd to attack him for talking to the ANC when that organisation has so much sympathy, if not support, within SA. Louis Luyt was reported as asking why rugby people should not talk to the ANC when the government is itself negotiating with another enemy, the Cubans. After all, if the ANC were non-violent and on our side in the first place, there would be no need for talks. One way of stopping a war is by trying to achieve a truce. Ironically, our rugby isolation is unlikely to end as a result of the Luyt-Craven initiative. There are far too many other factors to consider. But two important political issues have been raised. One is that government has put Craven and Luyt in the dock, but has done nothing itself to help sports administrators. Rugby apartheid still exists at school level and Group Areas laws remain firmly in place. It cannot have been easy for Craven and Luyt to go to Lusaka which shows just how desperate they (like their counterparts in business and academia) have become as a result of apartheid.

The other issue is one of leadership. Craven has demonstrated that nothing can be achieved without risk. In this sense, rugby is an emblem of politics. There comes a time when the man in charge must move without looking over his shoulder, must take a leap into the dark and have faith in the future. Can we blame a rugby administrator for taking political action if the politicians themselves refuse to do so?



Enrol Tobias. First black Springbok, last official Test

Slovo charms as ANC stereotype falls

LONDON — The historic four-day meeting between ANC, Soviet and Afrikaner delegations ended here yesterday with all sides claiming as their major success the breaking down of stereotypes.

But the stereotype that suffered most damage at the "Boer meets Bear" encounter was that of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo as some kind of ogre.

With a remarkable degree of unanimity the Afrikaner delegates said they had found him pragmatic, sensible and some even charming.

UCI politics professor Hermann Gilhorne

said it was now necessary to re-examine the idea that SACP members were the hardliners in the ANC.

Prof Gilhorne and Prof Lawrence Schlemmer said the ANC seemed far more aware of the difficulties its armed struggle created for whites who were trying to propagate the need for change.

However, ANC publicity director Mr Thabo Mbeki made it clear that the meeting had done nothing to persuade the ANC to re-think its strategy.

Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine

said the meeting would help develop a climate for a new non-racial democracy in SA.

Dr Vasily Solodovnikov, leader of the Soviet delegation, said the meeting had brought about "a significant change in our understanding of white South Africa."

A Soviet delegate said in a paper on policy towards SA, "The Soviet Union has no special interests in Southern Africa. We want only one thing: Nations and countries in the region must at last have the chance to settle their issues, their home and foreign affairs,

independently in peace and stability."

Dr Solodovnikov pledged to maintain the contacts forged at the meeting, but there could be "no violation of the general isolation of South Africa. Foreign policy is becoming more flexible, but if you think the Soviet Union is moving away from supporting liberation movements then you are wrong."

He said the government's "red scare" tactics had no factual foundation. The Soviet Union supported liberation movements, but it had no desire to draw SA into its sphere of influence.

Mandela release any moment, signs suggest

W/C M&S 29/10/88 (1/1)

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE release of Mr Nelson Mandela may be imminent, according to new speculation in the wake of the local government elections

The issue was last in the spotlight during President Botha's recent Africa tours when it was widely reported that Mr Mandela's early unconditional release had been promised

A remaining obstacle for the government to such a move — a possible rightwing backlash in the local government elections — is now out of the way

Official government sources have declined to comment on the latest speculation

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was not available and a spokesman in the President's Office dismissed the speculation

Recent pointers to Mr Mandela's possible early release include

● In Zaire, President Botha gave President Mobutu Sese Seko a clear indication that he is flexible on the issue of Mr Mandela's release. It was one of the subjects raised at their talks, and the subsequent official joint communique said that Mr Botha's "flexible" approach to this matter was "a source of encouragement to President Mobutu"

● Subsequently President Mobutu was quoted by the Washington Post as saying he had received an assurance from Mr Botha that Mr Mandela would soon be released unconditionally. South African government sources would not confirm or deny this claim

● Diplomatic and other sources indicated that Mr Mandela's release was a key issue raised during President Botha's latest Africa initiatives

According to diplomats Mr Botha made a favourable impression and the ANC leader's release was the kind of "push" now needed to get South Africa over the sanctions hurdle

● The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hen-

drickse, has said he received information that President Botha told South African diplomats in Europe that Mr Mandela would be released soon

Mr Hendrickse told the recent Eastern Cape congress of the Labour Party that according to his information the diplomats were asked to prepare themselves for Mr Mandela's release

● Zairean diplomatic sources in Paris were quoted as saying that President Botha reaffirmed his "personal promise" to President Mobutu to release Mr Mandela before the end of October

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, would neither confirm nor deny reports that President Botha had promised Mr Mandela's unconditional release, according to a recent report by Sapa-AP from Johannesburg

● The black newspaper City Press quoted "top Government sources" as saying Mr Mandela could be part of the State President's annual amnesty package which pardons prisoners just before Christmas. The paper said the government believed it would be "disruptive" if he were to be released before the municipal elections

Mr Mandela has been out of prison for 78 days and still at the Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic recovering from tuberculosis

New calls

He was transferred there after being treated at Tygerberg Hospital, where he was admitted from Pollsmoor Prison on Friday, August 12

His admission to hospital led to renewed calls for his release both inside and outside South Africa

Even before his admission, diplomats and opposition politicians were saying they believed the government would release Mr Mandela after the municipal elections

There was even pressure from the National Party Press. The government-supporting Transvaal morning paper Beeld joined the chorus of diplomatic and political calls for his release

PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

TIA 29/10/88

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Gorbachev: The 'boy' who poured Stalin's vodka into the snow . . .

THE occasion was the May Day celebrations on Red Square in Moscow and Stalin was taking the salute. It was bitterly cold.

In the right pocket of his overcoat was a bottle of vodka which he couldn't reach. So he called a young boy standing nearby and ordered him to take out the bottle. He did so, but to Stalin's horror, he poured the contents on the ground into the snow. Stalin was furious and demanded to know his name. The youngster said "Gorbachev".

This story is told by one of the five people in the Soviet delegation, who together with some South Africans and seven members of the ANC, met for four days during the past week in West Germany. He is one of the three younger members in the Soviet group and, according to his colleagues (who include an attractive and well-informed lady), an expert on African affairs.

The story about the vodka also tells something about one of the first topics on the agenda — the reconstruction and democratisation of the USSR through glasnost and perestroika must have a profound impact on Soviet society.

The frankness of the discussion and the admission of failures and uncertainty about their nationalities problem does not tally with the devil-like stereotype of official South African perceptions.

The contrast is even more apparent when one compares a well-documented presentation of the official view by a South African academic "from home", or, as we were referred to by one ANC member "the passport-carrying South African".

WHEN the focus comes from the other side and a paper is delivered on how South Africa is perceived by the Soviet public, one measure of their sympathy for the Afrikaners in the struggle against British imperialism

Much of this popular sympathy remained until the 1960s, despite the fact that the South African government had closed the Soviet diplomatic representation in Pretoria in 1956.

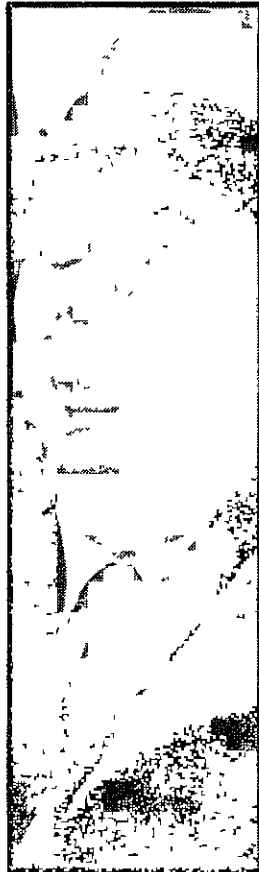
What finally changed sympathy into censure was the brutal manifestations of apartheid, in Sharpeville. That the Soviet people, together with the rest of the world, would condemn apartheid, and support the struggle against it, was inevitable.

But the Soviets take great trouble to point out that the Soviet public is opposed to apartheid,

PROFESSOR Gerhard Erasmus, of Stellenbosch University, was at this week's talks between Afrikaner and Soviet academics and the ANC in West Germany. Here he gives some of his impressions. DATELINE: Leverkusen.



■ STALIN



■ GORBACHEV

heid, not the people of South Africa, including Afrikaners

When we started discussing strategies for change in South Africa, it became very much a South African affair, with valuable insights, however, provided by two or three German academics. The latter happened particularly within the context of the discussion on Afrikaner and African nationalism.

Complete agreement on every single aspect was of course impossible, but what emerged clearly as a consensus was the support for a nonracial democracy.

THE nature of the post-apartheid South Africa came under the spotlight when the ANC's constitutional guidelines, an elaboration on the Freedom Charter, were discussed. It was noted that certain changes have occurred in Dakar. The general tone of the discussion time was more relaxed and it reached greater depths. Certain concepts have been worked out more clearly by the ANC.

I thought that the general result was a more precise and even acceptable picture of the specifics of a post-apartheid South Africa.

But not everyone thought so. A prominent Afrikaner academic, until only recently part of the government's think tank, even suggested that the ANC go back for another six months and improve it before he would be prepared to read it!

What was lacking, according to him, were indications about implementation and protection of different cultures. And that of course opened a whole debate about the future protection of the Afrikaner's culture in particular. Messrs Boshoff and Co would be amazed to learn the identity of some of those pleading their case and by the preparedness of the other side to accommodate them — provided every shred of racism is eradicated.

To list a few final impressions:

I have not detected any evidence of a rift between the Soviet Union and the ANC or that the latter will be forced into negotiations with Pretoria. A political settlement, yes — that is ANC policy too.

The initiative for getting our society out of its growing internal stalemate, increasing international isolation and economic malaise lies very much with Pretoria. The struggle against apartheid (and the emphasis is increasingly on the international dimension of it) will not abate.

Have occasions like these any value? It is through meetings and discussions such as these that South Africans start to shape an agreement on the values that they must share and implement in a post-apartheid South Africa. The task is to implement and construct such values through common political action.

Without meetings such as this one of the past week, this common ground will never be discovered and developed. We shall remain two struggling, divided camps bent on destroying each other.

TALKING TO THE RUSSIANS

THE conference was a sober, low-key affair, characterised by probing questions and intensive discussions... There was none of the conventionalism that marked the meeting of the ANC in Durban...

In the white public's perception these are the ANC and Russia. The ANC is widely believed to be a terrorist organisation dominated by communists, a movement with which no negotiations should take place until it neutralises itself by forswearing violence.

We must get to know our enemies — or we may perish in ignorance

South Africa as part of its quest to secure world domination. These sentiments are reflected in a recent poll in SA in which 80 percent of a sample of whites disagreed with the view that the South African Government is exaggerating the communist threat.

Angola and the ANC to accept compromise solutions acceptable to South African whites? How determined is the ANC in its declared commitment not to hit civilians in soft targets such as Wimpy bars? These are my impressions and conclusions.

Firstly, there has been a fundamental shift in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the West. Russia is frantically busy with economic restructuring and coping with the political forces that Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives have unleashed.



HERMANN GILMORE reports on this week's conference at Leverkussen West Germany between Afrikaner academics, Soviet Africanists and members of the African National Congress.

It will obey the wishes of the Angolan Government while communicating the message that a reasonable compromise must be sought for Cuban troop withdrawal — 30 months is a figure I heard. But Moscow will not intervene if the Angolans and Cubans wish to prolong the battle for their own reasons.

support the ANC's armed struggle. Soviet bureaucrats at Leverkussen were eager to dismiss rumours that Russia is unhappy with the ANC's performance in the field or that it planned to decrease its support.

By the same token, the Soviet Union sees no reason to jeopardise its relations with the Third World by entering into open economic relations with SA. Fourthly, SA will have to re-examine seriously its view that Moscow exerts undue influence over the ANC.

'Glasnost' Gorbachev begins to apply the pressure

Why, then, did the group of Afrikaners go to Leverkussen? The answer is simple: The desperate need for first-hand information on both the ANC and Russia. It is really true that the Soviet Union has abandoned its goal of world domination? If so, do glasnost and perestroika mean that Russia is willing to pressure the Cubans in support of SA?

Thirdly, the Soviet Union will continue to support the ANC before making any decisions on South African issues, including demands such as visa applications.

Statements suggesting that the ANC should seriously consider the issue of white group rights in order to achieve a settlement have emanated from Moscow recently.

The main shift in Russian policy towards SA appears to be away from the idea that the state should be overthrown by revolution and towards the advocacy of a negotiated settlement.

The Leverkussen conference has once again demonstrated the great need for gatherings such as these where first hand information can be exchanged. There is a great need to open the channels of communication.

My impression is that ANC strategists are embarrassed by the bombings at the Ellis Park rugby stadium and in Wimpy bars, but that they lack sufficient control at this moment to prevent a recurrence of this.

At the Leverkussen conference the Soviet participants stressed that these statements did not represent official policy — I sensed a degree of embarrassment on the Soviet side over statements coming out of Moscow that could undermine the ANC at the negotiating table.

Despite glasnost, Soviet officials will probably be more careful in future. Finally, the Leverkussen conference made it clear that the ANC has made considerable advances in making its main political contacts with internal organisations, but has not yet resolved its dilemma.



Yasmin Forbes who married convicted ANC commander Ashley Forbes. Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

Posies in Pollsmoor

30/10/88
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S. J. M.

CONVICTED ANC commander Ashley (Ashraf) Forbes married his sweetheart, Yasmina Pandey, this week in the maximum security section of Pollsmoor Prison.

The bride looked beautiful, and the traditional wedding service was moving — but no-one forgot they were in a prison. And everyone knew there would be no honeymoon.

Forbes was convicted on charges of terrorism in the Cape Supreme Court last month. His bride was acquitted on similar charges.

Sheik Nazeem Mohamed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council, conducted the service in a flower-strewn lounge furnished with a brown lounge suite.

Only 10 people were allowed at the wedding — including the bride, groom and Sheik Mohamed.

Describing the service afterwards, Yasmina's proud mother, Mrs Begum Pandey, said her daughter had looked beautiful.

"The sad part was that the couple could not be together," said Mrs Pandey.

Yasmina wore a white wedding gown with the traditional medourah headdress in

By AYESHA ISMAIL

white and silver, and carried a bouquet of white orchids.

Ashley wore a dark blue suit with an orchid in the buttonhole, a white silk scarf and black fez.

But the bride is only too aware that theirs will be anything but a conventional marriage.

"I realise the seriousness of this case. I've read the charge sheet and the admissions which Ashley has made. I have no guarantees when he will be released — but I am confident."

She and Ashley went into hiding late in 1986, and were separated for a long time. Ashley was arrested on May 16 1987, and she was detained on August 15.

"Ashley was held for six months under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, and I was held for three months before we were brought to trial."

Speaking from her Wynberg home this week, a cheerful Yasmina said: "We were going to get married in 1986, but both of us were being sought by the police at the time."

"I was prepared to marry him then, and we have now fulfilled our wish. My decision to get married was both personal and political."

Cape Times 3/10/88

Hoza's men win in Khayelitsha



Mr Mali Hoza

By PETER DENNEHY

SQUATTER leader Mr Mali Hoza and his 19 men have won a landslide victory in Khayelitsha, the only black area in Cape Town where an election was held.

Mr Hoza himself polled the highest number of votes, 16 739, and all his men had over 14 000 votes. The results were announced in Khayelitsha yesterday to a small but enthusiastic audience consisting of about 70 women who sang and danced.

Mr Hoza's team won all positions available on the 20-seat Lingeletu West local authority.

The next highest number of votes, after Mr Hoza's men, was the 7 277 which went to Mr R Fulani, an opponent of the Hoza group.

The poll was 43,4% of the 67 867 registered voters in Khayelitsha.

The Khayelitsha election was not

run on party political lines, but Mr Hoza's group had been opposed by a coalition called the Joint Action Committee, which was politically to the left of his group.

Each voter could vote for up to 20 candidates. Only a few papers were spoilt — 27 at Khayelitsha Resource Centre polling station, 39 at Green Point and 22 at Site C.

Mr Hoza said in a brief speech that he was aware of the acute housing shortage in Khayelitsha, and he hoped the government would "lend an ear when we put forward our demands".

Mr Hoza is a businessman who owns a fleet of taxis and lives in Site C, one of the squatter areas.

The successful candidates and their voting totals were: Mr Mali Hoza 16 739, Mr M Goniwe 14 823, Mr V Gochi 14 891, Mr M Gxowa 14 770, Mr J Vanto 14 720, Mr T Vanto 14 707, Mr D Zono 14 697, Mr L Banya 14 694, Mr M Gubayo 14 696, Mr M Tungwana 14 599, Mr M Maquila 14 562, Mr G Maggaza 14 550, Mr E Jazile 14 478, Mr L Bool 14 462, Mr A Mqoboke 14 444, Mr F Sormtunzi 14 287, Mr W Mame 14 248, Mr J Nonjaca 14 026 and Mr S Masie 14 005.

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B/day 31/10/88

TAKE HEART. The national psychosis that has raged since September 1984 is subsiding, and new voices are emerging. The revolution is pretty well washed up, and even the counter-revolutionaries are beginning to sound shrill.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has fallen remarkably silent as it becomes evident that the first effects of sanctions are to throw people out of jobs and to weaken the political base of the trades unions.

At the other end of the spectrum, General Magnus Malan's reckless rave about the communist onslaught and the terrorist threat begins to sound silly in a world of Angolan peace talks and African diplomacy. He sounds even sillier to those who understand that perestroika is a Russian word that means Soviet socialism has failed as completely as Nkrumah's African socialism.

Listen, then, to a new voice from the townships. It is the voice of Aggrey Klaaste, editor of *The Sowetan*, which looks as though it may soon become South Africa's largest-selling daily newspaper.

Klaaste's comments seem to me — though I am not an expert — to carry undertones of Steve Biko. It is a more mature brand of black consciousness, an assertion of self that is no longer defensive, and no longer requires the demigration of anybody else. He does not beg or threaten, he is not dependant.

Let me quote from a seminal speech delivered little more than a week ago by Klaaste, a speech which is travelling by word of mouth and by letter and by fax from township to office to embassy. In it he calls on his people to build a nation, to rebuild a people, to make a great country.

"I have written somewhere," said Klaaste, "that it is increasingly becoming the responsibility of blacks to help (save) this country from certain ruin. It is our responsibility because it is also our country, and we are after all in the majority."

Afrikaners, he says, lost their opportunity to redeem this land be-

Listen to a new voice from the townships

Ken Owen

cause they forgot the rest of us. If the Afrikaners had done all the things they did to build themselves, done them for all of us, for South Africa, they would have been in a comfortable leadership position today.

Now, he believes, the Afrikaners are too encumbered by the baggage of race superiority to accomplish the task and it falls to blacks to take up the burden.

He mentions neither the English community, nor the businessmen from whom the so-called radicals beg endlessly for cash, nor the foreign investors and rightly so. In his analysis, the white business community and the foreigners are marginal players. Afrikaners, still dangerous, are becoming so.

Klaaste's thinking shifts responsibility firmly onto black shoulders, and he addresses his people bluntly. "One moment we are bowed, scraping slaves, happy to lick the baser hand, the next we are engaged in unbelieveable acts of violence. And more irrationally, against ourselves."

"How could the average white person have confidence, any respect for such people?"

He rejects, too, the Eastern European baggage which the SA Communist Party loaded onto the backs of the ANC and most black political organisations. The rhetoric of wealth redistribution is absent from his speech.

Instead, he draws from African experience — especially from the failure of Kwame Nkrumah's exhortation to seek first the political kingdom — the lesson that political kingdoms do not stand on their own.

"Political kingdoms, to be effective, lasting and democratic, need all sorts of power structures to underpin them. They need the back-up of strong people who have clout economically, who have clout academically, who have strength to recognise the value of a free Press, who have a spiritual or religious foundation."

What interests me is not that Klaaste is, in effect, junking the entire murderous ideology of revolution — of liberation through a descent into barbarism — but that his views dovetail so neatly with some of the thinking that has been taking

down because it, in addition to being inhuman and expensive, was a reckless endeavour. We might as well abolish group areas because the changes are occurring anyway and they will continue, law or no law.

Lately there have been signs of a new dimension, one which goes beyond the abolition of apartheid in the creation of a new society. The new industry — which smashed S.A.T.S. monopoly without help from whites or foreigners — is the glaring example of the use of economic power as an instrument of liberation. But it is not the only one.

And there is more to come. Broderbond, and the Afrikaans Helmskark movement. They are recalling that local authorities removed their accounts from "Africans" banks, and they both supported and depended upon Afrikaner institutions from Sharpeville to Soweto, from Soweto to Sebokeng, and on both sides fanned the flames of hatred to produce the next outbreaks of violence. Now they are fanning anger for the next outbreak.

Meanwhile, a different kind of revolution is in the making, which depends on order not on chaos, on peace not on violence, on respect not on sanctions, on schooling not on school boycotts, its aim is to build the institutions, the strength, which will underpin a democratic South Africa.

If redemptive change in South Africa depends on the National Party, it will not come. If it depends on the ANC, it will also not come. The one is too selfish, and the other is too narrow. Between them they make only disaster. The way to change South Africa is to go ahead and make those changes that don't depend on either the government or the revolution, knowing that change leads to change.

Whites can join in the task. If they wish, or stand aside. Klaaste, I have no doubt, will carry on regardless. As he says, somebody has to do something to stop the madness in this country.

Mandela shows 'steady progress'

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela, jailed African National Congress leader, remains a patient in the Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic where he is recovering from tuberculosis

Dr J Strauss, Chief Superintendent of Tygerberg Hospital, said he was "pleased to report that since my visit on September 13, Mr Mandela has shown steady progress. He has no more symptoms of his illness — Sapa